



ISTANBUL MEDENİYET UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

**An Intellectual Biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d.
1657): His Place in Hind Intellectual History and Influence
upon Ottomans**

PhD Thesis
Abdullah Al Mamun

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Supervisor

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İbrahim Halil Üçer

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THESIS JURY APPROVAL

This PhD thesis titled “An Intellectual Biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1657): His Place in Hind Intellectual History and Influence upon Ottomans” written by Abdullah Al Mamun at the Department of History was accepted by our jury.

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Style and Reference Manual Statement

Having reviewed this thesis written under my supervision, I confirm that it has been written in accordance with The Chicago Manual of Style and used its footnote reference format consistently throughout the entire text.

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that all information in this dissertation has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conducts, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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Abdullah Al Mamun

GENİŞ ÖZET

‘Abdülhakim Siyâlkûtî’nin (ö. 1657) Entelektüel Biyografisi: Hint Entelektüel Tarihindeki Yeri ve Osmanlılar Üzerindeki Etkisi

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Hint İslam medeniyeti, diğer Müslüman coğrafyalarla kurduğu bağlantılar vasıtasıyla bilgi ve kültürün gelişmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Onuncu yüzyıldan itibaren Gazneli Devleti ve Delhi Sultanlığı gibi Müslüman hanedanların bölgeye hâkim olmasıyla başlayan bu etkileşim, Safeviler, Osmanlılar ve Hicaz gibi önemli düşünce merkezleriyle de devam etmiştir. Bu sayede Hint İslam Medeniyeti, geniş bir entelektüel ağı önemli bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Eğitim ve kültür merkezlerinin önemli bir rol oynadığı bu etkileşim ağı, bilgi ve fikirlerin aktarımı için bir platform oluşturmuş, farklı disiplinlerde ortak bir dil ve bakış açısının gelişmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Kelam, mantık, fıkıh, tasavvuf, tıp, astronomi ve matematik gibi alanlarda eserler üretilmiş ve bu eserler diğer Müslüman coğrafyalarda da ilgi görmüştür.

Bu entelektüel etkileşim, Hint İslam Medeniyetinin özgün bir kimlik geliştirmesine de katkıda bulunmuştur. Mimari, edebiyat, felsefe ve diğer alanlarda özgün eserlerin ve fikirlerin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Bu tür gelişmeler, “Hint kültürü”, “Hint ortamı” ya da “Hint âlimi” gibi terimler ile ifade edilmektedir. Bu terimler, Hint İslam medeniyetinin diğer Müslüman coğrafyalarla ortak bir paydada buluştuğunu ve aynı zamanda özgün bir kimlik de geliştirdiğini göstermektedir.

On üçüncü yüzyılın başlarından on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ortalarına kadar bütünleşik bir idari sistem altında varlığını sürdüren Hint İslam Medeniyeti, bu dönemden sonra önemli bir değişim sürecine girmiştir. İngiliz sömürge sistemin uyguladığı siyasi, kültürel

ve eğitim politikaları bilimsel eğilimler başta olmak üzere birçok şeyi değiştirmiştir. Bu politikalar, Hint İslam medeniyetinin temellerini oluşturan ve yüzyıllar boyunca varlığını sürdüren entelektüel geleneği neredeyse yok edecek düzeyde dönüşüme uğratmıştır. Sömürgecilik sona erdikten sonra ortaya çıkan entelektüel eğilimler, sömürge döneminin etkilerini yansıtmaya devam etmiştir. Bu dönemde hâkim olan düşünce tarzı, geçmişi keşfetmenin modern zamanla pek ilgisi olmadığı yönündedir. Bu anlayış, Hint İslam Medeniyetinin geçmişiyle olan bağlarını zayıflatarak onun parlak geçmişini ve onu diğerlerinden ayıran kültürel ve entelektüel kimliğini unutturmaya itmiştir.

Hint İslam medeniyetinin tarihine ilişkin yapılan araştırmalarda, belki de en önemli dönem olan Babürlü dönemi dahi yeterince ele alınmamıştır. Bu dönemde tasavvuftaki gelişmeler üzerine birtakım araştırmalar olsa da kültürel, entelektüel ve farklı düşünce akımları üzerine yapılan gelişmeler hakkında çok az sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Bu durum, Orta Çağ ve erken modern dönemin Hint entelektüel tarihini neredeyse keşfedilmemiş bir alan haline getirmiştir.

Bu araştırma, Babürlü dönemi entelektüel tarihi üzerine yapılan öncü çalışmalardan biridir. Araştırma, dönemin önde gelen âlimlerinden biri olan ‘Abdülhakîm Siyâlkûtî (ö. 1657) üzerinedir. Fahreddin er-Râzî (ö. 1210) sonrasında tahkîk geleneğinin önemli bir temsilcisi olan Siyâlkûtî nazari ilimlere önemli katkılar sunan bir alimdir. Bu çalışma Siyâlkûtî’yi bir Hint alimi olarak inceleyen ilk kapsamlı girişimlerden biridir; Hint entelektüel ve aklî ilmi geleneğinde rolünü ve Osmanlı entelektüel çevreleriyle ilişkilerini ortaya koyan öncü çalışmalardandır.

Bu çalışma, bahsedildiği üzere 17. yüzyılın önde gelen âlimlerinden biri olan ‘Abdülhakîm Siyâlkûtî’nin (d. 1657) entelektüel ağlarını incelemeyi ve haritalandırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Siyâlkûtî’nin hocalarını, üzerine olan etkilerini, önde gelen öğrencilerini, kendisinden etkilenen kişileri ve metinleri aracılığıyla onunla entelektüel tartışmalara girenleri kapsayan bu ağlar, Babürlü ve Osmanlı dönemleri arasındaki bilimsel ilişkileri anlamak için büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Bu arařtırmada, nitel yöntemlerle nicel analizi birleřtiren bir metodoloji kullanılmıřtır. Entelektüel aęları ortaya ıkarmak için nitel ierik analizi ve bibliyometrik analiz gibi nicel yöntemler kullanılmıřtır. Babürlü ve Osmanlı dönemleri arasındaki entelektüel etkileřimleri incelemek için Türkiye’deki Yazma Eserler Kütüphaneleri’nde yer alan Siyâlkûtî’nin eserleriyle ilgili yüzlerce el yazması ve basılı eser kullanılmıřtır. Ayrıca Babürlü sonrası bölgenin kütüphaneleri üzerine olan ilgili alıřmalar incelenmiřtir.

Bu tez, Siyâlkûtî’nin eserlerinin Hindistan ve Osmanlı topraklarındaki yayılıřını ve etkisini nicel yöntemler kullanarak analiz etmeyi ve Hindistan’dan gelen verilerin azlıęına raęmen entelektüel etkisini deęerlendirmeyi amalamaktadır. Bu amala, yazmaların ve yayınların hacmini, bulundukları yerleri ve yazım/basım tarihlerini belirlemek için kapsamlı bir veri toplama alıřması yapılmıřtır. Sonuç olarak bu alıřma Siyâlkûtî’nin eserlerinin Osmanlıdaki yayılıřının kapsamını ve etkisini daha önce görölmedięi kadar ölçmemizi saęlamıřtır. Aynı řekilde Hindistan’dan gelen verileri Siyâlkûtî’nin entelektüel etkisi hakkında önemli bilgiler edinmemize yardımcı olmuřtur.

Verilerin analizi ve sunumu, grafikler, diyagramlar, řekiller ve entelektüel aęlar dahil olmak üzere görselleřtirme araçlarının kullanılmasıyla geliřtirilmiřtir. Bu görsel temsiller, Siyâlkûtî’nin eserlerinin daęılımı, önemi ve entelektüel baęlantıları hakkında daha net bir anlayıř sahibi olmaya ve farklı zaman ve bölgelerdeki önemlerinin ayrıntılı bir karřılařtırmasına olanak tanımaktadır. Bu yeniliki yaklařım, Siyâlkûtî’nin eserlerinin Osmanlı ve Hindistan topraklarındaki yayılıřını ortaya koyarak onun entelektüel etkisine dair fikir vermektedir. Arařtırmada, Siyâlkûtî’nin önde gelen eserleri ile daha az kullanılan eserleri arasındaki fark ortaya konuldu ve eserlerin kullanım oranlarının zaman içindeki deęiřiklikleri ele alındı. Bu alıřma, Siyâlkûtî’nin entelektüel mirasının evrimini görselleřtirilmiř veriler aracılıęıyla haritalandırarak hem Hindistan’ın hem de Osmanlı İmparatorluęu’nun entelektüel tarihindeki kalıcı etkisine dair kapsamlı bir bakıř açısı sunmaktadır.

Siyâlkûtî kelim, belagat, mantık, tefsir ve fıkıh gibi eřitli alanları kapsayan eserler vermiřtir ve dönemin entelektüel tarihinde önemli yer tutmasına raęmen bugüne kadar kendisi ve alıřmaları hakkında nispeten az arařtırma yapılmıřtır. Mevcut

alışmalar deęerli olup Siyâlkûtî'nin eserlerini anlamamıza katkıda bulunsa da onun tüm disiplinlerdeki derin katkısını ve önemini tam olarak kavramak için daha kapsamlı analizlere ihtiyaç vardır.

Dahası, Siyâlkûtî'nin alışmalarından biri üzerine İngilizce yazılmış tek bir tez dışında onun hakkındaki tez ve alışmaların çoęu Arapa, Türke ve Urduca gibi Batılı olmayan dillerde yapılmıştır. Bu alışmalar genel olarak çoęaltılmamış halde tez olarak kütüphanelerde kalmıştır ve bu tezlere kolaylıkla erişilemedięi anlaşılmıştır. Bu durum, onun üzerine araştırmaların daha geniş bir kitleye ulaşmasını sınırlandırmaktadır. Ayrıca, Siyâlkûtî'yi meşhur kılan alışmaları, özellikle *Şerhu'l-Mevâkıf* hâşiyesi, *'Akā'idü'n-Nesefi* hâşiyesi, *el-'Akā'idü'l-Ađudiyye* hâşiyesi ve el-Kâfiye hâşiyesi gibi önemli eserler üzerine alışma ve analiz bulunmamaktadır.

Dolayısıyla bu alışma, Siyâlkûtî'yi, entelektüel çevresini ve kendisinin hem kendi tarihsel bağlamı içinde hem de dışındaki katkılarını kapsamlı bir şekilde inceleyen ilk girişimlerden biri olarak düşünölebilir. Hindistan'ın entelektüel yapısını analiz etmek açısından ise bu alana ışık tutan çok az alışma yapılmıştır. Ancak son zamanlarda Siyâlkûtî ve ortamı ile ilgili entelektüel eğilimleri daha iyi anlamamıza katkıda bulunan bazı alışmalar ortaya çıkmaya devam etmektedir.

Bu alışma, Siyâlkûtî'nin entelektüel yolculuęunu derinlemesine inceleyen bir entelektüel biyografidir. Araştırma, Siyâlkûtî'nin öğrenim gördüęü Hindistanlı âlimleri inceleyip onun alıştığı eserler aramaktadır. Bu eserler çağdaş İslam dünyasının akademik eğilimleriyle bağlantılıydı. Hint ortamı, özellikle yerel ulemalar ve çeşitli eserler onu seçkin bir Hint âlimi olarak nasıl şekillendirdiğini keşfetmektedir. alışma, Siyâlkûtî'nin farklı fikir akımlarına karşı eleştirel yaklaşımının veya desteęi yoluyla çeşitli entelektüel çevrelerle kurmuş olduęu aktif ilgisinin, onu kendi döneminin ve sonraki dönemlerin önde gelen âlimlerinden biri haline getirdiğini savunmaktadır.

Ek olarak alışma, Siyâlkûtî'nin eğitimi dönemindeki kısaca entelektüel gelişmeleri etkileyen sosyal-politik ortamı ele almaktadır. Bu dönem, Babürlü Devleti'nin gelişen bir imparatorluęa dönüştüęü, ve siyasi çeşitliliğin hâkim olduęu bir dönemdir.

Özellikle Ekber'in dinî ve eğitim politikalarının Müslüman entelektüellerinin aklî ilimlere odaklanmasını sağladığı ve aklî ilimlerin gelişmesini teşvik ettiği görülmüştür. Aynı zamanda, Orta Asya kökenli ve daha önce Babür'ün soydaşları olan hükümdarlarıyla bağlantılı olan Nakşibendî-Ahrârî ekolü, Babürlü Hindistan'ında etki alanı oluşturmaya çalışmıştır. Bu ekolün siyasi etkisi doğrudan sınırlı olsa da onların varlığı ve düşünceleri entelektüel ortamı şekillendirmede önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bu tür gelişmelerle birlikte, farklı tarikatların görüşleri de 16. yüzyıldan 17. yüzyıla geçiş sürecinde farklı gelişmeler ile ilerlemiştir. Mesela şariat düşüncesi öne çıkmış ve *vahdet-i vücûd* düşüncesi de yeniden tartışma konusu olmuştur. Bir yandan bu düşüncüyü (vahdet-i vücûd) savunan kapsamlı çalışmalar yapılırken bir yandan da buna karşı, özellikle Ahmed-i Sirhindî (ö. 1034/1624) tarafından *vahdet-i şühûd* düşüncesi geliştirilmişti. Siyâlkûtî'nin Siyalkot ve Lahor'da Mollâ Kemâl Keşmîrî gibi âlimlerden aldığı eğitim, bahsedilen gelişmeleri yakından takip etmesinde ve eğitim yolculuğunun şekillenmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır.

Ayrıca, bu araştırmada yerel Sünnî ve Hindistan'a gelen İranlı entelektüeller de inceleme konusu yapılmıştır. Bunun sonucunda, yerel Sünnî âlimlerin 16. yüzyılın başından aklî ilimleri önemseydiği, diğer İslamî entelektüel havzalarla irtibatlı olduğu ve kozmopolit bir ortam oluşturup dışarıdan gelenler ile uyum sağlamayı başardığı görülmüştür. Ancak henüz bu kısım üzerine yeteri kadar çalışma yapılmadığını gözlemlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte Siyâlkûtî'nin yetişmiş olduğu dönemde İranlı entelektüellerin rolü ve etkisi Hint ilmî ortamında gittikçe artmıştır. Muslihuddîn Lârî (ö. 980/1572), Mîr Fethullah Şîrâzî (ö. 997/1589) başta olmak üzere İranlı entelektüellerin Hint ilmî ortamında rolü önemli derecede artmıştır. Bu entelektüeller İran ortamında gelişen düşüncelerin ve aklî ilimler üzerine olan çalışmaların Hindistan'a getirilmesine ve eğitim sisteme dahil ettirilmesine katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Bu tür gelişmeler, Siyâlkûtî gibi birçok ulemanın yetişmesine ve aklî ilimler üzerine kapsamlı çalışmalar yapmasına büyük katkı sağladığını düşünmektedir.

Bu çalışmada ulema ve saray arasındaki ilişkiler Siyâlkûtî bağlamında incelemiştir. Bu dönemde Babürlü İmparatorların, prens ve yüksek düzeyde yer alan bürokratların ilmin gelişmesini hem maddi hem de manevi açıdan desteklediği

görülmüştür. Siyâlkûtî'nin tanınan âlim olarak ortaya çıktıktan sonra Padişah Cihangir (ö. 1627) ve daha sonra Şah Cihan'dan (ö. 1658) desteklendiğini görülmektedir. Özellikle, kendisine Şah Cihan'ın desteği o kadar büyüktü ki bu destek medrese kurması için yeterli olmuştur. Siyâlkûtî bu destek sayesinde öğrenci yetiştirmeye ve eserler vermeye devam edebilmiştir. Eserlerin neredeyse hepsini bahsi geçen Padişah'a ithaf etmiştir. Sarayda Siyâlkûtî saygılı bir entelektüel olarak karşılanmış ve hükümdara karşı herhangi bir görüşü savunabilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, birincil ve ikincil kaynakları inceleyerek Siyâlkûtî'nin yetiştirdiği öğrencileri ve yazdığı eserleri, özellikle Hint ortamında yazmaların arkasındaki hikayeleri ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır. Sonuç olarak oğullarının ve öğrencilerinin onun entelektüel yolculuğuna aklî ve naklî ilimlerde katkı sağlayarak onu XIX. yüzyıla taşıdıkları öne sürülüyor. Siyâlkûtî'nin özellikle kelim ve mantık alanındaki yazıları, Hint aklî ilim geleneğinin şekillendirmede öncü bir rol oynamıştır. İlk çalışması *'Akā'idü'n-Nesefî hâşiyesi* önemli bir çalışma olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Sonrasında *Şerhu'l-Mevâkıf hâşiyesi*, *el-'Akā'idü'l-'Adudiyye hâşiyesi*, *el-Kâfiye hâşiyesi*, *er-Risâletü's-Şemsiyye fi'l-kavâ'idü'l-mantıkiyye hâşiyesi*, *el-Mutavvel hâşiyesi* gibi onun kapsamlı çalışmaları Hint bölgesindeki ilk girişimlerden olmuştur. Bu eserler sadece Hindistan'da değil Hint dışında farklı merkezlerde, özellikle Osmanlı entelektüel ortamında önemli ilgi görmüştür. Bu eserler nesiller boyunca etkili olmuş ve yüzyıllar boyunca Osmanlı entelektüel çevrelerinde yaygın olarak kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Hatta dönemin büyük Osmanlı entelektüeli Kâtip Çelebi (ö. 1657) tarafından en iyi *hâşiyesi* olarak değerlendirilen Siyâlkûtî'nin *'Akā'idü'n-Nesefî hâşiyesi'nin* yirminci yüzyıla kadar bu konumunu koruduğu anlaşılmıştır. Bu hâşiyeye, Siyâlkûtî'yi akademik dünyada ölümsüzleştirmek için başlı başına yetecek nitelikte bir eserdir. Siyâlkûtî hâşiyeye şeklinde kaleme aldığı kapsamlı yazıları ile kendisinden önceki yazarları/düşünceleri destekleyerek ya da söz konusu yazarlara reddiye yaparak mevcut birikimle olan etkileşimini göstermiştir. Bu entelektüel alışveriş, onu yalnızca daha geniş entelektüel akımların içine yerleştirmekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda aklî ilimlerde Taftâzânî, Cürçânî ve Kutbettin el-Razi gibi önde gelen âlimlerle etkileşim kurmasını da sağlamıştır.

Bu çalışma, farklı kütüphanelerdeki el yazması eserlerin incelenmesi ve mevcut kaynakların analiz edilmesi suretiyle, özellikle XVII. yüzyılda Siyâlkûtî'nin Hindistan üzerindeki kalıcı etkisini ortaya koymuş ve onu döneminin önemli kurucu âlimlerinden biri olarak konumlandırmıştır. Benzer şekilde, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı'na (YEK) bağlı kütüphanelerde bulunan yüzlerce nüshanın incelendiği bu çalışmada, Siyâlkûtî'nin Osmanlı ilmî hayatında XX. yüzyılın başına kadar etkili olmaya devam ettiği tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca çalışma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hem merkezi hem de uzak bölgelerindeki koleksiyonlarda onun eserlerinin varlığını araştırıp bölge medreselerinde kullanıldığını ortaya koymuştur. Bununla birlikte, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Siyâlkûtî'nin önemli çalışmaları, Hindistan dahil hiçbir yerde olmadığı kadar İstanbul'daki matbaalar tarafından yayımlanmıştır. İsmail Gelenbevî (ö. 1205/1791) ve Hâlid el-Bağdâdî (ö. 1242/1827) gibi birçok âlim ve okuyucuların yazmalarında Siyâlkûtî'nin eserleriyle yoğun bir şekilde ilgilenmeleri, onun Osmanlı ilmî çevrelerinde önemini ne denli korumaya devam ettiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışma Orta Çağ Hint ilmî ortamı ve Siyâlkûtî'nin Hindistan içinde ve dışında yaptığı katkılarını açık ve net bir şekilde sunmaktadır. Çalışma gelecek çalışmalar adına hem Siyâlkûtî'nin kendisi hem de Babürlü Hint entelektüel tarihi çalışmaları için yol gösterici nitelikte olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 'Abdülhakîm Siyâlkûtî, Hint Entelektüel Tarihi, Entelektüel Biyografi, Aklî İlimleri, Babürlüler, Osmanlılar.

ABSTRACT

An Intellectual Biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1657): His Place in Hind Intellectual History and Influence upon Ottomans

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This dissertation examines the intellectual life of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1657), a prominent scholar in Baburid Hindustan, renowned for his extensive contributions to the rational sciences, *i.e.*, kalam, logic, linguistics, rhetoric, and Islamic jurisprudence from the seventeenth century onwards. It represents one of the first comprehensive studies to explore Siyālkūtī’s life and contribution to the Baburid Hind Islamic intellectual landscape. It delves into the varied socio-political and intellectual environment in which Siyālkūtī was born, raised, and made significant contributions, highlighting the scholarly and political transformations of the era that inspired him to shape his career.

The work further investigates Siyālkūtī’s intellectual journey, examining the scholars he studied with, the diversity of texts he engaged with, and how these connections to contemporary scholarly trends facilitated his emergence as a distinguished Hind scholar. It contends that his active engagement with various intellectual milieu, through either critique or support of differing viewpoints, established him as a leading scholar of his age and in subsequent periods.

This study scrutinizes both primary and secondary sources alongside the application of his works in various locations over time, exploring his contributions through his vibrant intellectual legacy and treatises. It suggests that his sons and students extended his intellectual journey into the nineteenth century across various disciplines. Similarly, his treatises played a pioneering role in the Hind scholarly tradition for an

extended period and made their way into the Ottoman intellectual sphere during his lifetime, where they were extensively utilized over the centuries.

By analyzing existing sources, including handwritten manuscripts of his works in Turkish libraries and their publications, this research demonstrates Siyālkūtī's lasting impact on Hindustan, notably in the seventeenth century, positioning him as one of the most important founding scholars of his time. Furthermore, his works remained influential in Ottoman intellectual life until the early twentieth century. Finally, the study aims to identify the cities and periods of his works' publication, exploring that the major publications occurred in the Ottoman lands—an unparalleled phenomenon, with Istanbul taking a leading role.

Keywords: ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Hind Intellectual History, Intellectual Biography, Rational Sciences, Baburid, Ottomans.

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Notes of Usage

For Arabic, Persian, and Turkish terms and names, I have followed the transliteration system developed by the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES), particularly those derived from Arabic origins. Words not originating in Arabic are left in their common academic usage, like Çelebi instead of Jalabi.

Diacritic marks for Arabic words have been used in this work, except those commonly used in English for cities, like Hejaz instead of Hijaz. The plural form of the terms is made simply by adding 's' like *ḥāshiyahs*. For place names, the English standard forms are used without diacritics. For example, 'Mecca' and 'Medina' are used instead of 'Makkah' and 'Madinah,' respectively.

All dates will include Anno Hijrah (AH), given first and then the Gregorian date/Common Era (CE). When only one date is provided, that is Gregorian one, except the dates have been used in the graphs relating to the works of Siyālkūtī and their transcription and publications as the manuscripts and published works give Anno Hijrah date. When both are used, a round figure is employed to mean a century, as their timeframes are slightly different, like the tenth/sixteenth century. I have used Turkish Historical Society's (Türk Tarih Kurumu-TTK, see <https://www.ttk.gov.tr/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/>) guide to bring Gregorian dates from Anno Hijrah.

There are some terminologies and names that are used in several formats in different works; however, we used only some specific ones, such as, 'Hindustan' (for India), 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī' (for Abdul Hakim al-Sialkoti), Siyālkūtī (for Sialkoti or Siyalkoti), maulana (for Mawlana). Some Ottoman names remain unchanged, like Carullah Efendi, and the names of the libraries and their collections remain the same as in the Turkish Language, *i.e.*, Süleymaniye.

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviated	Full name
AK Azad APRI	Shaukat Ali Khan, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts (v. III), Abul Kalam Azad, Arabic and Persian Research Institute
Algiers	Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Tome XVIII, Alger, ed. E. Fagnan, Paris 1893
Aligarh	Muslim University Library, Aligarh
AMU I	Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in Aligarh Muslim University (Vol. I)
AMU II	Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in Aligarh Muslim University (Vol. II)
AMU III	Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts of Abdul Hai Collection, Aligarh Muslim University
Bankipur	Catalogues of the Arabic MSS at Bânkipur
Bankipur I	B. Arabic Handlist by M. Abdulhamid, Patna 1918. Catalogue of the Ar. and Pers. Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, vol. IV-xix and Supplement to I, II.
Bengal	Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian books and manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compiled by Ashraf ‘Alî.
Bengal I	List of Arabic and Persian books and MSS. acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1903-07
Bengal II	List of Arabic and Persian books and MSS. acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1908-10
Buhar	Catalogue raisonné of the Buhar Library, Vol. II, Arabic MSS
Cairo	Catalogue of the Arabic books and manuscripts in the Khadiwi Kutubkhânah of Cairo, v. ii
Cairo II	Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-mawjûda bi-Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya li-ghāyat shahr September 1925 II–VI, Cairo 1345/1926–1348/1934

Calcutta	Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Kamalu'd-Din Ahmed and 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir.
Calcutta Mad.	Catalogue of the Ar. and Pers. Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Kamaluddin Ahmad and Abdul Muqtadir, with an intro- duction by E. Dension Ross, Calcutta 1905
Delhi	Hand-written Catalogue of Arabic Delhi MSS. in the India Office.
DİA	Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Kütüphanesi
Habibganj	Descriptive catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of Habibganj collection (Maulana Azad Library), V. 2
İHK	İl Halk Kütüphanesi
KHK	Kastamonu Halk Kütüphanesi
Khuda Bakhsh	Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library
Ktp.	Kütüphanane
Ktp. Bşk.	Kütüphanane Başkanlığı
Kul Ahmed	Ebu'l-Abbâs Şihâbüddin Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Ömer el-Amrî
Manch.	A. Mingana, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester 1934.
Mashh	(Oktai) Fihristi Kutubkhâne i mubāraka Āsitāniquds i Riḍawī, Mashhad 1345
McGill	Adam Gacek, Arabic Manuscripts in the Libraries of McGill University, Union Catalogue
Milli Ktp. Yazma	Milli Kütüphane Yazmalar
Mosul	Dā'ūd al-Čelebī al-Mawṣilī, K. makḥṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil, Baghdad 1927
Muhammad Ali	Maulabi Muhammad Ali Alia Madrasah Library, Makhad, Pakistan
Nadwah	Catalogues of the Arabic and Persian books and MSS. in the Library of Nadwatu'l- 'ulamâ', Lucknow.

Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des mss. arabes par de Slane, Paris 1883–95
Peshawar	Lubab al-Ma'arif al-‘ilmiyyah fī maktabat Dar al-ulūm al-Islamiyyah (A Catalogue of the Oriental Section of the Library of the Islāmiyyah College, Peshawar.) by ‘Abd al- Rahim
Pet. AM Buch.	Pet. A.M. Buch.: V.J. Beljajev, Arabskie rukopisi Bucharskoi kollektzii Aziatskavo Museja Inst. Vost. an SSSR (Trudi Inst. Vost. II), Leningrad 1932.
Pet. AMK	I. Kračkovskii, Arabskija rukopisi postupivšija v Aziatskii Musei. Ross. Akad. Nauk s Kavkazskavo fronta (Izvestija Ross. Ak. Nauk) St Petersburg, 1917
Princeton	Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library
Princeton (New)	Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library, p. 12, No. 48
Princeton Garrett	Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection: (Persian, Turkish, Indic)
Princeton I	E. Littmann, A List of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University, Pr.- Leipzig 1907
Prof. Ahmad Hasan	Personal Collection of Professor Ahmad Hasan, Head, English Department, Zamindara College, Gujrat, Pakistan
Prof. Ahmad Husain	Personal Collection of Prof. Ahmad Husain of Qiladar, Gujrat, Pakistan
Punjab	Arabic Catalogue, Arabic Manuscripts Collections, Punjab University Library, Lahore
Rabat	E. Lévi-Provençal, Les mss. ar. de Rabat (Bibl. de l'école supérieure de langue arabe et de dialectes berbères de R., Tome VII), Rabat 1922
Rampur	Catalogue of the Râmpur State Library

Rampur I	Fihrist kitāb ‘arabī, Catalogue of Arabic Books in the Rāmpūr State Library, 1902.
Rampur Raza Lib.	Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts = Fihrisü’l-mahtutati’l-Arabiyye el-mahzuneti fî mektebetü Raza birampur (ilmi’l-ımla, el-lugat, el-emsal ve’l-hikme ilmi’l-sarf ve’l-nahv. / compiled by Abusad Islahi, M. İrfan Nadwi ; introduction S.M. Azizuddin Husain. -- Rampur : Rampur Raza Library, 2015. 9. c.
Royal A.S., Bengal	Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal
Upps	C.J. Tornberg, Codices ar. pers. et turc. bibl. reg. univ. Upsaliensis, Lund 1849.
YEBM	Yazma Eserler Bölge Müdürlüğü
YEK	Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Manuscript Libraries)

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Following İbrahim Halil Üçer's advice, I took part in Mehmet Özturan's Kālam class. He, in turn, directed me to his teacher, Mollā Selahattin Yöndeş, an expert in classical Arabic relevant to Siyālkūtī's works. Mollā Yöndeş's profound knowledge and his students - Abdalbaki Sağun and Ahmet Kaylı's generous assistance were very helpful in understanding and analyzing Siyālkūtī's texts and manuscripts. İbrahim Halil Ayten's expertise in manuscript formats proved invaluable. Given the vast collection of Siyālkūtī's works at the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK), encompassing thousands of manuscripts and published copies, gathering the specific sections I needed proved impossible. However, upon İbrahim Halil Üçer's recommendation, Ferruh Özpilavcı importantly aided in acquiring the necessary materials. Halil Salman, Ahmet Kaylı, and Abdalbaki Sağun also provided invaluable guidance throughout this process. Finally, Faysal Alam and Hosne Jahan Shakila helped organize these manuscripts. Another challenge I faced was accessing theses at Al-Azhar University. While I successfully obtained one on Kalam, retrieving the other four proved difficult, even for university students who also faced access issues. Fortunately, my friend, Mohammad Nurussadat Fuad, a Master's student there, was able to locate the theses and take essential notes and share. Unfortunately, copying them was not permitted. His help was especially crucial since acquiring them myself would have been impossible. I extend my sincere gratitude to all of them.

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Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my extended family, who have been an enduring source of strength throughout my academic journey. My parents, Shahina Khatun and Abu Bakar firmly supported me during my graduate studies abroad. My siblings, Al Mahbub, and Umma Habiba, selflessly managed many responsibilities in my absence and ensured I had access to necessary books and documents. My brother-in-law, Habibullah Belali, and Hasibur Rahman also offered their kindness and assistance. My heartfelt gratitude goes to my wife, Hosne Jahan Shakila, and son, Fatih, for their patience, kindness, and support. Their untiring support was instrumental in the completion of this work.

This work is a product of collective effort. I am grateful to the many people and institutions who contributed to its success. I sincerely hope it proves valuable to future readers and researchers.



Introduction

*The garden's flowers bear witness * to the existence of the King of the Kingdoms.
They express a marvelous creation, declaring * my silence speaks louder than
words.*

*Its meanings are eloquently unveiled * revealing the enchantment of Aaron.
Through the ages, it gleams with decades * adorned with radiant splendor.
Abdul Hakīm rises, unveiling * wisdom bestowed, wondrous, and compelling.
Oh, his virtues extend far and wide * my praises fall short of his grandeur.
Countless volumes beckon, inviting * seekers to learn and benefit.
Hurry, my friend, lest I forget * my passion intoxicated by its allure.
The meaning thins within its ḥāshiyah * where abundance surpasses my sustenance.
Considering its structural completion, I said, "Hold on," *
for what al-Siyālkūtī articulated is already concluded.*

-Muḥammad b. Isma'il Shihab al-Dīn, Cairo, 1256¹

Medieval Hindustan has always been known as one of the most prominent Islamic intellectual and cultural centers in history. Scholars, Sufis, and poets from diverse backgrounds enriched the educational and cultural trends of the region. Encompassing a vast and densely populated geography, Hindustan experienced unprecedented economic growth and socio-political advancement under Muslim rule, which led to the flourishing of Hind Islamic civilization.

The Baburid era, from the early sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, represented a zenith of such governance, compressing a period of cultural renaissance and intellectual vigor that defined the last golden age of Muslim dominion in the region. During this period, Hindustan's educational and intellectual grounds nurtured numerous scholars who reached a level favorably compared with those in other Muslim learning and cultural centers like Hejaz, Cairo, Shiraz, and Istanbul. These centers, well-connected with each other, engendered distinct cultural and scholarly traditions.

¹ I extend my gratitude to Subhi Adam for assisting in conveying the poem's meaning into English. Muḥammad b. Isma'il Shihab al-Dīn, an editor, meticulously scrutinized Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Abdul Gafur Lari's ḥāshiyah on *al-Kaṭīyya*. Upon completing the task, he remarked, 'I stated, I framed, documented, and I chanted,' proceeding to compose the poem. See Abdulkakim es-Siyalkūtī, *Hāṣiye alā Hāṣiyeti 'l-Fevā'id 'z-Ziyā'iyye*. (Kahire : Rātib Hüseyin Efendi: Dāru't-Tibā'ati'l-Bāhire, 1256), 232.

Unfortunately, after a prolonged colonial experience and the emergence of modern nation-states, Hind Muslim historiography and its historical dynamics underwent a significant transformation. The focus shifted, and many scholars and their intellectual contributions, once widely known, are now often overlooked in contemporary discussions.

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1657) was one of the most prominent scholars of the Baburid golden period, specializing in several disciplines of Muslim scholarship. He is considered the most versatile scholar in the rational sciences, including kalam, logic, rhetoric, tafsīr, and Islamic jurisprudence. However, despite his contributions, Siyālkūtī remains virtually unknown in the academic and cultural spheres of the historical intellectual landscape he contributed – regions like Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. If a scholar of Siyālkūtī’s stature is lost to history, it is easy to imagine the fate of countless other scholars and their contributions. These contributions, as mentioned, have been largely sidelined in the colonial and post-colonial eras, often deemed irrelevant within the framework of independent and modern nation-states.

Thanks to the flourishing interest in intellectual history and the history of Muslim philosophy and thought, along with continuous commentary and reevaluation, Muslim scholars are increasingly motivated to revisit and explore their history. Amid this situation, many scholars and their works are expected to be newly explored and reviewed. Some regions, particularly the Turkish academic sphere, appear to be leading with various efforts. In contrast, the Hind region, known today as South Asia, is only beginning on this journey. Given these circumstances, reading, understanding, and critically analyzing the medieval Hind intellectual landscape and its scholars and their works becomes arduous. It holds especially true when examining the life and works of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, one of the most eminent scholars in the rational sciences of his time; engaging with his legacy is not merely an academic task but a series of extensive projects, each demanding a high degree of scholarly audacity and rigor.

I. Scope

i. Subject, Limit, and Boundaries

The topic of this work is “An Intellectual Biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1657): His Place in Hind Intellectual History and Influence upon Ottomans.” This study delves into the intellectual biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, one of the foremost figures in the realm of Islamic intellectual history during the 17th century. It seeks to elucidate his role in the rational sciences in Hind intellectual ground and his profound connection and influence on Ottoman intellectual life.

In this research, it is important to clarify certain extensively employed terminologies. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī is written in several forms, like ‘Abdul Hakim Sialkoti,’ and shortly ‘Sialkoti,’ ‘Siyalkuti,’ ‘Sialkuti,’ ‘Siyalkoti’ or ‘Salkoti.’ It is possible to extend it. Sometimes, it depends on the language it is being used, *i.e.*, in Turkish, it is “‘Abdülhakīm Siyâlkûtî” and ‘Siyâlkûtî’ in the short form. This work follows the original Arabic form with diacritics: ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. ‘Siyālkūtī’ is used as a shortened form.

In this research, ‘Hind’ refers to the medieval Muslim civilization encompassing Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, established with the Delhi Sultanate (11th century) and reaching its peak under the Baburids. This region is variously referred to as ‘Hind,’ ‘Hindustan,’ or ‘Hindistan’ in historical texts, and ‘Indian Subcontinent’ or simply ‘India’ in modern terms.

The period of Muslim rule in Hind is often referred to as ‘Medieval Muslim rule’ or ‘Muslim Hind.’ While ‘early modern Muslim rule’ is sometimes used, ‘medieval’ is more prevalent from a Hind historical perspective, especially regarding the Baburid era. It is important to note that modern scholarship often terms the Muslim rule established by Babur as ‘Mughal’ or ‘Baburid,’ with ‘Baburid’ being the more precise term and preferred in this work.

Regarding ‘Ottomans,’ it refers to the state of *Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmāniyye* founded by Osman. Today, it is well known as the Ottoman Empire, Islamic-Turkish civilization,

or Turk Civilization, which ruled over three continents on today's world map. Here, 'Ottomans' refers to the Ottoman intellectual life.

This research will explore Siyālkūtī's intellectual biography using various theoretical frameworks within the field of intellectual history. The goal is to comprehensively examine all facets of his life as an intellectual and evaluate the findings.

Siyālkūtī's scholarship was vast, encompassing diverse fields like theology (kalam), Quranic interpretation (tafsir), logic, rhetoric, linguistics, and Islamic jurisprudence. Numerous works by Siyālkūtī could be explored within each of these disciplines, and some might require in-depth analysis based on specific work, Islamic intellectual tradition, and disciplines. It is important to acknowledge that this research is limited by the framework of intellectual history. The essential points examined are as follows:

First and foremost, it will delve into his lifelong relationship with the acquisition and dissemination of education, as well as the advancement of knowledge through activities such as writing, critiquing, teaching, and the development of intellectual tradition.

Secondly, Siyālkūtī's life sketch will also be examined from socio-political, religious, and cultural perspectives, exploring his connections to and contributions to these disciplines within the society of his time. He was a part of a specific society, particularly during the era of Akbar, and he made efforts to develop a new religio-political trend and ideology during his youth. It is an area of investigation to determine whether his pursuit of Muslim rational sciences was self-motivated and self-regulated or influenced by the prevailing worldly (secular), liberal philosophical, and anti-Islamic ideas that held significant intellectual sway, sponsored by the court and intellectuals of various beliefs.

Thirdly, after acquiring his education, he was appointed as a teacher in Lahore and, subsequently, became the principal of a college in Agra. Evaluating whether these appointments were made for political reasons or through other educational platforms is important. Furthermore, it is widely known that he maintained relations with the court and

made several presentations. Analyzing the motives that led him to establish connections with the court is also an essential aspect that has been examined.

Fourthly, an essential aspect of his life involved disseminating knowledge through the writing of treatises and commentaries; these were the primary means of advancing knowledge. The question arises: What factors motivated him to undertake these endeavors? His unique works are considered pioneering contributions, and he played a significant role in academia within Hind madrasahs and beyond, enduring until the 20th century.

It is worth exploring whether the impetus behind these efforts was a global connection and competition to elevate the level of intellectual prestige, as often occurred among intellectuals and learning centers. Alternatively, one must consider whether political projects or motivations, whether self-regulated or prompted by court directives, drove him to engage in these scholarly pursuits. For example, he engaged in critical work on distant regions, including Ottoman scholars, who were regarded as competitors in terms of the status and respect of the two empires—the Baburid and the Ottoman. The question arises: Were political motivations encouraging him to offer critiques?

Fifthly, it is a vital task in our work to identify his place in Hind Islamic intellectual history, which has seen contributions from numerous intellectuals over the centuries. Several historians and scholars of his time and later periods have praised him as the preeminent intellectual that Hind had never before witnessed. Our endeavor seeks to substantiate this claim by examining his writings, texts, and their impact on the Muslim educational landscape in both Muslim India and beyond.

Sixthly, he was a scholar widely acknowledged not only within his homeland of Hindustan but also in the Ottoman intellectual sphere, where he sometimes garnered even greater respect and recognition. Furthermore, during the eleventh/seventeenth century, the writings of a Hind scholar reached Ottoman lands, and our research delves into how this exchange occurred. We also analyze which works of Siyālkūtī made their way to the

Ottoman realm, their roles in a foreign land, the locations where they were transcribed, their quantity, and their utilization in madrasahs and publications over time.

Finally, this work has analyzed Siyālkūtī's contributions and continuity in Hind and Ottoman intellectual spheres across three distinct phases: It examines his recognition and acceptance from Hind scholars and beyond during his lifetime. It also explores the period from his demise in 1067/1657 to the thirteenth/nineteenth century when printing began, fundamentally altering the scholarly landscape. Moreover, it finally delves into the era from the early thirteenth/nineteenth century to contemporary times. To provide a holistic perspective, we aim to comprehend the significance of his contributions up to modern times by examining the availability and use of his texts in various regions.

All the mentioned points deserve serious analysis and evaluation. However, due to limitations in resources and time, some points may receive a more in-depth discussion than others. While some points might only raise questions and potential answers, both types of analysis will be valuable for future studies on Siyālkūtī's intellectual environment and the broader intellectual history of Hindustan.

ii. Importance and Objectives

This work aims to highlight the uniqueness and holistic approach that developed and thrived in the Hind regions throughout various historical periods. It will illustrate the interconnectivity among the development of Muslim thought in different regions.

In the 17th century, a significant shift occurred as the rational sciences gained dominance, challenging the long-standing monopoly of Sufism in the advancement of knowledge. The knowledge system evolved within the existing tradition, embracing elements like Sufism and other branches of transmitted disciplines. Consequently, the rational sciences became an indispensable part of the intellectual landscape for subsequent centuries.

The primary aim and objective of this work, as mentioned, are to analyze the intellectual life of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1656), one of the most prominent Hind Muslim scholars of all ages. Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), one of the key representatives of

Muslim thought in Hind, referred to him as ‘aftab-e Punjab’ (the sun of Punjab), and Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1699) called him as the most prominent intellectual that Hindustan had even seen up to his time. An analysis of his life and contribution will help to understand medieval Hind intellectual ground and its continuity and connectivity with other foreign scholars. At the same time, the scholars are connected to his works through reading and working on them.

Siyālkūtī is well-known as the author of so many *ḥāshiyahs* and a significant representative of the post-Razi *muḥaqqiq* (verifier) tradition in the 17th century. This thesis will delve into his life within its historical context, examine his contributions across various disciplines, and analyze his role in introducing and developing educational trends with continuity. Through this work, readers will be able to explore the various channels of works that Siyālkūtī engaged in and the disciplines in which he extensively wrote that gained wide recognition among scholars. It will provide further insights into intellectual endeavors.

Siyālkūtī’s works reached different Muslim regions, including Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, where they were extensively utilized over centuries. These aspects are integral to our discussion. Subsequently, a detailed discussion on Siyālkūtī’s indispensable place in the Ottoman intellectual landscape will set the stage for future research in this direction.

Finally, This study aims to contribute to understanding seventeenth-century Islamic intellectual history by integrating it with other contemporary works, particularly Khaled El-Rouayheb’s *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb*.² El-Rouayheb’s work discusses the major scholarly developments that occurred in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb. In contrast, quality research on intellectual developments in Baburid Hindustan during the eleventh/seventeenth century is scarce. While this work focuses on an intellectual

² See Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), <http://93.174.95.29/main/E5FB928EDE151F2981A69E26DB92CE4F>.

biography, it complements El-Rouayheb's work by highlighting Siyālkūtī's status, the work claims, as the most celebrated scholar of the aforementioned period, known for his extensive contributions to the rational sciences. This study will provide valuable insights into the scholarly tradition of Baburid intellectual ground during this period, paving the way for further analysis of its connections and relationships with other intellectual centers such as Shiraz, Istanbul, and Cairo.

II. Methodology

i. Method

This study employs a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative methods with quantitative analysis. The literature review conducted thus far suggests a huge gap in research. This study appears to be one of the first attempts to present a comprehensive biography of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. Furthermore, based on the sources examined so far, it is the first attempt to study his life within the framework of intellectual history, whose theoretical explanation is discussed below. This research aims to identify his place in Muslim intellectual circles during his lifetime and after his demise, focusing on both Hindustan and the Ottoman Empire. Understanding several key points will be crucial for comprehending the methodology employed.

Hind Muslim intellectual history has its roots dating back to the 11th century. By the 16th century, when state entities actively promoted the development of rational sciences, the stage was set for a flourishing intellectual landscape in the eleventh/seventeenth century. Cities such as Lahore, Delhi, and Agra emerged as significant cultural hubs within the Muslim world, maintaining intellectual connections with other centers of learning and culture, including Hejaz, Cairo, Damascus, Shiraz, Herat, and Istanbul.

This study is dedicated to examining the scholarly relationships that existed between these centers, particularly with the Ottomans, within the context of Siyālkūtī's

works and their influence. We aim to shed light on this area of intellectual exchange for future research.

- a. An effort has been paid to portray intellectual and ego network surrounding Siyālkūtī includes his teachers and those who influenced him, as well as prominent students and individuals influenced by him and his works. Additionally, it will encompass those who engaged in intellectual debates with him. This portrayal will help future studies examine Hind intellectual ground over time and make a prosopography (a detailed study of a group of people in a particular historical period) that investigates the common characteristics of this historical group related to Siyālkūtī's circles.
- b. Analyzing available and relevant documents found in archives and libraries is crucial for uncovering intellectual networks. In our work, we examine scholarly exchanges between the Baburid and Ottoman eras using this method. Turkish libraries and archives house numerous documents, including handwritten manuscripts and published works, related to Siyālkūtī and his works. Additionally, in the post-Baburid Indian Sub-Continent, there are many documents pertaining to Ottoman scholarship. Despite our limited access to these archival resources and documents, they serve as the primary sources for analyzing the extent of Siyālkūtī's impact on Ottoman intellectual life.
- c. There is a well-known concept that the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis process offer valuable ways to develop knowledge in the modern era. These ideas have been introduced to us through the development of knowledge. When discussing the scholarly works of medieval times through rigorous critique, we aim to assess how and why they were created, how scholars maintained scholarly networks, and what principles they adopted. All these questions will be addressed briefly within the intellectual history framework.
- d. It is acknowledged that Medieval Hind intellectuality has been systematically ignored, as discussed in the source's discussion. Although 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī is regarded as the most famous intellectual of his time by many of his

contemporaneous and later scholars, he has not received the attention he deserves; even very few contemporary scholars are familiar with him. Despite the significant shortage of resources typically required for an intellectual biography, such as a substantial number of secondary works and primary resources, we are committed to following the ‘filling the gap’ procedure to complete our research. To shed light on Siyālkūtī’s intellectual biography in a holistic approach, we heavily rely on other works dedicated to scholars, intellectual development, and educational culture.

- e. The concept of the Age of Reckoning (Muhasebe Dönemi) offers a valuable framework for analyzing both the Hind intellectual ground and the works of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. One of its core ideas lies in the concept of ‘*Kānūn-ı kadīm*,’ which emphasizes embarking on a transformative journey while maintaining continuity with established traditions.³ By examining Siyālkūtī’s works and the broader intellectual landscape of Hind within this context, we can assess their level of compatibility with the Age of Reckoning’s core ideas. The concept (Age of Reckoning) provides a valuable framework for future analyses to explore Siyālkūtī’s works and their influence on the development of Muslim intellectual thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This study employs quantitative methods to analyze the treatises of Siyālkūtī, specifically focusing on the genres of *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ*, across Hindustan and the Ottoman territories in both manuscript and published forms. The methodology involves extensive data collection to ascertain the volume of manuscripts and publications, pinpointing their locations and the dates of their transcription and printing. This approach aims to elucidate the distribution and gradual dissemination of Siyālkūtī’s works within

³ It is a broad idea that could be examined in another work is expected in the coming time. Only few points would be discussed in the later discussions. See for more about the Age of Reckoning, İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “Muhasebe Dönemi: XVII. Yüzyıl: Bunalım, Toparlanma ve Tespit,” in *İslam Düşünce Atlası (İDA)*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer (Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları), accessed May 29, 2023, <https://islamdusunceatlası.org/muhasebe-donemi>.

the Ottoman regions while also acknowledging the scarcity of data from Hindustan yet recognizing its value in assessing Siyālkūtī's intellectual influence.

This study employed data visualization tools, including graphs, diagrams, figures, and intellectual network maps, to enhance data analysis and presentation. These visual representations facilitated a deeper understanding of the distribution, significance, and intellectual connections within Siyālkūtī's works. This approach enabled a detailed comparative analysis of their importance across different historical periods and geographical regions. This innovative visualization strategy revealed the spread of Siyālkūtī's works throughout the Ottoman and Hind intellectual landscapes, offering valuable insights into his intellectual influence.

Furthermore, the research distinguished between Siyālkūtī's major and lesser-known works, tracking the changes in their usage over time. By mapping the evolution of his intellectual legacy through visualized data, this study provides a comprehensive perspective on his lasting impact on the intellectual history of both the Hindustan and the Ottoman Empire.

ii. Theoretical and conceptual explanation

Theoretical and conceptual frameworks elucidate the method of study and the ground. They aim to make the research findings more acceptable, understandable, and meaningful to readers. There is no exaggeration to say that these two frameworks “give life to research.”⁴ This work aims to be done basically taking into consideration the following theoretical and conceptual frameworks:

a) Intellectual History and Intellectual Biography

Intellectual history, often known as the History of Ideas, is a new discipline in studying history that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century and is still developing. It is derived from *Kulturgeschichte* or cultural history and *geistesgeschichte*

⁴ Dickson Adom, Emad Kamil Hussein, and Joe Adu Agyem, “Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Mandatory Ingredients of a Quality Research,” *International Journal of Scientific Research* 7 (2018): 438.

or Intellectual History. Intellectual history “is the study of intellectuals, ideas, and intellectual patterns over time.”⁵

Coming to the intellectual biography, according to Paul J. Korshin (1974), it describes a certain style of inquiry or quality of biographical analysis where an intellectual biographer or historian focuses on the description of an individual’s mind, thoughts, and ideas as a means toward illuminating the subject’s life, personality, and character. Sometimes, intellectual historians need to be prosopographers as well.⁶

b) Intellectual History and its Relations with Others

“All history is the history of thought,” - R.G. Collingwood;⁷ though IH has some different techniques and systems to examine one’s scholarship, ideas and thoughts. It is connected with society, philosophy, and other disciplines, like formal and informal intellectual networks, also subject to discussion.⁸ But IH is not just a part of social history. In the same way, IH could be connected with the history of philosophy, cultural study, and international relations in regard to intellectual connections and so on.⁹ So, it is more

⁵ See, Peter E. Gordon, “What Is Intellectual History? A Frankly Partisan Introduction to a Frequently Misunderstood Field” (Harvard University, 2012), <https://ces.fas.harvard.edu/uploads/files/Reports-Articles/What-is-Intellectual-History-Essay-by-Peter-Gordon.pdf>. There are several definitions we find in the academia, almost of them are more closed as mentioned here. However, some are different, one of them R. G. Collingwood, he mentions that “all history is the history of thought,” see, W. H. Walsh, “R. G. Collingwood’s Philosophy of History,” *Philosophy* 22, no. 82 (1947): 155.

⁶ See, Paul J. Korshin, “The Development of Intellectual Biography in the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 73, no. 4 (1974): 515–23, 553.

⁷ Richard T. Vann, “Historiography,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/historiography>.

⁸ Ilker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge United Kingdom and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 3.

⁹ Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 246.

rational to regard it as a transdisciplinary or interdisciplinary study instead of an independent or specious autonomous discipline in historiography.¹⁰

c) Text and Context

When inside and outside texts are not the same, even very opposition, it needs a way out. This is an essential fact that often happens in the IH works. In this case, the concept of text and context or inside and outside need to be reexamined regarding the interaction process between language and the ground (world). The ground is textualized in many ways. Simultaneously, historians construct or reconstruct the context based on the past's "textualized" reminders.¹¹ In the case of our work, it is often observed that the scholars took place against some specific groups or rulers and made the events textualized in many ways. But, after a certain period, the same scholars maintained a good relationship with the statesmen and others. In this regard, it is important to critically examine the real causes, time, and objectives behind the two behaviors towards the same people or the same group of people. In the Baburid time, Aḥmad Sirhindī - one of the most famous Sufi scholars of his time, with a good number of scholars, opposed Akbar and his religious policy. Wherever his (Akbar) ancestors like Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb where the best patronizers of the same trend was opposed before.

d) The relationship between the author's life, intentions, and the text

It is possible to find out a relation among life, intention, speech, and the text that may go beyond and contradict each other. Life and text each may inquire the other in specific ways and can challenge the same way. When it comes to the written and lived text and works differently, it creates a vital problem in the interpretation.¹² According to Quentin Skinner (1969), the purpose of intellectual history ought to be the analysis of

¹⁰ See for more information, José María Rosales and Rosario López, "Introduction: Exploring Methodological Pluralism in Intellectual and Conceptual History," *Global Intellectual History* 6, no. 1 (2021): 1–4, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23801883.2019.1657635>.

¹¹ LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, 247.

¹² LaCapra, 257.

“what authors meant to say” in various historical grounds and communicative situations.¹³ Moreover, the time of the speech or statement is crucial because the author may have different intentions and may textualize differently in other circumstances. It also may happen when the authors write their thoughts. To bring the best possible correct ideas, the researcher must be critical of the time of being or writing. Regarding our research, it is particularly applied when Siyālkūtī, or his contemporaries and later generations, described point(s) and commented on him.

e) The relation of society and culture to texts

It is impossible to discuss one’s life without considerable reference to society and culture. These factors come to the front in connection with the time of the text, *i.e.*, before and after, and its origin, genesis and influence. In the intellectual history, “genesis” and “impact” are fundamental terminologies, and concepts are difficult to formulate properly as they are very much relative.¹⁴ Society and culture are inevitable elements of any critical work for a medieval historical analysis. When it is about intellectuals’ work, it is one of the most important factors in bringing forth a final comment. Regarding identifying the genesis and impact on society, text and its legacy play the most crucial role in portraying a holistic approach. It is important to analyze the ground, Siyālkūtī’s vast work as well as his lineage.

f) Political influence over the pen and interpretation

Interpretation is one of the most vital objectives of historians. The act of interpretation and political motivation can be seen in the past and present. Political intervention and a superior (nationalism) project complicate the historians’ task. Here, historians’ job is to clear any confusion about whether there is or was any political interference behind the intellectual project. It is important to determine whether there was

¹³ See for more information, Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 3–53, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2504188>; LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, 254.

¹⁴ See for more information, LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, 258–63.

a political motivation behind the critics and works conducted by Siyālkūtī as the two empires, Baburids and Ottomans, were a competitor to some degree and the gunpowder of that time. Relating to Siyālkūtī, a vast study is possible in this case. However, in this work, very limited discussion and analysis have been conducted that may pave the way for future works.

g) Manuscripts and Readers

During medieval times, education was a privilege reserved for a small group of people, the elite of that society. This limited the number of scholars and made it difficult to estimate the overall size of the educated population. Access to books was also scarce, further restricting participation in scholarly activities like copying important texts. Only the most learned students, experts, and professionals were entrusted with this task, since it required a high level of knowledge. As a result, finding a single manuscript in an archive today is a valuable discovery, as it likely represents just one of a small number of copies originally made. These manuscripts were meticulously preserved to ensure that their contents could benefit many.

Manuscripts frequently served as invaluable sources for generating new copies. The loss of copies was rare, highlighting the immense value placed on these texts. Estimating how frequently manuscripts changed hands and how many individuals perused them is a challenging task. However, the steady presence and increasing number of manuscripts over time underscored the increasing utilization and impact of the texts, demonstrating an exponential growth in their use.

The utilization of manuscripts adhered to a methodical and structured approach, characterized by sequential and geometric advancement as they passed from one user to the next. Each subsequent user, akin to introducing new ideas and insights systematically, contributed to the narrative in an organized manner. The continuous interaction among users resulted in the formation of a dynamic and interconnected geometric pattern. Each individual contributor played a significant role in shaping the collective knowledge preserved within the manuscript.

In this work, it is vital to analyze hundreds of manuscripts, particularly copies of Siyālkūtī's works available in Turkish and Indian Sub-Continents libraries. However, the analysis is limited but meaningful in conveying the message of impact over time on different grounds. It will help the researchers to do broad work in the coming days.

h) Connected and Shared Intellectual History: Founding Scholars and Founding Texts¹⁵

In Islamic intellectual history, particularly since the post-classical period and notably from the fifteenth century onwards, unprecedented developments occurred in Islamic scholarship. These developments had not only led to the advancement of existing works but had also resulted in the creation of entirely new trends and branches within various disciplines. For instance, 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's *al-Mawāqif* had been extensively studied and analyzed in major intellectual centers over time, with numerous works dedicated to it, including subsequent works. As a result, the author of this influential work, along with his other contributions and the intellectual environment in which he worked and taught, can be considered foundational to the development of this field. It is important to note that a founding scholar may not necessarily be associated with a single or more founding text; their recognition can extend to their various contributions. Furthermore, the status of founding scholars can vary based on specific locations, cultural and intellectual centers, and time periods. This concept illuminates the interconnectedness of Islamic intellectual traditions and the sharing of knowledge systems and provides a framework for analyzing the gradual intellectual evolution across different centers and eras. This idea has been employed multiple times in the context of this work to underscore these intellectual dynamics.

¹⁵ In reference to the notion of founding scholars, I express my gratitude to İhsan Fazlıoğlu. I had the privilege of participating in his Medeniyet Okumaları (Civilization Studies) seminar in İstanbul Medeniyet University titled "İslam Felsefe-Bilim Tarihi: Kurucu İsimler – Kurucu Şahıslar" (History of Islamic Philosophy and Science: Pioneering Figures – Foundational Works) in the Fall of 2017, where I came to know these ideas.

III. Sources

My initial enthusiasm got stumbled over the lack of readily accessible sources. Generally, it is difficult to go through medieval Muslim historical documents for many reasons. To date, as mentioned, the regions have faced many socio-political and cultural changes over the centuries. Many efforts were made to root out the previous governance (ruled by the Muslims, *i.e.*, Baburid) and socio-intellectual dimensions and replace with the new structure, law, and educational curriculum. These policies were implemented in many Muslim cities known and remembered with great fame and prosperity and played an important role as the cultural centers of learning and sciences. Many cities have completely lost their character and identity. At the same time, some still struggle to retain their historical distinctiveness since the mid-eighteenth century, when the British started governing an important part of today's Indian subcontinent. Later, the whole, Muslims and their components started facing all kinds of ignorance and socio-economic and cultural suppression as they were regarded as the main threat to the English rulers. As a result, Muslim history, civilization, and its continuity also experienced the same threat and lost the spirit and impetus in many folds. In many cases, these also caused either the destruction or bringing to an unusable level of Muslims' affiliated records, documents, and education and learning-related resources through a political will or ignorance. When it comes to intellectual history, which demands the most justified and verified information, things become more challenging.

Further, in post-colonial countries - Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan- scholars are not as interested in medieval intellectual history as they need to be. Generally, political, art and architectural history are subject to discussion to some degree. When it comes to intellectual history, few historians focused on just Sufism. Dominant entities think it is irrelevant for modern times. Though the students of the traditional madrasahs read some religious texts written in medieval times, they remained marginal and did not have a say in society in a broad sense. The British education policy developed the modern higher

education system, which ignored the local education system.¹⁶ Still, as a whole, post-colonial countries are going through the same education policy, not only that they are gradually developing it.¹⁷ This education system has successfully changed the scholars' thinking and worldview from what the ages developed traditions and experiences, creating a considerable distance. The result is medieval Muslim intellectual development remains gloomy.¹⁸

The British introduced the education system (1835 C.E.) brought English as a medium of instruction and made it an official language instead of Persian and Arabic with other local languages. This trend continues so far with little change in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. In particular, academics in Bangladesh and India do not generally have to learn either Persian or Arabic. This modern education system has created a clear barrier to medieval texts and documents. Moreover, there is a vast lack of necessary funding for organizing and preserving the archival documents in the regions. These things made the job more difficult. So, interested scholars are mainly dependent on the Western archives and colonial-era translations that led to colonial historiographies, such as Elliot and Dowson's¹⁹ poorly outdated volumes. In addition, modern Indian nationalists are also responsible to some extent, with few exceptions. Further, one can see very few works have been done in South Asian countries; only some works have been seen conducted in Western countries. Some efforts were seen in Aligarh Muslim University in the 1950s –

¹⁶ H. Woodrow, *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India: Written in the Years 1835, 1836, and 1837* (Calcutta: C. B. Lewis at the baptist mission press, 1862), 107.

¹⁷ Abdullah Al-Mamun, "19. Yüzyılda İngiltere'nin Hint-Bengal Medrese Sistemine Etkisi: Lord Macaulay Eđitim Politikası" (M.A., İstanbul, Modern History, İstanbul University, 2017), 93, <http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr:4444/ekos/TEZ/57970.pdf>.

¹⁸ See Abdullah al-Mamun, "Babürlü Altın Çağı'nın Tarihi, Tarihçileri ve Tarihyazımı: Cihangir Şah (1605-1627) ve Şah Cihan Dönemi (1628-1658)," in *Hint Altı Kıtasında Tarih Kaynakları ve Tarihyazımı*, ed. Abdulkadir Macit, Şefaattin Deniz, and Hasan Asadi, Tarih Dizisi: 2 (İstanbul: Fikir Kitap, 2024), 313–14.

¹⁹ H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 8 (London: Trübner and Co, 1867).

60s regarding medieval Hind intellectual history; however, the efforts could not continue. Hind educational and intellectual history as a whole are at a very initial level.²⁰

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, a renowned scholar, perhaps the most famous scholar in rational sciences during the Baburid golden age, has slipped through the historiographical cracks. Many famous medieval scholars have not been brought to light as they deserve. This does not mean that very few works have been conducted in medieval history. Many scholars have done many studies on politics, economics, power struggles, and so on. To our knowledge, intellectual lives and developments, particularly rational subjects, are far behind the discussion.²¹

One of the significant factors contributing to this situation is that many researchers focused on medieval history often believe that knowledge of the Persian language is sufficient for their studies. While it is true that a vast number of historical materials are available in Persian, it is essential to recognize that a substantial portion of Hind Muslim scholarship was developed and documented in the Arabic language. A prime example of this is Siyālkūtī, who composed all of his works, except one in Persian, in Arabic. Arabic served as a common language among Muslim intellectuals from various regions. Surprisingly, only a few academics are familiar even just with the name ‘Siyālkūtī.’ Among the numerous contributing factors, the insufficient emphasis on the importance of the Arabic language is also noteworthy in exploring Hind intellectual history.²²

²⁰ Raziuddin Aquil, review of *Review of Medieval India: Essays in Intellectual Thought and Culture, Vol. 1 by Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui*, by Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2 (2005): 589–91, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20477445>. See also Ahmet Aydın, *Yavana: İslam Medeniyetinin Büyük Havzası - Hint* (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınevi, 2021), 212.

²¹ Until very recent time, it is said that the introduction of medieval Hind Muslim theology (rational sciences) is being paid attention to the academia. Not only that, one can demand that there’s no significant work has been done in this area. For more, see, Asad Q. Ahmed and Reza Pourjavady, “Theology in the Indian Subcontinent,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2014), 604, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199696703.013.017>.

²² I came to know this reality from my personal conversation with Shireen Moosvi – a versatile scholar of Baburid history. I extend my thanks for her invaluable sharing.

In the same way, Siyālkūtī has been dropped by the wayside in Baburid historiography. Obviously, the Baburid Empire had a strong learning and scientific tradition that ensured the deeper investigation and critical examination of different fields of knowledge. That helped the state to go forward. Discovering Siyālkūtī's intellectual life will help fill the gap in particular and Hind Muslim intellectual history in general.

Today, can modern Western intellectuals ignore the inevitable importance of the biographies and analytical studies of the intellectual lives of their decades past important figures like Shakespeare, Hobbes, Descartes, Voltaire, John Locke, and the like? The answer is clear: they do not. The same thing should have happened for today's post-colonial independent countries. Clearly, we do not see major works, i.e., intellectual biography, and the ideas and thoughts generated on the ground. Only a few could be seen that do not represent the ground holistically. For example, important personalities like Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī, Abu'l-Faḍl, Abu'l-Faiz Faizi, 'Abd al-Qadir Badayunī, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, 'Abd al-Rahīm Khan-i Khanan, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, Mullāh Maḥmūd Jaunpurī, Chandar Bhan Brahman, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Chisti, Sa'dullah Khan, to mention just a few. They remained unexplored to a vast degree, as they deserve.²³

The sources have been accessed so far could be categorized as follows:

i. Primary Source

It includes archival resources, books, biographies, autobiographies, handwriting, bio-bibliographies, memoirs, etc., prepared during Siyālkūtī's time and near to that. In addition, Siyālkūtī's works, available both in manuscript and published form in the

²³ See for more information, Rajeev Kumar Kinra, "Secretary-Poets in Mughal India and the Ethos of Persian: The Case of Chandar Bhān Brahman ProQuest" (PhD Thesis, Illinois, The University of Chicago, 2021), 12, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/304407069/fulltextPDF/CE76B40ED59D4CBEPQ/1?accountid=131580>.

libraries, have been used within the framework of intellectual history and intellectual biography. The major sources are the following.

a. Bio-Bibliography

For medieval Hind intellectual work, the bio-bibliography bears a vital place. It is more critical when it comes to Siyālkūtī as almost all the sources have not directly enlightened us. Though a short description, he is mentioned in several bio-bibliographical works that are very valuable and meaningful for our study. Among them, the famous sources are:

Sakinat al-Auliya of Shāhzada Dara Shikoh (d. 1659) is an essential source for the Siyālkūtī study. It tells Siyālkūtī's relationship with the mystics. In this connection, the famous Sufi Miyan Mīr (d. 1635) was known to him and Siyālkūtī interviewed him. Dara Shikoh recorded one of their interviews.²⁴ Sujān Rai's *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* (1665) is one of the most important documents for the early phase of seventeenth-century scholars. It informs Siyālkūtī's stay in Lahore, his connection with the court, and Mullā 'Abdullāh al-Labīb – a son and successor of Siyālkūtī is discussed below), and his ('Abdullāh al-Labīb) education so on.²⁵

Aml-e Ṣāliḥ²⁶ of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh (d. 1675), a very important and authentic work prepared during Shāh Jahān's lifetimes that means he is the contemporary of Siyālkūtī. In the third part of this book, the life of the chief and prominent scholars of different disciplines has been placed. It also provides important notes about Siyālkūtī, like the time of his demise, characters, proficiency in religious and rational sciences, and the name of the 15 treatises.²⁷

²⁴ See Dara Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, trans. Mirza Maqbool Baig Badakhshani (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1971), 65–66.

²⁵ Sujān Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh* (Delhi: J & Sons Press, 1918), 72–73.

²⁶ Its name is Shāh Jahān Nāma, and mostly known as Aml-e Ṣāliḥ.

²⁷ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *Aml-e Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, vol. III (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1914), 381–83.

Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān's (d. 1685) *Mirat al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb* (1658-1668): Bakhtāwar Khān was a historian and court official during Aurangzeb. *Mirat* is mainly famous for its seventh part. It is one of the most important primary sources for his time's political, intellectual, and cultural history. He gives us important notes related to Siyālkūtī, like Emperor Shāh Jahān's sending him (Siyālkūtī) with Sa'dullah Khān to another famous learned person Haji Muḥammad Sa'id to convince him to have royal dignity.²⁸ It also discusses his students like 'Abd al-Aziz Akbarabadi, Mullā Muḥammad Afzal Jawnpuri, and the later's student like Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī,²⁹ 'Abdullāh al-Labīb's (son of Siyālkūtī) meeting with Emperor Aurangzeb in Ajmer and Emperor's kindness and generosity expressed to him has been discussed in detail.³⁰

Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar of Muḥammad Amīn ibn Faḍl Allāh Muḥibbī (d. 1699) gives very short but broadly meaningful comments on Siyālkūtī. It is about Siyālkūtī's position in the Baburid court, his place in the Hind scholarly life and the respect shown to him.³¹ It helps analyze Siyālkūtī's fame and reputation outside of Hindustan.

Gulām 'Ali Azad Bilgramī's (d. 1785) *Ma'athir al-Kirām* is an essential record for Medieval Hind intellectual history. A good number of intellectuals have been discussed here. Regarding Siyālkūtī's fames in Hind ground, the Emperor's gift to him, and some works have been mentioned. Furthermore, Siyālkūtī's connection with later intellectuals has been touched, which will help trace out his intellectual legacy in the region.³² Mīr Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgramī's other important work is 'Subhat al-Marjan fī Athar Hindustan.' Here also, he provides a place for Siyālkūtī. Besides some of the same

²⁸ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, vol. II (Lahore: Idara-e-Tahqiqat, University of the Punjab, 1979), 448.

²⁹ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, II:493.

³⁰ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, II:455.

³¹ Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Maktabat Khayyat, 1966).

³² Mir Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kirām* (Agra, India: Matba'a-ye Mufid-e 'Am, 1910), 233–34, 205.

information, he comments about Siyālkūtī's reaching out and being popular outside Hindustan.³³

Ghulām Sarwar's (d. 1890) *Khazinat al-Asfiyya* (V. 2) is an essential resource that talks about the value and the acceptance of Siyālkūtī's fatwa in the state with a short description.³⁴ Raḥman 'Alī's *Tazkirah 'Ulamā'-e-Hind*³⁵ (published in 1891), and 'Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī's (d. 1923) *Nuzhatu'l-Khawātir*³⁶ enlightens us by collecting almost all documents prepared before them. Hundreds of Muslim scholars and their short lives, teachers, students, and significant contributions we can know from them. Concerning Siyālkūtī, his short life, some valuable writings, his place, and a stipend from the court, along with his relations and connections with so many scholars and so on, have been discussed.

Syed Sabahuddin Abd al-Raḥman's *Bazm-e Taimuriyya* gives us important information on Siyālkūtī's son 'Abdullāh al-Labīb.³⁷ Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris Tabrizi's (d. 1954) *Rayhanat al-Adab*, is an essential modern resource for reading biographies of Muslim scholars of different disciplines. It also talks about Siyālkūtī's place among the Muslim scholars of his time, the disciplines he worked on, acceptance of his religious verdicts, relations with the Sulṭān, his teaching in Shāh Jahānabad, etc. However, it is a precious short account representing the Persian language in a broad region.³⁸

³³ Mir Ghulam Ali Azād Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān* (Beirut, Lebanon: Dār al-Rāfīdayn, 2015), 132–33.

³⁴ Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, vol. 2 (Kanpur: Munshi Naval Kishore, 1902), 351.

³⁵ Rahman Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, trans. Mohammad Ayyub Qadiri (Karachi, Pakistan: Pakistan Historical Society, 1961), 280–81.

³⁶ 'Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami' Wa'l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 5 (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999), 558.

³⁷ Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, *Bazm-e Taimuriyya* (Azamgarh, India: Matba Marife, 1948), 247.

³⁸ Muhammad 'Alī Mudarris Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Intisharat-i Khayyam, 1955), 104–5.

Faqeer Muḥammad Jhelumi's (d. 1916)' *Hada'iq al-Hanafīyyah*³⁹ published in 1886, Joseph Elian Sarkis' (d. 1932) *Mu'jam al-matbu'at al-'Arabīyah wa-al-mu'arrabah*, Mohammad Mohsen Agha Bozorg's (d. 1970) *Tabakat Aa'lam al-Shia*⁴⁰, Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī's (d. 1976) *Al-A'lām*,⁴¹ Adel Noueihed's *Mu'jamu al-Mufasssirin min Sadr al-Islam wa Hatta al-'Asr*,⁴² and Omar Riḍā Kahhala's (d. 1987) *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*,⁴³ they all give a short account with Siyālkūtī's works what are almost identical with the previous notes.

Here, we see that Siyālkūtī has been described in his lifetime and soon after his demise. Obviously, if there were some broad biographical works on contemporary times, making a critical analysis would be easier and more effective. Although these biographical sketches give us very short descriptions, they are worthy and invaluable for more analysis and examination in days to come. Moreover, later works follow the earlier works, giving us almost the same information. If Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, Suzan Rai and Muḥibbī had not mentioned the intellectuals' biographical notes, one would have wondered about the intellectuals' biblio-biographical sketch of Abdul Hai Ḥasani and his contemporaries to the date.

³⁹ Faqīr Muḥammad Jhelumi and K̲hurshīd Aḥmad Khan, *Hada'iq Al- Hanafīyyah*, Third (Lahore: Maktabah-yi Ḥasan Suhail, 1906), 235.

⁴⁰ Mohammad Mohsen Agha Bozorg', *Tabakat A'lam al-Shia*, vol. 5 (Tehran: Matba'atu'l 'Ilmiyyah, 2016), 314.

⁴¹ Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, vol. 3 (Beirut, Lebanon: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmīyah lil-Tibā'ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī, 1980), 283.

⁴² He, particularly followed Muḥibbī's note. For more information, see, Adel Noueihed, *Mu'jamu al-Mufasssirin Min Sadr al-Islam Wa Hatta al-'Asr*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Beirut, Lebanon: Muassissat Noueihedal-Saqafīyyah, 1988), 258.

⁴³ He also gives a short note about Abdullah Siyālkūtī, son of Sialkot. See, Umar Rida Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 6 (Beirut, Lebanon: Maktabat al-Muthanna, 1993), 67; Umar Rida Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 5 (Beirut, Lebanon: Maktabat al-Muthanna, 1993), 95.

b. Chronicles: Different period

*The Ain-i-Akbari*⁴⁴ is one of the essential sources for any Baburid works. However, contemporary historians seriously criticize it. As Jadunath Sarkar (hence J. N. Sarkar) argues, “Akbar was a master of detail: but here detail is pushed to the extreme.”⁴⁵ At the same time, some historians assume differently, like M. Athar Ali, argues that no other illustration is better than what Abu’l-Faḍl prepared for Baburid history.⁴⁶ It discusses the Baburid administration and the empire and gives us a cultural picture of the society. This document is vital for our work to portray the intellectual ground where and when Siyālkūtī was nourished. The *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* or *Jahāngīrnama*⁴⁷ gives us socio-political and cultural conditions during Emperor Jahāngīr (3 November 1605 – 28 October 1627). This is also an important document to study the ground, particularly how Sulṭān’s political and ideological view influences the intellectual trend.

Moreover, this is a turning point in returning or developing religio-educational policy in Delhi court after the demise of Emperor Akbar (d. 1605). This period is also critical to studying Siyālkūtī as he started working in full swing, achieved fame, and became known as an important figure to contemporary scholars. Thirdly, essential chronicles were written in the lifetime of Shāh Jahān, that is the flourishing time of Siyālkūtī.

⁴⁴ Abu’l Fazl ‘Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī*, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, trans. Col. H.S. Jarret, 1st. Pub. 1927 (reprinted 1997), vol. III (II-III together), III vols. (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1997); Abu’l Fazl ‘Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī (Munshiram)*, trans. H. Blochmann, Third, vol. 1, 3 vols. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1977).

⁴⁵ By this way he continues to question, for an example, J. N. Sarkar comments agreeing with J. R. Reid who mentions “*What trust is to be placed in the figures of the Ain-i-Akbari it is difficult to say. . . In respect to the revenue recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari it may be questioned whether it was not an ideal assessment, and whether it was ever collected for the State.*” For more details, see, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons Limited, 1935), 12, 258.

⁴⁶ M. Athar Ali, “The Use of Sources in Mughal Historiography,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5, no. 3 (1995): 370, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186300006623>.

⁴⁷ Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Jahangirnama: Or, Memoirs of Jāhāngīr.*, ed. Henry Beveridge, trans. Alexander Rogers, Second (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968).

‘Abdu’l Hamīd Lahorī’s (d. 1654) Padishāhnama/ Badshāhnama or Shāh Jahān Nāma⁴⁸ is an important source for this time. The letter was a traveller and court historian trained in Abul Fazal school. He gives us information about Shāh Jahān’s first twenty years of rule in his famous ‘Badshāhnama.’ He tells us about Siyālkūtī’s movements, like when he visited Delhi and stayed in Sialkot. Moreover, we can learn valuable information from his accounts, like Baburid court-Iran intellectual, cultural, and political relations, Emperor’s trust in him (Siyālkūtī), his visits to the court, *i.e.*, 1055 A.H. and 1056 A.H., and Emperor’s reward to him during his lifetime. It also describes the intellectual aspects of different arenas and grounds briefly. Muḥammad Waris, a student of Lahori, was responsible for completing his teacher's task and did it in 1656. It covers the post-Lahori period of Shāh Jahān’s reign. The Asiatic Society published his work as the third volume of the PadShāhnama of Lahori. Jalaluddin Tabatabai’s Padshāhnama is also an important record. He was a learned Persian scholar of Isfahan. Coming to Hindustan in 1634, he was positioned as the first court chronicle of Shāhjahan and wrote one more PadShāhnama. It covers only four years, from the emperor’s fifth to eighth regnal year.

Baburid chronicles are one of the most important official and civil records that touched upon many things of that time. We have mentioned above. In intellectual history, what we have gone through so far, almost all of these valuable records provide us with very little information. Nearly all the chronicles written with official order don’t discuss intellectuals and their development. However, in some cases, these accounts mention

⁴⁸ Before coming to Lahori’s work, it is also important to mention that the first of this kind of work as by Muḥammad Amīn bin Abul Qasīm Qazwīnī. His Badshshnama is the most glorious epoch in the accounts of the history of the golden era of Baburid Hindustan. He was a remarkable prose writer and an excellent narrator. He was the second official historian in the Baburid court and was appointed by the Emperor as his court historiographer in 1636. Covering the first ten years of Shāh Jahān’s reign, he completed it in 1638. For our work it has not been used but to build a broad ground it is important. See for more about it, Ali, “The Use of Sources in Mughal Historiography,” 366. See for ‘Abdu’l Hamīd Lahorī’s work, Milo Cleveland Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler M. Thackston, *The King of the World: The Padshahnama : An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, Azimuth edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997).

important accounts of religious and cultural views that help analyze the intellectual ground.

c. Travelers' Note

Places turn into historic sites by developing or reviving a civilization that attracts curious, rich, and intellectual personalities to move to those regions worldwide. Medieval Hindustan, so far we have come to know, was one of the most famous historical places in the world and became the target of many people of many ages. Coming to the Muslim rule in Hindustan, we see a good number of explorers scholars visited and recorded what they observed in the regions like Marco Polo (d. 1292), Ibn-e-Batuta (d. 1342), Nicolo Conti (d. 1422), Tsang Hi (d. 1431). These travelers' accounts are important to holistically portraying a historical ground. For our research, we find a good number of travelers' accounts help us denote the Hind Muslim education system, royal patronization to the development of knowledge and scholars, court education, Sufi tradition, etc. Still, whatever we have gone through, we do not find any description naming Siyālkūtī. Still, many records and letters were written in the Lahore region, where he was mainly nourished and appointed. Among the famous travelers, some are expected to be used in our research, such as the following:

François Bernier⁴⁹ (d. 1688) visited the Baburid Empire in 1656-1668 AD, and his notes are one of the most essential sources to understand the intellectual and educational ground of Siyālkūtī's time. Moreover, he recorded a chapter on Lahore, a region that is also very important for work in Sialkot.⁵⁰

Niccolao Manucci⁵¹ (d. 1717), a Venetian writer, arrived in Hindustan in 1653 and stayed until his death. He is the first-hand source of Europeans. He witnessed a long time

⁴⁹ Francois Bernier and Vincent A. Smith, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, Second edition / revised by Vincent A. Smith (S.I., India: Oxford University Press, 1916).

⁵⁰ Bernier and Smith, 383–84.

⁵¹ See for more information, Niccolao Manucci and William Irvine, *Storia Do Mogor, or, Mogul India, 1653-1708*, vol. 1–2, Indian Texts Series (London: John Murray, 1907).

Baburid rule from Shāh Jahān to Aurangzeb, Dara Shikoh, Shāh Alam, etc. Father Antonio Monserrate - a member of the first Jesuit Mission to the Baburid Court- gave essential information about Lahore, where Siyālkūtī spent a long period of his life. He commented that this city is significant in analyzing the city, as he said, “second to none, either in Asia or Europe, regarding size, population and wealth.”⁵²

In the same way, Francisco Pelsaert- a Dutch East India Company’s Factor (trav.1621-1627), Sir Terry Herbert (trav. 1629-1629), William Finch, Richard Steele and John Crowther, Thomas Coryat, Johannes De Laet, and Friar Sebastian Manrique (trav. 1640-1641) enrich us by giving important information on the ground where Siyālkūtī moved around like Lahore, Agra and Delhi. However, it is important to note that they did not concisely discuss educational institutions, Muslim scholars, and knowledge traditions. They did for the socio-cultural and infrastructural development of Lahore and other Baburid cities⁵³ and the Baburid women’s role and participation in medieval Hindustan social life.⁵⁴

It is an important question: why did travelers not touch educational and learning centers? There are several reasons we can find behind not talking about medieval Muslim scholarship, such as:

The travelers and explorers mainly came to Hindustan during Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān’s rule. This time, the Baburid court was the most stable and emerging empire based on economic development, social and intellectual achievement and attainment that Hindustan had ever observed before; that attracted many missionary activists, businessmen and traders. We can see that they came to Hindustan for their purpose and

⁵² John S. Hoyland, S. N. Banerjee, and (trans. and annot), *The Commentary of Father Monserrate: On His Journey to the Court of Akbar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), 159.

⁵³ See for more information, Mehreen Chida-Razvi, “Where Is the ‘Greatest City in the East’? The Mughal City of Lahore in European Travel Accounts (1556–1648),” in *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü, Culture and Civilization in the Middle East 47 (London ; New York: Routledge, 2015), 79–100.

⁵⁴ Nusrat Fatema, “Women in Public Life in Mughal India” (PhD, Dhaka, University of Dhaka, 2018), 254–56.

concentrated on those specific interests, *i.e.*, exploring business opportunities and business environment, examining social and economic security, etc. For this reason, they mainly noted down what they sought.

In addition, travelers generally would neglect religious institutions, *i.e.*, mosques, madrasahs, Sufi shrines etc. Medieval Muslim cities like Delhi, Lahore, Agra, and others had Islamic natures. We did not see this in the European travelers' accounts. Particularly, they intentionally missed Sufism and its influences upon Hind Muslims regardless of class, top to bottom. Emperor Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were very keen and linked themselves to this school of thought the Sheikhs for political reasons. The Europeans could ignore these events by looking at them through 'the Other' lens.⁵⁵

Finally, some travelers came as missionary activists; they paid their efforts for that purpose, *i.e.*, spreading their religious ideas, converting to Christianity, protecting the rights of the Christians, getting sympathy from the court and people, making literature in local languages, and so on. When they talked about the Muslim educational and cultural institutions, they just felt enough to describe some religious activities taking place. But they did much about the activities of Christian missions in Lahore and other places, as seen in Father Pierre du Jarric.⁵⁶ As a result, the available travelers' accounts have not been used in this work, as generally happens. However, the mentioned name and works would be helpful to portray a big intellectual and cultural ground.

d. Siyālkūtī's and Other Contemporaries' Works

It is not unexpected and surprising that not only the works of Siyālkūtī but also his name is not well known in modern academia and post-colonial independent states-

⁵⁵ See, Chida-Razvi, "Where Is the 'Greatest City in the East'? The Mughal City of Lahore in European Travel Accounts (1556–1648)," 92–93.

⁵⁶ Chida-Razvi, 93. See also al-Mamun, "Babürlü Altın Çağı'nın Tarihi, Tarihçileri ve Tarih yazımı: Cihangir Şah (1605-1627) ve Şah Cihan Dönemi (1628-1658)," 295–308, 317.

Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. Where Siyālkūtī, in his lifetime, had acquired fame and respect from the regional scholars and beyond.⁵⁷

Siyālkūtī's works and notes, particularly in the historical examination, whatever is found is very much essential for us. For example, in the introduction of his commentary on the *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* he mentioned the cause behind he took the pen. It is expected for his other works as well.

Siyālkūtī's contemporaneous scholars like Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (d. 1642), Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri (d. 1651), Dara Shikoh (d. 1659), Chandar Bhan Brahman (d. 1662) and others' letters, notes and other writing though not available much, but there is big possibility to be discovered in the days to come. That will cooperate to identify the place of Siyālkūtī broadly and the intellectual ground of his time. For example, *Zubdat al-Maqamat* of Khwaja Muḥammad Hashim Kishmi (copied in 1670) gives us vital information about Siyālkūtī's regard to him as "*Mujaddid al-f-e Thani*."⁵⁸

e. Archives and Libraries

Exploring the intellectual exchanges between the Baburid and Ottoman worlds represents a significant contribution to knowledge development, with only limited previous efforts in this direction. In this endeavor, the resources available in Hind and Ottoman archives, libraries, and rare collections have proven invaluable. Notably, Siyālkūtī's so many treatises – copies of his works are available in numerous manuscript libraries in Türkiye, particularly the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK), which has many collections all over the regions of Türkiye. They have been thoroughly examined and analyzed. Many of these collections contain manuscripts about Hindustan's varied intellectual and academic developments. The discovery and analysis

⁵⁷ See Haji Khalifa Mustafa b. Abdullah Katib Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn 'An Asāmī al-Kutub Wa al-Funūn*, vol. II (Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, 2008), 1148.

⁵⁸ Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India: In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1965), 265.

of these manuscripts could open new avenues for understanding intellectual and cultural exchanges between these two regions. This work has meticulously examined libraries and collections related to Siyālkūtī's works or associated materials. The access to the abundant resources found in Istanbul and the mentioned libraries and collections have been a tremendous asset for this research, especially in understanding Siyālkūtī's connections and the presence in the Ottoman context. Conducting such a comprehensive study would have been exceedingly challenging without this level of access.

In the context of Hindustan, this research relies on analyses conducted using libraries and catalogs from India, Pakistan, and other countries, in addition to their online resources. Most of these analyses were conducted in the modern era, primarily in the twentieth century. They provide valuable information about Siyālkūtī's significant works and the locations where his works are preserved. They often include details found on the title pages or the last pages of these works. While catalog researchers conducted their works based on their own methodologies, it is noteworthy to analyze the level of significance they attributed to Siyālkūtī's works. It is important to mention that nearly all catalog works we've accessed thus far are available in Arabic and English.

ii. Secondary Source

Secondary sources, *i.e.*, theses, books, articles, and other academic works relating to Siyālkūtī, his intellectual journey, and the ground, have been used; they are discussed in the following section.

a. Thesis

Siyālkūtī, as mentioned, was one of the most versatile scholars of Baburid Hindustan. So far as is known, no other scholar has written as extensively in the rational sciences during this period. However, as discussed before, he remains almost unknown to modern academia. Thanks to the researchers who have worked on Siyālkūtī and his works in various locations, including Türkiye, Egypt, India, and Pakistan. Unfortunately, these studies remain unpublished and are also kept in almost inaccessible places. Further, they are written primarily in Urdu, Arabic, and Turkish, with only one in English. This limited

accessibility for wider researchers also contributes to his obscurity. Here's a list of the works done on him and his works, along with a brief analysis:

Ameenullah Vaseer's⁵⁹ (1968) MA thesis entitled "Al-Risālat al-Khāqāniyya: Also Known As, Ad-Durrat Al-Thamīnah By 'abd Al-Ḥakīm Ibn Shams al-Dīn Siyālkūtī" is the earliest work of its kind and it is in English and Urdu. Particularly, it is about *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah* – a short but important original work of Siyālkūtī. The work can be divided into two parts; the first part includes an introduction to the basic ideas and concepts of Muslim intellectuality and a short description of the life and work of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, and the second part discusses the *Risalat al-Khāqāniyyah* with explanatory notes. This work shows Siyālkūtī's good connections with the Sufis and had many sittings with them, to name among the Sufis, Sufi Mian Mir, Dara Shikoh and Aḥmad Sirhindī are most famous. Siyālkūtī designated Aḥmad Sirhindī as the "*mujaddid alf-i sani*." Ameenullah Vaseer mentioned his teacher Maulana Kamāl la-Dīn Kashmīri, his contemporaries like Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī, his pupils, descendants - mainly Mawlāvi 'Abdullāh al-Labīb along with his other successors. Discussing his established institution in Sialkot with other public welfare activities, he finished cussion by giving a list of Siyālkūtī's work. In the second part, the researcher deals with the mentioned treatise- *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*; mentioning the sources of the copies of this treatise, he analyzed the variations among the copies. Finally, it was translated into English with explanatory notes. The primary sources the researcher tried to use are important for further research on Siyālkūtī and medieval Hind Muslim scholars. Later, Ameenullah Vaseer prepared the work, adding Urdu to the existing English one. The last one is a better copy for use and has been used in this work.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ameenullah Vaseer, "Al-Risālat al-Khāqāniyya: Also Known As, Ad-Durrat Al-Thamīnah By 'abd Al-Ḥakīm Ibn Shams al-Dīn Siyālkūtī" (MA, Punjab, Pakistan, Department of Arabic, Punjab University, 1968). Although later this work was published, however, it seems it remained very less familiar, see Ameenullah Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes* (Sialkot, Pakistan: Seerat Study Center, 2010).

⁶⁰ See, Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*.

Thanks to Al-Azhar University, Cairo, where five theses have been prepared on Siyālkūtī's works, marking a scholarly effort in contemporary times.⁶¹ Four focus on his *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī*, while one delves into Kalām.

Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Shafī Ibrāhīm’s (1990)⁶² work in Arabic comprehensively explores Siyālkūtī’s thoughts on Kalām, structured into three chapters. The first chapter contextualizes Hindustan’s socio-political, social, educational, and religious landscape, followed by insights into Siyālkūtī’s early life, education, and intellectual contributions.

The second chapter, focusing on Kalām’s *ilahiyat* (metaphysics), comprises eight sections:

- a. The researcher succinctly introduces theological knowledge (‘ilm), emphasizing Siyālkūtī’s view on its nobility. Siyālkūtī sees it as one of the noblest disciplines, reflecting nuanced positions on Khayālī, Jurjani, and Taftāzānī, reflecting both support and disagreement on specific aspects.
- b. The work delves into the world’s origin, briefly presenting the theologians’ view. Inspired by Siyālkūtī, it analyzes the topic, confirming his commitment to the principle of occurrence. The analysis explores the religious stance on world creation, citing modern science examples that support the theologians’ perspective.
- c. Regarding oneness, the researcher elucidates its meanings and briefly discusses theologians’ and philosophers’ reasoning. The focus is on Siyālkūtī’s efforts, emphasizing his positions on three specific points. This includes a detailed and

⁶¹ This is a noteworthy contribution to explore the works of a medieval Hind scholar, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī. However, accessing four of the five works proves challenging. One work has been collected and accessed, and, after considerable effort, my friend Mohammad Nurussadat Fuad, then MA student of that university, accessed three others, providing notes. The Al-Azhar University library imposes restrictions on copying and sharing. We express gratitude to Mohammad Nurussadat Fuad, an MA (then) student at Al-Azhar University, and other who tried to help find them.

⁶² Ibrahim Abd al-Shafi Ibrahim, “Abdul Hakim Al-Siyalkoti Wa Juhuduhu Fi ‘Ilm al-Kalam” (PhD, Cairo, Egypt, Al-Azhar University, 1990).

precise explanation of the proof of contradiction and his evaluation. The discussion extends to Ibn Rushd's stance, particularly on the proof of reluctance. Siyālkūtī's critique exposes theologians' awareness of Ibn Rushd's ideas, which they initially overlooked.

- d. Concerning affirming and denying perspectives in Islam, the work addresses the disagreement and underscores theologians' necessity to counter opposing sects. The problem of the multiplicity of attributes leads to the diversity of entities, followed by an explanation of Siyālkūtī's positions. It encompasses his discussion on Christians, precise responses to various viewpoints, clarification of Al-Ash'ari's opinion, and his tolerant stance towards those denying additional attributes.
- e. Concerning divine knowledge (al-'Ilm al-Ilahī) - a central theme in Muslim theological discussion, the work explores theologians' perspectives and delves into Siyālkūtī's contributions. His rationale for understanding God's knowledge, its connections, and unique insights are elucidated. A comparison with philosophical viewpoints, particularly Ibn Sina's, reveals distinctions. This part concludes by favoring Ghazali's perspective on the issue.
- f. Regarding the creation of the Qur'an, a historical concern among Islamic scholars, the work outlines the problem's origins, summarizes various perspectives, and elucidates Siyālkūtī's distinctive viewpoint. The chapter delves into his positions, corrections influenced by certain explanations, and his stance on groups expressing opinions on the matter.
- g. Concerning the concept of "formation" (takwīn), the researcher receives special attention in Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī's Nasfī doctrines as he is from the Hanafī school of thought and supports the Maturidite school. He reveals that this attribute stirred disagreement among the Ash'aris and Maturidites. While detailing objections raised by Siyālkūtī against deniers of this attribute and presenting his

responses, the analysis ultimately finds no conclusive evidence establishing “formation” as an attribute distinct from divine ability and will.

- h. Concerning the vision of God Almighty, explaining its meaning, general perspectives, and the disputed area, the work outlines Siyālkūtī’s positions, highlighting differences with other commentators. It also briefly touches on the occurrence of God’s vision for believers in the afterlife, noting Siyālkūtī’s stance.

In chapter three, the work examines Prophethood and the Hereafter. Concerning the Prophethood section, the work analyzes Siyālkūtī’s views on the wisdom behind sending messengers, distinctions between prophets and messengers, and his thoughts on miracles and prophet infallibility. The Hereafter section explores global perspectives and Siyālkūtī’s notable contributions.

In conclusion, this research highlights Siyālkūtī’s distinctive freedom of opinion and conviction in what he deemed right. His keen insights and non-traditional approach to explanation and analysis showcased original tendencies in his thinking. His scientific personality shone through in various *ḥāshiyahs*, where he endeavored to address problems with clarity, guidance, and fidelity to the text. This work holds significance for our dissertation. Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Shafī Ibrāhīm analyzes existing theological thoughts regarding Siyālkūtī, providing commentary, whether favorable or opposing. It serves as a valuable resource for further research on Siyālkūtī’s theological perspectives.

Jamāl Muṣṭafa ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Najjār has two works in Arabic on Siyālkūtī’s some parts of *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*.⁶³ The PhD dissertation is about lessons and analysis or

⁶³ The information on Jamāl Muṣṭafa ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Najjār's two works, both dated 2005 and identified as PhD theses, appears inconsistent. One source indicates one as a PhD thesis (Min Awwal al-Fātiha Ila Qawlihi Ta’ala ‘Khatam Allahu ‘ala Qulubihim Wa ‘Ala Sam’ihim...’), suggesting a potential error in recording the other, possibly an MA thesis, during data entry into the system. However, observing the title and range of the work, it is not impossible to happen the opposite. So, though supporting account is being regarded as the PhD work, it demands another examination of the source itself. See Jamāl Muṣṭafa ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Najjār, “Ḥāshiyah Al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala Tafsīr al-Qadī Baiḍāwī Min Awwal al-Fātiha Ila Qawlihi Ta’ālā “Khatam Allāhu ‘Ala Qulūbihim Wa ‘ala Sam ‘ihim...” (Surah Al-Baqarah: Dirāsah Wa Taḥqīq)” (PhD, Cairo, Egypt, Al-Azhar University, 2005),

examination (*taḥqīq*) on the Sura al-Fatiha and up to the seventh verse of Sura al-Baqarah about Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. Before delving into this work, it is noteworthy that a similar structure is observed in works on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* from Al-Azhar University. They commence with a discussion covering Siyālkūtī's life, birthplace, and the significance of the Quran, its tafsīr tradition, and *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*'s intellectual importance. Subsequently, they focus on specific verses commented upon by Siyālkūtī, providing an evaluation. Al-Najjār's work⁶⁴ adheres to this pattern, underscoring the necessity of Siyālkūtī's composition on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* and highlighting his enlightened thinking, diverse knowledge, and distinctive approach. The discussion extends to Siyālkūtī's examination of matters related to creed, rhetoric, grammar, logic, and more, resulting in a comprehensive format. Engaging in its verification proves highly beneficial for students of knowledge. The work also underscores Siyālkūtī's approach to verifying hadith, presenting readings, and addressing grammar, morphology, and rhetoric issues. Finally, it delves into interpreting the mentioned verse in Surah al-Baqarah.⁶⁵

Jamāl Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Najjār's other work is about a part of Sura al-Baqarah (Ata'muruna al-Nasa Bi al-Birri ila Ākhir al-Juz - I).⁶⁶ This work, along with the

<http://thesis.mandumah.com/Record/98325>. And for the most possible MA thesis, see Jamāl Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Najjār, "Ḥāshiyah Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī 'ala Tafsīr al-Qadī Baiḍāwī Min Awwal Qawlihi Ta'ālā 'Ata'muruna al-Nāsa Bi al-Birr' Ila Ākhir al-Juz' al-Awwal Min al-Quran al-Karīm: Dirāsah Wa Taḥqīq" (PhD, Cairo, Egypt, Al-Azhar University, 2005), <http://thesis.mandumah.com/Record/98585>.

⁶⁴ al-Najjār, "Ḥāshiyah Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī 'ala Tafsīr al-Qadī Baiḍāwī Min Awwal al-Fātiha Ila Qawlihi Ta'ālā "Khatam Allāhu 'Ala Qulūbihim Wa 'ala Sam 'ihim..." (Surah Al-Baqarah: Dirāsah Wa Taḥqīq)."

⁶⁵ See 'Abd al-Tawwāb Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibrahim, "Mulakhass Bi Al-Rasail al-Ilmiyya Wal-Abhath: Ḥāshiya al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī 'alā Tafsīr al-Qadī al-Bayḍāwī Min Awwaliḥā Ilā Qawlihi Ta'ālā (Khatam Allāh 'alā Qulūbihim Wa 'alā Sam 'ihim...) al-Āyah al-Sābi'ah Min Sūrat al-Baqarah: Dirāsah Wa Taḥqīq (Mu'allif: Jamal Mustafa Abdul Hamid Al-Najjar)" (Najran University, Saudi Arabia), accessed November 26, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3GiC3yy>.

⁶⁶ See al-Najjār, "Ḥāshiyah Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī 'ala Tafsīr al-Qadī Baiḍāwī Min Awwal Qawlihi Ta'ālā 'Ata'muruna al-Nāsa Bi al-Birr' Ila Ākhir al-Juz' al-Awwal Min al-Quran al-Karīm: Dirāsah Wa Taḥqīq."

mentioned common discussions, talks about Siyālkūtī's hadith verification methodology, use of *usul al-Fiqh* and other disciplines followed in his *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. This work also examines differences in the texts between al-Bayḍāwī and Siyālkūtī. Al-Najjār adds the discussion of al-Kashshaf and *sharḥ* al-Kashshaf of Taftāzānī relating to the discussion of Siyālkūtī.

Finally, Maḥmūd Lutfī Muḥammad Jad (2004)⁶⁷ and 'Abd al-Badee Abu Hashim Muḥammad's (2005)⁶⁸ works in Arabic adhere to the mentioned structure, delving into discussions on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah*, focusing on Sura Baqarah 142-189 and 189-229 respectively.

These works, though important in any way, are notably deficient in critical analysis and lack substantial recommendations. Significantly, the simultaneous execution of three studies between 2004-2005 within the same institution reveals strikingly similar analyses and findings. It suggests a need for diversified perspectives and more in-depth scrutiny in future research endeavors.

Nahim-Un-Nisa's (1997)⁶⁹ work is in Urdu, is one of the primary works to introduce Siyālkūtī. Describing Siyālkūtī's primary life, it deals with the contemporary scholars of Siyālkūtī *i.e.*, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī etc. The writer simply finishes mentioning their life and contribution without major critiques and intellectual debates among contemporary scholars. It would be relevant if scholars' life and activities were connected with Siyālkūtī's contribution. And the most important, it discusses, though shortly, about Siyālkūtī's scientific and literary achievements like

⁶⁷ Mahmud Lutfi Muhammad Jad, "Hashiyah Al-Sheikh Abdul Hakim al-Siyalkoti 'ala Tafsir al-Qadi al-Baydawi Min Awwal Qawlihi Ta'ala 'Sayaqoolu al-Sufaha'u Min al-Nas' Ila Qawlihi Ta'ala 'Yas' aloonaka 'an al-Ahillah' Min Surah Al-Baqarah (Dirasah Wa Tahqiq)" (MA, Cairo, Egypt, Al-Azhar University, 2004).

⁶⁸ Abdul Badee Abu Hashim Muhammad, "Hashiyah Al-Shaikh Abdul Hakim Al-Siyalkoti 'ala Tafsir al-Qadi Al-Baydawi Min Awwal Qawlihi Ta'ala 'Yas' aloonaka 'ani'l-Ahillah' Ila 'al-Talaq Marratain' Min Surah Al-Baqarah (Dirasah Wa Tahqiq)" (MA, Cairo, Egypt, Al-Azhar University, 2005).

⁶⁹ Nahim-Un-Nisa, "Moulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti (d. 1067 A.D.): Life and Works, PhD Thesis" (PhD Thesis, Aligarh, India, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, 1997).

commentary, Islamic jurisprudence, kalām, logic and philosophy, Arabic grammar and rhetoric, future textbook-particularly the *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*, and so on. Finally, the researcher tries to find his place regarding the commentary, Islamic jurisprudence, and literature, and concludes him as a distinguished scholar of Islam both in the transmitted and rational subject. It seems that this work has been done within the framework of the Arabic literature department and finished with little intellectual debate.

Āsif ‘Alī Razā’s⁷⁰ (2017) work in Arabic discusses about Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Muṭawwal* emphasizing on the method (*manhaj*) that he applied in his work. Perhaps it is the first effort to introduce Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Muṭawwal*. The researcher tries to define what and how Siyālkūtī prepared his work. Discussing about Siyālkūtī, he talks about *Muṭawwal* and its intellectual milieu relating to Siyālkūtī, and its place in Arabic rhetoric (*balāghat*). Then he comes to the work of Siyālkūtī and the way he worked. And Finally, perhaps the most important part is the comparison of the works between Siyālkūtī and other scholars of this trend, *i.e.*, Jurjāni, Hasan Çelebi, and Yar Muḥammad Khān. The work ends with some historians’ comments on Siyālkūtī. This work would be helpful for preparing more comprehensive work on Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Muṭawwal* as well as to examine the contemporary intellectual tradition in rhetoric. Its sources will help to get a pathway to work on Siyālkūtī and Hind intellectual history.

Fatih Kiliç⁷¹ (2014) basically made his work (in Turkish) upon Siyālkūtī’s gloss on the gloss of ‘Abd al-Gafūr al-Lārī on *al-Fawa’id al-Diya’iyya* of Mollā Jāmī. Describing the Muslim intellectual tradition of commentary and gloss with a note on Mollā Jāmī’s commentary on *al-Kāfiya* and its characteristics, he opened a discussion on Siyālkūtī. Here, Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on ‘Abd al-Gafūr Lārī’s *ḥāshiyah*, some of its

⁷⁰ Al-Ḥāfiz Āsif ‘Alī Razā, “Manhaj al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī fī ḥāshiyah ‘alā’l-Muṭawwal” (PhD Thesis, Faisalabad, Pakistan, Dept. of Arabic Language and Literature, University of Faisalabad, 2017).

⁷¹ Fatih Kiliç, “Abdü’l-Hakīm es-Siyalkûtî ve ‘Hâşiyetü Siyalkûtî ‘Alâ Hâşiyeti Abdi’l-ğafūr ‘Ale’l-Fevâidi’z-Ziyâiyye” (MA Thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2014), http://earsiv.atauni.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/983/fatih_k%C4%B1%C4%B1%C3%A7_tez.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

chapters including introduction, common and different understanding in between the two, their verifications, and ambiguous comments have been analyzed based on ‘*naḥw*’ (syntax); and finally, an evaluation of the study has been presented. This work also touches upon the syllabus and academic curriculum of classical madrasah and the necessity of commentary and gloss with the importance of the temporary time and mentions the present perception that does not emphasize these sorts of work. This work may be defined as preliminary work on Siyālkūtī’s arguments upon the mentioned gloss.

Mesut Emir⁷² (2019) examines (in Turkish) Siyālkūtī as a *muḥaqqiq* (verifier), particularly on one of his treatises, the *Risāla al-Khāqānīya*. He mainly argues into three points, *i.e.*, concerning the existence’ conceptions, Siyālkūtī compared the ontologies between philosophy and theological schools. About epistemology of existence which differs to the ontologies, he commented that “the types of existential and mental perception are thoroughly questioned.” And finally, he observes divine knowledge and its place and essence that is developed following the theory of emanation (*sudur*) has been analyzed; particularly, the mystical approach has been taken into consideration.

Othman Saadi Ahmed’s⁷³ (2021) work in Arabic on Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a min al-Tawḍīh wa al-Talwīh*. It is an introductory effort to explore Siyālkūtī in Islamic jurisprudence. Describing the importance of *Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a*, its history, it tries to talk about Siyālkūtī’s role and contribution to the milieu.

In conclusion, it could be said that all these dissertations are invaluable for exploring Siyālkūtī’s lasting influence on Islamic scholarship across various regions. However, some researchers might critique these works for potentially lacking rigorous quality control and critical analysis. It is also important to acknowledge the cumulative nature of academic development; each new work builds upon the previous ones, paving

⁷² Mesut Emir, “Abdūlhakīm Es-Siyālkūtī’Nin Fī’l-Ilmi’l-Ilāhī Adlı Risalesinin Tahkik Ve Tahlili” (M. A., Istanbul, Turkey, Marmara University, 2019).

⁷³ Othman Saadi Ahmed, “Ḥāshiyah ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala Muqaddimatu’l-Arba’a min al-Tawḍīh wa al-Talwīh (dirāsah wa taḥqīq)” (MA Thesis, Aksaray, Türkiye, Dept. of Basic Islamic Sciences, Aksaray University, 2021).

the way for further advancements. Siyālkūtī's diverse affiliations and contributions to numerous disciplines warrant extensive and ongoing research. This necessitates critical examinations of his mission and works, alongside a parallel exploration of the intellectual landscape of Baburid Hindustan, its interconnectedness, and its integration with other scholarly centers. All these endeavors will contribute significantly to achieving this goal.

b. Books and Articles

One book in Urdu is available on 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī along with the history of Sialkot and important personalities of the city. Muḥammad al-Dīn Fawq's *Aftab-e Punjab*⁷⁴ (the Sun of Punjab) is an important document that gives us a short description of Siyālkūtī's life and the famous personalities of Sialkot with a concise history of Sialkot.

Besides this, many scholarly works help portray the Baburid intellectual ground. Among them, Aziz Aḥmed's *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*,⁷⁵ Shankar A. Nair's *Philosophy in Any Language: Interaction between Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian Intellectual Cultures in Mughal South Asia*,⁷⁶ Khaled El-Rouayheb's *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*,⁷⁷ Hamid Naseem's *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*,⁷⁸ Francis Robinson's⁷⁹ *The 'ulamā' of Farangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in*

⁷⁴ Muhammad al-Din Fawq, *Aftab-e Punjab: Sawanih Hayat-e 'Allama 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Ma'a Musahaheer Tarikh-e Sialkot*, Third (Sialkot, Lahore: Tahsil-e Bazar, 2009).

⁷⁵ Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Islamic Surveys 7 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U.P, 1969).

⁷⁶ Shankar Ayillath Nair, "Philosophy in Any Language: Interaction between Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian Intellectual Cultures in Mughal South Asia" (PhD, Harvard University, 2014), <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/11744430>.

⁷⁷ Khaled El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)* (mbassador GmbH, 2019).

⁷⁸ Hamid Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 1. ed (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2001).

⁷⁹ Francis Robinson, *The 'Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).

South Asia, especially works of Muzaffar Alam,⁸⁰ Abdul Hai Hasani,⁸¹ Asad Ahmed,⁸² Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi,⁸³ and Zubaid Ahmed⁸⁴ have been used to analyze the ground and to explore a place of Siyālkūtī. Although there are a few descriptions relating to Siyālkūtī directly, they have been a great help; even without these works, our dissertation would not be possible.

The academic articles published in academic journals and proceedings, it is observed, based on what we have accessed so far, on Siyālkūtī and his work, no major article has been published in web of science and Scopus.⁸⁵ However, few articles are seen

⁸⁰ Muzaffar Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 135–74, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X07003253>; Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Frank Disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir (1608–11),” *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 46, no. 4 (October 1, 2009): 457–511, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001946460904600401>.

⁸¹ ‘Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami’ Wa’l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 4, 8 vols. (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999); *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999; *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami’ Wa’l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 6, 8 vols. (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999); *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami’ Wa’l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 7, 8 vols. (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999); ‘Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind* (Cairo: Hindawi, 2015), <https://www.hindawi.org/books/70930825/>.

⁸² Asad Q. Ahmed, “The Mawāqif of ‘Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India,” in *Philosophical Theology in Islam: Later Ash‘arism East and West*, ed. Ayman Shihadeh and Jan Thiele, *Islamicate Intellectual History*, vol. 5 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2020); *Palimpsests of Themselves: Logic and Commentary in Postclassical Muslim South Asia*, Berkeley Series in Postclassical Islamic Scholarship 5 (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022); “Faḍl-i Imām Khayrābādī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (Brill, April 1, 2015), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/fadl-i-imam-khayrabadi-COM_26908?lang=fr; Ahmed and Pourjavady, “Theology in the Indian Subcontinent,” 2014; “Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration,” in *Law and Tradition in Classical Islamic Thought: Studies in Honor of Professor Hossein Modarressi*, ed. Michael Cook et al., First edition, Palgrave Series in Islamic Theology, Law, and History (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁸³ Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, Second, vol. III, 4 vols. (Lucknow, India: Islamic Research and Publication, 1994); *Saviours of Islamic Spirit Volume 4* (Lucknow, India: Islamic Research and Publication, 1992).

⁸⁴ M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857*, First Edition 1946, Reprinted in 1968 (Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1968).

⁸⁵ Web of science and Scopus, both are world famous peer-reviewed academic journals’ publishers of science, social sciences and other disciplines of knowledge. A good number of countries’ academia consider it as the medium of measurement and evaluation for the academics.

in the conference proceedings, journal, and book chapters. Asif Ali Raza (2020)⁸⁶ explores the relationship between Siyālkūtī and Aḥmad Sirhindī with some important historical facts, *i.e.*, their teacher Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīr and Lahore ground, internal connections and so on.

Kubra Şenel (2017)⁸⁷ observes Siyālkūtī's view on mental existence. She comments that he followed the lines of Sayyid Sharīf Jurjāni regarding mental existence. And, concerning the knowledge of God and the cosmic mind, she remarks, Siyālkūtī criticized Dawwānī (d. 1502), particularly when it comes to the knowledge of God. Accordingly, it opposes (the mental existence) not only to the outside but to the steady in the mentality and outside. Siyālkūtī agrees with Farabī's *Ta'likat* regarding the level of the knowledge (whether it is limited or beyond) of God.

Zubaid Aḥmad (1946)⁸⁸, though his research is not on Siyālkūtī only, comments on him and his area of expertise. He mentions several works of Siyālkūtī and comments on him. Most importantly, he brought so many scholars and their works to light, which is very important for understanding the ground and gradual developments over time. As mentioned, this is a good work for Hind intellectual history, particularly in analyzing works done in Arabic

Shabbir Aḥmad's (1964)⁸⁹ work discusses Siyālkūtī's identity and fame and comments on his famous treatise Addurrat ul-Thaminah, dedicated to the emperor Shāh Jahān. He brought to light the theological side of this treatise, its historical background,

⁸⁶ Asif Ali Raza, "Mutual Relationship of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandi and Mulla Abd Al-Hakim Sialkoti: A Historical Review," no. 13 (2020): 50–65.

⁸⁷ Kubra Şenel, "Siyālkūtī'nin Zihnî Varlık Tasavvuru," in *Sahn-ı Semân'dan Dârülfünûn'a Osmanlı'da ilim ve fikir dünyası: âlimler, müesseseler ve fikrî eserler XVII. yüzyıl*, ed. Ahmet Hamdi Furat et al., 1. baskı, Zeytinburnu Belediyesi kültür yayınları, no. 53 (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 493–506, http://www.zeytinburnu.istanbul/Document/FileManager/Sahn%C4%B1_Seman_2.pdf.

⁸⁸ M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857* (Maktaba-I-Din-O-Danish, 1946); Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*.

⁸⁹ Shabbir Ahmad, "The 'Addurrat Ul-Thaminah' of Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot.," *The Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 1, Part II, no. 1 (July 1964): 47–78.

and synopsis. Finally, this work was based on primary information that helps the researchers as pathfinders.

Qadīrah Salīm⁹⁰ (2008) gives a short introduction to Siyālkūtī with his works. Besides these academic works, some encyclopedia articles or notes are available on Siyālkūtī. Concerning discovering the intellectual ground, we depend on the research works on the educational system, the process of knowledge development, intellectuals' lives, circulations of knowledge, economic conditions and patronizations, internationalization of knowledge exchange, religion and power, stability, political strength, etc. It is well known that there are many works on economic, political, and cultural medieval history. As mentioned, there is a significant shortage of educational and intellectual work.

Coming to an assessment that before the demise of Siyālkūtī, scholars from different parts of the world started mentioning him, either acknowledging his works or making criticism. Many biography writers and historians of his time afterward described him by lauding him. It is clear from the above discussions. More importantly, within the hundred years of his death, we see a good number of his writings in the Ottoman land had been copied through the hand-writing process as it was the common trend of that time. Besides many Hind Muslim cities where Siyālkūtī's works had been spread out, other Muslim centers like Cairo and Hejaz also introduced the personality of Siyālkūtī and his work.

The colonial rule of Hindustan (the Indian subcontinent) and its education policies directly impacted the intellectual landscape and traditions of Hind. As a result, Hind scholars and students gradually shifted their educational practices for various reasons. Until the early 20th century, discussions included Siyālkūtī and most medieval scholars. However, with the rise of reformist Muslims establishing modern Muslim educational institutions, a new trend emerged alongside the British-established secular education

⁹⁰ Qadeera Saleem, "Mulla Abdul Hakim Al-Siyalkuti al-Kashmiri Wa Ihtimamatihi Bi'l-Lugati'l-'Arabiyyah Min Khilali Muwallifatihi'l-'Ilmiyyah Wa'l-Fikriyyah," *Afaq Wa 'Thafaqah Wa 'Turas*, no. 62 (2008): 83–105.

system. Consequently, many founding Hind Muslim scholars became relegated to limited discussion within non-official educational spheres.

Furthermore, substantial investment in the modern educational curriculum, coupled with British policies targeting traditional madrasah education, significantly marginalized the traditional Muslim educational system and its curriculum. This marginalization, as mentioned, is evident in the decline of discussions surrounding the founding scholars, learning centers, and educational systems of the past in contemporary times. The persistence of the British-established education system in the post-colonial era further contributed to the downgrading of these historical elements. Consequently, these founding scholars' stories, institutions, and rich history have faded from prominence. The cases of Siyālkūtī and Lahore, where he stayed, exemplify this trend.

Finally, Siyālkūtī and his works have prevailed in academia for a long time, though less used. Still, it is seen that there are hundreds of manuscripts and published works related to Siyālkūtī are in Turkish libraries, archives, and madrasah. The same thing can be claimed for Hindustan, Pakistan, and Cairo. Perhaps they will be explored in the coming days and will pave the way to build a holistic history.

IV. Chapter Summary

The dissertation consists of three chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion with several appendixes. The introduction discusses the subjects of this work, its objectives, and its implications, along with the methodology applied and analysis of sources used in the work.

The first chapter, exploring the early life and education of Siyālkūtī, looks for the factors that directly influenced Siyālkūtī to become a prominent Hind scholar in Hind Islamic intellectual history. From his early years in Sialkot, where he was born and spent a significant part of his youth, the narrative delves into his identity, family, teachers, and mentor. Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī, an almost undiscovered yet versatile Hind scholar, played a key role in shaping scholars like Siyālkūtī and Aḥmad Sirhindī. The discussion

broadens to encompass Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's teachers, intellectual trends, family lineage, and subsequent connections. Further, the chapter introduces other teachers of Siyālkūtī, including 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī (958–1052/1551–1642), 'Abd al-Salām al-Kirmānī al-Diwah (d. 1039/1629-30), and Shaykh Daniyāl of Chawrasa. It also aims to see the texts Siyālkūtī went through during his education. The concluding section explores Siyālkūtī's intellectual lineage through his successors, analyzing the contributions of his sons, grandsons, students, and their successors. The analysis highlights the intellectual contributions of Siyālkūtī's son 'Abdullāh al-Labīb, and subsequent generations, underscoring their pivotal role in intellectual development. Siyālkūtī's impactful mentorship in cultivating numerous students and their roles in the Hind intellectual landscape is explored.

The second chapter analyzes 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī's cultural and intellectual context shortly, particularly during his early life in the late tenth/sixteenth century (up to 1600). This period encompasses his study with teachers and the decision to delve into rational sciences, marking the inception of his intellectual career. The chapter explores various aspects of the developments that inspired and propelled him towards becoming a prominent scholar.

The primary examination focuses on the prevailing Sufī landscape, a dominant religious, cultural, and educational force. Despite the existence of several Sufī schools of thought, the Naqshbandī, with some participation from Chisti orders, played pivotal roles in shaping a new paradigm in the Sufī thinking system. Sufi Shaykhs sought to influence the Baburid rulers, employing methods aligned with Central Asia's established Naqshbandī–Aḥrārī tradition, specifically in socio-political contexts. It delves into these dynamics and discusses new developments within Sufī groups, particularly the contributions of Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh. These led to a shift in emphasizing *sharī'a* in Sufi ideas and practices during the early eleventh/seventeenth century. Furthermore, the chapter explores debates centered around *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, with subsequent developments like *waḥdat al-shuhūd*. It aims to show how these developments paved the way for Siyālkūtī's engagement with rational sciences.

Later, the chapter delves into developments of rational subjects in the Hind ground, tracing the rational consciousness from the early Baburid era to the seventeenth century (1600), coinciding with Siyālkūtī's education and early career. This arena remains less explored in Hind Muslim intellectual history, with very limited works on pre-Baburid intellectual development. It deserves big work and huge analysis. The study briefly addresses the presence and nature of Muslim rational sciences during the pre-Baburid period, which is crucial for understanding the intellectual legacy.

This segment highlights the essential need to illuminate intellectual developments alongside socio-political, religious, and cultural shifts in Baburid Hindustan during the tenth/sixteenth century. The intricate discussion addresses major factors in raising awareness among students, including Siyālkūtī. It emphasizes the emergence of rational sciences, influencing and integrating holistically with other disciplines. Factors such as political stability, rational motivation, the remarkable role of local and foreign scholars (especially Iranian), educational curriculum development, the evolution of the Sanskrit language, and the emergence of an educated bureaucracy are meticulously examined. It shows how Siyālkūtī was raised amid these developments and possible affiliation with them.

Then, the discussion goes on to explore the relationship between the Baburid court and scholars, with a specific focus on Siyālkūtī. Finally, it briefly examines the intellectual interconnectedness between Hindustan and other centers, including Hejaz, Cairo, Damascus, and Istanbul. This part also demands huge exploration using archival and primary sources.

The third chapter discusses the Siyālkūtī's enduring influence on Islamic intellectual history. It delves into Siyālkūtī's profound impact on Islamic intellectual history. It meticulously examines his extensive treatises encompassing various branches of knowledge, including Kalam, logic, usul al-fiqh, syntax, rhetoric, tafsir, and tasawwuf. It explores the potential motivations behind the composition of these works within the specific context of Hindustan and the historical circumstances surrounding their creation. Furthermore, the chapter investigates the utilization of these works in both Hind and other

intellectual centers like the Hejaz and the Ottoman Empire, considering different historical periods. It analyzes the scholars who engaged with Siyālkūtī's writings and the reach of these texts throughout Islamic intellectual circles. It also observes the longevity of the demand for Siyālkūtī's works, exploring the geographical distribution and quantity of available manuscripts and printed editions. Further, it tries to explore the awards and the opportunities that the court provided Siyālkūtī and the causes behind it. Finally, it assesses Siyālkūtī's standing within the broader landscape of Hind scholarship and comprehensively analyzes the level of his influence on Ottoman intellectual life, as evidenced by the widespread use of his texts.

In conclusion, this work evaluates all the discussions and shows possible works that would occur in the future relating to this milieu. Moreover, the work ends by providing several necessary appendixes.

V. Limitation

As noted earlier, researching Siyālkūtī's life and works comprehensively is a significant undertaking. Each of his works merits extensive analysis to grasp his contributions fully. The timing of this research, coinciding with the COVID-19 pandemic, presented substantial challenges. The pandemic significantly disrupted academic life, making it difficult to travel to various locations to access primary sources and gain a deeper understanding of the context in which Siyālkūtī lived and worked. These limitations are difficult to overcome entirely through alternative methods.

At the outset, I encountered language barriers related to Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. My prior language skills proved insufficient for in-depth research. Consequently, I required assistance from various experts. While this work incorporates many valuable resources, time and scope constraints unfortunately limited the inclusion of additional materials.

A significant aspect of this research involves analyzing Siyālkūtī's influence on Ottoman intellectual life. While progress was made by examining his texts, manuscripts

and printed forms, available at the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association's (YEK) collections, access to original manuscripts and historical documents in Indian and Pakistani libraries would have provided a richer and more nuanced understanding. Unfortunately, these primary sources were not accessible for the present study, although their catalogs and relevant secondary literature were consulted. Undoubtedly, the manuscripts held in those libraries likely contain significant information that could contribute to a more comprehensive analysis of Siyālkūtī. This limitation highlights the potential wealth of information residing in these collections. Again, though a comprehensive analysis of major library catalogs was conducted, it is certain that undocumented or undiscovered works by Siyālkūtī or relating to him may still exist. On-site research in archives, libraries, and rare collections across India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, England, and potentially the Middle East (particularly Cairo, the Hejaz, and Damascus) would undoubtedly yield invaluable insights for future scholarship. Finally, due to time limitations and scope constraints, much information could not be incorporated into this work. This information can be explored in future studies. This work, therefore, serves as one of the initial endeavors exploring Siyālkūtī's life and contributions, paving the way for further investigation.

Chapter One: The Making of a Hind Intellectual: Early Years and Career

I. Early Years

i. Birth

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī gained renown for his significant contributions to the development of knowledge in kalām, philosophy, logic, jurisprudence, tradition, and exegesis. His influence extended far beyond Hind, reaching regions such as Hijaz, Bukhara, Istanbul, Egypt, and Morocco during his lifetime. His full name is ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm b. al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Siyālkūtī which is accompanied by various titles, both preceding and following his name, will be discussed later. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm is his given name, and Shaykh Shams al-Dīn is his father’s.⁹¹ He is commonly referred to as Siyālkūtī, named after his birthplace, Sialkot, a prominent intellectual center where he spent a significant portion of his life and ultimately passed away.

While no biographical documents have surfaced to specify ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s birthdate, several brief accounts shed light on his life. These narratives unanimously affirm Siyālkūtī’s longevity and note his presence during the reigns of three Baburid emperors: Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān. Adding depth to the discussion, G. M. D. Sufī, a renowned scholar of Hind cultural and educational history, offers an explanatory remark. Analyzing Siyālkūtī’s contemporaries, he attempts to pinpoint the most plausible birthdate. His investigation considers Siyālkūtī’s classmate, Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1627), who concluded his education at the age of seventeen. Notably, Sufī suggests that Siyālkūtī would likely be of a similar age, perhaps three or four years older than Aḥmad Sirhindī. Moreover, it is emphasized that Aḥmad Sirhindī held great respect for Siyālkūtī, a customary and expected practice in Hind culture towards elders, a tradition that persists to this day. While the tradition of scholars showing respect to their elders is

⁹¹ See the name of Siyālkūtī and his father as written by himself, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Hāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif” (MS, Mecca, 1132), Ragıp Paşa Ktp., Ragıp Paşa, no. 0765, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/873>.

deeply rooted, it is crucial to note that this does not imply a one-sided dynamic. Indeed, mutual respect among scholars is evident in their daily interactions. This reciprocity is plausible in the relationship between Siyālkūtī and Aḥmad Sirhindī, particularly considering their roles as both teachers and prolific writers with students. This observation further supports the likelihood that Siyālkūtī was older than Aḥmad Sirhindī. With Aḥmad Sirhindī's birth recorded in 971/1564, the assumption that Siyālkūtī, if three or four years senior, was born around 968/1561 gains credibility.⁹² On the contrary, Bakhtawar Khān (d. 1094/1683), a contemporary of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb – Siyālkūtī's son, and a court historian during Aurangzeb Alamgir, recorded the learned scholar's birthdate using a calculation based on the Arabic alphabet's ‘hifz’ method. By summing the numbers of the letters (900+80+8=988), he brought the date 988 AH.⁹³ However, if this calculation is accurate, it would result in a significant discrepancy. Aḥmad Sirhindī's age and their supposed classmate relationship would be altered substantially, with Siyālkūtī appearing younger by about 18 years. This interpretation seems less logical and is met with skepticism. Adding to the complexity, contemporary scholar Zubaid Aḥmad proposes the year 968/1561 as Siyālkūtī's birthdate, providing an alternative perspective in the ongoing effort to determine the accurate date.⁹⁴

All the available evidence suggests that ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī's probable birth date is 968/1561. Born during the early years of Akbar the Great's reign (r. 1556-1605), just around five years after his ascent to the throne, Siyālkūtī had the unique opportunity to witness and be influenced by Akbar's impactful policies. The significance lies in the transformative period of Akbar's rule, which saw substantial developments in the empire's socio-economic, cultural, and educational conditions, ultimately leading the Baburid state to evolve into a flourishing empire. The Muslim intellectual dynamics, initially set in motion by Sikandar Lodi (reigned 1489–1517) of the Lodi Dynasty, gained momentum under Baburid rulers Babur and Humayun. Akbar significantly expedited this

⁹² G. M. D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir* (Light & Life Publishers, 1979), 161.

⁹³ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447.

⁹⁴ Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857*, 240.

evolution. Figures like Abul Fazal and Faizi, with their socio-cultural, political, and philosophical contributions, played a key role in the rapid rationalization of educational and intellectual pursuits. This science-based movement became dominant in the seventeenth century and was institutionalized in the early eighteenth century. These developments likely influenced ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s life, education, and career.

ii. Sialkot: A Chosen City

Sialkot, a city with a rich historical heritage encompassing various dynasties, has undergone numerous transformations throughout the ages, playing a pivotal role in shaping the Hind civilization. The city’s name has been represented in various forms, such as Sakala or Çakala,⁹⁵ Salkot, Shalkot, Sālkot, and Sakalpur. Locally, it is also known as ‘Sawthi Nagri.’⁹⁶ The city’s name has taken different spellings in the Latin alphabet, including Siyalkot, Siyalkut, Siyalkot, Sealkot, and more variations, leading to changes in derivatives like Siyālkūtī, Siyalkuti, Siyalkoti, etc.⁹⁷ In Arabic text, variations in spelling are also observed, especially when using titles. For instance, Sealkuti where ‘alif’ (السيالكوتي) is missing before lam,⁹⁸ or Salkuti (سلکوتي) where ‘ya’ and ‘alif’ are missing,

⁹⁵ E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India: From the Earliest Times to the First Century, A. D.* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 172, <https://www.indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/ancient-india-earliest-times-first-century-ad>.

⁹⁶ Ganesh Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, trans. J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga (Taylor & Francis, 2015), 82.

⁹⁷ See: Narendra Nath Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans)* (London, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras: Longmans, Green and Co, 1916), 190n, <https://www.indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/promotion-learning-india-during-muhammadan-rule-muhammadans>; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 35, 323, 324, 402, 433; El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, 176–78.

⁹⁸ See ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Talwīh” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, no. 00447-002; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala hāshiyah al-Fawā'id al-Ḍiyā'iyyah* (Cairo: Ratib Hussain Efendi, 1256); Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi'l Hind*, 41.

Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1699) also used it;⁹⁹ and Sālkuti (سالکوتي) where ‘ya’ is missing,¹⁰⁰ reflecting the diverse ways in which Sialkot is referred to in historical texts.

The entire region, both in general and with specific cities, has remained a significant factor both before and after the Muslim rule in Hind. Sialkot, situated near Lahore in the Punjab region, holds historical importance. Before the Muslim conquest, Sialkot sometimes served as the capital of the ruling dynasties.¹⁰¹ Even before the advent of the Baburid era, Alexander the Great captured the city. It is believed that Sialkot, known as Sangala at that time, was a substantial urban center, likely more prominent than during the Baburid period. Historical accounts suggest that the city had 80,000 homes when Alexander attacked it.¹⁰²

It appears that King Shalya of the Madra kingdom is credited with the city’s foundation, earning recognition as a hero, with his name mentioned in the Mahabharata. Subsequently, the city was reconstructed by Shalivahan, the founder of the Shaka era. Under the rule of Madra, Sakala (Sialkot) served as the capital.¹⁰³ Later, the city underwent further renovations and development under the patronage of historical figures such as Muiz-ud-din Muḥammad Ghori (1149-1206), Man Singh, and Masdar Khān Faujdar.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ See: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar*, 2:318; “Hamidye 740” (n.d.); “Pertevniyal 638 (M)” (n.d.); “Hamidye 738” (n.d.).

¹⁰⁰ See : Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 132; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Hāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām” (1055), Konya Yusuf Ağa Ktp., Yusuf Ağa Ktp., YY0000004718.

¹⁰¹ Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 114.

¹⁰² See: E. J. Chinnock, *The Anabasis of Alexander; Or, The History of the Wars and Conquests of Alexander the Great: Literally Translated, with a Commentary, from the Greek of Arrian, the Nicomedian* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), 301–6; Bill Yenne, *Alexander the Great: Lessons from History’s Undefeated General* (St. Martin’s Publishing Group, 2010), 157–58.

¹⁰³ It seems that Sialkot was capital for several times under several rulers. We are not sure, however, may be it remained as the capital for a long time as well. See for more information: for Madra: Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest*, Third (New Delhi: Elite Agencies, 1999), 134. At the same way for Mihirakula (515-540): Smith, 75, 503.

¹⁰⁴ Muhammad Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals* (Ripon Printing Press, Lahore, 1948), 19, <https://www.indianculture.gov.in/flipbook/27788>.

These successive efforts contributed to the city's growth and evolution over different historical periods.

Primarily, Muḥammad Ghūrī (d. 1206), a Sulṭān of the Ghūrīd Sulṭānate (1126-1215), conquered Northern Punjab, including Sialkot. Subsequently, the city changed hands multiple times, with various conquerors capturing and losing control over it, prompting numerous instances of retaking.¹⁰⁵ Muḥammad Ghūrī took measures to repair its fort, contributing to the further expansion of the Punjab region.¹⁰⁶ In the thirteenth century, Imām 'Alī al-Haq, a renowned saint and warrior, arrived from Arab in 360/971, stayed in Sialkot, and played a crucial role in the conversion of local people to Islam.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, Imām 'Alī al-Haq was martyred by Raja Salbahan the second around 370/981. His tomb is located in the village of Kotli Ahanagaran or Kotli Loharan (same village). The influence of Imām 'Alī al-Haq was so profound among Muslims that his killing prompted Sulṭān Nasiruddīn of Ghazni to launch an attack on Sialkot, resulting in its capture.¹⁰⁸ These events highlight the significant developments instigated by Imām 'Alī al-Haq and underscore his emergence as an important and influential figure. His interactions with local non-Muslim rulers ultimately led to conflicts, culminating in his tragic demise.

Babur successfully captured Sialkot in 1520, just before the Battle of Panipat (1526), and managed to retain control over the city through various means.¹⁰⁹ As previously mentioned, Sialkot became renowned as a significant center for learning and teaching, maintaining its esteemed reputation during the Baburid era and witnessing

¹⁰⁵ See: J. L. Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, 1st ed. (Bangalore: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1980), 77.

¹⁰⁶ André Wink, *Al-Hind the Making of the Indo-Islamic World (Vol. II): The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest: 11th-13th Centuries* (BRILL, 1997), 138.

¹⁰⁷ Masudul Hasan, *Hand Book of Important Places in West Pakistan* (Pakistan Social Service Foundation, 1965), 134.

¹⁰⁸ Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 83, 88.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen Frederic Dale, *Babur: Timurid Prince and Mughal Emperor, 1483-1530* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 120, 123.

further advancements. Like the ancient Greek centers of academia, the city attracted readers and students thirsty for knowledge. Sialkot stood as a beacon of intellectual pursuits, reminiscent of the glory days of Greece, hosting academics, philosophers, thinkers, and seers who instilled a genuine love for knowledge in the minds of their students. The city thrived as a hub for the clash of ideas and the collision of opinions, earning its place as a great center of learning where scholars and learned individuals from far and wide converged to seek the truth.¹¹⁰

In medieval times, Sialkot witnessed the establishment of religious scholar ('ulamā')-centered educational institutions. Numerous Khanqas and Mazars in Sialkot were named after prominent scholars. Notable Khanqas included those associated with Imām Ali al-Haq (d. 980?), a premier saint of Arab origin mentioned earlier, as well as Shāh-i-Badshāhan, Mīr Bhil Shāhid, Shāh Munga Wali, Sayyid Surkh, Hazrat Hamza Ghaus, and Sayyid Nadir Sarmast. Concurrently, there were numerous Mazars dedicated to revered walis (saints).¹¹¹ Typically, alongside the tomb of a respected Muslim scholar, there would be a mosque or madrasa designed to educate and guide students in their pursuit of knowledge.¹¹²

A crucial aspect of our study is that Sialkot's fame extended beyond the presence of Muslim scholars and Islamic learning centers; it also encompassed non-Muslim inhabitants, primarily from Hindu traditions. This diversity in religious and cultural backgrounds contributed to the rich historical and intellectual tapestry of Sialkot, making it a place where various traditions coexisted and influenced each other. It is narrated that Baba Nanak, also known as Guru Nanak (d. 1539), the founder of Sikhism, visited the southeast of Sialkot in 934/1528 during Babur's rule. He stayed under a tree that has since

¹¹⁰ Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 10.

¹¹¹ Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 24, 86. In Hind educational tradition, *mazar* became familiar as a learning center, see: Muhammad Abdur Rashid, "Mazar," in *Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 2021), <https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Mazar>.

¹¹² Here, many *mazar* indicate that there were educational centers based on *mazar*.

become a place of worship and pilgrimage. This location has attracted various religious personalities over time, including Baba Man Singh.¹¹³ Sialkot emerges as a medieval global village, symbolizing a holistic development in both educational and cultural dimensions. The convergence of diverse religious traditions and the presence of influential figures from different faiths underscore the city's inclusive and interconnected character. Sialkot boasted experts in various languages and disciplines, including Arabic and Persian languages, calligraphy, gardening, and more. Its inhabitants, irrespective of their religious backgrounds, coexisted harmoniously.¹¹⁴ This inclusive trend persisted into modern times, and Sialkot continued to be the birthplace of numerous scholars who gained prominence globally. Apart from Siyālkūtī and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, other scholars played pivotal roles in later times, such as Qādī Badruddīn, Lala Indar Bhan (penname ‘Warasta’), Lala Moti Ram, Shaykh Aḥmad the Hakīm, and Gamay Shāh, to name a few.¹¹⁵ This intellectual legacy also carries into the modern era with figures like Allama Muḥammad Iqbal (d. 1938), a renowned philosopher known as Sir Muḥammad Iqbal, who was born in Sialkot in 1873/6.¹¹⁶ The city has continued to contribute to intellectual and cultural developments through successive generations.

It is fascinating and significant that Siyālkūtī, without ever venturing beyond Hindustan's major educational and cultural center, attained a level of excellence that resonated far beyond the region. Clearly shaped by the rich intellectual environment of his birthplace, Sialkot, he not only excelled but left an enduring legacy. This legacy transcended his own achievements, influencing the ongoing development of intellectual trends throughout the region and beyond. Sialkot, a nurturing ground for scholars, played

¹¹³ See for more details, Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 86.

¹¹⁴ Das, 89.

¹¹⁵ See for more, Das, 86–87.

¹¹⁶ Iqbal Singh Sevea, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15; Oliver Leaman, “Muhammad Iqbal (1289–1356/1873–1938),” in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Oliver Leaman, 1. publ. in paperback (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 245.

a crucial role in propelling individuals like Siyālkūtī to remarkable heights in various fields.

Further, during Siyālkūtī's era, the city gained a reputation as a place where people were drawn to settle, a phenomenon that was quite common. Numerous stories abound across medieval, early modern, and modern times about individuals from various regions coming to Sialkot and choosing it as their home. This suggests that there was something special about the city that attracted people from different backgrounds. As mentioned, Sialkot's embrace of religious diversities likely contributed to an environment of socio-cultural and religious freedom, fostering a sense of inclusivity rather than social anarchy. The city's unique blend of diverse cultures and religious practices might have created an atmosphere that appealed to those seeking a harmonious and open community.

Scholars were drawn to the city of Sialkot and found a welcoming environment, both from the local inhabitants and the rulers, as exemplified by the experience of Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī.¹¹⁷ This hospitable atmosphere was the result of a long legacy that left an indelible impact on intellectual life in Hind. Figures like Aḥmad Sirhindī, emerging from a religious, educated, and distinguished family background, ascended to become one of the most prominent scholars of the Baburid era. The legacy of scholarly pursuits and the nurturing environment in Sialkot played a crucial role in shaping and fostering intellectual luminaries of the time.

Aḥmad Sirhindī was sent to Sialkot for further education,¹¹⁸ and within the educational and cultural milieu of the city, he was born, raised, and received his primary and higher education. He became an integral part of a longstanding legacy, and the continuity of this intellectual tradition can be traced through various ages. After Siyālkūtī, figures like ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb gained prominence as the Imām of the time, followed by Qāḍī Badruddin, Lala Indar Bhan Siyālkūtī, and others who contributed to keeping the

¹¹⁷ G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, vol. 2 (Lahore: The University of the Punjab, 1949), 377.

¹¹⁸ Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:111.

intellectual trend alive.¹¹⁹ The city's nurturing environment continued to produce scholars who played significant roles in advancing knowledge and culture.

iii. Titles

Siyālkūtī's academic achievements and cultural and geographical background are reflected in his numerous titles and recognitions. Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1699) – a famous biography historian and scholar of the seventeenth century, mentions several titles with Siyālkūtī's name, such as: '*al-Mullā 'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. Shams al-Dīn al-Hindī al-Salkoti 'Allama al-Hind wa Imām al-'Ulum wa Turjuman al-Mazunnun fiha wa'l-Ma'lum kana Kibaru'l-'Ulamā'*...' ¹²⁰ and Abdul Ḥai Ḥasani (d. 1923) - one of the versatile scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth century regards Siyālkūtī as '*al-Shaykh al-Imām al-'Allama al-Kabeer al-Fadil Sahab al-Tasanif al-Faaqati al-Ta'lif al-Raaqati al-Shaykh Abdul Hakīm bin Shams al-Dīn al-Hindī al-Siyālkūtī*'.¹²¹ Before his name, 'Mullā',¹²² 'Maulana',¹²³ 'Maulavi',¹²⁴ and 'Allama'¹²⁵ were used extensively. 'Allama is generally used for prominent scholars ('*ulamā'* ') and is hugely used by Ḥasani

¹¹⁹ See: Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 86.

¹²⁰ al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar*, 2:318.

¹²¹ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

¹²² Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, 204; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447.

¹²³ And for Siyālkūtī, it is commonly used in many places both in the Ottoman and Hind traditons in the title of the work as well as inside the text, see: Kamboh, *Aml-e Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, 1914, III:382; Ziyauddin Khalid al-Baghdadi al-Naqshabandi, *Hashiyah Mawlana Khalid Baghdadi 'ala Hashiyah Mawlana Sialkoti 'Ala'l Khayali 'Ala Sharhi Taftazani 'Ala'l 'Aqaid al-Nasafiyah*, 1259; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:482; Muhammad Hifz-ur-Rahman bin Muhibbur Rahman al-Kumillayi, *Al-Baduru'l Madiyati Tarajimil Hanafiyya*, vol. 2 (Dhaka: Maktabat al-Shaikh al-Islam, 2018), 390; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah al-Khayali 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyah* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1235); 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah al-Khayali 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyah" (Mecca, H. / 1678 CA 1090), Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade Koleksiyon, No. 49, Manisa Kütüphanesi, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/91804>.

¹²⁴ Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 73; Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 86.

¹²⁵ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558, 589, 634.

and other biographers.¹²⁶ But when it comes to Siyālkūtī, Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1699) uses '*Allamatu'l-Hind*,¹²⁷ Raḥmān 'Alī says, 'Allama of the time ('*Allama-e zaman*),¹²⁸ and Ḥasanī uses '*Allama al-Kabeer*'; all these designations as meaningful, particularly the latter ('*Allama al-Kabeer*) is used only three times by Ḥasanī for three famous scholars in his historical and biographical work. Besides Siyālkūtī, 'Umar bin Ishāq bin Aḥmad al-Hindī al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī (d. 773/1371) was a famous Hanafī theologian who went to Cairo. He was appointed as *Qadi'l-Qudat* for his reputation.¹²⁹ Another one is 'Alī bin Abī 'Alī al-Hakīm Gīlānī, known as Hakīm 'Alī Gīlānī (d. 1018/1609), a logician, prominent medical scientist, and a famous theologian.¹³⁰ It means this prefix means something special credit to Siyālkūtī.

Mullā, Maulana, and Maulavi have similar meanings, all for religious personalities. They have been used in Hind socio-cultural and religious grounds since the medieval period and are still hugely used in the Indian Sub-Continent. However, there is a bit of difference for maulana; it is extensively used for madrasah students who are successfully graduated from the master's level. It is also used in other madrasah traditions in other Muslim lands, *i.e.*, Ottoman and Safavids. It seems it has been used since the early Muslim rule in Hind and is still hugely used in society. In Abdul Haq Dehlawi's *Akhbarul Akhyar*, it is seen that its use with the *ulamas*' names has been found since the early

¹²⁶ See: 'Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami' Wa'l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999), 217; 'Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami' Wa'l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999), 233, 264; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:411, 415.

¹²⁷ al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar*, 2:318.

¹²⁸ Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280.

¹²⁹ See: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 2:181; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 293.

¹³⁰ See: Abdul-Qadir Ibn-i-Mulk Shah al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, trans. W.H. Lowe, vol. II (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1986), 276; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:592; Syed Salahuddin, "Abdul Qadir Badauni and His Contemporaries and Socio-Cultural and Intellectual Milieu as Seen by a Critic" (PhD Thesis, Aligarh, AMU, 2010), 92–94.

thirteenth century, and Abdul Hai Ḥasani has used it since the fourteenth century.¹³¹ Scholars and historians also used other prefixes with the name of Siyālkūtī. For example, ‘*Afdalu’l Fuḍalāa*,’ seems it has been used exceptionally for influential scholars. Abdul Hai Ḥasani, uses this prefix in his work ‘*Nuzhat al-Khawatir*’ one time, which is for the learned Siyālkūtī¹³² though he uses other prefixes for others like ‘*fadil*.’¹³³ Some more designations have been used for him, such as *kibaru’l-‘ulamā*, ‘*akabiru’l-‘ulamā*,’¹³⁴ and ‘*Mawlā*.’¹³⁵

Some geographical and cultural identity has been suffixed to his name. ‘Siyālkūtī’ is his short name related to where he was born, raised, and died. It has been used extensively by all who talked about him regardless of their geographical and cultural identity during his lifetime and afterward.¹³⁶ It is worth mentioning that Ḥājī Khalīfa Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Abdullāh Kātip Çelebi (d. 1656) – a renowned Ottoman scholar far from Delhi, used Siyālkūtī with his main name, *i.e.*, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm, and Father’s name Shams al-Dīn.¹³⁷ However, there are some more names’ of the personalities to which ‘Siyālkūtī’ has been added. But the scholars and academics understand ‘Siyālkūtī’ is ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm

¹³¹ See: Shaikh Abdu’l Haq Muhaddith Dehlawi, *Akhabaru’l Akhyar (Aulia Kiramer Itikotha)*, ed. Muhammad Lutfur Rahman, trans. Maulan Aminul Islam et al. (Chittagong, Bangladesh: Muhammadi Kutubkhana, 2021), 79, 82, 106, 116, 117; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 2:156, 163, 188, 214, 215.

¹³² Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:482; Muhammad Hifz-ur-Rahman bin Muhibbur Rahman al-Kumillayi, *Al-Baduru’l Madiyati Tarajimil Hanafiyya*, 2018, 2:390.

¹³³ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:390, 435, 350; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:496, 606.

¹³⁴ See: Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:351; Joseph Elian Sarkis, *Mu’jam al-Matbu’at al-‘Arabiyah Wa-al-Mu’arrabah*, vol. 2 (Egypt: Sarkis, 1928), 1068; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104.

¹³⁵ *Fihris Dar Al-Kutub al-Misriyah (II)*, vol. II (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyah, 1924), 190.

¹³⁶ See for his contemporary writers: Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *Aml-e Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, vol. II (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939), 416.

¹³⁷ Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1148, 1894.

al-Siyālkūtī, whose expertise is in rational sciences. In the Ottoman resources, Siyālkūtī is often used without mentioning his name as he was familiar with it.¹³⁸

Aḥmad Sirhindī is also recognized as '*Lahori*' and '*Punjabi*,' reflecting his association with the city and region where he spent a significant part of his life for education, research, teaching, and other activities. This region held immense importance during the Baburid era, often serving as a capital (to be discussed later), and played a vital role in administrative, educational, and cultural affairs. His names, '*Lahori*' and '*Punjabi*,' were well-known not only in Hindustan but also beyond. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, an Ottoman scholar mentioned earlier, used 'Lahore' alongside Siyālkūtī's name,¹³⁹ highlighting the recognition of his association with the city in international scholarly circles.

Aḥmad Sirhindī is also acknowledged as '*Fadil-e Lahori*' and '*Fadil-e Siyālkūtī*,' emphasizing his association with Lahore and Sialkot. Simultaneously, the designation 'Hindī'¹⁴⁰ holds broader significance for various reasons. Notably, it is known that he did not venture beyond Hindustan and remained in the region throughout his extensive educational and career period. An especially significant recognition is the title 'Aftab-e Punjab' (the sun of Punjab), conferred upon him by one of the prominent scholars ('*ulamā*') of his time, Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), widely known as *mujaddid alf-e thani*.¹⁴¹ This title underscores his impactful presence, successfully attracting the intellectual communities of his time. These facets collectively establish him as a genuine representative of Hind intellectual life.

¹³⁸ See 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala Anwar al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl" (1113), Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, No. 00224; *Hāṣiye alā Hāṣiyeti Tahrīri 'l-Kavā'id 'l-Mantūkiyye fī Şerhi 'r-Risāleti'ş-Şemsiyye (Tasawwurat)* (İstanbul, 1276); "Zubdat al-Afkār" (1164), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hamidiye, No. 00740.

¹³⁹ Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1894.

¹⁴⁰ al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar*, 2:318; Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-Matbu'at al-'Arabiyah Wa-al-Mu'arrabah*, 2:1068.

¹⁴¹ Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:351; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280.

Furthermore, regarding geographical and cultural identity, Aḥmad Sirhindī is recognized as ‘*Hindi*,’ and within the school of thought, he is known as ‘*al-Fakih al-Hanafī*.’¹⁴² In his texts, he also presents himself as ‘*Zayif*’ and ‘*Abdu’l-Miskīn*.’¹⁴³ These aspects contribute to defining his multifaceted identity, reflecting not only his regional and religious affiliations but also his humility and commitment to service.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² See for more information in the biographical records: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar*, 2:318; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280–81; Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 204–5; Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:351; Siddiq Hassan Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fī Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, ed. Abd al-Jabbār Zakkār, vol. 3 (Damascus: Wizarat-al-thaqafa wa al-Irshad al-Qawmī/Dār al-Kutub al-’Ilmiyya, 1978), 230–31; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 132–33; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558; Mohammad Mohsen Agha Bozorg’, *Tabakat A’lam al-Shia*, vol. 5 (Tehran: Matba’atu’l-’Ilmiyyah, 2016), 315; Kahhala, *Mu’jam al-Mu’allifin*, 1993, 5:95; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A’lām*, 3:283; Ismail Pasha Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, vol. I (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, 1951), 504; Sarkis, *Mu’jam al-Matbu’at al-’Arabiyah Wa-al-Mu’arrabah*, 2:1068; Noueihed, *Mu’jamu al-Mufasssirin Min Sadr al-Islam Wa Hatta al-’Asr*, 1:258; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 72–73; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104–5; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447; Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65; Jehlumi and Khan, *Hada’iq Al-Hanafiyah*, 435; Aktar Rahi, *Tadhkira-Yi Musannifin-i Dars-i Nizāmī*. (Lahore: Maktaba-yi Raḥmāniyya, 1978), 138; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 161; Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:377.

¹⁴³ Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, “Hāṣiye alā Envārī’t-Tenzīl ve Esrārī’t-Te’vīl” (n.d.), fol. 2a, Süleymaniye Ktp., Ayasofya, No. 00301.

¹⁴⁴ See for about him, and how he has been presented in his contemporary and later works, Babanzade Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, *Keşfü’z-Zunūn an Esāmī’l-Kütüb ve’l-Fünūn (Zeyli)*, ed. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Tehran: Mektebetü’l-İslamiyye (Maarif Vekaleti, 1941’in tıpkıbasımı), 1967), 1148; Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65; Kamboh, *Aml-e Şāliḥ or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, 1914, III:382–83; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar*, 2:318; Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 204–5; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 133; Maulavi Faqir Jhelumi, *Hada’iq Al-Hanafiyah (Wn 1886)*, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Maktabat-e Hasan Sahil, 1906), 435; N/A, *Fihrist Al-Kutub al-’arabiyyah al-Mahfūzah Bi-al-Kutubkhānah al-Khudaywiyyah (Catalogue of Arabic Books Preserved in the Khedivial Library)* (Matba’at ‘Uthmān ‘Abd al-Rāziq, 1888), 2/18, 1/166, 6/55, 4/43, 2/261; Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:2/351; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 281; Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, I:504; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558; Ahmed Taimour, *Fihris Al-Khajanat al-Taimuriyya* (Matba’at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 2019), 3/155; Sarkis, *Mu’jam al-Matbu’at al-’Arabiyah Wa-al-Mu’arrabah*, 2:1068–69; Muḥammad As’ad Ṭalas, *Al-Kashshaf ‘an Makhtutati Khajaini Kutub al-Awqaf* (Baghdad: Al-Kashshaf ‘an Makhtutati Khajaini Kutub al-Awqaf, 1935), 25, 178, 196, 205; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104–5; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A’lām*, 3:283; Ahmed Turan Kara Bolat and Ali Rida Kara Bolat, *Mu’jam Tarikhi al-Turas al-Islami Fi Maktabat al-Alam- al-Makhtutat Wa al-Matbu’at*, n.d., 2/1540.

iv. Father and Family: Family Legacy and Scholarship

Little information is available about Siyālkūtī and his family lineage. His father, ‘Shams al-Dīn,’ is prominently mentioned in biographical works, most of which discuss Siyālkūtī. However, historians and biographers generally provide only his name, leaving details about his background relatively sparse. Shams al-Dīn hailed from a distinguished family; his name is variably presented in historical records. Sometimes, he is referred to as ‘Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn’ or ‘Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad,’¹⁴⁵ with slight variations. Shams al-Dīn was of Kashmīri origin and relocated to Sialkot from Kashmīr for various reasons. While the contemporary biographical works do not explicitly mention the causes behind his move, it is known that individuals from Kashmīr, including scholars like Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, came to Sialkot for political reasons during that period. Indeed, Sialkot and Kashmīr are neighboring cities, and historical records indicate a notable migration of Kashmīri people to Sialkot and its nearby regions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This trend surprisingly persists into contemporary times, with many Kashmīri inhabitants continuing to move to the mentioned areas. An interesting historical parallel is seen in the case of Allama Muḥammad Iqbal, the prominent modern Muslim philosopher. Born in Sialkot, Iqbal’s family also had a Kashmīri origin, having migrated to Sialkot. This migration reflects the historical and cultural interconnections between Sialkot and Kashmīr, shaping the demographics and cultural diversity of the region over the centuries. Our contemporary scholar, Muḥammad Iqbal, was born in Sialkot and had the same history as Kashmīri origin; his family migrated to Sialkot.¹⁴⁶

His father was not just educated but was aware of contemporary developments. Perhaps he was a madrasah teacher; if not, at least he could teach the primary level students. Otto Loth (d. 1881) claims in his *‘A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the*

¹⁴⁵ See: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Hādī ‘Ashar*, 2:318; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104; Noueihed, *Mu’jamu al-Mufasssirin Min Sadr al-Islam Wa Hatta al-‘Asr*, 1:258; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A’lām*, 3:283; *Fihris Dar Al-Kutub al-Misriyah (II)*, II:190; Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, I:478, 504; Kahhala, *Mu’jam al-Mu’allifin*, 1993, 5:95.

¹⁴⁶ Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (BRILL, 1980), 223.

Library of the India Office’ that Siyālkūtī wrote *ḥāshiyah* on Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-Risālāh al-Shamsiyyah* with his father’s advice. He may find it after reading the introduction of Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah*, as mentioned earlier.¹⁴⁷ If it was correct, many indications could be brought to light from it as it is not a normal text that could be read and understood by all. However, only some specific people had command of a standard level of logic and rational sciences. However, after examining many copies of Siyālkūtī’s this *ḥāshiyah*, it is identified that the learned Loth was misunderstood somewhere. Perhaps the latter (Loth) gets confused between Arabic ‘walad’ means son and ‘waalid’ (using extra alif between waw and lam) means father. Siyālkūtī penned the word ‘*walad*’ to mean his son ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb and clearly said that the *ḥāshiyah* was composed upon his son’s request.¹⁴⁸

So that he could teach his son primary lessons, which may be imagined that had paved the way towards being a learned and known scholar over the continents. It is well known that education was not for everyone in medieval or early modern times, even though it is possible to see it until contemporary times. Perhaps one from any background could learn up to a level, *i.e.*, the primary level. Still, when we discuss the higher intellectual tradition and its ground, it demands a good number of socio-economic and

¹⁴⁷ Otto Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: Printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1877), 143 No. 518.

¹⁴⁸ See ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Hāshiyah ‘ala Tahrir al-Qawāid al-Mantiqiyyah fi sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah” (1123), Süleymaniye Ktp., Yazma Bağışlar, no. 02053; “Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Yazma Bağışlar, no. 00730; “Hāshiyah ‘ala Sharḥ al-Risālāh al-Shamsiyyah” (n.d.), Bursa İnebey Ktp., Ulucami, no. 2333; “Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Murad Molla, no. 01496; “Hāshiyah ‘ala Tahrir al-Qawāid al-Mantiqiyyah Fi Sharḥ al-Risālāh al-Shamsiyyah” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Mehmed Asım Bey, no. 300; “Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, no. 02573; “Hāshiyah ‘ala Tahrir al-Qawāid al-Mantiqiyyah fi sharḥ al-Risālāh al-Shamsiyyah (Taşawwurāt part)” (1185), Süleymaniye Ktp., Kılıç Ali Paşa, 00651-001; “Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Halet Efendi, No. 00503; “Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt Min Tahrir al-Qawāid al-Mantiqiyyah” (n.d.), Süleymaniye ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no. 05745; “Hāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp. Fatih, no. 03279; “Hāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp. Fatih, no. 03278; “Hāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala al-Taşawwurāt” (n.d.), Beyazıt Ktp., Beyazıt, no. B9704; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Encyclopaedia, Logic, Philosophy, Theology and Dialectics)*, Second Ed., vol. XXI (Patna, India: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), 28.

cultural conditions that could push one towards a big and long intellectual journey. It is a difficult task; it was not possible for many, perhaps only for a few. Intellectuals would be from a privileged group in a particular society; it would not be a mistake to observe that almost time they were from an elite background. In this regard, family background and the ground where one would live are very much necessary, as is seen among Siyālkūtī's contemporaries, like, Abdul Qadir Badauni (d. 1615), Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (d. 1642) were renowned scholars of the Baburid era. Coming from a tradition where their father was educated, these scholars received their primary lessons either directly from their father or grandfather. In some instances, they were even memorizers of the Quran, as seen in the case of Aḥmad Sirhindī.¹⁴⁹ These educational practices were indicative of a familial commitment to learning and suggested that Siyālkūtī likely received at least a primary education or acquired fundamental ideas and thoughts from his father during his formative years.

G. M. D. Sufi,¹⁵⁰ in his commentary on 'Rouzat-ul-Ubada,' suggests that Shams al-Dīn, designated as a 'Shaykh,' was possibly given this title "out of respect" or perhaps as a recognition of his recent conversion to Islam. Sufi further notes that Shams al-Dīn did not hail from a notable family legacy, and his parents were from humble backgrounds. Consequently, many biographers and writers did not delve into his life sketch, focusing more on his celebrated son, Allama Siyālkūtī.¹⁵¹ However, upon reviewing various resources, the rationale presented by Sufi does not strongly suggest that Shams al-Dīn was

¹⁴⁹ See: al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:25–26, 51, 259; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:479; Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), 30; İsmail Hakki Ünal, "Abdülhak b. Seyfeddin Dihlevi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 1994), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/dihlevi-abdulkhak-b-seyfeddin> (14.08.2022).; Salahuddin, "Abdul Qadir Badauni and His Contemporaries and Socio-Cultural and Intellectual Milieu as Seen by a Critic," 6–8.

¹⁵⁰ He worked extensively on Hind socio-cultural and educational history. His some works have been used at our work. Some of his important works are: Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*; G. M. D. Sufi, *Al-Minhāj, Being the Evolution of Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of India*, First, August 1941 (Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1941).

¹⁵¹ Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 161.

a recent convert to Islam or held less respect. Instead, as mentioned earlier, the prevailing intellectual culture and the trend of grooming a son to become a prominent scholar seem more plausible. Additionally, Siyālkūtī's association with Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī, a distinguished scholar of the time, and his noteworthy class fellows like Aḥmad Sirhindī and Sa'dullah Khan, further underline the intellectual environment that could have influenced his early education.

All these details suggest that Siyālkūtī received a solid primary education, likely on par with his class fellows. Such an education was essential for him to continue with them, especially in receiving lessons from Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī al-Dīn alongside his mentioned friends. These circumstances provide valuable insights into the educational values upheld by his father and the family. The absence of mention of Shams al-Dīn in historical records is not unusual for figures in medieval intellectual history, as exemplified by 'Allama Abdul Qadir Badauni, a renowned Baburid historian. His work 'Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,' a vital resource for understanding Baburid education and cultural history, offers very little information about his own father¹⁵² This scarcity may be attributed to the prevailing writing traditions of the time, where details about family and lineage were not extensively recorded. It could be argued that in the educational, particularly Sufi tradition of Siyālkūtī's era, the legacy of the teacher-student relationship held greater importance and was more diligently preserved than details about family backgrounds.

¹⁵² Salahuddin, "Abdul Qadir Badauni and His Contemporaries and Socio-Cultural and Intellectual Milieu as Seen by a Critic," 6–7.

II. Teachers and Friends

i. Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī: Great Teacher of Hind Triangle

Among the limited information available about the teachers of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, it is well-known that he received instruction and guidance from Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī, a distinguished scholar in rational sciences of his time. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī al-Dīn was not only a renowned figure in his field but also successfully attracted students from various parts of Hindustan. His legacy is particularly immortalized through three exceptional students, namely ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Aḥmad Sirhindī, and Sa’dullah Khan. These three students achieved remarkable excellence in their respective disciplines, leaving a lasting impact for centuries. They are often recognized collectively as the ‘Hind Triangle,’ reflecting the influential contributions of these scholars to the intellectual and educational landscape.¹⁵³

Historical biographers provide a brief overview of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, with more detailed descriptions often reserved for his notable pupils, particularly ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. Abdul Hamid Lahori, a prominent court historian from Siyālkūtī’s era who authored the well-known ‘Badshāh Nāmah,’ acknowledged that Siyālkūtī received his education from Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī in Sialkot. However, Lahori’s account remains succinct, offering limited elaboration on the nature of this educational association.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ This terminology is being developed in our work. First, we discovered it during our conversation with learned Asif Ali Raza. We are grateful to him.

¹⁵⁴ See for more information, Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Namah*, ed. Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Abd al-Rahim, vol. II (Calcutta: The College Press, 1868), 341; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Hādī ‘Ashar*, 2:318; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280–81; Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 204–5; Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Aṣfiya*, 2:351; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fī Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:230–31; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 132–33; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558; Bozorg’, *Tabakat A’lam al-Shia*, 5:315; Kahhala, *Mu’jam al-Mu’allifin*, 1993, 5:95; Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, I:504; Noueihed, *Mu’jamu al-Mufasssirin Min Sadr al-Islam Wa Hatta al-’Asr*, 1:258; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 72–73; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104–5; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447; Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65; Jehlumi and Khan, *Hada’iq Al- Hanafiyyah*, 435; Rahi, *Tadhkira-Yi Muṣannifin-i Dars-i Niẓāmī*, 138; Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 161.

Before delving into the life and contributions of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, it is crucial to note that ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī distinguished himself in various disciplines, including kalām, logic, jurisprudence, exegesis, linguistics, and Sufism. While being educated in multiple fields during medieval times was not uncommon, Siyālkūtī’s significance lies in his ability to produce works that have endured for centuries. This prompts an important question: who were his mentors, and what level of knowledge did he attain? After completing his primary education, Siyālkūtī sought higher studies under Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī. It is plausible that he acquired knowledge and reached a high standard, contributing to developing his intellectual prowess. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī served as a significant, if not the primary, guide. The caliber of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī can be inferred from his role in shaping scholars like Siyālkūtī, Sirhindi, and others. Unfortunately, historical events provide limited details, and concise information about his intellectual life and contributions is essential to our study.¹⁵⁵

The complete name of this notable figure is ‘*al-Shaykh al-Fadil al-’Allamah Kamāl al-Dīn b. Mūsa al-Hanafī al-Kashmīrī*, also known as ‘*Mullā*,’ *al-Qāḍī*, and ‘*Maulana*.’¹⁵⁶ He is commonly referred to as Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī. Born in Kashmīr, his father was Qāḍī Mīr Mūsa Shāhid. Unfortunately, his birth date details are unavailable in biographical and historical works. However, considering his migration to Sialkot, his ongoing study with Faṭḥullāh Haqqani (to be discussed later), and his eventual recognition as a prominent scholar in the Baburid intellectual milieu, it is plausible that he was born before the mid-sixteenth century.

Now, understanding Kashmīr becomes imperative as it was the early home of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī and his teacher. Kashmīr emerged as a prominent educational and

¹⁵⁵ See for more information: Lahori, *Badshah Namah*, II:341; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar*, 2:318; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280–81; Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 204–5; Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:351; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washī Almarqūm Fī Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:230–31; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 132–33; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:479, 558, 606; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 72–73; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104–5; Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65.

¹⁵⁶ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:606.

cultural hub within the Muslim-ruled regions of Hind, gaining significance from the late eighth century of the Hijra era when Muslim rule began in 1320. The rule of two prominent dynasties, Shāh Mīr, and Chak, continued until Akbar of the Baburid dynasty conquered it in 1586.¹⁵⁷ Kashmīr's renown transcended the Muslim world, reaching regions such as the Arab world and Egypt.¹⁵⁸ The region hosted numerous scholars in various disciplines, with Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī being just one among many in this vast intellectual galaxy.

Kashmīr was enriched by several prominent learning centers that significantly contributed to the intellectual development of the entire Hind region. Understanding these centers provides insight into the foundation upon which scholars like Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī built their intellectual legacy. One key figure in this narrative is Sayyid ‘Alī Ḥamadānī (d. 1385), who migrated from Iran and is revered as the "founder of the Muslim creed" in Kashmīr. Sayyid ‘Alī Ḥamadānī contributed substantially to various branches of knowledge, encompassing both rational and transmitted subjects. His comprehensive works even extended to socio-political issues, exemplified by his notable work, *Zakhirat al-Muluk*. Allama Muḥammad Iqbal acknowledged his influence, referring to Sayyid ‘Alī's role in transforming Kashmīr into *‘Iran-e Sagir*.¹⁵⁹

Shaykh Hamza Makhdum, a Sufi and distinguished *‘ulamā’*, played a vital role in bridging local mysticism and Islamic teachings, contributing significantly to the strength of the Suhrawardy order. His impact was not confined to Muslims alone but extended to both Muslim and non-Muslim communities.¹⁶⁰ In the intellectual landscape of Kashmīr, Ya’qub Sarfī (928/1521-1003/1594) stood out prominently. Known for his expertise in

¹⁵⁷ See for the Chak rule in Kashmir and Baburid expeditions to the Kashmir, Manmohan Kaur, "Punjab," in *Encyclopaedia of India* (New Delhi: Rima Publishing House, 1994), 62–65.

¹⁵⁸ Saleem, "Mulla Abdul Hakim Al-Siyalkuti al-Kashmiri Wa Ihtimamatihi Bi'l-Lugati'l-'Arabiyyah Min Khilali Muwallifatihī'l-'Ilmiyyah Wa'l-Fikriyyah," 83.

¹⁵⁹ Muhammad Tayyab Khan and Dr Hafiz Muhammad Arshad Iqbal, "Emergence and Evolution of Islamic Culture and Civilization in Kashmir: An Analytical and Historical Overview," *Al Basirah* 9, no. 02 (2020): 43–44, <https://doi.org/10.52015/albasirah.v9i02.115>.

¹⁶⁰ Khan and Iqbal, 45.

both rational and transmitted subjects, Sarfi excelled in prose and poetry in Persian and Arabic. His prolific literary output included numerous books, particularly focusing on exegesis.¹⁶¹ The diverse contributions of figures like Shaykh Hamza Makhdum and Ya'qub Sarfi reflected the rich intellectual tapestry of Kashmīr during this period.

Mosques, madrasahs, and Khanqahs served as foundational educational institutions in the vibrant intellectual landscape of Kashmīr. Prominent establishments included the mosque and Khanqah of Rinchanpura in Srinagar, the Madrasah of the Holy Quran, a boarding madrasah (college) situated at Quṭbuddīnpura, the madrasah of Jāmī' Masjid, the Dar al-'Ulūm (university) in Nowshera, Kashmīr, and Dar-u-Shifā. Notably, some educational centers undertook diverse projects, such as the translation initiatives at Dar al-'Ulūm. This university engaged in translating works from Arabic and Sanskrit into Persian and the Kashmīri language, contributing to the dissemination of knowledge. These educational endeavors persisted even during the Baburid rule, showcasing the enduring commitment to intellectual pursuits in the region.¹⁶²

Dar-u-Shifā, an integral institution in our study, holds significance in the intellectual landscape of Kashmīr. Established at the behest of Baba Ismail, a great-grandson of Abul Mashaykh Shaykh Sulayman, and founded by Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh, this institution played a crucial role in the promotion of knowledge. Shaykh Faṭḥullāh Haqqani, serving as the principal, and Akhund Mullāh Darvish, his assistant,¹⁶³ contributed to the educational endeavors of Dar-u-Shifā. Notably, Shaykh Faṭḥullāh Haqqani, who would later become the teacher of the renowned scholar Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, is a key figure in our exploration of intellectual legacies.

¹⁶¹ See Khan and Iqbal, 45.

¹⁶² Khan and Iqbal, 45–48.

¹⁶³ Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 149.

As already mentioned, Qāḍī Mūsa Shāhid was the father of the latter (Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī), whose ancestry goes back to Chinggis Khan. His genealogical connection with Chinggis Khān is given below.¹⁶⁴

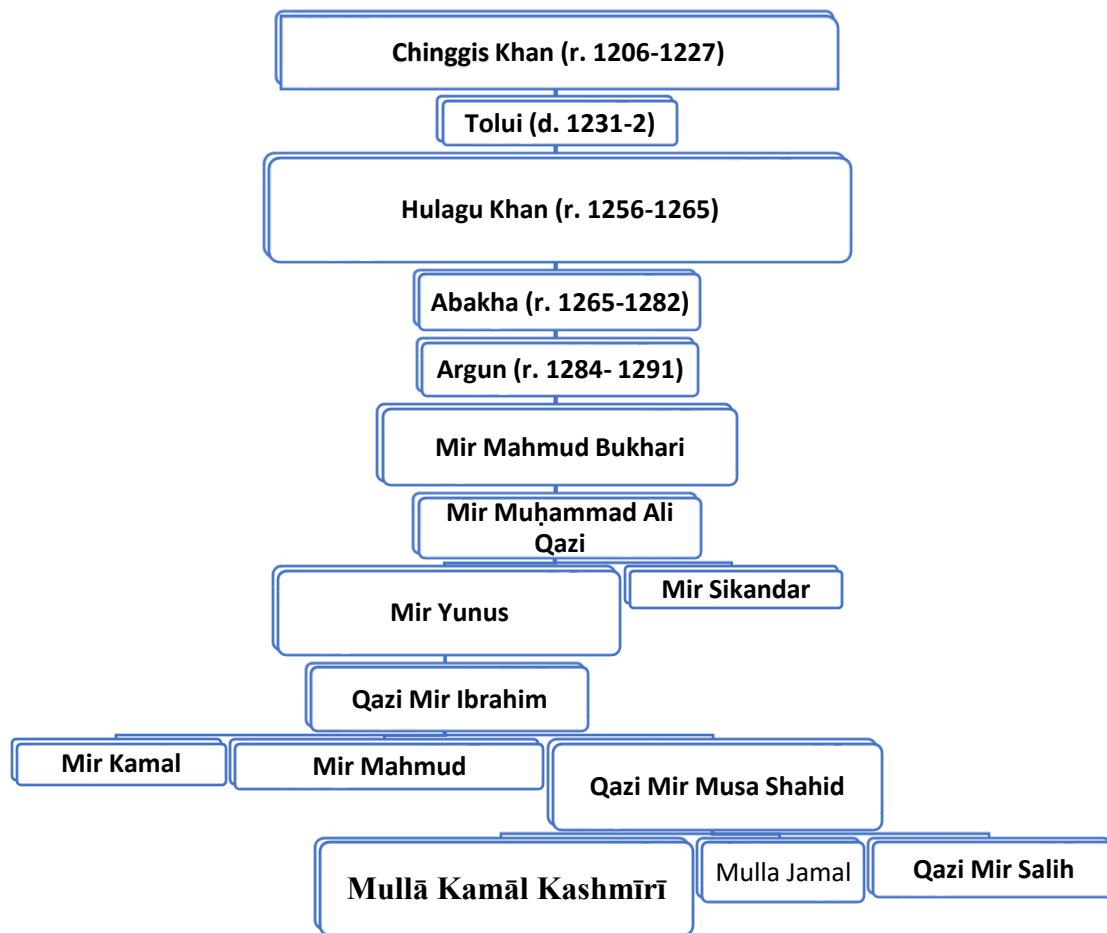


Figure 1. 1: Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's Ancestry

¹⁶⁴ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376; Morris Rossabi, *The Mongols: A Very Short Introduction*, 1st ed., Very Short Introductions 314 (Oxford University Press, 2012), xxi; Sayid Ashraf Shah, *Flower Garden: Posh-i-Chaman* (Ashraf Fazili, 2021), 323.

Qāḍī Mūsa, a prominent Muslim scholar, held a distinguished position as a member of the "council of the *‘ulamā*”¹⁶⁵ and later served as the Qāḍī of Sopur, Kashmīr.¹⁶⁶ His role as a judge brought him into significant engagements, particularly in disputes involving Shi’ites, leading to various discussions.¹⁶⁷ Notably, Qāḍī Mūsa staunchly refused Ya’qub Shāh Chak’s¹⁶⁸ directive to include the name of ‘Ali in all public prayers, causing social unrest in the region. In response, Ya’qub Shāh ordered the execution of Qāḍī Mūsa to suppress the rebellion and restore peace.¹⁶⁹ Qāḍī Mūsa’s martyrdom had a profound impact on the Kashmīris and their political history. The ruler’s intolerant policies towards Sunnis, coupled with the execution of Qāḍī Mūsa and others, stirred discontent among Sunni *‘ulamā*’ and nobles, ultimately contributing to their appeal to the Baburid court, specifically Akbar, requesting the annexation of Kashmīr. These individuals played a guiding role during Akbar’s campaign to annex Kashmīr.¹⁷⁰

a. Teacher of Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī: Faṭḥullāh Haqqani

Faṭḥullāh Haqqani, also known as Faṭḥullāh Thani in Sialkot, was the teacher and primary mentor of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī. Their migration to Sialkot occurred in 971/1564. Faṭḥullāh Haqqani was the second son of Shaykh Ismail Kubravi, a distinguished theologian and Sufī associated with the Kubravi Ḥamadānī order.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ Other members of this council was Mullā Yusuf Almas and Mullā Firuz Ganai. See: Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans* (Calcutta: Iran Soccity, 1959), 155.

¹⁶⁶ Hasan, 168.

¹⁶⁷ See: Hasan, 155, 156, 163, 168, 182–83, 184.

¹⁶⁸ He was the last independent ruler Chak dynasty as well as of Kashmir. See Hasan, 300.

¹⁶⁹ Hasan, 182–84; Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376.

¹⁷⁰ Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, 280–81.

¹⁷¹ Sayyid ‘Alī Ḥamadānī (d. 786/1384) – a decent from ‘Ali -the fourth Caliph of Islam, left Persia when Timur attacked there, came to Kashmir where he brought Kubravi Ḥamadānī order. He is also known as Shāh Hamadan was a versatile scholar in several disciplines, *i.e.*, Sufism, theology, Hadith, Fiqh, etc. He

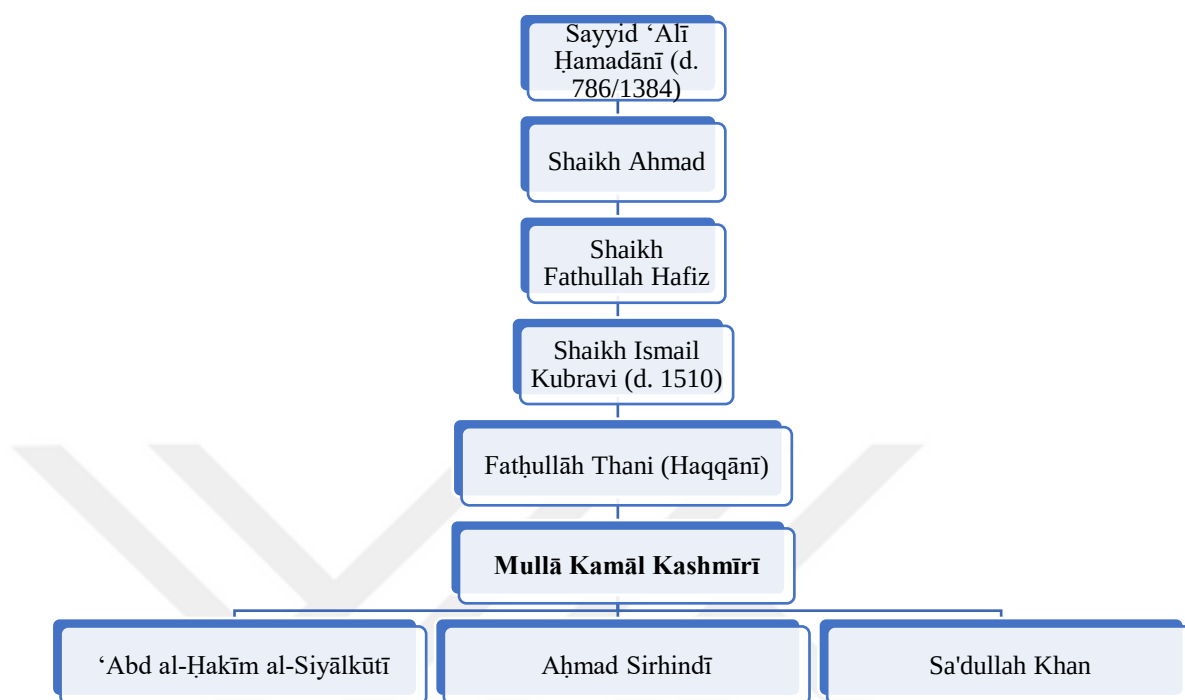


Figure 1. 2: Siyālkūtī's legacy from Sayyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī (d. 786/1384) through his teacher Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī.

Shaykh Ismail established a khanqah and seminary at Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar, Kashmīr, attracting South and Central Asian students. Recognizing his contributions, Ḥasan Shāh, the ruler of Kashmīr, honored him with the title 'Shaykh al-Islam.' Fathullāh Haqqani served as the principal of a madrasah established by Sulṭān Hussain Shāh,

was influenced by his maternal uncle 'Ala al-Dawla S al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336). He had a great influence on Kashmīrīs and he successfully established the Kubravi order – known as Kubravi Ḥamadānī order in Kashmir through his disciples that continued for long time. See for Sayyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī's life, thoughts and Kubravi order: Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir: Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century, Revised Edition*, Revised edition (Varanasi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1970), 29–85; Ahmad Mushtaq Wani, "Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir" (PhD, Aligarh Muslim University, 1999), 166, 244, 247, 249, 255, 289, <http://ir.amu.ac.in/580/>. and for his influence on Kashmir and disciples: Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, 86–124; Wani, "Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir," 250, 272 & 288,.

responding to a request from Baba Ismail Kubravi.¹⁷² Notably, after Baba Ali Nazar's¹⁷³ conversion to Shi'ism, Faṭḥullāh Haqqānī assumed responsibility for the Kubravi order, adding significant depth to our study.¹⁷⁴

Regarding Faṭḥullāh Haqqani's migration to Sialkot, several factors may have contributed. Some historians suggest that Faṭḥullāh Haqqani was compelled to leave the city due to sectarian tensions between Shi'ites and Sunnis, as discussed earlier in relation to Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's father. Additionally, there may have been unavoidable conflicts with the local governor of Kashmīr, Ḥusain Khan.¹⁷⁵ The question then arises: why did he (Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī), a son of a prominent family with a renowned Qāḍī father, accompany his teacher and relocate to Sialkot? According to Sujān Rai Bhandari (d. 1701) in *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* (written in 1695), he became displeased with the circumstances surrounding his teacher and made the decision to move to Sialkot.¹⁷⁶ One might wonder why Faṭḥullāh Haqqani and Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī chose Sialkot over other cities like Lahore, Delhi, or Agra. While being an adjacent city with people from Kashmīr frequently visiting and staying in Sialkot and its surrounding areas could be one reason, there may have been something crucial about the existing educational and cultural environment that specifically appealed to them. The decision to settle in Sialkot could

¹⁷² Shaikh Ismail was not only Sufi and theologian but also, he was a pioneer to establish madrasah and to disseminate Islamic knowledge. So he found a seminary and a khanqah at Koh-i-Maran, Srinagar, Kashmir. See: Wani, "Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir," 15, 251–52; Sayid Ashraf Shah, *Awlyā-i-Kashmir: Sufi Culture of Kashmir* (Ashraf Fazili, 2021), 28.

¹⁷³ After the death of Shaikh Ismail, Baba Ali Nazar was appointed as the leader of the Kubravi order. See: Wani, "Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir," 252.

¹⁷⁴ Wani, 252.

¹⁷⁵ Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 299; Wani, "Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir," 18; Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376.

¹⁷⁶ Sujān Rai Bhandari, "Description of the Punjab by Munshi Sujān Rai of Batala in His *Khulasatu-t-Twarikh*," in *The Punjab under the Mughals*, ed. Muhammad Akbar, trans. Jadunath Sarkar (Lahore: Ripon Printing Press, 1948), 299; Sujān Rai Bhandari, "Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh," in *The India of Aurangzib: (Topography Statistics and Roads) Compared with the India of Akbar with Extracts from the Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh and the Chahar Gushan*, trans. Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta: Bose Brothers, 1901), 96, <https://bit.ly/3VULs5m>.

have been influenced by the promising intellectual opportunities and a welcoming atmosphere that awaited them upon their arrival, as will be discussed later.

b. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's Arrival to Sialkot

The migration of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī and his teacher to Sialkot during the governance of Raja Man Singh was met with an overwhelming and warm reception. Raja Man Singh's administrator, the Kardar, extended a welcoming reception and demonstrated great respect to the scholars. The citizens of Sialkot enthusiastically hailed these versatile scholars with joy and acclamation.¹⁷⁷ Historical documents give us little information about Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's teacher Faṭḥullāh Haqqani, when they talk about their arrival at Sialkot. They just discussed that Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī came to Sialkot, a few talked about the welcoming story, and some skipped the event.¹⁷⁸ The examination of available documents suggests several possibilities regarding the reception of Faṭḥullāh Haqqani and Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī in Sialkot. It is likely that both learned individuals and representatives of the government administration extended a warm welcome to them. Faṭḥullāh Haqqani, being a prominent scholar, possibly brought Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī with him, and the latter was already an eminent ulama with significant academic experience. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's genealogical legacy, including his father's prominence as a Sunni scholar in Kashmīr and the family's engagement in local issues,

¹⁷⁷ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:377.

¹⁷⁸ See for more information: Lahori, *Badshah Namah*, II:341; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, 2:318; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280–81; Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, 204–5; Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:351; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-'ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fī Bayān Ahwal al-'ulum*, 3:230–31; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 132–33; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558; Bozorg', *Tabakat A'lam al-Shia*, 5:315; Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, 1993, 5:95; Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, I:504; Noueihed, *Mu'jamu al-Mufasssirin Min Sadr al-Islam Wa Hatta al-'Asr*, 1:258; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 72–73; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104–5; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447; Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65; Jehlumi and Khan, *Hada'iq Al-Hanafiyah*, 435, 442–43; Rahi, *Tadhkira-Yi Muṣannifin-i Dars-i Niẓāmī*, 138; Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376–77; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 161.

may have been known to the locals of Sialkot. Moreover, the awareness of the Shi'ite-Sunni problem in Kashmīr and other educational and intellectual developments could have contributed to the locals welcoming them and showing high respect.

c. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's Education and His Family's Scholarly Lineage

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī completed his education with Faṭḥullāh Haqqani during his stay in Sialkot; after that, he married his (Faṭḥullāh Haqqani) daughter. From this marriage, he was blessed with a son named Maulana Muḥammad Sadiq b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Hanafī al-Kashmīrī, known as Hakīm-i-Dana, and Muḥammad Sadiq. Sometimes, he is named combined as Mullā Sadiq Hakīm Dana as well. According to the description of *Hada'iq al-Hanafīyya*, he was also eminent for his scholarship in several disciplines of knowledge, *i.e.*, logic, wisdom, and medicine. He was also famous for his time in the *Hanafī* school of thought. He was known among the scholars of his time who also reached King Jahāngīr. Not only that, but Muḥammad Sadiq was also chosen to visit the Jahāngīr's court to participate in a debate with Mullā Habibullah - the Shi'ite, and finally, he defeated him. He also spent his life teaching his pupils and kept them away from worldly affairs, particularly in the last part of his life. He was rested at peace in Srinagar, Kashmīr.¹⁷⁹

Faṭḥullāh Haqqani played a significant role in the educational and family life of the Siyālkūtī scholars. Beyond being a teacher and father-in-law to Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, he also had familial ties with Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's brother, Mullā Jamal. Mullā Jamal, like his brother, studied both '*zahiri*' and '*batini*' knowledge under Baba Faṭḥullāh, and he further strengthened the family connection by marrying Baba Faṭḥullāh's second daughter. According to Khwaja Muḥammad Azam Dedmari's *Waqi'at-e Kashmīr*, Mullā Jamāl also journeyed to Sialkot, where he was referred to as *Qāḍī al-Quzzat*.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ See, Jehlumi and Khan, *Hada'iq Al- Hanafīyyah*, 447; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:636.

¹⁸⁰ Mullā Kamal Kashmirī had two brothers, Mullā Jamāl al-Dīn and Qāḍī Sālih. Mullā Jamāl is known as Akhund Mullā Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Kashmirī. He was a famous scholar of his time, and his expertise includes Islamic jurisprudence, hadith, Sufism, and others. He participated in hadith '*sanad*' with Shaikh

In addition to his marriage with Mullā Faṭḥullāh Haqqani's daughter, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī entered into a second marriage with the daughter of Sayyid Habibullah Khawarizmi. Sayyid Habibullah Khawarizmi held esteemed positions as Qāḍī ul-Quzat (chief justice) and the Khatib of Jāmī Masjid in Srinagar, Kashmīr during the reign of Ḥusain Shāh Chak.¹⁸¹ As a renowned Sunni scholar, he actively participated in the ongoing Shi'ite-Sunni conflicts and even endured injuries during the confrontations.¹⁸²

d. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī with 'Abd al-Shāhid Aḥrārī (d. 1584)

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī also had Khawaja 'Abd al-Shāhid Naqshbandi Aḥrārī (d. 1584) as one of his teachers. The latter was a renowned Naqshbandi scholar and a descendant of Khawaja Ubaydullah Aḥrārī (d. 1490) from Khorasan. As the son of Khwajagi Khwaja, the fifth son of Khawaja Ubaydullah Aḥrārī, 'Abd al-Shāhid held a significant position in the Naqshbandi order. Although specific details about the subjects studied by Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī under his guidance are not available, it is speculated that he may have received teachings related to mysticism, particularly pertaining to the Naqshbandi order. Khawaja 'Abd al-Shāhid later went to Akbar's court around 1560, where he received great respect and was granted a *pargana* of Chamari in Punjab. He stayed in Punjab for about two decades before departing for Samarkand in 1574.¹⁸³

Nasir al-Dīn Abu'l Fuqara. Furthermore, he was busy learning and teaching, putting worldly life aside; he had many students who were regarded as famous scholars, like Shaikh Nasib al-Dīn al-Fuqara, Ismail Chishti, and others. See for more: Khwaja Muhammad Azam Dedmari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* (National Library of India, Kolkata), 105, accessed February 19, 2022, <http://indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/waqati-kshmyr>; Saiyid Athar 'Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: (Vol. II) From Sixteenth Century to Modern Century*, Reprinted, vol. II (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publ, 1992), 196n; Jehlumi and Khan, *Hada'iq Al-Hanafiyyah*, 445-6; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:514; Wani, "Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir," 18.

¹⁸¹ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:377.

¹⁸² Sufi, 2:377; Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, 306; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Ash'ari Shī'īs in India*, First, vol. II (Lucknow, India: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1986), 177–78.

¹⁸³ See for his advent to Delhi, stay, and the last phase in Hindustan: Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 150, 154–57.

Perhaps Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī studied with him during his time in Punjab and received mysticism, particularly about the Naqshbandi order.

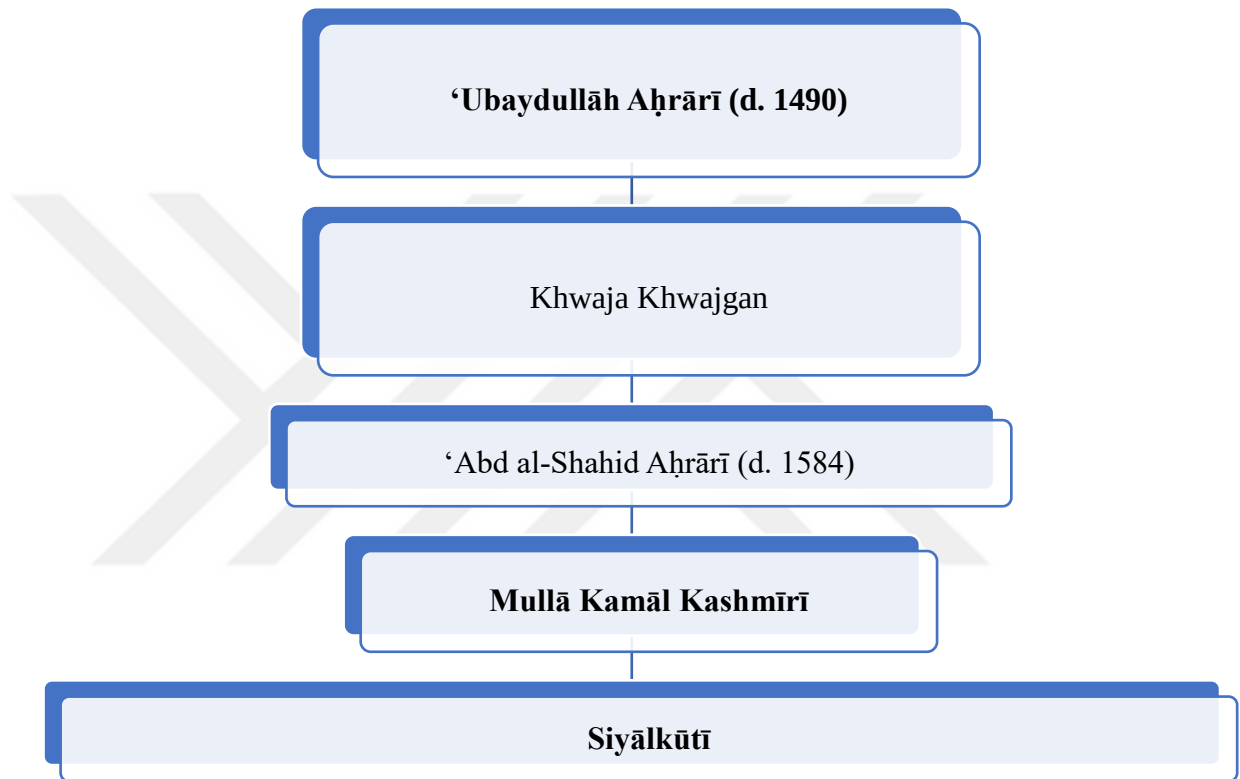


Figure 1. 3: Siyālkūtī's connection with 'Ubaydullāh Aḥrārī

As mentioned before, there is a shortage of information; it is not known what specific fields he (Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīri) excelled in himself. However, based on the scholarship of his teachers and students as well as his family legacy, it is possible to make an effort to portray his scholarship. He must have learned many things from his father and family legacy as they were from a prominent and influential administrative legacy.

Moreover, his father was also an ‘*ulamā*’, which must have had a significant value. And, in terms of his teachers who are discussed, G. M. D. Sufi rightly comments that the direction and close contact of Baba Faṭḥullāh Haqqani paved the way to draw Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī’s immense spiritual inspiration. Furthermore, his (Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī) education under Khawaja ‘Abd al-Shāhid Naqshbandi Aḥrārī helped him arrive at the culmination of ‘*Suluk*.’¹⁸⁴

While Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī’s teachers were deeply rooted in the Sufi traditions of the Kubravi Ḥamadānī and Naqshbandi orders, their influence extended beyond spiritual matters. Not confined to concerns for the afterlife, they actively sought to wield influence over rulers in Kashmīr and Central Asia. Although their approach did not gain significant traction in Baburid Hindustan, it left a profound impact on the scholarship of their students, including Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī. This dual focus on spiritual development and engagement with worldly affairs likely shaped the expectations of students like Sa’dullah Khan, Siyālkūtī, and Sirhindī. The multifaceted teachings received from such mentors prepared Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī to navigate both spiritual and worldly realms, fostering a comprehensive and impactful approach to scholarship.

e. Building Brilliances: Epoch Making Students

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī’s legacy is often illuminated through the accomplishments of his renowned students, as information about him directly remains limited. Available sources show that this erudite teacher from Sialkot possessed a broad spectrum of knowledge, excelling in rational sciences alongside a profound understanding of the Sufi tradition. His expertise spanned various disciplines, including logic, philosophy, wisdom, kalām, and Islamic jurisprudence. Regarded as a genius with a remarkable ability to

¹⁸⁴ G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, vol. 2 (Lahore: The University of the Punjab, 1949), 376; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 38.

quickly memorize, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī earned acclaim as an excellent teacher, known for his engaging discussions on books and effective teaching methods.¹⁸⁵

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī initiated the spread of knowledge at Miyan Waris Mosque, attracting numerous students, including prominent figures like Siyālkūtī and Sirhindī, since his arrival. Additionally, historical records indicate that he also conducted teachings in Lahore.¹⁸⁶ His life journey concluded in Lahore in the year 1608/1609. Intellectual history often underscores the legacy left behind by scholars, especially through their students and written works. This holds true for Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, whose significant impact is reflected in the achievements of his distinguished students, some of whom were also contemporaries and classmates of Siyālkūtī.

Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, widely recognized as *mujaddid alf-e thani* in the contemporary Indian Subcontinent and ‘Imām Rabbāni’ in Turkey, was the son of ‘Abdul Ahad Faruqi. Born in Sirhind in 971/1564, he spent his formative years in education, culminating in being sent to Sialkot for advanced studies under the tutelage of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī.

Later in his educational journey, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī continued learning from various scholars and went on to establish a new school of thought within the Naqshbandi order, known as the *mujaddidiyye*.¹⁸⁷ Shifting the narrative, another distinguished student of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī was ‘Allama Nawwab Sa’dullah Khan, who not only received lessons from Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī in Sialkot but eventually rose to become the Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān. Unfortunately, there is limited information about the interactions between Sa’dullah Khan, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī,¹⁸⁸ and their connections to Siyālkūtī.

¹⁸⁵ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:606; Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:111.

¹⁸⁶ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376–77; Wani, “Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir,” 18.

¹⁸⁷ See: Jehlumi and Khan, *Hada’iq Al- Hanafiyyah*, 425.

¹⁸⁸ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:379.

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī earned prestigious titles such as ‘*Allama Mashriqain*’ (the Savant of East and West) and ‘*Muallim al-Saqalain*’ (the Teacher of Men and Genii).¹⁸⁹ Simultaneously, he is rightfully acknowledged as the ‘*Imām Muwaffaq*’ of Kashmīr. Drawing a parallel, Imām Muwaffaq was known for educating and influencing notable historical figures such as ‘Umar Khayyam’ – the renowned scholar, astronomer, and poet, Ḥasan bin Sabah – the Isma’ili leader, and Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi – the Prime Minister of the Seljuq Empire.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī lectured and nurtured the intellectual growth of the ‘Hind Triangle’ – Siyālkūtī, Sirhindi, and Sa’dullah Khan, who went on to play significant roles in the intellectual and bureaucratic spheres of the Baburid empire and beyond.

Discovering Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī in Sialkot marked a pivotal moment in Siyālkūtī’s life. Although details about Siyālkūtī’s family background, legacy, and specific influences are unclear, it is evident that he was fortunate to have access to exceptional opportunities within a rich cultural and intellectual environment. Above all, the blessing of having Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī as a teacher played a crucial role in shaping Siyālkūtī’s intellectual journey.

Limited information is available about Siyālkūtī’s teachers, aside from the renowned scholar Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī and the educational institution he attended. However, considering the intellectual environment during the Baburid rule, Lahore emerged as a crucial center for learning and culture in the Punjab region and Hindustan. Numerous scholars from various disciplines congregated in Lahore for educational pursuits. This suggests the possibility that Siyālkūtī may have had other teachers who contributed to his scholarly development. While there are sparse comments about his other teachers, Siyālkūtī likely engaged with multiple scholars to enrich his education.

¹⁸⁹ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:377; Wani, “Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir,” 18.

¹⁹⁰ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:375.

ii. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī (958–1052/1551–1642)

The systematic study and institutionalization of the prophetic tradition in Hindustan began with ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. Revered as the famous “Muḥaddith” of the Indian Subcontinent, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī holds the distinction of being the founding scholar of prophetic tradition in early modern Hind. His influence extended widely, earning him the status of the most renowned scholar of his time in the region. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī initiated a new school of thought centered around ḥadīth studies, particularly in Delhi. His contributions marked a transformative period in Hind’s educational landscape, setting the stage for subsequent scholars to further develop and refine these traditions. Some have even remarked that the educational advancements witnessed during this time were unprecedented in Hind.¹⁹¹

‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī was not only a prominent figure in the study and institutionalization of the prophetic tradition but also drew inspiration from various Sufi traditions. He was influenced by the Qadiri Silsila and particularly inspired by Abdul Qadir Gīlānī, a significant figure in the Qadiri order. Additionally, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī’s exposure to Naqshbandi thought was facilitated by Khawaja Bāqī Bi’llāh, a renowned Sufi figure who adapted the Naqshbandi Silsila to suit the context of Hind, deviating from its central Asian origin and traditions.¹⁹² Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī’s scholarly contributions extended beyond the study of prophetic traditions. He engaged with various rational subjects, including Islamic Jurisprudence, history, philosophy, and kalām, showcasing his multifaceted expertise and influence in diverse intellectual domains.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Siddiq Hasan Qannuwji, *Al-Hittah Fi Dhikr al-Sihah al-Ṣittah* (Beirut: Dar al-Jail, 2008), 25–56, <https://waqfeya.net/book.php?bid=759>; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:554.

¹⁹² Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 143–73.

¹⁹³ For medieval Hind intellectual life, the life and work of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī is very much important. His intellectual life could be analyzed from many angles; a versatile scholar who was an important contemporary of learned Siyālkūtī is also important to understand the intellectual ground of that time. Thanks to the historians, scribes, and researchers, they recorded much information is helpful to examine

The historical records provide very limited information about the specific interactions and studies between Siyālkūtī and ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī. It is known that Abdul Haq Dehlawi was a renowned scholar specializing in the study of prophetic traditions (hadith). His influence extended to various disciplines, including Sufism, kalām, and others. According to Syed Aḥmed Qadri, a publication from 1951, Abdul Haq Dehlawi had notable students, some of whom were delegated specific duties. Among these students, Siyālkūtī is mentioned,¹⁹⁴ but the details of their academic interactions, study topics, and the extent of their relationship remain unclear. Other individuals mentioned as students¹⁹⁵ of Abdul Haq Dehlawi include Shaykh Haidar bin Firoj Kashmīri, (d. 1647)¹⁹⁶, Shaykh Shakir Muḥammad Dehlawi (d. 1653), Shaykh Muḥammad Yahya (d. 1685)¹⁹⁷ Qāḍī Inayatullah Siddiqui Bilgrami¹⁹⁸. These students likely engaged in the study of hadith and other Islamic disciplines under Abdul Haq Dehlawi’s guidance.

It appears that Siyālkūtī may have been a student of Abdul Haq Dehlawi, a common practice in medieval times where teachers often sent their students to specific regions or appointed representatives to carry on their educational legacy. This approach involved creating a chain of transmission, ensuring that the knowledge was passed down through successive generations of students in designated areas.

not only his intellectuality but also Hind intellectual history through the lens of intellectual developments happened and continued in ages. See: Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:228–29; Muhammad Younus Qadri, “Shaykh ‘Abd Al-Haq Muhaddith Dehlawi as a Religio-Political Thinker an Analytical Study,” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society; Karachi* 64, no. 3 (Jul-Sep 2016) (2016): 43–44; Qannuwjī, *Al-Hittah Fi Dhikr al-Sihah al-Ṣittah*, 255–56; Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, 1:503; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:553–54. Ünal, “Abdülhak b. Seyfeddin Dihlevi,” 291–93.

¹⁹⁴ Syed Ahmed Qadri, *Tadhkirah Shaikh ‘Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi* (Patna: Shad Book Depot, 1370), 158–59.

¹⁹⁵ Qadri, “Shaykh ‘Abd Al-Haq Muhaddith Dehlawi as a Religio-Political Thinker an Analytical Study,” 45.

¹⁹⁶ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:525.

¹⁹⁷ Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Raud-e Kawthar* (Lahore: Idara Thaqafat-e Islamia, 1968), 338.

¹⁹⁸ Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 228.

Furthermore, Ameenullah Vaseer, a contemporary researcher on Siyālkūtī, asserts with reference to Shāh Waliullāh that Siyālkūtī was a student of Dehlawi, specifically studying hadith under his guidance. He outlines a scholarly lineage from Dehlawi to Shāh Waliullāh as follows: Shaykh Abdul Haq Dehlawi to ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī to ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb to ‘Abdullāh Dehlawi to Abu Tahir Muḥammad to Shāh Waliullāh.¹⁹⁹ This lineage underscores the significant role of Siyālkūtī in Shāh Waliullāh’s academic heritage, positioning him as one of the distinguished pupils of the learned Siyālkūtī.

iii. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Kirmāni al-Diwah (d. 1039/1629-30)

‘Abd al-Salām al-Diwah, renowned among the disciples of ‘Abd al-Salām Lahori²⁰⁰ (d. 1037/1627), himself a distinguished pupil of the versatile Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī (d. 1589), began his educational journey in Diwah, located near Lucknow. Having completed his primary education under the guidance of teachers in Awadh, he later migrated to Lahore, where he pursued higher education and remained until the culmination of his academic pursuits.

As mentioned earlier, ‘Abd al-Salām al-Diwah studied under Mufti ‘Abd al-Salām Lahori. Following the completion of his education, Shāh Jahān appointed him as the royal camp’s mufti, and he gained recognition as a renowned mufti. In addition to his role in issuing legal opinions, he continued to deliver lectures on kalām and various other fields.

¹⁹⁹ Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 30–31.

²⁰⁰ A prominent scholar, studied with Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī – would be regarded as one of the founding scholars of rational sciences in Hind intellectual history during 1587-1589 when the latter’s stay in the royal camp in Punjab. Then he was about forty-eight years old and his participation sharpened his knowledge what he acquired before. Then he continued lecturing being in Lahore on several fields of knowledge, more particularly on theology. He was a scholar was blessed with long academic life – fifty years he lectured until his death. His contribution goes to the institutionalization of rational sciences in Hind madrasa through his eminent students and legacy like Muhibbullah Ilahabadi (d. 1058/1648), ‘Abd al-Salām al-Kirmāni al-Diwah (d. 1037/1627), ‘Abd al-Qadir Faruqi Lakhnawi (d. 1077/1666) and others. See: Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā ‘Ash’ari Shī’is in India*, II:207–8; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:563–64; Francis Robinson, “Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 2 (1997): 159; Asad Q. Ahmed and Reza Pourjavady, “Theology in the Indian Subcontinent,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2014), 614, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199696703.013.017>.

Notable among his writings are his gloss on Khayâli, gloss on Taftâzânî's commentary on al-Nasafî's al-'Aqâ'id, gloss on Tafsîr-e Baidawî, gloss on Hidayat al-Fiqh, commentary on Tahzib al-Mantiq, commentary on Manar al-Usul, and a gloss on his own Kitab al-Şahâ'if.²⁰¹

There are some indications that 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī studied under 'Abd al-Salām al-Diwah.²⁰² As previously mentioned, Siyālkūtī had various teachers, and Diwah, who was an official mufti with expertise in jurisprudence, stayed in Lahore for an extended period. It is plausible that the esteemed scholar Siyālkūtī was among his notable students. Additionally, highlighting Diwah's intellectual lineage, which traces back to the versatile Iranian scholar Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī through 'Abd al-Salām Lahori,²⁰³ further establishes Siyālkūtī's connection to Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, contributing significantly to his intellectual legacy.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī -----> Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī -----> 'Abd al-Salām Lahori ----->

'Abd al-Salām al-Kirmānī al-Diwah (d. 1039/1629-30) -----> 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī

Intellectual lineage from Dashtakī to Siyālkūtī

²⁰¹ Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, 235–36; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:563; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 279, 323; Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 624; Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Ash'ari Shī'īs in India*, II:208.

²⁰² Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 624; Ahmed, "Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration," 232; Muhammad Mazhar Beqa, *Mu'jamu'l Usuleen*, vol. II (Ummul Qura University, 1414), No. 399; 164.

²⁰³ Robinson, "Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," 159; Ahmed, "Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration," 232. See also Naser Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Hījāz before Wahhabism: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's (d. 1101/1690) Theology of Sufism*, Islamicate Intellectual History 9 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2022), 25.

iv. Shaykh Daniyāl of Chawrasa

He was from Chawrasa (east of Lucknow) - a student of the above-mentioned celebrated scholar ‘Abd al-Salām Diwah and one of his students was Mullā Quṭb al-Dīn Sihlavi (d. 1103/ 1692)- was the fountainhead of Farangi Mahal madrasah²⁰⁴ and a teacher of Muḥibbullāh Bihārī (d. 1119/1717-8).²⁰⁵ We have very little access to the documents about his connection with Siyālkūtī.²⁰⁶ However, there is a strong possibility as the former stayed in Lahore and got prominence in academia. Being a colleague and pupil is also possible, as it was normal in the medieval education system. Even it might be seen for ‘Abd al-Salām Lahori, who studied with Mullā Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī when he was already a teacher in the madrasah tradition. It is easy to understand that Daniyal’s expertise was rational science, observing his teachers and students. It might have happened in the same madrasah where Diwah and his student stayed when Siyālkūtī was also there or in a separate madrasah at a different time; both could happen.

We are still unaware of which madrasah Siyālkūtī lectured in Lahore. In the same way, it might happen in a place where he studied, and with the mentioned teachers, he would start teaching after completing a particular syllabus. Since we do not know what specific disciplines he went through with these teachers. However, it is imaginable that what he studied before might have enlightened him for more expertise and sharpened his scholarship or in some other related field that might be reflected in his later years by penning commentaries and glosses extensively. Those developments before him are hardly seen in Hind intellectual history.

²⁰⁴ Where Dars-e Nizamiya was developed that paved the way for the dominance of rational sciences in educational curriculum in Hind madrasa tradition. See for more information: Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001, 69–102.

²⁰⁵ Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā ‘Ash’ari Shī’īs in India*, II:208–9; Ahmed, “Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration,” 241n; Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001, 43, 221.

²⁰⁶ Ahmed, “Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration,” 241n.

III. Siyālkūtī's Readings: A Common Ground of Learning

In the early Baburid period, based on the sources accessed so far, there was no standard syllabus for higher education. While we can attempt to identify some commonly read texts, this area remains largely unexamined. The situation becomes even more challenging when considering rational sciences, as their institutionalization did not occur until the establishment of the Firangi Mahal madrasah in the eighteenth century. The Dars-i Nizamiyya curriculum, credited with establishing the first organized syllabus in the Hind madrasah tradition, incorporated rational sciences alongside traditional subjects. Unfortunately, the specific texts Siyālkūtī studied under Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī and subsequent teachers in the sixteenth century remain unclear. The exploration of developments in this period is limited, as will be further discussed in the section on the awareness of rational sciences. This analysis aims to reconstruct the possible teaching materials used by examining Siyālkūtī's intellectual contributions and the broader context of his intellectual life.

An examination of the historical context and potential motivations behind Siyālkūtī's writings reveals several reasons. One primary reason was to make complex texts more accessible for his students, as evidenced by his work in various disciplines of rational sciences (discussed in Chapter 3) and the comprehensive list in Appendix 1. Another reason was to elucidate texts that lacked existing works, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyah* or *ta'liq*, making him a pioneer in this area for certain subjects like kalām and logic, as will be detailed in the third chapter. Siyālkūtī's treatises were undoubtedly intended for his students, as exemplified by 'Abdullāh al-Labīb's request for a *ḥāshiyah* on *Tahrīr al-Qawā'id al-Mantiqiyyah*.²⁰⁷ Notably, Siyālkūtī even took notes while teaching al-Labīb, most possibly *ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥ al-Mawāqif* of Hasan Çelebi, which he later developed into a complete *ḥāshiyah*.

Another important aspect is Siyālkūtī's work on the trend of *al-Kāfiya*. He wrote a supplement (*takmilah*) to Lari's *ḥāshiyah* and a complete *ḥāshiyah* on Lari's

²⁰⁷ See 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah 'ala al-Tasawwurat* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1276), 2.

ḥāshiyah.²⁰⁸ At the same time, he wrote a commentary on Mullā Jāmī's *al-Kāfiya*.²⁰⁹ These points all suggest that Siyālkūtī had access to the works of all the scholars in a particular lineage. For example, he had exposure to both Lari and Mullā Jāmī. Similarly, it is highly plausible that he studied the works of 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, and Hasan Çelebi through his studies of *al-Mawāqif*. All the works he produced *ḥāshiyah* or *takmilah* were likely texts he encountered during his education. If not, he felt writing commentaries during his teaching career was important. Both possibilities indicate.

This discussion shows that Siyālkūtī, in particular, and the Hind madrasah system, in general, were well connected with other major scholarship of that time. The figure below illustrates how the works of various scholars were interconnected, with Siyālkūtī engaging with those extensively used in Ottoman and Safavid intellectual circles. As discussed later, the Hind madrasah tradition adopted rational sciences with at least some of the same common texts, though perhaps a little later than the aforementioned regions.

²⁰⁸ A.R.B., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Philology, Arabic): V. XX*, Second Ed., vol. XX (Patna, India: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), nos. 2055, 2057–60; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume I*, vol. 1, Handbook of Oriental studies Section 1, The Near and Middle East ; volume 117, Supplement Volume 1 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2017), 548–49.

²⁰⁹ See Kamboh, *Aml-e Šālih or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, 1939; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

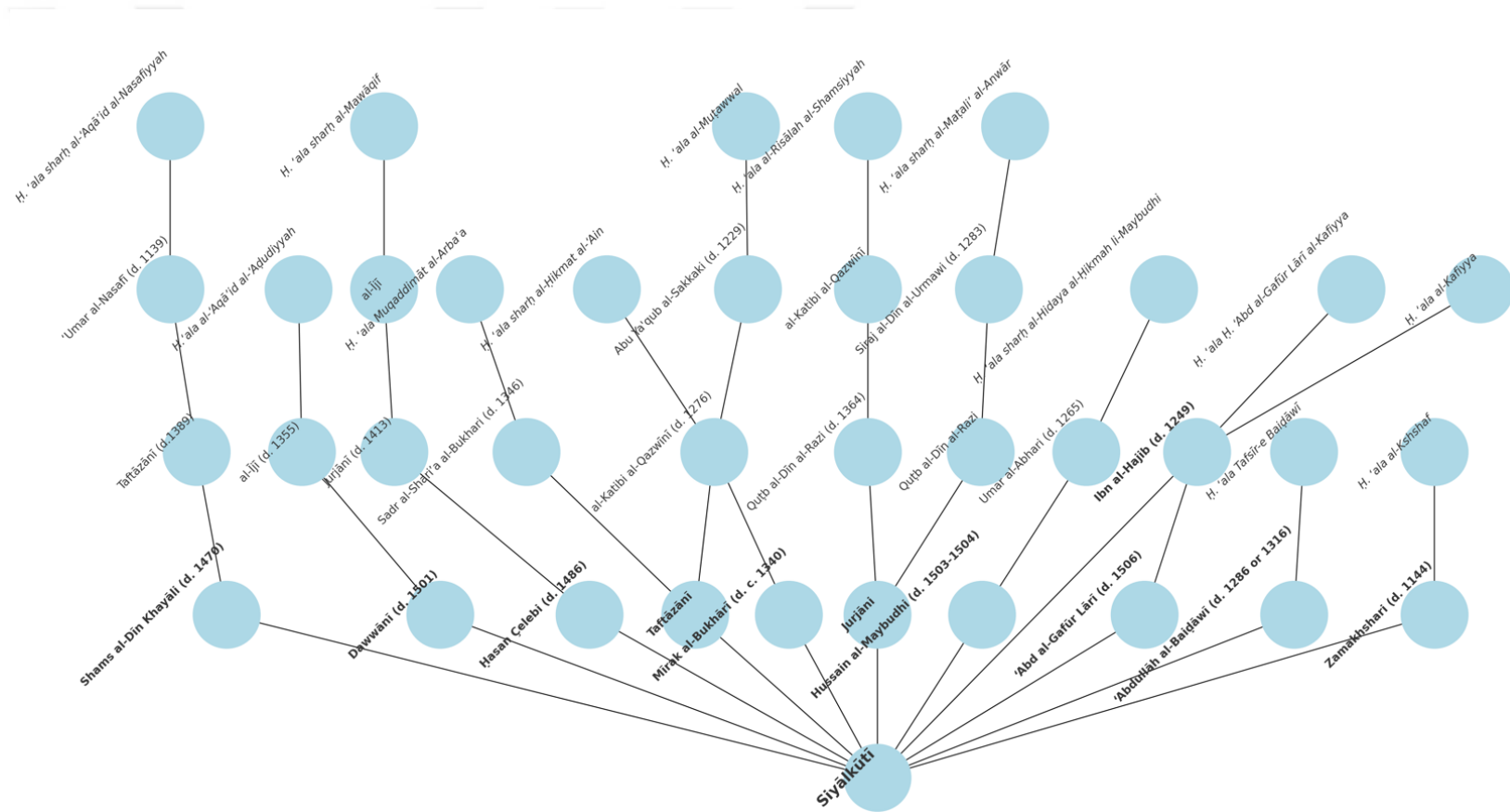


Figure 1. 4: Siyālkūtī's connectedness with scholars of different backgrounds and lands

IV. Intellectual Lineage: Madrasah, Sons, and Students

i. Foundation of Sialkot Madrasah

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī was a great teacher of his time, having many students, as discussed below. However, little information is available about where and when he lectured. One thing is clear, he founded a madrasah in Sialkot. However, the exact date of its establishment remains unknown. As discussed later, Emperor Jahangir likely granted him a considerable *jāgīr* to support the madrasah.²¹⁰ This most likely happened after the emperor’s accession, placing the founding date around 1605-06. By then, Siyālkūtī had already gained wide recognition from scholars of different disciplines (as discussed in several places). He probably established his madrasah before this time and needed financial support to maintain it. Later, the madrasah was expanded into a large complex where social welfare activities were conducted alongside the learning center. Students from various provinces and even international students flocked to his madrasah for lessons.²¹¹

He also established a big mosque, sometimes presented as having been built before the madrasah. It is also logical that the Mosque would also be used for madrasah work, which was very common. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī – Siyālkūtī’s main teacher, as discussed, would lecture in the mosque. The same thing could occur. This mosque still exists in Tehsil Bazar and is situated in Mahallah Mianapura. There is a date mentioning it as the foundation date is 1052/1642-3. It seems it is a late date. Perhaps this mosque was founded later.²¹²

One of the important parts of the madrasah complex was a library. Considering Siyālkūtī’s works and intellectual life, it is likely that this was a rich library. Unfortunately, very little information is available about it. It is said that the Sikhs’ attacks on Sialkot

²¹⁰ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:378.

²¹¹ Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 73.

²¹² See Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 57.

(1763) impacted the library. The city was set on fire, and the library was perhaps greatly damaged or even completely destroyed.²¹³ There may be some remains yet to be discovered.

He also established a large mosque, sometimes presented as having been built before the madrasah. It is also logical that the mosque would be used for madrasah activities, as was quite common. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, Siyālkūtī's main teacher (as discussed), would lecture in the mosque. The same could have occurred here. This mosque still exists in Tehsil Bazar, situated in Mahallah Mianapura. Its building mentions a date as the foundation date, 1052/1642-3.²¹⁴ This date seems too late to be the foundation year. Perhaps this mosque was founded later, and another one would be founded and used primarily.

Another point to consider is Siyālkūtī's appointment as the principal of a royal madrasah in Agra during the reign of Shāh Jahān. He likely came to greater prominence after this appointment and successfully received many endowments and rewards (discussed below). This was likely Siyālkūtī's later years, and the mosque mentioned above might have been established during this time. He possibly expanded his complex and madrasah facilities during this period. Among his other establishments was a garden where he and his son, 'Abdullāh al-Labīb, are buried. This garden still exists. The complex also included a large water tank named '*Tālāb-i Maulavi Sahib*,' used by many people. A rest house and a bath were built for the travelers. There was also an 'Idgah named '*Idgah-i Maulavi Sahib*' where thousands of Muslims would perform 'Id prayers. This place is still used as an 'Idgah under the management of Anjuman-e Islamia.²¹⁵

²¹³ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:378.

²¹⁴ See Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 57.

²¹⁵ See Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:378. And also Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 57.

All these things help to imagine the level of his madrasah complex. Perhaps there were also dormitories for his students, as many would come from distant regions. His son, student, and successor, led this complex after his demise.

ii. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb: Worthy Father’s Worthy Son

a. Early Life and Education: Sialkot and Primary Education

Little information is accessible concerning the family of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī and his descendants, whom he nurtured and bequeathed his legacy. Nevertheless, certain biographical works provide succinct accounts of his son ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī appears to have raised him into a renowned scholar who not only effectively perpetuated his father’s legacy but also significantly expanded it across various dimensions.

His full name is ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, the son of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm, who is, in turn, the son of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Siyālkūtī. Variations in his name include ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, ‘Abdullāh Siyālkūtī, Mullā ‘Abdullāh, and Maulavi ‘Abdullāh. Occasionally, he is called ‘Abu’l-Labīb ‘Abdullāh, with or without his father’s name. Some instances also use ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb Siyālkūtī, with the occasional inclusion of his father’s name. The use of “al-Labīb” in his name lacks a clear explanation in available records. However, it is possible to imagine that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’ Labīb means intelligent, brilliant, etc.; as he was intelligent, and his memorizing capacity was high, he had been named ‘al-Labīb’. Siyālkūtī presented him with important titles as seen in his *ḥāshiyah* on *Risālah al-Shamsiyya*, i.e., *al-walad al-a’izza, nurun hadqat’l-m’adah, nurun hadiqati’l ‘ibadah, fuadi’l fuwaid li-hazal garib ‘Abdullāh al-mulaqqab bi’l-Labīb*.²¹⁶ In the same way, it is seen that Siyālkūtī also used his name in his several works.

²¹⁶ See: Saqi Must’ad Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri: A History of the Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir (Reign 1658-1707 A.D.)*, trans. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1947), 91, <https://bit.ly/3Bfm2HB>; Muhammad Sa’eed Ahmad Marharavi, *Aasar-e Khair* (Lahore: Maktaba Sabiriyye, Matbaa-e ‘Arabiyya,

The possibility that ‘Labīb’ was added to ‘Abdullah’s name after significant teaching and training by Siyālkūtī is a plausible explanation for its use. This act of entitling ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb while excluding the names of his other children suggests that ‘Abdullah was distinct and perhaps stood out significantly among his siblings. Siyālkūtī’s use of terms reflecting love, affection, and appreciation in the entitling of his son ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb suggests a deep sense of pride and satisfaction in his son’s achievements. The choice of such terms implies that ‘Abdullah not only met but exceeded his father’s expectations, making Siyālkūtī a successful teacher and a proud and loving father.

He is entitled as maulana, maulavi, Mullā, ‘*ālim al-kabir*, and ‘Allamah. His contemporaries could easily regard him as a proper successor and representative of the legacy of the prominent scholar ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. He is also known as the ‘*Imām of the age*.’²¹⁷

Regrettably, there is a dearth of biographical details regarding his birth and early life. Born in Sialkot, where his father spent a significant portion of his career and life, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb was the second among the four sons of Siyālkūtī.²¹⁸ His father conducted his primary education from the very early of life, *i.e.*, in the later part of the 1590s or around 1600. Considering these circumstances, it can be inferred that he was likely born between 1587 and 1590 when Siyālkūtī was around 26 to 29.

1981), 48. See for ‘Abu’l Labīb Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 324, 461. And for Abdullah al-Labīb, “Pertevniyal 638 (M),” 3. And sometimes Siyālkūtī with his names also mentioned, see Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:577. And for Siyālkūtī’s use in the texts, see ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Hāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah” (Medina al-Munawwarah, Cemāziyelāhire 1100), Ragıp Paşa Ktp., Ragıp Paşa, No. 00886.

²¹⁷ See for maulana Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:455. See maulavi Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 73; Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e ‘Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 60. See for Mullā Rahman, *Bazm-e Taimuriyya*, 146. See for ‘*ālim al-kabir*, and ‘Allamah Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:577. See for Imām of the age J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga, eds., *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab* (Guru Nanak University, Amritsar: Routledge India, 2015), 86.

²¹⁸ Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 10.

As mentioned, he received his primary education under the guidance of his father, which was a common practice during that period. This approach to education, where sons learned from their fathers, was a prevalent trend, as seen in the case of other scholars like Aḥmad Sirhindī. Unfortunately, specific details about the subjects or texts they studied together at primary and higher levels are not documented. However, it appears that they studied various classical and advanced texts together. There is a possibility, if not a certainty, that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb played a role in the preparation of *ḥāshiyah* on *Risala al-Shamsiyya* by contributing some ideas. This collaborative study might have occurred during the early phase of Siyālkūtī’s career, around the 1600s.

As previously mentioned, Sialkot was already a recognized and prominent cultural and intellectual center of the Baburid empire, and it served as the early life setting for ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb. Additionally, the nearby city of Lahore held significant administrative importance within the Baburid Empire. Notably, Lahore became the capital of Emperor Akbar in 1585/6 and retained this status until 1598.²¹⁹ This period witnessed numerous socio-cultural developments in the region. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, being born and brought up in Sialkot during these dynamic times, would have been exposed to the intellectual and cultural advancements of the era. These circumstances likely contributed to him to think and dream big.

Clues about ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’s education can be inferred from texts, including the introduction of Ghunyat-ut-Talibeen. In its introduction, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb mentions studying under his father, but the details of their educational journey, including subjects, timelines, and specific texts, remain undisclosed. It appears that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb was not solely taught by his father but participated in classes alongside his peers. One known

²¹⁹ See: John F. Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Mughal Empire*, vol. Part 1, Volume 5 (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 49; Stuart Cary Welch et al., eds., *The Emperors’ Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art : Distributed by Abrams, 1987), 298; Richard M. Eaton, *India in the Persianate Age: 1000–1765*, First edition (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019), 229.

classmate mentioned in historical records is Shāh Muḥammad Hashim from Gujarat,²²⁰ indicating that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb followed a structured educational system that involved interactions with fellow students.

Concerning his higher study, it seems he kept it up under Siyālkūtī in Sialkot madrasa. We are not sure where this madrasah was, whether it was in Miyan Waris Mosque, where he studied with Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī or another place. Perhaps the latter was alive during this time, as he died in 1608/9. However, as mentioned above, any of both options would be as Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī died in Lahore, perhaps he (Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī) stayed in Lahore at the last phase of his life, and Siyālkūtī continued teaching in Sialkot. Few indications help guess some points, such as, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb studied Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Tahrīr al-Qawā’id al-Mantiqiyyah* also known as *Risala al-Shamsiyyah* with his father. Perhaps ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb went through this book early in his higher study. In the introduction of this *ḥāshiyah*, Siyālkūtī mentions that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb requested him to work on it.²²¹ In addition, Otto Loth informs us that Siyālkūtī wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* while ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb was reading with the former (Siyālkūtī).²²² It is essential information that gives several indications about ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’s study with his father. The *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was not a work that many could go through, but a few had a good command of Arabic grammar and other disciplines of rational sciences. Since it is known, it is possible to assume that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb went through all the works, if not at least most of them, written by Siyālkūtī as

²²⁰ He was the son of Haji Muḥammad Naw Shāh – a Gujarātī who sent his son to Sialkot to get benefitted from ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. He stayed there several years. See: Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durra al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 52.

²²¹ See al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Yazma Bağışlar, No. 02053,” fol. 2a; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Yazma Bağışlar, no. 00730”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Bursa İnebey Ktp., Ulucami, No. 2333”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Murad Molla, No. 01496”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, No. 02573”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Kılıç Ali Paşa, 00651-001”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Halet Efendi, No. 00503”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, No. 05745”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp. Fatih, No. 03279”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp. Fatih, No. 03278”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Beyazıt Ktp., Beyazıt, no. B9704.”

²²² Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 119.

they stayed together for a considerable period of their life and student (‘Abdullāh al-Labīb) followed the teacher closely. Finally, it is understood that he studied with Siyālkūtī on tafsīr, kalām, logic, rhetoric, fiqh, etc.

Further, he also studied hadith with Mufti Muhaddith Nur al-Haq b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (1073/1662-3) – a celebrated scholar of hadith of Siyālkūtī’s time, as discussed above.²²³ Shaykh Nur al-Haq was also a scholar of both hadith and *fiqh*.²²⁴

b. Career and Works

There is no exact information about ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’s profession, when and where he started teaching. However, it is possible to portray, though short, his academic life. It actually deserves a big work. All the historians’ records that have been accessed so far tell about ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb that he was a prominent scholar of his time. Perhaps he was one of the most famous, if not the most, leading scholars in Sialkot and Lahore after the demise of his father. And, accessed records also inform us that he was the proper successor of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. At least one record²²⁵ tells that he surpassed his father in some respects.²²⁶ It seems the claim would be correct in some cases.

As discussed in several places, though both scholars are important for Hind intellectual history, their places might be different. Of course, Siyālkūtī is a legend of his time, but it does not mean he is the only one; instead, he is one of many legends. In the same way, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb acquired popularity at the mass level, learned and less educated. In

²²³ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:577.

²²⁴ Among Shaikh Nur al-Haq’s works, sharh on al-Jami’ al-Sahih Muslim, sharh on al-Jami’ al-Sahih al-Bukhari most famous. See: Muhammad Hifz-ur-Rahman bin Muhibbur Rahman al-Kumillayi, *Al-Baduru’l Madiyati Tarajimil Hanaifiyya*, vol. 19 (Dhaka: Maktabat al-Shaikh al-Islam, 2018), 212.

²²⁵ Ameenullag Vaseer, referring to ‘*Mirat Al-Alam*’ claimed it without proper citation, See: Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 53.

²²⁶ See for more, Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:455; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 73; Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 90–91; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:577; Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 10, 299–300; Grewal and Banga, *Early Nineteenth-Century Punjab*, 86; Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 91, 140; Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans)*, 189.

addition, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb successfully continued the trend by progressing Siyālkūtī’s established madrasah and charity works; not only that, he multiplied its reputation in several folds, as claimed by the Sujān Rai Bhandari (d. 1701) in his *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* (wr. 1695).²²⁷ His communication with various groups or classes of people could be mentioned as an informal network to disseminate information and raise intellectual consciousness. A big analysis of the type of networks he developed is needed. Perhaps in this case, his name could be mentioned beside Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī (d. 1454) – a prominent scholar and literati in Iran and Central Asia.²²⁸

After completing his primary education, as mentioned he started higher education under the supervision of his father in the latter’s madrasah in Sialkot. As happened in the classical educational system, a senior student would become a teacher of junior students. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, perhaps, started teaching during his higher study while he read the works of higher studies, *i.e.*, *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* and others. And, when his father moved to Agra and later Delhi, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb perhaps became an expert in Islamic sciences and continued teaching in Siyālkūtī’s madrasah in Sialkot.

It is understood from the available records that he was a teacher and guide to many, regardless of their positions and status besides his students. Consequently, he became a popular teacher. It seems he invested more time in teaching and guiding the people than writing treatises like his father. All these achievements made him an ‘*Imām of the age*’.²²⁹

Concerning his works, he penned in several disciplines, such as in *tafsīr*, he wrote a *tafsīr* on *Surah al-Fatiha*,²³⁰ in *fiqh* and *usul-e fiqh*, he wrote *al-Tasrih ‘ala al-Talwih fi usul al-Fiqh min Bidayati’l-Muqaddamati’l Arba’a* (*al-Tasrih fi Gawamidi’l-*

²²⁷ Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*, 73.

²²⁸ See Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, 74–112.

²²⁹ Grewal and Banga, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab*, 86; Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 10.

²³⁰ It seems, it is one of the important works, its copy is available in Rampur 25, see: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 281.

Talwih),²³¹ *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Hidayah* of Marghinani (d. 1197);²³² and among others, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah ‘Abd al-Gafūr ‘ala Sharḥi’l-Jāmī*,²³³ *risalah fi haqaiqi al-Tawhid* (written with the order of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir), and *Zadu’l-Labīb fi safari’l-habib* (though it is not confirmed),²³⁴ are the most known.²³⁵

According to Otto Loth, *al-Tasriḥ fi ghawamidi’l-talwih* was written by ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb in his early youth, perhaps better to say, early career, with the necessary guidance of Siyālkūti.²³⁶ In the Ottoman madrasah, this text has been used, and still, several copies

²³¹ It is available in Loth 327, Harvard 4186, Princeton 925, Dar al-Kitāb Misriyya 58, Rajasthan (Hind) 781, and published in India in 1292/1875. See: Ahmad, 324; Kahhala, *Mu’jam al-Mu’allifin*, 1993, 6:67; Muhammad Mazhar Baqa, *A’lam Usul al-Fiqhi al-Islami wa Musannifatihim*, vol. III (Mecca: Jami’ah ummul Qura, 1420), 37.

²³² *Hidayah* of Burhan al-Dīn ‘Ali ibn Abu Bakr al-Marghinani (d. 1197) – a Central Asian prominent jurist of Hanafī school of thought. This work had been well-known as a classical and highly authoritative text to Hanafī jurisprudence. It was a *sharḥ* on *Jamī’ al-Saghīr* and the *Mukhtasar of Qudūrī*. In Hindustan, it had been read extensively, and until the compilation of *al-Fatwa al-Hindiyyah* (*Fatwa ‘Alamgir*), probably it was the most read work. And after the latter’s completion, it was used as the second main text. A good number of works happened on it. During British rule in Hindustan, this work had been selected as a standard authority for its civil court. See for Marghinani, John L. Esposito, “Ali Ibn Abu Bakr Al-Marghinani,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 192. Zubaid Ahmad mentions some scholars worked on *hidayah* in the related places, a few to mention, see Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 313, 317, 322, 327, 338. And concerning its place, see Ahmad, 72–73; Mona Siddiqui, *The Good Muslim: Reflections on Classical Islamic Law and Theology* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13. A copy of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb

’s work is available in Farhat 74, see: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 324.

²³³ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 461–62.

²³⁴ A copy of it is in Peshawar 591. See: Ahmad, 324. However, Ameenullah Vaseer investigated it, and commented that the works does not belong to ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb. He investigated based on the sources, *i.e.*, Index of MSS. Islamia College Library Peshawar, No. 591, and Index of Shirani Collection in the Punjab University Library, Lahore No. 2166, See: Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 63-64 n139.

²³⁵ See: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:577.

²³⁶ Loth 327. See: Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 80–81.

are found in some libraries, *i.e.*, in Süleymaniye library, Laleli 709 and 710, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 419.²³⁷

Concerning the nature of this great scholar, it is seen that there was an integration between his internal virtues and external learnings, and it made his religious poverty, as assumed, a close associate of his scholarship. He also promoted himself more kindly and could act as the guide of all.²³⁸ According to Saqi Must'ad Khan, “Maulvi (Maulavi) ‘Abdullāh of Sialkot, ... who combined piety with scholarship, virtues with polished manners... ”.²³⁹

c. Relations with the Court

During the Baburid rule, as previously discussed, many prominent scholars received support and patronage from the court for an extended or brief period. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb would have been well aware of these developments from the early stages of his educational life, primarily due to his father’s connections. The precise timeline of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’s direct association with the court remains unclear. Available records suggest that he stepped into the limelight after his father’s demise in 1067/1657. Various events between the court of Aurangzeb and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb provide insights into the nature of their connection and relationship during this period. Some of these incidents are recorded as follows.

Before coming to Lahore, the Emperor wanted to meet ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, and on behalf of the Emperor, Hasan Afdal requested the learned ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb to come to Lahore to meet the Emperor, and he accepted the offer and reached there two/three days before Emperor’s arrival. In 1086/1675 (January 21), Emperor Aurangzeb arrived at Lahore, received the scholar with a warm heart, and showed him great esteem. They had

²³⁷ Abdullah al-Labib, “al-Taṣrīḥ fi-Gawāmiẓi al-Talwīḥ” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, no. 00709; Abdullah al-Labib, “Al-Taṣrīḥ Fi-Gawāmiẓi al-Talwīḥ” (1669 1080), Süleymaniye KTP., Laleli, no. 00710; Abdullah al-Labib, “al-Taṣrīḥ fi-Gawāmiẓi al-Talwīḥ” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, no. 00419.

²³⁸ Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 299–300.

²³⁹ Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 91.

several discussions, and His Majesty became happy to meet him.²⁴⁰ It seems that due to his knowledge and contribution, Emperor Aurangzeb greatly respected and honored him. One thing is meaningful for our study, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb was honored with a robe after the conference - an indication of the great respect that would be presented to the distinguished personalities. Not only that, but he was also gifted with 200 mohars (gold coin)²⁴¹ and a female elephant.²⁴²

The current biographical records do not provide specific details about the discussions between ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb and Emperor Aurangzeb. However, it is possible that their conversations revolved around topics related to the madrasah and the ongoing charitable works initiated by the renowned scholar ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. Given Emperor Aurangzeb’s familiarity with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, it is likely that these subjects were of mutual interest and importance during their meeting. While the available records do not explicitly mention whether ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb made specific requests for assistance with the continuity of the madrasah and other projects, it is conceivable that such discussions could have taken place during their meetings. If ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb had any requests, Emperor Aurangzeb might have been inclined to support, given the importance of education and charitable initiatives. The conversations could have extended to various matters related to education and state affairs, reflecting the multifaceted nature of their interactions.

Another event is seen between ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb and Emperor Aurangzeb; the latter had great respect for the former, as mentioned. One more indication is that the Emperor wished to translate *Fatawa-i Alamgiri* into Persian by the learned ‘Abdullāh al-

²⁴⁰ Khan, 91–92; Rahman, *Bazm-e Taimuriyya*, 247; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 53.

²⁴¹ According to Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, it was 200 Ashrafis, see: Rahman, *Bazm-e Taimuriyya*, 247.

²⁴² Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 91–92.

Labīb and his pupils.²⁴³ *Fatawa-i Alamgiri* was a famous work prepared by Emperor Aurangzeb's court got known all over the Islamic educational and learning centers within a short period of its completion. It is well known that it had been used extensively by the followers of the Hanafī school of thought. It was a prestigious work that carried special attention from the court, and one of the responsibilities was given to 'Abdullāh al-Labīb. It indicates his place in the court's consciousness about him. No records are available about the time of this event and what the response was from 'Abdullāh al-Labīb's side. It seems the project had not been carried out for certain activities he had.

There is also another story that existing records inform that the Emperor wrote a letter to 'Abdullāh al-Labīb by his hand²⁴⁴ (*farman*)²⁴⁵ and offered him to be '*Sadr*' - an important administrative post of the court that would look after the land endowments made by the Emperor and Princes to take care of the scholars, pious personalities, and monks; and the *Sadr* was also a post of civil judge.²⁴⁶ It seems the post was '*sadarat-i 'azami*' of Azmer.²⁴⁷ It seems logical, and it would be appropriate to offer the position of *Sadr* to 'Abdullāh al-Labīb as he had all the qualifications needed to take over. Jadunath Sarkar tells us the requirements to hold the post as "for the post of ... *Sadr*, men of high Arabic scholarship and reputed sanctity of character, where available, were chosen."²⁴⁸ And, as one of the most important duties was to work for the charity, perhaps 'Abdullāh al-Labīb had practical experiences inherited from his father. Perhaps it paved the way for him to be chosen. Thirdly, he was not just a scholar. Instead, he would be regarded as a scholar of

²⁴³ Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 54.

²⁴⁴ Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 141.

²⁴⁵ It can be regarded as a *farman* as it is known for medieval time that what a King or Emperor requested or offered for a specific job, directly it was understood as an order. So, the letter may be seen as an order by a *farman*.

²⁴⁶ For more about *Sadr*, and its responsibility and influence, see: Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration: Patna University Readership Lectures*, 1920 (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons Limited, 1920), 38–39.

²⁴⁷ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:355.

²⁴⁸ Sarkar, *Mughal Administration: Patna University Readership Lectures*, 1920, 38.

the time, a teacher of many, and a leader of the age (as mentioned ‘Imām’) for his formal and informal dissemination of knowledge, and would be considered for the post.

Muḥammad Bakhtawar Khān - a court historian and personal advisor to the Emperor in 1685, documented this event in his renowned work ‘*Mirat al-Alam.*’ His account sheds light on the unfolding story. Bakhtawar Khan, known for maintaining strong relations with scholars, had a similar connection with ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb. Upon the Emperor’s order, Bakhtawar Khān was tasked with writing a letter to ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb on his behalf, subtly hinting at the prospective job. In this role as a mediator, Bakhtawar Khān facilitated communication between the Emperor and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb. These two letters were received by ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb and responded to Bakhtawar Khan, as noted in *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (wr. 1710),

“(The present) is the time of separation (from the world) and not a time for acquiring fame in this world. In obedience to the Emperor’s command, I am going to the court and shall secure the blessing of visiting the tomb of Khwaja Mu’inuddin and interviewing the Emperor”.²⁴⁹

It shows that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb did not decline the offer directly but rather politely presented an argument, and it seems he presented himself before the Emperor and obeyed. The Emperor liked the approach and words “from this chief of wise men,” as commented by Saqi Must’ad Khan.²⁵⁰ As he responded to the letters, went to the court, stayed there for some days, and enjoyed the Emperor’s accompany.²⁵¹ Again, it is unknown what happened when they met and what they discussed. After visiting the tomb of Khwaja Mu’inuddin, he returned home with the Emperor’s consent.²⁵²

‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, though, died shortly after returning home from the court, remained in the mind of the Emperor with full swing and respect. Being informed of the

²⁴⁹ Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 142.

²⁵⁰ Khan, 142.

²⁵¹ Khan, 142.

²⁵² Khan, 142; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:577.

demise of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb in Rajab 1094 / July 1683,²⁵³ the Emperor, according to Bakhtawar Khan, was muchly sorrowed to hear the sad news and remembered his visit to Ajmer and what happened there.²⁵⁴ The Emperor sent a letter of condolence to his family and stood by his family members – his widow and four sons. The Emperor respected them by presenting robes, increased the stipend, and ordered that his sons could occupy the jagir which ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb owned in his lifetime.²⁵⁵

d. Scholarship and Contribution to Hind Intellectual Life: Teaching and Students

Evaluating his contribution to the intellectual landscape of Hind, it is essential to consider ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb in conjunction with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. Their collaboration and association likely played a pivotal role in shaping the legacy of Siyālkūtī and ensuring the continuity of his mission. If ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb had not been a part of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s life, the impact and contributions of Siyālkūtī might have taken a different trajectory, especially in terms of establishing a lasting legacy that could elevate his mission to a prominent position.

As is often the case, students can sometimes pave the way for their teachers to enhance their own excellence. This dynamic seems to have played a role for Siyālkūtī. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, on at least one occasion, expressed the desire to write a commentary (ḥāshiyah) on Saiyid Sharif Jurjani’s commentary on *Risala al-Shamsiyya*, as mentioned earlier.²⁵⁶ The collaborative readings and discussions on various important treatises

²⁵³ As mentioned in the *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*. See: Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 142.

²⁵⁴ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:455.

²⁵⁵ See: Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 141; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:455; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 54.

²⁵⁶ See al-Siyālkūtī, “Süleymaniye Ktp., Yazma Bağışlar, No. 02053”; “Süleymaniye Ktp., Yazma Bağışlar, no. 00730”; “Bursa İnebey Ktp., Ulucami, No. 2333”; “Süleymaniye Ktp., Murad Molla, No. 01496”; “Süleymaniye Ktp., Mehmed Asım Bey, No. 300”; “Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, No. 02573”; “Kılıç Ali Paşa, 00651-001”; “Süleymaniye Ktp., Halet Efendi, No. 00503”; “Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, No. 05745”; “Süleymaniye Ktp. Fatih, No. 03279”; “Süleymaniye Ktp. Fatih, No. 03278”; “Beyazıt Ktp.,

between ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb and his father provided a mutually beneficial environment where both the teacher and the student could grow and learn from each other. Having a capable and supportive fellow student, Siyālkūtī found an avenue for further intellectual development.

It is evident that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb played a crucial role as the successor to Siyālkūtī in the madrasah he had established. It appears that Shāh Jahān extended invitations to renowned scholars, including Siyālkūtī, to join the Delhi court to transform the city into a hub of culture and education. During this period, Siyālkūtī, for a certain duration, may not have been able to stay in Sialkot, and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb effectively assumed the responsibility of representing his father. This transitional phase can be seen as a form of training for ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb as he took on the role of his father’s successor.

Following the passing of Siyālkūtī, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb assumed leadership of the madrasah. The madrasah complex was a large institution with diverse functions, and he adeptly managed and sustained it for several decades. And, as a teacher, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb gained widespread popularity. It appears that Siyālkūtī did not merely establish a conventional madrasah but rather a cultural center aimed at fostering awareness among the local populace. While Siyālkūtī may have laid the foundation, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb effectively dedicated his efforts to realizing its objectives, earning him the esteemed title of "Imām of the age."²⁵⁷ He evidently wielded considerable influence over the people of the Lahore region.

Examining Sialkot’s situation, it seems that after Siyālkūtī ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb was the most, if not at least, one of the most prominent scholars. And, of course, he was one of the most dignified scholars of Aurangzeb’s time as the latter (Emperor) would meet him during his visit to Lahore;²⁵⁸ not only that, but the court would also invite him as

Beyazıt, no. B9704”; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Encyclopaedia, Logic, Philosophy, Theology and Dialectics)*, XXI:28.

²⁵⁷ Grewal and Banga, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab*, 86; Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 10.

²⁵⁸ Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 91.

happened in 1094/1682 while Emperor wanted to meet him and invited him to Ajmer.²⁵⁹ It seems he successfully retained his position until the last time.

Finally, his contemporaneous historians' comments also help us understand his place. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh (d. 1675) passed away before 'Abdullāh al-Labīb; his comments on him are significant for the later generations. He dignified him as the expert of all knowledge, a man completed with *Akhlaq* (*makarima'l akhlaq*), outstanding, brilliant, and so on.²⁶⁰ In the same way, Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān (d. 1685) in his historical work *Mirat al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, Sujān Rai Bhandari (d. 1701) in his *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* (wr. 1695)²⁶¹ and Saqī Must'ad Khan's *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (wr. 1710)²⁶² also praised 'Abdullāh al-Labīb. And Muḥammad Sa'eed Aḥmad, in his *Asar-e Khair* enlisted him among Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir's most prominent scholars.²⁶³

Several dates are found in the historical and biographical works. As mentioned, from the account of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, it is understood that he died in Rajab 1094 / July 1683 or on a nearby date.²⁶⁴ Some comments on the date are Rajab 1093/ July 1682.²⁶⁵ However, it seems the former date is more appropriate, which was also investigated and agreed on by the contemporary scholar Ameenullah Vaseer.²⁶⁶ His grave is in Sialkot, beside his celebrated father's.

²⁵⁹ Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:455.

²⁶⁰ See: Kamboh, *Aml-e Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, 1914, III:383–84.

²⁶¹ See: Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:455.

²⁶² Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 141–42.

²⁶³ See for other scholars of the time: Marharavi, *Aasar-e Khair*, 48.

²⁶⁴ See: Khan, *Maasir-I-Alamgiri*, 141–42.

²⁶⁵ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:577; Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, 10.

²⁶⁶ Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 54.

iii. Siyālkūtī's Later Generations

The later generations and descendants of Siyālkūtī, particularly those of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, remain largely unknown. Although contemporary historians have mentioned that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb had four sons, detailed records about the specific offspring of Siyālkūtī and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb and the subsequent continuity of their lineage are not available. While there are claims of certain names being associated with the descendants of Siyālkūtī, the information on this matter is limited, and the details of later generations remain unclear.

Among the claimed descendants of Siyālkūtī, Maulavi Jan Muḥammad holds a prominent position. Described as a celebrated scholar in the historical works of Kashmīr, the latter is noted to have moved to Kashmīr and resided there for a specific period. According to *Tarikh-e-Kabir-e-Kashmīr*, he belonged to the lineage of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, and his father was mentioned as Mullā Abu’l-Fath Mullā Fazil.²⁶⁷ There is a possibility that Mullā Abu’l-Fath Mullā Fazil was the son of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, indicating a potential connection to the Siyālkūtī lineage.

Concerning his academic life, he inherited an intellectual legacy from his ancestors and was raised and taught that he excelled both in religious and rational subjects; he successfully acquired it and got eminence in the ground. However, perhaps he fell into such an unexpected situation that he had to take shelter in Delhi’s Badshāh Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719 – 1748). It seems the Emperor quickly recognized him as a descendant of the versatile scholar ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. His intellectual depth led him, though not surprisingly in Baburid and pre-Baburid time, to arrange a monthly allowance of 1200 rupees for Jan Muḥammad.²⁶⁸ His scholarship attained such a level that historians, like

²⁶⁷ The name of his father is confusing. Ameenulah Vaseer mentioned as “Mullā Abu’l-Fath ibn Mullā Fazil”, however, what he quoted from *Tarikh-e-Kabir-e-Kashmir* in the source section it shows as “Mullā Abu’l-Fath Mullā Fazil”. It seems the latter would be correct though a confusion remains as ‘Mullā’ does not use for the second time in one name. For Ameenullah Vaseer’s quote from *Tarikh-e-Kabir-e-Kashmir*, p.304 as he used, see: Vaseer, 64 145n.

²⁶⁸ Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e ‘Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 62; *The Pakistan Review* (Ferozsons Limited, 1968), 41.

Shakir Khan, in his *Tarikh-i Shakir Khani* placed him among the fifteen most prominent theologians of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's time.²⁶⁹ Some days later, Nadir Shāh Durrani (r. 1736-47) invaded Delhi and won on March 20, 1739.²⁷⁰ After that, the allowance accepted by the then-Emperor was not continued due to the decline of the Empire.²⁷¹ In this circumstance, he returned to Kohistan, Jammu, and Kashmīr, and later he went to Kabul where he was welcomed by Taimur Shāh Durrani (r. 1772-1793),²⁷² It seems the Emir did not mistake to know him and sanctioned a good allowance for him. However, after consulting with the Emir, he left the city for Kashmīr again, where he stayed and spent his time learning and teaching until the last moment and died in Srinagar – the capital city of Kashmīr.²⁷³ The time of his death is unknown; however, it is possible to imagine that it was around the 1790s.

The renowned scholar Maulavi Jan Muḥammad had a son named Maulavi Muḥammad al-Dīn, also known as Muḥammad al-Dīn al-Aswad due to his black complexion. Maulavi Muḥammad al-Dīn accepted Shaykh Maḥmūd Tarabali Kashmīri as his mentor (pir). He pursued studies in science in Peshawar and is believed to have engaged in various branches of Islamic knowledge. Achieving eminence as a scholar, he returned to Kashmīr and dedicated his life to learning and teaching. Some historians associate his name with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, indicating extensive contributions to Islamic science, such as *ḥāshiyah* on significant texts, although the specific details of these works are not known. Maulavi Muḥammad al-Dīn al-Aswad passed away in Srinagar in 1243/1827.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Zahiruddin Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719-1748* (Asia Publishing House, 1977), 369.

²⁷⁰ See for Nadir Shāh Durrani's attack in Delhi: Michael H. Fisher, *A Short History of the Mughal Empire* (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 316–18.

²⁷¹ Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e 'Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 62; *The Pakistan Review*, 41.

²⁷² He was the second Emir of the Afghan Durrani Empire.

²⁷³ Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e 'Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 62.

²⁷⁴ See: Fawq, 62; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 56.

The same sources inform that Maulavi Quṭb al-Dīn, a son of Maulavi Mohy al-Dīn Kashmīri, was also a descendant of versatile ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. It seems he also earned a reputation in the intellectual arena for his writings and depth of scholarship that he could dare to make a debate with the other prominent scholars, like what happened with Shaykh Aḥmad Kashmīri Tarabali (d. 1290/1873) – a prominent scholar and spiritual leader from Naqshabandiyya order whose genealogy goes to the Omar b. Khattab – the second Caliph of Islam.²⁷⁵ Among Maulavi Quṭb al-Dīn’s work, *Awzah al-Dalail*, was written to respond to five questions, *Tuhfat al-Hind* and *Hilal-e ‘Eind* are known where sources say he had more works.²⁷⁶ He migrated from Kashmīr to Amritsar and died and was buried there beside Fath Baba.²⁷⁷ Available sources have been accessed give no date; however, it is imaginable from his contemporary scholars, like Shaykh Aḥmad Tarabali, who died in 1290/1873, and one of Quṭb al-Dīn’s student Maulavi Aḥmadullah Qasimi who died in 1304/1886-7.²⁷⁸ Generally, the teacher becomes older than the students; perhaps that also happened to him. Thus, it would be around the death of his contemporary scholar mentioned above, who died in 1290/1873, *i.e.*, the 1870s.

While available sources do not offer details about the daughter of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Zuabaid Aḥmad provides crucial information about the son of his daughter. According to him, Muḥammad Fazl Allāh, a scholar during Emperor Aurangzeb’s time, is known to have authored works. One of his identified works is a ḥāshiyah on the tafsīr of Sura al-Fatiha by ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, completed in the year 1114/1703.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Ashraf Fazili put the date of his death 1309/1891-2 which is differed by the another historian Munshi Muḥammad Al-Dīn Fawq who mentioned as the date is 1290/1873. It seems the latter is more correct. See for more informaiotn about Shaikh Aḥmad Kashmīrī Tarabālī: Er. Mohammad Ashraf Fazili, *My Story* (Srinagar, Kasmir, 2015), 30.

²⁷⁶ Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e ‘Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 63.

²⁷⁷ Fawq, 63.

²⁷⁸ Fawq, 63.

²⁷⁹ The work is available in the India Office 1162. See: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 282.

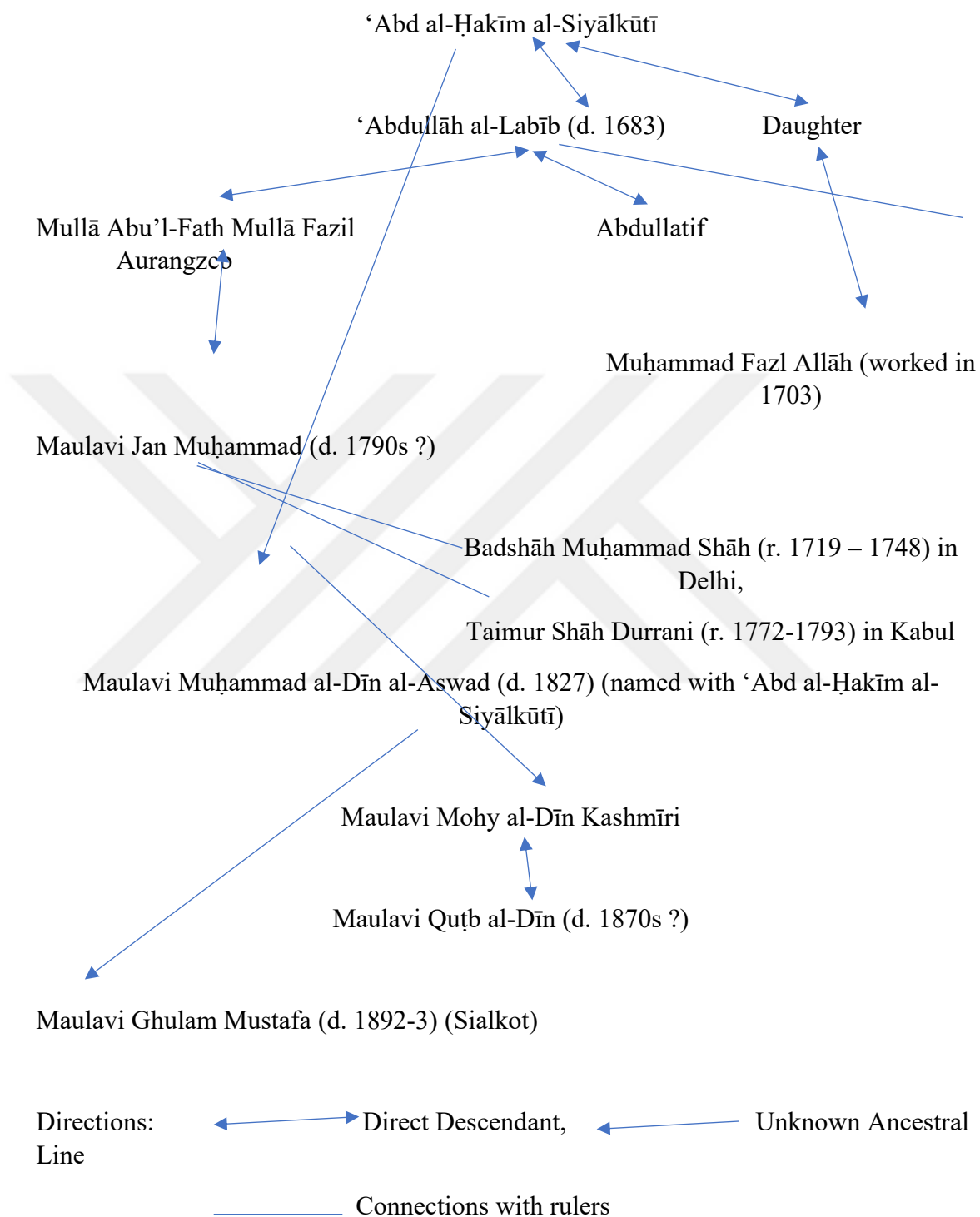


Figure 1. 5: Siyālkūtī’s Scholarly Descendants and Intellectual Lineage (1657-1892)

Further, a very short but important account informs that a man of letters, Abdullatif, was the grandson of Siyālkūtī. Perhaps ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’s son. It is understood from a note put in the last of Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. The copy was examined by comparing it with the copy of Abdullatif in 1106/1694-5 – thirty-nine years after Siyālkūtī’s demise. The time and age are compatible to be the right account.²⁸⁰ As he belonged to the copy of Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, it is most probable that he was also a scholar of that time as reading and writing were not so common. Furthermore, Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* could not be expected to be gone through by general people who just could read and write but had to be one of the standard level who received higher education.

Lastly, Maulavi Ghulam Mustafa is identified and claimed as a direct descendant of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. He died in Mianapura Mahalle, Sialkot, around 1310/1892-3. According to the available records, he is the last person among Siyālkūtī’s successors.²⁸¹ He continued the intellectual tradition of his forefathers while residing in Sialkot. This continuity is significant for understanding the preservation and transmission of intellectual and cultural trends developed during the time of Siyālkūtī and thereafter.

²⁸⁰ Maulavi Abdul Hamid, ed., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Theology)*, Second Ed., vol. X (Patna, India: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), 45.

²⁸¹ Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e ‘Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 63; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 56.

iv. Students

Less well-known is ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s dedication to teaching and nurturing students. Beyond being a prolific writer in Islamic theology and philosophy, he distinguished himself as a dedicated scholar who actively imparted knowledge through lectures and student mentoring. His commitment to teaching likely played a crucial role in spreading his ideas and gaining recognition within and beyond Hindustan. Furthermore, the proliferation of his primary works and early acclaim may be attributed to his students, who played a vital role in transmitting his teachings to various madrasahs and learning centers across the region.

To understand ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī and his impact on Hindustan, it is essential to assess his students’ influence. Although historical records mention only a few, carefully analyzing these students provides valuable insights into Siyālkūtī’s stature as an educator. He delivered lectures in prominent learning centers like Lahore, Agra, and Sialkot, which held esteemed positions among madrasahs, suggesting a substantial number of students, potentially numbering in the hundreds if not thousands. Their geographical reach further highlights Siyālkūtī’s influence. Some of them are discussed below.

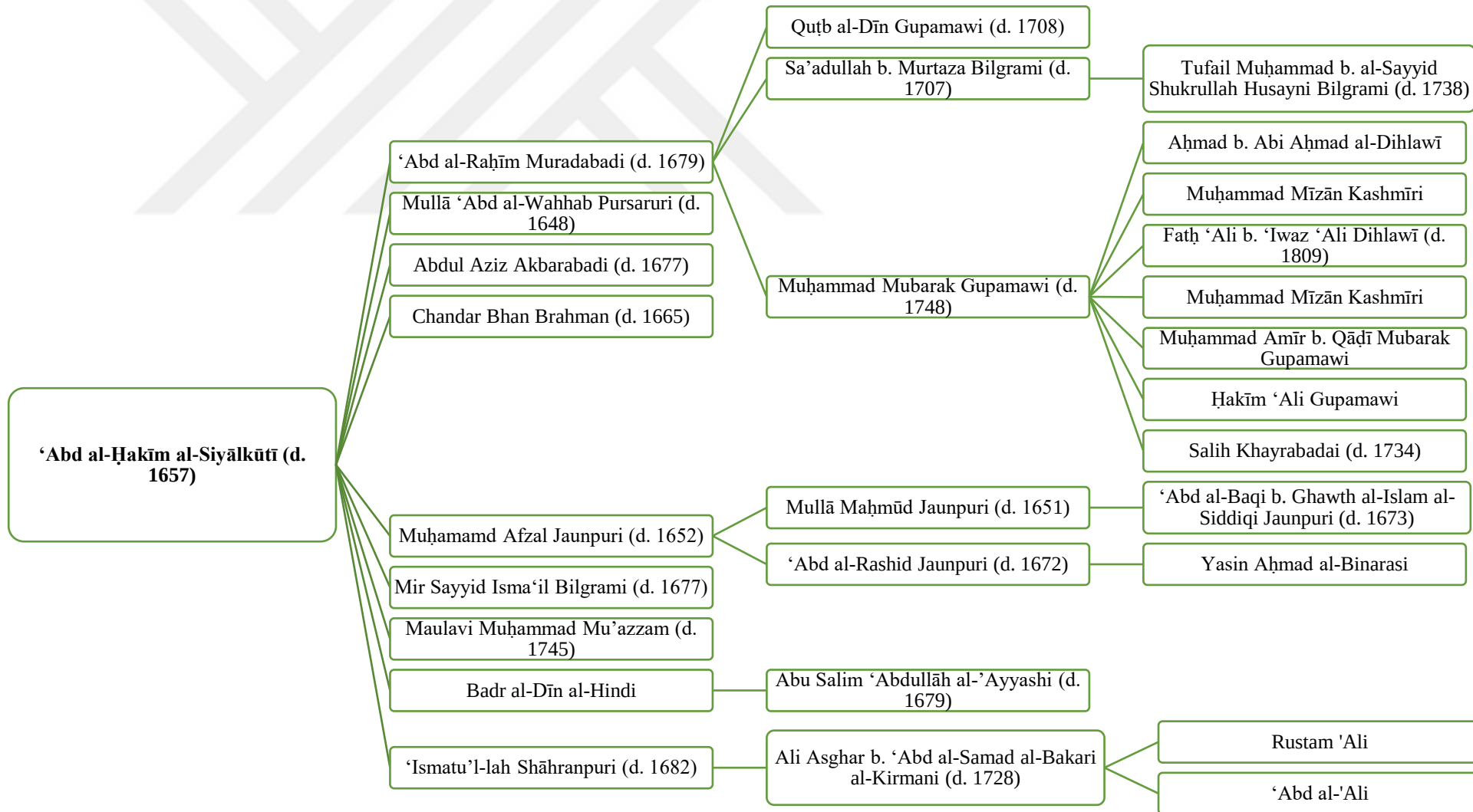


Figure 1. 6: Siyālkūtī's Intellectual Lineage: Students and Subsequent Generations

a. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Murādābādī

He is recognized as ‘al-Shaykh al-Fazil al-Kabir al-Kazi ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Rashid al-Bihari al-Murādābādī,’ a distinguished Qāḍī and renowned scholar of his era. Originally hailing from Sambahal in the district of Muradabad,²⁸² he dedicated around a decade to studying under the guidance of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, as documented in *Nuzhatul Khawatir*.²⁸³ Following the completion of his education, he assumed the position of Qāḍī in Muradabad. Concurrently, he continued delivering lectures and nurturing students for an extended period.²⁸⁴

It appears that ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī played a pivotal role in shaping him as the primary guide and mentor. While biographical records remain silent on other teachers under whom he studied, it is conceivable that he delved into all the major disciplines of Islamic knowledge offered at Siyālkūtī’s madrasah. Judging by the expertise of his students, it seems that he acquired a strong command of kalām and logic, in addition to his proficiency in fiqh.

It is worth noting that the choice to study with Siyālkūtī, whether in Agra, a nearby city of Muradabad, or in Sialkot, carries significance. If he traveled from a distant city, it suggests a deliberate decision to seek education from ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. Additionally, the extended duration of his stay implies that the madrasah likely provided adequate accommodations for students, strengthening the impression that he resided in Sialkot during his studies.

Regarding his impact on the intellectual landscape, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī indeed played a crucial role in nurturing notable students. While the available records only provide insights into a limited number of his prominent students, it is evident that he had

²⁸² Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 164; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:561.

²⁸³ Regarding his relation, see: Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 300; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 213; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:239; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:561.

²⁸⁴ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:561.

a significant and widespread influence, potentially impacting hundreds or even thousands of students. Further exploration of his legacy could reveal more about his contributions to the scholarly and educational spheres.

a) Qāḍī Muḥammad Mubarak b. Muḥammad Da'im Gupamawi (d. 1162/1748)

He was a celebrated scholar primarily interested in kalām, and philosophy gained prominence in his time and afterward. Besides Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm Murādābādī, he also studied with Shihab al-Dīn al-Gupamawi (d. 1125/1713) and Sifatallah al-Husayni al-Khayrabadi (d. 1157/1744-5).²⁸⁵ Qāḍī Muḥammad Mubarak contributed to the texts used extensively in Hind madrasahs, raising many students who led the later generations. Among his texts, *Sharḥ Sullam al-'Ulum*²⁸⁶, *Minhiyyatu'l Qāḍī 'ala Sharḥihi, Ḥāshiyah 'ala Ḥāshiyah al-Zahidiyyah al-Jalaliyyah, ḥāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah Mīr Zahid 'ala'l-umuri'l-'ammah* are the most famous.²⁸⁷

Among his works, it makes a definite impression that *Sharḥ Sullam al-'Ulum* has been used extensively in Hind madrasahs, and there are many works have been done on it. Scholars from different intellectual backgrounds went through his work, *i.e.*, scholars connected with Lucknow and Rampur wrote commentaries on it, and the students and scholars of Khayrabadi and Farangi Mahal with others like Afghan and Poshtun, followed him.²⁸⁸ To name the famous scholars who wrote commentaries, *i.e.*, among the earliest works, Nurul Islam b. Shaykh al-Islam of Rampur (thirteenth/nineteenth century)²⁸⁹ takes

²⁸⁵ Shihab al-Dīn al-Gupamawi was a student of celebrated scholar Qutb al-Dīn Sihlawi (d. 1103/1692) who was a teacher of Mullā Nizam al-Dīn Sihlawi (d. 1153/1740) – the first rector of Farangi Mahal. See: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:735; Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 38.

²⁸⁶ *Sullam of Muḥibbullāh Bihārī* (d. 1119/1707) is one of the most used classical texts in logic in Hind madrasahs. See: Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 11–13.

²⁸⁷ He has other works as well, see for more: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:792. And the mentioned works' several copies are available in many libraries, see: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 382, 408–9.

²⁸⁸ Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 34, 37.

²⁸⁹ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 425.

place, later on from Lucknow Mufti Nur Aḥmad al-Sahsawānī (d. 1280/1864) and ‘Abd al-Hakīm b. ‘Abd al-Rabb al-Farangi Mahalli.²⁹⁰ From a Pashtun background, Jahd ‘Ali b. Muhammad Khān al-Hazarawī (d.1250/1834), Muḥammad Ahsan Waiz - also known as Hafiz Daraz of Peshawar (d. 1263/1846),²⁹¹ Muzammil b. Fida Muḥammad (d. 1292/1875) is from modern-day northwestern Pakistan or eastern Afghanistan, Miyan ‘Abdullāh b. Miyan Abrar Shāh al-Peshwari (d. 1335/1917), Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Subhan al-Hazarawī (d. 1377/1958) are few to name. In the same way, from Khayrabadi tradition, Fazl Haqq b. Fazl Imām Khayrabadi (d. 1278/1861),²⁹² Taj al-Dīn b. Ghiyath al-Dīn al-Madrasi (d. 1214/1800) is to give a few examples.²⁹³ It seems that among the highly esteemed commentaries in Hind madrasah tradition, more specifically, two commentaries, with Hamd Ullah, Qāḍī Mubarak’s, also took place.²⁹⁴

Qāḍī Muḥammad Mubarak successfully left a large group of scholars who represented him and his path of scholarship for many decades. He had many students, among them some of the most celebrated are mentioned in *Nuzhatu’l Khawatir*,²⁹⁵ such as Khwaja Aḥmad b. Abi Aḥmad al-Dehlawi, who studied logic and wisdom with Qāḍī Mubarak; Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Ali Badayunī – famous expert in fiqh; Fath ‘Ali b. ‘Iwaz ‘Ali Dihlawī (d. 1224/1809), Maulana Muḥammad Mīzān Kashmīrī – a prominent scholar in logic, wisdom, prose, and poetry. His son Qāḍī Muḥammad Ameer b. Qāḍī Mubarak Gupamawi also studied with him, and after that, he was appointed a Qāḍī in Gupamau. He followed his father, lectured, and wrote treatises. Another son - Hakīm ‘Ali Gupamawi, was also among the respected personalities.

²⁹⁰ See: Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 35.

²⁹¹ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 421.

²⁹² He has also *Ḥāshiyah* on *Minhiyyatu’l Qāḍī ‘ala Sharhihi*, See: Ahmad, 423.

²⁹³ Asad Q. Ahmed investigated the scholarlay network of Qāḍī Mubarak and presented who went through this text and made commentary on it. See for more: Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 34–38.

²⁹⁴ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 156.

²⁹⁵ See for more details: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:694, 807, 831, 916; ‘Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami’ Wa’l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 8 (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999), 1060, 1106.

b) Maulavi Quṭb al-Dīn Gupamawī (d. 1120/1708)

He was an eminent scholar of his time in Gupamau region. In *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, Mīr Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrāmī mentions Maulavi Quṭb al-Dīn Gupamawī (d. 1120/1708) was also a celebrated student of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm Murādābādī. He also informs us that Maulavi Quṭb al-Dīn had expertise in many disciplines, i.e., rational and transmitted subjects, as well as art and science.²⁹⁶

c) Hafiz Sayyid Sa'adullah b. Murtaza Bilgrāmī (d. 1119/1707)

He was Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm's pupil. He was known as a celebrated expert in rational and religious sciences as well as a poet in the Arabic language.²⁹⁷ Sayyid Sa'adullah had many students. Among them, Maulana Sayyid Tufail Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Shukrullah Husayni Bilgrāmī (d. 1151/1738) comes first in the biographical records. He was born in Utrawali, Akbarabad, and left his home when he was seven years old with his uncle Ahsan Ullah; and later visited several learning centers. He started his study with Mīzānu's saraf and gradually forwarded to higher education with Sayyid Ḥasan b. Abi'l Ḥasan al-Ḥasani Utrawali Dehlawi. Later on, he read *Sharḥi'l Jāmī*, *Kāfiyyah*, and other texts. He and his intellectual path demand more research.²⁹⁸

Among other students, Maulana Ṣālih Khayrabadai (d. 1147/1734) penned many treatizes; among them the most well-known is *sharḥ Tahzib al-Kalām li-Taftāzānī*,²⁹⁹ and Qāḍī Shihab al-Dīn Gupamawī (d. 1125/1713) as mentioned above and his teachers, he

²⁹⁶ Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, 300.

²⁹⁷ Bilgrāmī, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 168; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-'ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-'ulum*, 3:239; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 213.

²⁹⁸ See for more discussion on Sayyid Tufail Muḥammad: Bilgrāmī, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 168–73; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-'ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-'ulum*, 3:239–40.

²⁹⁹ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:824.

was also a student of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Murādābādī,³⁰⁰ are very few to name who were among the celebrated.

b. Mir Sayyid Ismail Bilgrāmī (d. 1088/1677)

Sayyid Ismail Bilgrāmī is an important name for Hind intellectual history, particularly when it comes to the Bilgrāmī educational center. He was from a prominent family background, a descendant of Sayyid Muḥammad Sughra, a famous saint of Bilgram. It seems he was born and passed his early life in Bilgram, and then he moved to get lessons from ‘Abd al-Salām al-Kirmānī al-Diwah (d. 1039/1629-30),³⁰¹ who was also a teacher of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī as discussed above. After completing his study with ‘Abd al-Salām Diwah, he went to ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī for more specialization, and it seems he stayed a long time until he reached high attainment.³⁰² He had several conversations with Siyālkūtī that impressed him much more.³⁰³ It seems that after his study with Siyālkūtī, he became regarded as an expert and teacher.³⁰⁴ He would engage in intellectual debate, and at least one event came to the front. However, perhaps he was appointed to state service and had a good relationship with the Nawab Najabat Khan; though he continued his lecture, he was not happy. Later, he decided to leave the job and left for Bilgram – his hometown, and became fully engaged in intellectual work, *i.e.*, teaching and compiling books.³⁰⁵ He wrote Ḥāshiyah on Ḥāshiyah of al-Dawwānī’s *Tahzib al-Mantiq*. Mīr Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrāmī commented about him, “*Sayyid Sahibu’s-saif wa’l Qalam*” (Sayyid, the great owner of the sword and the pen).³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Ḥasanī, 6:832.

³⁰¹ Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 233.

³⁰² S. S. Afaq, “A Preliminary Survey of the Arabic Literature Produced in Oudh,” *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 11, no. 2/4 (1951): 346–47.

³⁰³ Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 233–34; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 402.

³⁰⁴ Afaq, “A Preliminary Survey of the Arabic Literature Produced in Oudh,” 347.

³⁰⁵ See: Afaq, 347; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 165.

³⁰⁶ Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 235.

c. Maulana Muhamamd Afzal Jaunpuri (d. 1062/1652)

Shaykh Mullā Muḥammad Afzal's journey from Jaunpur to Lahore to study under the guidance of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī reflects the dedication and commitment of scholars to seek knowledge from renowned teachers. His decision to return to his native city, Jaunpur, and establish a foundation for education indicates a desire to contribute to his community's intellectual and educational development. The recognition and support he received from Emperor Jahāngīr, who titled him '*ustaz al-Mulk*' and appointed him as a professor in a royal madrasah with a jagir,³⁰⁷ further highlighted the impact of his scholarly endeavors on a larger scale.

The biographical records may not provide specific details about Shaykh Mullā Muḥammad Afzal's studies with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī in Lahore. However, his later contributions to various disciplines and his role in mentoring students suggest that he comprehensively understood rational and transmitted subjects within the Hind madrasah tradition. His excellence as a teacher and mentor, coupled with his noteworthy qualities, contributed to his influence on many students from Jaunpur and beyond.

While the available records specifically mention 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī as a teacher of Shaykh Mullā Muḥammad Afzal, it is noteworthy that Khaled El-Rouayheb suggests that Afzal studied with the students of Fathallah Shīrāzī. The clarification is essential as 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī was not a direct student of Fathallah Shīrāzī but rather studied with a student of Shīrāzī.³⁰⁸ This distinction provides a more accurate understanding of the intellectual lineage and connections within the scholarly tradition.

He is often remembered for his students; two of the most famous are:

³⁰⁷ See: Hamid N. Rafiabadi, "Rational Sciences in Medieval India," in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization: Development of Islamic Religion and Philosophy in India*, ed. Mohammad Rafique, vol. VII Part 5 (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations for the Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture - PHISPC, 2009), 281; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 417; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 51.

³⁰⁸ See: El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, 178.

a) Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri (d. 1062/1651)

He was one of the most celebrated scholars of his time. Abdul Hai Ḥasan regards his ‘al-Shaykh al-Imām al-‘Ālim al-Kabir al-‘Allamah al-Shāhir Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-‘Umari al-Jaunpuri. Receiving primary education from his grandfather – Shāh Muḥammad, he studied under Muḥammad Afzal, and soon he proved his excellence that became a source of pride to his teacher. His scholarship includes mainly philosophy.³⁰⁹ Next to Muḥammad Afzal, he had other teachers; particularly, he had an opportunity to attend the class of Mīr Damad in Ispahan on the way to Mecca, where he had debates with him as well. His intellectual journey demands vast works.³¹⁰

Among his texts, his magnum opus is Shams al-Bazighah; he also made a commentary on it *al-Hikmat al-Balighah*, it is an original philosophical work done by Hind scholars that have been used in the madrasah tradition extensively for a long time, even possible to see up to contemporary time.³¹¹ This kind of work is very rarely seen in his time when a vast commentary tradition prevailed. Perhaps for this creation with other achievements, some claimed him as the most celebrated scholar of that time as Peter Adamson, and Fransis Robinson did.³¹² And among his other works, *Al-Faraidi Sharḥi’l -Fawā’idi lil-Qāḍī ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī fī’l-ma’ani wa’l-bayani*, *Hirzu’l-iman fī radd kitab al-Taswiyah li-Shaykh Muhibbullah Ilahabadi* (in taṣawwuf) are the most famous.³¹³ He certainly had

³⁰⁹ See: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:645–46; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 359.

³¹⁰ See for more information about Mullā Maḥmūd: Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 117–31; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washī Almarqūm Fī Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:229; Francis Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (Permanent Black, 2005), 43, 50, 221; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:645–46; Rafiabadi, “Rational Sciences in Medieval India,” 281.

³¹¹ Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2005, 50.

³¹² See: Peter Adamson, *Philosophy in the Islamic World*, A History of Philosophy without Any Gaps, volume 3 (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018), Chapter 56; Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2005, 221.

³¹³ See for his works: Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 202; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 149, 359; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:646.

many students, ‘Abd al-Baqi b. Ghawth al-Islam al-Siddiqi Jaunpuri (d. 1084/1673)³¹⁴ was one of them.

He was given a short life (993/1585-1062/1652), and his teacher, Muḥammad Afzal loved him much more than he did not smile since he learned about the demise of his student. The shock was too much that the teacher only survived forty days.³¹⁵ Many regards and comments are available about him. Such as, it is said in *Nuzhatu’l Khawatir* that “there was no one like him in the knowledge of wisdom, and of literary”; in the same way, there are many regards and names are pronounced in the historical and biographical records. Not only that, his name and regards are put beside ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Aḥmad Sirhindī, Muḥibbullāh Bihārī, and ‘Abd al-Rashid (d. 1083/1672).³¹⁶ It seems the news of the level of his scholarship reached even the court of Jahāngīr; subsequently, he bestowed him a *jagir*.³¹⁷

b) ‘Abd al-Rashid Jaunpuri (d. 1083/1672)

He was one of the most distinguished pupils of Muḥammad Afzal after Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri. He followed the latter rational sciences at an advanced stage. He had a good command of Sufism as well. Among his works, on *al-Risala al-Sharifiyya* is on dialectics attributed to Sayyid Sharif Jurjani (d. 816/1413), known as *al-Rashidiyye*; *tadhkira al-Naḥw*, and *Bidayat al-Naḥw* in grammar; *Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Sharḥ al-Aḥudi ‘ala Maukhtasar al-Usul* in fiqh are famous.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ He wrote *Sharh Kalimati’t Tawhid*, see: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 378.

³¹⁵ Ahmad, 130; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:230.

³¹⁶ See: Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 118–31; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:646; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 130, 140, 149.

³¹⁷ Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:230; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 51.

³¹⁸ See about him: Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 133; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:231; El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, 179–80; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 130–31, 200, 323–24.

Besides them, Shaykh Yasin Aḥmad al-Binarasi – an eminent scholar of fiqh, was also a student of Muḥammad Afzal. He studied logic, grammar, fiqh, and usul-i fiqh with Muḥammad Afzal.³¹⁹

d. Mullā ‘Abd al-Wahhab Pursaruri (d. 1059/1648)

The available information about ‘Abd al-Wahhab suggests that he flourished during Shāh Jahān’s reign. According to Muḥammad Aslam Pursaruri, who discussed his great-grandfather ‘Abd al-Wahhab with other scholars, ‘Abd al-Wahhab went to the Sialkot madrasah of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. There, he studied with Siyālkūtī, becoming a qualified scholar with expertise in fiqh, usul-e fiqh, rhetoric, and other religious studies. It is likely that ‘Abd al-Wahhab served Siyālkūtī in some capacity, possibly working under his guidance or starting his teaching career after completing his education. After a certain period, ‘Abd al-Wahhab gained eminence in scholarship, reaching a high level of recognition within the intellectual community. His reputation extended to the court, with Emperor Shāh Jahān offering him a position in the state. While it is unclear whether he accepted the job, the Emperor granted him personal favors. Additionally, Sa’dullah Khan, the vizier or prime minister at the time, showed favor to ‘Abd al-Wahhab by granting him two villages as assistance. This gesture was later doubled by the Emperor. The jagir, or land grant, remained with ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s offspring for an extended period after his death, enduring until the city was attacked by the Shikh. Though details are limited, these instances provide insights into ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s esteemed position and the court’s benevolence toward him and his scholarship.

Muḥammad Aslam Pursaruri highlights several positive and praiseworthy qualities in ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s character. While these traits may not be unique, they contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the scholar’s life. Notably, ‘Abd al-Wahhab was known for his good character, displaying respect and maintaining high modesty toward

³¹⁹ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:662–63.

individuals regardless of their age or status. These qualities underscore his ethical and moral standing within the intellectual and broader community.³²⁰

e. Mullā ‘Ismatū’l-lah Shāhranpuri (d. 1093/1682)³²¹

‘Ismatū’l-lah b. Muḥammad ‘Azamtu Ullah b. ‘Abdu’r-Rasul Sahranpuri, a versatile scholar of many disciplines, was born and raised in the city of Saharanpur. Although there is limited information about his other teachers and educational journey, Tazkira Baghistan notes that he was among the students of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī.³²² He distinguished himself from other students of Siyālkūtī, showcasing his proficiency in various fields of study.

He went through religious and natural sciences; more broadly, he read Arabic grammar, rhetoric, kalām, geometry, arithmetic, mathematics, and other arts. His works were acceptable to scholars. Possibly, he studied with Siyālkūtī in theological, philosophical, and religious disciplines. Unfortunately, he became blind and remained a celebrated scholar of his time.³²³

Mullā ‘Ismatū’l-lah b. Muḥammad ‘Azamtu Ullah b. ‘Abdu’r-Rasul Sahranpuri had numerous students who achieved legendary status in later periods. Among them was Ali Asghar b. ‘Abd al-Samad al-Bakari al-Kirmanī (d. 1140/1728), known for his expertise in asceticism, religious sciences, and rational sciences, who also had many celebrated students of his own. Additionally, Mullā ‘Ismatū’l-lah’s two sons made notable

³²⁰ See for more: Mohammad Shafi and Muhammad Fazl Haq, eds., “Iktibas e az farhat al-nazireen Shah Avrangzeb ke ‘ahd-e ke mashaikh ‘ulama or shu’ara ke tarajim” 4, no. August (1928): 77; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 47.

³²¹ Some biographical records show the date of his death as 1039/1630, no doubt it is wrong as investigated by the scholars as well, see for more: Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 115 1n; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 103.

³²² Unfortunately, the work ‘*Tazkira Baghistan*’ has not been available and accessed, however, this information has been shared by the contemporary scholar Ameenullah Vaseer. See: Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 48.

³²³ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:762–63; Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 205–6.

contributions to the intellectual arena. Maulavi Rustam Ali authored a commentary on the Quran titled ‘Al-Saghir,’ while Maulavi ‘Abd al-Ali wrote a gloss on Sharḥ al-Manar in jurisprudence. These are just a few examples of their scholarly endeavors.³²⁴

He peened many important works, like, in mathematics, *Anwār Khulāṣati ’l-hisab* – a commentary on *Khulasat al-Hisab*, *Sharḥ Tashrihi ’l-aflak*, *Dabitah qawidi ’l-hisab*;³²⁵ in taṣawwuf, *Jaddu ’l-ghana fi hurmati ’l-ghina*;³²⁶ and in philosophy, *Ḥāshiyah ’ala Sharḥi ’l-Jāmī*.³²⁷

f. Chandar Bhan Brahman (d. 1075/1665)

Chandar Bhan was a distinguished Hindu poet renowned for his Persian-style poetry. He served as a munshi (scribe or secretary) and hailed from a Brahman family in Lahore. The son of Dharam Das, Chandar Bhan played a significant role in the Baburid court, serving under Shāh Jahān, and later for Dara Shikoh and Emperor Aurangzeb. While the exact date of his birth is not precisely known, it is believed to have occurred in the last phase of Akbar’s rule.³²⁸

Despite the extensive work done on Chandar Bhan, there seems to be a lack of detailed information regarding his study with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī.³²⁹ The scholars might

³²⁴ For more about him, see: Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 338; Bilgrami, *Ma’athir al-Kiram*, 205–6; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 115–16; Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fī Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:228; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 48.

³²⁵ For the available copies of these works, see: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 431.

³²⁶ For the available copies of it, see: Ahmad, 360.

³²⁷ For the available copies of it, see: Ahmad, 461.

³²⁸ Rajeev Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire: Chandar Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary* (Univ of California Press, 2015), 2; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Dara Shikoh: Life And Work* (Calcutta: Visvabharati, 1953), 244 16n.

³²⁹ Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 1980, 100; Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:486.

not have provided a comprehensive discussion on this specific aspect, leaving gaps in our understanding of their relationship and educational interactions.³³⁰

It is interesting to note the connection between Chandar Bhan, his brother Ubay Bhan, and Emperor Shāh Jahān. The recommendation for Chandar Bhan's son to study works like Akhlaq-i-Nasiri, Akhlaq-i-Jalali, and the Kulliyat-i-Sa'di reflects an emphasis on ethical and literary education during that period. This connection might have played a role in shaping Chandar Bhan's intellectual pursuits and engagements.³³¹

Indeed, Chandar Bhan's literary works, including *Chahar Chaman*, *Niga Namah*, *Munshaat-i Brahman*, and *Tuhfat al-Anwār*,³³² showcase his versatility and contributions to Persian literature during the Baburid period. Exploring his study with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī could provide valuable insights into the cultural and intellectual exchanges that took place in medieval Hind. It is remarkable that he excelled not only in his literary pursuits but also in mysticism and poetry, underscoring the rich diversity of intellectual endeavors during that era.

g. Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī

Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī – was a reputed scholar of fiqh and kalām who lectured in Hejaz. It seems that after completing madrasah education, he left for Hejaz and arrived in Medina in 1068/1658 with Muḥammad Ma'sum – a son of Aḥmad Sirhindī. He was a Mujaddidiyye follower at a Naqshbandi branch and stayed with the Mujaddidi group. Around 1660, this group decided to return to Hindustan, but Bad al-Dīn was left behind.

³³⁰ See some works on Chandar Bhan, Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire*; Rajeev Kumar Kinra, "Secretary-Poets in Mughal India and the Ethos of Persian: The Case of Chandar Bhān Brahman ProQuest"; Rajeev Kinra, "Master and Munshī: A Brahman Secretary's Guide To Mughal Governance," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 47, no. 4 (October 1, 2010): 527–61, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001946461004700405>.

³³¹ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:486.

³³² Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Literatures of India*, A History of Indian Literature; v. 7 : Modern Indo-Iranian Literatures, Pt. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), 41; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 48.

It is not clear whether it was his personal or collective decision. He remained there, had many debates about Aḥmad Sirhindī, his ideas, and thoughts, and gradually achieved a reputation as an eminent scholar and follower of the latter and rational sciences.³³³

He was a celebrated student of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, but unfortunately, it is unknown when and where he studied with him. Perhaps he studied with Siyālkūtī in the 1640s, most likely he studied with Siyālkūtī in all the basic subjects and excelled in rational sciences. It is possible to identify his expertise from the description of his student, Abu Salim ‘Abdullāh al-’Ayyashi (d. 1679) – a Moroccan scholar, and ‘Ayyashi studied several works with him in the 1660s (after 1662). According to Khaled El-Rouayheb, he would teach two works, Abhari’s *Isaghuji* with Mullā Fenari (d. 1431) and Katibi’s *Risala al-Shamsiyya* with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Razi’s commentary. These two works were read and analyzed extensively in Eastern Muslim educational centers, whereas North African centers were not introduced to them at the general level.³³⁴ However, another record informs that ‘Ayyashi attended the lessons *Mukhtasar al-Sa’d* on *Talkhis al-Miftah*, and *Sharḥ al-Manar* on Hanafi *usul-i fiqh* of Ibn Mulk with the mentioned two works. It shows his area of expertise. ‘Ayyashi also described him as *Imām* in the two *aslayn – usul al-fiqh* and *‘ilm al-kalām*, and excellent in the rational sciences.³³⁵ ‘Ayyashi also studied with Ibrāhīm Kurani (d. 1690) - A famous scholar on the Shaf’i school of thought, hadith and Sufism.³³⁶

It is not known Badr al-Dīn used Siyālkūtī’s texts or not; however, it is evident that he could discuss scholarly developments happening in Hind regions and their scholars. Just

³³³ See: Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Hijāz before Wahhabism*, 72; Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (Routledge, 2007), 71.

³³⁴ El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, 156–57.

³³⁵ *Aslayn* is used in several places, Ḍumayrīyah mentions *fiqh* and *al-Dīn*, perhaps he wants to mean *usul al-Dīn* which is used in many places. It indicates to the study of *kalam* Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Hijāz before Wahhabism*, 72. See for the usages of *aslayn* Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 4:368; Abu al-Abbās al-Ghībrīnī, *Kitab ‘Unwan al-Dirayah Fiman “Arafa Min al-’Ulama” Fi al-Mi’ah al-Sab’ah Bibjaayah*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Manshurat Dar al-Afāq al-Jadīdah, 1979), 355; Muhammad al-Amin al-Shanqiti, *Kitab Adab Al-Baḥth Wa al-Munazarah* (Dar Ata’at al-’Ilm (Riyadh) - Dar Ibn Hazm (Beirut), 2019), 7.

³³⁶ See: El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, 51 118n; Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Hijāz before Wahhabism*, 97–137.

from ‘Ayyashi and Badr al-Dīn, it is clear that Ibrāhīm Kurani and other scholars exchanged their views and shared the existing intellectual developments.³³⁷ In this way, Hind intellectual tradition is general, and Siyālkūtī in particular, came across the discussion through his student(s), and texts will be discussed later.

h. Maulavi Muḥammad Mu’azzam (d. 1158/1745)

Maulavi Muḥammad Mu’azzam b. Aḥmad Siddiqi’s multifaceted knowledge, combining the memorization of the Quran and its commentary, showcases a well-rounded education encompassing both the transmitted and rational sciences. This diverse skill set likely contributed to his intellectual depth and versatility. Exploring more about his contributions and how this integrated knowledge impacted his scholarly pursuits could offer valuable insights into the educational methods and intellectual pursuits of the time.³³⁸

Maulavi Muḥammad Mu’azzam b. Aḥmad Siddiqi’s appointment as a Qāḍī and the allocation of a jagir by Emperor Aurangzeb demonstrate the recognition and support extended to scholars during that period. His contributions, including commentaries on the Quran and the Mathnawi of Maulana Rumi, reflect a commitment to both religious and literary scholarship. Exploring the content and impact of his works could provide a deeper understanding of his time's intellectual and cultural milieu.³³⁹

i. Abdul Aziz Akbarabadi (d. 1088/1677)

Abdul Aziz Akbarabadi’s association with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī and his recognition as a scholar indicate the importance placed on intellectual pursuits during that era. His multifaceted abilities, including proficiency in basic Islamic courses, writing, and poetry, showcase a well-rounded scholar. The relationship with Emperor Aurangzeb and the poetic contributions to Lahore added an intriguing dimension to his profile, underscoring the intersection of intellectual and cultural spheres in his life. Further

³³⁷ See: El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, 156–57.

³³⁸ Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 471.

³³⁹ Ali, 471.

exploration of his writings and poetic works could provide valuable insights into his time's intellectual and literary landscape.³⁴⁰

j. Shāh Muhibbullah Allahabadi (d. 1058/1648)

Muhibbullah Allahabadi, also known as Muhib Allah Ilahabadi was born in 996/1587 at Sadrpur, Oudh. He was descended from Farid al-Dīn Ganj-e-Shakar (d. 1266) – a Punjabi Sufi and religious preacher. He studied with Mullā ‘Abd al-Salām Lahori (d. 1037/1627) – was a celebrated student of Fathallah Shīrāzī, and a class-fellow of Sa’dullah Khan, who later became prime minister of Shāh Jahān. Later, he moved from one to another; however, few sources inform that he also studied with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī.³⁴¹ He was one of the most famous Sufi scholars of his time, who closely followed Ibnu’l ‘Arabi, became a great advocate of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, and devoted himself to spreading his ideas and thoughts. He is called “Ibnu’l ‘Arabi of Hindustan.”³⁴² Among his writings, *Anfasu’l-Khawas*, *Fusus al-Hikam*, *Futuhāt-i Makkiye* in taṣawwuf, and *Kitab al-Mubin* in Philosophy are among his famous works.³⁴³

Certainly, it is plausible that Muhibbullah Allahabadi might have had interactions or studied with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī during his educational journey, especially if he traveled through various regions. However, the absence of specific records or details about his time spent in Sialkot remains speculative. Historical gaps and limited documentation

³⁴⁰ Ali, 471; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 51.

³⁴¹ Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 71; Mohammad Rafique, *Development of Islamic Religion and Philosophy in India* (Centre for Studies in Civilizations for the Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture, 2009), 32.

³⁴² See for more information: Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 71; M. Zamiruddin Siddiqui, “Shah Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi and The Liberal Tradition in Islam,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 42 (1981): 289–94; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 101, 277; Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (BRILL, 1980), 98.

³⁴³ See for more information: Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 90, 101, 358, 399; Siddiqui, “Shah Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi and The Liberal Tradition in Islam,” 290.

often make it challenging to establish precise details about the educational interactions of scholars during that era.

It is evident that Siyālkūtī had hundreds of students to whom he lectured and raised until the last moment of his long-blessed life. Along with the mentioned names, some more names come to the front, *i.e.*, Mullā Muḥammad Kashmīri, ‘Abd al-Rasūl b. Shaykh Yaqub Badayunī, Mian Rahmatullah.³⁴⁴



³⁴⁴ See: Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 52.



Chapter Two: Siyālkūtī's Intellectual Context

I. The Place of Sufism: Meeting with the Sufis, the Court, and the Development of Sufi Ideas

i. Introductory: Sufism and Hind intellectual history

Sufism has been a central component of Hind Muslim religious practices for centuries. Its ideas and practices have played a significant role in developing Muslim thought and ideas in Hindustan since the inception of Muslim rule in the region. Until the beginning of the Baburid rule, Sufism retained its dominant position in the academic and intellectual landscape of Hindustan, with all the intellectual developments in the region being directly or indirectly influenced by it, and it continued firmly, at least until the last phase of the sixteenth century. Later, its dimension and gradual developments were changed and integrated with other disciplines and components of thought. To reach this level, it had to go through many stages, challenges, and experiments. These significant developments happened, particularly with the advent of the Baburid rule; more significantly, since the second phase of the sixteenth century, when Akbar's rule started, it got expedited in many folds.

It was at a time when 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, a notable Hind scholar of rational sciences, was born, taught, and grown up. And his early career started in Sialkot, Lahore, and adjacent areas – among the centers played an active role in developing Sufi thoughts and ideas and their adaptation with the new introductions. At the same time, as discussed, this region started knowing prominent educational centers of rational sciences and other branches of knowledge. Further, Siyālkūtī inherited a strong Sufi intellectual legacy from his teacher and main mentor, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, who belonged to the Naqshbandi (Aḥrārī) legacy, as mentioned elaborately.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī's intellectual journey and the climate of the Baburid era, it is essential to delve into the topic of Sufism in the sixteenth century. This period saw significant developments that paved

the way for the diversification and integration of knowledge systems that emerged subsequently.

The Sufi orders that got prominence in the Hind Muslim religious practices during the sixteenth century were Chishti, Suhrawardy, Qadiriyya, Naqshbandi, and Shattari. Mu'in al-Dīn Chishti (d. 1236), the founder of the Chishti order, and Baha al-Dīn Zakariyya (d. 1267), the founder of the Suhrawardy order, were among the first to establish their orders in Hindustan, after bringing them from Iran and Central Asia. In the sixteenth century, two additional Sufi orders, the Qadiriyyah and the Naqshbandi, were introduced into the region. These orders flourished during the Baburid period; after passing several developments and experiments, the Naqshbandi was firmly established by Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh (d. 1603), and it remained popular among the ruling elite throughout the Baburid rule. And the Qadiriyyah achieved prominence a little later, under the leadership of Muḥammad Mīr - also known as Miyan Mīr (d. 1635).³⁴⁵

It seems that in the way of the systematization of Sufi thought and ideas, as well as the rationalization of different branches of knowledge in the existing socio-political and cultural transformation, the Naqshbandi order comes to the discussion ahead of other orders. Our discussion relating to Siyālkūtī, who had an explicit interest in theosophy and his intellectual journey, aims to focus on the Naqshbandi order and its developments during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with a short and relevant discussion on the Chishti order.

ii. Sufi Trends in Hindustan: Baburid Court and Chishti Order

Before coming to the discussion of Naqshbandi – Aḥrārī tradition and Baburid court and intellectual grounds, it is worthy of having a short portrayal of the Chishti order and its connection with the court. As mentioned, the Chishti order had established its eminency in Hindustan in the thirteenth century and has remained in the theosophical discussion for centuries. During the establishment of the Baburid state in the mid-1520s,

³⁴⁵ Sajida Sultana Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India: Rulers, Historians, 'Ulama and Sufis*, 1. publ (Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012), 13.

the Chishti order's Sabiri and the Nizami branches mainly influenced the Northern region.³⁴⁶ Although they did not have a mission like Naqshbandis for worldly affairs, they also had good and bad times.

During the Baburid rule, the Chishti order's most prominent Sufi Shaykh was 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537). His deputies (*khalifas*), disciples (*murid*), and other fellows (*mutawassils*) spread over almost the whole northern region of the Hindustan.³⁴⁷ Gangohi's primary career was in Rudauli, Awadh; later, he moved to Punjab, finally settled in Shāhabad (near Karnal), and passed the important times of his life, like 38 years. He had a close relationship with the Lodi court, particularly with Sikandar Lodi (r. 1488-1517). Upon the advent of Babur, Gangohi took it as a 'divine scourge' and, fearing the Babur's invasion towards Shāhabad, moved to Gangohi, where he passed eleven years and died in 1537.³⁴⁸ Gangohi also opposed Babur's son and successor, Humayun, and supported his arch-enemy Sultān Bahadur Shāh of Gujarat (d. 1537).³⁴⁹ However, Gangohi periodically sought to develop his relations with the Baburid rulers and sent letters to Babur and Humayun with other nobles. He mentioned himself as 'an Orthodox Sunni advocate of a rather narrow and bigoted juristic version of the *sharī'a*.'³⁵⁰ It is unknown whether there were answers or letters from the court to Gangohi or if the court tried to maintain a relationship with him. There is a gap in information concerning the further relations between Chishti Shaykhs and the Baburid courts. Although it is said that

³⁴⁶ See, Robinson, "Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," 169; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 138.

³⁴⁷ See: Robinson, "Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," 169; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 138.

³⁴⁸ Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 138–39.

³⁴⁹ There was also a spiritual event that Gangohi appeared in the dream of Dattu Sarwani – Gangohi's Afghan disciple and directed him to convey his message to Guajrat's Shaikh, Shāh Manjhan against Humayun PadiShāh. See for more: Alam, 139–41.

³⁵⁰ Alam, 141.

Humayun maintained good relations and visited Sufi Shaykhs, available sources do not give exact information about who went to whom.³⁵¹

When it comes to Emperor Akbar, as it is well known, the statecraft and its principles were changed and reshaped on a broad level. The same thing happened for the Sufi-court relations as well. Akbar, it seems, favored the Chishti order in the 1570s. Although Chishti also had some conflicts with the court, the relationship is spiritual now. They were unlike Naqshbandi's Aḥrārī tradition's power and wealth-centered, to be discussed below. Some of their ideas worked to consolidate Akbar's power or at least supported his political mission. Akbar visited the tomb of the founder of the Chishti order in Hindustan, *i.e.*, Khwaja Mu'in al-Dīn Chishti (d. 1236). He also visited the shrine of Nizam al-Dīn Auliya (d. 1325) in 1564 and, like all other Baburid statesmen, paid due respect and circumambulated the tomb of this Chishti Sufi.³⁵²

Furthermore, he visited one of the most celebrated Chishti Sufi Shaykh of his time, Shaykh Salim Chishti. It is believed that with the latter's (Salim Chishti) prayer, Akbar was blessed with a son named Salim (later Emperor Jahāngīr), resembling the Shaykh. In addition, he went to Thanesar to see the khanqah of Shaykh Jalal al-Dīn (d. 991/1582) - a prominent Chishti saint who was a well-known successor (*Khalifa*) of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi; about whom already mentioned that the latter (Gangohi) did not welcome Baburid's advent as well as did not support. The Emperor was accompanied by the two brothers Abu'l-Faḍl and Faizi, and they had a conversation with him. In this way, this visit holds particular importance.³⁵³

³⁵¹ Alam, 142.

³⁵² Lisa Balabanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire: Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia*, Paperback edition (London New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 174, 129n; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 162.

³⁵³ Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 162–63.

iii. Naqshbandi - Aḥrārī Trend in Central Asia and its Extension in Early Baburid Hindustan

Among the existing Sufi orders, the Chishti was renowned for its emphasis on spiritual detachment and cultivating a life of poverty to attain closeness to the creator. On the other side, the Suhrawardy and Naqshbandi orders had been notable for their involvement in social and political issues, with members of both orders frequently engaging with the ruling elite. The Naqshbandi differed from others due to the solid scholarship that its fellow manpower achieved in different places over time.³⁵⁴

The founder of the Baburid dynasty, Babur, was already initiated into the Naqshbandi order before he arrived in Hindustan, indicating the strong influence of Sufi traditions on the ruling elite. The introduction of this order, particularly the Naqshbandi-Aḥrārī tradition, and its developments, *i.e.*, Mujaddidiyyah and their increasing popularity during the Baburid period, played a significant role in shaping the religious landscape and contributed to the development of Muslim ideas and thoughts during this era and afterward.³⁵⁵ Before coming to the sixteenth century, it is essential to go back to the history of the Naqshbandi – Aḥrārī tradition and its unique nature to comprehend their legacy and changes in Hind ground.

The Naqshbandi trend came across many historical developments. Amir Timur (d. 1405) is the ancestor of Babur who maintained a good relationship with Amir Kulal (d. 1370) – preceptor of Shaykh Baha al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389). After Baha al-Dīn, the order got prominence and came to the front. After him, the second most influential figure in the order was Khwaja Ubaidullah Aḥrārī (d. 1490), with whom the order expanded its power and influence far beyond Mawarannahr into Iran, the Ottoman Empire. Naqshbandi masters and their followers, especially those in positions of authority, have taken on new societal and political implications in those years. It could be said that Khwaja Aḥrār was

³⁵⁴ Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India*, 13.

³⁵⁵ See: Alvi, 13.

more than just a spiritual teacher to his followers; he was also their political patron.³⁵⁶ Many Central Asian Timurid kings and nobilities were among his disciples. His several descendants also claimed they were not merely spiritual leaders but a source of strength - an essential factor for political stability and consolidation.³⁵⁷

According to Khwaja Aḥrār, he was destined by God to save the Muslims from their tyrants and guide them to success, and it could be achieved by “trafficking with kings and conquering their souls.” He was, therefore, very much politically conscious and put himself at the center of socio-economic and religious affairs. And it seems clear he felt that it was inappropriate for him to remain on a street corner as a typical Shaykh would do and devote his time to routine prayer and the spiritual instruction of followers, given the current circumstances.³⁵⁸

Here one example could be given relating to *sharī‘a* and strength, Hazrat-i Ishan (Khwaja Aḥrār) would think that without strength (power) *sharī‘a* cannot be followed. Muzaffar Alam quoted from Mullā Fakhr al-Dīn b. Ḥusain Wa’iz al-Kashif, as:

³⁵⁶ Aḥrār belonged to enormous wealth and power with extraordinary organizing skills, it is clear that no Sufi master like him had such power and wealth. Not only that, but there were also very few people like him who had thousands of acres of agricultural land in many places among them, Tashkent, Samarqand, Bukhara, and Kashkadaria come first. In addition, he has many villages, commercial centers, and so on. These things helped him to be influential in the region and beyond. Many of his disciples, many of them even were not his formal disciples, helped administer his wealth in the Turkestan, Mawarannahr, and Khorasan. With this disciplined organization and enormous wealth, he became a paramount powerful leader so that he could help the mass people as well as the ruler in difficult times. Through these means, he reorganized the Naqshbandi order to an unprecedented degree, solidifying his place as the region's undisputed ruler. See: Richard C. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia* (Karachi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 94–95; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 145.

³⁵⁷ See for the influence applied in the Central Asia: Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 143–44.

³⁵⁸ Alam, 144.

*“Hazrat-i Ishan had a vision (dar waqi’a dida budand) that it was with his help that the shari’a would acquire strength, which in turn, he thought, was to be achieved through the support of rulers.”*³⁵⁹

Naqshbandi masters and their followers, especially those in positions of authority, took on new societal and political weight in the sixteenth century. Many of the Timurid kings and nobility in Central Asia were the students of Khwaja Aḥrār, who served as their spiritual preceptor and an important and influential political patron. It is not a wonder to see a Sulṭān who would pay extraordinary respect to Khwaja Aḥrār, and the latter (Aḥrār) provided support to rule the country. It became a common phenomenon between Aḥrārī trend and the court with give-and-take understanding.³⁶⁰

When it comes to the Baburid rule in Hindustan, as mentioned, Babur had a legacy of a good relationship with Naqshbandi – Aḥrārī tradition. Babur’s father ‘Umar Shaykh Mīrẓā (d. 1494)³⁶¹ would maintain a good relationship with them. Khwaja Aḥrār treated him as his close disciple and called him “my son.”³⁶² Aḥrār also played an important role as his guide and mentor to be helpful to abide by the spiritual directions and abstain from forbidden things like drinking wine.³⁶³ Not only that, but he also helped the Sulṭān (‘Umar)

³⁵⁹ Mullā Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Husain Wa’iz al-Kashifī wrote Rashhat ‘Ain al-Hayat is the famous *tazkira* of the Khwaja and his students and followers. One part is devoted to describing the Khwaja’s political interventions and so on; the chapter was named as ‘an account of the miracles of Hazrat-i Ishan that pertain to his bestowal of conquering power to the kings, rulers and the others of his time’. See: Alam, 143–44.

³⁶⁰ See: Arthur F. Buehler, “The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrīd India: The Central Asian Legacy,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1996): 211–12; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 143–46.

³⁶¹ He was was a statesman in Kabul, and Farghana. See for about him and his controlled regions, expeditions, various developments happened during this time: Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Babur - Nama (Memoirs of Babur)*, trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge, vol. 1 & 2 (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1970), 14; Abu’l-Faḍl Ibn-Mubārak, *The Akbarnama of Abu’l Fazl. Vol. 1*, trans. Henry Beveridge, Reprinted, vol. 1, Bibliotheca Indica Series (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 2000), 217–22.

³⁶² Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Babur - Nama (Memoirs of Babur)*, 1 & 2:15; Bābur and Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art [u.a.], 1996), 41.

³⁶³ To have a clear idea on Baburid religiosity and its connections with different Sufi orders, Babur and his ancestor’s existing legacy was very important to shape the ground in the days to come. For more about

several times financially with a large amount of money,³⁶⁴ and he chose the name of ‘Umar’s son as ‘Zahir al-Dīn Muḥammad’; however, it was difficult to pronounce it in the Chagatai that caused to name him Babar (Babur).³⁶⁵

It seems Khwaja Aḥrār, though he died some years ago, himself and his legacy remained influential to Babur - a statesman and founder of Baburid state. Babur saw and conversed with Khwaja Aḥrār in a dream in 1501 when the latter (Aḥrār) was no more in the world. In the dream, according to the description of Baburnama, Khwaja Aḥrār said in Turkish, “*Shaykh Maslahat berdi*” (Shaykh Masalahat has given). And Babur added, several days later, I took Samarkand.³⁶⁶

This kind of event relating to significant political developments has happened several times in Babur’s lifetime. Khwaja Aḥrār’s sons, Khwaja ‘Abdullāh, better known as Khwajagi Khwaja and Khwaja Muḥammad Yahya, followed his father’s legacy to intervene in political affairs alongside their spiritual leadership.³⁶⁷ Uzbek ruler Shaibani Khān treated them differently; however, he could not afford to challenge them and bring significant success to light. As a result, he visited and offered prayers before the shrines

‘Umar Shaikh Mīrẓā’s religiosity, and the relationship between ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrẓā and Khwaja Aḥrār, see: Ibn-Mubārak, *The Akbarnama of Abu’l Fazl. Vol. 1*, 1:219; Bābur and Thackston, *The Baburnama*, 24; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 146.

³⁶⁴ See: Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India (Volume II)*, II:177.

³⁶⁵ At that time he was named in the Khutbah as ‘Zahir al-Dīn Babur Muḥammad’ as mentioned by Mīrẓā Muḥammad Haidar Dughlat, however, later he got more familiar as ‘Zahir al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur,’ see: Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, ed. N. Elias, trans. E. Denison Ross (Sampson Low, Marston & Company, Limited, 1895), 173; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 146.

³⁶⁶ The text written is as “شیخ مصلحت بیردی”. Here to mean Shaikh Maslahat is Samarkand, is clearly understood from Babur’s clear description. See for more: Zahiruddin Muhammed Babur Mirza, *Baburnama. Part One: Fergana and Transoxania. Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan’s Persian Translation, Turkish Transcription, Persian Edition and English Translation.*, ed. Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin, trans. W.M. Thackston and Abdurrahim Hanhanan (Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1993), 168–69; Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Babur - Nama (Memoirs of Babur)*, 1 & 2:132; Bābur and Thackston, *The Baburnama*, 120.

³⁶⁷ It seems Khwaja Yahya would directly involve himself in the political affairs, what happened during the revolt of Tarkhanis in Samarkand in 901 AH, see Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Babur - Nama (Memoirs of Babur)*, 1 & 2:61–63.

of famous leaders of the order, *i.e.*, Khwaja ‘Abd al-Khaliq Ghijduwani (d. 1220) and Shaykh Baha al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389).³⁶⁸

Although Babur and Khwaja Aḥrār’s descendants’ relations faced, a bit stumbled when the former developed good contact with Safavid Shāh Ismā‘īl. However, Babur’s challenging times restored the previous connection and relations that the ruler was supported in needs and difficult times. Notably, during the battle of Panipat (1526) against the Afghan brigade, Babur was accompanied by Muḥammad Amin - the third son of Khwaja Aḥrār,³⁶⁹ and a decisive event for the medieval Hind history that brought victory for Babur over Ibrāhīm Lodi. It seems Babur was supported by Khwajagi Aḥmad (d. 1542) – a disciple of the disciple of Aḥrār when he wanted to remember (visualized) Khwaja Aḥrār.³⁷⁰ Further, Babur invited some influential Naqshbandi representatives to his court, paid extraordinary respect, and arranged a special feast for them in Agra between 1528 and 1530.³⁷¹ However, they did not decide to stay in Hindustan is a vital point to be discussed later.

After Babur, it seems Humayun’s approach to the Naqshbandi Aḥrārī legacy was not like what happened in central Asia as well as in Hindustan during Babur’s lifetime. Humayun’s opinion was mixed with trust and doubt about Aḥrārī descendants alongside

³⁶⁸ See: Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, 1 & 2:127–28; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 148–49.

³⁶⁹ Buehler, “The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrid India,” 212.

³⁷⁰ Khwajagi Aḥmad was a grand disciple of Khwaja Aḥrār. After the victory, Babur issued an statement of repeatnce by writing a poem to Khwajagi Aḥmad, as described by Muḥammad Sadiq in his *Tabaqat-i Shāhjahanī*, we do not have an access to it, is cited by Muzaffar Alam, see: Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 149–50.

³⁷¹ Among them they were Khwaja Aḥrār’s grandsons Khwaja Khawand Maḥmūd and Khwaja ‘Abd al-Shāhid (Khwajagi Khwaja’s second son), and Khwaja Kalan (Aḥrārī’s great-grandson, and a grandson of Khwaja Yahya). It seems the last two were received and welcomed with an extraordinary respect as well as guests of honor by Babur. Later, Khwaja Khawand Maḥmūd (also known as Khwaja Nura) arrived in Hindustan in the spring of 1530, when Babur was no more in the world. He made a visit to the tomb of Babur and went to Agra. Humayun – new ruler of the state received him with grate honor. See: Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Babur - Nama (Memoirs of Babur)*, 1 & 2:631–32; Dughlat, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 398; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 150–51.

his interest in the Shattari Sufi order and respect to its Shaykhs of that time, Shaykh Phul (or Pul), also known as Bahlul and his brother Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaus. It seems Humayun remained close to Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaus until his defeat to the Afghans. However, an event, perhaps that changed the mentality of Humayun to Aḥrārī legacy when Khwaja Khawand Maḥmūd helped Humayun's brother Mīrzā Kamran to recapture Qandahar, which was invaded and taken by the Safavid ruler Shāh Tahmasp. It helped to remember that the Timurids maintained their faith, respect, and devotion to the Khwaja Aḥrār's family. However, Khwaja Khawand decided to leave despite Humayun's request to stay in the court.³⁷² Moreover, after regaining Hindustan, Humayun again developed his relationship with Khwaja Khawand and appointed some of the disciples of this order in his administration, *i.e.*, Khwaja 'Abd al-Kafī and Khwaja Qasim (Khwaja Aḥrār's great-grandson), etc. and maintained good relationship during his illness in Kabul.³⁷³

In relation to the rule of Akbar, the Aḥrārī tradition also faced different experiences along with substantial new socio-economic and religious changes. Khwaja 'Abd al-Shāhid (Khwaja Aḥrār's grandson) was invited to the court from Samarkand, received with great honor, and granted a *pargana* of Chamari in Punjab by Emperor Akbar. One vital point is that Khwaja 'Abd al-Shāhid, as discussed, was the teacher and mentor of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī,³⁷⁴ who was the leading guide of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī about them more discussion is given below. Later, the former (Khwaja 'Abd al-Shāhid) was appointed as *Sadr* from 985-6/1578 to 992/1584 (was responsible for religious endowments and grants) and achieved popularity among the mass people and was seen as the representative of Khwaja Aḥrār. With his prayers and blessing, Baburid commander Ḥusain Qulī Khān

³⁷² Dughlat wrote the story of Khwaja Khawand and his dealings with Mīrzā Kamran where the former (Dughlat) was present in Lahore. He had a conversation with Khwaja Khawand as well. See for more: Dughlat, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 399–400; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 152n, 152–53.

³⁷³ Buehler, "The Naqshbandiyya in Timūrid India," 214; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 153.

³⁷⁴ Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 38.

gained a victory against rebel Mīrzās in 1561. However, the Khwaja left Hindustan for Samarqand in 1584, saying that he was asked to go there and died shortly after he had arrived there.³⁷⁵

Further, Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusain, a son of Khwaja Mu'in and a grandson of Khwaja Khawand Maḥmūd was living in Kashghar; its ruler sent him to Baburid court to offer condolence on the demise of Humayun and to congratulate Akbar in 1556. He swiftly achieved several good and respected positions in the state, *i.e.*, *amir* – a high rank, accepted *jagirs* in Ajmer and Nagor, etc. Being informed of the son's high position in the state, his father, Khwaja Mu'in, also came to Baburid state and was welcomed by the Emperor with high honor; as such, he would do to the dervishes. In the 1560s and 1570s, there were some events shown that Akbar would maintain good relationships with Aḥrārī descendants, such as 'Abd al-'Azim – a grand disciple of Khwaja 'Abd al-Shāhid being chosen as the *amir-i hajj* in 1576, Khwaja Muḥammad Yahya - a direct descendant of Khwaja Aḥrār was also granted as the *amir-i hajj* in 1578. Perhaps this time, Naqshbandi reached its zenith in Akbar's rule.³⁷⁶

Baburid statesmen and Naqshbandis, particularly in the Aḥrārī tradition, also had a family relation matrimonially. Babur's daughter was married to Nur al-Dīn Muḥammad, an offspring of Khwaja 'Ala al-Dīn 'Attar (d. 1399) – a prominent disciple of Khwaja Baha al-Dīn. Moreover, their daughter, Salima Sulṭān Begum (d. 1613), was married to Bairam Khān (d. 1561) – a notable and powerful Baburid noble under Humayun and Akbar.³⁷⁷ Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm (Humayun's younger son) gave his sister to Khwaja

³⁷⁵ Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 154–55; Buchler, "The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrid India," 214.

³⁷⁶ al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:275; Abu-'l-Faḍl Ibn-Mubārak, *The Akbarnama of Abu'l Fazl*. Vol. 2, trans. Henry Beveridge, Reprinted, vol. 2, Bibliotheca Indica Series (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 2000), 302; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 155–56.

³⁷⁷ He was a famous military officer, a bureaucrat and was regarded as Khan-i Khanan. See: Sukumar Ray, "Ancestry and Early Life of Bairam Khan," in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 16 (1953), n.d., 248–51, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44303880>; Sukumar Ray, "Bairam Khan under Emperor

Ḥasan Naqshbandi, an heir of Khwaja Baha al-Dīn. Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusain, as mentioned above, was married to half-sister Bakhshi Banu – Akbar’s half-sister. These are a few examples of understanding what happened between them.³⁷⁸

However, since the 1570s, Naqshbandi’s influence started declining, though Emperor assigned some of their followers to essential works to some extent, as mentioned. Many factors would be behind these developments. It seems the Emperor was unprepared to face any challenge that would harm or reduce his prestige. So, when he saw an effort to influence him in a way he did not like, he would also curb them. On the other side, Aḥrārī tradition had not faced such a situation before, like the revolt of Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusain was curbed with firmness; even Akbar did not listen to the recommendations of Khwaja ‘Abd al-Shāhid, that was the reason leave for the Samarqand as noted by Bada’uni.³⁷⁹

Humayun,” in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 22 (1959), n.d., 253–56, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44304303>.

³⁷⁸ Buehler, “The Naqshbandiyya in Tīmūrid India,” 214; Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 154–55.

³⁷⁹ Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 156–57.

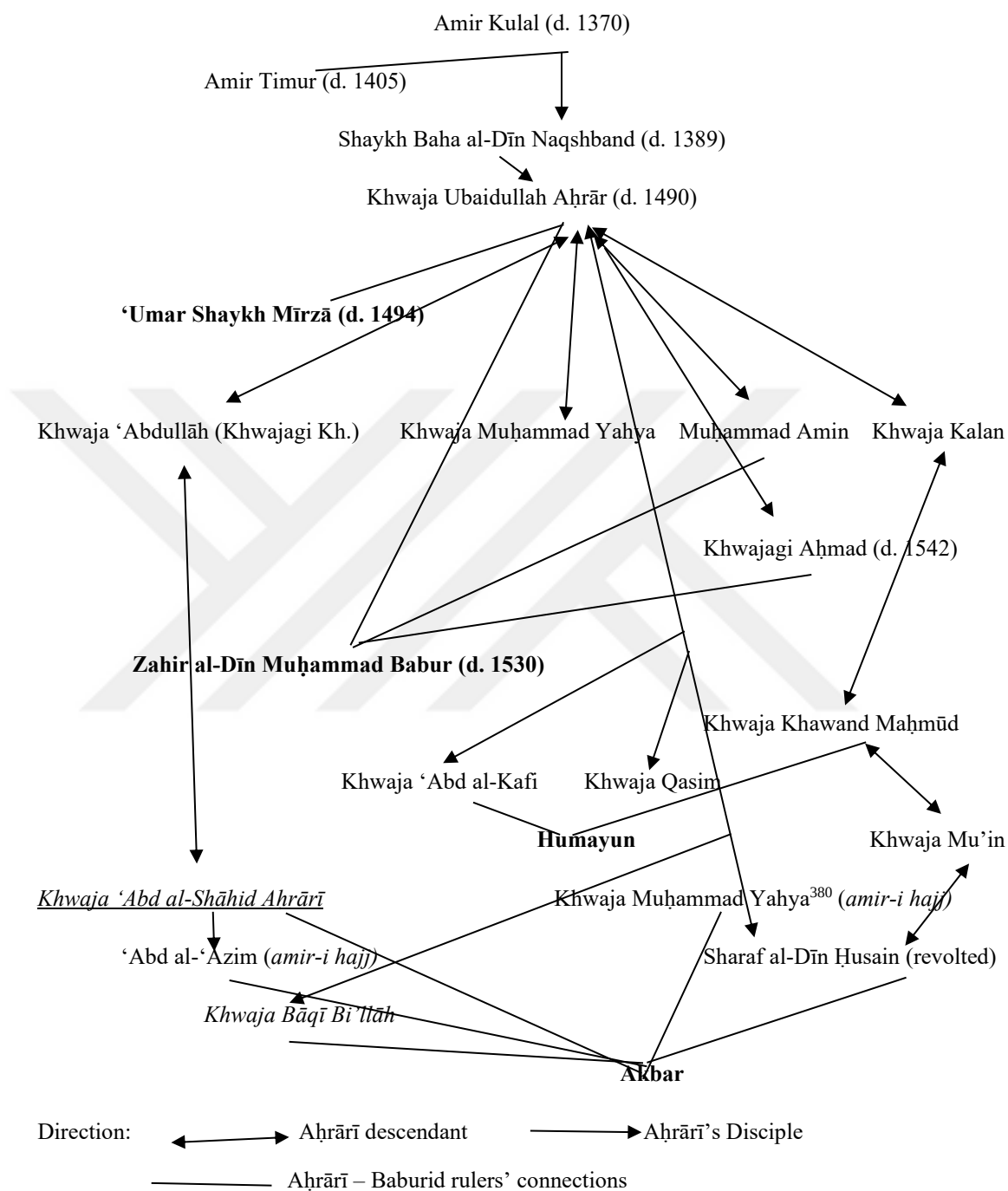


Figure 2. 1: Naqshbandi – Aḥrārī legacy and their connections with Baburid rulers

³⁸⁰ From Aḥrārī descendant, however, his father and grand-father are unknown, see al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:275.

iv. Bāqī Bi'llāh and Introduction of New Approaches: Reckoning, Adjustment, and Way Forward

After Khwaja Aḥrār, Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh (d. 1603), the most influential and key Naqshbandi figure of the sixteenth century, paid his efforts to change the existing dimension of the Naqshbandi order in Hindustan and helped develop a new tradition. That tradition perhaps influenced all the existing Sufi orders as well as scholars of the era, and its teachings remained for centuries by his disciples and students. It seems the Baburid Sufi and intellectual ground, particularly Naqshbandi – Aḥrārī tradition, which came across many religious, political, and philosophical debates, was waiting for a man or a movement that would usher a new trend to be adjusted in the ground and to be significant to all. We are not sure whether there was any contact between Bāqī Bi'llāh and Siyālkūtī; however, it is clear that Siyālkūtī's Aḥrārī intellectual legacy and path based on *sharī'a* was muchly supported in the coming days.³⁸¹

Bāqī Bi'llāh's diversified life also gives insight into Hind Sufi, particularly Naqshbandi ground. It seems he was introduced to and familiar with the Naqshbandi order since his early years, starting with his family education. His grandfather received education and spiritual guidance from Khwaja Muḥammad Zakariya – a grandson of Khwaja Aḥrār. He experienced a diversified life. Studying with several scholars of several disciplines and Sufi orders, *i.e.*, Naqshbandi and Yasawi orders, and moving to different cities, such as Kabul, Lahore, Kashmīr, Samarkand, Delhi, etc., he finally established himself in the Khanqah of Firozabad, Delhi. Although he stayed there for three years and

³⁸¹ While Siakoti was not considered a Sufi scholar and didn't seem to have actively engaged in Sufi thoughts and debates, he was still influenced by his teacher and the environment he grew up in. The fact that he was part of the Aḥrārī intellectual legacy doesn't necessarily mean he was a successor of the order, but it does suggest that the tradition had some level of influence on him, *i.e.*, he would respect Aḥmad Sirhindī and positioned him as the “mujaddid” or reviver of second millenium of Muslim calendar who was the main advocate of Bāqī Bi'llāh after his demise.

taught Naqshbandi orders, he became an influential Sufi murshid and famous for his students, particularly Aḥmad Sirhindī.³⁸²

As discussed concerning the Naqshbandi order's advent to Baburid Hindustan and its connection to the court, again, until the advent of Bāqī Bi'llāh to Hindustan, though they (Khwaja Aḥrār's legacy) remained important factors for sometimes, they had not been accepted as the '*royal pir*' at all and given the opportunities to intervene in the local politics or power what they aspired to and what they were adjusted to what happened in Central Asia. As a result, Naqshbandi Shaykhs were often shocked, and many times, as mentioned, they left Hindustan or moved from one place to another despite the court's request. It shows that the Hindustan's socio-religious and political phenomenon, concepts, and experiences were more different than those of Central Asian ground.

On the other hand, the sixteenth century's other leading Sufi order, the Chishti order, had no such goal or expectation of being powerful and influential in the court or local politics. They (Chishti) were limited to some specific religious and spiritual activities rather than worldly affairs. They also had a good relationship with the court and nobles, who generally would visit the Sufi Shaykhs and Sufi khanqahs and pay their respect to them. Also, when they needed help, the court would generally provide it. Patronization, more specifically land-grant, to the development of education and learning, was a common phenomenon and is always seen in the Hind Muslim culture, which is also described above. It seems that sometimes, it has not been for a specific community or group. This thing occurred for the Naqshbandi-Aḥrārī tradition during Humayun and Shāh Jahān. Both were significant patrons of educational and scientific development. Jahāngīr – a learned Emperor, imprisoned Aḥmad Sirhindī to minimize the tension raised in the ground. In the same way, Shāh Jahān was more educated than his father and also compelled Shaykh

³⁸² See: Hamid Algar, "Bākī-Billāh," in *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1991), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/baki-billah>.

Adam Banuri (d. 1644) (a successor of Aḥmad Sirhindī) to leave Lahore for Hijaz when the former felt that the Shaykh would be a threat to the state.³⁸³

All these developments led the Naqshbandi scholars to reckon with and rethink their policies and develop new ways and thoughts to be adjusted in the Hind ground as well as how to overcome other existing orders based on the practice of poverty (*faqr*) and asceticism (*terk-i dunya*).³⁸⁴

At this decisive turning point, two prominent Naqshbandi saints, Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh (d. 1603), and Khwaja Khawand Maḥmūd 'Alavi Ḥusaini (d. 1652), moved to Baburid Hindustan during Akbar's rule and established Khanqahs in Delhi and Kashmīr respectively. Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh – a member of the Khwaja Aḥrār's connection from his mother's side, understanding Baburid political and existing Sufi ground, he took the challenge to restore Naqshbandi order in the center of Sufi thought. Although he stayed in Delhi for a short time of four years (1599-1603), he successfully raised some scholars who developed the Naqshbandi order that not only adjusted and flourished in the Baburid Sufi and intellectual ground and continued for centuries but also spread over the Muslim communities in different regions. He is mentioned for his four fellow students (*khalifas*), i.e., Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), Shaykh Husam al-Dīn (d. 1633), Shaykh Ilaḥdad (d. 1640), and Shaykh Taj al-Dīn Sambhali (d. 1642). Particularly Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and Shaykh Taj al-Dīn Sambhali occupied prominent positions in the seventeenth century's Sufi intellectual tradition; the former (Aḥmad Sirhindī), as mentioned, founded a new branch of the Naqshbandi order naming "the Mujaddidiyah."³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Arthur F. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh*, Studies in Comparative Religion (Columbia (S.C.): University of South Carolina press, 1998), 71.

³⁸⁴ See: Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 166–67.

³⁸⁵ Khwaja Khawand Maḥmūd 'Alavi Ḥusaini was expected to move to the religious and educational centers of Baburid Hindustan, however, he felt a mystic trance and reached to Kashmir where he preferred to stay without further movement. See, Alam, 167–68.

Several works and documents are available about Bāqī Bi'llāh and his ideas and thoughts that he developed and shared at different times. Some of his ideas paved the way for ushering in a new thinking trend. Mentioning some of his ideas, for example, would be worth understanding. Bāqī Bi'llāh, concerning the *pir*, observed that one could have more than one *pir* in the Naqshbandi order. It was a new idea he brought to the light where other orders generally did not allow it.³⁸⁶ When it comes to the *tauhīd* and *wujūd*, Bāqī Bi'llāh differed from the Chishti order that would support Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240) as well as the view of 'Ala al-Daula al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336),³⁸⁷ who criticized Ibn al-'Arabi, claimed both were right in terms of meaning, rather than the words. However, he argued that the *shuhūd* (perception) of al-Simnānī³⁸⁸ is closer to the truth. In addition, he also strongly rejected at least some ideas, if not the whole, relating to the concept of *tauhid* (of *wujūd*). He claimed the prevailing understanding was not based on a factual basis, but they reflected *tajalli*. Bāqī Bi'llāh also contested the existing supportive idea of *sama'*. He reinterpreted the thoughts of Nizam al-Dīn Auliya (d. 1325), who was the most oft-cited evidence of its practice, and clearly observed that he rejected its listening and practice.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Muzaffar Alam, analyzing *Kulliyat-i Bāqī Bi'llāh*, *malfūzat* and *ruq'at* section, discussed about some ideas and the ways that Bāqī Bi'llāh belonged to, and also, he commented on them. Concerning *pir*, Bāqī Bi'llāh said it for the followers of other orders and not for his disciples and traditions as he wrote to his *khalifa* Shaikh Taj al-Dīn that is mentioned in *Kulliyat-i Bāqī Bi'llāh* examined and cited by Muzaffar Alam, such as, “*And similarly in the moral conduct (adab) of the Naqshbandi Ahrārī path you should be firm like a mountain, never mixing it with the path of the other (. . .). Whoever is your murid is your murid only. Train and teach him according to Naqshbandi path only.*” See: Alam, 168–69.

³⁸⁷ See for 'Ala al-Daula al-Simnānī, M. Nazif Şahinoğlu, “Alaüddeve-i Simnânî,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 1989), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/alauddevle-i-simnani>.

³⁸⁸ See for the beginning of Waḥdat al-shuhūd doctrine from Simnani, and then the doctrine's further development by Bāqī Bi'llāh and Aḥmad Sirhindī, Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, 26.

³⁸⁹ See for more: Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 169–70; Şahinoğlu, “Alaüddeve-i Simnânî.”

Bāqī Bi'llāh also fixed three principles of his order, as Muzaffar Alam said, citing from *Kulliyāt-i Bāqī Bi'llāh*,

“‘Our *tariqa*’, Bāqī Bi'llāh noted, ‘is based on three things: an unswerving faith (*rusukh*) in the truth of the beliefs of the Sunni community (*ahl-i sunnat wa jama'at*), knowledge, gnosis (*agahi*) and prayer (*'ibadat*). Laxity in any one of these throws one out of our *tariqa*'. The principal duty of a seeker, according to him, was to follow the *sharī'a*. ‘Correct beliefs’, he reiterated, ‘regard for *sharī'a* and sincere attention to God are the greatest wealth. No mysticism (*zauq, wijdan*) is comparable with this.’”³⁹⁰

Besides emphasizing *sharī'a* - a new development, he objected to making money and involving political power for a Sufi Shaykh. According to him, the highest stage of Sufism could be achieved not with wealth and power but with “poverty (*faqr*) and negation of self (*nisti*).” By doing this, he changed the thoughts and ideas that were a major concern for the Aḥrārī legacy in Central Asia and what they expected in the early Baburid period, as discussed above. Through these changes in the existing Sufi ideas and thoughts developed by the Chishti as well as his predecessors and generating new ideas, he successfully initiated a new order to be not only influential in the Hind socio-political and intellectual ground but also one of the most influential orders if not the most to have remained for centuries.³⁹¹

v. The Development of Sufi Thought in the 16th Century: An Analysis of Key Issues and Debates: *Sharī'a* and *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

Baburid Hindustan experienced many developments in the educational and intellectual arena; some key issues are discussed above, particularly relating to Bāqī Bi'llāh from different perspectives. Understanding the ground where Siyālkūtī was raised, learned, and taught is worthy of having a short portrayal of two specific developments with others that happened in the sixteenth century. Sufi ideas and thoughts that occupied the central position of Muslim thought for centuries also experienced a new shift from

³⁹⁰ Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation,” 170–71.

³⁹¹ For more information about his differences and new ideas, see, Alam, 171–73.

different positions. The Sufi ideas of all orders faced many challenges and an apparent demand hitherto did not see from the ground to have some principles and bases as follows.

a. Defining the Place of *Sharī'a*: Emerging as A Center Point of Muslim Thought

In contemporary Islamic scholarship, religious scholars are generally classified into two distinct categories: the '*ulamā*', or religious scholars and the Sufis, or mystics. The '*ulamā*' are characterized by their exclusive adherence to *Sharī'a* law and orthodoxy. In contrast, the Sufis are known for their accommodating approach and openness to local non-Muslim customs and values. However, historical accounts and biographical dictionaries from the medieval era do not necessarily support this clear-cut division, especially in the Hind Sufi ground, where the Sufi tradition, with its unique associations, institutions, and customs, was already deeply rooted in Muslim society over the centuries.³⁹² Nevertheless, there were often some distinctive developments that helped to categorize the data. The '*ulamā*' would believe and practice the law of *Sharī'a*, and its practices, *i.e.*, external rituals; on the other hand, Sufis, Chishtis in particular, would insist on inner purity. So, most Sufi would not adjust to the '*ulamā*'.³⁹³ Not only that, but also sometimes, they maintained a distance from each other; what happened for Siyālkūtī when he requested Shaykh Shāh Hussain Dahdaha (d. 1008/1599) – a famous saint in Lahore to accept him as his disciple, but the latter (Sufi) rejected him and said you were a Mullā or religious master.³⁹⁴

One more categorization would be brought here that is also related to this discussion; orthodox and unorthodox. Among the major Sufi orders in Hindustan, Qadiri,

³⁹² Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India*, 13–14.

³⁹³ See for more, Saral Jhingran, "Sufism: A Mystic-Religious Movement in Islam and Its Impact on India's Religio-Culture," in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization: Development of Islamic Religion and Philosophy in India*, ed. Mohammad Rafique, vol. VII Part 5 (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations for the Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture - PHISPC, 2009), 124.

³⁹⁴ Dara Shikoh, *Hasanatu'l-'Arifin*, ed. Sayyid Makhdum Ruhban (Tehran: Chaphana-i Wahid, 1356), 58.

Suhrawardi, and Naqshbandi were utterly orthodox. Their obedience to *sharī'a* was strict or fundamental. In contrast, the Chishtis were open and not as strict with the *sharī'a* as other orders; it also allowed occasional deviations of *sharī'a*, as what happened for Shaykh Farid al-Dīn and his follower Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn did not go on Haj. The latter (Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn) commented that visiting his Shaykh's *Dargah* in Ajodhan and Hijaz was equal. The prominent advocates of this order, like Khwaja Muin al-Dīn, emphasized that helping the needy and making people happy would be the best worship. Generally, they would not disrespect *sharī'a* law, but their emphasis was in different places, *i.e.*, inner prayers, sincerity with heart, etc.³⁹⁵ In addition, although all agreed on the importance of *tariqah*, the Chishti order emphasized it more than the *sharī'a*, which became an issue of further discussion for other orders.³⁹⁶ The Naqshbandi order emphasized *sharī'a* as a central concern for a good Muslim, even essential to being a Muslim. And to Bāqī Bi'llāh, it would get more importance; it seems he put *sharī'a* in an undisputed place to the following Islam and not comparable to any other Sufi practices.³⁹⁷

Experiencing various socio-political and religious developments, it seems *sharī'a* got the momentum that became a common concern for all during the last phase of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As discussed, Naqshbandi put *sharī'a* in a central place that expedited the development of ideas of Bāqī Bi'llāh. And it had been easily spread over the regions with the dissemination of the ideas and *waḥdat al-shuhūd* and Mujaddidiyyah concept initiated by his student and disciple, Aḥmad Sirhindī. In this way, it has been accelerated in many folds in the early seventeenth century and afterward. Finally, it has been a commitment to the practice of *sharī'a* law, a fundamental principle of all tariqahs and individuals. Not only that, but it was also a common expectation to have

³⁹⁵ See for more, Jhingran, "Sufism: A Mystic-Religious Movement in Islam and Its Impact on India's Religio-Culture," 124.

³⁹⁶ See for more about *tariqah* and *shari'a*, Jhingran, 124.

³⁹⁷ See, Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 170–71.

completed one's education in madrasahs and had a solid understanding of the fundamentals of Islam before being initiated into a particular Sufi order.³⁹⁸

b. Debates around *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

Mohiuddin Ibn al-‘Arabi (d. 638/1240), known as al-Shaykh al-Akbar, was an Andalusian Muslim thinker and medieval Sufi scholar whose works and thoughts brought many secrets and complex ideas into the light that were among the most discussed subjects in the all-around the Muslim world for many centuries. His thoughts came to Persian literature with Jalal al-Dīn Rumi (d. 1273) and Mullā Jāmī (d. 1492). In Hindustan, Shaykh Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr al-Simnānī (d. 1446) was a famous early follower of him. He had been read and followed since the fourteenth century, and by the fifteenth century, he had been known everywhere in the Hind cultural and educational centers; and in the sixteenth century, he successfully and surprisingly received a wide acceptance. He became such a famous scholar that sometimes, it is claimed that he was more accepted and followed in Hindustan than its neighbor, Safavids. Some work had been done on his works, particularly on *Fusus al-Hikam*. As discussed, Abdul Quddus Gangohi (d. 1538) was a famous scholar of Muslim jurisprudence and a leading saint who was influenced by the idea of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) is a clear example.³⁹⁹

On the other side, some scholars observed similarities between the Sufi thoughts developed by the influence of the ideas of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and the Vedanta system of Hindu philosophy. They tried to create a synthesis between Muslim and Hindu ideas, a movement that the orthodox observed with evident distrust.⁴⁰⁰ For more clearance, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* – an idea of “non-dualism” would be meant as “monism” or

³⁹⁸ Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India*, 13–14.

³⁹⁹ See for more, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 35th anniversary edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 357; Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 165; Irfan Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” in *Society and Ideology in India: Essays in Honour of Professor R.S. Sharma*, ed. Ram Sharan Sharma and D. N. Jha (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1996), 167.

⁴⁰⁰ See for more, Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 357; Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 165.

“pantheism” that opened the gates of different religious communities and created a phenomenon of “religious syncretism” that was strictly opposed by the orthodox ulema group. Moreover, some believe this doctrine’s esoteric philosophy was seen as a strong association with the Vedantism of orthodox Hinduism. That created a threat to the disintegration of Muslims in the region.⁴⁰¹ It raised significant confusion among Muslim scholars and continued for centuries and was one of the significant setbacks for further developing the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.

This synthesis and anti-thesis continued until modern times. Not only did the scholars not get engaged in these debates, but the state, *i.e.*, the court and the nobles, took part in the discussion and made policies. During the rule of Akbar, Shaykh Mubarak - the principal advisor of the Emperor, believed that the latter was responsible for Akbar’s estrangement from the orthodox ‘*ulamā*’. He (Shaykh Mubarak) read Ibn al-‘Arabi as part of his religious lessons; perhaps this idea (*Waḥdat al-Wujūd*), along with his sympathy for Mahdawism, led him to take part in a position against Muslim jurisprudence.⁴⁰² And notably when the court commenced a new religious concept Din-e Elahi consisting of several religions’ ideas and thoughts. *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, in this case, worked as an intellectual foundation of Akbar’s policy; that helped accommodate people, particularly Hindus and Muslims. Both scholars and state entities also continued this accommodation effort. Scholars like Muhibbullah Allahabadi (d. 1648) – a great advocate for *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and known as the Ibn al-‘Arabi of Hindustan, continued to defend and propagate this idea. Dara Shikoh, son of Shāh Jahān, brother of Emperor Aurangzeb, was the disciple of Muhibbullah Allahabadi. They both looked for the Hindu and Muslim connections with the learnings of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, Dara Shikoh, for instance, translated fifty Hindu Upanishads and looked for the similarities between the Muslims and Hindus. These activities threatened the orthodox Muslim scholars; even his brother Aurangzeb took it as an ideological war. This debate continued up to modern times, particularly in the

⁴⁰¹ Shankar Nair, *Translating Wisdom: Hindu-Muslim Intellectual Interactions in Early Modern South Asia* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2020), 93.

⁴⁰² Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 167.

eighteenth century when revival and reform movements came to the front; it faced a big blow and came under increasingly heavy fire.⁴⁰³

Regarding its development in the sixteenth century specifically, it is evident that almost all the scholars were influenced by the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* doctrine and became its followers and developed their ideas based on it. It also happened to Aḥmad Sirhindī. He was a strong follower for a long time until he started studying with Bāqī Bi'llāh. Yohanan Friedmann says,

*“From his very childhood, says Sirhindi, he believed in the Unity of Being. Since this was also the belief of his father, he was able to gain intimate awareness of this world-view and enjoyed it immensely. Later he became associated with Muḥammad al-Baqi bi-Allah, who taught him the Naqshbandi path (tariqah) and showed great interest in him. His awareness of the Unity of Being grew in intensity, and no subtlety of the theory remained unknown to him. He understood properly the minutest details of Ibn al-'Arabi's mystical insights, even those which are given—in Ibn al-'Arabi's view—to the Seal of the Saints (khatam al-wilayah) only.”*⁴⁰⁴

This story is helpful to know the level of mass dissemination of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* in Hind Sufi – intellectual ground that a child or a student could learn at an early age.

The ideas and thoughts of Ibn al-'Arabi were disseminated not only just by his followers' *malḥūzāt*, and *maktubāt*, but also, perhaps gained more popularity through poetry in different Hindustani local languages, *i.e.*, Sindhi, Punjabi, and Bengali like what happened in Turkish and Persian.⁴⁰⁵

Finally, Aḥmad Sirhindī argued firmly opposing it, observing that it is not the last stage in the spiritual experience, and started propagating for *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (Unity of

⁴⁰³ See, Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 167; Nair, *Translating Wisdom*, 93–94.

⁴⁰⁴ Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, 23.

⁴⁰⁵ Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 165–66.

Manifestation), also known as *Tawhid Shuhudi* and *Zilliyyat*, which he developed in 1011/1602.⁴⁰⁶

The opposition to Ibn al-‘Arabi’s theory of the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* grew significantly in the seventeenth century among scholars seeking to reconstruct Islam and Islamic society in response to the loss of political power and compromises with non-Islamic beliefs. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī - a Naqshbandi Sufi whose *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of manifestation/witness) emphasized the importance of taking action in the world to align it with the Divine order. According to Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, the mystic experiencing the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* underwent a purely subjective state, and objective understanding revealed that “all is from Him” rather than “all is He.” He believed that reality was not solely found in God but also His world and that God had sent His guidance through the Prophet to create a society aligned with the Divine order.⁴⁰⁷

Further, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, as revealed, was one of the Sufi doctrines that all prominent scholars went through, either in favor of Ibn al-‘Arabi or opposing him. In the seventeenth century, these two groups’ debates created two metaphysical concepts in the realm of Muslim theosophy. The ground finally saw a conflict among the scholars and became divided into two groups. Scholars like, Aḥmad Sirhindī, Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri (d. 1651), Khwaja Muḥammad Masum, and Ghulam Yahya criticized and rejected Ibn al-‘Arabi’s doctrine. On the other side, Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589) and his student Muḥammad bin Fadl Allah (d. 1029/1620), Shāh Muhibbullah Allahabadi, Dara Shikoh, Miyan Mīr (d. 1635), Mullā Shāh (d. 1661), and Baba Lal were among the prominent advocates of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, and they continued to defend it.⁴⁰⁸ They also wrote treatises defending them, *i.e.*, supporting *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, *Al-Tuhafat al-Mursalat Ila*

⁴⁰⁶ See for more, Abdul Qadir Jafari, “Shaikh Muhibbullah Allahabadi- His Life and Works,” in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization: Development of Islamic Religion and Philosophy in India*, ed. Mohammad Rafique, vol. VII Part 5 (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations for the Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture - PHISPC, 2009), 195; Abdul Haq Ansari, “Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī’s Doctrine of ‘Waḥdat Al-Shuhūd,’” *Islamic Studies* 37, no. 3 (1998): 288.

⁴⁰⁷ Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 168.

⁴⁰⁸ See, Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 86; Nair, *Translating Wisdom*, 92–93.

al-Nabiyy was penned by Muḥammad bin Fadl Allah (d. 1029/1620),⁴⁰⁹ *Hāshiyah al-Tarjamati'l-Qur'an* – a commentary from Sufistic viewpoint of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* was written by Muhibbullah Allahabadi (d. 1058/1648).⁴¹⁰

When it comes to ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, it seems it was not an issue he went through extensively or engaged himself in a serious discussion, as seen in his class fellow Aḥmad Sirhindī or Muhibbullah Allahabadi. However, he favored the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* doctrine. Siyālkūtī is rarely mentioned in the discussion of the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* or *waḥdat al-shuhūd* debate. And it seems he mentioned a good relationship with all scholars, regardless of their views, whether they supported *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* or not.⁴¹¹

In the Ottoman intellectual ground, particularly in Anatolia, Ibn al-‘Arabi and his doctrine ‘*Waḥdat al-Wujūd*’ became very popular among the scholars at the time we are discussing, *i.e.*, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ibn al-‘Arabi’s ideas influenced Ottoman scholars of different disciplines. Many Ottoman founding scholars were his strong followers, and he remained very popular since his lifetime as he was invited to Konya. Although there was always opposition to his thoughts, his ideas remained essential factors in theosophy for many centuries. For instance, Mullā Mehmed Feneri (d. 1431) – founder of the Ottoman madrasah tradition, was greatly influenced by his doctrines.⁴¹²

Ibn al-‘Arabi and his doctrines, mainly *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, a vital point that remained influential in the times we are going through in this work for all major Muslim educational

⁴⁰⁹ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 86.

⁴¹⁰ See, Aḥmad, 20, 86.

⁴¹¹ Rafiabadi, “Rational Sciences in Medieval India,” 283.

⁴¹² See, Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 165–66; Mahmud Erol Kılıç, Çağfer Karadaş, and Mahmut Kaya, “Muhyiddin İbnü’l-Arabî” (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 1999), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ibnul-arabi-muhyiddin#1>; İbrahim Hakkı Aydın and Tahsin Görgün, “Molla Fenari,” in *DİA* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2020), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/molla-fenari#1> (04.05.2023).

and cultural centers, *i.e.*, Ottoman, Safavids,⁴¹³ and Baburid. Regarding the exchanges of ideas and thoughts among the mentioned territories, particularly for the Ottoman and Baburid land, it is possible to see that this doctrine worked as a bridge.

vi. Sufism and ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī

As mentioned, Sufi scholarship occupied the central position of Muslim intellectuality in the Hind educational and cultural grounds at least until the end of the sixteenth century. As a result, all scholars, without any exception, were influenced by this trend. Of course, there were several developments and a shift toward rational sciences in the sixteenth century. That happened for and with ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, our main concern for this work.

As mentioned above, Siyālkūtī was the student of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, and the latter was the student of ‘Abd al-Shāhid - Ubaidullah Aḥrār’s grandson. It is an important example of our study and the Hind Sufi-‘*ulamā*’ connection. It means many things for Hind intellectual grounds. ‘Abd al-Shāhid was not just a simple Sufi Shaykh; perhaps he would be regarded as the Aḥrārī legacy’s main representative in Hindustan during his time. As mentioned, Emperor Akbar respected him and provided him with various opportunities. Abu’l-Faḍl praised him with high regard and said as “...*came the blessed feet of that bowl of knowledge and deposit of truth... Khwaja Abdu-Shāhid (‘Abd al-Shāhid) had eternal accomplishments and also internal gifts.*”⁴¹⁴ Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, it seems, took the final lessons and reached the highest stage, regarded as ‘*Suluk.*’⁴¹⁵ So, it is evident that Siyālkūtī received the teachings of the Naqshbandī – Aḥrārī tradition entirely and, more significantly, being within its rhythm. That generally happened (to

⁴¹³ When it comes to Safavids, though this idea was not favored by the ruling class, or royal authority, scholars continued the legacy developed by previous scholars, like, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī (d. 1289), and ‘Abd ar-Rahman Jami – known as Mollā Jami (d. 1492). See, Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 166.

⁴¹⁴ Ibn-Mubārak, *The Akbarnama of Abu’l Fazl. Vol. 2*, 2:195.

⁴¹⁵ See, Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 38.

maintain the *silsila* or legacy) in the medieval educational and spiritual tradition. It is a vital factor – to get introduced to knowledge (to be gained for an orthodox scholar) as well as to be aware of the aspiring for power or ‘*ulamā*’s expectation in the sphere of influence over the state authority.

And the sources that have been accessed so far tell us that Siyālkūtī was also interested in Sufī practices and had a connection with Qadiri Sufī. Once, he went to Shaykh Shāh Hussain Dahdaha (d. 1008/1599) – a famous saint and Sufī poet of Punjab, born in Lahore. He was the disciple of Shaykh Bahlol Daryai (d. 1575), who founded the Bahlol Shāhi sect of the Qadiri. In his early life, he (Shaykh Shāh Hussain) adhered to the studies in *sharī‘a* and *kalām*, and later he moved to the madrasah of Shaykh Sa‘adullah Lahori, where he devoted himself to spiritual life. Shaykh Bahlol appointed him as his ‘*khalifa*’ at Lahore.⁴¹⁶ It seems he gained prominence in different cultural disciplines, *i.e.*, music, poetry, etc., in the Hind classical style.⁴¹⁷

Dara Shikoh (d. 1659) informs us that Siyālkūtī went to this Shaykh and requested to accept him as his disciple. However, Shaykh Shāh Hussain rejected his appeal and further said that you were a Mullā or religious teacher.⁴¹⁸ It seems the Shaykh respected him and did not agree to take him under him. It is unknown when they met; however, as Shaykh died in 1599, Siyālkūtī possibly met with him after completing his education with Mullāh Kamāl and would stay in Lahore. He could also start teaching in a madrasah in Lahore besides sharpening his expertise; perhaps he was looking for a good place, so he went to him and requested. Examining available records and events, it seems this conversion would happen between 1585 and 1586 when he was around 24 and 25.

⁴¹⁶ Fatima Z. Bilgrami, “Contributions of the ‘Qadiris’ to the Folk Poetry of Punjab,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 55 (1994): 226.

⁴¹⁷ See for more, Bilgrami, 226–31.

⁴¹⁸ Dara Shikoh also informs that Siyālkūtī saw two events when he was with the Shaikh Shāh Hussain as well that is not relevant to our study. It was about two other people’s need or desire that they wanted advice from the Shaikh and they were blessed the desired things when they followed his advice. See, Shikoh, *Hasanatu’l-‘Arifin*, 58.

However, this event informs that Sufism and Sufi practices and the Qadiri order were also included in his area of interest in his early career.

One more fact is available that shows Siyālkūtī had a connection with another famous Qadiri Sufi, Syed Muḥammad NauShāh Pir Ganj Bakhsh Qadri (1552 – 1654), who was from Gujarat, Punjab. As he was his close contemporary and did not live in a far-distance region, it seems they met several times. Perhaps Ganj Bakhsh met many of his contemporaries, particularly Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī and Aḥmad Sirhindī are mentioned.⁴¹⁹ It seems Siyālkūtī also tried to learn spirituality from him.⁴²⁰ The former's (Ganj Bakhsh) younger son, Sayyid Muḥammad Hashim Shāh (d. 1681), also studied with the learned Siyālkūtī with other *ulama*. It seems he (Hashim Shāh) went to Siyālkūtī to complete his study, perhaps for expertise, as the latter was mentioned at last on the former's teachers' list. It means Ganj Bakhsh was well familiar with the excellencies of Siyālkūtī that he sent his son to the scholar of rational sciences.⁴²¹

At this juncture, it is evident that Siyālkūtī had kept in touch or studied or at least had a level of interest with several Sufi orders, *i.e.*, Naqshbandi – Aḥrārī order and Kubravi Ḥamadānī order he found in his teacher Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, and at least had a level of interest in Qadiri order. However, he finally paid almost all his efforts to rational sciences, which is discussed later.

⁴¹⁹ Abu Matlub Qadiri Naushahi, *Faizan-e-Naushah*, 2019, 34.

⁴²⁰ The same source tells us that Siyālkūtī was one of his *khalifas*. However, it seems it needs more investigation as no other sources inform us about it. See, Abu Matlub Qadiri Naushahi, 64, 308.

⁴²¹ One thing would be pointed out that beside Siyālkūtī, Muḥammad Taqi, and Maulavi ‘Abdullāh Lahori also taught him. It is a point for further investigation if they were working together. Secondly, as seen in the same source that Hashim Shāh was a familiar expert of Hadith and field of medicine. It is not clear what he studied with Siyālkūtī; however, it is possible to guess that was different branches rational sciences. Hashim Shāh also penned a *ḥāshiyah* on Sadra wa Khayali that helped to understand his reading with Siyālkūtī as well. See, Abu Matlub Qadiri Naushahi, 60–61. This source has been prepared at our time and one may see some lacking in it as an academic work. As the information taken from it supports our existing trend and ground on Siyālkūtī was raised.

II. Rational Sciences and its consciousness in the sixteenth century

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī and his time are significant for developing and flourishing rational sciences in Hind medieval intellectual ground, where he gained prominence as an influential scholar and one of the most distinguished contributors and representatives of the mentioned discipline of his time and afterward in the region and beyond. This intellectual advancement did not emerge suddenly; instead, its necessities and development grew through many processes, including teachers, students, politicians, and civil academic as well as cultural institutions over time. Siyālkūtī was brought up at a time and place where rational consciousness was an emerging field and an essential factor for academic and cultural development. It was not a surprise that just happened on Hind educational and intellectual grounds; it is also possible to see almost the same development occurring, even earlier in some cases, in other parts of the Islamic world, *i.e.*, Safavids and Ottomans.

This discussion explores the sense of rationality that evolved during Siyālkūtī’s lifetime, particularly during his early age, *i.e.*, the last phase of the sixteenth century, when he most probably decided his academic goal and started teaching profession as well as writing treatises on several branches of Muslim rational sciences. For our study, it is essential to find out the ground and the affiliated circumstances that pushed, if not at least inspired, Siyālkūtī particularly, and other scholars in general, to go through rational discipline. To understand the ground holistically and its development process, it is worthwhile to go back to the early history of rational sciences in Hindustan. So far, it is known that rational awareness developed and disseminated in the pre-Baburid and early Baburid time of the sixteenth century as the formation period when Siyālkūtī received his education. And the trend was followed in the seventeenth century with further promotion and advancement, which Siyālkūtī mainly contributed to. More importantly, the essential factors, personalities, and institutions, whether from Hind regions or beyond, that played a vital role are also needed to bring to the debate. Finally, how rational works and consciousness were developed and circulated to the educational and intellectual centers are assigned to be discussed. All these things will help readers understand the Hind

rational or intellectual ground from within where Siyālkūtī was raised and without where the latter got connected to.

i. Pre-Baburid Rational Subjects in Hind Educational and Intellectual Ground

In the Hind Muslim educational system, it is difficult to see rational sciences holding an inevitable place until the early seventeenth century. And it was positioned in the syllabus at a comprehensive level only in the early eighteenth century. As mentioned, Muslim rational sciences developed broadly in Hind madrasahs or taught systematically, sometimes later compared to other Muslim educational centers. Of course, it does not mean there was no place for rational subjects; several courses were taught in the madrasah, *i.e.*, kalām and logic.⁴²² It seems there is a considerable gap in work regarding the early period of Hind Muslims' rational sciences, whatever there were. The students and teachers of those times and their ways of learning and teaching were also more different than later. Although all the Muslim rulers, without any exception, were great patrons of the promotion of learning and knowledge, it seems the major passion for philosophy and rational subjects was emphasized less.

There are many descriptions concerning the patronization and establishment of madrasahs and their arrangement and administration, but very little information is available regarding the syllabus, texts, scholarly works, and developed thoughts. More particularly, when it is about intellectual developments or rational subjects, the lack is seen more as the transmitted subject, which was the leading existing trend that retained its continuity for a long time. However, some information is derived from other sources, such as different *tazkiras* of the ulama, Sufi, and others.

From Firoz Shāhi madrasah's syllabus, it seems that the *ma'qulat* – rational subjects were meant differently from the meaning and understanding perceived in the later times, *i.e.*, seventeenth century and afterward. In the same way, it was not developed and integrated within the educational and intellectual arena. Besides transmitted subjects, the

⁴²² See, Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 3.

major texts of rational sciences and other sciences taught in the madrasah were: *usul-i-kalām*, rhetoric (*ma'ani-o-bayan*), *ilm-i-nazar*, mathematics, physical sciences, kalām, medicine, syntax, and calligraphy.⁴²³

Very few historical documents hint at rational sciences during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During the Mamluk Period (1206-1290), for example, in Lahore, Sadid al-Dīn 'Awfī (d. after 1228) – a famous historian and poet, tells us that Yousuf b. Muḥammad al-Darbandi was a poet and calligrapher who got eminence and was entitled '*Jamāl al-Falsafa*' (Beauty of philosophy).⁴²⁴ Hamid Uddin Mutraz was a scholar of astronomy and medicine during the rule of Ghiyasuddin Balban (d. 1287, r.1266–1287). He was compared to scholars from the same field in Greece. Maulana Badruddin Dameshki was famous for medicine. Barani claimed many scholars of several disciplines during Balban's time were incomparable to others.⁴²⁵ Burhan al-Dīn Balkhi and Sharaf al-Dīn Lawaji were the most esteemed theologians by Sulṭān Balban.⁴²⁶

It is worth mentioning that during the Khalji (1290-1320) and Tughluq (1320 -1414) periods, Muslim philosophy was based on, influenced mainly by, Sufism; perhaps it could be said Sufi Philosophy or theosophy. Several essential books were taught in the madrasahs. With some developments in the sixteenth century, this legacy continued until the institutionalization of rational sciences in the early eighteenth century; at least, they remained the most-read book until the seventeenth century. Barani mentions several texts such as *Awarif-ul Ma'arif* of Shihab al-Dīn Suhrawardi (d. 1234), *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn Al-Arabi (d. 950/1240), *Kashfu'l-Mahjub* of Ali Hujwiri (d. 1072) and *Qut-u'l-Qulub* of Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 996), *Ihyau'l-'Ulum* of Gazali (d. 1111) and its translation, *Sharḥ-*

⁴²³ Aneesa Iqbal Sabir, *Muslim Education and Learning During the Muslim Rule in India (13th and 14th Centuries)* (New Delhi, India: Random Publications, 2014), 59–60.

⁴²⁴ Hamid Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 1. ed (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2001), 272.

⁴²⁵ Barani gives many names of the ulama and scholars with the branches of knowledge developed in Hind cultural arena. See: Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, trans. Golam Samdani Quraishy (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1982), 91–93.

⁴²⁶ Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 3.

e-Ta'aruf of Abu Ibrāhīm bin Ismail bin Muḥammad bin ‘Abdullah al-Mustamli al-Bukhari (d. 870), *al-Risala al-Qushairi* of Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri (d. 465/1072), *Mirshad al-'Ibad* of Najm al-Dīn Razi (d. 1256), *Maktubat al-'Ain-al-Qudat* of Ain-al Quzat Hamedani (d. 1131), *Lawaih* and *Lawami* of Qāḍī Hamiduddin Nagori (d. 1276), *Fawā'id al-Fuad* of Amir Ḥasan (d. 1337).⁴²⁷ Almost all of these texts could be related to the Muslim ideas and thoughts of contemporary times that probably paved the way for broader and stronger intellectual tradition in the days to come, *i.e.*, that occurred in the Lodi dynasty and flourished in Baburid times.

It is surprising as well as would be meant many things that Barani (d. 1358) claimed, during Alauddin Khalji's rule (r. 1296-1316),⁴²⁸ Delhi belonged to top scholars of each discipline, and it was unparalleled to any famous Muslim educational and intellectual centers. He mentions many educational and cultural centers where Muslim scholars were nourished and engaged in teaching and learning. He mentioned Bukhara, Samarqand, Baghdad, Egypt, Khwarizmi, Damascus, Tabriz, Isfahan, Ray (Tehran), and Rum (Constantinople/Istanbul) and also said any cities or centers in the world of that time.⁴²⁹ In addition, Barani claimed that Hind scholars attained a higher level in all branches of knowledge, mentioning several disciplines of learning and education that comprise both transmitted and rational subjects. Further, he mentions forty-six scholars with expertise in different disciplines only in one discussion.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, 286–87.

⁴²⁸ Although Alauddin Khalji's patronization of education is well known, even it is possible to see in the description of Barani what scholarly development happened in his time. However, Barani remains critical of the latter. Perhaps he finds the patronization was insufficient, or the scholars he saw or about whom he learned would be respected more to pave the way for more knowledge production and intellectual advancement. Aziz Ahmad also claimed that Alauddin Khalji did not patronize the theologians (*mutakallimun*), and scholars came from outside Hind, and they went back for not finding proper support and respect from the state. See for the socio-economic and intellectual ground, and the Muslim scholars during Alauddin Khalji, Barani, 281–94; Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 4.

⁴²⁹ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, 292.

⁴³⁰ Barani put many names and provides concise accounts about intellectual developments, religious scholars' condition, and Sulṭān's approaches to them. However, he also says it is impossible to mention all

It seems from Barani's description that since at least the thirteenth century, if not the twelfth century, astronomy was emphasized more than other rational subjects. He also mentions that Delhi was a city where astronomers were found here and there, even in each village (mahalla). One interesting thing, Barani mentions is that raising this enormous number of astronomers was possible for the vast number of scholars (*ulama*) in Delhi at that time, where astronomy was practiced immensely. Not only that, but also they became one of society's most influential and privileged groups. The court, high officials, and bureaucrats would love and patronize them, making them rich in society, and sometimes, this profession continued for generations through family traditions.⁴³¹

Further, it seems that intellectual disciplines up to Barani's time, *i.e.*, until the mid-fourteenth century, were developed and went through; the courses/subjects were commonly read or included in the syllabus; and the experts there were from different backgrounds. It includes music, tafsīr, fiqh, usul-e fiqh, logic, religious principles, grammar, linguistics, dictionary, rhetoric, diction (style of writing), kalām, scholasticism, justice, and others.⁴³² Although he mentions the names of the disciplines, he does not give descriptions of the texts that were read there.

One thing that is vital to understanding the ground of that time is that scholars from Khorasan, Mawarannahr, Khwarizmi, and so on would come to Delhi. Perhaps the same tradition continued in a more expanded way in the later periods, *i.e.*, during Baburid time, which is discussed below. It is vital to keep in mind that foreign scholars only could think to move to a foreign land when the targeted ground is more favorable for academic work, rich intellectual ground, if not at least the expected ground belonged to the stable socio-political, economic, and cultural conditions that could help advance their excellencies further. It seems high academic standards for foreign scholars based on the ground would

the names of the scholars, such as his teacher Ustad Sharaf al-Dīn Bushaikhī had many famous students whom he does not mention. Interestingly, he says he received education from many of the mentioned forty-six scholars. See for details, Barani, 292–305.

⁴³¹ See: Barani, 302.

⁴³² See: Barani, 293; Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 3–4.

be maintained. The coming scholars had to undergo a specific process to prove their expertise and experience. So that they would not be appointed soon after they arrived at the learning centers. They had to first study with the existing local scholars to get adjusted in the ground, and only when they reached a position to teach would they be appointed. In the same way, books and treatises written in other Muslim cities and brought to Delhi were first checked and allowed only after the local or existing scholars' approval.⁴³³

However, Barani's comment could be understood in many ways; it is needed to get his messages as consciously as other medieval historians. It is essential to assess him that he does not talk only about the Hind educational and intellectual developments and stops praising all the scholars and statesmen; instead, he tries to criticize the rulers and says what should have been done and what results were possible to bring to light as well. In addition, it seems he was not a patron of philosophers and did not want to have an intellectual ground influenced by philosophy. Even he attacked philosophy bitterly.⁴³⁴ Considering all these factors, it is also possible to comprehend the scenario of pre-Baburid intellectual developments; perhaps the ground flourished more than he narrated in his work amid his less interest in philosophy.

In the Tughluq time (1330-1414), the rational sciences got a different dimension besides the increased influence of the orthodoxy by 'Abd al-'Aziz Ardabili – a disciple of Ibn Taymiyya. Shaykh 'Ilm al-Dīn came to Delhi after visiting several Muslim cultural and learning centers like Hijaz, Egypt, and Syria. Sulṭān Ghiyath al-Dīn Tughluq (d. 1315) appointed him as a teacher of Prince Muḥammad b. Tughluq. This event helped open the door to attracting an influx of Muslim scholars from all over the Muslim world during his time. Muḥammad b. Tughluq (d. 1351) learned speculative philosophy and logic from Shaykh 'Ilm al-Dīn and was greatly interested in rational sciences.⁴³⁵ The latter ascended the throne after his father and ruled from 1325 to 1351; this time, it seems he popularized

⁴³³ See for the ground: Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, 293–94.

⁴³⁴ Habib, "Reason and Science in Medieval India," 166.

⁴³⁵ Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 4; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 273.

the rational sciences in the academy. Some scholars of rational sciences excelled in different disciplines, *i.e.*, astronomy, philosophy, logic, and medicine. Sad/Said al-Dīn Dehlawi was a prominent scholar of logic and wisdom (*Hikmah*) and was entitled ‘*mantaqi*’ (logician), along with philosopher ‘Ālim al-Dīn Izzuddin and Najm Intishar, poet and astronomer Ubay, and Muin al-Dīn Imrani are also named among the most famous scholars in rational sciences.⁴³⁶ Muḥammad b. Tughluq’s patronization and the development of rational sciences reached such a level that it annoyed others, according to Barani.⁴³⁷

There are a few events based on them; it could be said rational sciences were sponsored by the state that paved the way to the intense rise of consciousness and helped build a strong network between famous foreign scholars and the Hind scholars. For example, ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355/6?)⁴³⁸ – a famous theologian and philosopher of Shiraz, was invited to Delhi. Although ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī declined the offer and preferred to stay in Shiraz. It is meaningful to understand the ground’s interest in the fourteenth century.⁴³⁹

Firoz Shāh Tughluq (d. 1388) kept the trend up and further paid efforts to promote it. He founded a new city named Jaunpur that surpassed Delhi in the study of rational sciences, and it was proudly called “Shiraz-i Hind” by many historians.⁴⁴⁰ He was also well known for his patronization of astronomy and its research. Irfan Habib mentions that he (Firoz Shāh) also established an observatory without more elaboration.⁴⁴¹ During the

⁴³⁶ Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 164–65; Sabir, *Muslim Education and Learning During the Muslim Rule in India (13th and 14th Centuries)*, 61; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 273.

⁴³⁷ Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 164.

⁴³⁸ His famous writing ‘al-Mawaqif’ is also an important subject that relates to our study; will be discussed later.

⁴³⁹ Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274.

⁴⁴⁰ Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 1980, 40; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274.

⁴⁴¹ For the interest and patronization of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, see Sabir, *Muslim Education and Learning During the Muslim Rule in India (13th and 14th Centuries)*, 44–45; Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 165.

reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (1402-1440), the city enjoyed its golden period for developing kalām and philosophy. He was also interested in Hind philosophy and discovering its knowledge system. So, he initiated translation projects from Sanskrit to Persian.⁴⁴² During his time, many scholars settled there and contributed to many disciplines of knowledge.

The most prominent scholar of that time was Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī(d. 1445). Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī invited him to Jaunpur and welcomed him with high regard. Later, Dawlatābādī was appointed as the chief Qāḍī “*Qadiu’l-Quzat*” and penned several treatises, *i.e.*, *al-Irshad* on Arabic syntax, *Sharḥ-i Hindī* – a commentary on Kāfiyya of Ibn Malik on Arabic grammar, a commentary on Bazdawi’s *Usul-i Fiqh* also names Usul of Bazdawi, *Usul-i Ibrāhīm Shāhi* – was dedicated to his patron; and a Persian commentary on Quran names *Bahr-i mawwaj* was his marvelous contribution.⁴⁴³ In the commentary, he analyzed from mystic and philosophical backgrounds. He is credited, as N. Hnaif mentions, to be one who united different philosophies of khanqah and madrasah with true Ghazalian style and got well-known as a famous theologian. For his versatile contribution to the intellectual life, he was entitled ‘*malik al-’ulamā*’ (the king of the scholars), most probably by the Sulṭān.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² He was the Sulṭān of the Jaunpur Sulṭānate (1394-1479).

⁴⁴³ Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 1980, 40.

⁴⁴⁴ It is unknown that who regarded him saying his style as true Ghazalian style for the first time, however, perhaps one of the prominent scholars of that time commented and others examined and supported it what generally happened in the intellectual history. And concerning ‘*malik al-’ulama*’, N. Hnaif translates as the Prince of the ‘*ulama*’, however, if the title is written correctly by his as mentioned, the correct one is the king of scholars (‘*ulama*’). And *melik al-’ulama* with a small change that regards what he mentions. The latter one is also used to mean the position of the scholars in the Islamic intellectual tradition. However, it seems it was ‘*malik al-’ulama*’ as it is also mentioned in other places. See about *malik al-’ulama* used for him and in the Hind intellectual traditions, Syed Ameer Ali, *Syed Ameer Ali on Islamic History and Culture*, ed. Syed Razi Wasti (People’s Publishing House, 1968), 43; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, ed., *A Short History of Pakistan* (University of Karachi, 1967), 133; Robinson, *The ’Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001, 71, 108; N. Hanif, *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: South Asia* (Sarup & Sons, 2000), 362–63.

Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr al-Simnānī (d. 1386 or 1405) was a saint from the Chishti order and came from Simnan – a city of Khorasan when he was about twenty-three. He stayed with Ala al-Dawla Simannai – a scholar who made a critique on *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and proposed *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd*, perhaps for the first time in the Hind intellectual tradition. However, Ashraf Jahāngīr Al-Simnānī disagreed with him in this case and left him for another teacher, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Razzaq, from Kashan. During his time, he remained an enthusiastic interpreter of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. Visiting Iran, Iraq, Ottoman land (particularly the Anatolian part), Syria, and Khorasan, he arrived in Delhi. After some time, he moved to Pandua and Bengal. In Bengal, he met the descendant of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Tawwama, gained prominence for his expertise in *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, and successfully impressed his audience. It seems Bengali people were impressed with this idea. Later, he moved to Jaunpur during the rule of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, where he found Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī as a dominant figure in the court and decided to leave for Kichuacha (modern Faizabad district of U.P.). He wrote a number of books, *i.e.*, *Basharatu’q -Zakrin*, *Fawa’idu’l-Ashraf*, *Basharatu’l-Ikhwān*, and *Tambihu’l-Ikhwān* – these are on the concepts and terminologies to make the Sufi philosophical text easy understandable. And he also wrote *Miratu’l Haqaiq* and *the Kanzu’d Daqaiq* for the experts. It seems he wrote to avoid misunderstanding *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*-related ideas mainly. He also wrote a letter to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī explaining where and under what conditions *Fusus al-Hikam* was written.⁴⁴⁵ It is also vital to mention that, among the most read theological texts in the fourteenth century, Gazali’s works took place in an undisputed place that paved the way for Ash’arite Islam.⁴⁴⁶

Further, many scholars came to Delhi and other Hind learning centers to escape Mongol attacks. Among them, many students of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (766/1365) migrated to Delhi. Fazlullah Inju was one of them who taught rational sciences and mathematics to

⁴⁴⁵ N. Hanif, *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis*, 29–31; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274.

⁴⁴⁶ Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 4.

Prince Firuz Shāh Bahmani (d. 1422), who became a ruler of the Bahmani Sulṭānate (1347-1527).⁴⁴⁷

During the Lodi Dynasty (1452-1526), the state-sponsored advancement of rational sciences was reinforced, particularly during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517). At this time, rational sciences, particularly logic, started becoming an emerging academic subject. Tahtani's *sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* was perhaps the most used, if not at least one of the most used works, as seen by the description of Badayunī and other contemporary scholars. It is not clear whether it was used formally or semi-formally. It is also understood that there were many madrasahs or educational institutions in different regions of the Delhi Sulṭānate where the logicians migrated and settled.⁴⁴⁸

Allama Rafī al-Dīn Salāmi Shīrāzī— a traditionist and philosopher of great prominence, a disciple of Dawwānī, and Allama Sakhawī, was invited to teach hadith, philosophy, and related subjects. He introduced the critical study of hadith in the madrasah. He contributed to the ground-raising traditionists like Abdul Haq Dehlawi and rationalist ‘Abdullāh Tulanbi, to be discussed below. He was the chief among the foreign scholars, whom Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi had great esteem, and the latter (Sulṭān) also attended some of his classes.⁴⁴⁹

‘Abdallah b. Ilaḥdad al-‘Uthmani al-Tulanbi⁴⁵⁰ (d. 922/1516–7) was the most if not at least, one of the most celebrated scholars of rational sciences during his time. He paid his

⁴⁴⁷ Fazlullah Inju was a scholar and from a powerful Inju family of Shiraz, who paid his efforts to convince his townsman and the famous poet Hafiz Shīrāzī to move to Gulbarga (Kalaburagi, Karnataka), see: Emma J. Flatt, *The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates: Living Well in the Persian Cosmopolis* (Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 79–80. See also for his teaching Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 273.

⁴⁴⁸ Ahmed, “Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration,” 228.

⁴⁴⁹ See, Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 4; Hafiz A. Ghaffar Khan, “Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India,” in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman, Routledge History of World Philosophies, v. 1 (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996), 1060.

⁴⁵⁰ See for more about Abdullah al-Tulanbi, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:373; Renate Würsch, “‘Abdallāh Al-Tulanbī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (Brill, December 1, 2007), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/*-SIM_0016; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, xi, 129–30.

efforts to the development of rational sciences in Delhi's madrasa curriculum. Being a Tulanba, Multani born and raised, he visited 'Iraq and studied with 'Abdullāh al-Yazdi (d. 1573)⁴⁵¹ on logic and philosophy. After returning home, he decided to stay in Delhi, where he received enormous support from the Lodi court of Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh, who bestowed him *malik al-ulamā* (king of the learned man) - which Siyālkūtī was also entitled after around a century. It seems his works played an essential role in the madrasah syllabus. However, his only identified work is *Badi' al-Mizān* on the *Mizān al-Manṭiq*, an influential treatise on logic.⁴⁵² It seems he was one of the prominent logicians and an important representative of the Arabic logic of his time. And his mentioned work, it seems, had been accepted as one of the most read works for a long time in the madrasah system. Several copies of it are found in Abul Kalām Azad Arabic and Persian Research Institute, Rajasthan. There were several works, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyah*, on his work as well.⁴⁵³ And it was by his interest and advice, Qāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's famous theological and metaphysical work, *al-Mawāqif* and Siraj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283) Urmawī's *Maṭali' al-Anwār*, perhaps they were available in the ground and had a little access to the scholars of that time, were included in the madrasah syllabus. It seems, later on, these works were spread out and read throughout the Sulṭānate.⁴⁵⁴ He could be put beside Siyālkūtī to identify his place in the Hind Arabic logic tradition.

⁴⁵¹ Asad Q. Aḥmed doubts on becoming of his teacher, and thinks it is needed to be investigated as the death date of Abdullah al - Yazdi shows that there would be a mistake. However, he went to Iran, stayed for a certain time, if the former was not there, perhaps studied with others. The same information is also provided by other sources as his teacher. See, Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 199 n10, 210 n8; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 4:373.

⁴⁵² Würsch, “‘Abdallāh Al-Tulanbī.”

⁴⁵³ See, Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Relational Syllogisms and the History of Arabic Logic, 900-1900*, vol. LXXX, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science: Texts and Studies (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 131 49n. See for *Badi' al-Mizan* of Abdullah Tulanbi, Shaukat Ali Khan, ed., *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts* (v. III), vol. III, Arabic and Persian Research Institute, Publication Series (Rajasthan Tonk: Abul Kalam Azad, Arabic and Persian Research Institute, 1990), 96, No. 1297-1301. And for the *ḥāshiyahs* on *Badi' al-Mizan*, Khan, III:98–101, No. 1302-1306.

⁴⁵⁴ Khan, “Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India,” 1060.

Another prominent scholar was Azizullah Tulanbi (d. 932 /1525-6) – a Multani and later Sambahali whose scholarship included different disciplines, *i.e.*, transmitted and rational subjects; he was mainly a well-known metaphysician of the time. He moved to Agra and later Sambahal, where he was appointed the *Shaykh al-Jāmi'* ah in the madrasah. Many students studied with him. It seems he was also familiar with and close to the Sikandar Lodi's court. It seems that 'Abdullah Tulanbi and Azizullah Tulanbi were, most probably, brothers (if not at least colleagues).⁴⁵⁵ It is not known whether he penned any treatises or not.

A significant event shows us some insights into the intellectual ground's nature and the court's interest in the rational sciences. With the interest and invitation of Sikandar Lodi, a philosophical debate was arranged. The mentioned two scholars, 'Abdullah Tulanbi and Azizullah Tulanbi, were on the one hand, and Ilaḥdad al-Jaunpuri and his son, whose name is unknown, were on the other. It is unknown what topics they went through; however, the debate ended in a draw.⁴⁵⁶ Perhaps like this, several scholarly discussions occurred there and have not been documented or are to be discovered in the future. This kind of program probably paved the way for more dissemination of rational consciousness among a large group of academics and students.

Sikandar Lodhi demonstrated an outstanding fascination with diverse philosophical traditions. Under his direction, many of Hindu philosophical texts were translated into Persian, and the Hindus were encouraged to acquire proficiency in that language. In the educational institutions, *i.e.*, the Sultān established the madrasah of Mathurah and Narwarl, individuals from different traditions received equal opportunities to get an education and to work for intellectual growth. Further, Sikandar's reign witnessed the

⁴⁵⁵ See for his life, contribution, teachings and students, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:382, 312, 328, 385, 440; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274; Khan, "Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India," 1060.

⁴⁵⁶ Würsch, "'Abdallāh Al-Tulanbī."

introduction of later Iranian philosophers and thinkers' works to Hindustan through their disciples and students.⁴⁵⁷

Besides the center, other regions had distinctive natures regarding philosophical and intellectual experiences. In this case, Deccan and Gujarat were prominent centers for rational sciences since at least the early sixteenth century and continued afterward. As what happened for the leading intellectual centers, *i.e.*, Delhi, Jaunpur, Deccan, Gujarat, etc., many Iranian scholars and their developed ideas played an important role in disseminating rational sciences in the mentioned cities. It is interesting that Jalal al-Dīn Dawwānī (d. 1501) - one of the founding scholars of Muslim kalām of his time, received patronization from Gujarātī ruler - Nasir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh - I (r. 1458-1511).⁴⁵⁸ At least, this event bears many things regarding state patronization, the ground's demand and ongoing intellectual development, future target, intellectual connections within Hindustan and beyond, and so on.

In the same way, the advent of Shāh Ismā'īl (r. 1501-1524) and his decision that Twelver Shi'ism as the state religion had a direct influence over some states of Hind. Inspired by this decision, three states' rulers of Deccan declared the Twelver Shi'ism their state religion.⁴⁵⁹ Regarding intellectual history, it is vital as the Iranian politicians did not come and propagate their religious beliefs in Hindustan directly. Instead, the scholars, *i.e.*, philosophers and theologians, came and ensured their influence in the region. It seems it resulted in many famous scholars coming to these centers and contributing extensively, as discussed below.

After this discussion, it seems, in the pre-Baburid time, Sufi thought and Kalām went side by side and worked effectively as complementary to each other, retaining the Sufi

⁴⁵⁷ Khan, "Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India," 1060.

⁴⁵⁸ Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 606.

⁴⁵⁹ They are: Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh (r. 1502-1510) - founder of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty in Bijapur, Sultān Quli Qutb Shāh (r. 1518-1543) – founder of Golkonda's Qutb Shāhi Dynasty and Burhan Nizam Shāh (r. 1508-1554) of Aḥmadnagar state. They also accepted this school of thought for themselves. See: Ahmed and Pourjavady, 607.

dominancy and its expansion to the regions. So, ‘*ulamā*’ and Sufi – two religious camps no longer rival each other, and a good portion of the society maintained double loyalties.⁴⁶⁰ This is not unique in the Islamic traditions of different times and lands. More or less the same things happened on the Ottoman intellectual ground.⁴⁶¹ And, it seems the rational subjects, whatever they were, were taught and practiced in only a few madrasahs or centers. In the same way, the local and the migrated scholars and their works were confined and used in limited places. So, with a few courses or limited discussions on rational sciences, it could not be an essential discipline until the last phase of the Lodi Dynasty. The only exception was astronomy. Although Lodi rulers, notably Sikandar Lodi, contributed the most to expanding it (rational sciences), successfully made it a part of the madrasah syllabus and left the ground for further promotion but failed to leave a viable legacy of scholarly network for future generations.⁴⁶²

ii. What Factors Played Major Roles in the Development of Rational Consciousness

a. Political Stability, Various Court Policies, and Patronization

During the Baburid rule, significant support and encouragement were given to developing the education system. This support was mainly focused on promoting rational sciences, which played a crucial role in advancing the overall state of education during that time. It not only helped to enhance the quality of education but also increased awareness and consciousness among students and teachers as well as the ground as a whole. Babur’s ancestors were from Samarqand, one of Muslim history’s most prominent intellectual centers, which attracted many prominent scholars and students from different regions. Unsurprisingly, they were familiar with the most prominent Muslim scholars of

⁴⁶⁰ Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 166.

⁴⁶¹ See for more İbrahim Halil Üçer, “İslam Düşünce Tarihi için Bir Dönemlendirme Önerisi” (İstanbul: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları), accessed December 11, 2023, <https://islamdusunceatlasi.org/islam-dusunce-tarihi-icin-bir-donemlendirme-onerisi>.

⁴⁶² Ahmed, “Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration,” 229.

different disciplines and the works of their time.⁴⁶³ Such as Sa‘ad al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 1390) and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) are a few to mention who would come to the front as the most eminent philosophers and theologians. In later times, their texts and influence reached the Baburid intellectual ground as well as other educational centers.

In the previous discussion, it is seen that state-sponsored efforts helped to proceed with rational sciences. It was essential for commencement, but it seems they failed to leave a viable and influential tradition behind them. Baburid Hind, the court, political patronization, and their diversified religious and cultural policies played a significant role in the existing ground that started flourishing.

Emperor Babur and his son Humayun – the second Emperor of the Baburid state- were learned and conscious statemen who were closely familiar with and adopted the higher cultural standard that paved the way for further educational and intellectual advancement. In between them, Sher Khān Suri (d. 1545), founder of the Sur Empire (1538-1556), ruled almost Baburid territory and had a profound knowledge of kalām, logic, and philosophy. He studied in Jaunpur – a prominent center of rational subjects, as mentioned - and later emphasized its studies and developments.⁴⁶⁴ It seems the sixteenth century was the turning point when the rational sciences started being adopted and developed on Baburid grounds.

In 1540, Humayun was defeated and took shelter in Safavid Iran. And in 950/1550, he regained power, and he was accompanied by many Iranian learned people of different fields, *i.e.*, Bayram Khan, Sayyid ‘Ali, and ‘Abd al-Samad, to name a few. These people were welcomed, patronized, and appointed to the state’s essential positions, *i.e.*, administrators. This is a remarkable point for the vast Iranian scholars’ migration to Hind

⁴⁶³ Babur’s ancestors were, of course, were aware of the intellectual developments happened in other centers, like Herat, Khorasan etc. as they were under their direct rule and they built the intellectual and cultural centers. See more about the intellectual developments of Samarqand, and Herat, İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School: A Basis for Ottoman Philosophy and Science,” *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 14 (2008): 3–15. Its main version is in Turkish, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “Osmanlı felsefe-biliminin arkaplanı: Semerkand matematikastronomi okulu,” *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, no. 14 (June 1, 2003): 1–66.

⁴⁶⁴ Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274.

territory, resulting in the rapid development of the Hind intellectual dimension.⁴⁶⁵ These scholars introduced their rational tradition's contemporary developments to Hind academia.⁴⁶⁶

Socio-political and economic stability is the precondition for significant cultural and intellectual development. Babur founded the state, and Humayun tried to keep its growth up despite severe obstacles, even the state was lost for fifteen years.⁴⁶⁷ After Humayun, that stability was achieved by Emperor Abu'l-Fath Jalal al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (1542-1605), known as Akbar the Great (r. 1556-1605). He successfully brought stability that eventually paved the way for the building of an empire. He took many steps that brought extraordinary output immediately in his time and the time to come. Such imperial expansion through a number of victories, administrative development, and economic strength made him an irresistible statesman, and he started feeling an overwhelming impression in all areas of his rule. This holistic steadiness expedited the existing educational, philosophical, and cultural trend toward a high cultural and intellectual flourishing. Thus, this time can be regarded as an important milestone for advancing rational sciences and a starting point for its golden age.⁴⁶⁸

Siyālkūtī and his intellectual path are our central concerns; perhaps the most decisive events in his life and the decision he had to take for his future life was during Akbar's rule. From his early to higher education, it is even possible to say that he passed all the educational stages during this time and started teaching as well. Akbar's time was also significant for medieval intellectual advancement, which shaped the ground and produced many scholars of different disciplines. In this turning point, it was not only the Emperor or the court and nobles and their policies, but scholars of different origins and disciplines and various cultural components also contributed to being side by side. Some specific

⁴⁶⁵ Rafiabadi, "Rational Sciences in Medieval India," 45.

⁴⁶⁶ Rafiabadi, 45.

⁴⁶⁷ Humayun was defeated by Sher Shāh Suri in 1540 and the Sur Empire continued to rule it until the former regain the power in 1555.

⁴⁶⁸ Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274.

developments are discussed below to understand the ground of rational sciences and its consciousness raised in the educational and cultural arena.

a) Akbar's Scholarship and His dependency on the Scholars

Akbar inherited a scholarly legacy but could not excel like his father, Humayun, and grandfather, Babur, resulting in him being different from them regarding policy-making in religious, educational, and cultural affairs. He did not go through the existing educational system; for example, he did not study with a traditional Shaykh or scholar. It caused him to be unpredictable in his religious and intellectual beliefs. Perhaps it resulted in him not being interested in traditional education, like the Quran, hadith, etc.; instead, he enjoyed attending musical recitations of devotional poetry, meeting worldly-minded Sufis, etc.⁴⁶⁹ Perhaps he did not get an opportunity to go through a good education as he was raised when his family and the state were volatile. All these things separated him significantly from his predecessors and successors.⁴⁷⁰ It seems he was over-religious in the early period of his rule, and later, he turned to another dimension that had only a little relation to the previous one.

In terms of acquiring knowledge, he depended on the scholars surrounding him. He had a number of great scholars from different backgrounds who contributed to rational and worldly thinking and its dissemination. No matter the ideologies they belonged to or the ways of thinking they believed in, they played a role in increasing rational consciousness in one way or another. Some influential scholars would surround him, and they would motivate him in a way that they wanted or the Emperor would like. Among them, Mullā Mubarak and his two sons - Shaykh Faidi (d. 1596) and Abu'l-Faḍl (d. 1602) come first. They were undoubtedly Muslim scholars; however, their intellectual identity would turn to different dimensions at different times. For example, Wolseley Haig says,

⁴⁶⁹ Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:60.

⁴⁷⁰ Abul Ḥasan Ali Nadwi comments that Akbar was an illiterate, and that was a commonly known matter. His successor Jahangir also commented him as illiterate. See: Nadwi, III:61-62 2n, 63; Emperor Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or, Memoirs of Jahangir*, ed. Henry Beveridge, trans. Alexander Rogers (Ulan Press, 2012), 33.

*“Shaykh Mubarak, the father of Faizi and Abu'l-Fadl, had revelled in spiritual experiences. He had been in turn a Sunni, a Shiah, a Sufi, a Mahdiist, and probably many other things besides.”*⁴⁷¹

Moreover, Akbar, as he was a successful administrator and a statesman who consolidated his Empire, thought he could lead in the intellectual arena as well; about him, Nadwi says,

*“But Akbar was ambitious and imaginative, and had an inquisitive disposition. His uninterrupted victories in the battle-fields and series of successful diplomatic manoeuvres had led him to labour under the misconception that he could solve the mysteries of mute reality, faith and creed in the same manner as he dealt with the administrative and political problems.”*⁴⁷²

Perhaps Akbar's ideological and religious vulnerabilities made him unpredictable in policymaking. So when a policy taken by the court did not favor the Sunni scholars, they could criticize severely, leading to a major and rapid reactionist development among the Sunni ground. No matter whether they fought against him or remained silent. It is well known that Aḥmad Sirhindī was among the first group who criticized him. It is a phenomenon that can not be touched or seen but could be felt by many and could push conscious people to take steps intellectually to fix the problem and look for the way out. This possibly happened on Hind cultural and intellectual grounds, and the Sunni scholars expedited rational studies in their madrasahs.

b) Scholars of Different Religious Backgrounds: *‘Ibādat-Khāna* and *Dīn-i Ilāhī*

Inviting scholars to the court to have intellectual discussions was not a new development in Hind ground. When it happened to Akbar's court, he facilitated scholars regardless of their religious backgrounds and beliefs and welcomed intellectual discussion at the court. It was a new experience for Muslim scholars as well as for other Hind religious scholars. Besides Muslims, there were scholars from Hinduism, Buddhism,

⁴⁷¹ See for more about his nature, Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India Volume IV The Mughul Period*, ed. Richard Burn, First edition (Cambridge University Press, 1937), 114.

⁴⁷² Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:62.

Zoroastrianism, and Christianity, and they took part freely in the debate of philosophical and theological issues, *i.e.*, Mīr Fathullāh Shīrāzī, Shaykh Mubarak Nagori, and his son Shaykh Abu'l-Faḍl, Shaykh Faidi, and Deep Chand Rajah Manjholah⁴⁷³ were the prominent representatives of Aristotelian and illuminist philosophy as well as Ibn al-'Arabi's mysticism.⁴⁷⁴ This rational scientific trend became dominant over traditional and other religious and educational trends even in the imperial court. This philosophical trend spread to other learning centers and became a subject of discussion, and efforts were made for further expansion. Among other centers, Delhi, Jaunpur, Sialkot, Deccan, Sirhind, and Kashmīr could be placed in the first category.⁴⁷⁵ It eventually became influential and continued for centuries. For example, Dara Shikoh, Akbar's grandson, is mostly believed to have been convinced and influenced by this trend and contributed to it by writing treatises and patronizing it.⁴⁷⁶

The commencement of *'Ibādat-Khāna* and the introduction of *Dīn-i Ilāhī* are the apparent result of his close scholars' philosophical influence. During the year 981/1574, the Baburid Emperor Akbar, already known for his interest in (religious) theological discussions, commissioned the construction of a well-designed building near his palace in Fatehpur Sikri. Upon the completion of the building, he named it *'Ibādat-Khāna* or 'hall of worship', where religious scholars from different backgrounds would come and debate. The purpose of *'Ibādat-Khāna* was to host debates on religious matters, primarily focused on Islamic issues. Over time, these discussions expanded to include inter-religious dialogues involving Zoroastrians and Christians. The topics covered a range of subjects, including the interpretation of Quranic verses to certain hadiths, theological matters such

⁴⁷³ It seems he was an illiterate in Quranic studies, however, he would take part in the discussion, once he made the people laugh, see: Nadwi, III:66.

⁴⁷⁴ Rafiabadi, "Rational Sciences in Medieval India," 45.

⁴⁷⁵ Rafiabadi, 45.

⁴⁷⁶ Dara had strong background in metaphysics and Hinduism. He, alongside the writings on Muslim mysticism and biographical works, translated himself the Upanishads into Persian naming *'Sirr-i-Akbar* (the great secret), or *Sirri-i-asrar* (the secret of the secrets). He also insisted on the Persian translation of the *Yoga Vasistha* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. See: Rafiabadi, 45; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 274. Naseem, 274.

as God's unity and the nature of the human soul, the relationship between God and humans, the human soul, and questions related to the resurrection are some to name.⁴⁷⁷

Initially, only Sunni scholars participated, drawing heavily on the theological works of al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111). However, Shi'ite scholars were also invited as time passed, leading to contentious issues. For example, one of the key participants in these debates was Mullā 'Abd Allah Sulṭānpûri (d. 1006/1597) - also known as Makhdûm al-Mulk, who strongly opposed Shi'ite Islam and wrote a critical work against Twelver Shi'ism "*Minhaj al-Dīn wa-mi'rāj al-muslimin*." On the Shi'ite side, Mullā Muḥammad Yazdi was particularly outspoken. As the debates progressed, with both sides holding firm positions, they became increasingly perplexing for the audience, including the emperor.⁴⁷⁸ Abu'l-Faḍl's role was, perhaps the most among the most important discussions here. He would support Akbar rigorously until the latter would be proved as the most superior among the present scholars. It made Akbar the judicator of Ibadat-Khana in 987/1579, and he would judge among the scholars of different religions.

Consequently, the gatherings at the *Ibādat-Khāna* became susceptible to new influences that made them hostile to Islam. Alongside Muslim, Hindu, Parsi, and Jain scholars began attending these gatherings, expressing their viewpoints. Akbar was always open to embracing new ideas and found himself drawn to some of their practices. The significant influence of Raja Birbal (d. 1586) – a Hindu Brahman courtier of Akbar,⁴⁷⁹ played a substantial role in this process. However, a significant complication arose when

⁴⁷⁷ See, Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 609.

⁴⁷⁸ See, Ahmed and Pourjavady, 609.

⁴⁷⁹ Who later became a follower, and only from Hindu community, of Din-i-Ilahi. See, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Birbal," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 28, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Birbal>.

the Jesuit Fathers, invited by the King from Goa, became associated with these gatherings, and they started attacking bitterly, as discussed below.⁴⁸⁰

When the news of the Emperor's discussions and new decrees was transmitted, it caused discontent among Muslims. Mullā Muḥammad Yazdi – a Shi'ite Qāḍī in Jaunpur, made severe criticism and called for rebellion in 1580. Some courtiers also openly opposed the Emperor, *i.e.*, Quṭb al-Dīn Khān Koka, and Shāhbaz Khān Kamboh. Akbar responded by executing Mullā Muḥammad Yazdi and Mu'iz al-Mulk – the chief Qāḍī of Bengal, among others. However, a major rebellion erupted in 969/1581, seeking to overthrow Akbar and install his brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm, as the ruler. Akbar curbed it as well. Historians considered this year “*the most critical year in the reign of Akbar.*”⁴⁸¹

And finally, Akbar, after suppressing opposition to his religious beliefs and achieving victory in Kabul, called for a “General Council” and convinced its members to a “formal promulgation” to be declared and promoted his new religion called “*Dīn-i Ilāhī*” in 1583. Abu'l-Faḍl accepted the new religion and influenced the most behind its introduction, as claimed by Jahāngīr that Akbar was misguided by the former (Abu'l-Faḍl).⁴⁸² It occurred at a time when Akbar felt overwhelming, inexorable, and irresistible in all matters; as Father Felix mentions, “*The defeat of his rivals enabled Akbar at length to put into execution his scheme of the new religion, of which he was to be the Supreme Head, Infallible Teacher, and, to the common herd at least, Supreme God.*”⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ See, S. M. Ikram, *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan: a political and cultural history*, ; (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1989), 257, <http://ktp2.isam.org.tr/detayzt.php?navdil=tr&idno=66854&wYazarlar=Ikram>.

⁴⁸¹ Ikram, 257.

⁴⁸² Not only that, he also openly said that he was as much as angry on him that he asked Bir Sing Deo to kill him while his return from deccan. See: Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:79–80, 82; Ikram, *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan*, 257.

⁴⁸³ Father Felix, “Jesuit Mission in Lahore,” in *Mughal India According to European Travel Accounts: Texts and Studies*, ed. Fuat Sezgin, vol. IV (Frankfurt am Main: Inst. for the History of Arab.-Islamic Science, 1997), 12.

Shaykh Mubarak, a key advisor to Emperor Akbar, played an essential role in separating him from Sunni scholars. He (Mubarak) studied Ibn al-‘Arabi’s writings during his religious education. He showed a lack of interest in rigid interpretations of Muslim jurisprudence. His possible inclination towards Mahdavisim may have been influenced by his disregard for superficial differences in beliefs generated by pantheism. However, his son, Abu’l-Faḍl, developed the doctrine of ‘*Sulh-i Kul*’ or ‘peace for all’ using pantheism to create a practical doctrine. The idea of *Sulh-i Kul* aimed to promote unity among followers of different religions, accepting diversity while recognizing the Emperor as the vicegerent of God and a spiritual guide. This doctrine aimed to establish the Emperor as a symbol of inter-religious harmony, a unique concept given the diverse communities in Hindustan.⁴⁸⁴

Akbar’s religious ideas and practices gradually got changed, and it seems he was broadly influenced by the Hindu, Jain, and Parsi (offspring of Persian Zoroastrians) religious’ ideas and practices, *i.e.*, worship of fire,⁴⁸⁵ Sun worship,⁴⁸⁶ belief in timings of prayer and its importance,⁴⁸⁷ ordinance on divine faith, *i.e.*, ways in greetings; when the member of this faith would get together, one would say “*Allah-o-Akbar*”, and the response was “*Jall-a-Jalaluhu*”,⁴⁸⁸ new festivals, different marriage regulations, some debated customs, rejections of Islamic miracles, etc.⁴⁸⁹ All these developments compelled Muslim scholars to rethink and seek the right solutions, pushing them to prepare answers rationally.

⁴⁸⁴ Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 167–68.

⁴⁸⁵ Abu’l-Faḍl mentions, “*After Akbar, his son Jahangir and grandson Shāh Jahān kept their patronization up. As a result, this philosophical trend has great influence for the institutionalization of Hind rational sciences in the last phase of seventeenth and early eighteenth century.*” See: Abu’l Fazl ‘Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī (Asiatic)*, trans. H. Blochmann, vol. 1 (Calcutta, India: The Royal Asiatic Society, the Baptist Mission Press, 1873), 50.

⁴⁸⁶ Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:91.

⁴⁸⁷ ‘Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī (Asiatic)*, 1:162–63.

⁴⁸⁸ ‘Allāmi, 1:166.

⁴⁸⁹ See: Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit (III)*, III:93–95.

c) Christians and non-Muslims invited to Akbar's Court

He invited Christian scholars and missionary activists to his court and showed his interest in Christian doctrines, *i.e.*, the trinity doctrine, the truth of Christianity, etc. Some Christian scripture had been translated and presented to the Emperor. It was a new religion in Hind ground; there were very few followers, mostly from Europe. Portuguese, mainly, sent missionaries and established a collage of Jesuit mission in Goa to spread Christian theology.⁴⁹⁰ In this discussion, Christian missionaries' activities, their relations with the court and the Muslims, and so on are not a primary objective of this work, but how they had been a factor in the ground and pushed the Muslim scholars to rethink the better education system, and finally, perhaps most importantly to look for the ways to adjust and develop rational ideas within their thinking and intellectual boundary.

It seems the early formal communication between Akbar and Jesuit Mission started during 1579-1580, and the first Jesuit arrived at Fatehpur Sikri in 1580. Before that Akbar wrote a letter to the Baburid embassy that was sent to the Portuguese viceroy (1578-1581), Luis de Athaida, priests of Goa, in September 1579, it gave significant hope among the Christians that the Emperor could accept their religion, even they started thinking that it would be a great victory without any effort.⁴⁹¹ Akbar also widely respected and patronized them; the court warmly welcomed the Jesuit mission, and the Emperor gave them 800 pieces of gold. However, they did not receive it. The relationship reached the level where writing letters and sending them to the Jesuit mission became common. Not only that, but the letters also inform us that the Emperor would earnestly invite them to the court and get involved in the discussions.⁴⁹² During this time, Portuguese missions

⁴⁹⁰ Nadwi, III:64–65.

⁴⁹¹ Altaf Hussain Langrial and Mirza Asif Baig, "Jesuit Missions to Mughal Empire: A Study of Religious Relations of Society of Jesus and Mughal India," *Peshawar Islamicus* 3, no. 2 (December 2012): 70, <http://journals.uop.edu.pk/papers/Jesuit%20Missions%20to%20Mughal%20Empire.pdf>.

⁴⁹² See for more about the way they communicated each other, their letters, etc., Felix, "Jesuit Mission in Lahore," 1–35.

mainly worked in Hindustan. Some of their activities in Hindustan, ways of thinking, etc., are the following.

Father Pereira, a priest, arrived in Fatehpur Sikri in 1578, and he enjoyed a favorable environment in which to confront the Muslims. His primary target was to confute Islam and Islamic belief, and he devoted himself to this work. Emperor Akbar would enjoy it and feel satisfied. Upon the priest's information that there were more learned scholars in the missionary college in Goa, they could teach him the religion better. The Emperor sent an embassy to Goa without wasting time, as mentioned.⁴⁹³

It seems the meeting of the scholars of different religious backgrounds would be held often, even more than once a week; sometimes, regularity was maintained, *i.e.*, every Thursday evening. On a day in 1580, Father Rudolf held a meeting consisting of Sayyids, the Shaykhs, the *'ulamā*'s, and the dignitaries. Upon coming to the Emperor, once he asked about the authenticity of the Bible. Three-four days later, they sat again and discussed the nature of paradise, which was promised to the Muslims. Some days later, with the presence of Father Monserrate (1536-1600)⁴⁹⁴ - a Portuguese priest, a debate was held where the topic was the comparison between the life and teaching of Prophet Mohammad and the Prophet Jesus Christ (Isa). According to Father Felix, when the Muslim scholars noticed that Akbar's belief in his traditional religion was weakening, they started putting forth an old argument that the Bible had been modified. However, their claim was effectively refuted by Abu'l-Faḍl. Taking this opportunity, Monserrate asserted that it was, in fact, the followers of Muḥammad who had made attempts to distort the sacred scriptures. He further contended that the Qur'an contained evident moral deficiencies and errors that could be observed by anyone who studied it. Then, the Emperor got angry, and they were alarmed. However, they added that the Mullās (Muslim scholars) should not be allowed to denounce Jesus – the son of God.⁴⁹⁵ In the same way,

⁴⁹³ Felix, 2.

⁴⁹⁴ For more about Monserrae and his work, see Hoyland, Banerjee, and (trans. and annot), *The Commentary of Father Monserrate: On His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, 159.

⁴⁹⁵ Felix, "Jesuit Mission in Lahore," 5–6.

on another day, Father Rudolf openly claimed that “*the Prophet (Mohammad) was an imposter and liar, while Jesus Christ was the true son of God.*”⁴⁹⁶

To Muslim scholars, Christianity, and its study were also new; they generally did not go through it previously. So, initial conversations made them feel a severe need to study different religions as well as Islamic creeds based on reason, as Badauni (d. 1615) says,

*“In the same way every command and doctrine of Islam, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of Islam with reason, the doctrine of ruyat (vision of God in the hereafter), taklif (moral responsibility of human beings), and takmin (creation of the universe), the details of the day of resurrection and judgement, all were doubted and ridiculed.”*⁴⁹⁷

The Jesuit priests started having a good establishment in Hindustan. It seems that upon the desire of Fathers, Emperor Akbar agreed to construct churches in his kingdom to honor Christ and His Blessed Mother. He aimed to ensure the churches were wonderful, believing that since there were already numerous mosques for Muslims and pagodas for Hindu gods, it was just to grant the same level of honour to the Christian God. Akbar also pledged to establish a previously unprecedented hospital for the sick and needy, taking personal responsibility for its construction and funding from state resources. In 1583, he completed his promise by building two locations outside the city where the poor could be fed, entrusting them to his philosopher and friend, Abu'l-Faḍl. Moreover, through Abu'l-Faḍl, Akbar granted Father Rudolf and his companions, giving them the freedom to convert and baptize as many subjects as they desired. He also issued a warning of consequences for anyone obstructing their mission. In addition, the Emperor disapproved of being converted to other religions for the Christians in Hindustan. The Emperor also allowed returning to Christianity for prisoners who accepted Islam to get liberty.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ Felix, 7.

⁴⁹⁷ al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:317.

⁴⁹⁸ Felix, “Jesuit Mission in Lahore,” 9.

The Emperor, it seems, with the influence of Christian missions, changed Muslim law as well. He revoked obligatory Muslim religious practices, *i.e.*, pilgrimage, fasting, etc., and made them optional. Moreover, circumcision was not allowed until boys were twelve.⁴⁹⁹

All these developments obviously paved the way to get angry among the orthodox Muslims, particularly in the religious academia, whether they could express or not amid extraordinary socio-political stability, victories, and gigantic economic growth. During this time, the court was also interested to know European scientific and philosophical developments. The court inspired its academia to learn European languages, but its success is not known. Moreover, European medical, scientific development was tried to be informed and translated into the local language in the last phase of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵⁰⁰

Until the last time, Akbar wanted to have an environment of multireligious debate in the court. To ensure it, many times he requested to the Portuguese government at Goa for sending Father to the court as well.⁵⁰¹ Actually, Hindustan seems to have enjoyed this diversified cultural, religious and intellectual debate in the times to come, as seen during Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, who were more learned and religious than Akbar. Surprisingly, the debate on whether to go in favour of it also continued.

b. Nurturing Local Scholars and Welcoming Foreign-Diversified Intellectual

a) Local Sunni Scholars and Their Raising Ground in the 16th Century: Hind Intellectual Transformation

In Hindustan, dominantly inhabited by followers of Sunni schools of thought, Sunni dominance has been a feature since the region's early Islamic rule. This dominance was mirrored in the scholarly realm, where local scholars flourished under these

⁴⁹⁹ Felix, 10.

⁵⁰⁰ See, Habib, "Reason and Science in Medieval India," 169–70.

⁵⁰¹ Felix, "Jesuit Mission in Lahore," 21.

conditions. However, existing sources provide short information about these local scholars and their contributions to the rational sciences during the initial period of Baburid rule. While contemporary historians often focus on the Iranian scholars who migrated to Hindustan, introducing rational scientific methodologies and work to the local academic landscape, this narrative overlooks the indigenous scholars' foundational role. It raises pertinent questions: What existing intellectual framework welcomed these foreign scholars? Who were the local scholars or key figures facilitating this integration? What texts were studied, and what new works emerged from them (local scholars)? It is clear that figures such as Siyālkūtī and his contemporaries, who actively promoted various branches of rational sciences, did not operate in isolation. This brief discussion seeks to explore possible answers or, at the very least, to pose a question that may lead to a more comprehensive analysis for readers and researchers.

The term “Sunni scholars” or “local Sunni scholars” refers to those engaged in rational sciences—such as kalam, philosophy, logic etc. Identifying these scholars by their intellectual or cultural identities is useful for tracing the intellectual tradition and its evolution. In this discourse, both local Sunni scholars (those born and raised in the Hind region and contributing there) and Iranian scholars (regardless of their Sunni or Shi‘ite backgrounds, as they shared similar intellectual and cultural foundations) are considered. The focus is on the local Sunni scholars' major role in the intellectual landscape of Hindustan during the Baburid era, notwithstanding the significant contributions of foreign scholars. This latter group often needed to adjust to the local intellectual context before their contributions—a phenomenon observed across many cultural centers and historical periods. It is also crucial to acknowledge that the holistic development of an intellectual landscape is facilitated by various groups or classes' contributions, political and economic stability, cultural richness, and the consolidation of power. All these factors are interdependent.

In medieval Hindustan, marked by significant cultural and intellectual shifts with the onset of Baburid rule, particularly during Akbar's reign, the proliferation of madrasahs across various provinces signified socio-economic and political stability. Despite each

province's distinct cultural and intellectual identities, there is a notable lack of comprehensive information on the development and nature of the Sunni intellectual landscape, pointing to a significant resource gap, as mentioned. The dynamics that shaped this landscape over time, underpinned by Sunni dominance, merit in-depth discussion. While the emphasis on the contributions of Iranian scholars to the Hind intellectual landscape is common, this perspective often neglects the continuity of existing traditions and their contributions.

One question arises: If the Sunni intellectual landscape in Hindustan was not at a standard level to accommodate other scholarly traditions, how did it manage to engage with and integrate scholars from diverse backgrounds—including Iranian, Central Asian, and Arab scholars? This situation highlights a receptive and adaptable Sunni intellectual environment. Such a welcoming attitude fostered significant sharing among scholars and introduced new ideas, enriching the intellectual scene in places like Deccan, Gujarat, Bengal, Lahore, Multan, and others. By examining the roles of Siyālkūtī and his contemporaries, we can envision how intellectual life unfolded during the 16th century in Hindustan under Baburid rule. This discussion will shed light on the contributions of a few notable scholars to provide a clearer understanding.

- a. It has been discussed that the Lodi dynasty, the predecessor of the Baburid, earnestly endeavored to establish a rational foundation. However, their efforts fell short of fostering a vibrant intellectual movement. Notably, during this period, ‘Abdallah b. Ilahdad al-‘Uthmani al-Tulanbi (d. 922/1516–7) and his brother Azizullah Tulanbi (d. 932/1525–6) significantly advanced rational sciences and intellectual consciousness. Born and raised in Tulanbi, Multan, they actively engaged in academic debates within the court and institutional settings, contributing significantly to the intellectual landscape of Hindustan.
- b. The intellectual legacy of Siyālkūtī has been discussed, providing crucial insights into the Hind ground. Siyālkūtī's primary guide, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, an eminent scholar of his time, was mentored by Faṭḥullāh Haqqani (Faṭḥullāh Thani), both born and raised in Kashmīr. Despite lacking information on their

potential relocation to learning centers like Shiraz or Hejaz, their affiliation with the School of Samarqand underscores the significance of Kamāl Kashmīrī's intellectual journey. Notably, though Kashmīr's integration with the Baburid happened during Akbar's rule, it maintained a robust intellectual connection with Hindustan decades ago, engaging in cultural and intellectual exchanges. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, the chief mentor of Siyālkūtī, played a central role, receiving lessons from various scholars, including Khawaja 'Abd al-Shāhid Naqshbandi Aḥrārī (d. 1584), a versatile scholar representing the Aḥrārī legacy in Hindustan.⁵⁰² Hailing from Samarkand, a close neighbor and a center of cultural and intellectual development, he ('Abd al-Shāhid Aḥrārī) closely collaborated with the Hind ground. Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, as discussed, studied with him in Hindustan, highlighting the capacity of local scholars and establishments to nurture intellectuals like Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī and the latter's students, *i.e.*, Siyālkūtī and Aḥmad Sirhindī.

- c. Again, Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589), a versatile Hind scholar across multiple disciplines with rational sciences. Who was a senior contemporary of Siyālkūtī, and studied under Mullā Imad al-Dīn Tarimi (d. 941/1534) in Aḥmednagar. The latter (Mullā Imad al-Dīn Tarimi), in turn, was a student of Jalal al-Dīn Dawwānī. Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī, completing his education, became a teacher in Ahmednagar, contributing significantly until his death. Despite his profound scholarly influence, particularly noted in the region and the broader Hind intellectual ground, he did not gain much prominence during his time. Interestingly, despite his influence on Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarat, he did not enjoy favor with Akbar, the Emperor of his era. Noteworthy is his transition from the Qadiri order to the Shattari order.

⁵⁰² Sufi, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:376; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 38.

Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī made notable contributions across various branches of Islamic learning, including works such as *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Jaghimi*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Sharḥi’l-Jāmī*, *sharḥ Irshadi’n-naḥw*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Mutawwal*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Mukhtasari’l-Ma’ani*, *al-Tuhafat al-Mursalat Ila al-Nabiyy*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Sharḥ al-Tajrid*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Sharḥ al-‘Aqaid*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī*, *sharḥ Risālah al-Shamsiyyah fi’l-Mantiq*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Tahdhib al-Mantiq*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Quṭbi*, and more. Mohammad Khaldi listed forty-four works related to him. Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī’s scholarly impact extended beyond writing treatises; he devoted sixty-five years to teaching, attracting renowned students from various Hind learning centers and regions such as Bengal and Lahore.⁵⁰³ He would be a good example to analyze Hindustan’s intellectual ground. He wrote extensively on rational sciences with others, as mentioned. His life and works would give impressions that the works he did were on the ground and had demands among the readers that led him to write *ḥāshiyah*, no matter whether they were for higher education or primary level. It shows that the learning center where he would lecture was familiar with those texts, and perhaps there were some classes on them as well. It gives an idea about when he prepared these tests and would lecture since the 1530s or 1540s. So, all the subsequent times, there were texts, works, and at least some classes taken by scholars like him.

- d. In the early seventeenth century, kalam attained a systematic position, with Lahore serving as its initial hub. This educational development subsequently expanded to

⁵⁰³ Mohammad Khaldi, “Sheikh Wajihuddin Alavi Gujrati Hayati wa Khidmati (Life and Works of Sheikh Wajihuddin Alavi Gujrati)” (PhD Thesis, Dept. of Arabic, AMU, 2011), 10; Ahmed, “The Mawāqif of ‘Aḥud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India,” 2020, 397. See for his works, Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 23, 31, 59, 78, 101, 112, 143, 155, 168, 170, 181, 207–9, 234, 241. And for his students and others, see, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:366, 381, 408, 442, 448; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:514, 526, 568, 575, 590, 655; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:817; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 86, 273, 430, 457; Khaldi, “Sheikh Wajihuddin Alavi Gujrati Hayati wa Khidmati (Life and Works of Sheikh Wajihuddin Alavi Gujrati)”; Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art and Culture*, Reprint (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 131.

other prominent cities within the region. Concurrently, the predominant theological training adhered to the Ash'arite and Maturidi schools of thought. Notable works in Sunni theology during this period included Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī's commentary on Ijī's *al-Mawāqif*, Jalal al-Dīn Dawwānī's commentary on Ijī's *al-'Aqā'id*, and Taftāzānī's commentary on Umar al-Nasafī's *al-'Aqā'id*.⁵⁰⁴

Finally, and most importantly, the intellectual landscape in Hindustan had the capacity to nurture scholars during the second phase of the sixteenth century, such as 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Aḥmad Sirhindī, and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, to name a few. The teachings and works of these scholars spread across continents during their lifetimes and quickly gained prominence. The list of influential scholars raised in Hind madrasas who made substantial contributions could be extended further in the coming days. This capacity likely grew and was enriched by the gradual socio-economic and cultural transformations, especially starting in the mid-sixteenth century, when the region underwent rapid changes. By the end of the century, many scholars were educated and began teaching in various learning centers across Hindustan, either establishing new ones or enhancing existing institutions with socio-economic improvements and including rational subjects. As a result, cities like Multan, Delhi, Lahore, Sialkot, Jaunpur, Aḥmednagar, Deccan, and Bengal became renowned as prominent educational hubs, especially for their rational disciplines. Some of these centers and their trainers or scholars could successfully nurture students whose writings would be sent to distant lands and receive recognition like Siyālkūtī.

⁵⁰⁴ See Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 611.

b) Iranian Scholars in Hind Intellectual Life

*"I'm going to India, for there
The affairs of clever people march nicely,*

*Whereas liberality and generosity run away from the men of
[this] time
Into black earth."*

- Ghazali (Mashhadi) (d. 980/1572)⁵⁰⁵

It is seen that in the pre-Baburid time, some scholars came to several Hind madrasahs from Iran, that trend continued, and further continuous influx of scholars to the Baburid ground, particularly after mid – the sixteenth century, it had been increased rapidly when Emperor Humayun recaptured the state with the support of Iran. It is stated that twenty-one of fifty-seven influential courtiers were Iranians, holding important positions, *i.e.*, Mīr Bakhshi, Mīr Munshi, etc.⁵⁰⁶ It is well known that the court's nobles would be appointed from the learned people; they, sometimes, could have more than one responsibility, *i.e.*, administrator and teacher, Qāḍī and teacher like that. It is not astonishing to have their implicit influence over the academic system, at least in raising intellectual awareness. In the early Baburid time, some scholars of rational sciences who migrated from Iran, *i.e.*, Mohammad Sharif Amli, Hayati Koshi, and Abdul Ghani Yazdi. Humayun – a learned statesman, also had an interest in mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences that resulted in patronizing these disciplines directly. Maulana Ilyas of Ardabil,

⁵⁰⁵ Gazali was referred to some Persian poets, however, probably the particular Gazali was Gazali Mashhadi who died in Hindustan in 980/1572. Both V. Minorsky and Richard Foltz comment that it is not clear what does 'black' mean. The latter mentions as "to the land of the blacks" and suggested that Hindustan generally would be described by this way. However, he tells the mentioned verses are of Qāḍī Aḥmad Qomi which is clearly seemed a misquote when we see the translated work of V. Minorsky whom he (Richard Foltz) also has accessed. See, Ahmad ibn Mīr-Munshi, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir-Munshi (circa A.H.1015/A.D.1606)*, trans. V. Minorsky (from Persian) and T. Minorsky (from Russian) (Washington: Smithsonian Inst., 1959), 185, n655 & n656; Richard C. Foltz, "Cultural Contacts Between Central Asia and Mughal India," *Central Asiatic Journal* 42, no. 1 (1998): 46 & n6.

⁵⁰⁶ See, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation," in *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450–1800*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History, 1450 to 1800*, Vol. 8 (London: Routledge, 2016), 77, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315249124>.

Shaykh Mohammad Ibn Ali Samarqandi, and Mīr Abdul Latif Qazwīnī were invited this time;⁵⁰⁷ however, we only know about Mīr Abdul Latif Qazwīnī that he migrated to Hindustan and was appointed as governor (*Subahdar*).⁵⁰⁸

At the same time, other Hind kingdoms also followed it, especially southern kingdoms, *i.e.*, Deccan welcomed a good number of scholars of rational sciences. They also later served in the Baburid court, *i.e.*, Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, to be discussed below.

Gujrat also welcomed many scholars from Iran, two students of Dawwānī named Abu'l-Faḍl Asturabadi and Abu'l-Faḍl Gazruni and their (the latter's) disciples were Asif Khan, known as Abdul Aziz Khān Gujarati and Shaykh Mubarak; and the third student was Mullā Imad Tarmi whose student was Maulana Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 998/1589-90)⁵⁰⁹ – a celebrated scholar mentioned above.

i. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lāri (d. 979/1572)

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lāri was born in around 900/1494 in Lar – a small city of Shiraz, and moved to Shiraz for education and studied with the prominent scholars of that time, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Dashtakī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain al-Lāri and Shams al-Dīn Kafri. Upon completion of his studies in his early career, he left Iran and never returned. It is known that the hostility towards Sunni scholars grew stronger during the reign of Shāh Tahmasp (r. 929/1524-984/1576), following the rise of Safavid Shāh Ismā'īl. Lari, a renowned Sunni theologian, migrated to Baburid Hindustan during the early Safavid era. The exact reason for his migration remains unknown, but it was attributed to Shāh Tahmasp's unfavorable treatment of Sunni scholars.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 276.

⁵⁰⁸ Subrahmanyam, "Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation," 78.

⁵⁰⁹ Although Hamid Naseem's description is very short, however, at least he mentions some name are hardly seen. These names are needed to be highly investigated. There is huge possibilities to get new information. See: Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 275.

⁵¹⁰ Reza Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," *Oriens* 42, no. 3–4 (January 1, 2014): 294–95, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18778372-04203002>.

Upon his arrival to Sind, he was patronized by the Shāh Ḥasan Arghun's (r. 930/1524-963/1556) court, and later he went to the Baburid court of Humayun. And it seems he was welcomed warmly and bestowed an important state position as '*Sadr*' (chief of religious administration) of the Baburid state. With the death of Sulṭān Humayun, Lārī left Hindustan and traveled to the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, through Hejaz and Aleppo.⁵¹¹

One may ask why he did not move to the Ottoman Empire – another powerful Muslim Empire of that time- where he moved later. There would be several causes behind it. Hindustan was very well-known, and many Iranian scholars came before him and enjoyed various opportunities, including holding important state positions like the ones he was also given. At the same time, during his migration, it seems Humayun was the Sulṭān of the Baburid state, who was a learned man, a patron of scholars, liked astronomy and mathematics much more, and always loved to accompany scholars no matter if they were from Hind or other ground. Perhaps that was not a general fact to Ottoman ground for a foreign scholar. And, both Baburid and Ottoman Empires' Muslims enjoyed a Sunni majority; however, Baburid's socio-cultural and intellectual ground was much more liberal, economically more enriched, and more supportive to scholarship than the other. Finally, it seems that since the sixteenth century, Ottoman–Safavid political and intellectual engagement and exchanges have started slowing down and gradually increasing in the days to come. It would be, though Shīrāzī scholars were aware of the intellectual developments in the Ottoman land, another cause to select Hindustan instead of the other one.⁵¹²

Later, he left Istanbul as he was not given an expected position compared to what he used to hold before in Hindustan and moved next to Amid (Diyarbakir), where he

⁵¹¹ Pourjavady, 295.

⁵¹² See for the Ottoman – Safavid philosophical and scientific dynamics and changes in the seventeenth and seventeenth centuries, Fazlıoğlu, "Muhasebe Dönemi: XVII. Yüzyıl: Bunalım, Toparlanma ve Tespit."

enjoyed the patronization of the local governor Iskandar Pasha (d. 978/1571), where he taught at Khusraw (Hüsrev) pasha madrasah.⁵¹³

He penned on a wide variety of subjects. In logic, he has gloss on Dawwānī's commentary on *Tahdhlb al-Mantiq* of Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ* al-Qāḍī Mīr Maybudhi on *Hidaya al-Ḥikmah* of Abhari, and he also penned at least three monographs, *i.e.*, *Risala fi Hall Shubhat Jadhr al-Asam* (treatise on the liar paradox), *Risala fi Nihayat al-Mas'ul fi Tahqiq Slibat al-Mahmul*, and *Risala fi Ijtima al-Naqidayn*. In rhetoric, he wrote a commentary of *Adab al-Baḥth* of 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī. In philosophy and kalām, he has super gloss on Dawwānī's gloss on 'Ali al-Qūshjī's commentary on *Tajrid al-I'tiqad* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; he also wrote a commentary on *Hikmat al-'Ayn* of Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhari. Lārī also prepared a gloss on Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī's commentary on *Mawāqif*, etc. he also wrote on the question of human will and bodily resurrection. He was not limited to theological works only; in astronomy, he has two commentaries on *al-Fathiya fi 'Ilm al-Hay'a* (written in 970/1562-3) and *Risala dar Ilm-i Hay'a* – both are astronomical works of Abu'l-Qashim 'Ala al-Dīn Ali b. Muḥammad, popularly known as 'Ali al-Qūshjī's (d. 879/1474) – was a versatile Samarqandi scholar of kalām, mathematics, astronomy, and linguistics, visited and contributed to Iran and Ottoman ground. The latter work was written during his stay in Hindustan and was also dedicated to Sulṭān Humayun. Pourjavady claims Lārī to be the first commentator on 'Ali al-Qūshjī's astronomical works.⁵¹⁴ Among his other works, he went through Qur'anic exegesis, tradition, fiqh, and other subjects. It seems he is more remembered for his

⁵¹³ Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 608; Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 296. See for more about his stay in Istanbul and the conversation(s) he had with the Ottoman scholars, Muhammad Siddique Khalid Alvi, "Al-Lari's Commentary to the Arba'in An-Nawawi: A Critical Edition with Introduction" (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1980), 119–22, <https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/34866>.

⁵¹⁴ It is important to mention that the Lari's work became popular in the Ottoman madrasah as well. See for more about Lari and 'Ali al-Qūshjī, İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Ali Kuşçu," in *İslam Düşünce Atlası (İDA)*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer (Konya: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları), accessed May 29, 2023, <https://islamdusunceatlası.org/muhasebe-donemi>; Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 296, 299; Hulusi Kılıç, "Muslihuddin Lārī," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2003), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/lari-muslihuddin>.

Persian world history, ‘*Mir’at al-Adwar wa Mirqat al-Akhbar*’ (The Mirror of Periods and the Staircase of the Accounts).⁵¹⁵ However, it remains unclear which of these works were composed, except his commentary on *Risala dar Ilm-i Hay’a*, during his time in Hindustan.⁵¹⁶

Here, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī – a versatile scholar of natural and rational sciences, is important to understand the common ground of three major Muslim Empires, that one studying in Iran could be appointed as an administrator and teacher of another intellectual ground like Hindustan, and also later he could be patronized and appointed in a respected position in the last one, Ottoman ground. It seems the three Empires, at a time or more-or-less closely, were following intellectual developments that were being going through. And, a sense of awareness of rationality remained intact for all of them.

In the same way, many scholars who migrated to Hindustan in the seventeenth century, *i.e.*, Muḥammad Dihdar Shīrāzī (d. 1607)- a student of Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī visited several cities, *i.e.*, Bijapur, Aḥmednagar, Delhi, Burhanpur and Surat, Nizam al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Jīlānī (d. after 1066/1656) – a student of Mīr Damad (d. 1040/1631-2) studied in Ispahan migrated to Hyderabad who engaged himself in Shi’ite – Sunni debates. Another Ispahan graduate, Mīrzā ‘Alī Rida al-Tajallī al-Ardakani al-Shīrāzī (d. 1085/1674)⁵¹⁷ enjoyed Emperor Aurangzeb’s patronage. These are a few examples.

This trend further expanded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Iraqi and Transoxiana scholars also came to this great land. Some converted to Shi’ite from Sunni and migrated to Hindustan to preach their thoughts. They particularly came from Karbala

⁵¹⁵ See more about his works, Pourjavady, “Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences,” 298–300.

⁵¹⁶ See for his works, and Ottoman scholars’ work on his work, Pourjavady, 293–314; Ahmed and Pourjavady, “Theology in the Indian Subcontinent,” 2014, 608.

⁵¹⁷ Ahmed and Pourjavady, “Theology in the Indian Subcontinent,” 2014, 609, 611.

and Najaf to Murshidabad, Azimabad, Banars, and Lucknow, *i.e.*, Shaykh Ali Hazin of Isfahan (d. 1766), Muḥammad of Yazd (d. 1781), etc.⁵¹⁸

ii. Fathullāh Shīrāzī: Founding Scholar of Hind Rational Science

He was the most celebrated Iranian scholar and scientist among those who came to Hindustan, and so far, it is known. Badauni regarded him as “*the most learned of the learned men of his time.*”⁵¹⁹ He was born and raised in Shiraz in a scholarly and Sayyid family. He was provided perhaps the best possible education in Shiraz – a vigorous intellectual center at that time. Hind intellectual grounds much benefitted from this center, and it was commonly stated that it (Shiraz) was the training center for Hindustan as so many scholars came from there and some Hind students went there for education. There, he studied with prominent theologians, philosophers, and mystics, *i.e.*, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī, with whom he studied medicine, mathematics and other sciences, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī (a student of Dawwānī) attracted him in logic and philosophy, again studied Greek philosophy with Zoroastrian scholar Azar Kaiwan, and Kamāl al-Dīn Shirvani, Maulana Kurd are a few to name.⁵²⁰ According to his command of the branches of knowledge, one of his contemporaries, Badayunī says,

*“He was thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the emperor demanded one from him. He was equally learned in Arabic, traditions, interpretation of the Qur’ān and rhetoric, and was the author of some excellent works...”*⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 160.

⁵¹⁹ Abdul-Qadir Ibn-i-mulk shah al-Badaoni and W. Haig, *Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, vol. III, ; (Delhi : Renaissance Publishing House, 1986), 216.

⁵²⁰ See for more about him, and his education, M.A. Alvi and Abdur Rahman, *Fathullah Shirazi: A Sixteenth Century Indian Scientist* (New Delhi: National Institute of Sciences of India, 1968), 2; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 397; Ahmed and Pourjavady, “Theology in the Indian Subcontinent,” 2014, 608; Khan, “Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India,” 1062.

⁵²¹ al-Badaoni and Haig, *Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, III:216.

He was introduced as a famous scholar in his early years and started intellectual sciences in Shiraz. He was also chosen as the advisor of the ruler of Shiraz. Then, he was invited by Thatta ruler Mīrzā Jani. Later, he also served in Ali Adil Shāh (r. 1558-1580) of Bijapur as a *wakil* (administrator) and advisor while maintaining a state madrasah as the principal. He also visited Aḥmednagar, resided there for a time, and was introduced to Sulṭān Murtada Nizam Shāh (r. 972/1565-996/1588). After that, he was summoned by Akbar in 1583, and upon his arrival in Agra, he was warmly welcomed and conferred to many positions and respects, *i.e.*, *amir* (courtier), *Aminu'l-Mulk* (Trustee of the State), *Azaduddawla* (the Arm of the Emperor) and *Sadr-al-Sudur* (head of the religious administration) and '*Aḥud al-Dawla*'.⁵²²

Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, soon after his arrival, started contributing to diversified disciplines. In the following year's (1584) New Year's Day, in the fancy Bazar, he presented various mechanical devices that were all operating simultaneously, creating a splendid spectacle. He was also commanded to work with Rajah Toder Mal to develop the revenue system, and he contributed there boldly and submitted a report with twenty suggestions, which the court accepted all. In addition, Akbar made his representative on a foreign mission to Deccan, and finally, he was accompanied by the King to Kashmīr visit.⁵²³ Where he felt ill of fever and finally left the worldly life forever in Kashmīr in 1589.⁵²⁴ He was a unique scholar who had commands, perhaps of all branches of

⁵²² See about the positions were bestowed to him, al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:325, 370, 381; Alvi and Rahman, *Faṭḥullah Shirazi: Indian Scientist*, 3–4; Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 608–9; A.K. Bag, "Faṭḥullah Shirazi: Canon, Multi-Barrel Gun and Yarguhu" 40.3 (2005): 431; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 397; Khan, "Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India," 1062–63.

⁵²³ See about his various contributions, al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:325, 370, 381; Alvi and Rahman, *Faṭḥullah Shirazi: Indian Scientist*, 3–4.

⁵²⁴ Upon the death of Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, Shaikh Faizi, king of the poets wrote a poem, some of lines are:

*"Again that time is come when the world falls out of gear,
On the world of Intellect at midday the banner of evening fails.
All the treasures of prosperity fall into the hands of the base,
All the blood-tears of adversity fall into the cup of the generous.
The spiritual child of the precious mothers of excellence
Was the father of the fathers of spiritual insight, Shall Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī."*

knowledge as mentioned, *i.e.*, transmitted, rational, technical, and other branches of sciences. He is regarded as the main conduit for the serious study of rational sciences in Hindustan. He authored many treatises, few are available, *i.e.*, *Takmilah hashiyat'd-Dawwānī 'ala Tahdhib al-Mantiq*, *Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyati'd-Dawwānī*, *Hāshiyah 'ala Tajrid al-I'tiqad* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī are noteworthy. He also translated Ibn Sina's Qānūn into the Persian language.⁵²⁵

Perhaps his main contribution was to reform the education system when he was put in charge of education. His reforms incorporated the works of renowned Iranian scholars like Allamah Sa'ad al-Dīn Taftāzānī, Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Jalal al-Dīn Dawwānī, Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī Dashtakī (d. 1498), and the latter's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī as essential components of the curriculum.⁵²⁶ These works, perhaps all, existed in the madrasahs, at least those where students would study for higher studies or further expertise. And it is also possible to see that there were works done on these mentioned names as well, *i.e.*, Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī went through some of these works.⁵²⁷ Perhaps still, they were not regarded as common texts. This incorporation was, obviously, a significant development in the history of the Hind rational education system. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī – our main objective of this work had also a good command of the works of the mentioned scholars. Perhaps he went through these texts during his

See for more about his death and the poem, al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:381–82. It is also important to mention that the Faizi was a famous poet of that time and wrote many poems, see, M. H. Razvī, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Maulana Azad Library Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh : Habibganj Collection (Persian) : Poetry (V. I)*, vol. I, Part. One, ; (Aligarh : Maulana Azad Library, 1981), No. 180–88.

⁵²⁵ See for more about his expertise, al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:325; al-Badaoni and Haig, *Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, III:216; Khan, "Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India," 1062–63; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 397; Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 608–9; Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Medical Techniques and Practices in Mughal India," in *History of Technology in India*, ed. Harbans Mukhia, vol. II (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy, 2012), 482–83.

⁵²⁶ See, Khan, "Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India," 1062.

⁵²⁷ Baburid Muslim Tirmizi's work can give an idea, see , Baqir Ali Muhammad Ali Tirmizi, *Rise and Development of Arabic Language and Literature in Gujarat* (Ahmedabad, India: Pir Mohammed Shah Library and Research Centre, 2011), 332–34, 340, 344.

study with Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī or with others, and later during his teaching life, he wrote on them.

Additionally, he dedicated his time to teaching and mentoring numerous students. Perhaps it helped him implement his educational program and necessary reforms that made him more famous as he successfully left a vibrant generation that influenced the ground directly and holistically. Unfortunately, there is little information available about whom he taught. Badayunī, his contemporary, regarded him “*Shāh Fath-ullah Imām of all saints*,” informs that besides administrative duties, he devoted himself to teaching the children of the courtiers and Amirs, *i.e.*, son of Abu’l-Faḍl, Hakīm Abu’l-Fath. It is clearly understood from his (Badayunī) description that he was unhappy with what Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī had to deal with.⁵²⁸ Badayunī also comments that the teaching styles of Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī were not attractive to the students, so very few students received education from him.⁵²⁹

Badayunī’s comment is important to us; in the same way, examining his comment about when and in what situation he wrote about him is also vital. It seems Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī did not have much time amid various state duties. However, he had teaching experience, as discussed, and had students of different disciplines. Among his prominent students, Mīr Taqīyuddīn Muḥammad, Afzal Khān - Grand Vizir (Prime minister) of Ali Adil Shāh I of Bijapur (1558-1580), Rafīuddīn Shīrāzī - superintendent and historian of Ali Adil Shāh’s court, Shaykh Ḥasan Mausali (who was the teacher of Abu’l-Faḍl), ‘Abd al-Salām Lahori (d. 1037/1627) – a prominent scholar of rational sciences,⁵³⁰ Shaykh

⁵²⁸ See for more, al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:325–26.

⁵²⁹ Badayuni says, “...*Although he was polite, courteous, and well-conducted in society, seemed to be unable, as soon as he began to teach, to address his pupils otherwise than with abuse, insinuation, and sarcasm. For this reason very few ever became his pupils, and he has not left behind him one worthy disciple.*” See, al-Badaoni and Haig, *Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, III:216.

⁵³⁰ Siyālkūtī also benefitted from Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī’s legacy through ‘Abd al-Salām al-Kirmānī al-Diwah (d. 1039/1629-30) – a celebrated student of ‘Abd al-Salam Lahori. Lahori successfully left a bright generation behind, among his students, besides Diwah, Muhibbullah Ilahabadi (d. 1058/1648) – a famous scholar of his time, and ‘Abd al-Qadir Faruqi Lakhnawi (d. 1077/1666) also took place. See for more: Rizvi,

Abu'l Makarim,⁵³¹ Fariduddin Masud bin Ibrāhīm Dehlawi - the compiler of Zīj-i Shāhjahani, Abdur Raḥīm Khān – i - Khanan - General of Emperor Akbar, and Hakīm Ali Gīlānī was one of his prominent students who went through medical education, and mathematics gained prominence for his research and contribution. Perhaps he studied different sciences with Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī.⁵³² These are a few about his students, which clearly show his contributions to raising a vibrant generation in a short time.

In addition, Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī must be remembered for the scientific contributions he brought to light in his six-year in the Baburid court. Development of two Canons, his invention of two devices, *i.e.*, a 'cart' to measure distances, and the other to clean many gun barrels all at once.⁵³³ Development of ideas in astronomy concerning days and months, the development of the Ilahi Calendar.⁵³⁴

A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Ash'ari Shī'īs in India, II:207–8; Hasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:563–64; Robinson, "Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," 159; Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 614.

⁵³¹ He was born in 1569, Abu'l-Faḍl provides important information that Makarim went through philosophy, particularly Greek philosophers, and traditions with the guidance of his (Abu'l-Faḍl) father – Shaikh Mubarak. Shaikh Makarim also, perhaps in his early life, studied (might be fundamental courses of rational and transmitted subjects) with Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī. See, Abu'l Fazl 'Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī*, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, trans. Col. H.S. Jarret, 1st. Pub. 1927 (reprinted 1997), vol. II (II-III together) (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1997), 520.

⁵³² See for more about his contribution, Anjana Chattopadhyay, *Biographical Dictionary of Indian Scientists: From Ancient to Contemporary* (New Delhi: Rupa & Company, 2002), 680; Rezavi, "Medical Techniques and Practices in Mughal India," 877. And more about Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī's students see, Alvi and Rahman, *Fathullah Shirazi: Indian Scientist*, 2.

⁵³³ See, Satish Chandra, "State, State Formation and Statecraft in Indian History and Tradition," ed. Hiren Chakrabarti CVII, no. I-II (December 1988): 4; Alvi and Rahman, *Fathullah Shirazi: Indian Scientist*, 4–5.

⁵³⁴ See for more about his contribution to the invention of mechanical and scientific developments, see, 'Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī*, 1997, II (II-III together):29–30; Alvi and Rahman, *Fathullah Shirazi: Indian Scientist*, 3–20.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī

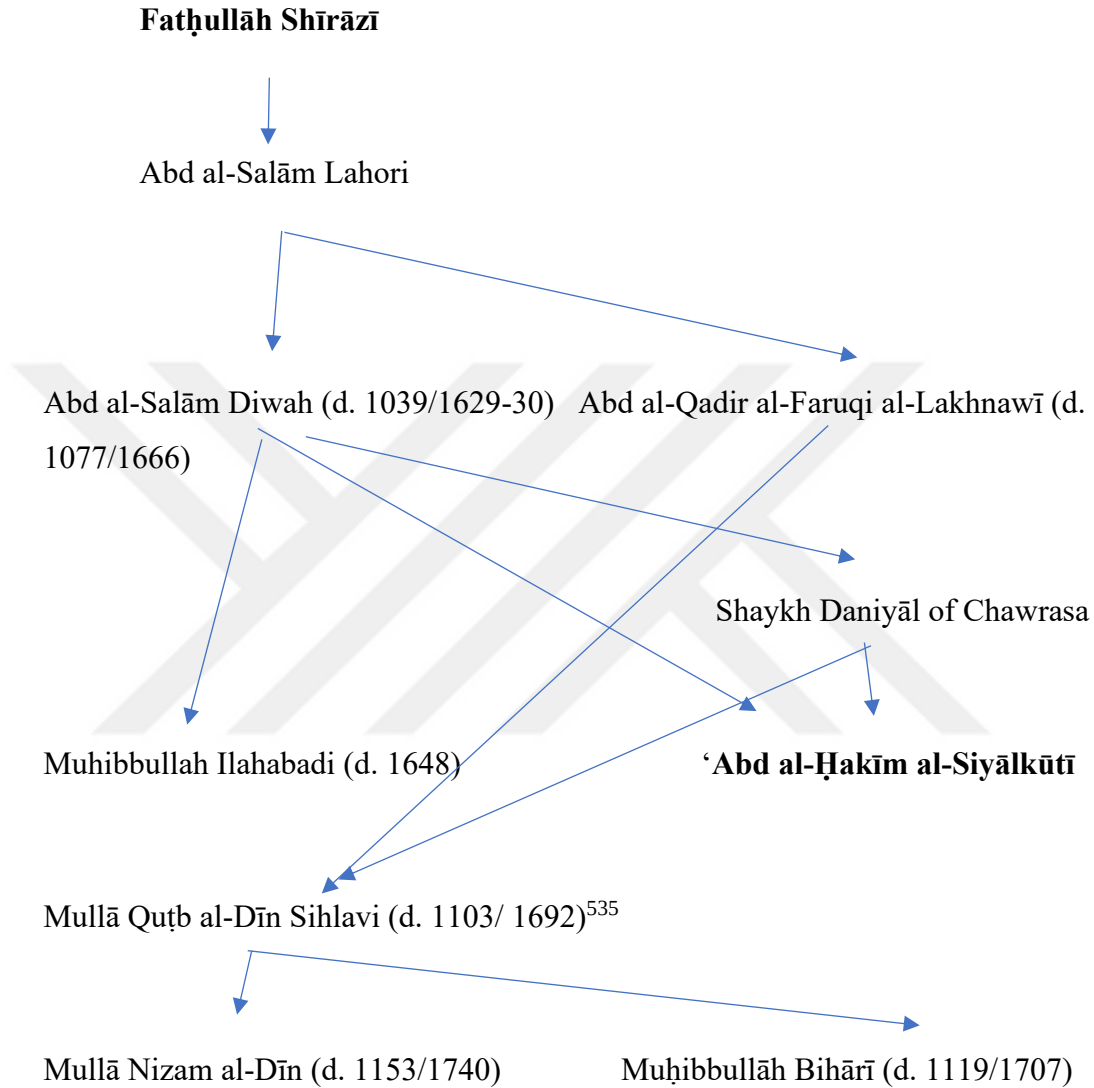


Figure 2. 2: Circle of Scholars from Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī to Siyālkūtī and his later Generations.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁵ He was the fountainhead of Farangi Mahal madrasah, See, Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 12, 200 n7.

⁵³⁶ Robinson, “Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” 159; Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 12; Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 25; Ahmed, “Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration,” 230.

It is perhaps essential to note that Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī favored the thought of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī and not the line of Dawwānī and brought it to the Hind intellectual ground and most probably that tradition continued at least until the establishment of Farangi Mahal in the early 18th century.

On the other hand, Mīrzā Jan Habib Allah Shīrāzī al-Bāghnawī (d. 1587) – a Shīrāzī scholar, favored the ideas of Dawwānī that were brought to Baburid intellectual ground through Yusuf Muḥammad Jan al-Kawsaj al-Qarabaghi (d. 1035/1625-6), and Muḥammad Fāḍil Badakhshī (d. 1051/1641).⁵³⁷ In this way, Dashtakī and Dawwānī's ideas and thoughts, though their works reached much before as discussed, were transmitted into Hind intellectual ground in the early seventeenth century through their legacy or circle of scholars.

It is evident that the Iranian scholars' migration had been widespread in Hind educational and cultural grounds before the early seventeenth century. That trend continued in the mentioned century and onwards. It could also be said that Hindustan had been one kind of second home for its neighbors' educated and learned people, particularly for the Iranians, as so many people got engaged in coming and moving around for different causes. In the same way, different Hind regional dynasties also continued their interest and investment in scholars and the development of knowledge and science. Particularly, Quṭb Shāhi Rulers continued to patronize Twelver Shi'ite theological works. However, it seems that Shi'ite scholars also paid their efforts to convert Sunni scholars. One good example is, 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Daybuli Shīrāzī (d. 1073/1662 or after), who was initially a Sunni scholar, and took part in the debate in 1632-3 with 'Abd al-'Alī al-Shīrāzī on the

⁵³⁷ After completing education, he stayed in Shiraz and taught there for decades, later moved to Bukhara and continued his lectures on theology and logic. After him, one of his most outstanding students was Yusuf Muhammad Jan al-Kawsaj al-Qarabaghi (d. 1035/1625-6) continued lecturing there. Later, Muḥammad Fāḍil Badakhshī (d. 1051/1641) – a student of the latter (Qarabaghi), who mainly, moving to Lahore transmitted the Bāghnawī and Qarabaghi's ideas and thought which was originated from Dawani. He was appointed as Qāḍī of Baburid army. His student was Mīr Zāhid Harawī (d. 1689) – a celebrated and famous scholar of his time brought the legacy. See for more, Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 612–13.

subject of Īmâma, which persuaded him to Twelver Shi'ite'ism. He would also participate in debates with his Sunni friends, even in Shāh Jahānabad (old Delhi).⁵³⁸

iii. Iranians in the Sunni intellectual ground and State policy

Iranian scholars, perhaps almost all of them were from the Shi'ite school of thought, and in Baburid, the intellectual ground seems to have worked smoothly, holding vital positions of the state as well. It seems that without a few exceptions, particularly intellectual causes, there was no major problem based on sectarian identity. It would be a subject of Baburid policies applied to the migrated scholars who came to be settled and contributed until their last breath. It is well-known that the Baburid rulers introduced their policies considering their diversified population to avoid anarchies and conflicts. There seems to be a gap in works on the policies that ensured the peaceful establishment of Iranians in different important places of the state. As discussed before about pre-Baburid tradition, the scholars migrated to Delhi, who had to go through the existing systems before starting teaching, as Barani informs.⁵³⁹ When it comes to Akbar, Badayunī informs that the former examined the legacy of Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī and found him a prominent student of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī of Shiraz, who was not over strict on religious matters. The Emperor also thought that Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī would be glad to enter into the religious scheme that he had introduced some days ago. However, Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī disagreed with him and continued with the Shi'ite beliefs and practices. Although the latter (Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī) did not gain favor Emperor Akbar's expectations in religious matters, he successfully convinced the Emperor with his knowledge and expertise.⁵⁴⁰

This story informs us of many things. For Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, the court saw whether he was a rigid follower or not; he would agree or not, so far. Although Badayunī claimed he did not leave his Shi'ite practices, it does not mean that he was a bigot Shi'ite follower who could make debates, remained uncompromised, and had a possibility to create

⁵³⁸ Ahmed and Pourjavady, 611.

⁵³⁹ See for the ground: Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, 293–94.

⁵⁴⁰ al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, II:325.

anarchy. And finally, it did not happen with the work of Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, who had access to many policy-making positions and played important roles.

One may be astonished to think and think again, even in our times, that a scholar originated from Iran was not only warmly welcomed and appointed to important state positions but also accepted as a key teacher and reformer of the education system – one of the most concerning divisions of the state. It makes us understand many things about Baburid cultural and intellectual grounds and the court’s liberal policy for state affairs as well as for educational advancement. This thing is also seen in the mentioned story that happened to Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī. Although Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī did not agree with the Emperor, he was appointed to the state’s key positions. It is only possible when the court believes in liberal policy.

Moreover, it seems Iran, particularly Shīrāzī scholars, would be completely aware of Hind intellectual and cultural ground that they could adjust within a short time, even though it might not have a need. In the same way, Hindustan ground also would understand their way of thinking and cultural norms. Both perhaps helped accommodate easily and did not create many problems based on differences in religious backgrounds.

Concerning Iranians’ philosophical and theological influence, particularly a scholar like him (Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī), of rational and other sciences, patronized by the court perhaps with all means, must have greatly influenced the educational and cultural ground. It is evident that, at least in Baburid’s intellectual ground, he successfully left behind a bright legacy.

iv. Shi’ite – Sunni confrontation

Although there was no major confrontation between Shi’ite and Sunni scholars, some events happened in Baburid Hindustan. It was in the early seventeenth century, during Jahāngīr’s rule, it came ahead. The Sunni authoritative scholar of that time was Aḥmad Sirhindī – popularly known as *Mujaddid al-f-e Thani*, who criticized the Shi’ite’s followers bitterly and commented that it was “the worst form of heresy” and invested his

full capacity to prevent the expansion of Shi'ism in Hindustan. He wrote a pamphlet, "*Radd-i-Rawafid*" or a refutation of Ithna Ashariyahism.⁵⁴¹

And, perhaps one of the most tragic events, if not the most, happened with Qāḍī Nūr Allāh al-Shushtari (d. 1019/1610) – a vocal and prominent orthodox Shi'ite scholar who came to Lahore in 1584 and successfully attracted Akbar. He was appointed a Chief Qāḍī of Lahore. He greatly advocated the Shi'ite faith, propagating it vocally and writing treatises to promote it. He wrote extensively on famous contemporary works, *i.e.*, gloss on Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's commentary on '*Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*', gloss on Dawwānī's two glosses on Tajrid al-Itiqad, 'Aqaid al-Imāmiyye, etc. His most provocative work was '*Masa'ib al-Nawasib*' that refuted '*Nawaqib al-Rawafid*' - an anti-Shi'ite work written by Mīr Makhdum Shīrāzī in 1580, residing in Ottoman land. Shushtari mentioned that the book became very popular in Hindustan, that upon its completion within a very short period, a hundred copies of it were brought by the people who came from Hajj. In 1587, Shushtari completed his work and dedicated himself to Safavid Shāh 'Abbas. He wrote two other polemical works as well, such as Sawarim al-Muhriqa, which refutes '*Sawaid al-Muhriqa*' of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 1449), and '*Ihqaq al-haq*' - a refutation of '*Iptal nahj al-bati*' of Amin al-Dīn Fadl Allah Khunji (d. 1520-1). It is evident that he wrote so poignantly. So many Iranian scholars came and moved widely and went back or stayed, such as Mīr Findiriski and Danishman Khān of Yazd, to name two of a large number, but these kinds of events were rarely seen or almost unexpected. However, it seems that to control the situation of a diversified society, Emperor Jahāngīr ordered him to flog to death in 1019/1610 at the entrance of Agra.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ See for more, Muhammad Ziauddin, "Role of Persians at the Mughal Court: A. Historical Study During 1526 A.D to 1707 A.D" (PhD Thesis (unpublished), Balochistan, Pakistan, University of Balochistan, 2005), 135, <http://prh.hec.gov.pk/jspui/bitstream/123456789/119/1/343S.pdf>.

⁵⁴² See, Robinson, "Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," 158; Ahmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 610.

e. *Shaping Educational Curriculum*

It is well known that there was no fixed syllabus system and educational curriculum we have adopted in modern times. However, there has been common reading for higher education so far. It was developed over time-based on needs and to adjust and compete with other learning centers and scholars. As discussed, medieval education and intellectual networks were well connected; even what is seen for ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s case has been discussed many times, commenting, “no one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present times required.”⁵⁴³ It seems the court was trying to adjust and develop its ground with the ideas developed in other parts of the world, *i.e.*, it sought to know European scientific developments. In this process, the court criticized the existing cultural and intellectual grounds. One event may help understand, once Abu’l-Faḍl positioned a strong stance in favor of reason and science, rejecting the notion of unchanging dogma, according to him, if the Great Imām (Abu Hanifa) had lived in our times, “*he would have written a different fiqh (law).*” Aḥmad Sirhindī was present there, and when he tried to quote from Imām Ghazzali, stating that any science not derived from religious scriptures had no value. Abu’l-Faḍl responded quickly, “*Ghazzali spoke nonsense.*”⁵⁴⁴

Again, during this time, it is seen the court put special importance on the needs of the subjects to be studied. The Emperor also insisted that “*every boy ought to read book*” and described the branches the court thought were important to adjust to the times and ground. According to Irfan Habib,

“In the order they were to learn them these branches were: ethics; arithmetic; accountancy; agriculture (horticulture); surveying; geometry; astronomy; geomancy; architecture; government (lit. government of cities); medicine; mathematics; and history.

⁵⁴³ Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, “Education and Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval India,” *Intellectual Discourse* 20, no. 1 (2012): 90.

⁵⁴⁴ Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 168.

In addition, the 'Indian sciences', viz. grammar, jurisprudence, Vedantic philosophy, and (the grammar of) Patanjali."⁵⁴⁵

It shows the diversified branches of knowledge that the court felt important, including classical sciences and ancient regional cultural and scientific heritage. Although it is difficult to evaluate one by one how it was ensured during Akbar's time or onwards. However, what they thought about and emphasized was of vital importance. Perhaps no previous intentions came from the court before this development.

And it is obvious that the branches shown here were written by Abu'l-Faḍl who had a distinctive way of thinking that so many scholars of his time did not agree and thought differently. For example, here, he did not mention religious branches, an inevitable subject in the Muslim education system where general Muslim students used to receive education. According to Badauni, the court and Abu'l-Faḍl had no, if not at least less interest in Arabic and Islamic branches, the former says,

*"Reading and learning Arabic was looked upon as a crime, and Mohammadan law, Qur'ānic commentaries and the tradition and those who studied them were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history and novels were cultivated and thought necessary."*⁵⁴⁶

Likewise, it seems that in the state-sponsored syllabus, the volume of religious subjects was reduced while other rational and worldly (secular) subjects were more emphasized.⁵⁴⁷ Moreover, Abu'l-Faḍl had an interest in Greek philosophy opposing Islamic subjects, though, it seems, still up to the latter's time, there was no holistic approach to add them into the Muslim education system. However, as discussed, a phenomenon of 'reason' was successfully created.⁵⁴⁸

Another thing that occurred this time and that is important for this discussion is that "reason" was brought to the front as well as in all aspects of disciplines it was placed

⁵⁴⁵ Habib, 168.

⁵⁴⁶ Jafri, "Education and Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval India," 91.

⁵⁴⁷ Chandra, "State, State Formation and Statecraft in Indian History and Tradition," 4.

⁵⁴⁸ Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 277–78.

in, and the domination taqlid tradition was criticized for causing intellectual decline. According to Abu'l-Faḍl,

*“The fifth [reason], the blowing of the heavy wind of taqlīd (tradition), and the dimming of the lamp of wisdom. Of old, the door of “how and why” has been closed; and questioning and enquiry have been deemed fruitless and an act of the pagan (kufr). Whatever one received from one’s father, teacher, kinsman, friend and neighbor was considered the wherewithal of Divine Favors; and the holder of contrary opinion was accused of heresy and impiety. Though some of the enlightened have somewhat tried to pursue a different path, yet they have followed the path of (correct) conduct no more than half-way.”*⁵⁴⁹

Abu'l-Faḍl's endeavor to establish a connection with the classical scientific heritage is evident in his work, *Ain-i Akbari*. He dedicated a part to the origin of metals; he delves into a discussion that begins by drawing upon the four fundamental elements, *i.e.*, fire, air, water, and earth. These elements have enjoyed profound significance in Greek philosophy since Plato's era. Abu'l-Faḍl then proceeds to identify the primary metals and their key compounds. It is worth noting that he acknowledges the absence of references to zinc in the prevailing scientific texts (*hikmat-namaha*). Furthermore, he incorporates Alberuni's tables on specific gravity and comprehensively explains the methodologies employed to determine this characteristic. Shifting the focus to geography, Abu'l-Faḍl presents a description of the Ptolemaic system, providing a basis for comparison with the Hindu system.⁵⁵⁰

In a similar manner, Abu'l-Faḍl demonstrates a certain level of interest in technology. He talked about smelting and coining and liquor distillation. Abu'l-Faḍl also admired various inventions, including devices for milling grain in a cart and cleaning

⁵⁴⁹ Habib, “Reason and Science in Medieval India,” 165–66.

⁵⁵⁰ Habib, 168–69.

different types of guns simultaneously. While these devices were attributed to Akbar, they were the inventions, as mentioned, of Fathallah Shīrāzī.⁵⁵¹

According to the description of Abu'l-Faḍl, this time, Baburid academia and the court emphasized medical research and education. It seems Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, in this case, played an important role as happened for rational sciences and scientific developments. He translated 'Qānūn' into Persian, most probably for his students.⁵⁵² It also seems that he was the teacher of many; among them, Hakīm Ali Gīlānī was one of the prominent ones who wrote an important commentary named *Sharḥ-e-Qānūn-i-Ibn-i-Sina*.⁵⁵³ During this time, different fields of study and practices were opened, *i.e.*, osteology, myology, angiology, neurology, and the digestive system. Similarly, many essential works on it were done, *i.e.*, the renowned historian Muḥammad Qasim Ferishta authored a work called *Dastur-i Atibba*, also known as *Tibb-i Ferishta*, with the intention of fostering an interest in the Hind medical system among Muslims. Ma'sum Bhakhari, the writer of *Tarikh-i Sindh*, created a treatise focusing on the treatment of diseases and drugs. Similarly, in 1556, Shaykh Tahir composed *Fawā'id-ul Fuad*, a comprehensive work on general medicine.⁵⁵⁴ And some courses were included in the syllabus, *i.e.*, *Sharḥi'l Asbab*, *Muslim'jaz al-Qānūn*, *Qānūn of Ibn Sina*, and *Hidayahi Sa'ida* come to the front.⁵⁵⁵ Moreover, the Akbari court also emphasized the research and development of various

⁵⁵¹ See for more about scientific developments, 'Allāmi, *The Ain-i-Akbarī*, 1997, II (II-III together):29–30; Habib, "Reason and Science in Medieval India," 169; Chandra, "State, State Formation and Statecraft in Indian History and Tradition," 4.

⁵⁵² Rezavi, "Medical Techniques and Practices in Mughal India," 482–83.

⁵⁵³ See for more about it, Chattopadhyay, *Biographical Dictionary of Indian Scientists*, 680.

⁵⁵⁴ See, Rezavi, "Medical Techniques and Practices in Mughal India," 882–83. For more about the courses were included in the syllabus, *i.e.*, *Sharḥi'l Asbab*, *Muslim'jaz al-Qānūn*, *Qānūn of Ibn Sina*, and *Hidayahi Sa'ida* came to the front. Moreover, for jarrah (surgeons), and the experts of that time, and other developments of this time, see, Rezavi, 875–88.

⁵⁵⁵ See, for jarrah (surgeons), and the experts of that time, and other developments of this time, Rezavi, "Medical Techniques and Practices in Mughal India," 875–88.

surgeries.⁵⁵⁶ In the same way, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of sciences can be discussed.⁵⁵⁷

Abu'l-Faḍl ignored all Islamic knowledge and Arabic language as mentioned; however, interestingly, he supported some philosophical and Muslim theological works, *i.e.*, Ishraqi philosophy, as he thought it was compatible with the economic and political ambitions. Hamid Naseem also claimed that he (Abu'l-Faḍl) introduced some Persian scholars' work, *i.e.*, Taftāzānī, Jurjani, Dawwānī and Ghias al-Dīn b. al-Mansur al-Shīrāzī al-Dashtakī (d. 949/1542) and introduced them in the educational curriculum.⁵⁵⁸ These works were indeed gaining popularity in the madrasah education system and many works have been done on them. But we are not sure what the role of Abu'l-Faḍl was in this case. Instead, as discussed, Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī introduced these works with the Hind madrasah system, and it seems they had been among the most read subjects in the madrasah, perhaps in the 1580s.⁵⁵⁹ 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, the central concern of our study, also went through all the mentioned personalities and their works. Perhaps the court did not have a problem with them.

f. Revitalization and development of Sanskrit Texts and Astronomical works.

The Baburids rose to prominence as a potent early modern dynasty, advocating Persian for both literary and imperial pursuits. Simultaneously, the imperial court endorsed the creation of Sanskrit texts and actively engaged in cultural pursuits in Sanskrit, translating Sanskrit literary works into Persian. In return, Sanskrit intellectuals gained prominence in the Baburid court, fostering a profound interest in Persian and meticulously documenting their imperial experiences. A multicultural and multilateral intellectual environment

⁵⁵⁶ Rezavi, 482–83.

⁵⁵⁷ See for some works done during sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Tirmizi, *Rise and Development of Arabic Language and Literature in Gujarat*, 333–35.

⁵⁵⁸ Although Hamid Naseem's source are not clear and so far available sources have been accessed do not present same information, see, Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 278.

⁵⁵⁹ See for more about Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī's efforts to introduce Iranians scholars' works in Hindustan, Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Urban Middle Classes in Mughal India" (PhD Thesis, AMU, 2006), 104–5.

flourished from the outset of Baburid's rule, particularly during Akbar's reign. Sanskrit scholars and figures from the Baburid court established diverse cross-cultural connections, participating in various courtly activities. In the 1560s, Brahmins and Jains entered the Baburid court, serving as singers, religious mentors, scholars, interpreters, and astrologers. Sanskrit scholars authored works asserting creation, supported by the Baburid rulers or intended for consumption within the imperial court. Sanskrit encomia underscores its vibrant and influential role in diverse activities within the Baburid court, presenting distinct yet harmonious perspectives. Sanskrit literati assumed pivotal roles as politicians, scholars, and religious guides.⁵⁶⁰

The revival of the Sanskrit language extended to other disciplines, notably gaining momentum in the study of astronomy—a field that had been developed and extensively utilized in the Hind ground during the pre-Baburid era, as previously mentioned. Remarkably, these developments unfolded both before and after the Baburid period in a shared and integrated manner. During the eighth and ninth centuries, Muslims were introduced to Hindu astronomy, notably through figures such as al-Hāshimī and al-Bīrūnī. The mode of transmission involved the translation of Sanskrit texts into Arabic, a notable instance occurring at the court of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād in the early 770s.⁵⁶¹

Several centuries later, Muslim scientific advancements were shared with Hindustan, aligning Iran, Samarqand, and Hindustan side by side. Babur, the founder of the Baburid state, visited Ulugh Beg's observatory in Samarqand, fostering continuous academic and

⁵⁶⁰ Audrey Angeline Truschke, "Cosmopolitan Encounters: Sanskrit and Persian at the Mughal Court" (Columbia University, 2012), 37–38, 105, <https://doi.org/10.7916/D86H4QDN>; Anuj Misra, "The Golādhyāya of Nityānanda's Sarvasiddhāntarāja: An Examination of 'The Chapter on Spheres' in a Seventeenth Century Text on Mathematical Astronomy.," 2016, 12–13, <https://doi.org/10.26021/8602>.

⁵⁶¹ See for more about Hind astronomy's entrance into the Muslim scholarly tradition, its dissemination to so many intellectual centers and its development in different steps David Pingree, "Indian Astronomy in Medieval Spain," in *The Formation of Al-Andalus, Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, ed. Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro, 0 ed. (Routledge, 2017), 40–48, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315239613>.

cultural relations. Earlier discussions highlighted developments related to the Naqshbandi school of thought.

Numerous examples illustrate this connection. Works like Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Kitāb al-Tadhkira fī 'Ilm al-hay'a* and 'Alī al-Qūshjī's *Risālah dar hay'ah*, both written in Persian, played a vital role in transmitting Islamic astronomy to Hindustan. Additionally, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī wrote *Humāyūn Nāma*, a commentary on 'Alī al-Qūshjī's *Risālah dar 'Ilm-i Hay'ah*, and Fāḍil Samarqandī composed an encyclopedia titled *Jawāhar al-'Ulūm Humāyūnī*.⁵⁶² It is noteworthy that Turkish admiral 'Alī Ra'īs, with a keen interest in astronomy, received an invitation from Humayun to stay and lecture students after visiting the court. Hindustan's profound interest in astronomy is vividly portrayed in his work, *Mir'āt al-Mamālik*.⁵⁶³

During Akbar's era, as Siyālkūtī was growing, a significant development occurred with the collaborative effort of Hindu and Muslim scholars translating Zīj-i Ulugh Beg into Sanskrit.⁵⁶⁴ This marked a pivotal moment in the revitalization of the Sanskrit language. As discussed earlier, Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī played a role in paving the way for this trend. Numerous works continued during subsequent reigns, including Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

Noteworthy contributions during this period include Rāmavinoda (March 11, 1590) by Rāmachandra. 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (d. 1622), a renowned Sanskrit scholar, authored *Kheṭakautuka*, focusing on the wonders of the motion of heavenly bodies in Islamic astrology, alongside the translation of *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*, Chānd b. Bahāuddīn wrote

⁵⁶² S. M. Razaullah Ansari, "Astronomical Activity in Medieval India in Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries," *Dört Öge* 3, no. 6 (2014): 11.

⁵⁶³ Ansari, 13–14.

⁵⁶⁴ I extend my sincere gratitude to Ihsan Fazloğlu for introducing me to David Pingree, a scholar who extensively researched the history of sciences in Hind. David Pingree, "Indian Reception of Muslim Versions of Ptolemaic Astronomy," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Proceedings of Two Conferences on Pre-Modern Science Held at the University of Oklahoma*, ed. F. Jamil Ragep, Sally P. Ragep, and Steven John Livesey (BRILL, 1996), 227–28; Ansari, "Astronomical Activity in Medieval India in Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries," 13.

a commentary named *Tashīl Zīj-i Ulugh Begī*. The translation of ‘Ali al-Qūshjī’s *Risālah dar hay’ah* was titled ‘*hayatagarantha*,’ though the exact time of its preparation is unknown, likely during Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān’s times. Prominent works by Farīduddīn Munajjim Dihlawī (d. 1629) include *Sirājul Istikhrāj* (1597-98), *Zīj-i Raḥīmī* (1615-17), and *Zīj-i Shāhjahānī* (1629), immortalizing him in the history of Hind astronomy. The latter work was also translated into Sanskrit by the court scholar Nityananda during Shāh Jahān’s reign. These represent a glimpse into the rich astronomical contributions of this era.⁵⁶⁵

g. Learned and Rationally Conscious Administration and Bureaucracy

It has been a common phenomenon that the administration and bureaucratic society were appointed among the learned, sometimes the most learned communities. Coming to the sixteenth century, the migrated foreign scholars, particularly from Iran, were appointed to high positions of bureaucracy and the state. Many examples could be given, *i.e.*, Fathullāh Shīrāzī, upon his arrival to Bijapur, he was positioned courtier (*amir*), and later he was bestowed *Aminu’l-Mulk* (Trustee of the State), again with the *Azaduddawla* (the Arm of the Emperor) and *Sadr-al-Sudur* (head of the religious administration) are some to name.⁵⁶⁶ Similarly, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, discussed as well, was appointed as *Sadr* (head of the religious administration).⁵⁶⁷ Thus, foreign scholars were appointed to important positions. And, local scholars were also appointed likewise, such as, ‘Abd al-

⁵⁶⁵ Ansari, “Astronomical Activity in Medieval India in Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries,” 14–18; Pingree, “Indian Reception of Muslim Versions of Ptolemaic Astronomy,” 227. It seems the trend of translation into more astronomy texts continued and increased gradually, as what is seen in the early eighteenth century a substantial number of Arabic and Persian texts were translated into Sanskrit. David Pingree mentions eight works description with other examination relating to the ground. See David Pingree, “Sanskrit Translations of Arabic and Persian Astronomical Texts at the Court of Jayasīllha of Jayapura,” *Suhal. International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation*, 2000, 101–6. See for other developments happened during Shāh Jahān’s time and onwards Anuj Misra, “Recomputing Sanskrit Astronomical Tables: The Amṛtalahaṛī of Nityānanda (c. 1649/50 c),” in *Editing and Analysing Numerical Tables*, ed. Matthieu Husson, Clemency Montelle, and Benno Van Dalen (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2021), 187–91, <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.PALS-EB.5.127699>.

⁵⁶⁶ Bag, “Fathullah Shirazi: Canon, Multi-Barrel Gun and Yarguhu,” 431.

⁵⁶⁷ Pourjavady, “Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences,” 294.

Salām al-Kirmāni al-Diwah (d. 1039/1629-30) - a teacher of Siyālkūtī, as discussed, was appointed as chief mufti of Baburid army. This trend persisted into later periods, exemplified by scholars such as Sa‘dullah Khān, who was appointed as the Prime Minister, and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, who was proposed to be Sadr. Beyond their official duties, these scholars often continued their lectures in madrasahs. The impact of having high-level state officials teach students was significant, as their presence and lectures tended to have a more profound influence on the audience.

Further, the ‘munshis’ could be said that the Persianate scribal class was trained in largely in secular education during Akbar’s time. Further, they mostly consisted of non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, and the Muslims were not interested in this work. This tradition started before Akbar and continued for ages.⁵⁶⁸ As discussed, the court and nobles’ offices had munshis, which probably paved the way to strengthen the idea of religious pluralism.

This scholarly-administrative and scribal tradition, no doubt, helped pave the way for further dissemination of education, which subsequently contributed to the rational awareness among the students as well as the people of several classes they had to deal with.

h. Sabk-i Hindi: A Cultural Components

During this time, one of the major literary and cultural introductions based on philosophy was the development of *sabk-i hindi*. It is a poetic style that emerged during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, influenced by Hind philosophy, literary taste, and poetry. It was introduced in Hindustan during the Baburid Empire. With the establishment of the position of *Malik al-Shuara* (King of Poets) in the court by Emperor Akbar, when the rulers brought certain poets to this position, it attracted the attention of other poets in the region and Iranian poets who did not receive favor from the Safavid rulers began

⁵⁶⁸ See, Sarkar, *Mughal Administration: Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920*, 227–28; Projit Bihari Mukharji, *Nationalizing the Body: The Medical Market, Print and Daktari Medicine* (London: Anthem, 2011), 38.

coming to Hindustan partly for this reason. And it had a significant influence in a vast geographical area encompassing Iran, Hindustan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Tajikistan, and Ottoman territories. The style is characterized by intricate metaphors, the ambiguity of meaning, and the ability to express much with few words while adhering to eloquence. Its name could be changed based on the cities or centers where the poet was from or had a connection, like *sabk-i Isfahan*.⁵⁶⁹

The *sabk-i hindī* style is characterized by its incorporation of new metaphors, subtle imaginations, and ambiguity of meaning, allowing for expressive brevity while adhering to the rules of eloquence. It emphasizes the dominance of meaning over words, encourages imaginative interpretations, and embraces complex connotations. This style employs rhetorical devices such as metaphor, metonymy, differentiation, puns, and exaggeration. *Sabk-i hindi*, primarily expressed through gazals, conveys a philosophy of suffering and pessimism. Kamāl al-Dīn Isfahani is said to be its precursor and was known as “*Khallaqu’l-Ma’ani*” (the creator of meanings) for his original metaphors. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 1590), familiar as Urfi Shīrāzī, who stayed in Lahore. He was an outstanding poet of the *sabk-i hindī* (Hind-Iranian style). Like many other scholars and poets, he spent a substantial part of his life in Hindustan. His poetry, which frequently embodied very audacious concepts, had admirers in Hindustan and Iran, as well as Transoxiana and Turkey.⁵⁷⁰

Although there is arguments of excessive ornamentation and artificiality stem from the Herat school, this opposition did not hinder the production of refined works influenced by the delicate taste of *sabk-i hindi*, which impacted poets from Hindustan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Ottoman territories. Many Iranian and Ottoman poets represented it, among them, Orfī-i Shīrāzī, Fayzi-i Hindi, Talib-i Amuli, Mīrzā Celal Asir, Kelim-i Kashani,

⁵⁶⁹ See, Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib, and Karl M. Baipakov, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: From the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Multiple History Series (Paris: UNESCO publishing, 2003), 710, 718; Ali Fuat Bilkin, “Sebk-i Hindi,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, n.d.), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sebk-i-hindi> (25.05.2023).

⁵⁷⁰ See, Bilkin, “Sebk-i Hindi.”

Saib-i Tebrizi for few from Iranians and in Turkish literature, poets such as Nef'i, Fehim-i Kadim, Şehri, Naili, were its influential representative. Mīrzā Galib Asadullah (d. 1869) - a Turkish poet living in Hindustan in the later time, also comes to the front. Later, its influence extended to local Hind languages, particularly Iranian Urdu literature. Upon the conquest of Deccan by Aurangzeb, the movement began in Urdu literature, with poets like Najim al-Dīn Shāh Mubarak Abru, Sharaf al-Dīn Mazmūn, and others writing in this style.⁵⁷¹

Intellectual history and cultural history move side by side and develop together; one is inevitable for the other. Here, the development of *sabk-i hindi*- a cultural movement that developed a tradition based on the creation of ideas and thought within an artistic format – is a part of intellectual advancement. This movement raised awareness among the people of many classes, particularly mass people who mostly did not have access to sources of knowledge. Finding a connection between Siyālkūtī, his intellectual journey, and this cultural development is difficult. Some scholars of the latter's time wrote poems about music, ghazal, etc. It is not known so far, at least to us, whether he had an extra interest in them. However, in terms of the Hind intellectual ground, in a broad sense, it has a significant influence on raising consciousness.

Besides these developments, there are some more components related to these issues, which are as follows:

The culture of reading, writing, and making critiques on the existing work is the natural process of gradual increase of consciousness. Of all these components, books or various writings of scholars, poets and so on are the most important components. Baburid Hindustan inherited a culture-establishing library from her predecessors. And the Baburid rulers further developed this culture by establishing more libraries and ensuring their

⁵⁷¹ See for more about its development and influence over Iran and Ottoman land, as well as its dimensions and debates against it in the later times, Ali Fuat Bilkan, "Sebk-i Hindī Çalışmaları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, no. 9 (May 1, 2007): 360–65; Bilkin, "Sebk-i Hindī"; J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Sabk-i, Hindī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill, April 24, 2012), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sabk-i-hindi-SIM_6377?lang=en; Adle, Habib, and Baipakov, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, 714.

extensive uses. John Seyller examines the Baburid Imperial Library and the culture as a whole. He shows some names of the librarians or whom they belonged to, *i.e.*, Shaykh Faizi, Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, Hakīm ‘Ali, Inayatullah, etc.⁵⁷²

Behind all these educational and intellectual developments, there were components that worked directly. As mentioned, socio-economic and political stability and their consolidation are directly related to the major intellectual developments. Baburid cities experienced prosperity as a result of peaceful conditions, thriving industry and commerce, and an efficient system of city governance. Just to mention one example about the administration, the core of urban administration was the Kotwal (governor), the city governor, who possessed extensive executive and judicial powers. He (Kotwal) played a crucial role in maintaining law and order, resolving disputes, and overseeing various civic services, contributing to the overall well-being and development of the cities. All, if not at least almost all, of foreign travelers’ comments inform us of even a comparative condition with other cities of different countries. The Jesuit missionary Monserrate’s statement is important, who accompanied Emperor Akbar on the way to Kabul. He says that Lahore, in 1581, was “*not second to any city in Europe or Asia.*” In the same way, Finch, who visited Agra and Lahore during Jahāngīr, and comments, “*both Agra and Lahore to be much larger than London.*” Similarly, many travelers’ comments on many cities are helpful in understanding the nature of the socio-cultural and economic developments of Baburid Hindustan.⁵⁷³ Of course, these conditions pushed the court, the educational institutions, and its academics for further scientific and intellectual

⁵⁷² For Delhi Sultānate’s library see, M. Athar Ali, ed., *Exploring Medieval India through Persian Sources*, Samikṣikā Series 17 (National Seminar on “Exploring Medieval India Through Persian Sources,” New Delhi: National Mission for Manuscripts and co-published by D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd, 2020), 65. Humayun was fallen down and finally died, see, Ikram, *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan*, 232. It is well known Abu’l-Faḍl’s brother Faizi had a library of four thousand manuscript, see, Balabanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire*, 150. And see for the imperial libraries, John Seyller, “The Operations of the Imperial Mughal Library,” in *Libraries in the Manuscript Age*, ed. Nuria de Castilla, François Déroche, and Michael Friedrich, 1st ed, De Gruyter 29 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2023), 17–38.

⁵⁷³ See, Ikram, *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan*, 436.

flourishment. Perhaps that could be seen in the coming times, *i.e.*, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

III. Hind Court and Scholar Relations in Reference to ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī

Muslim Scholars and the court are two inevitable entities observed in all Muslim dominant communities, cultures, and civilizations at large. Regardless of time and place, belonging to soft and hard power, they would work as complementary to one another through collaboration, contribution, and patronization. Of course, there are several, if not many, occasions and events seen that they could not afford to go side by side. Not only that, sometimes they fought each other, regardless of the impact on physical, cultural, and religious components. However, as education and its continuous development remain one of the most fundamental issues of all Muslim communities, scholars retained a holy place, at least respected position over the ages in Muslim-dominated regions.

When it comes to Hind Muslim history, from the very beginning of its commencement, patronization for education and knowledge development became routine work for the Muslim ruler. More or less, it is seen in other Muslim-majority states as well. There is no debate on which ruler did not intend to patronize educational excellence but who played the best possible role.

In the early medieval, Hind educational and intellectual life were scholar-centric; a scholar means a madrasah or an institution that continued as the main trend till the contemporary times, *i.e.*, with the establishment of the secular education system in the mid-nineteenth century. However, the traditional educational system also continued in a way where, gradually, the secular trend took dominance. So, when a ruler patronized a madrasah, it could be thought that it was also to the scholars. If scholars had a good

relationship with the rulers, his institution would observe more donations from state funds.⁵⁷⁴

Baburid rule inherited an intellectual ground that started developing in the eleventh century. All over the ages, Hind's socio-political ground has handled many different kinds of state policies by many politicians. Among them is the most famous Sultān of Delhi Sultānate, who is remarkable in history for its patronization of the promotion of Muslim scholarship; scholars, poets and contributors of many disciplines are following shortly.

Hind Muslim political history, after the conquest of Sind, the rule of the Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (d. 1030) would be a crucial commencement. The Sultān invited and encouraged scholars and writers from different regions to his court. Firdousy (writer of Shāhnama), Farrukhi, Unsuri, Abu Raihan al-Biruni, lightened his court, and a budget was arranged to attract the young generation. His established educational institution in Ghaznah had a large number of books.⁵⁷⁵ Ghaznavids' successors – the Ghorids continued the trend, particularly Quṭb al-Dīn Aibak (r. 1206-1210) – a great patron of the letter who stayed in Lahore, and subsequently, he made it a prominent center of nobles, poets, and religious scholars.⁵⁷⁶ Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (r. 1206-1236) is credited for the Sultānate's consolidation, showing deep respect to the religious scholars, Sufis, and learned people. With the Mongol attack, a good number of Sufis and learned peoples migrated to the Northern region of Hindustan. Sultān transformed his court into an asylum center for the

⁵⁷⁴ It is also needed to keep in mind that the medieval education system was not depended on the state fund totally but it had its special mechanism, like, through waqf system.

⁵⁷⁵ Anilla Mobasher, "Education System in Muslim India (1206-1707)" (PhD Thesis, University of Punjab, 2013), 17, <http://173.208.131.244:9060/xmlui/handle/123456789/4021>.

⁵⁷⁶ This time Hind cultural center gained momentum in education in learning. Scholars from outside also were warmly welcomed. A Nishapuri Scholar Named Sadar al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ḥasan Nizami is an important figure of literature, seerat (prophetic life), History etc. He penned an important book entitle 'Taj al-Maathir' (614 AH) – one of the first efforts to be recorded the Hind history by him. 'Abd al-Ḥai Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir Wa Bahjat al-Sami' Wa'l-Nawazir*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999), 119.

people who survived Mongol attacks and arrived.⁵⁷⁷ Gıyas al-Dīn Balban (r. 1266-1287) – was a learned Sultān interested in kalām and saints. During his time, scholars of all existing disciplines were patronized in Delhi, *i.e.*, astronomy, philosophy, poetry, physics, etc.⁵⁷⁸; for this reason, his time is regarded as ‘*khair-ul-athar*’ (the best period).⁵⁷⁹ In the Khilji dynasty, Sultān Jalal al-Dīn Firoz Khilji (1288-1295), and Sultān Ala al-Dīn Khilji (1295-1316) made the court and the capital the house of wisdom and city of culture, respectively, through patronization to the scholars, literati, and poets.⁵⁸⁰

Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351) was a devoted scholar who specialized in kalām and philosophy; even though he placed philosophy before religion, he may be regarded as the most eminent ruler of the Tughluq dynasty (1320-1413) to patron scholars and writers.⁵⁸¹ His successor, Firoz Shāh Tughluq (r. 1351-1388), also introduced new policies to attract more scholars by giving scholarships and arranging a palace just for the

⁵⁷⁷ Sultān also arranged many necessary books for the scholars. It is a turning point in the education and intellectual history of Hind. Mobasher, “Education System in Muslim India (1206-1707),” 24.

⁵⁷⁸ A. B. M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India: A History of the Establishment and Progress of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi, 1206-1290 A.D.* (Allahabad, Central Book Depot, 1961), 309–10.

⁵⁷⁹ Balban’s period is remembered for his extraordinary contribution for the Sultānate from many directions. Various socio-economic, cultural and educational consciousness were increased in many folds what is understood from Ziauddin Barani’s (d. 1358) description. Educational and intellectual development are vital parts of a society that can be advanced and excelled when one state’s higher socio-economic strength and stability prevails is also seen in Balban’s rule. Barani mentions some names of religious scholars, sufīs, and experts of different disciplines. In education, grammar, syntax, history, calligraphy, astronomy, mathematics, music, physics and law were included with various religious subjects. All these developments changed the nature of Delhi. See for religious personalities, scholars of many disciplines: Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, 91–93. And for the important economic, cultural and educational developments happened in Balban’s rule, Balban’s teachings and advices to his son see: Barani, 19–104; Mobasher, “Education System in Muslim India (1206-1707),” 29–32.

⁵⁸⁰ Actually, as mentioned, patronisation of the development of knowledge and science was a common phenomenon. Here, eminent scholars and writers of many kinds were welcomed in the court and ensuring their presence in the capital city permanently must be regarded as an essential step. Amir Khusrau (d. 1325) – a famous historian, sufī and famous poet who embellished the Delhi court for many years. See: Rıza Kurtuluş, “Emir Hüsrev-i Dihlevî” (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 1995), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/emir-husrev-i-dihlevi>.

⁵⁸¹ He was also an encyclopedic and had expertise on rational science.

scholars – a very new step ever seen in Hind.⁵⁸² And lastly, Sikandar Lodi (r. 1489-1517) is remembered most for his contribution to and expansion of rational sciences in Hind's intellectual life, as discussed above.

In the pre-Baburid time, it is seen that the Sultāns, their courts or princes would encourage and provide many opportunities for the flourishing of intellectual excellencies in many ways, *i.e.*, founding madrasah, *khankah*, and mosque, providing scholarship, salary; conducting translations, etc. They would also maintain personal relationships with the scholars and respect them. But one thing is absent: whether scholars and religious leaders had any problems and debates with the rulers as observed in the later time under Baburid rule, and if there were, then what type of different thinking expressed is still an important subject to be looked for. And there was a good relationship between the ruler and the scholar or religious people – Sufi, ulama, etc.; here, the point is, what about the influence of scholars over the rulers there, or did they only listen to the ruler and praise them? This answer also needed to be searched.

Baburid intellectual history inherited a legacy, and further, they developed it and brought these developments to a higher level. As a result, Hind intellectual production was found useful outside of Hind territory. So, in almost all cases, the knowledge trend was developed to adjust to the ground and the state policy. The patronization of the development of educational institutions or funding and awards to prominent scholars are well known by the Baburid Emperors. No exception is available from its commencement to its downfall. The Emperor did not just patronize but also educated themselves in various disciplines like kalām, philosophy, science, poetry, and prose.

Babur (r. 1525-1530, d. 1530) founded the Baburid state, and Humayun (r. 1530–1540 & 1555–1556, d. 1556), though faced considerable obstacles, tried to bring stability; they were both learned personalities and penned significant historical documents. Although they had to concentrate mainly on their state formation and consolidation, they never missed patronizing the educational and intellectual excellencies. They successfully

⁵⁸² Mobasher, “Education System in Muslim India (1206-1707),” 40.

introduced a trend that paved the way for a broad intellectual advancement with a diversified way in different branches, which was never seen in Hind intellectual life. Akbar (d. 1605) is credited with turning the Baburid state into an empire. His time, perhaps, would be regarded as the turning point towards an efflorescence of intellectual excellence in the Baburid Empire. His time can be discussed in many ways from several backgrounds. All these things worked out for a strong intellectual basis to flourish in the seventeenth century and reach their zenith in the early eighteenth century.

One thing is seen as common in Hind intellectual history: all, if not almost, of scholars who have been regarded as prominent by their contemporary or later historians or other scholars are seen directly or indirectly patronized or welcomed by the state entities, *i.e.*, Emperor, the court, prince, or high ranked bureaucracy. At least once, they came close to the mentioned entities; if they disagreed with the court or Emperor, it was different. Of course, many times, the mentioned entities went to the scholars, particularly the Sufi Shaykhs like Akbar, who met Salim Chishti – a famous Sufi of Akbar’s time from the Chishti branch and requested him for his prayers to have a child.

i. Dependent and Independent Approach

It is prevalent for scholars to support the state and statesmen, particularly the followers of the Hanafi school of thought - most Hind Muslims were its followers. So, religious scholars from Muslim backgrounds generally did not oppose the Hind statesmen. But when things conflicted with the basic religious beliefs and thoughts, Hind scholars opposed the ruler, whatever the impact was expected to be. The scholars retained their personalities and belonged to those whom they believed in. Many scholars of the Akbar period were vocal against the latter’s policies. Abdul Kadir Badauni, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, and Aḥmad Sirhindī, only to name a few, would be given as an example.⁵⁸³ Again, Aḥmad Sirhindī had to face imprisonment as well. All the mentioned names were close to the court, whether for a short time or a long time.⁵⁸⁴ Muhibbullah Allahabadi- a

⁵⁸³ Need to Add Source .. and develop .. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī left the country for Hijaz

⁵⁸⁴ Aḥmed Sirhindi closely worked with Akbar until the formaiton of ibadath khana.

Sufi scholar and theologian of Shāh Jahān's time regarded as the Ibnu'l 'Arabi in Hind intellectual history, was invited by Shāh Jahān, which he rejected simply and politely.⁵⁸⁵

One event would help to understand Siyālkūtī's authority to agree or disagree with the court. During his governorship in Gujarat, Prince Aurangzeb converted a Jain temple into a mosque in 1645. However, years later, Dara Shikoh was appointed as the governor of Gujarat, and Shāh Jahān ordered him to restore the mosque. At that time (1648), Siyālkūtī presented his comment to the court, letting the Emperor know that the Prince (Aurangzeb) had no authority to build a mosque when it belonged to others according to the inviolable Islamic rule. Muhibbullah of Allahabad, as discussed, was also a famous scholar of the time who was also opposed to the court.⁵⁸⁶ It shows that Siyālkūtī could avoid commenting on the event when a mosque had already been established, and the Emperor ordered. And he was not asked for his comment, which could have happened many times. However, it shows an essential point: what he thought was right, he could dare to express it even before the Emperor. Thus, Siyālkūtī's relationship with the court is deemed to be unconditional.

Perhaps the more or less close story also happened, which is discussed below concerning writing a treatise, naming *Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*; Siyālkūtī was asked to write a treatise according to the clues attached to the letter. Siyālkūtī though prepared it, but he did it according to his style, understanding and way.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁵ It is an excellent and meaning full example to understand the ruler and scholar relationship. Upon the invitation of Shāh Jahān, Muhibbullah Allahabadi responded politely and declined the invitation. Emperor Shāh Jahān used very respective language like "Greetings, O knower of gnosis and locus of the splendour of the divine sciences, Shaikh Muhibbullah". Not only that he mentioned a Quranic verse 4:59 that says, obey Allah and obey His messenger and those have authority among you. In response, the latter responded with reference to the letter:

The command of the authority has been received, and his affectionate gesture has been recognized. But how can someone reach the third step if they haven't already passed through the first and second stages—that is, the "obedience to Allah" and "obedience to the Messenger"? See: Nair, *Translating Wisdom*, 87, 204.

⁵⁸⁶ Manekshah Sorabshah Commissariat, *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, 1987), 57; Ikram, *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan*, 301, 496.

⁵⁸⁷ See the discussion given below on Siyālkūtī's work "*al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*"

The right to agree or disagree with the state authority is important. In the medieval period, this was a critical question. Generally, it is seen that the state did not interfere much with the conflicting ideas of the intellectuals. Again, Aḥmad Sirhindī may be given as an example. He developed the concept of *Waḥdat al-shuhūd* and remained adamant about it.

In contrast, the court did not support it for other reasons, perhaps to bring all the populations to one place from different religious backgrounds to Hind at that time. But Aḥmad Sirhindī did not have to face a major punishment, *i.e.*, a sentence to death, whereas, in medieval times, the death penalty, exile, or deportation were not astonishing events all around the world if the state felt a problem in its affairs.⁵⁸⁸ At the same time, before and after the reign of Akbar, we can generally say the rulers were motivated mainly by Islam, but they also did not interfere with the beliefs and activities run by the non-Muslims, particularly by missionaries. Not only that, but many rulers invited scholars from other religious backgrounds to the court and listened to them. Not only that but making a ground for discussion among the religious scholars, etc., also became a common phenomenon. All these things show us that the Hind scholars remained independent and listened to their rulers. So, we can see there was a right to agree or disagree with the state authority.

ii. Nature of the Relationship

As mentioned, almost all prominent scholars received patronization from the state entity or related to it because the two entities would maintain their position and respect each other according to the tradition of that time. Consequently, it helped both; scholars could disseminate their discoveries and findings and produce knowledge through state apparatus, and the state entity could also benefit from them as the advancement of learning

⁵⁸⁸ Sometimes, some level of punishment, of course, happened in Hindustan, like, deportation, or sending to hajj by force, and even, though very few events are seen, sentence to death. See for sending to hajj: Muhammad Ismail Memon Madani, *Consequences of Debasing Auliya-Allah*, trans. Asim Ahmad (New York: Darul Uloom al-Madania INC, n.d.), 51; Muzaffar Alam, *The Mughals and the Sufis: Islam and Political Imagination in India, 1500-1750* (State University of New York Press, 2021), 376. ; and for sentence to death, *i.e.*, Nur Allah Shustari's death penalty, see: Robinson, "Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," 158.

and science was one of the essential priorities of all dynasties or states run by the Muslims in Hindustan. It is also possible to see the same thing would be happening in other Muslim-dominated lands so far. It was a general motivation to work for the progression of knowledge and remained a sacred responsibility for all statesmen and the community in general.

Baburid's time, as discussed above, was when Babur was the founder of the state, and Humayun was the former's son and successor stateman. They both were learned and brought a high-cultural tradition into Hindustan. That expedited the ongoing development of the region. In the previous discussion, both Sufi Shaykh and Muslim scholars' relationships with the court have been discussed from different angles. They both maintained good relations and invited many scholars from outside Hindustan. The same trend continued at a higher speed during Akbar's rule. In addition, Akbar maintained a diversified relationship with the scholars and Sufi Shaykhs, discussed in detail. And available resources do not give us Siyālkūtī's any communication and connection with the Akbari court. His vital relation relating to his scholarship, works, and contribution happened during Jahāngīr's rule, and during Shāh Jahān's rule, he flourished in Hindustan as well as beyond. And, of course, the court had an important contribution to reach there.

a. Jahāngīr's Time

Concerning 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī's early contacts with the court, very little information is available. It seems that the legal authorities could consult him when facing problems to look for the best possible solutions. No source shows he was an appointed Hakīm or judge, but he was a famous expert on Islamic jurisprudence. It is also mentioned that he was one of the sixteen prominent experts on Islamic law in Hindustan during Jahāngīr's time. Not only that, but some records also say that most of the 'ulamā' accepted his jurisdiction if not all of them.⁵⁸⁹ Maybe these things could pave the way for him to get introduced to the court.

⁵⁸⁹ Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 33.

Concerning direct communication, the available documents inform us that with Jahāngīr's ascension to the throne, Siyālkūtī came to the front. We are not sure if Siyālkūtī engaged in any state-related or court-commanded function. It seems that when Jahāngīr ascended the throne, Siyālkūtī was around 44-45. His continuous success, particularly during the time of Shāh Jahān, tells us that Siyālkūtī had at least something unique shown in his early career. It is also an indication that Siyālkūtī regarded Aḥmad Sirhindī as “*Mujaddid Alf-i Thani*” in 1600 – a few years before the ascension of Jahāngīr.⁵⁹⁰ Siyālkūtī's recognition seems to have been accepted extensively by the scholars of that time. This development also no doubt helped him get familiar with larger administrative and educated communities. Perhaps people in the Baburid court and nobles were also aware of these developments.

Given the current circumstances, it is possible to say that he became familiar with the intellectual arena as a prominent scholar of rational and transmitted sciences. He started lecturing on kalām, logic, syntax, etc., most probably in Lahore. It seems that Jahāngīr, for his extraordinary contribution, bestowed a substantial *jagir* - a grant of the public revenue of a specific area to a person.⁵⁹¹ So that he could maintain the madrasa where he used to work in Lahore and would continue his job smoothly.⁵⁹² It was a turning point in his academic career. Although it was a common phenomenon in medieval Hind intellectual history, it was also familiar to Siyālkūtī as he studied with a vibrant group of teachers. His teacher legacy also enjoyed these kinds of opportunities as well. As discussed above his teachers, and their legacy, Siyālkūtī was fortunate to study at least two scholarly trends; Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī's Ḥamadānī and Central Asia's Naqshbandī – Aḥrārī legacy and Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī's rational legacy through his student. Both groups enjoyed state patronization, as discussed. So, it was the beginning of a long

⁵⁹⁰ See, Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Asfiya*, 2:351; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280; Kashshaf Ghani, “The Mughals and Sufism,” in *Routledge Handbook on Sufism*, ed. Lloyd Vincent John Ridgeon, Routledge Handbooks (New York (N.Y.): Routledge, 2021), 388.

⁵⁹¹ A grant of the public revenues of a specific area to a person.

⁵⁹² Suḥrī, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 1949, 2:378.

journey that he was blessed in the latter times. This was also a recognition of his excellencies in scholarship and teaching. Perhaps he proved himself as a successful scholar and, perhaps by the very early seventeenth century, got familiar with Fazl-i-Lahori (the learned man of Lahore).

And, Emperor Jahāngīr, before starting his Deccan campaign, met with Mian Mīr (d. 1635)- a famous saint of that time, which was held on 30 October 1616.⁵⁹³ Dara Shikoh (d. 1659), in his *Sakinatu'l Awliya*, mentions that 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī was there with other participants. We do not know who others were with them and what was the role of Siyālkūtī there.⁵⁹⁴ It seems, on another day, Jahāngīr paid a visit to the mentioned saint – Mian Mir. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī also was there and participated in the discussion, which will be discussed later.⁵⁹⁵

These things inform us of the conversation between Mian Mīr and Jahāngīr. It seems that taking part in the audience meant Siyālkūtī already came to an attractive position, and the court was aware of him and took him with the Emperor's team. All these things help us understand that Siyālkūtī was not only able to reach the court but was also successfully able to get familiar with and take an important position among the most famous scholars of that time. Jahāngīr's court historian Mutamid Khān (d. 1639/40), in his *Iqbāl-Nāma-i Jahāngīrī* placed him among the most famous scholars of that time.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹³ A famous Sufi of Qadiriya order, his real name was Mīr Muḥammad Qāḍī Saīndino, he settled in Lahore during Jahangir, and Shāh Jahān's time. Dara Shikoh and many other was influenced by him. See: Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 1980, 97; Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing: Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal*, 5. ed (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2009), 465; N. Hanif, *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis*, 205–6.

⁵⁹⁴ Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65–66; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 163.

⁵⁹⁵ Khwaja Muhammad 'Azam, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir Azami* (Srinagar, Kashmir: Ghulam Mohammad Noor Mohammad Tajrane Kutub, 1160), 144; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 163.

⁵⁹⁶ Mutamid Khan, *Iqbāl-Nāma-i Jahāngīrī* (Calcutta: College Press, 1865), 308.

b. *Shāh Jahān's Time*

Shāh Jahān's time is regarded as the Baburid golden period as well as it was a golden time for 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī; perhaps he could successfully prove himself through his contributions as well as he was celebrated and given the most respected position if not at least among those highly esteemed intellectuals.

Firstly, Siyālkūtī penned his major works and became more prominent inside and outside the Hind intellectual arena in Shāh Jahān's time. Soon after the latter's succession, the former was appointed as a principal of a state-run (royal) madrasah in Agra (Akbarabad). Perhaps it was the first time he left Lahore and moved to a new city for his career. It was, obviously, a vital beginning of a new chapter of his life that, perhaps, paved the way to be closer to the court and a good opportunity to prove himself as an eminent scholar to the Hind and other scholars of different nationalities, *i.e.*, Iran, Turan, Arabian, and others.⁵⁹⁷

Secondly, Shāh Jahān awarded him a considerable *jagir* whose annual value was 1,25,000.00 (one lakh twenty-five thousand rupees)- a vast amount of that time. This jagir was continued by his family after his death as well.⁵⁹⁸

Thirdly, Siyālkūtī was invited to the court when Shāh Jahān wanted to promote the educational advancement of the capital Delhi. The latter collected the most celebrated scholars of the time, like Mian Mir, Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri, and others.⁵⁹⁹

Siyālkūtī occupied a very important, respected and competitive position in court "*malik-ul- 'ulamā* " (seat of the learned). At that time, he also taught the prince. Muhibbullah Allahabadi tried to take over the post from Siyālkūtī, offered competition at

⁵⁹⁷ Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 163.

⁵⁹⁸ Sufi, 164.

⁵⁹⁹ Sajjad H. Rizvi, "Mīr Dāmād in India: Islamic Philosophical Traditions and the Problem of Creation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131, no. 1 (2011): 17.

least twice, and finally could not afford it.⁶⁰⁰ Perhaps at that time, he was the most versatile scholar (ulama) and jurist of Shāh Jahān's court.⁶⁰¹

Learned Siyālkūtī, as an expert, was sent to investigate a Sufī scholar named Shaykh Waliullāh Adam Banori (d. 1644) accompanied by Sa'adullah Khān – grand vizir of Shāh Jahān. The mentioned Sufī refused to meet and respect the court's representative, and finally, the latter was asked to leave the state. Here, the important point is to send Siyālkūtī; perhaps he was the most qualified and celebrated scholar and, at the same time, a trusted one to the court.⁶⁰²

As mentioned above, Siyālkūtī was weighed in gold and silver by Shāh Jahān, is meant many things. Moreover, the former's dedication to his major works for Shāh Jahān indicates his close relationship with the court. It seems all these things were bestowed to him as a sign of respect, not dealt with as a bureaucrat.⁶⁰³

An important thing that needs to be discussed is how much scholars influenced the emperors. It is difficult to see scholars of any discipline influencing the court to take a policy. Shāh Jahān was a comparatively more religious Emperor than his father and grandfather, but the '*ulamā*' or scholar had no say, if not, in most cases, in the policy-making. Jackson comments that though Siyālkūtī was weighed in gold and patronized with many things, it was "one of distant patronage."⁶⁰⁴ Besides that, under the most orthodox Baburid Emperor, Aurangzeb, religious scholars had a minimal role in state affairs.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁰ Sufī, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 163.

⁶⁰¹ Das, *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab (Char Bagh-i-Panjab)*, 86.

⁶⁰² N. Hanif, *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis*, 26; Madani, *Consequences of Debasing Auliya-Allah*, 51.

⁶⁰³ See: M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices, and Titles to the Mughal Nobility, 1574-1658* (Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1985), 1–340.

⁶⁰⁴ William Jackson, "A Subcontinent's Sunni Schism: The Deobandi-Barelvi Rivalry and the Creation of Modern South Asia," *History - Dissertations*, August 1, 2013, 53, https://surface.syr.edu/hst_etd/102.

⁶⁰⁵ Jackson, 54.

IV. Connectedness with Islamic Lands - Hejaz, Central Asia and Ottomans

i. Hejaz

From the beginning of Islamic education, Hejaz- Mecca, and Medina played pioneering roles that spread all over the Islamic world over time. For the presence of Ḥaramain – Masjid-e Ḥaram and Masjid-e Nabawī, where so many Muslims would come for pilgrims every year. Two holy places where two holy places where sending donations became a respectful task for the Hind statesmen for a long time as the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, Alā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahmān Shāh (1347-1358), helped build a ribāt (Sufi house/center) in Mecca in 1354. Similarly, Gujarat rulers, *i.e.*, Sultan Aḥmad I (1410-1441), Sultan Muẓaffar II (r. 1511- 26), and so on, continued the trend. Baburid and regional rulers of Hindustan followed the trend and continued sending donations to Hejaz. They not only established madrasahs and other institutions and sent many goods and presents, but they also transferred cash and even sometimes assigned profits of specific businesses to the Hejaz. All the Baburid Emperors got engaged in these activities. For example, after capturing Gujarat and its key port, Surat, in 1573, Akbar maintained and expanded the waqf properties dedicated to the ḥaramayn by Sultan Maḥmūd III. Royal pilgrimages to Mecca were lavishly funded, often from the state treasury, including provisions for accompanying men and soldiers. The sultans appointed a “Mir al-Ḥaj” as their representative for the pilgrimage, who distributed substantial funds among the ḥaramayn’s residents. In 1577, the Mir al-Ḥaj distributed 500,000 rupees and 10,000 khil’ats, and the Sharīf of Mecca received 100,000 rupees and various grand gifts.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ In addition to monetary donations, a diverse array of goods, alms, and gifts were also dispatched to the Hejaz, particularly remarkable item was a candlestick lavishly encrusted with diamonds, which, as some historians note, weighed 100 carats. Shah Jahan, a distinguished historical figure, contributed several notable items, including exquisite amber candlesticks from his personal collection. The most magnificent of these candlesticks tipped the scales at about 700 tolas (roughly 8.165 kilograms) and was valued at 10,000 rupees. See N. R. Farooqi, “Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations Between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556-1748” (Ph.D., Wisconsin, The University of Wisconsin, n.d.), 182–95, accessed December 15, 2023; Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 27–32.

Another practice that the ruler would do that the rulers would transcribe the Quran and send it to Hejaz, as Sultan Muẓaffar II of Gujarat (r. 1511-1526) annually transcribed the Quran, sending copies to Mecca and Medina and financially supported the Ḥanafī Imam appointed in Mecca for Quran recitation. Similarly, Babur, the first Baburid ruler, sent a Quran transcribed in his own script to Mecca. Though it had a very minimal impact on the life of Hejaz, it shows some impressions of the Muslim rulers of Hejaz.⁶⁰⁷

Concerning scholarly contribution and exchange, the financial support provided by the Hind rulers led to the establishment and maintenance of numerous educational institutions, benefiting teachers and students alike. A notable aspect of Baburid-Hejaz relations was the intellectual exchange, with scholars from the Hind ground visiting the Middle East for religious and scholarly pursuits. Some became distinguished scholars in the Arab World, including names like ‘Abd Allāh al-Lahori, al-Sayyid Ghaḍanfar al-Naqshbandī, and Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūm. Among the names Siyālkūtī’s students are also found Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī, and student’s student, *i.e.*, Muḥammad Bayk b. Yār Muḥammad b. Khawāja Muḥammad Burhānbūrī al-Naqshbandī (d. 1110/1698–1699). Conversely, several Arab scholars, such as Shaykh al-‘Aydarūs, chose to relocate to Hindustan, supported by its rulers. This two-way movement fostered a rich exchange of ideas and knowledge between these regions.⁶⁰⁸

The historical records reveal robust connections between Hindustan and Hejaz, which likely facilitated academic interactions with regions like Cairo. Most scholarly exchanges documented occur from the late seventeenth century onwards. However, there are relatively few accounts of these intellectual relationships, especially in the realm of rational scholarship, indicating a need for further research. Our analysis has uncovered that the earliest text by Siyālkūtī found in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK) dates to 3 Rajab 1046 (December 1, 1636). Regrettably, this manuscript lacks information about the place of transcription. The first manuscript that

⁶⁰⁷ Dumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 28.

⁶⁰⁸ Dumayrīyah, 34, 71–72; Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001, 224.

does mention a location was transcribed in Mecca in 1090/1679, roughly twelve years after Siyālkūtī's death. Additionally, a manuscript of Muttaqī al-Hindī (d. 975/1567) mentions a precise date of 977/1569. It is plausible that many copies, where the scribe's location is not indicated, were either transcribed in Hejaz or sent to Istanbul via Hejaz.⁶⁰⁹

ii. Central Asia

Central Asia, particularly Samarqand Bukhara, is a prominent center of Islamic intellectual history. Hindustan, from the commencement of Muslim rule and widely Islamization process, Central Asian Muslims, both religious (spiritual) and political, played a key role. Its connections could be found in all areas of human affairs, *i.e.*, educational, cultural, economic, etc. Coming to the Baburid rule, Central Asia and Baburid continually influenced each other in a wide range of domains, including literature, art, religion, music, and architecture. The Baburid emperors, descendants of Timur (Tamerlane), were displaced Central Asians who significantly contributed to the culture of Hindustan, reflecting their Central Asian legacy. The Baburids maintained strong connections with Central Asia, especially with Sufī leaders of the Naqshbandi order. They showed generosity towards Central Asians who visited their court and offered patronage, which also served to legitimize their regime.⁶¹⁰

In the above discussion, a detailed examination of the Naqshbandi–Aḥrārī tradition has been undertaken. It has been observed that numerous scholars from various parts of Central Asia settled in Baburid Hindustan, often playing significant roles and sometimes even experiencing discontent with the court.

⁶⁰⁹ See for the manuscripts, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah" (1046), Süleymaniye Ktp., Carullah, no. 01190, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/226714>; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah al-Khayali 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah" (1070), Atıf Efendi Ktp., Atıf Efendi, No. 01227; al-Siyālkūtī, "Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade Koleksiyon, No. 49"; 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusām ad-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Malik Muttaqī al-Hindī, "Muntakhab Kanj al-'Ummāl fi Sunan al-Iqwāl wa'l-Af'āl" (Mecce, 977), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, no. 00283.

⁶¹⁰ Foltz, "Cultural Contacts Between Central Asia and Mughal India," 45–46.

The ‘Samarqand school’ of astronomy, rooted in the work of Timur’s grandson Ulugh Beg, notably flourished under Baburid patronage in Hindustan. Ulugh Beg constructed the Samarqand observatory and wrote the *Zīj-i-Ulugh* Beg astronomical tables. Many copies of these tables were found in Hindustan and are referenced in Babur’s memoirs. Humayun’s court astronomer, Mulla Chand, composed a commentary on these tables and calculated Akbar’s birth horoscope. Mullā Chand also authored an astronomical treatise, *Maqala dar ilm-i-nujum*. As mentioned previously, Shah Jahan’s astronomer, Farid al-Dīn Dihlawī, compiled the *Zīj-i-Shah Jahani* in 1629, drawing from Ulugh Beg’s tables. During the seventeenth century, Islamic astronomical works, such as ‘Ali al-Qūshjī’s *Risala dar hay'ah*, were translated into Sanskrit, reflecting Ulugh Beg’s influence. Kamalakara’s *Siddhantatattvaviveka*, which was prepared in 1658, also demonstrated this influence of the former (Ulugh Beg).⁶¹¹

Not only astronomical works were brought to Hindustan, but also other works, like *sharḥ Tajrīd al-Kalam* of ‘Ali al-Qūshjī. Several copies are preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh oriental public library, dating from 932/1526 and onwards. Unfortunately, the latter-dated copy lacks the scribe's place. However, other copies give us the location scribed later, *i.e.*, Hyderabad (scribed in 1026/1617) and Shiraz (dated 1076/1666). The date and place of transcription show the channel of scholarly exchange.⁶¹²

Similarly, Greek (Yunani) medicine entered the Baburid realm from Central Asia, albeit indirectly via Iran. The tradition of the Central Asian physician and philosopher Ibn Sina (Avicenna) gained prominence in Iran, especially in Shiraz, subsequently influencing Baburid medicine. While most Baburid physicians hailed from Shiraz or northern Iran, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, the grandson of Ubaydullah Aḥrār from Samarqand, was a notable exception. In a similar vein, Khwaja Khawand’s brother, Khawaja Yusuf, who

⁶¹¹ Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia*, 84.

⁶¹² See Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, vol. X, nos. 598–602.

arrived in Hindustan and became known as a member of the Sharifi family, practiced Yunani medicine.⁶¹³

The discussion could be expanded. Although some of the developments our accounts inform us about occurred in the eleventh/seventeenth century, it is plausible that in the tenth/sixteenth century, Hindustan and Central Asia had significant cultural and intellectual connections. Particularly, it is conceivable that scholars from Central Asia brought with them knowledge of kalam, logic, and grammar, which were taught in their madrasahs and subsequently in Hindustan.

iii. Ottomans

The Baburids had historical connections with the Ottomans, marked by ethnic similarities and closeness. However, due to political and national interests, varying decisions were made over time to ensure political and state stability. Regarding religious practice, Baburid Hindustan was aligned with the Ottomans, following the Hanafi school of thought, while the Iranians predominantly adhered to a different sect, Shi'ism. The Baburids managed to maintain communications with both despite occasional tensions.

Baburid rulers, Babur and Humayun, maintained good relations with the Safavids. Notably, Humayun sought refuge in Iran and received assistance to recapture Hindustan. On the other side, his efforts to sustain amicable relations with Ottomans are evident in a letter he sent to Sulaiman the Magnificent through Sidi (Seydi) 'Ali Reis. This letter is crucial for understanding Humayun's perspective towards the Ottoman ruler. It indicates that the Baburid Sultan recognized the Ottoman ruler as the Caliph of the Muslims and used respectful language in his correspondence. Unfortunately, before the letter could reach the Ottoman ruler, Humayun's untimely demise meant that this diplomatic initiative did not yield any tangible results.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹³ Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia*, 84–85.

⁶¹⁴ See for more about Sidi (Seydi) 'Ali Reis Gaye Danişan, "A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Compendium of Astronomical Instruments: Seydi Ali's Mir'at-ı Kâinat," in *Scientific Instruments between East and West*,

After Humayun, Akbar initially focused on consolidating his power and stabilizing his state. During this period, there is no evidence of significant efforts from the Ottoman side to enhance relations with the Baburid court. While a detailed analysis is beyond our primary scope, it is pertinent to sketch an overview of the interactions between the Baburid and Ottoman rulers. Later in his reign, Akbar's stance shifted; he became critical of both Shah Tahmasp's religious policies and the notion of the Ottoman Sultan as the Caliph. Akbar attempted to transfer the Caliphate from Türkiye to Hindustan but failed to garner sufficient support from other Muslim regions. Consequently, he had to acknowledge the Ottoman custodianship over the haramayn – sharifayn (Mecca and Medina).⁶¹⁵ Some of the significant developments that happened between the two are⁶¹⁶:

- a) A significant point of contention was the safety of Hind Muslims undertaking the pilgrimage. The Baburid court repeatedly communicated with the Sharif of Mecca, seeking protection from the Portuguese threat.
- b) It was a common practice for the Baburid Sultan to send financial aid to Mecca for its residents. However, the Ottoman Sultan once blocked a donation from Akbar, reflecting the tense relations during Akbar's introduction of the Din-i Ilahi religious movement. Further aggravating the situation, the Ottoman Sultan ordered the expulsion of Akbar's household's women from the Holy Land. Their return to Fatehpur Sikri in April 1582 and possible sharing of their distressing experiences may have angered Akbar. In response, he stopped sending donations and Hajj caravans to the Hejaz from 1582 and severed ties with Mecca's Sharifs.
- c) Akbar considered forming alliances with the Portuguese against the Ottomans. In 1582, he contemplated a joint Baburid-Portuguese campaign, and in 1587, reports

ed. Neil Brown, Silke Ackermann, and Feza Günergun (BRILL, 2020), 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004412842>. See for more about the letter Naimur Rahman Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations (A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations Between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556-1748)* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 2009), 16–17.

⁶¹⁵ Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 2009, xiii.

⁶¹⁶ Farooqi, 1624.

suggested an alliance preparing a fleet to invade Yemen, prompting the Ottoman Sultan to reinforce Yemen.

- d) Ottoman documents mention a Hind embassy's visit to Istanbul to discuss important matters, indicating a possible change in Akbar's stance towards the Ottomans.
- e) An Ottoman mission sought trading privileges in Baburid territories, but the outcome of this visit remains unknown. Akbar maintained a lukewarm attitude towards the Ottomans until he died in 1605.
- f) Akbar's successor, Jahangir (originally named Selim), showed no interest in improving relations with the Ottomans. He changed his name to avoid association with the Ottoman emperors and recalled Timur's triumph over the Ottomans, feeling they owed a moral obligation to the Baburids.
- g) Ottoman embassies in 1608 and 1615 faced cold receptions and diplomatic failures at the Baburid. Jahangir rejected the 1608 embassy's credentials and dismissed them. The 1615 mission to discourage Baburid support for the Safavids was also unsuccessful.
- h) Jahangir and Shah Abbas - I would maintain very close relations, and it is said, "*biradar ba jan barabar*" (Brother as dear as life). Where Shah Abbas I was regarded as a staunch Ottoman enemy. They exchanged gifts and correspondence, with Jahangir sometimes financially supporting the Shah's conflicts against the Ottomans.

These developments highlight the complex and often strained relations between two empires, two 'gunpowder empires,' during the rise and early career of Siyālkūtī. However, things changed a bit during Shāh Jahān's time. The important discussion here is whether Baburid scholars were politically motivated by their rulers. As discussed before, a vast number of scholars opposed Akbar's religious and some of his political policies. Although available accounts do not tell us about Siyālkūtī's involvement in debates or conflicts with Akbar's court, as seen with 'Abd al-Qadir Badayunī and Aḥmad Sirhindī, it is imaginable that Siyālkūtī was also against Akbar's religious-cultural and political policy. Coming to

Jahāngīr's time, when Siyālkūtī had already become familiar and written at least a few of his works, he was appointed to a madrasah/college in Agra by Jahāngīr. It is very challenging to comment that he was influenced to create treatises that could serve the court's opponents. Though it is very normal in the medieval period, Siyālkūtī's development appears to have been different.

Further, as mentioned, Siyālkūtī likely studied all the works during Akbar's reign on which he wrote *ḥāshiyahs* later. Being familiar with these texts, he probably felt it necessary to write about/on them during his teaching career. A common trend in medieval Hindustan, which might have been prevalent in other intellectual centers as well, was the establishment and operation of educational and intellectual centers by individuals or groups through the creation of a waqf (endowment). While state authorities occasionally assisted in their establishment, that time's educational and learning traditions cannot be directly compared to contemporary (modern) practices. Thus, the state had minimal influence over scholars in their ongoing intellectual pursuits, as exemplified by Siyālkūtī. His intellectual contributions did not pose a threat to the Baburid court; rather, they served to enhance the existing scholarly environment.

If we look at the intellectual exchanges between Hindustan and Ottoman lands, available accounts inform us that works from both regions would be disseminated to the other land within a short period of time. As mentioned in the discussion of Hejaz, Hindustan and Ottoman scholars' texts would become known through Hejaz learning centers. Even in Siyālkūtī's work, discussed below, we see that his intellectual background included copies of works by Hasan Çelebi, Īsam al-Dīn Işfāraini, and others, along with many foundational scholars' works that were also available in Ottoman lands, such as *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*, *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, etc. In the same way, works prepared in Hindustan would be available in Ottoman lands. For example, the work of Muttaqī al-Hindī (d. 975/1567) was available in Ottoman territory and was scribed in 977/1569. At the same time, Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 926–74/1520–66) issued an order saying some works in transmitted subjects, *i.e.*, tafsīr and hadith, were advanced compared to his educational ground. It is possible to find many copies of Hind

scholars' works in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association's (YEK) collections.⁶¹⁷

The intellectual connections between two Islamic lands, both rich in intellectual centers, can be explored from various dimensions. A notable example is from the era of Baburid Hindustan, especially during Shāh Jahān's reign, often considered the golden period. The Taj Mahal, a symbol of this era, showcases exceptional architectural intelligence and opulence. The construction of this iconic mausoleum involved many architects. Ustad Ahmad Lahori Mi'mari (Ahmad the architect), also named as "*Nadir al-Asr*" ('wonder of the age'), was the chief architect renowned as one of the most distinguished architects of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Interestingly, an architect named Muḥammad Īsa, of Ottoman origin also contributed significantly to the project. Some Turkish sources claim he played a vital role as an architect, even suggesting he was the chief architect. However, this is a contentious point since Ustad Ahmad's role is well-established academically. It is plausible that Ustad Muḥammad Īsa led a subgroup of architects. Regardless, the involvement of an Ottoman-trained architect in a major Hindustani project at a time when Hindustan was arguably at its peak in infrastructure development is noteworthy. This example illustrates that intellectual exchanges between the Ottoman and Baburid Empires were significant despite their rulers' varying political and diplomatic relations.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ Though the time of scribe and date are absent, the catalogue expert put a note that perhaps it was scribed in tenth/sixteenth century. See for Hasan Çelebi's work in Khuda bakh library, Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, vol. X, no. 537. And see for the work of Muttaqī al-Hindī al-Hindī, "Muntakhab Kanj al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Iqwāl wa'l-Af'āl." See for more about transmitted subjects' connections between Hindustan and Ottoman grounds, Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Transmitters of Authority and Ideas across Cultural Boundaries, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Volume 3: The Eastern Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Anthony Reid and David O. Morgan, vol. 3, The New Cambridge History of Islam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 587–606, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521850315.020>.

⁶¹⁸ See about Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Muḥammad Īsa, James Stevens Curl and James Stevens Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, 2nd ed (Oxford [England] ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 10; James Stevens Curl and Susan Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*

Another important Muslim cultural center, South-East Asya, also named Malay World, was a close neighbor to Hindustan in medieval times. There were some connections with Hindustan. However, available records tell us the connection was mainly Sufism and hadith centric. It is possible to see that through the learning centers Hejaz, Yemen, Egypt, Gujarat, Surat, Lahore, Deccan etc, directly connected in terms of Sufism, *i.e.*, Shattariya and Naqshbandi schools of thought along with hadith. Interestingly, they were influenced by the developments that occurred in Hindustan quickly. However, whether there was an intellectual exchange in rational sciences is unclear. It is very plausible that it will be discovered in the coming days.⁶¹⁹

(Oxford University Press, 2015), 11; Engin Beksaç, “Tac Mahal,” in *DİA* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2010), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tac-mahal> (22.10.2023).; Emin Selçuk Taşar, “Tac Mahal,” in *İDA*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer (İstanbul: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları), accessed December 17, 2023, <https://islamdusunceatlası.org/tac-mahal/3473>.

⁶¹⁹ I would like to thank İsmail Hakkı Kadı for sharing information about this work. See Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern “Ulamā” in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1. publ, Southeast Asia Publications Series (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 13–14, 21, 36, 39, 46, 56.

Chapter Three: Siyālkūtī's Contribution in Hind and Ottoman Intellectual Life

I. Kalām

i. *Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*

*Khayālī's visions, vast beyond measure,
Qul Aḥmed and others, couldn't grasp the treasure.*

*Abdu'l-Hakim, with insight so keen,
Transcended the bounds of what Khayālī had seen.*⁶²⁰

Numerous works served as textbooks on kalām in various Muslim intellectual centers in medieval and early modern times. Among them, two of the most widely used and prominent works were the *'Aqā'id*, *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, and *al-'Aqā'id al-Aḍudiyyah*, were written by Najm al-Dīn Abu Hafs 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 534/1139), and 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355) respectively. Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389) wrote a comprehensive *sharḥ* (commentary) on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* is popularly known as *sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* or *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah li't-*

⁶²⁰ It is prepared with the inspiration of the lines of a poem, mentioned by Muḥammad al-Dīn Fawq referring to a unknown poet, Thanks Muhammed Sarwar Daneshju for his assistance to bring the meaning. See Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e 'Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 91. In these verses, the mentioned Qul Aḥmed likely refers to Qul Aḥmed, an Ottoman scholar renowned for his *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī. Identified as Abu'l-Abbās Shihābuddīn Aḥmed b. Muhammed b. 'Umar al-Amrī (d. 950/1544), also known as Qul (Qawol) Aḥmed or Ibn Khizir, he served as a predecessor scholar to Siyālkūtī. The extent to which his work reached the scholarly scene in Hind remains uncertain. Nevertheless, considering the historical practice of sharing works between Ottoman and Hind grounds, it is plausible that Qul Aḥmed's contributions were part of the intellectual discourse in the latter (Hind), akin to the prompt dissemination observed in Siyālkūtī's work. See about him and works Adil Bebek, "Hayālī," in *DĪA* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hayali> (17.06.2023).; Kul Ahmed, *Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Mekteb-i Sanayi, 1287); "Hāshiyah 'ala Fawā'id al-fanariyyah" (n.d.), Konya YEBM, Bölge Yazma Eserler, no. BY00007109/2; "Sharḥ du'a al-Qunūt" (n.d.), Konya YEBM, Bölge Yazma Eserler, no. BY0004671/20. Conversely, there existed another Hind scholar, Qul Aḥmad (d. 1031/1621), who authored a *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī. Despite being a contemporary of Siyālkūtī, Qul Aḥmad's *ḥāshiyah* did not gain widespread recognition in Hind academia. The poet, in expressing uncertainty, might have speculated on the significance of *ḥāshiyah* in the intellectual landscape, perhaps influenced by the confusion surrounding the date of Qul Aḥmad's demise. However, it seems the first one is the more probable view.

Taftāzānī or *al-‘Aqā’id li’t-Taftāzānī*. Notably, a multitude of *ḥāshiyahs* were produced for the original works, as well as for the *sharḥs*, with further *sharḥs* and *ḥāshiyahs* being written on these subsequent works as well.⁶²¹

In the context of Hindustan, examining available sources, it seems these two works came comparatively later than they were used and made *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* on them in other lands. However, this does not imply the absence of other works in Hindustan on *‘Aqā’id* and scholastic kalām. Notable examples include *al-Zubdah fī ‘ilm’l-Kalām* of Ṣafiy al-Dīn Muḥammad Raḥīm b. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Hindī (d. 715/1315), *sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Tahawiyyah* of Abu Hafs Sirajuddīn ‘Umar al-Hindī (d. 773/1371), and *al-‘Aqā’id al-Islāmiyyah* of Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī (d. 849/1445).⁶²²

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī authored *ḥāshiyah* on both *‘Aqā’ids*. To understand his choice and contribution, we must trace back to the emergence and utilization of these two works in Hindustan. Prior to Siyālkūtī’s writings, these works were present but primarily in limited use. Similar to other scholastic theological texts like *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, and they gained intellectual prominence in later periods, resulting in limited usage and associated works before Siyālkūtī’s era. Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Balkhī (d. 891/1486) seems to have studied *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* with its *sharḥ al-Muẓaffarī* with his grand-father Ḥusain b. al-Mu’izzu.⁶²³ Later, Khaṭīb Abu’l-Faḍl Gazarūnī (d. 959/1551), Mullā Alauddīn b. Shaykh Maṣṣūr Lahorī (d. 969/1561), and Qāḍī Nizām

⁶²¹ See for more about them, Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 207–8; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 108–9; Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “‘Aqā’idü’n-Nesefi,” in *DİA* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/akaidun-nesefi>.

⁶²² It seems number of original works as well as *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* were done in the fifteenth and sixteenth century on dogma, and scholastic theology. Besides the mentioned, there were also many names of the works and the scholars. It seems if research is conducted on the early rational sciences in Hindustan, there would be many new developments, perhaps now it is even difficult to imagine, and the existing imagination that before sixteenth century, there was no major developments in rational sciences would be changed as well. See for works of medieval and early modern times, Zulfaqar Ali Malik, ed., *Arabic Catalogue, Arabic Manuscripts Collections, Punjab University Library, Lahore* (Lahore: Punjab University Library, n.d.), No. 466, <https://www.pulibrary.edu.pk/pdf/manu/arabic/>; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 371–93.

⁶²³ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 3:228.

Badakhshānī (d. 992/1584) wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id*. The specific focus of these works, whether on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* or *al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah* remains uncertain. Notably, Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589) authored a *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, which is recognized in academic circles.⁶²⁴

Khayālī’s *ḥāshiyah* as well as works on his *ḥāshiyah*, *i.e.*, the *ḥāshiyahs* of Ḥasan b. Ḥusain al-Miṣri and Kamāl al-Dīn Isma’īl al-Karamānī, known as Kara Kamāl (d. 920/1514), are preserved in various Hind libraries. These works likely found their way to Hindustan during the sixteenth century.⁶²⁵ It is also important to mention that though Khayālī’s work remained important for many decades, no major scholarly works had been done with certain information until Siyālkūtī’s time except Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī’s one. However, there are many works seen after Siyālkūtī, *i.e.*, in the late seventeenth century and onwards, *i.e.*, Mullā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shāhid b. ‘Abdu’l-Halim Sihlawī (d. 1103/1691) had a *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, Abu’l-Khayr (d. 1783), ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Amad al-Multani (early 19th century) are a few to mention.⁶²⁶ Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Khayālī on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* is regarded in several names both in

⁶²⁴ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 372–73.

⁶²⁵ Ḥasan b. Husain b. Muḥammad al-Fawzi al-Misri – a scholar of tenth/sixteenth century, about whom little is known, perhaps he was an Egyptian as understood from name, wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *ḥāshiyah* of Khayālī is found in Peshwar library (no. 302), see, Ahmed Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-‘Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, vol. II, III, IV (al-Riyad: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Wataniyyah, 2005), No. 1035. And Kamal al-Dīn Ismail al-Karamani known as Kara Kamal (d. 920/1514) – an Ottoman scholar who studied with Khayālī, had also *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī is also seen in Hindustan, see with the former’s *ḥāshiyah*, see, Kemaleddin İsmâ’il el-Karamânî, “Haşiye ‘Ala Haşiyetil’-Hayali ‘ala Şerhi’l-‘akâ’idü’n-Nesefî,” (MS, 1535 942), Diyanet, No. 005082 (wr in the work - 5017); Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-‘Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, II, III, IV:No. 442.

⁶²⁶ See, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:490; *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:783; *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 7:1277; *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 208; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 379, 385, 390.

Hind and Ottoman grounds, *i.e.*, Siyālkūtī ‘*ala*’l-Khayālī, *ḥāshiyah* ‘*ala al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, *Zubdatu’l-Afkar*, *ḥāshiyah* ‘*ala ḥāshiyat’l-Khayālī* and so on.⁶²⁷

This discussion underscores the scarcity of works within the intellectual landscape of Hindustan despite its presence in numerous distinct learning centers outside. It is also evident that no scholar had authored a *ḥāshiyah* for this work until Siyālkūtī being in Lahore and its surroundings so far it is known. It seems Siyālkūtī, during his student life or in the early teaching tenure, recognized the need for such a *ḥāshiyah*, prompting him to compose a *ḥāshiyah* is understood from his notes in the introduction that is very important to understand the ground and the work he went through on. He praises Sa‘ad al-Dīn Taftāzānī, perhaps best seen in his writing as Sa‘ad al-Millati wa’l-Din al-Taftāzānī, portraying him as a scholar of the Ummah or Muslim nation. Taftāzānī’s work, a *sharḥ* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, was widely accepted by the scholars and crucial, prompting various writings on it, notably one by scholar Khayālī, sparking further works, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyahs*. The narrative delves into the objectives and challenges encountered during crafting Khayālī’s *ḥāshiyah*. Siyālkūtī devoted a significant part of his youth to unraveling its intricacies, meticulously examining expressions, scrutinizing meanings, and navigating historical and philosophical terminologies and concepts. Despite being akin to solving tricky puzzles, the writer successfully grasps the unique facets of the comments. This not only clarifies confusing points but also unveils Khayālī’s intentions, aiding in overcoming intellectual challenges.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁷ See Abdulhakim es-Siyālkūtī, “Zūbdetü’l-Efkār” (n.d.), Balıkesir Ktp., Balıkesir İHK, No. 246; “Hāşīye alâ Şerhi’l-Akâ’idi’n-Nesefiye” (1189), Çorum Hasan Paşa Ktp., Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK, No. 974/1; “Hāşīye alâ Şerhi’l-Akâidi’n-Nesefî” (n.d.), Raşid Efendi, No. 488, Kayseri Kütüphanesi, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/434799>; *Zubdat al-Afkar* (Istanbul: Matba‘a-i ‘Âmirah, 1235); Rudolf Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts (Yahuda section) in the Garrett collection Princeton University Library*, vol. 5, 515 s., ; (Princeton: Princeton University, 1977), no. 2237, <https://library.princeton.edu/special-collections/collections/garrett-collection-arabic-manuscripts>; Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur (II)*, vol. 2 (Rampur, U.P., India: Raza Library Trust, 1977), 202–3; nos. 1563–1568.

⁶²⁸ See ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* (Bulak: Matbaatü’l-Kübrâ el-Emiriyye, 1316), 2–3.

It is noteworthy that he chose to focus on the *ḥāshiyah* of Mawlā Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsa Khayālī (d. 875/1470) rather than Taftāzānī directly, while he also extensively praised the latter and his work. For this discussion, it is worthy to know who Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsa Khayālī, on whom Siyālkūtī wrote *ḥāshiyah*. He was a prominent Ottoman scholar of the fifteenth century; his expertise includes Islamic jurisprudence, tafsīr, Arabic language, etc.; however, he achieved prominence in kalām. He was recognized as a brilliant and famous scholar among the scholars for his extensive writings, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* on several branches. Particularly his *ḥāshiyah* on Taftāzānī's *sharḥ* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, where he often made critique (objection) to Taftāzānī.⁶²⁹ This also indicates the Ottoman and Hindustan's scholarly connection and exchange. If we look for the cause, he went through Khayālī's one. Perhaps it was better to understand Taftāzānī's *sharḥ* through the channel of Khayālī's *ḥāshiyah* as the latter work already went through to elucidate the further one.

Concerning the time of the composition, it is not known; however, according to the popularity of this work and its fame that spread out in Hindustan's many cities as well as beyond in his lifetime, it seems it was written his early career when he reached an expert position. It is also understood from the introduction of his work where he mentioned, as already discussed, that he devoted a significant period of his youth to preparing it. Upon completion, his work perhaps attracted many scholars and made him prominent in the intellectual arena in Hind intellectual ground, and reached distant lands like the Ottoman, which is understood from the description of Kātip Çelebi, known as Ḥājī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) - a seventeenth-Century famous Ottoman Historiographer and versatile scholar commented on Siyālkūtī's this work.⁶³⁰ One copy of this work is available in the

⁶²⁹ See for more about it, al-Siyālkūtī, “Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade Koleksiyon, No. 49”; al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayali 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, 1235; al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayali 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, 1316. And for about Taftāzānī and his teachers, see, Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:17. And for about Khayālī, see, Bebek, “Hayālī.”

⁶³⁰ See for more about him and his work and comment on Siyālkūtī's *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Kātip Çelebi,” in *DİA* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2022), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/katib-celebi> (14.06.2023).; İlhan Kutluer, “Keşfü'z-Zunūn,” in *DİA* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2022), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kesfuz-zunun> (14.06.2023).; Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1148.

Süleymaniye Library, Carullah collection, no. 1190, which informs us that it was scribed in Rajab 3, 1046/December 1, 1636. Unfortunately, the scribe's name and place of writing are absent.⁶³¹ Perhaps it was copied in Hejaz, *i.e.*, Mecca, Medinah, or in the Ottoman land, *i.e.*, Istanbul, that happened for the earliest copies.

Aḥmed Khān gives us essential information referring to a manuscript available in the Peshawar University Library (Ghulam Jilani Collection) no. 1727, that Qul Aḥmad b. Shaykh Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Shāhid al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1031 /1621), though discussed shortly, wrote *ḥāshiyah* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī on Jumāda al-Ākhir 27, 1018/September 27, 1609.⁶³² This is a very important date to identify the time of this work and to analyze the intellectual life of Siyālkūtī. If Qul Aḥmad wrote *ḥāshiyah* on the mentioned date, perhaps the *ḥāshiyah* was written in the very late sixteenth century, *i.e.*, 1590s or in the very early seventeenth century, *i.e.*, around 1600. Perhaps reaching out this work to many students and scholars would take some time, like 10-15 years. At least, it would be less as well; however, at least there would be some needs from the ground behind writing *ḥāshiyah*.⁶³³

Siyālkūtī dedicated this prominent work to Emperor Shāh Jahān, as it is noted in the text of this *ḥāshiyah*. Here, Siyālkūtī praised Shāh Jahān using many adjectives.⁶³⁴ However, it is not known when he dedicated it to him. As discussed, he penned it in the very early seventeenth century when most possibly Akbar was in the court, and then Emperor Jahāngīr came to power, and finally, Shāh Jahān ascended the throne in 1628,

⁶³¹ Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, “Hāṣiye alâ Hāṣiyeti Şerhi Akâ’idi’n-Nesefî (Zübdetü’l-Efkâr)” (1046), fol. 146a, Süleymaniye Ktp., Carullah, No. 01190, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/226714>.

⁶³² Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-‘Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’*, *al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’*, (*Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan*), II, III, IV:No. 806.

⁶³³ This is a probable time that it suggests, he was approximately forty years old during the mentioned period. Describing his dedication during a part of his youth, which is challenging to precisely define given the distinct societal norms and maturity criteria of that era compared to contemporary times. It wouldn't be unexpected if he started composing it in his thirties, around the 1590s, aligning with precedents from medieval times. There's also a likelihood that he invested an extended duration, *i.e.*, several years like 5-8 - year in its composition, possibly finalizing it in the late 1590s, a period when he commenced teaching and achieved full expertise. See al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayali ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, 1316, 2–3.

⁶³⁴ al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayali ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, 1235, 3.

around 25-year later of the completion of the *ḥāshiyah*. So, why he dedicated so many years later to Shāh Jahān remains unknown. Why did he not dedicate the work to Emperor Jahāngīr? It also could be a point of discussion regarding the court and scholar relations during the Emperor Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. No record shows Siyālkūtī faced any problems with the court during the rule of Jahāngīr. However, it is clear Siyālkūtī was rewarded with many things, *i.e.*, scholarly positions and awards by Shāh Jahān, as discussed above.

Another important point, Enno Littmann – a prominent German catalog expert, noted that ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Khayālī was dedicated to Imām Qulī (1608-40) referring to the Princeton University Library, no. 319. He added his name, Janid Khāqān of Astarkhan. Carl Brockelmann also mentions as Imām Qulī of Astarkhan.⁶³⁵ Imām Qulī Khān, a Georgian, was the governor of Lar in Iran in 1608 (1610?). Later, he was appointed as the governor-general of the Lar by Shāh Abbas upon the demise of his father. He accompanied his father in conquering different regions, *i.e.*, Bahrain.⁶³⁶ Reviewing the text and examining whether the provided information is correct is important. If correct, the history of Siyālkūtī’s networks and intellectual communication would be evaluated differently. It means he was familiar with Imām Qulī Khān, or at least he would know him well. Unsurprisingly, Hind rulers of different positions would patronize scholars of different regions and backgrounds, as discussed above. And the scholars also would dedicate their works to Hind rulers. However, for Siyālkūtī, it seems he was conscious enough in the dedication of his work to the rulers as mentioned, he, even before Shāh Jahān, could not dedicate his work to Hind rulers of any position. So, it is at least unique that he dedicated it to a foreign ruler.

⁶³⁵ For about Enno Littmann, see Mehmet Kanar, “Enno Littmann” (Ankara: TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi, 2003), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/littmann-enno> (16.11.2023). And see Enno Littmann, *A List of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library* (Leipzig, 1904), no. 319; p. 73; Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume I*, 1:788.

⁶³⁶ See Encyclopædia Iranica, “Emām’qolī Khan,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, accessed November 16, 2023, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/emamqoli-khan>.

Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī gained recognition abroad, particularly in the Ottoman lands, paralleling its acclaim in its place of origin. Prior to examining its international applications, let us explore its significance in the context of Hind. During the time of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, both preceding and succeeding his *ḥāshiyah*, numerous works existed on Khayālī's work. Notably, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* emerged as one of the most prominently utilized works in the Hind region, a trend that persisted into early modern times. This widespread use can be attributed to Siyālkūtī's accessible language, which simplified complex concepts for students. Additionally, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* generated a significant body of scholarly work, including Qul Aḥmad and Muḥammad Farrukh Shāh's (d. 1122/1709) *ḥāshiyah* on this text.⁶³⁷

Unfortunately, little information is available about Qul Aḥmad; as mentioned, his full name was Qul Aḥmad b. Shaykh Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Shāhid al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1031 /1621). He was probably a senior contemporary of Siyālkūtī, as is understood from the date of his demise. Thanks to Aḥmed Khan's catalog work that informs that there is a copy of Qul Aḥmad's *ḥāshiyah* in the library of Kulliyatu'l-Islāmiyyah (Faculty of Islamic Studies), Ghulam Jilani collection, no. 1727, Peshawar University, Peshawar. It includes Siyālkūtī with Qul Aḥmad's name; it means he was also from Sialkot – the same city where 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī was born and raised. It is imaginable that Qul Aḥmad was fully aware of Siyālkūtī's intellectuality and works. As discussed, Siyālkūtī could write this *ḥāshiyah* in the very early seventeenth century; perhaps Qul Aḥmad started writing a *ḥāshiyah* on it soon after the work came to light and finished in 1609.⁶³⁸ Another record informs that Qul Aḥmad had another *ta'lik* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah fī sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah*. Two copies of the latter work are available in

⁶³⁷ See, Fawq, *Sawanih Hayat-e 'Allama Abd al-Hakim*, 90–91. Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume 1*, 1:788.

⁶³⁸ See Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-'Arabiyyah fī Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi', al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi', (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, vol. II, III, IV, no. 806.

Kuwait University's manuscript library.⁶³⁹ However, no more information has been accessed about his *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*. As his other work on Siyālkūtī reached out to distant lands, it is possible to find this work more in Hindustan as well as beyond in the days to come.

In reference to Muḥammad Farrukh Shāh, it is crucial to examine his scholarly impact. Maulana Muḥammad Farrukh Shāh Sirhindi, hailing from a distinguished academic lineage, excelled in rational and transmitted disciplines. His expertise includes jurisprudence and mysticism, particularly Hadith, where he earned mass recognition even from Emperor Aurangzeb, who attended some of his hadith lessons on *Sahih al-Bukhari*. He authored numerous treatises on *al-'Aqā'id* and various other disciplines. His *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* is noteworthy. Due to his academic excellence, he was referred to as the second 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī of his time by his contemporary and fellow student, Shaykh Salih Muḥammad Akram Baraswi (d. 1159/1746), who was another prominent scholar of that era.⁶⁴⁰ This account highlights that in the early eighteenth century, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* retained its significance. It also underscores that Siyālkūtī was held in high regard as an

⁶³⁹ See N/A, "Fihris Maktabatu'l-Makhtutah (1234)," Academic, Kuwait University (Jamiatu Kuwait), accessed December 11, 2013, <http://library1.kuniv.edu.kw/manuscript/Scriptsviw.asp?ID=16877>; N/A, "Fihris Maktabatu'l-Makhtutah (1239)," Academic, Kuwait University (Jamiatu Kuwait), accessed November 12, 2023, <http://library1.kuniv.edu.kw/manuscript/Scriptsviw.asp?ID=16887>.

⁶⁴⁰ See for more about Muḥammad Farrukh Shāh and his intellectual path, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:781, 701, 773, 804; *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:482; Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of the Akbari Dispensation," 365, 365 n84, 367 & 372. Shaikh Salih Muḥammad Akram b. Muḥammad 'Ali Sabiri Hanafi Barasawi (d. 1159/1746) was a student of Muḥammad Farrukh Shāh, and became renowned for his work *Iqtibas al-Anwar* (wr. 1130/1717) - a work on Sabiri Shaykhs. It is also imaginable that he was familiar with Siyālkūtī and went through his texts as well. See about Barasawi, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:807, 728; Megan Eaton Robb and Megan Eaton Robb, *Print and the Urdu Public: Muslims, Newspapers, and Urban Life in Colonial India* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 216; Arthur John Arberry, *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office: Persian books* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1937), 330; Charles Ambrose Storey, ed., "13.2.2 Biography: Saints, Mystics, Etc.," in *Storey Online* (Brill, October 1, 2021), no. 1350, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/storey-online/*-COM_10213022.

exemplary scholar whose stature served as a benchmark for measuring the positions of other prominent Hind scholars.

Around a century later, Muḥammad A‘lā b. Shaykh ‘Alī al-Tahānawī (d. 1745) attracted heavily on Siyālkūtī’s works to prepare “*Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn wa’l-‘Ulūm al-Islāmiyya*.” His citations from Siyālkūtī were perhaps the most extensive of any scholar from Hindustan. Al-Tahānawī’s work also achieved widespread dissemination and popularity in academic circles, even as a dictionary. This work may have further contributed to the recognition of Siyālkūtī or at least inspired readers from different backgrounds and identities to learn more about him. Among the extensive quotations taken from Siyālkūtī’s works, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* is one of them.⁶⁴¹

One additional record reports that ‘Abdullāh Salih al-Ansari authored a *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*. The source provides limited details, indicating its publication in Delhi in 1322. Presumably, its publication suggests a practical demand and further insights may emerge from subsequent research.⁶⁴²

Regarding the readers and scribes of the work, it is conceivable, based on available sources, that it was extensively utilized. One could assert that Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī was arguably one of the most, if not the most, utilized works within the intellectual milieu of *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*. It holds a prominent position not only among other ‘*aqā’id*’ works but also in theological studies. An examination of this work suggests that, thus far, it has been transcribed in the Hind region more frequently than any other works of Siyālkūtī, both in manuscript form and potentially in publications.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ It has been used in many times, just to mention a few, see Muḥammad A‘lā b. Shaykh ‘Alī al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt Al-Funūn Wa’l-‘Ulūm al-Islāmiyya* (Beyrut: Kutub Lubnān Nāshirūn, 1997), V.1, 683, 686, 693, 787, 793.

⁶⁴² Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume I*, 1:788.

⁶⁴³ For more see the Appendix of manuscripts and published works.

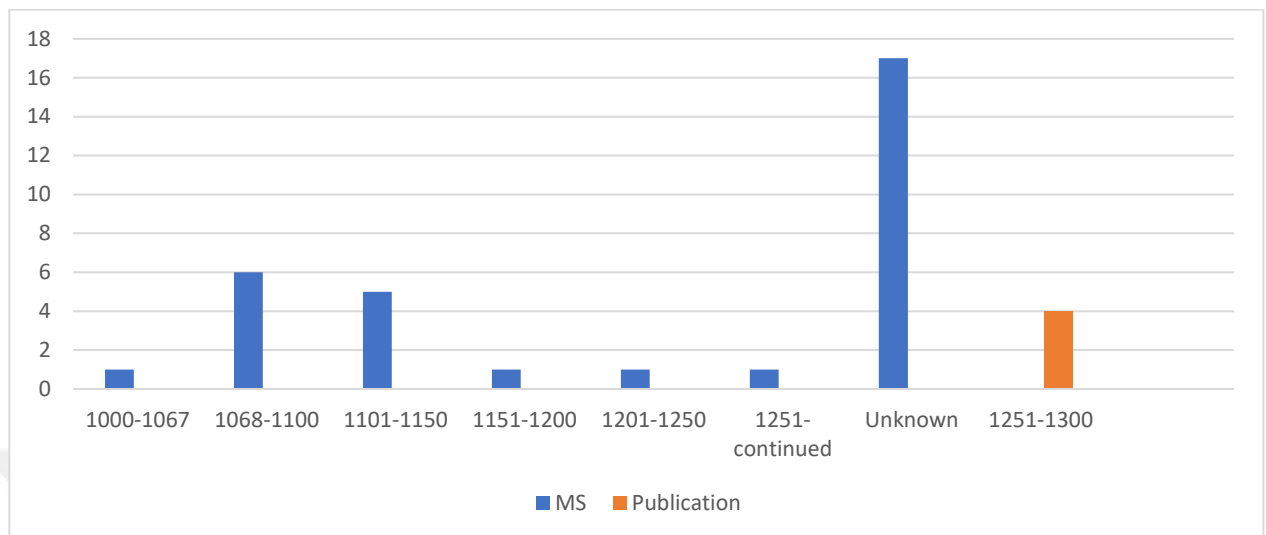


Figure 3. 1: Time and number of the Manuscripts and publications of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah

The mentioned graph tells that soon after the completion of the *ḥāshiyah*, it had been started transcribing, most possibly by the students of Siyālkūtī, what would happen generally in medieval times. Amid the very little information provided in the catalogue works about the date and scribe, thanks to the research, it is seen that several copies of the manuscripts were written during Siyālkūtī's lifetime and around fifty years after his demise. One account tells us that one of the Siyālkūtī's students, naming 'Abd al-Rasūl b. Inayat Ullāh b. Ya'qub Badayunī scribed a manuscript in 1061/1651.⁶⁴⁴ It is probable that there were many scribes who transcribed and went through the texts as well, *i.e.*, for reading or teaching; and some would be from professional scribes who would scribe as a means of income source. All these things could happen more-or-less in all medieval Muslim cultural centers. However, the professional scribe group was to be well educated about the discipline they were subjected to go for. Our sources give some names of those who were engaged in inscribing as well as, most possibly, in academia, *i.e.*, reading or teaching. Among them, Ghulam Muḥammad Shaykh Isma'īl scribed two copies in 1083/1672 are preserved in the Habibganj collection of Maulana Azad library, AMU. Perhaps the former (Ghulām Muḥammad) was a student as well as would engage in scribal

⁶⁴⁴ Arshi, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur (II)*, 2:204–5.

work.⁶⁴⁵ In the eighteenth century, Fazlullah Usmani Beg, Mīr Shāh Qāsim b. Qalandar Shāh Badakhshānī, Turab Muḥammad b. Mīrzā Malik Beg copied the work. Unfortunately, our sources do not give more details about them.⁶⁴⁶

Abul Ḥasan ‘Alī Nadwī provides vital information about the utilization of his work that Maulana Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1718) went through Siyālkūtī’s texts. The latter was a renowned Hanafī scholar and saint of the last phase of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. He could be credited as one of the key scholars for initiating the institutionalized educational system in Hindustan as he played a scholarly key role in the foundation of the Delhi madrasah, naming Madrasah-i Raḥīmiyyah with the help of Emperor Aurangzeb. It is also important to relate ‘Abd al-Raḥīm to the existing Hind intellectual tradition that he was also a student of, perhaps the most prominent scholars of the time, *i.e.*, Qāḍī Mohammad Aslam Harawī (d. 1061/1651) – a prominent scholar of rational sciences and a contemporary of Siyālkūtī. He also got instruction on *al-Mawāqif* from Mīr Zāhid Harawī – the son of Aslam Harawī. He is always remembered for his son Shāh Waliullāh Dihlawī - one of the eighteenth century’s most prominent and well-known Hind scholars.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁵ Muhammed Yasin Mazhar Siddiqī, *Fihris al-Makhtūtātū’l-Arabiyya bi-Jāmiati Aligarh al-Īslamiyya - al-Hind. (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in Aligarh Muslim University - India) (Vol. I)*, ed. Qasim al-Samarrai, vol. 1. c. (603, XIV s.), Menṣuratū’l-Furqan; 67 (London : Mūessesetū’l-Furqan li’t-Tūrasī’l-Īslāmī (al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation), 2002), 444, no. 391; M. H. Qaisar, *Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts of Habibganj Collection (Maulana Azad Library) (Vol. II)*, ed. M. H. Razvi, vol. II (Maulana Azad Library, AMU, n.d.), no. 408, https://old.amu.ac.in/pdf/amulib/HG_V2.pdf.

⁶⁴⁶ These manuscripts have not been accessed. Most possibly, the original manuscripts and the notes put on them could provide valuable information about them and the ground. See Raza Library, Rampur (II), no. 1563-1565, Arshi, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur (II)*, 2:202–3.

⁶⁴⁷ Qāḍī Aslam Harawī is frequently cited alongside his son, Mīr Zāhid Harawī, a renowned scholar of the late seventeenth century and a junior contemporary of Siyālkūtī is discussed. Qāḍī Aslam Harawī held the position of Qāḍī in Kabul and later served as the chief justice during Emperor Jahangir’s reign, also holding the role of the Imām of prayers in Shāh Jahān’s time where the Emperor would perform prayers. His intellectual lineage holds significant importance in the Hind intellectual tradition spanning approximately three centuries, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there exists considerable potential for further research on their contributions. See Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:627–28; Nadwī, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit Volume 4*, 21, 53–56; *Muslims in India* (Claritas Books, 2019), 82.

Abul Ḥasan Ali Nadwi informs that Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm copied Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id* without mentioning which one of the two. However, there is a big probability that Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* as it is known that ‘Abd al-Raḥīm studied Khayālī with his elder brother ‘Abd al-Raza Muḥammad and Khawaja Khurd – son of Khwaja Bāqī Bi’llāh (discussed above).⁶⁴⁸ More importantly, Hafiz A. Ghaffar Khān informs in reference to the description of Shāh Waliullāh that he (Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm) studied Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*.⁶⁴⁹ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s scribe Siyālkūtī’s text, though it was not surprising thing, is important to follow closely the scribal tradition of Hindustan. When he scribed it, it is unknown whether it was during his student life or teaching period. Whatever it was, it shows the important figures would engage them in copying texts. And copying Siyālkūtī’s text by such, probably young, scholar shows the significance and the place of the latter’s (Siyālkūtī) text in the ground.

It is imaginable that Siyālkūtī’s text remained usable in the later times of the Madrasah-i Raḥīmiyyah as the medieval intellectual trend and legacy would continue for many years and decades.⁶⁵⁰ Another vital point is that his teachers and guides seemed aware of Siyālkūtī and most possibly went through the latter’s texts as well. Particularly, Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s, as mentioned, elder brother ‘Abd al-Raza Muḥammad and

⁶⁴⁸ Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm was a versatile scholar who also contributed to prepare *Fatwa-i Alamgiri* and would lecture in the Madrasah-i Raḥīmiyyah which is famous for its theological centric syllabus, see, Encyclopedia of World Biography, “Shah Waliullah Dehlavi,” in *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, 2023, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/dehlavi-shah-waliullah> (May 25, 2023). Nadwi also informs us that the Shāh also studied on sharh *al-Mawaqif* with Mīr Zāhid Harawī, however it did not talk about which *ḥāshiyah* was read, Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit Volume 4*, 55–56.

⁶⁴⁹ He also mentions what more works that Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm went through, *i.e.*, Taftāzānī’s sharh *al-‘Aqā’id*, and sharh *al-Mawaqif* along with the mentioned one. It seems it was the upper level of study that only experts would go through. See Khan, “Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India,” 1074 n65.

⁶⁵⁰ The extent to which Siyālkūtī’s texts were employed in Madrasah-i Raḥīmiyyah, particularly during Shāh Waliullah’s leadership, which emphasized transmitted subjects more over rational ones, remains uncertain. It is conceivable that Siyālkūtī’s works may have been utilized, especially in higher-level studies, if not in primary and secondary education. For insights into the curriculum of Madrasah-i Raḥīmiyyah and the syllabus of Hind madrasah in later centuries (eighteenth century onwards), see Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001, 46–55; Aydın, *Yavana*, 211–23.

Khawaja Khurd, as they studied *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* with the former. Most possibly, they also went through other works of Siyālkūtī.

It seems from the description of Shāh Waliullāh that they had an intellectual channel to Abdul Haq Dehlawi via Siyālkūtī and others, as mentioned before. As a whole, it could be identified that Siyālkūtī was respected and placed among their ancestors. All these developments led us to think that Shāh Waliullāh was aware of Siyālkūtī and his works and went through them as well. It is imaginable that the continuity remained until at least the early modern times. Raza Library has several copies of this work. It tells that upon processing the existing personal and state archives and when the available manuscripts are easily accessible, many manuscripts of this work will be found in the regions in the coming days.⁶⁵¹

Ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah in the Ottoman ground

“The one who is keen on learning should go through these letters available in this book, because Allah the Almighty has specifically endowed these letters to empower a seeker of knowledge with the ability to excel in anything they engage in.”

*- sharḥ al-Fusus*⁶⁵²

Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* held particular significance among numerous Ottoman scholars even during Siyālkūtī’s lifetime. It is understood

⁶⁵¹ See, Arshi, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur (II)*, 2:202–5, No. 1564-1569.

⁶⁵² The writer did not mention his identity or a clue about the madrasah or city he stayed in. In the same way, he just mentioned that the quote was taken from sharḥ *al-Fusus* without revealing the name of the writer; attempts have been made to look for the work it was taken from, but unfortunately, it has not been identified. No doubt, it was put to mean the significance of the work of Siyālkūtī. Its significance is multifaceted. Firstly, it serves as a motivating discourse urging knowledge seekers to delve into Siyālkūtī’s commentary, seen as a divine blessing enhancing their capabilities. And, the use of ‘*al-hurūf*’ may denote subjects covered, crucial for academic excellence. Thirdly, the letters may signify highlighted points, offering valuable insights. In essence, the quote underscores the paramount importance of Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* for knowledge seekers. See the title page of work available in Hacı Selim Ağa Ktp., Hüdai Efendi collection, no. 882, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayali ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1235).

clearly if one looks at the comment, though very short but very much meaningful, of Ḥājī Khalīfa (d. 1657), a contemporary from the Ottoman Empire, succinctly asserted: “*It is the best (ahsan) ḥāshiyah and (widely) accepted among scholars.*”⁶⁵³

Although contemporaries, Siyālkūtī and Ḥājī Khalīfa, who shared the same year of death, had no opportunity to meet. Originating from two major Muslim Empires, both formidable in might, they existed in a competitive intellectual environment. Notably, the Ottoman Empire excelled in the development of rational sciences. In this context, Ḥājī Khalīfa’s commendation adds significant depth, illuminating the esteemed position of Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* within the Ottoman intellectual landscape during its early years of this work.⁶⁵⁴

It is uncertain when it first reached the Ottoman land, but there is useful information to approximate its time. The work was likely written in the early seventeenth century in Hindustan. The earliest manuscript, presumably used in Ottoman madrasahs, was found in the Süleymaniye Library, Carullah collection, no. 1190, indicates that it was transcribed on Rajab 3, 1046/December 1, 1936. The manuscript lacks information about the place and scribe, making it possible that it was written in Hejaz, Cairo, or even Istanbul.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵³ Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1148.

⁶⁵⁴ In the realm of scholarly competition between Baburid and Ottoman scholars, available records are limited. Yet, significant intellectual interactions unfolded between the former and the Safavids, illustrated by an event leading to Siyālkūtī’s treatise *al-Risalah al-Khaqaniyyah*. Notably, Siyālkūtī’s contributions encompass several works on distinguished Ottoman scholars like Ḥasan Çelebi and Khayali, indicating a nuanced intellectual exchange between these two traditions. Abdul Hai Ḥasani ceases to detail Siyālkūtī’s competition with the Ottomans without further clarification. See Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

⁶⁵⁵ See es-Siyālkūtī, “Carullah, No. 01190,” fol. 142. One note is important to mention that the extant manuscripts of this work exhibit variations in their commencements. The foundational manuscript includes an introduction elucidating the context and the dedication of the work. Conversely, several other copies forego the introduction and commence directly with the main text. This discrepancy may potentially perplex readers in discerning the authorship of the works attributed to Siyālkūtī. See ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Zubdat al-Afkār” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no. 01317; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Zubdat al-Afkār” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no. 01265; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Zubdat al-Afkār” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Serez, no. 01429; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Zubdat al-Afkār” (1077), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hamidiye, no. 00738.

As mentioned, Hājji Khalīfa devoted approximately twenty years, starting from 1043/1633 to compiling his extensive work, *Kashf al-Zunun*. His substantial commentary on Siyālkūtī's *hāshiyah* on Khayālī further corroborates the earlier assertion that the work likely reached the Ottoman scholarly scene in the 1040s/1630s. Hājji Khalīfa's meticulous comment indicates the necessity of time for scholars to engage thoroughly with Siyālkūtī's work, evaluating its adaptability and educational value. Therefore, it is conceivable that the work became known in Ottoman intellectual circles during the 1040s/1630s.

Before delving into the discussion on the utilization of the *hāshiyah* in the Ottoman context, it would be worthy of discussing when a work would become the best one what Hājji Khalīfa declared saying, "Siyālkūtī's *hāshiyah* on Khayālī stands out as the foremost among the *hāshiyahs* and widely acknowledged among the scholars."

Firstly, it is important to keep in mind that Hājji Khalīfa, a prominent scholar well-versed in the Ottoman intellectual landscape, demonstrated comprehensive knowledge of developments in major Muslim intellectual centers, such as Baburid, Safavid, and the Arab world, as evident in his extensive work, *Kashf al-Zunun*, serving as a conduit for scholars, his comments reflected a collective scholarly perspective.

Secondly, *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* emerged as a widely read and easily comprehensible text for students, gaining popularity in both Ottoman and al-Azhar madrasah traditions over centuries. Its significance transcended classical traditions, influencing modern educational systems in Islamic studies. Consequently, numerous *sharḥs* and *hāshiyahs* were authored directly on or in response to the text—for instance, Aḥmed b. Mustafa al-Khayālī composed a *hāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, inspiring several *hāshiyahs* in diverse educational centers.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁶ See for about the use of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* and Khayali Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1145–49; Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Akaidü'n-Nesefi," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1989), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/akaidun-nesefi> (17.11.2023); Bebek, "Hayālī"; Mustafa Sait Yazıcıoğlu, "XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlm-i Kelâm Öğretimi ve Genel Eğitim İçindeki Yeri," no. 4 (1980): 274–76, <https://dspace.ankara.edu.tr/xmlui/handle/20.500.12575/63244>.

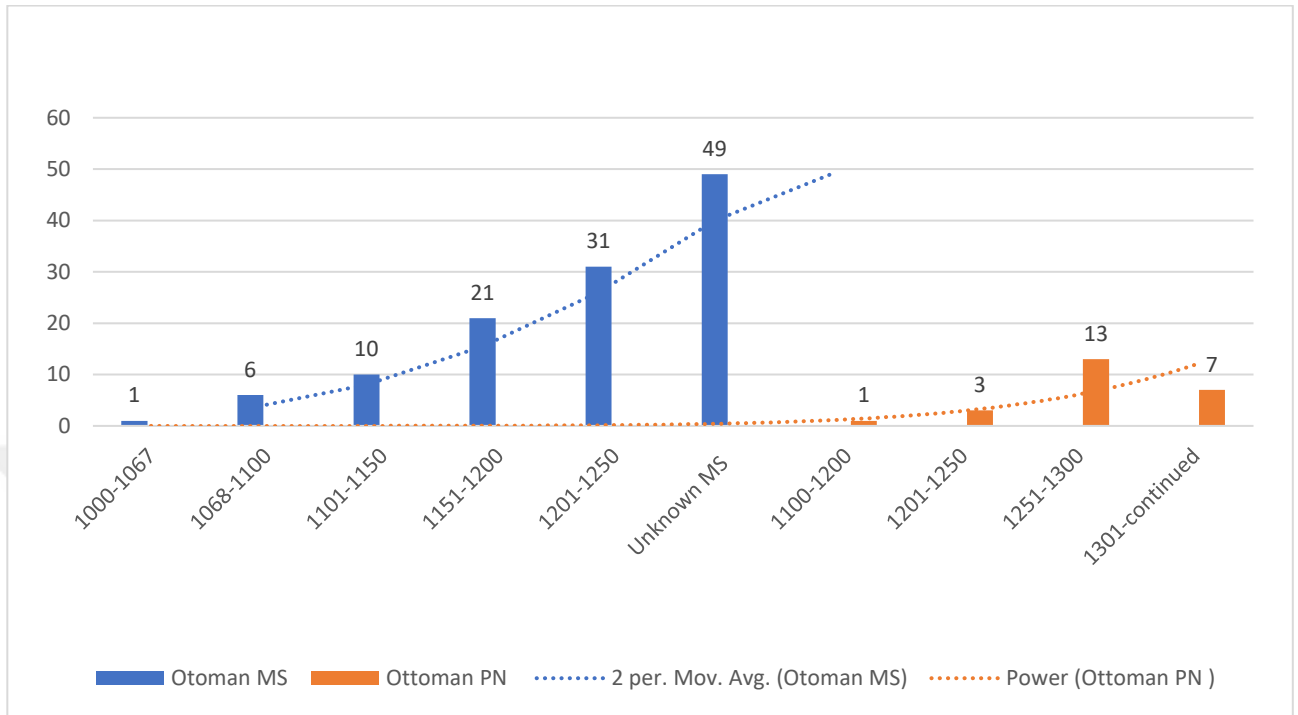
This importance is evident in Ḥājjī Khalīfa's text, where he referenced approximately thirty-five *ḥāshiyahs* and eight *sharḥs* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* along with their respective authors. Employing diverse language, Ḥājjī Khalīfa commented on specific works; for Khayālī's *ḥāshiyah*, he described it as "*an acceptable approach, employing a concise method suitable for intelligent students.*" And he characterized Qul Aḥmed (Qawol Aḥmed) 's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī's work as "*a meticulous ḥāshiyah circulated among non-Arabs, more challenging and precise than the sea of ideas.*"⁶⁵⁷

Regarding Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī, Ḥājjī Khalīfa employed extraordinary language, labeling it "*ahsan*" or the best of its kind—a superlative he did not assign to any other works on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*. This likely occurred in the early 1640s, marking a significant tribute for Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* in a foreign intellectual landscape during that era.

Thirdly, gaining broad acknowledgment from academics and students is contingent upon a work's ability to clearly convey the meaning and objectives of the discussed topics. In the case of the Hind ground, where a scarcity of works on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* existed, Siyālkūtī's endeavor to elucidate and enhance the understanding of the main work through Khayālī's existing work followed a medieval tradition. Typically, an author, having access to existing works, can present comments in a more accessible manner. Siyālkūtī, with the limited number of works available to him, likely utilized this opportunity to present his insights more comprehensibly, benefiting many scholars and students within and beyond the region. Consequently, it received widespread recognition in the Ottoman intellectual sphere.

It seems Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī remained influential and gradually increased its use in the coming centuries as well.

⁶⁵⁷ See for more examples Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1145–49.



Graph 3. 1: Number and Times of Producing Manuscripts and Publications of Siyālkūtī's Ḥāshiyah on Khayālī in the Ottoman Context.

Certainly, there is no denying that numerous manuscripts, unfortunately, have not endured to be present in today's libraries. The preceding discussion, relying on Ḥājji Khalīfa's commentary, provides insight into the prevalence of Siyālkūtī's work, suggesting that the intellectual landscape had multiple copies accessible, particularly in prominent madrasahs where scholars would attend and lecture. Regrettably, scant information exists about these manuscripts. While one surviving copy dates back to Siyālkūtī's lifetime, Ḥājji Khalīfa's comments indicate a more substantial number of copies available to scholars. This underscores the likelihood that the surviving manuscripts represent only a fraction of the total. Moreover, approximately half of the examined copies lack the scribe's date, and only sixteen out of one hundred twenty-one specify their place of composition, presenting valuable data for analyzing the Ottoman intellectual milieu.

Examining the available manuscripts in this study, alongside the provided graph, reveals a gradual increase in the utilization of the *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī during the

eleventh/seventeenth century. Considering the manuscript's esteemed status in medieval madrasahs, it functioned as a shared educational resource, with multiple students accessing it at distinct periods, illustrating a geometric pattern of usage. The transfer of ownership or the passing of a manuscript to different individuals over time, along with a corresponding increase in readership, is unsurprising in this educational context.⁶⁵⁸

In the twelfth/eighteenth century, it seems to have been used in a gradual and systematic way. One important point is that this time, the publication was introduced on the ground. This work was published for the first time in 1185 in Istanbul. Perhaps this time could be regarded as a new era of the dynamic of the circulation of the work as so many copies would be printed at once.

⁶⁵⁸ It has been observed several places in this work. A manuscript of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*'s ownership was changed one to another for eight times according to the records put on the title page. In the same way, a copy of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matqiyyah* had been sold for four times, just to mention for example. See Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, "Hāṣiye ale'l-Mutavvel" (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, No. 02972; Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, "Hāṣiye alâ Hāṣiyeti Tahriri'l-Kavâ'idî'l-Mantikiyye fi Şerhi'r-Risâleti'ş-Şemsiyye" (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, no. 01947.

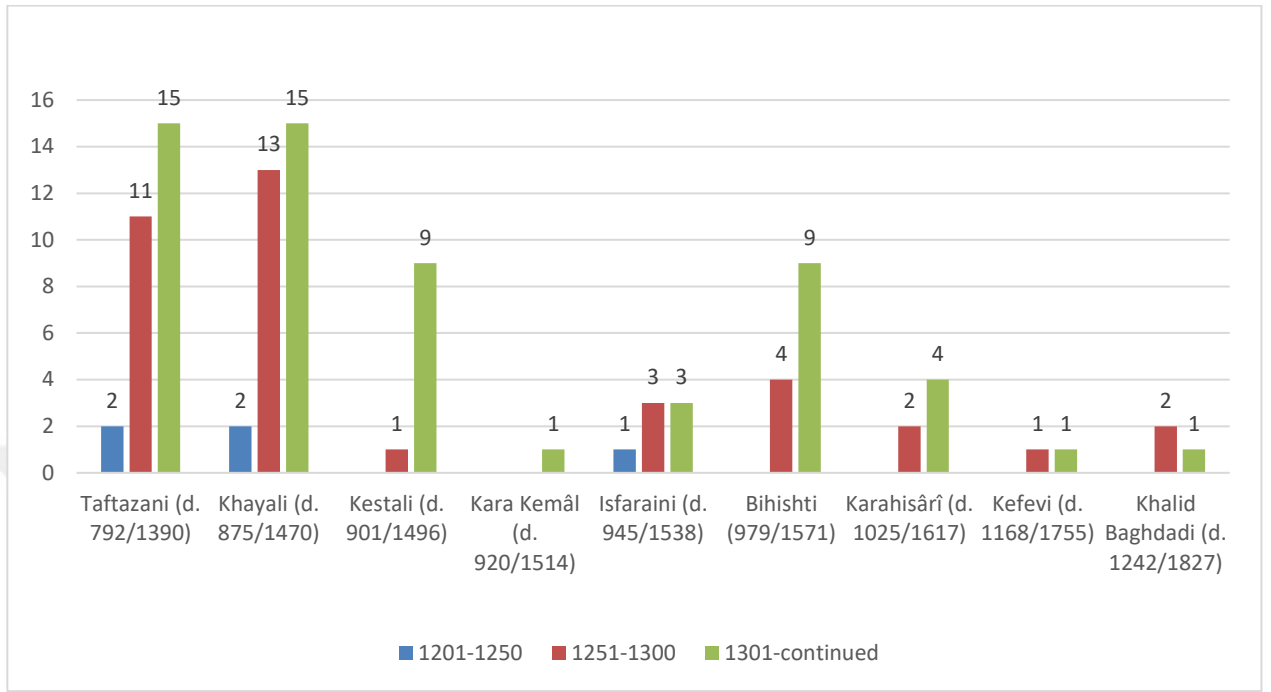


Figure 3. 2: Time and Number of Publication of the Works on al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah in the Ottoman Domain.⁶⁵⁹

Coming to the thirteenth/nineteenth century, although publication had already begun, the trend of manuscript copying did not cease; it continued with a gradual increase, mirroring the pattern observed in the previous century. During this period, the work was published sixteen times, with one publication in Bulak (Cairo) and the remaining fifteen

⁶⁵⁹ The data originates from the (Turkish) Manuscripts Library (YEK) system, with no verification from alternative sources. The presented figure reflects the information available in the mentioned library. However, a comprehensive examination of additional published sources might potentially enhance the count, particularly Taftāzānī and Khayalī's works as they were published with other works relating to the same trend. This approach aims to elucidate the extent of utilization of these works in the Ottoman context.

Another important point is the scholarly discourse on the trajectory of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, the referenced scholars are commonly cited. Each of them held a distinct place within the Ottoman context, albeit with variations. Notably, figures like Ramazan b. AbdulMuhsin al-Vizevi (d. 979/1571), also known as Bihishti, gained recognition, particularly for his commentary on Khayali. Esteemed scholars such as Kınalızade Ali Efendi (d. 979/1572), author of *Akhlaq-ı Alâî*, and Ottoman scholar and poet Nev'izâde Atâyî (d. 1045/1635), regarded Bihishti's work with the acknowledgment that "*No commentary surpasses the elegance bestowed upon this work.*" There are Despite predating Siyâlkûtî's work, assessing the ongoing trend and gradual adoption of works in this realm is pertinent for a comprehensive understanding, shedding light on the significance of latter's scholarly contributions. See Mustafa İsmet Uzun, "Bihiştî Ramazan Efendi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1992), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/bihisti-ramazan-efendi>.

in Istanbul, the primary intellectual center of the Ottoman domain. There is a notable surge in publications, especially in the late thirteenth/nineteenth century, securing further discussion. This marks a significant development for Siyālkūtī's work on Khayālī in a foreign land, suggesting extensive utilization, perhaps more so in the Ottoman domain than in Hind or any other intellectual realm. Despite the contemporary global accessibility of scholars and their works, the publication of work sixteen times in a century remains an extraordinary event. It has been observed that this publication trend more-or-less also continued into the fourteenth/twentieth century.

In the early eleventh/seventeenth century, considering Ḥājī Khalīfa's comments and the gradual increase in the use of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī over subsequent times, it is evident that Siyālkūtī maintained a significant, if not the most, influential position in the intellectual landscape. Moving to the thirteenth/nineteenth century, analysis of the graphs depicting Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī and several works by different scholars used in the same intellectual milieu during their contemporary times reveals that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* played a central role, if not the primary one, among the works related to *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*. While Taftāzānī's *sharḥ* and Khayālī's *ḥāshiyah* were published as frequently as or close to Siyālkūtī's, their influence on the trend of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* is significant. Siyālkūtī's work is interconnected with both Taftāzānī's and Khayālī's, with the latter's *ḥāshiyah* being on Taftāzānī's *sharḥ*, as already discussed. Apart from these two widely used works, when considering other works, it becomes apparent that Siyālkūtī's had no significant competitor in the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Although Kestali and Bihishti had a considerable number of publications, they did not surpass the scope examined in this study.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁶⁰ Siyālkūtī's work does not imply self-sufficiency; rather, it is situated among various works, augmenting its standing in relation to others. Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* interacted within the Ottoman scholarly milieu alongside contributions from diverse scholars, forming a mutually enriching tapestry. It is conceivable that certain works, at times, might be deemed superior by scholars. For instance, Ramazan b. AbdulMuhsin Bihishti enjoys widespread recognition. This practice suggests that a madrasah encompassed an array of works by different scholars, enabling teachers to engage in comprehensive discussions. See Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim: Riyazi İlimler*, vol. 1 (İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 105–8. An additional salient

Analyzing the publication numbers of Taftāzānī and Khayālī's works reveals their formidable competition with Siyālkūtī's work. However, it is not fair to definitively determine the standing of Siyālkūtī's work compared to theirs. In later times, Siyālkūtī's work continued to maintain its presence, while the works of others, such as Kestali and Bihisti, gained momentum. This does not imply that Siyālkūtī's work faced a decline in its trajectory; in fact, numerous copies of his works already existed and were utilized.

Some indications inform Siyālkūtī's works were used here and there, and so many libraries and madrasahs had copies of the work. Our examination tells us that around twenty-six collections house around 121 manuscripts of Siyālkūtī's work on Khayālī, and there are many published works possible to find in so many manuscripts, formal and informal libraries, the number would be hundreds. Osman Demirci analyzed the available kalām related works in the Hacı Selim Ağa Library established by the Hacı Selim Ağa in 1782. It houses nine copies of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī.⁶⁶¹

It is a noteworthy development that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī experienced a heightened demand in the trend of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* during the thirteenth/nineteenth century. This work retained its significance in the Ottoman intellectual landscape from Siyālkūtī's lifetime in the eleventh/seventeenth century until the early fourteenth/twentieth century. It consistently maintained its influential position in the milieu of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*—a major trend in the Kalām tradition. It could be

observation is the extensive interconnection of works, as most texts find support in other scholarly endeavors. Numerous annotations and comments from diverse sources, both within the manuscripts and published editions, contribute collectively to the cultivation of a nuanced and comprehensive understanding. Such as a copy of Siyālkūtī's work where a note from *sharh al-Mawaqif* are put, es-Siyalkūtī, "Balıkesir İl Halk Kütüphanesi, No. 246," fol 10b.

⁶⁶¹ Osman Demirci enumerates additional works in the library. Notably, it includes 23 copies of Abu Hanifa's *al-Fikhu'l-Akber*, 7 copies of Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī's *Mullā Jalal*, and 4 copies of *sharh al-Mawaqif*. Furthermore, there are 10 copies of Jurjānī's *ḥāshiyah al-Tajrid*, 3 copies of Ramazan Efendi's *ḥāshiyah* on Taftāzānī's *sharh al-'Aqā'id*, 9 copies of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī, 3 copies of Shaikhzade AbdurRaḥīm Efendi's *Nazmu'l-Faraid*, and 11 copies of Taftāzānī's *sharh al-'Aqā'id*. See Osman Demirci, "Osmanlı Medreselerinde Kelam Öğretimi: İznik, Bursa, Edirne, İstanbul" (Ph.D., Turkey, Marmara University, 2012), 284. And for more about the collections and libraries, houses the work, see the appendix' Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī part.

asserted that even if Siyālkūtī had produced no other works besides his *ḥāshiyah* on Khayālī, this alone would suffice to immortalize him in Ottoman and Hind intellectual history.



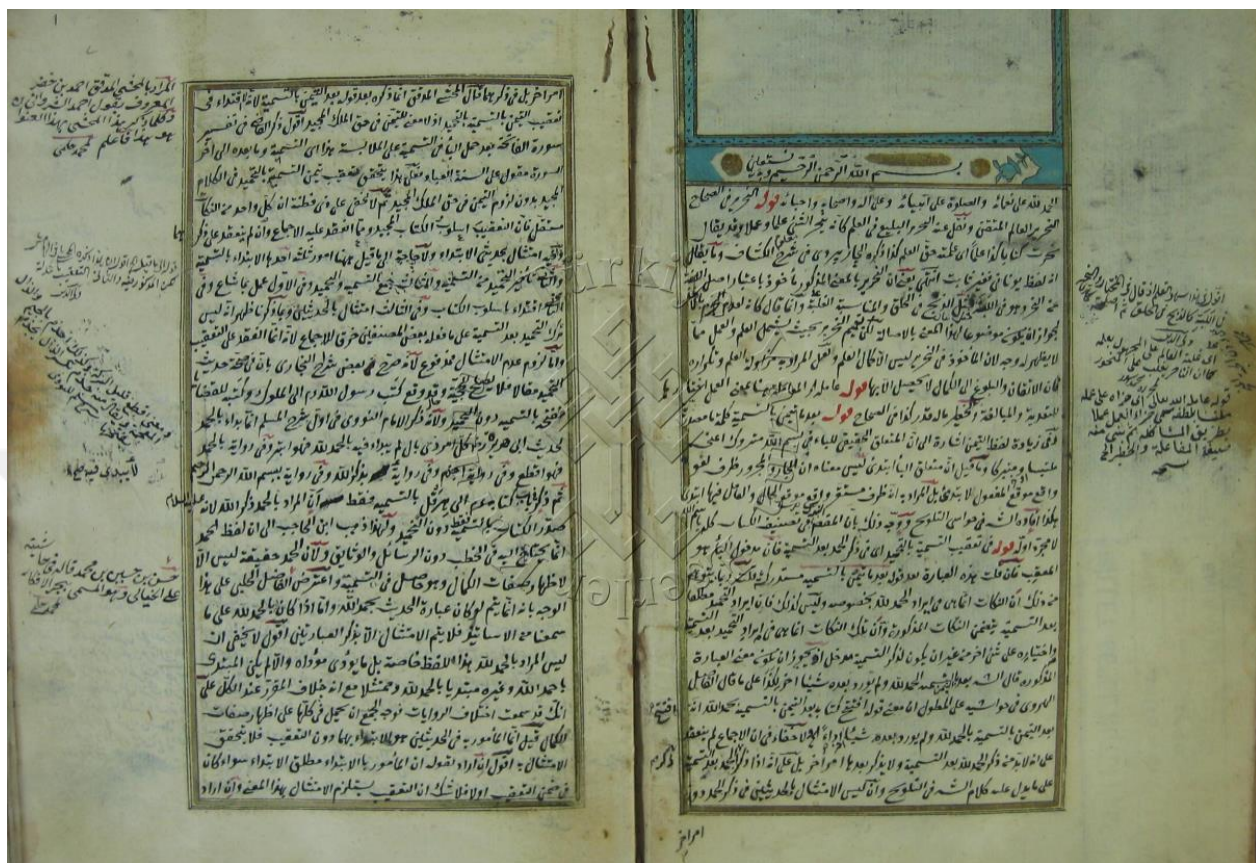


Figure 3. 3: The Image of the earliest copy of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Khayālī has been found, preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, Carullah Collection, no. 1190, scribed in 1046 h., fol. 1.

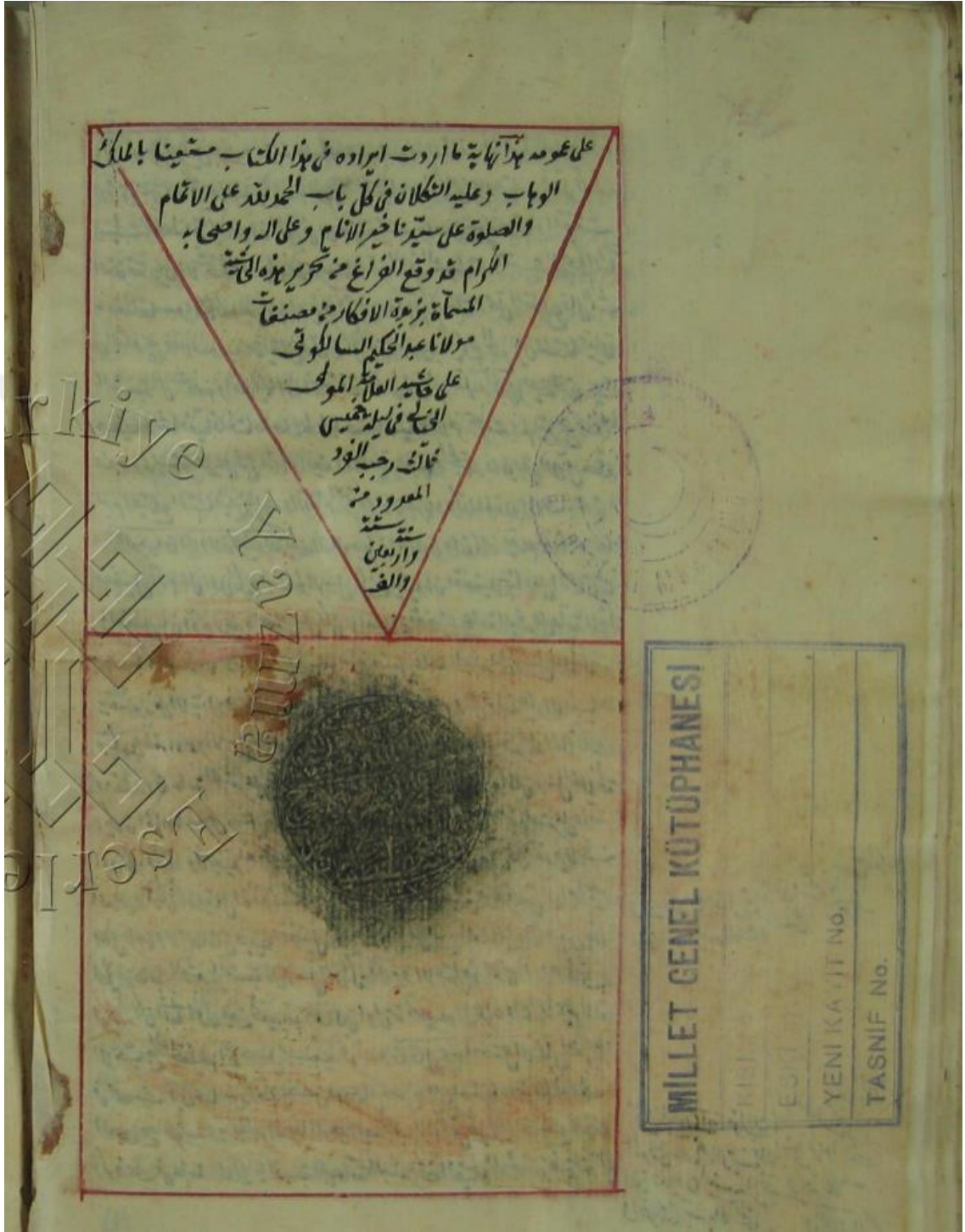


Figure 3. 4: The earliest copy of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Khayālī has been found, preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, Carullah Collection, no. 1190, scribed in 1046 h., fol. 142.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*

The second popular *‘Aqā’id* work of the two is ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī’s *al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*. Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī (d. 907/1501) wrote *sharḥ* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*, similarly known as *sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah* or *al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah li’l-Dawwānī* or *al-‘Aqā’id li’l-Dawwānī*. A treatise on the principle of Muslim belief from Sunni perspective. Notably, a multitude of *ḥāshiyahs* were produced for the original works, as well as for the *sharḥs*, with further *sharḥs* and *ḥāshiyahs* being written on these subsequent works as well.⁶⁶² ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* was a *ḥāshiyah* on *ḥāshiyah* of Khayālī on the *sharḥ* of Taftāzānī on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, and here Siyālkūtī wrote directly on the *sharḥ* of Dawwānī. In the Ottoman madrasahs, this work is also known as *ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Jalāl* or *ḥāshiyatu’l-Jalāl*, and in Hindustan mostly used as *ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*.⁶⁶³

Available records inform that there were some works on this trend written in Hind ground before and after Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah*. Such as, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabī b. ‘Abdullah al-Shittari al-Gujarātī, Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589), Mullā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shāhid b. ‘Abdu’l-Halīm Sihlawī (d. 1103/1691), Shaykh Muḥammad Muḥsin Kashmīrī (d. 1707), and Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn b. Qutubuddīn al-Sihlawī (d. 1748) are among the famous wrote *ḥāshiyah* on the *sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*. It seems that before

⁶⁶² See Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 207–8; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 108–9; Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “el- Akāidü’l-Adudiyye,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1989), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/el-akaidul-adudiyye>. Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī’s *sharḥ* gained popularity, attributed to its comprehensive elucidation. It was swiftly disseminated to numerous learning centers across Islamic regions. Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī claims his *sharḥ* as the inaugural commentary on the subject, yet an earlier commentary by Muḥammad al-Damagani in Cairo appears to predate it, potentially unknown to Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī. Composed in Merv in 905 H, a prominent cultural and intellectual center of the Muslim world, it marked Dawwānī’s final *sharḥ*. Despite its classification, its depth renders it akin to an independent work. Widely recognized, it formed an integral part of theological studies in many madrasahs, with numerous copies housed in libraries in Hindustan and the Ottoman Empire. See Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:52–53; no. 550.

⁶⁶³ See ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Siyālkūtī ‘ala’l-Jalāl* (İstanbul, 1271); *Hāşiye alâ Şerhi’l-Celâl*, n.d.; Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, vol. X, nos. 554–55.

Siyālkūtī, it seems very works done in Hindustan. So, it is understood that there was a demand or necessity from the intellectual ground to fill the gap. Siyālkūtī here paid his efforts to explain theological points that were omitted, or concisely discussed, or lacked understanding from the work of Dawwānī. He also provided philological explanations in some cases.⁶⁶⁴

It is not known when it was written; however, it is imaginable that he penned it during his early career, after writing *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafīyyah*. As the two were the major *al-‘Aqā’id* works, they were hugely used in the madrasahs of medieval times. This work is available in some Hindustan libraries, as mentioned in the appendix; however, almost all of them lack the date of the scribe and the place where they were written. This work needs to be discussed and analyzed more.

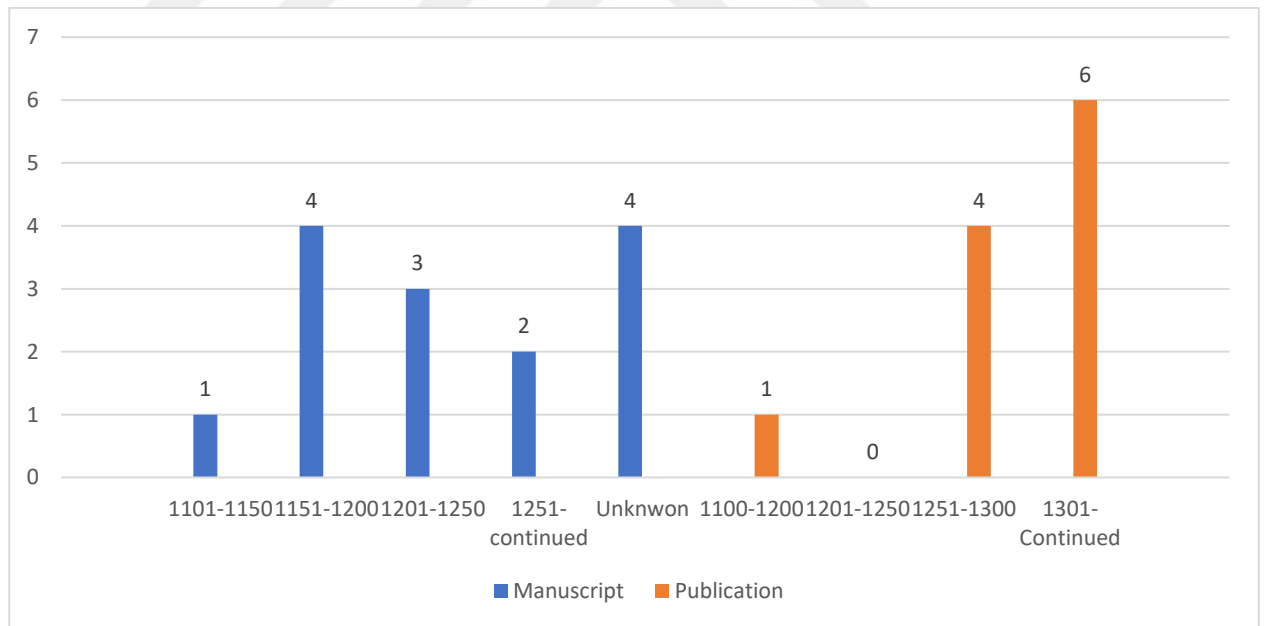


Figure 3. 5: Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah in the Ottoman ground.

⁶⁶⁴ Zubaid Aḥmad, though mentions Siyālkūtī’s other works in different places, missed while talking about the work *al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyyah* and its developments in the course of time. See Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:55, no. 554; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 108–9, 379.

The work extended beyond Hindustan, reaching various cities and lands, including the Ottoman realm, where a manuscript copy dating back to 1105 h. has been discovered 38 years after Siyālkūtī's passing. This occurrence aligns with the trend of multiple copies of Siyālkūtī's works circulating during his lifetime, possibly preceding the identified manuscript. Evidently, Siyālkūtī's contributions were utilized in numerous Ottoman madrasahs, particularly in discussions on the Ottoman trend of *al- 'Aqā'id al- 'Aḍudiyyah*. Notably, Dawwānī's *sharḥ*, a long-standing textbook in Ottoman madrasahs, has been published alongside the *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī, Gelenbevi, and Edirnevi (Istanbul 1306, 1325). Furthermore, a Turkish translation by Serbestzâde Aḥmed Hamdi is accessible (d. 1939) (Trabzon 1309).⁶⁶⁵ The latter marks a notable development, indicative of the work's need for widespread recognition. This aligns with the challenges the classical education system faces in adapting to modern and Western educational paradigms. Notably, Serbestzâde's omission of Siyālkūtī's name in his work raises curiosity. Ayşe Betül Tekin suggests that, despite Siyālkūtī's fame during that period, the original *ḥāshiyah* may not have been explicitly identified as his. Thus, Serbestzâde likely completed the translation without referencing Siyālkūtī due to this lack of identification. This observation demands further investigation for confirmation.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁵ Several scholars' works in this trend were taught in Ottoman madrasahs, including Mawla Aḥmed b. Muḥammad, Hakīm Shāh Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1521), Isamuddin Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Arab Shāh Isfaraini (d. 945/1538), Husain Khalkhali (d. 1604), Yusuf b. Muḥammad al-Qarabaghi (d. 1621), 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī (d. 1657), Aḥmad b. Haydar Husainabadī (d. 1669), Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Qurani (d. 1690), Ismail b. Mustafa Gelenbevi (d. 1205/1791), and Aḥmed Edirnevī, all prominent scholars. See Yavuz, "el-Akāidü'l-Adudiyye," 216; El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, 38–39. However, Osman Demirci contends that, despite mentions of Siyālkūtī, Gelenbevi, and Karabagi, Khalkhali and Gelenbevi's work gained prominence in Ottoman madrasahs. See Demirci, "Osmanlı Medreselerinde Kelam Öğretimi," 443–44.

⁶⁶⁶ See for Serbestzade Kamil Şahin, "Serbestzâde Ahmed Hamdi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1989), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahmed-hamdi-serbestzade>. And for Tekin's comment, see Ayşe Betül Tekin, "Serbestzâde'nin Tercüme-i Celâl'i Örneğinde 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kelâm Tercümelerine Genel Bir Bakış," in *Sahn-ı Semân'dan Dârülfünûn'a XIX. Yüzyıl Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası: Alimler, Müesseseler ve Fikrî Eserler XIX. Yüzyıl*, ed. Ahmet Hamdi Fırat (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2021), 444.

Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah* maintained significance into the early twentieth century. An example is a publication in 1322/1904 where Siyālkūtī's and Muḥammad Abduh's (d. 1323/1905) *ḥāshiyahs* were featured. This indicates the enduring relevance of Siyālkūtī's thoughts and ideas, as modern scholars like Muḥammad Abduh found value in their conjunction to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the realm of *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*.⁶⁶⁷

The extant manuscripts, as depicted in the graph, reveal the enduring presence of Siyālkūtī's work on *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*, spanning from the eleventh/seventeenth century to the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Significantly, its utilization surged in the latter century, a trend that persisted into the fourteenth/twentieth century. Undoubtedly, Siyālkūtī's work stands out as one of the most frequently referenced within the realm of *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*. Particularly in later times, it has garnered widespread acknowledgment in both Ottoman and post-Ottoman intellectual spheres, solidifying its enduring impact and relevance.

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif*

In the *kalāmi* studies, *Mawāqif* and its *sharḥ* had been extensively used in all the major intellectual centers. In the same way, it was also accepted as one of the textbooks in Hind ground during Baburid times and afterward. Siyālkūtī's one of the important theological works is his *ḥāshiyah* on *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355) – a prominent theologian, linguist, and *muhaqqiq* (verifier), who is well-known as one of the founding scholars of Muslim rational sciences of his age and onwards, wrote *al-Mawāqif* – one of his legendary works.⁶⁶⁸ Since his teaching time, many of his students

⁶⁶⁷ See 'Abdul Hakim Sialkoti and Muhammad Abduh, *Hashiyah 'Ala Sharhi'l-Dawani 'ala al-'Aqa'id al-'Adudiyyah* (Matbaat al-Khairiyyah, 1322).

⁶⁶⁸ In reference to the notion of founding scholars, I express my gratitude to İhsan Fazlıoğlu. I had the privilege of participating in his Medeniyet Okumaları (Civilization Studies) seminar in Istanbul Medeniyet University titled "İslam Felsefe-Bilim Tarihi: Kurucu İsimler – Kurucu Şahıslar" (History of Islamic Philosophy and Science: Pioneering Figures – Foundational Works) in the Fall of 2017. See also Abdullah

have started writing on this work from different angles and perspectives. However, the most popular work used extensively for centuries in all Muslim educational centers was a *sharḥ* on *al-Mawāqif*, known as *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. It was prepared by Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) – a famous Arabic linguist, theologian, and scholar of Muslim jurisprudence. It was completed in Samarqand in 807/1404 – a leading medieval intellectual center, as discussed several times; it is also meaningful in assessing and understanding Muslim intellectual legacy and developments over centuries.

Muslim scholars of different times went through *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* extensively and prepared many works on it, *i.e.*, *sharḥ* (commentary), *ḥāshiyah* (gloss), and so on. Its huge use also reached a level that could easily be compared with the original work - *al-Mawāqif* in terms of the increasing necessity of reading and working on it in the madrasahs. It is possible to regard that it successfully created an intellectual trend in the Muslim rational sciences, particularly in medieval and early modern times.⁶⁶⁹

There are several works done on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* in the Ottoman land until Siyālkūtī's time; among them, the *ḥāshiyahs* of Fanari Ḥasan Çelebi (d. 891/1486) (completed in 886/1481), Faṭḥullāh Shirwani (d. 891/1486), Hocaşade Muşliḥ al-Dīn Efendi (d. 893/1488), and the *ta'liqāt* of Kınalızade 'Alī Efendi (d. 979/1572) are famous.⁶⁷⁰ In contrast, Hindustan, another significant center for Muslim culture and

al-Mamun, "Analyzing Ground of Islamic Intellectual History: Founding Scholar, Founding Works, and Founding Institution," in *Proceedings Book – 10: History*, ed. Emin İadigarov (8th International Student Symposium, İstanbul, 2023), 11, <http://www.internationalstudentsymposium.com/dosya/8-uos/10-Tarih.pdf>. See about 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-İjī, works, and intellectual life of his time in general, Tahsin Görgün, "Aḍudüddin İCİ," in *DİA* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2000), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ici-adududdin>; Oliver Leaman, "'Aḍud al-Din al-Ijī (c.700–756/ c.1300–55)," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Oliver Leaman (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); Tahsin Görgün, "Aḍudüddin İcî: Kadı Ebü'l-Fazl Abdurrahman b. Rükneḍdin b. Abdurrahman (Ö. 756/1355)," in *İslam İlim ve Düşünce Geleneğinde Aḍudüddin El İcî*, ed. Eşref Altaş (İsam / İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2018), 21–73.

⁶⁶⁹ See for about Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, his works, and *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, Seyyid Şerīf Cürċânî, *Şerhu'l-Mevākif (Mevākif Şerhi) (I)*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer, trans. Ömer Türker, Second, vol. I, Dini ilimler serisi 5 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2021), 13–18; Mustafa Sinanoğlu, "El-Mevākif," in *DİA* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2004), 03.06.2023, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/el-mevakif>.

⁶⁷⁰ These works are also available in different libraries in Türkiye, see for more, Sinanoğlu, "El-Mevākif."

learning, most likely received these works, *i.e.*, the original text *al-Mawāqif* and its explanation, *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, later than the Ottoman intellectual tradition, at least in terms of availability and uses.

However, it is difficult to believe that the Hind scholars were unaware of ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī and his works. As it is discussed, the available sources inform us that ‘Abdallah b. Ilaḥdad al-‘Uthmani al-Tulanbi (d. 922/1516–7) included *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* in the Madrasah syllabus.⁶⁷¹ It seems this work was not reached and used extensively in all educational centers, and perhaps it was confined to some specific madrasahs.

Later on, it appears its necessity and uses increased during the rule of Emperor Akbar with the advent of Central Asian and Iranian scholars, particularly from Shiraz, *i.e.*, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī. As discussed above, the latter (Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī) included theological and logical works already used in Shiraz as textbooks in the syllabus. Perhaps this time, *i.e.*, in the 1580s, when Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī took the lead in the education system, its use and reading in the madrasahs increased rapidly.

On the other hand, scholars from Central Asia, particularly from Samarqand and Kashmīr, were familiar with ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī’s works, and most possibly, they also went through the latter’s texts. Although there is a shortage of information we have accessed so far, they could try to add to the Hind madrasah curriculum. For example, ‘Abd al-Shāhid Naqshbandi Aḥrārī (d. 1584), as discussed, came from Samarqand and stayed in Hindustan for a certain period. He would lecture there, and perhaps many students studied with him like Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī Kashmīr (Siyālkūtī’s main teacher and guide) did. So, these Sunni scholars could also try to introduce it into the education system.

It seems still it had not been an indispensable part of the syllabus followed by all until the last phase of the sixteenth century, if not all, at least by many, as it is difficult to find any works written in Hindustan on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* or *al-Mawāqif* except two. The first was a *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* written by Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589) – a

⁶⁷¹ Khan, “Islamic Philosophy in the Early Modern Islamic World: India,” 1060.

student of Imad al-Dīn Tarimi (d. 941/1534), who was a direct student of Jalal al-Dīn Dawwānī.⁶⁷² However, it seems this work either did not reach many scholars and students or was not accepted by the influential scholars of the time. As a result, it was just placed in the *tazkiras* of the scholars.

There is another possibility to have a *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by Khatib Abul Fazl Gazaruni Gujarātī (d. 959/1551). He was a pupil of Dawwānī and Mohiuddin; the latter was a student of Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī. Perhaps Gujarat's king welcomed him (Gazaruni). One vital point is that he was a teacher of Shaykh Mubarak – the father of Abu'l-Faḍl and Faizi. It is not clear when and where it was written. As he was attracted to Gujarat and would lecture there, his *ḥāshiyah* with other works probably reached other Hind madrasahs accordingly.⁶⁷³ It seems this work, like Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī's, did not achieve a wide readership.

Examining the accounts of Abdul Hai Ḥasani and Zubaid Aḥmad, it is clearly understood that the necessity of preparing work on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was commenced later in the Hind ground, and perhaps this situation continued until the end of the sixteenth century. It is also yet to be discovered what *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah* were read in the Hind intellectual ground. It seems that Mīrzā Jan Shīrāzī al-Bāghnawī's (d. 995/1587) *sharḥ* on the *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was reached to Hindustan through his students Yusuf Muḥammad Jān al-Kawsaj al-Qarabaghi (d. 1035/1625-6), and Muḥammad Fāḍil Badakhshī (d. 1051/1641) as mentioned, and other Iranian scholars like Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī. Still, it is

⁶⁷² Asad Q. Aḥmed also mentions a super-gloss was prepared on Qāḍī Shāh al-Samarkandī's gloss on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by Mirja Jan Shīrāzī al-Bāghnawī (d. 995/1587) who was also a grandchild of Dawani. However, it is not clear if he came to Hindustan and contributed directly. However, it is possible to have used his work in Hind ground through Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī as claimed by Asad Aḥmed. And, as mentioned above he reached to Mīr Zāhid Harawī through his networks. Here, it seems at least it is not confirmed that his work on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was written in Hindustan, and most probably it was in Iran, see the discussion and about Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:442–43; Asad Q. Ahmed, "The Mawāqif of 'Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India," in *Philosophical Theology in Islam: Later Ash'arism East and West*, ed. Ayman Shihadeh and Jan Thiele, vol. 5, *Islamicate Intellectual History* (Brill, 2020), 397–99, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004426610_015.

⁶⁷³ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 272, 372.

unclear where and at what level it was used.⁶⁷⁴ It seems Siyālkūtī, at least, was aware of the work of Mīrzā Jan Shīrāzī al-Bāghnawī through the Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī channel, *i.e.*, ‘Abd al-Salām Diwah of Awadh – a teacher of Siyālkūtī, as mentioned before.⁶⁷⁵

In addition, Siyālkūtī wrote *ḥāshiyah* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Ḥasan Çelebi b. Muḥammad Shāh al-Fanari (d. 891/1486) on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. It shows that the *ḥāshiyah* of Ḥasan Çelebi was available and would be used in the Hind madrasahs.⁶⁷⁶ Finally, it is imaginable that there were at least several works, *i.e.*, *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah* on *al-Mawāqif* and *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*.

This above discussion shows a considerable gap and absence in works on *al-Mawāqif* and *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* in Hindustan in the sixteenth century, where there were, as mentioned, many works prepared in the Ottoman and Safavid intellectual grounds. Our sources do not give the date or mention of when Siyālkūtī wrote the *ḥāshiyah*. It sometimes happens, as Siyālkūtī informed us after completing *al-Risālah al-*

⁶⁷⁴ Mīrzā Jan Shīrāzī al-Bāghnawī was one of the most celebrated scholars of his time. He lectured in several places like Shiraz, Lar and Bukhara beside his extensive writing on different areas of rational sciences, and his ideas and thoughts were transmitted, as happened for Hindustan, to the Ottomans by his student Hussain al-Hussaini al-Khalkhali (d. 1605), see for more about him, Reza Pourjavady, “Ḥabīballāh Bāghnawī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (Brill, October 1, 2012), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/baghnavi-habiballah-COM_24272?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopaedia-of-islam-3&s.q=Ba%CC%84ghnawī%CC%84%2C+H%CC%A3abi%CC%84balla%CC%84h. Abdul Hai Ḥasani mentions only one work done by Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī before Siyālkūtī, see for more, Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi'l Hind*, 209; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 112; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:442.

⁶⁷⁵ Ahmed, “The Mawāqif of ‘Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India,” 2020, 398. Mīrzā Jan Shīrāzī al-Bāghnawī is also mentioned as a bridge between Dashtakī and Hind intellectual ground. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami also mentions, as discussed, that Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī played important role to bring Iranian scholars’s ideas in Hindustan like Dawwani, Ghiyath al-Dīn Mansur Shīrāzī, and Mīrzā Jan see Ḍumayrīyah, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 24; Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001, 220–21.

⁶⁷⁶ It seems Ḥasan Çelebi was, at least, introduced in the Hind ground for his works, one is mentioned *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, and another one is *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mutawwal*. Maulana Abdul Qadir Sirhindi – a Hind scholar of fifteenth century prepared a work (*ḥāshiyah* ?) on the latter work of Ḥasan Çelebi. According to the same source the work was brought to the Hind ground recently, see Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:371.

Khāqāniyyah. However, one important point is mentioned in the introduction of his *hāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* that he wrote or at least started preparing this *hāshiyah* when ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb went through *al-Mawāqif* or *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* with him. Most possibly, it was the *hāshiyah* of Ḥasan Çelebi with *al-Mawāqif*. Some accounts inform that Siyālkūtī did it with the advice of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb.⁶⁷⁷ It is also possible, sometimes, in the classical madrasah education system. As Siyālkūtī wrote *hāshiyah* on Ḥasan Çelebi’s *hāshiyah*, as mentioned, they would use the latter’s work. The text would be difficult to understand, and he would generate different necessary ideas and thoughts that would make the text easy to understand, which could push Siyālkūtī to prepare *hāshiyah* on it. Another important point is important that Siyālkūtī mentioned in his *hāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* that he took notes while ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb studied with him. Later, he made a complete and comprehensive *hāshiyah*.⁶⁷⁸

It is well known that Siyālkūtī’s *hāshiyah* on the Ḥasan Çelebi’s *hāshiyah* on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (hence *hāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*) was, most possibly, the first *hāshiyah* written by a Hind scholar.⁶⁷⁹ It is also worth mentioning that Siyālkūtī chose Ḥasan Çelebi’s *hāshiyah* and critiqued it. This fact is also meaningful for this work and is worth considering why Siyālkūtī selected it. Before coming to this discussion, it is better to introduce who Ḥasan Çelebi was.

His name is Badruddin Ḥasan, well known as Fanari Ḥasan Çelebi, son of Muḥammad Shāh. He is often mentioned as Ḥasan Çelebi b. Mehmed Şah b. Muḥammad al-Bursavî al-Fanârî is his full name in Turkish sources. The former was of Anatolian origin, was

⁶⁷⁷ See, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “Hāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, No. 01128; al-Siyālkūtī, “Ragıp Paşa, No. 0765”; Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:45, No. 538; Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 119 No. 448.

⁶⁷⁸ al-Siyālkūtī, “Konya Yusuf Ağa Ktp., Yusuf Ağa Ktp., YY0000004718.”

⁶⁷⁹ As mentioned, Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī also wrote a *hāshiyah*; however, it seems it had not, if not at least an incredibly less impact on the ground, and it was perhaps not familiar to the scholars of different regions. Where Siyālkūtī’s one successfully received more attraction to the larger readership, See Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 112; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 72.

born in Bursa in 840/1436, and was raised there.⁶⁸⁰ He was fortunate to have a ground like Bursa Sultāniya Madrasah and an opportunity to study with many prominent teachers of the time, *i.e.*, Fakhruddin Ajami, Alauddin Ali al-Tusi and Mullā Khusraw (Husrev). He became an expert in several disciplines in his early years, *i.e.*, Arabic language, rhetoric, kalām, fiqh, and usul-e fiqh, with other branches of rational sciences. Hājji Khalīfa often calls him *muḥaqqiq* with his name. Upon proving his excellencies, he, though a young man, was appointed as a teacher at Halabiya (Halebiye) Madrasah in Edirne – a city enjoyed as the capital of the Ottoman state since its conquest and continued until Istanbul took over (1365-1453). Later, he visited Damascus, Hijaz, and returned to a new destination, Orhan Gazi Madrasah. It seems he was familiar with the palace as he, taking permission from Fatih Sultān Mehmed, went to Cairo, Egypt – a famous and unparalleled intellectual and cultural center of the Muslim world of the medieval time. He studied with several prominent scholars of several disciplines and received *ijazat* (diploma). After that, he revisited Hijaz and lectured there for a period and finally returned to Anatolia (Anadolu), where he was appointed in Iznik madrasah by Fatih Sultān Mehmed Khān first and later in Sahn-i Saman Madrasah and spent his time there until he got retired and went back to Bursa where he died in 891/1486 (886/1581 as mentioned by Hājji Khalīfa).⁶⁸¹ He left many important work behind, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Mutawwal*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Mukhtasar fi’l-Ma’ani*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, *Risālah fi Bayani’l-Hasil bi’l-Masdar* (completed in 886/1481), *ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī ‘ala sharḥi’l-’Aqaid*

⁶⁸⁰ This name covers shortly his introducing as well. However, in the manuscripts he is mentioned with different recognition as al-Shaikh al-Imām al-‘Alim al-‘Allamah Khâtîmatu’l-Muhaqqiqîn Ḥasan Çelebi (Jalabi). See for more, Hasan Çelebi b. Mehmed Şah b. Muhammed el-Bursevî el-Fenârî, “Hāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mutawwal” (MS, n.d.), fol. 1b, Konya YEBM, Bölge Yazma Eserler, No. BY0000002189, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/72053>; Cemil Akpınar, “Fenari Hasan Çelebi,” in *DİA* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, n.d.), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hasan-celebi-fenari> (04.06.2023).

⁶⁸¹ Both date are mentioned in many places, *i.e.*, manuscript libraries’ experts use two in different places, see, Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1891; el-Fenârî, “Bölge Yazma Eserler, No. BY0000002189”; Hasan Çelebi, “Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Talwih” (MS, n.d.), Diyarbakır Ktp., Diyarbakır İHK, no. 358/1, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/420585>.

al-Nasafiyyah, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Kashshaf*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Talwih*, are some to mention.⁶⁸² Ḥājji Khalīfa commented that his *ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was valuable and useful on the ground.⁶⁸³ Later, this work was used extensively in the Ottoman madrasah as well as in other parts of the Muslim world. It was read with other scholars’ works on *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* on *al-Mawāqif*. Notably, this work was frequently published with other scholars in the Ottoman territory, *i.e.*, Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Siyālkūtī, Isfahani, ‘Aḥud al-Dīn al-Ījī, and so on.⁶⁸⁴

It is clearly understood that he (Ḥasan Çelebi) was a versatile scholar, maintaining good relations with the court and scholarly connections with his contemporaries; he achieved a good position in his mainland and other places through teaching and writing texts. Though not unique, it is noteworthy that his text swiftly reached far-off places like Hindustan shortly after its creation. It is also a vital example of Hindustan’s and Ottoman intellectual connections.

Our existing sources do not indicate the underlying motivation that drove Siyālkūtī to work (*ḥāshiyah*) on Ḥasan Çelebi’s *ḥāshiyah on sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. Again, our extant sources offer limited insights into the works of Ḥasan Çelebi that were introduced to Hindustan and their temporal context. It appears that his *ḥāshiyahs* on *Mutawwal*, *Talwih*, and *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* had reached Hindustan as early as the sixteenth century.⁶⁸⁵ His

⁶⁸² Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi talk about his early education, relations with Fatih Sultān Mehmed Khan, visit to Egypt and appointment with his works, see Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi, *Eş-şakâ’iku’n-Nu’mâniyye fî ulemâi’d-devleti’l-osmâniyye: Osmanlı âlimleri: (çeviri, eleştirmeli metin)*, ed. Derya Örs, 1. baskı, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı yayınları ; Tarih ve toplum bilimleri serisi, 134. 20 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019), 308–12. Ḥājji Khalīfa mentions him in several places, see Haji Khalifa Mustafa b. Abdullah Katib Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn ‘An Asāmī al-Kutub Wa al-Funūn*, vol. I (Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, 2008), 350, 474 & 496; *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1147, 1479, 1714, 1891–92 & 2022. See also, Akpınar, “Fenari Hasan Çelebi”; Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:44.

⁶⁸³ Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1891.

⁶⁸⁴ See Abdulhakim es-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiye alâ Şerhi’l-Mevākif fî İlmi’l-Kelām*, 1287; *Hāshiye alâ Şerhi’l-Mevākif fî İlmi’l-Kelām* (İstanbul, 1292); *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (İstanbul, 1311).

⁶⁸⁵ It seems Maulana Abdul Qadir Sirhindi - a famous scholar who studied with Shaikh Ilaḥdad b. Salih Sirhindi (d. 927/1521) went through Ḥasan Çelebi’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* as mentioned. Another copy of the same work was scribed in 982/1584. See for more about him and his works, Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*,

ḥāshiyah on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* probably reached Hind ground during the same period, and two available copies of this work are documented, which inform us that they were scribed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁸⁶ Possibly, Ḥasan Çelebi's *ḥāshiyah* was read by many with *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* and *al-Mawāqif*. Perhaps Siyālkūtī read it before the seventeenth century and decided to prepare *ḥāshiyah* to make the text easily understandable for the students, as would often happen. More importantly, he found Ḥasan Çelebi's text important but problematic and complex in conveying the message of Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī's *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* as the former made critiques of the latter. On the other side, Siyālkūtī not only criticized Ḥasan Çelebi's *ḥāshiyah* line by almost line but also made massive rejections and supported and defended the ideas and thoughts of Jurjani.⁶⁸⁷

It appears that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* played a substantial role in the intellectual landscape of Hind, with subsequent generations drawing upon his ideas and insights. This influence is evident in the works of Mīr Zāhid Harawī and Muḥibbullāh Bihārī, two of the most distinguished scholars of their time and the subsequent period. Here, it is highly probable that Siyālkūtī's work served as the foundational or primary text in the intellectual ground of Hind.⁶⁸⁸

Additionally, it can be observed that the tradition of creating *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ*, though there were a number of works written in Hindustan, began in earnest during

1999, 4:312 & 381; Shaukat Ali Khan, ed., *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts (V. II)*, vol. II, Arabic and Persian Research Institute, Publication Series (Rajasthan Tonk: Abul Kalam Azad, Arabic and Persian Research Institute, 1990), 80–81, No. 640, 140–41, No. 776; A.R.B., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Philology, Arabic): V. XX, XX:172–73*, No. 2165; Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:44, No. 537.

⁶⁸⁶ See Khan, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts (V. II)*, II:80–81, No. 640; Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:44, No. 537.

⁶⁸⁷ Ömer Türker, “S. Şerif Cürcânî (816/1413), Şerhü'l-Mevâkıf M. 1404,” in *İDA*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer (Konya: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları), accessed June 6, 2023, <https://islamdusunceatlası.org/booksmap/s.-serif-curcani-8161413-serhul-mevakif/936>.

⁶⁸⁸ Ahmed, “The Mawāqif of ‘Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India,” 2020, 399–400; Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 12, 66. See for more about the names of scholars went through this tradition, Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi'l Hind*, 209.

Siyālkūtī's era with his huge contribution and continued extensively in subsequent times. Notably, it appears that Mīr Zāhid Harawī's *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* gained widespread popularity, leading to the creation of numerous works based on it. As per Asad Aḥmed's examination, out of the total twenty-nine *ḥāshiyah*, twenty-two are dedicated to Mīr Zāhid's commentary on *ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif*.⁶⁸⁹ Again, it seems that the Jurjani tradition reached the intellectual heritage of Hindustan through two distinct channels: Mīr Zāhid Harawī received it through Mīrzā Jan Shīrāzī, while Quṭb al-Dīn Sihlawī acquired it through Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī and Siyālkūtī.⁶⁹⁰ It appears that in later times, the use of *al-Mawāqif*, along with its various *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah*, experienced a significant surge within the Hind madrasah tradition. Numerous copies of *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* and related works are available in libraries across Hindustan. For instance, the Khuda Bakhsh Library alone houses a substantial collection, with as many as fifteen documented copies among its holdings (Khuda Bakhsh, No. 535 – 549).⁶⁹¹ Muḥammad A'lā b. Shaykh 'Alī al-Tahānawī (d. 1745) extensively quoted from this work.⁶⁹² As mentioned, it is essential to note that Mīr Zāhid Harawī also drew from the Siyālkūtī channel, underscoring his evident influence. Therefore, the credit for these developments can be directly or indirectly attributed to Siyālkūtī.

⁶⁸⁹ His work, well-known as *al-Umur al-'Ammah*, also gained vast popularity as a subject of scholarly work. Consequently, numerous scholars wrote *ḥāshiyah* on this work, see Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 113; Ahmed, "The Mawāqif of 'Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India," 2020, 399.

⁶⁹⁰ Ahmed, "The Mawāqif of 'Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India," 2020, 400.

⁶⁹¹ It comprises, *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* of Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (2), *ḥāshiyah* of Ḥasan Ḥalebi (1), *Ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī (2), *ḥāshiyah* of Mīr Zāhid Harawī (3), and there were seven *ḥāshiyahs* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Mīr Zāhid Harawī by Qāḍī Mubarak b. Muḥammad Da'im al-Faruqī al-Guapamu'i (1162/1748) (2), Maulavi barkatullah (d. 1184/1770) (2), Maulavi Zahurullah b. Muḥammad Wali b. Ghulam Mustafa (b. 1174 h.) (1), and 'Abdul 'Alī Muḥammad b. Nizamuddin known as Bahr al-'Ulum (d. 1225/1810) (2). See Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:43-46 (No. 535 – 549). And see for more about printed, Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume 2*, Handbook of Oriental studies Section 1, The Near and Middle East ; volume 117/1 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2016), 300–301.

⁶⁹² Many times it has been used, just to mention a few, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt Al-Funūn Wa'l-'Ulūm al-Islāmiyya*, 118, 219, 271.

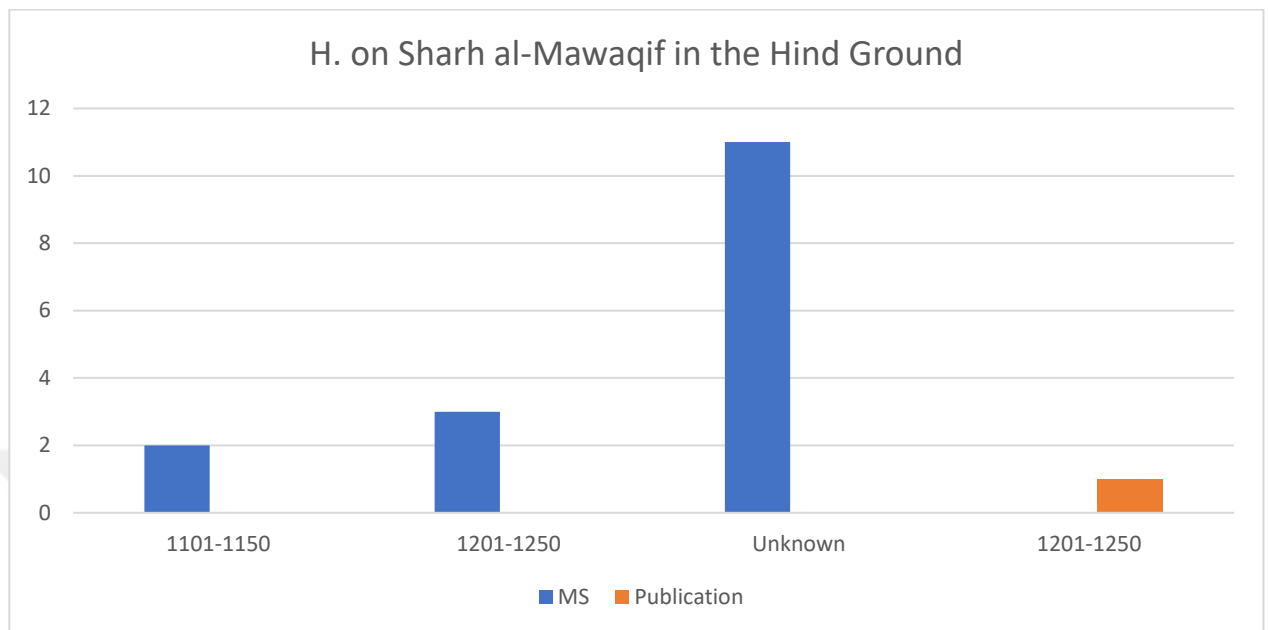
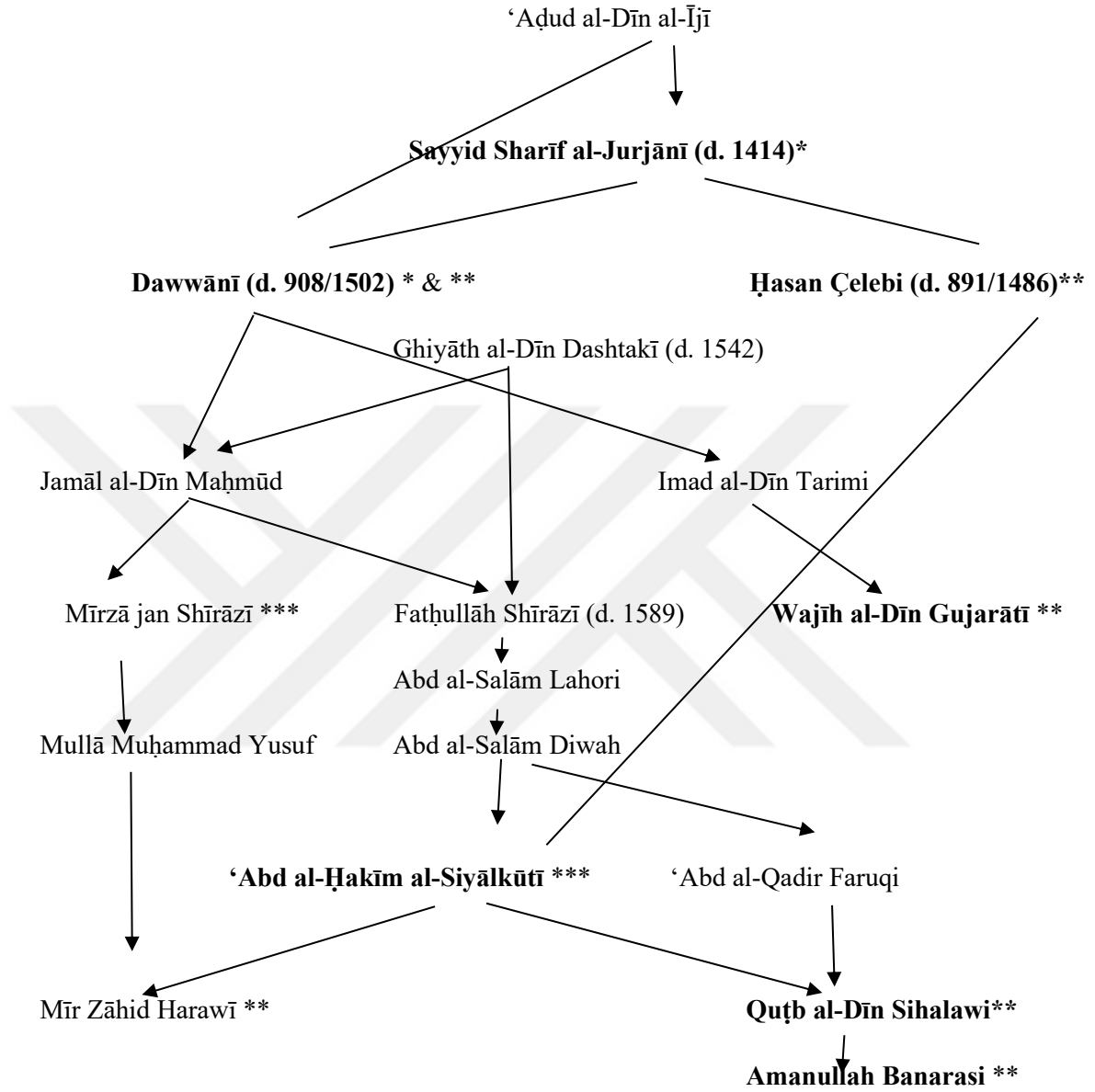


Figure 3. 6: Manuscripts and publication of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on sharḥ al-Mawāqif in Hind ground.

Amid the shortage of information about the manuscripts available in Hindustan, several dates or possible dates of manuscripts are found. That shows Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah did not lose demand amid the preparation of many new ḥāshiyahs. The scribing continued in the twelfth, thirteenth, eighteenth, And nineteenth centuries. After colonization started, a new educational system was introduced with a new curriculum; however, it seems the work retained its continuity in the ground.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹³ See for manuscript copies, Hamid, *Khuda Bakhsh*, X:No. 538; A.R.B., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library: (Vol. 41)*, Second Ed., vol. XXXX1 (Patna, India: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), nos. 3853, 3854 & 3855. It is not known whether there was a printing version of this work during this time what is known for other work(s) of Siyālkūtī. It happens for his ḥāshiyah on Shamsiyyah, see Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 143, no. 518.



Key: * - on *al-Mawāqif*, ** - on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, *** - on *ḥāshiyah* on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*

—————> Scholarly network, ————— textual network.

Figure 3. 7: A concise portrayal of the coming and development of *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* in Hindustan and Siyālkūtī.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹⁴ See the above discussions, and Asad Aḥmed's discussions, Ahmed, "The Mawāqif of 'Aḍud Al-Dīn al-Ījī in India," 2020, 399–402.

Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif* in the Ottoman land

Some of Siyālkūtī's works familiar him with the Muslim scholarly tradition in Hindustan and beyond. One notable example is his *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. It is well known that Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī wrote *sharḥ* on *Mawāqif*, popularly known as *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, which was completed in 807/1404. While several scholars wrote *sharḥ* on *Mawāqif*, *i.e.*, Shams al-Dīn al-Kirmanī, Saif al-Dīn al-Abhari, and Alauddin Ali al-Tusi are some to mention, it is notable that Jurjani's work enjoyed widespread acceptance and extensive use across different regions and continents.⁶⁹⁵ In Ottoman madrasahs, Jurjani's *sharḥ* served as a fundamental textbook. To gain a comprehensive understanding of these two works (*al-Mawāqif* and *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*) from multiple perspectives, both students and teachers often turned to the support of *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* written on them. Among the most renowned works, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyah* utilized in the Ottoman educational context, Ḥasan Çelebi's *ḥāshiyah* was particularly noteworthy and remained one of the most frequently referenced sources.⁶⁹⁶

It is not known when Siyālkūtī's work reached out to the Ottoman land for the first time. This work probably came to the Ottoman mainland and its educational institutions through Hijaz, Cairo, and even Damascus, as these cities were well connected with the Hindustan intellectual networks and the Ottomans. In this circumstance, Ḥājji Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) informs about Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*.⁶⁹⁷ This is a remarkable development for our research, as it signifies that the work reached Ottoman academia and received recognition among scholars. It was esteemed as an invaluable resource for navigating *al-Mawāqif* and *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, which may have served as an

⁶⁹⁵ See Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1891–94; Sinanoğlu, “El-Mevâkif.”

⁶⁹⁶ See more about his this work and contribution, Efendi, *Eş-şakâ'iku'n-Nu'mâniyye fî ulemâi'd-devleti'l-osmâniyye*, 308–12; Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1891; Akpınar, “Fenari Hasan Çelebi”; Sinanoğlu, “El-Mevâkif.” It is also possible to see the huge availability of this work both manuscript and printed versions in the manuscript libraries in Türkiye. For more information, see the catalogue of manuscript libraries (YEK).

⁶⁹⁷ Çelebi, *Kashf Al-Zunūn*, 2008, II:1893.

inspiration for Ḥājjī Khalīfa to incorporate reference to Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah in his work. It might not have found a place in his writings if it had been confined to a limited audience. It is worth noting that the work was reached during Siyālkūtī’s lifetime, as both he and Ḥājjī Khalīfa passed away in the same year, 1067/1057. Ḥājjī Khalīfa dedicated twenty years to preparing his work, beginning in 1043/1633 and completing it in 1063/1653. This suggests that the work gained recognition at least before its (*Kashf al-Zunun*) completion, which likely took several years. Given these circumstances, it is plausible that the work reached its audience during the 1640s.⁶⁹⁸

Another important point is, as discussed, Siyālkūtī conducted an extensive critique of Ḥasan Çelebi’s ḥāshiyah on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. Perhaps this thing paved the way for getting introduced quickly to attract the Ottoman scholars and make them curious about Siyālkūtī – a scholar of long-distance geography – Hindustan.

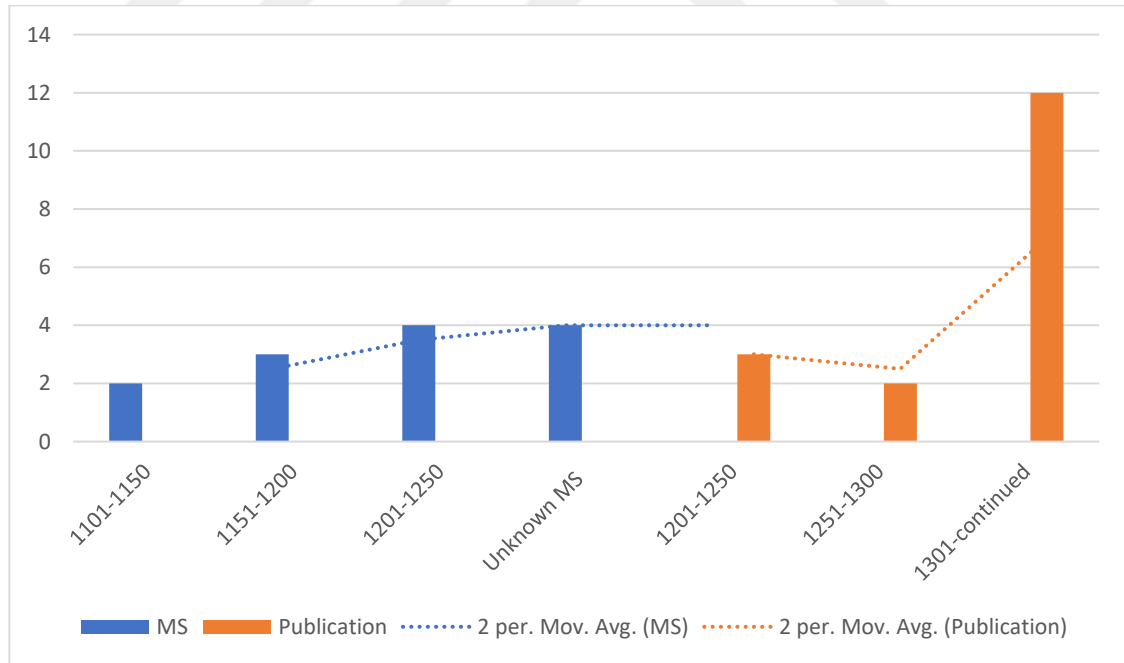


Figure 3. 8: Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah on Sharḥ al-Mawāqif in the Ottoman Ground

⁶⁹⁸ See for Ḥājjī Khalīfa and his work *Kashf al-Zunun*, Gökyay, “Kâtip Çelebi”; Kutluer, “Keşfü’z-Zunûn.”

In addition, the existing manuscripts available in the Turkish Manuscript Libraries give some vital information; one tells us that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was copied in Mecca on Rabi Al-Thani 5, 1127/1715, which means it was scribed within 60 (sixty) years of his death. Later on, it was continued, which was a normal nature of scholarly connectedness between Hijaz and Istanbul, but again bears importance to fix it in reference to Siyālkūtī's connectedness. It seems this copy was brought to Istanbul during the time of Sulṭān Osman – III (r. 1754-1757), and it was endowed with the name of the latter (Osman – III) to Nuruosmaniye complex (*küllīye*) in Istanbul.⁶⁹⁹ So, it seems it was processed by one of the Ottoman state entities, which is meaningful. Another copy was also scribed within a very short time of the previous one, only after 5 (five) years, again in Mecca on Shaban 17, 1132/1720. In the introduction, Muḥammad Khwaja Siwasi (Sivasi) mentions that it was bought from Egypt (al-Sagīrah?). He noted that until this copy, he did not find some chapters/stages (*mawqif*), included in it. He also mentioned that this copy was among the rare collections.⁷⁰⁰ Several times, this work was copied, and information is available so far, *i.e.*, 1127 (Mecca), 1132 (Mecca), 1151, 1155, 1189, 1206 (in Istanbul), 1217, 1222, 1240 according to the Hijri calendar.⁷⁰¹ This description shows

⁶⁹⁹ There is a seal of Ibrāhīm Hanif dated of 1156/1743, so it would also be a possible date of bringing this copy to Istanbul as well. See 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ Jurjānī al-Mawāqif" (MS, Mecca, 1127), Fol. 1b, 781b, Nuruosmaniye Ktp., Nuruosmaniye, no. 02131, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/175083>. Nuruosmaniye complex includes madrasah, mosque, library, tomb, fountain etc. see Semavi Eyice, "Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi," in *DİA* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/nuruosmaniye-kullesi>.

⁷⁰⁰ Abdullah Mustafa was its scribe, and he mentions in the last folio of the copy that he was blessed with an opportunity to make a copy of it being in the ground of Masjīd-e Haram (Ka'ba). See al-Siyālkūtī, "Ragıp Paşa, No. 0765," fols. 1b, 204b.

⁷⁰¹ The earliest copies so far identified were scribed in Mecca in 1127 h. and 1132 h., Perhaps after scribing they were brought to Istanbul, see al-Siyālkūtī, "Nuruosmaniye Ktp., Nuruosmaniye, no. 02131"; al-Siyālkūtī, "Ragıp Paşa, No. 0765." In Istanbul, this work was copied as well, the scribe Mustafa b. Ḥasan mentions that the copying of this work was completed being at Ragıp Paşa library, see 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif fi 'Ilm al-Kalām" (MS, Istanbul, 1206), fol. 191b, Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, no. 02224. See for more, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif" (MS, h 1151), Diyarbakır Ktp., Diyarbakır İHK, No. 654; al-Siyālkūtī, "Konya Yusuf Ağa Ktp., Yusuf Ağa Ktp., YY0000004718"; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif" (1189), Beyazıt Ktp., Veliyyüddin Efendi, no. V2014; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif" (1217), Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp., Vahid Paşa, no. 266; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-

Siyālkūtī's work (*ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*) continued scribing, and it was being read and copied. Overall, it could be said that the work circulated here and there, *i.e.*, in Mecca, Cairo, Istanbul, Damascus, and other Ottoman learning centers.

This work had been printed several times since the second phase of the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Not only that, but the graph shows that the trend of publications continued in the early twentieth century as well. We have accessed the existing sources so far, which show that it had a continuous demand for Ottoman intellectual ground and printed in Istanbul in 1239, 1287, 1292, 1311, 1311, and 1321 and in Cairo in 1322 and 1325.⁷⁰² Interestingly, almost all of these publications, if not all, were processed in state-affiliated publishing centers, *i.e.*, Matbaa-i 'Amire (at least once, the name was used as Dârüttibâati'l-âmir; however, it was the same publishing house) and Matba'at al-Sa'ada (Cairo, Egypt). It seems the 1325/1907 version was prepared sincerely, and only very few printing mistakes could be found in it. This version was used extensively later. It is also taken as a basis or primary version of *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* to work on it in contemporary times.⁷⁰³ It is also vital that gradual publications of work by the state entities mean the work received much acknowledgment from the ground and is hugely used in academia. Sometimes, that could be regarded as a common text or like a textbook in the madrasah.⁷⁰⁴

Mawāqif" (1806 1222), Manisa Ktp., Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade Koleksiyon, no. 104; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif" (1823 1240), Manisa Ktp., Manisa İl Halk Ktp. no. 4852.

⁷⁰² In 1311, the work was printed for two times, is clearly understood from page numbers as well as different scholars *ḥāshiyah* on the same tradition, see es-Siyālkūtī, *Hāṣiye alā Şerhi'l-Mevākif fî İlmi'l-Kelâm*, 1287; *Hāṣiye alā Şerhi'l-Mevākif fî İlmi'l-Kelâm*, 1292; *Hāshiyah 'ala'l-Mutawwal* (Istanbul: Shirket-i Sahafiyya-i Osmaniye Matba'a, 1311); Abdulhakim b. Şemseddin es-Siyelkuti, Hasan Çelebi b. Muhammed Şah el-Fenari, and Seyyid Şerif Ali b. Muhammed b. Ali el-Curcani, *Hāṣiye ala Şerhi'l-Mevākif* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1311); *Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif fî 'Ilm al-Kalām* (Egypt: Matba'ah al-Sa'adah, 1325); Sinanoğlu, "El-Mevākif."

⁷⁰³ What Ömer Türker did in his translation of *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* into Turkish language, see Cürçânî, *Şerhu'l-Mevākif*, I:16.

⁷⁰⁴ In 1311, the work was printed for two times, is clearly understood from page numbers as well as different scholars *ḥāshiyah* on the same tradition, see es-Siyālkūtī, *Hāṣiye alā Şerhi'l-Mevākif fî İlmi'l-Kelâm*, 1287;

Almost time, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* was printed with Jurjani's *sharḥ* and Ḥasan Çelebi's *ḥāshiyah*. And one printed version added Ali Kuşçu's (d. 879/1474) *sharḥ al-Tajrid al-'Aqā'id* and Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abdurrahmān b. Aḥmed al-Isfahānī's (d. 749/1349) *Maṭali''u'l-Anzar fī sharḥi Tawālī'i'l-Anwār*, and Kamāl al-Dīn Mas'ud b. Hussain al-Shirwani's (d. 905/1500) *ḥāshiyah al-Shirwani (kismi ilahiyat)*.⁷⁰⁵ It seems that Ḥasan Çelebi's *ḥāshiyah* got widespread recognition from Ottoman scholars and was studied with *al-Mawāqif* and *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. Later on, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* was also studied with the former (Ḥasan Çelebi) and received as much recognition in this tradition as it could be compared to Ḥasan Çelebi's. Finally, these two *ḥāshiyahs*, perhaps, were among the most read, if not the most read, works in this trend of 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's *al-Mawāqif* in the Ottoman madrasah and helped pave the way for new thoughts and ideas in the coming centuries.⁷⁰⁶ And many copies of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* with Ḥasan Çelebi and others are available in today's Turkish manuscript, university, and research libraries, as discussed. Undoubtedly, a vast number of Ottoman scholars and students went through this text continuously until at least the early twentieth century, when Ottoman intellectual tradition continued uninterrupted. It is understandable from the date mentioned above of printing. It is also possible to the personalities who went through Siyālkūtī's work, such as Charkesh Shaykhizade Muḥammad Tawfīq Efendi (d. 1901) – a prominent Ottoman scholar of Sulṭān Abdul Hamid – II's time. It appears he went through Siyālkūtī's works, if not several; at least, he had a good command of the latter's *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-*

Hāshīye alā Şerhi'l-Mevākıf fī İlmi'l-Kelām, 1292; *Hāshiyah 'ala'l-Mutawwal*; es-Siyelkuti, el-Fenari, and el-Curcani, *Hāshīye ala Şerhi'l-Mevakıf*; *Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām*.

⁷⁰⁵ See Seyyid Şerīf Cürcānī et al., *Hāshīye alā Şerhi'l-Mevākıf fī İlmi'l-Kelām* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1311), 350; Sinanoğlu, "El-Mevākıf."

⁷⁰⁶ See İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Düşünce Geleneğinde 'Siyasî Metin' Olarak Kelâm Kitapları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, no. 2 (September 1, 2003): 392–93; Demirci, "Osmanlı Medreselerinde Kelam Öğretimi," 386–87; Türker, "S. Şerif Cürcānī (816/1413), Şerhü'l-Mevākıf M. 1404."

Mawāqif. He defended him in reference to Siyālkūtī's work concerning causality (*mec'ûliyet / maj'uliyah*). He also prepared a *ta'lik* on the mentioned work.⁷⁰⁷

iv. *Al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī is generally credited for extensive *ḥāshiyah* works. So far, it is known that *Al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah* is only an original work of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. It is often regarded as a masterpiece of kalām written in Hindustan. Until Siyālkūtī's time, whether there was an original work like it in the same discipline is unknown. This work has been introduced in several names in different places, *i.e.*, *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah fī ‘Ilmi’l-Bari*, *al-Khāqāniyyah fī Tahqīqī Mabḥathī’l-Ilm*, *al-Durra al-Thaminah fī Ithbatī’l-Wajibi Ta’ala*, *Riasalah al-’Ilm*, *al-Durra al-Thaminah fī Ithbatī ‘Ilmi’l-Wajib*, *al-Fawā’idu’l-’Aliyah wa’l-Faraidu’l-Galiyah fī ‘Ilmi’llahi Ta’ala*, *al-Risālah fī ‘Ilmi’llahi Ta’ala li-’Abdi’l-Hakīm*, and *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah fī ‘Ilmi’l-Ilahi* are among the used names. It is written with the request or command of “*Khāqān*” – the Emperor Shāh Jahān; for this reason, it is named *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah* and *al-Durra al-Thaminah*, which means ‘the Precious Pearl,’ these two are mostly used names.⁷⁰⁸ This significant work of Siyālkūtī is the first of its kind in

⁷⁰⁷ See Yasin Apaydin, “Çerkeşşeyhîzâde Mehmed Tevfik Efendi’nin Mâhiyetin Mec’ûliyeti Meselesine Dair Risalesi: İnceleme ve Tahkik,” *Tahkik İslami İlimler Araştırma ve Neşir Dergisi* 2, no. 1 (June 30, 2019): 6n14, 12, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3475090>.

⁷⁰⁸ See, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*al-Risālah fī ‘Ilmi’l-lahi Ta’ala*” (1221), Süleymaniye Ktp., Kasıdecizade, no. 00671-001; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*Al-Fawāid al-’Āliyya wa Farāid al-Gāliyya (al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah)*” (n.d.), Balıkesir Ktp., Balıkesir İHK, No. 608/02; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*Al-Fawāid al-’Āliyya wa Farāid al-Gāliyya (al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah)*” (Motun, n.d.), Amasya Beyazıt Ktp., Bayazıt, No. 51/02, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/385861>; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*” (n.d.), Çorum Hasan Paşa Ktp., Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK, no. 2480/4, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/123398>; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*al-Risālah fī Tahqīqī ‘Ilmi’l-lahi Ta’ala*” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Çelebi Abdullah, No. 00392-003, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/230845>; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:558; Ahmad, “The ‘Addurrat Ul-Thaminah’ of Mulla ‘Abdul Hakim of Sialkot,” 47; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 113; Saleem, “Mulla Abdul Hakim Al-Siyalkuti al-Kashmiri Wa Ihtimamatihi Bi’l-Lugati’l-’Arabiyyah Min Khilali Muwallifatihi’l-’İlmiyyah Wa’l-Fikriyyah,” 95–96. To avoid any confusion, there is a work whose name is close to Siyālkūtī's one, *al-Durrah al-Thaminah ‘ala’l-Isti’arah*

Hindustan. Zubaid Aḥmad acclaimed it as the preeminent textbook in the field of Muslim scholastic theology, particularly concerning the issue of God's knowledge. Asad Aḥmed identified it as the pioneering empirical work in Hind theological literature. It was originally composed, as mentioned, under the patronage of Emperor Shāh Jahān, often referred to as 'Khāqān' or 'BadShāh,' and the author subsequently dedicated it to him.⁷⁰⁹

The narrative behind the creation of this treatise is intriguing. It sheds light on Siyālkūtī's expertise and experience in rational sciences, the expectations of the Baburid court, and his standing within the intellectual milieu of Hind. It also provides insights into the Baburid court's commitment to scholarly advancement and its relationships with scholars.

During Shāh Jahān's reign, as previously mentioned, he was a generous patron of scholars and strongly interested in advancing knowledge and science. The ground witnessed significant developments in the intellectual landscape in this period. Intellectual debates and seminars were organized within the royal court and beyond in broader academic circles. In a noteworthy diplomatic mission, a delegation from Hind, led by Amir Jan Nithar Khan, visited Iran and had an audience with 'Itimad al-Dawla, the Prime Minister of Iran, also known as Khalifah Sulṭān. It is not known if the Iranian Prime Minister accompanied other members. This meeting likely took place in the month of Rabiul Awwal, 1057/1647. The delegation included individuals such as Muḥammad Faruq, who served as the Superintendent (Mushrif), and Muhib Ali, a renowned chronicler and information officer (Waqia Nawis). Both of these individuals took great pride in their

al-Jadidah of Ibrāhīm Khulusi al-'Arabgiri, see İbrahim Hulusi el-Arapgiri, *ed-Dürretü's-Samîne ale'l-İsti'âreti'l-Cedide* (İstanbul, 1319).

⁷⁰⁹ See for more about the treatise, al-Siyālkūtī, "Kasidecizade, No. 00671-001"; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah" (1050), Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, no. 01188-001; Aḥmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 113; Aḥmed and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," 2014, 1, 613; Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 1980, 96; Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi'l Hind*, 209–10; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 276, 322; al-Siyālkūtī, "Çelebi Abdullah, No. 00392-003."

philosophical expertise. There seem to be several interviews between them; however, what they talked about and what happened there is not known.⁷¹⁰

Fortunately, one event is documented and very significant for this work. The delegation engaged in a candid and frank discussion in the seminar with ‘Itimad al-Dawla. In order to assess the depth of the Hind scholars’ philosophical knowledge, the Prime Minister posed questions such as,

*“... to refute the charges of denunciation (Takfir) levelled against Farabi and Ibne Sina by Imām Gazzali for holding by them the beliefs in the eternity of the Universe and for the denial of God’s knowledge of particular events of the world and bodily resurrection from standpoint of “Hukama” or Muslim adherents of Philosophy.”*⁷¹¹

Unfortunately, the members of the Hind delegation were not adequately prepared to provide satisfactory answers to these issues, which perhaps had a constant negative impact on Hind’s reputation as a center of learning. It appears that after this discussion, their academic session was stopped by the raising of these issues.

All these events were conveyed to Shāh Jahān while he was stationed in Kabul, having departed from Lahore. The Emperor was disheartened and viewed this as a blow to the national prestige of Hind. He remained discontented until this prestige could be restored. To address the situation, he (Shāh Jahān) sought the counsel of his Vizier (Prime Minister), Sa’dullah Khan, who has been discussed above, carefully selected the most suitable individual for this important task. That person was none other than ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. Sa’dullah Khān was instructed to draft a letter to ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, providing a concise and comprehensive treatise on the three issues deliberated in the Iranian Court. The letter urged ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī to promptly address these matters.⁷¹²

⁷¹⁰ See Ahmad, “The ‘Addurrat Ul-Thaminah’ of Mulla ‘Abdul Hakim of Sialkot.,” 70–71.

⁷¹¹ Ahmad, 71.

⁷¹² Ahmad, 47–48; Naseem, *Muslim Philosophy Science and Mysticism*, 2001, 322.

It is not known whether the letter, which consisted of theological issues, was written by Sa'dullah Khān or the Emperor dictated to him. Whatever it was, it shows that they were not just conquerors and victors (of, *i.e.*, Deccan, Balkh) or high cultural and infrastructural architects but also experts in philosophical and intellectual issues. The letter was received by Siyālkūtī, perhaps at the beginning of Rabi'u'l-Thani, 1057/ May 1647. Although Siyālkūtī was asked to prepare a treatise in ten to fifteen days, he completed it between the fifth-twelfth Rabi'u'l-Thani, 1057/ May 10-15, 1647; so, he finished before the time he was given that is mentioned by himself in the concluding of his treatise.⁷¹³

Multiple copies of the letter are available; one of them is preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur (No. 411, Fann-i-Kalām, old catalogue). It is kept alongside the manuscript of Siyālkūtī's response, known as "*al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*." Another copy of this letter can be found in the Lucknow University Library, reproduced by the scholar and astronomer Imām al-Dīn, who was the grandson of Ustad Aḥmad Mimar Lahori (d. 1649), the renowned architect of the Taj Mahal and the Red Fort. Analyzing both copies, Shabbir Aḥmad notes that while they exhibit some differences, they are valuable. The latter copy, transcribed by Imām al-Dīn, is considered to be the superior one.⁷¹⁴

This exchange, while similar developments may have occurred multiple times with various individuals, between Shāh Jahān and 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī represents a

⁷¹³ However, there is another confusing date which is perhaps a typing mistake, is also seen in several places including hand-written manuscript. See for 1050, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, "*al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah fī Tahqīqī Mabḥath al-ʿIlm*" (1050), Köprülü Ktp., Mehmed Asım Bey, no. 00720-015. And for 1057, see, Abdülhakim b. Şemseddin Muhammed el-Hindi es-Siyalkuti, "*Risale Fi İlmi Allah Teala, Süleymaniye, Kasıdecizade, No. 671*" (Yazma Eser, 1221).

⁷¹⁴ Imām al-Dīn did it with the main treatise of Siyālkūtī. He also prepared a list of the works of the latter as said by Shabbir Aḥmad. The latter also put the letter in his work. See for more, Ahmad, "The 'Addurrat Ul-Thaminah' of Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot," 47–48; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 10–11. Concerning Imām al-Dīn, grandson of Ustad Aḥmad Mimar Lahori, here is important. Most probably, he was also prominent scholar during his time as it generally would happen in the medieval period. No doubt, Ustad Aḥmad was among the most prominent architects of his time in Muslim lands. His ancestor's producing copy shows that the scribes were consisted among the learned and scholars. See about Ustad Aḥmad, Curl and Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, 10; Curl and Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, 11; Beksac, "Taj Mahal."

significant moment in the intellectual history of the time, highlighting the Emperor's commitment to scholarly pursuits and his desire to uphold the intellectual reputation of Hindustan. Furthermore, it underscores the significance attributed to theological and philosophical discussions within the royal court and the broader academic circles of that period. Lastly, it helps comprehend the depth of knowledge and the court's recognition of Siyālkūtī, positioning him among other scholars of the rational sciences of the time.

In his treatise, Siyālkūtī prepared and sent to the court; he did not follow the prescribed path; instead, he composed the treatise according to his own plan. This would have occurred because he would know how an expert theologian or scholar could comprehend a text's meaning and objectives, as that could vary among individuals. Regarding the topics addressed in the treatise, as stated by M. G. Zubaid Aḥmad, the text is divided into two sections.⁷¹⁵

The first section has several points. *Firstly*, it focuses on the proof of God's knowledge (or Divine Knowledge) and includes three discussions. The initial discussion centers on proving God's knowledge. It emphasizes that while the majority accepts God's knowledge, a few ancient (*qudama*) philosophers reject it, arguing that, just as the sun radiates its beams without conscious awareness, God is the Creator of all beings without knowledge of them. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī provides a compelling refutation to this strange belief, arguing that if God lacked knowledge, He would be regarded as ignorant, a widely and universally rejected notion.

The objection raised by these philosophers against God's knowledge is based on the notion of knowledge as a relational attribute, which requires the presence of multiple entities—a knower and the known. If God possesses knowledge, then He must also be self-aware, which is absurd because knowledge is typically understood as a relationship between two distinct entities. Siyālkūtī responds to this argument in two ways. a) He argues that knowledge (*ʿIlm*) is an attribute with relational implications, not purely a

⁷¹⁵ See Aḥmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 113–14. For details information, see al-Siyālkūtī, “Mehmed Asım Bey, No. 00720-015,” fols. 2, 4b.

relation. b) Even if knowledge is considered as a relationship (*Nisbah*), there is no inherent difficulty, as one entity can encompass both subjective and objective aspects.

Secondly, the subject of discussion is the essence of God's knowledge. According to the Siyālkūtī, there are two ways to interpret God's knowledge: it is synonymous with His Being or signifies something distinct. If it is regarded as a separate entity, it can exist independently or be ascribed to the Person of God. Ancient philosophers (*qudama*) generally argue that God's knowledge is identical to His Personality, whereas Ash'arites contend that it is distinct from God's Being but dependent on it.

Thirdly, the issues surrounding the universality of God's knowledge are examined in detail. Siyālkūtī asserts that God's knowledge includes the universal and the particular aspects.

In the second section of the text, Siyālkūtī discussed *Takfīr* - the accusation of infidelity leveled against philosophers. He cites and elaborates on the perspective of al-Gazali, who identifies twenty disagreements between philosophers and Muslims. Among these twenty issues, al-Gazali designates three problems as grounds for considering philosophers as *Kafīr* (infidels), they are, a) the belief in the eternity of the universe and its creation in time, b) the body's resurrection or its denial, c) "Divine Knowledge" of specific occurrences or its denial (*naḥī*).⁷¹⁶

Siyālkūtī, in this work, had direct access to Ibn Sina (d. 1037), Ghazali (d. 1119), and Fakhruddin Razi (d. 1210). This is understood from this *Risālah*, such as concerning the philosophical account of sensible knowledge; taking Ash'ari interpretation of Ibn Sina a step further, Razi pointed out two problems. Siyālkūtī, in his *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah* answers those two issues. He paid attention to clarifying them. To do it, he defended Ibn

⁷¹⁶ See for more, Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 113–14; Ahmad, "The 'Addurrat Ul-Thaminah' of Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot," 74.

Sina in the concept of God that he did not know sensible and gave a detailed explanation.⁷¹⁷

It is evident that writing such a treatise was an indispensable necessity within the intellectual landscape of Hindustan. Shabbir Aḥmad claimed that shortly after its completion, the treatise was dispatched to Iran, where it effectively ended the controversy that had originated from the debates surrounding “*Tahafat al-Falasifah*.” In this context, it can be considered a pioneering work, as no serious attempts at a similar resolution, based on the available sources examined thus far, have been observed since Siyālkūtī’s accomplishment.⁷¹⁸

This work was used extensively by prominent Hind theologians in later periods within the Hind context. Based on the available sources, it appears that subsequent scholars benefited from this text when addressing the issues it resolved while preparing their own treatises, such as *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ*. Notable examples include ‘*Sullam al-Ulum*,’ an original work composed in Hindustan by Muḥibbulāh Bihārī (d. 1707), and the commentary on Qutaibah by Mīr Zāhid Harawī (d. 1689), who was a junior contemporary of Siyālkūtī serve as illustrative cases of this phenomenon. Whether directly or indirectly, they drew inspiration from this work. A similar pattern also emerges in their own works. The prevailing methodology of that era allowed scholars to craft their work without explicitly citing the sources on which they drew. It is possible only after examination and comparison among the works. Shabbir Aḥmad’s examination of Mīr Zahid’s text compared to Siyālkūtī’s reveals an intriguing connection. He suggests that Mīr Zahid had direct access to Siyālkūtī’s work, as mentioned above, and concisely incorporated its contents into his writings. What made this discovery particularly

⁷¹⁷ In the same way, Siyālkūtī in different places accessed to other scholars, *i.e.*, Dawwānī and so on, see al-Siyālkūtī, “Mehmed Asım Bey, No. 00720-015”; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 87–88; Recep Erkmén and this link will open in a new tab Link to external site, “Fakhr Al-Dīn al-Rāzī: The Problem of Knowledge and Metaphysical Skepticism” (Ph.D., Indiana, USA, Indiana University, 2022), 284–86.

⁷¹⁸ Ahmad, “The ‘Addurrat Ul-Thaminah’ of Mulla ‘Abdul Hakim of Sialkot,” 74.

significant was the realization that the issues addressed were not entirely new. However, before Siyālkūtī's effort, it seems that no one had systematically organized and presented this knowledge coherently and structurally. It is in this act of scholarly synthesis that Siyālkūtī emerges as a pioneer. He not only elucidated complex matters but also paved the way for subsequent scholars like Mīr Zahid to build upon this foundation, resulting in a lasting legacy of intellectual contributions.⁷¹⁹

Regarding the information available in the manuscripts, primarily gathered from catalog works, it is noted that these manuscripts were disseminated to numerous cities' educational centers in the Hind regions. Perhaps the mentioned story increased its acceptance and expedited its dissemination. For example, its copies were sent to the Bengal province. It is situated in the eastern part of Hindustan and far from Delhi and Lahore. Around twenty manuscripts were found, mostly from Hindustan, except in Ottoman land. As it is not a big treatise, it is expected that it was spread over many regions over time. It is quite possible to find so many copies of it in the coming days. In addition, the exact time of transcription of these available manuscripts remains uncertain. Some copies mention the date provided by Siyālkūtī in his letter. However, it appears that some manuscripts were authored in the thirteenth/nineteenth century, as indicated in the catalog work. Later, it was also printed in Delhi in 1877. It is worth noting that this was a vulnerable period for Hindustan, marked by colonization and significantly impacting its historical educational traditions. The region had to adapt to new curricula, and the need for this work became apparent in such a context. These observations collectively indicate that this work has remained relevant until modern times.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁹ See, Ahmad, 73–77; Vaseer, *Al-Risalat al-Khaqaniyya (Also Known as Ad-Durrat al-Thaminah): A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text with Translation and Explanatory Notes*, 14. Concerning making copies was perhaps a common fact of that time that other works also show us, see, Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves*, 303n477.

⁷²⁰ See Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-`Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi`, al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi`, (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, II, III, IV:No. 492; Mohd. Ghaffar Siddiqi and Salimuddin Ahmad, eds., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library: Volume XL (Arabic Manuscripts)* (Patna: Khuda Bakhsh

al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah in the Ottoman land

Al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah, similar to other works of Siyālkūtī, found its way to the Ottoman educational sphere. While the precise date of its initial introduction remains uncertain, it is conceivable that the *Risālah* gained rapid popularity among Muslim scholars in Hindustan shortly after its completion; it was perhaps brought within a few years of its writing. As previously mentioned, it was dispatched to Iranians upon its finalization. In general, the intellectual center in Hijaz remained informed about intellectual developments in Hindustan, as was customary for major Muslim intellectual and cultural centers, where scholars of diverse backgrounds would come together. It is evident that Siyālkūtī, before composing this treatise, or at the very least, during its introduction to the Ottoman domain, had acquired some recognition in Ottoman academia, as evidenced by his *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* and *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, which were mentioned in Ḥājī Khalīfa’s work.

In a manner akin to practices in Hindustan, the available manuscripts in the Turkish manuscript libraries show that the scribes of Ottoman times documented the completion date of the *Risālah*, as Siyālkūtī provided. Three distinct transcription dates have been identified, all in close proximity: 1209/1793, 1211/1795, and 1221/1805. These transcriptions appear to be produced in different locations and by different scribes—Aḥmed b. Mūsa b. Mehmed Karabağī, Salih b. Ibrāhīm and Süleyman Efendizade Aḥmed, respectively. While the seals’ dates do not provide precise timing, they offer some insight into when these copies were inscribed and put into use.⁷²¹ These factors suggest that Siyālkūtī’s work gained more prominence during the thirteenth/eighteenth century and

Oriental Public Library, 2008), 8–9, No. 3474, 3475; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 377.

⁷²¹ See for copies the dates are mentioned ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*” (1793 1209), Manisa Ktp., Manisa İl Halk Ktp., no. 993/4; al-Siyālkūtī, “Balıkesir İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 608/02”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Kasidecizade, No. 00671-001.” And for others see ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, “*al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah*” (n.d.), Milli Ktp. Bşk., Adana İHK, No. 01 Hk 178/4; al-Siyālkūtī, “Esad Efendi, No. 01188-001”; al-Siyālkūtī, “Mehmed Asım Bey, No. 00720-015.”

early fourteenth/nineteenth century. There is also a vast possibility of finding more copies of this work in the coming days, were used.

So far, ten manuscripts have been discovered in Turkish manuscript libraries, with two additional ones found in the Presidency of Religious Affairs Library (Diyanet İşleri Bşk. Ktp.). Eleven of twelve copies were part of collections containing multiple works. Siyālkūtī's work was often found alongside various works by Ottoman and non-Ottoman scholars. For instance, in the Çelebi 'Abdullah collection, number 00392 contains a copy of Siyālkūtī's letter along with twenty-eight other works, including Jalal al-Dīn Dawwānī's *sharḥ al-Zawrā*, Saçaklızāde's *Risālah 'ala mā katabahu Sa'ad al-Dīn 'ala Qawlihi ta'ala ugriqû fadkhuhu nara*, in the same way different works of Kamālpashazade. In the same way, Mehmed Asım Bey collection, no. 00720 also holds *al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah* with the other twenty-eight works together. The number of works with this letter could differ, but it has been common in the Ottoman academic tradition.⁷²²

v. *Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Hidaya al-Hikmah li-Maybudhi*

Shaykh Athir al-Dīn Umar al-Abhari (d. 663/1265) authored *Hidayat al-Hikmah*, a renowned work in logic and general philosophy. It has two esteemed *sharḥs* got prominence in the ground: one by Mullā Hussain al-Maybudhi (d. 909/1503-1504), known as Qāḍī Mir, was a student of Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī. His work is named as *sharḥ al-Maybudhi*. And the other by Mullā Sadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, commonly known as 'Sadr Shīrāzī' named the work *Sadra*, which was copiously annotated by Wali Ullah of Lucknow – a scholar of later times. *Sharḥ al-Maybudhi* had been used in the madrasahs of Muslim intellectual traditions as a classical textbook of philosophy and rational sciences in all the major educational centers, Hind, Ottoman, and Safavid. So much work

⁷²² Although it is normal to bind together many small letters (risalah) in Ottoman tradition, it shows that Siyālkūtī's work was placed in the traditional academic system in many ways. See the scholars and works are put together with al-Siyālkūtī, "Çelebi Abdullah, No. 00392-003"; al-Siyālkūtī, "Çorum Hasan Paşa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, No. 2480/4"; al-Siyālkūtī, "Mehmed Asım Bey, No. 00720-015"; al-Siyālkūtī, "Esad Efendi, No. 01188-001"; al-Siyālkūtī, "Manisa İl Halk Ktp., No. 993/4."

happened on it. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī authored a *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Maybudhi* is known as *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Maybudhi* or *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Hidaya al-Hikmah*. It seems the work had been used for a long time before Siyālkūtī’s composition. And before the latter, Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī also penned a *ḥāshiyah* on the same work. Other foreign scholars’ work was also available in Hind ground. However, very few information is available about Siyālkūtī’s work. Only a few copies are identified as preserved in Rampur, no. 385, and Delhi, no. 1615, and no publication has been recorded.⁷²³ Examining the works of Abdul Hai Ḥasani and Zubaid Aḥmed, it seems they both highlight Siyālkūtī’s works without providing more information.⁷²⁴

vi. *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Ḥikmat al-‘Ain*

‘Ali b. ‘Umar al-Katibi al-Qazwīnī’s (d. 675/1277) *al-Ḥikmat al-Ain* is the addition of his work *Ainu’l-Qawaid*, and it relates to metaphysic (ilahiyat), and nature. So many *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* had been written on it. One of them is Muḥammad b. Mubarak Shāh al-Bukhari, known as Mirak al-Bukhari (unknown date of death), was a student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Razī (766/1367). Mirak Bukhari authored a *sharḥ* on *al-Ḥikmat al-Ain*. It is available in Hind with others. Siyālkūtī wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Ḥikmat al-Ain*, but it is not clear that on which *sharḥ* he went through. As the latter one was in the ground and seems to have been used as its many copies are available, there is a possibility that Siyālkūtī wrote on it. No more is known about Siyālkūtī’s work on *sharḥ al-Ḥikmat al-Ain*.⁷²⁵

⁷²³ See for *Hidaya al-Hikmah* Abdullah Yormaz, “Ebherī (663/1264), Hidāyetü’l-Hikme,” ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer, accessed December 7, 2023, <https://islamdusunceatlası.org/booksmap/hidayetul-hikme/829>. And for its existence in Hind ground Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 234; Malik, *Arabic Catalogue, Arabic Manuscripts Collections, Punjab University Library, Lahore*, no. 876; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 401; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

⁷²⁴ Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 148; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

⁷²⁵ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558; Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “Ali b. Ömer Kâtîbî,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2022), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/katibi-ali-b-omer>; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Encyclopaedia, Logic, Philosophy, Theology and Dialectics)*, vol. XXI, nos. 2379–2381.

vii. *Siyālkūtī ‘ala Ilahiyāt al-Shifā*

Ibn Sina’s *Kitab al-Shifā*, encompassing Avicenna’s philosophical system, serves as a foundational classic in the history of Islamic thought and philosophy, crucial for understanding his other works. It delves into various disciplines, progressing logically from natural philosophy and mathematics to metaphysics, culminating in the validation of prophecy. The work played a significant role in all the all the major intellectual and cultural centers since its composition. It is unknown when it came to Hind land and started using even in some specific madrasahs. But one thing is clear: before Baburid time, it reached and started reading in the ground, though it is yet to be discovered if it was widely read during Siyālkūtī’s time. It is seen that long before Siyālkūtī, Muḥammad b. Tughluq (d. 752/1351) – a prominent Sultān of the Tughluq dynasty, having a great attraction to the learning and disseminating knowledge, was gifted a copy of *Kitab al-Shifā* of Ibn Sina by a foreigner, which was written in Hamawi script (khat). It seems the Sultān was very happy and rewarded with a great amount of money, as claimed by Qāḍī Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shawkāni in his *al-Badr al-Tāli*. It shows Ibn Sina’s works were known on the ground and were evaluated with high value.⁷²⁶ In the same way, it is possible to have different types of usages in the later times. During Siyālkūtī, it was surprising to read *Shifā*, but it seems it was still difficult to find scholars who composed a *sharḥ* or *ḥāshiyah* on the work.⁷²⁷ It seems it took time to be widely used, which happened in the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Several works happened on it and seemed to have been accepted by many.⁷²⁸

Coming to Siyālkūtī, no source has been accessed so far that tells us that Siyālkūtī composed a *ḥāshiyah* on *Shifā* or *Ilahiyāt al-Shifā* except one which is also vital. That is

⁷²⁶ See about *Kitab al-Shifā* İlhan Kutluer, “eş-Şifā,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2010), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/es-sifa-ibn-sina>. See for gift for Muḥammad b. Tughluq Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 2:199.

⁷²⁷ See for the usages of *Shifā* in the Hind ground Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:492, 598; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:857.

⁷²⁸ See for works happened on it *i.e.*, *sharḥ*, *talkhis*, etc. Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 7:1102, 1063.

Waliuddin Carullah Efendi (d. 1151/1738) – a prominent Ottoman scholar, Qāḍī, jurist, and logician and a conscious scholar having diversity in his readings and scholarly contributions are well known, informing that Siyālkūtī has a *ḥāshiyah* on *Ilahiyât al-Shifâ*.

Ibn Sina’s works were among the interest arena of Carullah Efendi, he ordered logic and metaphysical parts of al-Shifâ in 1125/1713-4 are preserved in Süleymaniye library, Carullah Efendi, no. 01425, and where he put some notes. One note says:

Two ḥāshiyahs on Ilahiyât al-Shifâ, titled Jadîd and Qadîm, are attributed to Hussain al-Khoshari al-Isfâhani. ‘Abd al-Hakîm al-Lahori al-Siykoti and the verifier (muhqqiq) (Mullâ) Sadrâ each contributed a ḥāshiyah to it (Ilahiyât al-Shifâ).⁷²⁹

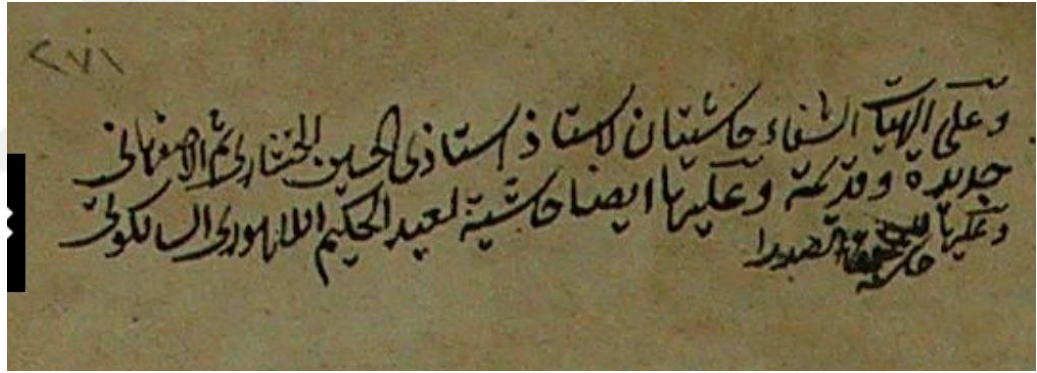


Figure 3. 9: Carullah Efendi’s note claiming Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Ilahiyât al-Shifâ* with other.

Carullah Efendi was aware of Siyālkūtī and some of the latter’s work he went through, *i.e.*, Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, a copy of it is preserved in Carullah collection, no. 01190. He read it and put so many notes in its margins, with

⁷²⁹ I want to extend my gratitude to Harun Kuşlu, who shared this valuable information with me. See for Carullah Efendi’s comment Ebû Ali Hüseyin b. Abdullah b. Ali b. Sînâ, “eş-Şifâ” (n.d.), fol. 271, Süleymaniye Ktp., Carullah, No. 01425. Harun Kuşlu and Mustakim Arıcı also used this information in their work, see Harun Kuşlu, “Cârullah Efendi’nin Derkenar Notlarının İslâm Mantık Tarihine Katkısı,” in *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü Carullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl (Istanbul: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2020), 110–11; Mustakim Arıcı, “Osmanlı’da Kelam ve Felsefe Müfredatları Üzerine Bir Modelleme: Cârullah Efendi Koleksiyonu Örneği,” in *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü Carullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl (Istanbul: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2020), 391.

his name on the last of the note. He also read Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a* and commented on the Ottoman tradition in the milieu it, identifying the latter's (Siyālkūtī) position as discussed below. There is another Siyālkūtī's work *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*; also, his name was written on the title page, and some comments in the marginalia, most probably by his own script.⁷³⁰

Perhaps he read other works of Siyālkūtī were not preserved in the Carullah collection or moved to other madrasahs and not documented or to be found and examined in the days to come. So, for a scholar like Carullah Efendi, claiming to have a *ḥāshiyah* on *Ilahiyât al-Shifâ* for Siyālkūtī, it is difficult to ignore the claim. Carullah collection has been examined; it preserved so many copies related to Shifâ of Ibn Sina and did not find Siyālkūtī's involvement there. However, it is well known that Siyālkūtī had access to the Shifâ, and he would quote from it and use it in some of his works. It would be possible that he saw Siyālkūtī's notes, or concepts taken from Shifâ putting in a treatise or someone else used so on, and finally, he would think that Siyālkūtī might have a *ḥāshiyah* on Shifâ. At least there was a story behind putting this comment.

As discussed above, during Siyālkūtī, we are facing difficulties in finding works on Shifâ in Hindustan, and though the ground had its usages. Amid this situation, it is difficult to make a final comment, but perhaps Carullah Efendi saw comments or notes taken from Shifâ and thought of as *ḥāshiyah*.

⁷³⁰ See for *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* es-Siyalkûtî, "Carullah, No. 01190," fols. 1a, 2b.. See for *ḥāshiyah* on *Muqaddimat al-Arba'a* Shaikh al-Islām 'Alā al-Din 'Arabi Efendi, "Hāshiyah 'ala Muqaddimatu'l-Arba'a" (n.d.), fol. 1b, Süleymaniye Ktp., Carullah, no. 00460-001, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/225587>. And See for *Tafsīr al-Baydawi* Abdulkakim es-Siyalkûtî, "Hāşiyeye alâ Envâri't-Tenzîl ve Esrâri't-Te'vîl" (n.d.), 1b, Süleymaniye Ktp., Carullah, no. 00179.

II. Logic

In Hindustan, the development of Arabic (Islamic) logic emerged later than in other intellectual centers. It gained momentum from the early twelfth/eighteenth century, resulting in numerous works. Zubaid Aḥmad analyzes key texts written in Hindustan that became popular over time up to the early modern times, which is helpful to understand the ground, highlighting Abdul Haq Dehlawi's *Al-Durrat al-Bahiyyah* (d. 1642), addressing fundamental logical issues. Additionally, Muḥibbullāh Bihārī's (d. 1707) *Sullam al-'Ulum* and Fadl-i Imām b. Muḥammad Arshad b. Muḥammad Salih al-Ḥanafī Khayrabadi's (d. 1827–8) *Mirqat* contribute to Hind's intellectual development.⁷³¹

Furthermore, six commentaries on foreign works are noteworthy. *Mīzān al-Mantiq* on *Badi' al-Mīzān* by 'Abdullah Tulanbi, *ḥāshiyah* on Mīr *Quṭbi* of Siyālkūtī, Mīr Zahid also followed the trend and wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *Risālah al-Tasawwur wa'l-Tasdiqat* known as *ḥāshiyah al-Zahidiyyah al-Quṭbiyyah*. Others, *i.e.*, followed the latter (Mir Zahid), Ghulam Yahya Bihari (d. 1715) wrote a *ḥāshiyah* on Mīr *Zahid* and *ḥāshiyah* on *Tahdhib al-Mantiq* of 'Abd al-Nabi Aḥmadabad (d. 1731) are some to mention. Noteworthy commentaries popular on the ground include those by Hamdallah, Qāḍī Mubarak, Mullā Ḥasan, and Mir'at al-Shuruh, written from the twelfth/eighteenth century onward.⁷³²

Siyālkūtī's upbringing lacked scholarly works. Noteworthy is the distinction between reading a work and creating a treatise, necessitating holistic investment in socio-political, economic, and philosophical realms. The emergence of major works in Hindustan before Siyālkūtī, notably 'Abdullah Tulanbi, is discussed by Khaled El-Rouayheb, who attributes the title of the first outstanding representative of Hind Muslim tradition of Arabic logic to

⁷³¹ Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857*, 149–53; Ahmed, "Fadl-i Imām Khayrābādī."

⁷³² Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857*, 153–56.

Siyālkūtī rather than ‘Abdullah Tulanbi. This distinction arises from the latter’s short work and ḥāshiyah on an initial handbook.⁷³³

i. *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*

Najm al-Dīn ‘Ali b. ‘Umar al-Katibi al-Qazwīnī (600–75/1204–76), known as Katibi and Qazwīnī, a foundational scholar of Islamic logic and philosophy, authored this epoch-making work. As requested by Ilkhanid Vizier Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Baha al-Dīn al-Juwayni, Qazwīnī named it *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*, adjusting the title in dedication to the vizier. The work, characterized by numerous attributes, attained prominence as a basic text in logic across Muslim educational centers. Subsequent works, copies, and publications proliferated in Ottoman, Hind, and Safavid intellectual centers. Distinguished scholars, including Jurjani, Taftāzānī, Isfaraini, Dawwānī, Aḥmed al-Dasuki, Mullā Fanari, and Siyālkūtī, engaged with the milieu of *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*.

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī extensively contributed with a *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah*, a *sharḥ* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Razi on *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*. In both the Hindustan and Ottoman contexts, it is known as *ḥāshiyah on Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah*, while in Hindustan, it is also recognized as *ḥāshiyah on Quṭbi*. Additionally, Siyālkūtī wrote a *ḥāshiyah* on Jurjani’s *ḥāshiyah on Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Razi. The latter work is also identified as *ḥāshiyah on Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah* along with Mīr *Quṭbi* in Hindustan.⁷³⁴ In the same way, the

⁷³³ It seems with the commencement of Baburid rule, the logic works also got speedy, however, it took time to have good texts could be used in the madrasah, what is possible to see since the early seventeenth century when Siyālkūtī started doing major contribution. It may be called that different branches of rational sciences developed during the latter’s lifetime and in many cases, he successfully contributed discussed in the work. See El-Rouayheb, *Relational Syllogisms and the History of Arabic Logic, 900-1900*, LXXX:131 n49; Würsch, “‘Abdallāh Al-Tulanbi.”

⁷³⁴ Khaled El-Rouayheb, “Al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (Brill, December 1, 2018), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/al-katibi-al-qazwini-COM_33084#d131522300e61; İsmail Durmuş, “Hatib Kazvini,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2022), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kazvini-hatib>; Ali Durusoy, “Eş-Şemsiyye,”

learned Siyālkūtī also presents differently from one to another in the same works, *i.e.*, the work shows as “*qāla al-Sharih*” (*al-Sharih* perhaps was added in later times) to mean the thought or text of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzi, and “*qawluhu*” for Jurjani.⁷³⁵

Siyālkūtī’s work underwent distinct interpretations in Hindustan and Ottoman realms. In Hindustan, Jurjani’s ḥāshiyah on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyah* is known as *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Kubra*, and Siyālkūtī’s is termed ḥāshiyah on *ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Kubra* (ḥāshiyah on Mīr Quṭbi).⁷³⁶ Additionally, Jurjani’s ḥāshiyah on the preface of *al-Quṭbi* is also regarded as *ḥāshiyah al-Sugra*, while Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah on this part is ḥāshiyah on the *ḥāshiyah al-Sugra*. In the Ottoman context, the latter one is also labeled ḥāshiyah on *tasawwurat*. Notably, Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyah* is categorized into ḥāshiyah on *Tasawwurat* and *Tasdiqat* in this context. Different sections are designated accordingly, as the latter encompasses all major parts of *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyah*.⁷³⁷ Consequently, although interconnected, these works are distinct in nature and format in the ground.

in *DĪA* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2010); Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857*, 400 n1.

⁷³⁵ See manuscript and publication Abdhahakim es-Siyalkūtī, “Hāṣiye alā Hāṣiyeti Tahriri’l-Kavā’idi’l-Mantikiyye fi Şerhi’r-Risāleti’ş-Şemsiyye” (1123), Yazma Bağışlar, No. 02053, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Tasawwurat*.

⁷³⁶ It (naming as *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Kubra*) was regarded for other *ḥāshiyahs* on the same topic as well, differentiating factor was the name of the scholar. See Khan, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts (v. III)*, III:90–93; nos. 1285–1290.

⁷³⁷ See Khan, III:88–93, nos. 1282–1292. And for *Sugra*, sometimes it is mentioned as a part of *ḥāshiyah* on *Tasawwurat*. In the name of *Sugra*, several times its editions were published in the Ottoman ground. See ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Sugrā* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1276); *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Sugrā* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası, 1307); *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Sugrā* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası, 1320); *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Sugrā* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1268); *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Sugrā* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1288). See for *Tasawwurat* and *Tasdiqat* and Siyālkūtī’s works published in the Ottoman ground Mahmut Kaya, “Tasavvur,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2011), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tasavvur>; al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Tasawwurat*; Abdhahakim es-Siyalkūtī, “Hāṣiye ale’t-Tasdikāt” (1114), Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, no. 02572.



Figure 3. 10: The earliest copy available in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK), scribed in Medina in Rajab 22, 1100/ May 12, 1689, showing Qâla and Qawluhu in red color.⁷³⁸

The *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah* treatise holds significance in Syrian logic, eliciting global *sharḥ*, *ḥāshiyah*, and *ta'lik*. A classical masterpiece, Quṭb al-Dīn Rāzī's *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Mantiqiyya fi Sharḥi al-Risalat al-Shamsiyya*. Scholars like Seyyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, Isam al-Dīn al-Isfara'ini, Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmed al-Dusuk contributed. For Jurjani's *ḥāshiyah*, Mollā Ali al-Ajami,

⁷³⁸ Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, “Hāṣiye alā Ṣerhi'ş-Şemsiyye” (Medina al-Munawwarah, Cemāziyelâhire 1100), fol. 2a-b, Ragıp Paşa Ktp., Ragıp Paşa, No. 00886.

Mollā Fenari, Kara Davud Izmiti, Siyālkūtī, and others provided ḥāshiyahs. Abdulhamid b. Omar al-Harputi and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Shirwani offered ḥāshiyah and *ta’lik* on Siyālkūtī.⁷³⁹

It is unknown when Siyālkūtī penned it; however, it is understood, from the ḥāshiyah’s introduction, that ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb requested his father (Siyālkūtī) to work on it, as discussed above. So far, it is understood that the work *Tahrīr al-Qawā’id al-Mantiqiyyah* was a foundational and widely read text in Hindustan, and it has also been utilized in other regions. One of our records indicates that the work was written in 1053/1643, during Shāh Jahān’s reign - the Baburid PadiShāh, to whom he dedicated the work, as was his customary practice. There seem to be alternative perspectives worth exploring. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb might have been actively engaging with the work alongside his father in his twenties, around 1607/09. This coincided with a period when Siyālkūtī had gained recognition among scholars. A few years earlier, he had referred to Aḥmad Sirhindī as “*mujaddid alf-e thani*,” a claim acknowledged by the scholars. Alternatively, the initial scenario holds merit, suggesting ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb worked with his father in the same madrasah and proposed creating this work.⁷⁴⁰

The prominence of the *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah* trend was notable, evident in numerous works in Hindustan, particularly in Siyālkūtī’s madrasah. While not surprising, further exploration is warranted. Records reveal that ‘Abdullah Kashmīri, likely a student of Siyālkūtī, scribed a copy of Jurjani’s ḥāshiyah ‘*ala sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah al-Mūsamma bi-Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah* on Shawwal 3, 1060/September 29, 1650, during Siyālkūtī’s lifetime. Even at around ninety years old, he continued lecturing, earning

⁷³⁹ Durusoy, “Eṣ-Şemsiyye.”

⁷⁴⁰ See al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Tasawwurāt*, 2; Shams-’ul-’Ulama M. Hidayat Husain, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Buhār Library, Vol. II, Arabic MSS* (Calcutta: Imperial Library, 1923), no. 296; Khan, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts* (v. III), III:92–93; no. 1289.

widespread respect, as indicated by the mention of the owner of the madrasah, signifying his esteemed position. This account illuminates the local scribing tradition.⁷⁴¹

Zubaid Ahmed's analysis of major works in Hindustan reveals a sparse production in the tenth/sixteenth century. However, in the eleventh/seventeenth century, several logic works emerged, notably on the *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah* trend by renowned scholars, including Siyālkūtī, Abdul Haq Dehlawi, Qāḍī Nurullah Shushtari (1549–1610), Nuruddin b. Muḥammad Salih Gujarātī, and others.⁷⁴²

The examined manuscripts, found in Kuliyatu'l-Islāmiyyah, Peshawar University, Ghulam Jilani collection no. 2/1770 reveals the earliest copy scribed in Rajab 11, 1055/September 2, 1645, during Siyālkūtī's lifetime. Unfortunately, most manuscripts lack date and place details. Some indicate increased usage from the twelfth/eighteenth century onward. Notably, in the thirteenth/nineteenth century, various publications are noted in Delhi and Lucknow. Particularly, its lithograph twice in the 1870s in Delhi shows its demand and continuous use in the ground. Thus, it can be asserted that the work maintained its relevance into the early modern era.⁷⁴³

⁷⁴¹ The copy is preserved in Islamic College Library (Ghulam Jilani Collection), Peshawar University, Peshawar, no. 1742 (alif), See Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-'Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi', al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi', (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, vol. II, III, IV, no. 818.

⁷⁴² See Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi'l Hind*, 225; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:465, 659, 632; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:442.

⁷⁴³ See Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-'Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi', al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi', (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, vol. II, III, IV, no. 850; Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 143; Siddiqī, *Fihris al-Makhtūtātū'l-Arabiyya bi-Jāmiati Aligarh al-Islamiyya - al-Hind. (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in Aligarh Muslim University - India) (Vol. I)*, vol. 1. c. (603, XIV s.), no. 445; El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, 177.

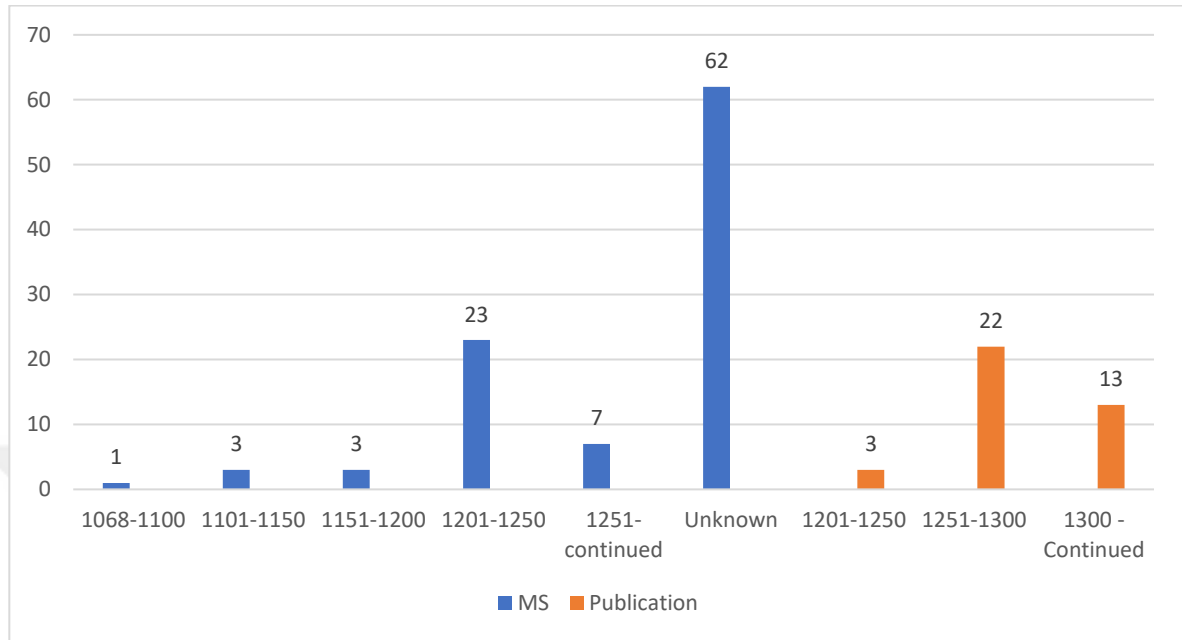


Figure 3. 11. 2: Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on al-Risālāh al-Shamsiyyah in the Ottoman land

It is challenging to determine precisely when Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah fi sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* reached the Ottoman ground. However, it is conceivable that his work was disseminated during or soon after his lifetime. The earliest manuscript found so far, notes the scribing time as Rajab 22, 1100/May 12, 1689, in Medina, a significant detail for our study. This suggests that into the twelfth/eighteenth century, Siyālkūtī's works continued to be procured from Medina and were copied in Istanbul, Damascus, and other locations. Multiple copies are available in Turkish manuscript libraries, indicating sustained efforts to bring them to Istanbul or other Anatolian cities or to scribe them in their respective cities. Unfortunately, our records often lack place names, and many manuscripts provide no dates.⁷⁴⁴

In the late eleventh/seventeenth century and twelfth/eighteenth century, the work maintained its presence, with a notable surge in usage observed in the later times,

⁷⁴⁴ es-Siyalkūtī, "Ragıp Paşa, No. 00886"; "Laleli, no. 02572"; "Hāṣiye alā Hāṣiyeti Tahriri'l-Kavā'idī'l-Mantikiyye fi Şerhi'r-Risāleti'ş-Şemsiyye (Tasdiqat)." (1120), Servili, No. 00276-002, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/325687>; "Hāṣiye alā Hāṣiyeti Tahriri'l-Kavā'idī'l-Mantikiyye fi Şerhi'r-Risāleti'ş-Şemsiyye."

particularly the thirteenth/nineteenth century onwards. A comprehensive analysis reveals an impressive twenty-two editions of the work in the late thirteenth/nineteenth century. This is remarkable, as rarely do foreign works see such extensive publication, surpassing all other works, including Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on *Khayālī* and ḥāshiyah on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. Perhaps after Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, this work became the most extensively utilized in Ottoman academia. Available records indicate that in the fourteenth/twentieth century, the work continued to hold a prominent position in academia. Siyālkūtī is consistently, if not frequently, mentioned in discussions related to *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah* in the post-Ottoman land and its presence seems indispensable in the milieu of *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*. Undoubtedly, the work was more widely read and utilized in the Ottoman realm than in its country of origin, Hindustan.

Throughout the late eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, the work maintained its presence, experiencing a significant surge in usage in the later periods, notably the thirteenth/nineteenth century onwards. A comprehensive analysis reveals an impressive twenty-two editions of the work in the late thirteenth/nineteenth century—a remarkable occurrence, as foreign works rarely witness such extensive publication. This surpasses all other works, including Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on *Khayālī* and ḥāshiyah on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. It appears that after Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, this work became the most extensively utilized in Ottoman academia.

Available records suggest that in the fourteenth/twentieth century, the work maintained a prominent position in academia. Siyālkūtī is consistently, if not frequently, mentioned in discussions related to *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah* in the post-Ottoman era, and his presence seems indispensable in the milieu of the mentioned work (*al-Shamsiyyah*). Undoubtedly, the work found broader readership and application in the Ottoman realm compared to its country of origin, Hindustan.

Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah* primarily engaged with introductory topics and the acquisition of conceptions, covering linguistic reference types, the five universals, and definitions. Just over 10% of the ḥāshiyah delved into later commentary on contradiction, contraposition, conversion and syllogism. Dawwānī's

influence is evident, with Siyālkūtī often following him, while he critically assessed ‘Isam al-Dīn Isfarīnī. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *sharḥ* on Urmawī’s *Maṭālī* was frequently cited, offering expanded insights compared to the shorter *sharḥ* on the *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*. And Siyālkūtī also occasionally quoted from Avicenna’s *Shifā’*.⁷⁴⁵

ii. *Mīzān al-Mantiq*

There is a scarcity of information on *Mīzān al-Mantiq* by Siyālkūtī. Our solitary record attributes authorship to him, clarifying it as an abridged version of Qazwīnī’s *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*. The Maulana Abu al-Kalām Azad Arabic and Persian Research Institute, Rajasthan, Tonk, houses five copies. The same source notes the author’s unknown status. Additional accounts affirm the work’s anonymous authorship. Nevertheless, considering Siyālkūtī’s extensive *ḥāshiyah* on the *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah* on *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*, an attribution to him is plausible. Siyālkūtī’s influence, as seen above, extended beyond Hindustan, yet it is not universally acknowledged. It appears as a note or draft from his study of *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*, delving into *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah*.⁷⁴⁶

iii. *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār*

Siraj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abi Bakr b. Aḥmed b. Hamid al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283), commonly known as Urmawī (also Urmavī), stands out as a prominent Shafī Jurist, logician, and philosopher. His impact on Islamic intellectual history is notable for his teachings and works, attracting students from diverse backgrounds. His influential work, *al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār* in logic, holds a classical status and is widely utilized in Muslim learning centers. Numerous *ḥāshiyah* and *sharḥ* have been penned on this work and its subsequent iterations. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 766/1365) authored a *sharḥ* on *al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār*, while Sayyid al-Sharīf Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), contributed a *ḥāshiyah* on the latter (*sharḥ ‘ala al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār*). Siyālkūtī also wrote a *ḥāshiyah* on the latter, titled

⁷⁴⁵ El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, 176–77.

⁷⁴⁶ Khan, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts (v. III)*, III:92–93, nos. 1291–95; Qama Biasdarah Markaj al-Malik Faisal, *Khajanat Al-Turath- Fihris Makhtutah*, n.d., 61/89.

ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār, or *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār*, alongside *Lawami al-Asrar*.⁷⁴⁷

The precise date of composition is uncertain, but the historical record suggests a copy of the treatise was transcribed on Rajab 25, 1016/November 15, 1607. Likely authored around 1600, it appears to be an early work in Siyālkūtī’s career.⁷⁴⁸ This work is relatively obscure, perhaps overshadowed by more popular and regional Hind works. Yet, in the milieu of *al-Maṭālī’ al-Anwār*, numerous contemporaneous manuscripts exist, suggesting it might be among Siyālkūtī’s early, less-publicized creations. Notably, the treatise is dedicated to PadiShāh Shāh Jahān.⁷⁴⁹

Limited information exists about the work, and it did not reach Ottoman lands. The sole copy resides in John Rylands Library, Manchester University, with a history of manuscript transfers in the late 18th and 19th centuries. Additional copies are found in Hindustan libraries, namely Bankipur 2263 and Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna 2263, along with one in the Indian Office (Otto Loth) 596.⁷⁵⁰ Notably, the lithography in 1224/1809 indicates demand and usage in academic grounds in early modern times.

⁷⁴⁷ See for Urmawī and his Works, Mustafa Çağrıçı, “Sirāceddin el-Urmewī,” in *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi, 2009), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/siraceddin-el-urmevi>. See also Sadreddin Gümüş, “Seyyid Şerif Cürcânî,” in *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi, 1993), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/curcani-seyyid-serif>; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Encyclopaedia, Logic, Philosophy, Theology and Dialectics)*, vol. XXI, nos. 2259, 2263; Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester University Press, 1934), 671–72, no. 397.

⁷⁴⁸ *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Encyclopaedia, Logic, Philosophy, Theology and Dialectics)*, XXI:37, no. 2263.

⁷⁴⁹ Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:348, 364, 333; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:503, 558, 658, 652, 627; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:802, 812, 855.

⁷⁵⁰ Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 164, no. 596; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Encyclopaedia, Logic, Philosophy, Theology and Dialectics)*, XXI:37, no. 2263; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 401.

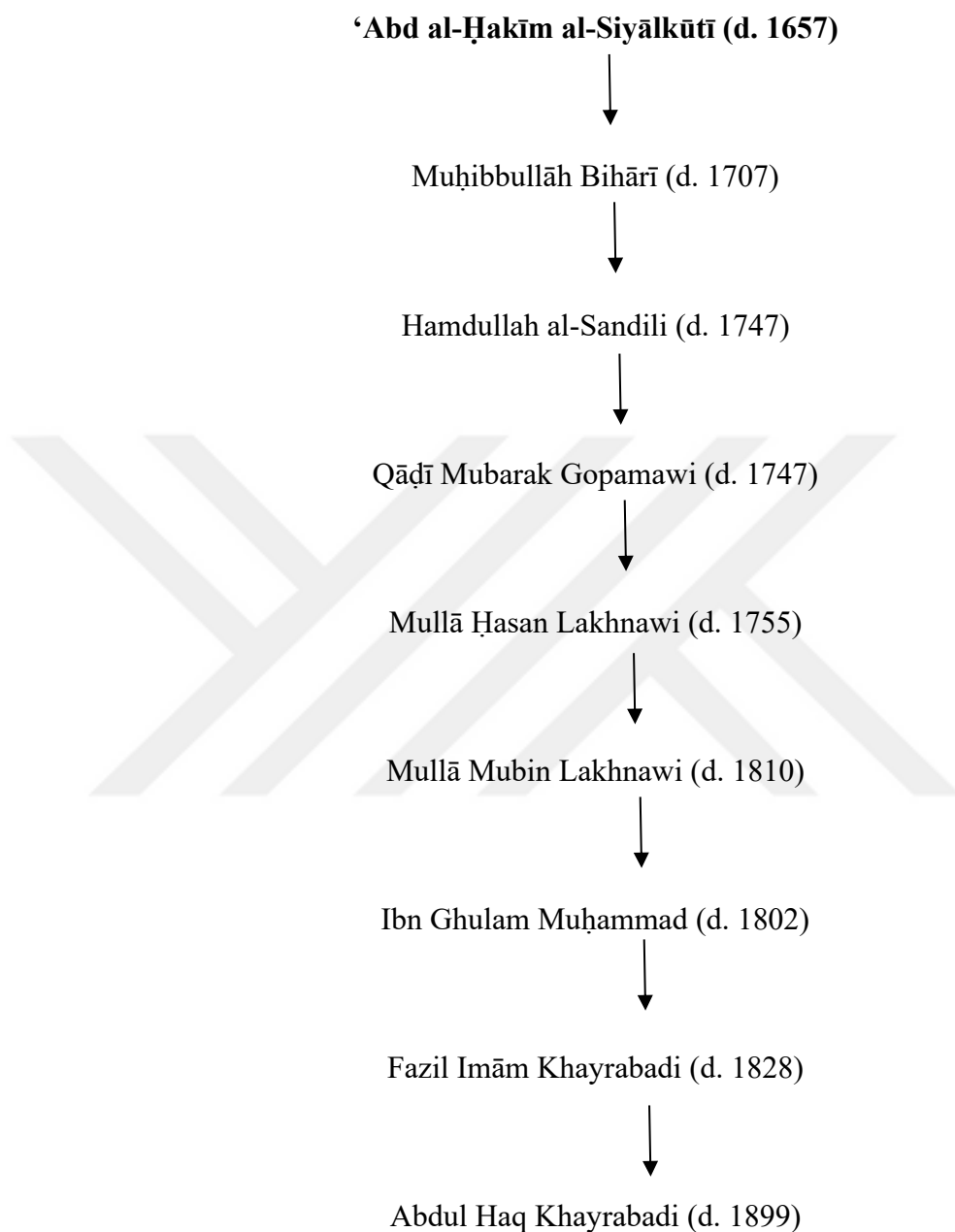


Figure 3. 12: Siyālkūtī and Hind Arabic logician channel⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵¹ See El-Rouayheb, *Relational Syllogisms and the History of Arabic Logic, 900-1900*, LXXX:260; *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, 176–78.

Coming to the end of Siyālkūtī's logic discussion, it could be said that Siyālkūtī indeed played a pioneering role in initiating a vibrant logic tradition in Hindustan. As per Khaled El-Rouayheb, the evolution of Hind Arabic (Muslim) logic is intertwined with the founding scholars of the discipline. Notably, from Farabi to Siyālkūtī, a well-connected network emerges through scholars such as Avicenna, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Katibi, Urmawī, Samaqandī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzi, Taftāzānī, Mehmet Fanari (Fenari), Dawwānī, Isfaraini, Dashtakī, Mullā 'Abdullah Yazdī, and Mīrzā Jan Bāghnawī – just to name a few.



III. Usûl-e Fiqh

i. *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a min kitāb al-Tawdīh al-Tasrīh bi-Gawāmiḍ al-Talwīh*

In the discourse on Islamic jurisprudence, *Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a* holds a prominent position, widely studied across major Muslim learning centers. It has been a tradition in Islamic seminars, leading to numerous scholarly works. *Sadr al-Sharī’a al-Thani al-Ubaydullah b. Masud al-Bukhari* (d. 747/1346), known as *Sadr al-Sharī’a*, authored *Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a*, a section of *al-Tawdhih*. The Hanafī scholar Taftāzānī wrote *ḥāshiyah* named *al-Talwih ilā Kashfī Haqaiq al-Tankih*, elucidating and critiquing *Sadr al-Sharī’a*’s text. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī later wrote a *ḥāshiyah* on Taftāzānī’s work, known by various names such as *ḥāshiyah* on *Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Muqaddimah al-Talwih fi’l-Usul*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Husn wa’l-Qubh*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-Talwih*, *ḥāshiyah ‘ala al-tawdhih wa al-Talwih*, and others.⁷⁵²

It is unclear when Siyālkūtī authored it. Our analysis indicates that only two works preceded Siyālkūtī in Hindustan, by Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī and Ya’qub b. al-Ḥasan al-Sarfī al-Kashmīrī (d. 1003/1593). Subsequently, numerous works emerged in Hindustan. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, Siyālkūtī’s son, as previously mentioned, composed a summary

⁷⁵² See for Sadr al-Sharī’a, his work and its trend Şükrü Özen, “Sadrüşşerī’a,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2008), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sadrusseria>; Şükrü Özen, “Tenkihi’l-Usûl,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2011), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tenkihul-usul>; Şükrü Özen, “Teftâzânî,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2011), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/teftazani>. See for the names Abdulkakim es-Siyalkûtî, “Hâşiye alâ Mukaddimeti’t-Telviḥ fi’l-Usûl” (n.d.), Balıkesir Ktp., Balıkesir İHK, No. 608/01; “Talika ale’l-Menâr fi’l-Usûl” (n.d.), KHK, No. 1932/01, Kastamonu Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; “Hâşiye ale’l-Hüsn ve’l-Kubh” (1251), Süleymaniye Ktp., Antalya Tekelioğlu, No. 00818-001; “Ta’liqât ‘ala Tawzīh Wa al-Talwīh” (n.d.), Millet, Ali Emiri Arabi, No. 473; “Hâşiye ale’t-Telviḥ” (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, No. 00447-002; Malik, *Arabic Catalogue, Arabic Manuscripts Collections, Punjab University Library, Lahore*, no. 229; Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-‘Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, vol. II, III, IV, no. 276.

(*tasrih*) of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah*, titled *al-Tasrih bi-Ghawāmiḍ al-Talwih*. This summary also reached foreign lands, including the Ottoman territory.⁷⁵³

In the Ottoman tradition, numerous works are observed. Siyālkūtī's contribution, *ḥāshiyah* on *Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a*, stands prominently among scholars, notably marked as the post-Fatih era's inaugural work, according to Asım Cünayd Köksal. Following Siyālkūtī, a surge in Ottoman *ḥāshiyah* is observed, paralleling developments in Hind. Carullah Efendi (d. 1151/1738), a notable Ottoman scholar with evident access to Siyālkūtī's texts, annotated the title page of a copy of *ḥāshiyah al-Talwih 'ala Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a*, such as:

*"The ḥāshiyah on Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a by Muhaqqiq Alauddin al-'Arabi is the inaugural ḥāshiyah, followed by Kastalani and Ibnu'l-Haj Hasan's contributions. These two works raised objections to Alauddin's ḥāshiyah, leading to his responses in the margins. Subsequently, Ibn al-Khatib's ḥāshiyah, followed by Samsuni's one, and culminating with 'Abd al-Hakīm al-Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah."*⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵³ See Abdullah al-Labib's work on *Muqaddimat al-Arba'a* milieu, Mach, *Princeton*, vol. 5, 515 s., no. 925; Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, no. 327. And for his work available in Turkish manuscript libraries (YEK), see al-Labib, "Süleymaniye KTp., Laleli, No. 00710"; "et-Tasriḥ bi-Gavāmizi't-Telviḥ" (n.d.), Süleymaniye Ktp., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, No. 00419; "Süleymaniye Ktp., Laleli, no. 00709."

⁷⁵⁴ 'Arabi Efendi, "Hāshiyah 'ala Muqaddimatu'l-Arba'a," n.d., fol. 1b. The same note was put over another copy of the same work, perhaps by Sayyid Mehmed Kefewi, see Shaikh al-Islām 'Alā al-Din 'Arabi Efendi, "Hāshiyah 'ala Muqaddimatu'l-Arba'a" (n.d.), fol. 28b, Süleymaniye KTp., Fatih, NO. 01305-002; Asım Cünayd Köksal, "Osmanlılarda Mukaddimat-ı Erbaa Literatürü," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 14, no. 27 (February 13, 2018): 104.

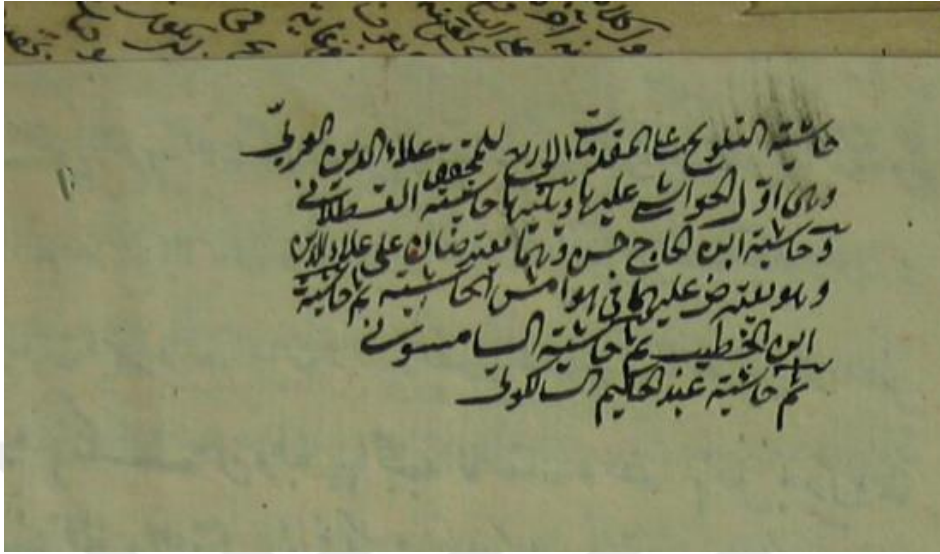


Figure 3. 13: Carullah Efendi's handwritten note on the title page delineates the scholarly network associated with Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a.⁷⁵⁵

Waliuddin Carullah Efendi's (d. 1151/1738) note significantly contributes to this work, offering multifaceted insights. Copies of this work, available in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK), accessed thus far, lack pre-Carullah Efendi dating. The initial dated manuscript, from 1209/1793 (preserved in Manisa İHK, no. 993/3), is nearly a century post-copying. Therefore, it appears there were several, if not many, copies circulating, enabling scholars to assess and position Siyālkūtī's work within the scholarly tradition. Plausibly, the use of these works persisted over decades.⁷⁵⁶

Approximately half of the existing manuscripts lack the scribe's date. Regarding the work's arrival in Ottoman lands, information on its earlier usage is absent. Our analysis

⁷⁵⁵ 'Arabi Efendi, "Hāshiyah 'ala Muqaddimatu'l-Arba'a," n.d.

⁷⁵⁶ This reminds that it is very challenging to decide only based on existing manuscripts' date, as so many manuscripts do not have it (a date) and our examination on manuscripts available in the Turkish manuscript libraries (YEK) shows that around fifty percent (50%) of the manuscript do not have a date. See for Carullah Efendi Tahsin Özcan, "Veliyyüddin Cârullah," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2013), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/veliyyuddin-carullah>. And for the dated earliest manuscript Abdulkakim es-Siyalkūtī, "Hāṣiye alâ Mukaddimeti't-Telvîh fi'l-Usûl" (1793 1209), Manisa Ktp., Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, No. 993/3.

indicates since the thirteenth/nineteenth century, there was a surge in its usage, culminating in a publication in 1283/1866. This suggests a growing significance. However, there is no evidence of widespread use of what is seen for *ḥāshiyahs* on *Khayālī* and *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matīqīyyah*. Insights from Carullah Efendi and Asım Cüneyd Köksal suggest broad acceptance in Ottoman intellectual circles. According to the latter, Siyālkūtī holds a crucial position in the milieu of *Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a*, with his *ḥāshiyah* consistently recognized among important Ottoman works. The likelihood of discovering numerous copies in the future is high, given its concise nature compared to other works by the author. The manuscript comprises around forty folios, and the printed version spans fifty-nine pages –it could be regarded as short treatises that are commonly compiled (*majmu'a*) with other works, complicating cataloging in modern libraries. Future additions are conceivable.⁷⁵⁷

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Ḥusāmī*

Abu 'Abdullah Husamuddin Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Omar al-Ahiskasī (d. 644/1246-7) was a Hanafī scholar of *usūl-e fiqh*. His work *al-Muntakhab fī usūl al-Mazhab*, popularly known as *al-Muntakhabu'l-Husami*, is an important work in *usūl-e fiqh*. So many works have happened on it in different educational centers, *i.e.*, Hindustan, Ottoman, and Iran. The work reached Hind ground long before Siyālkūtī, and there are several works done on it before and after Siyālkūtī; more importantly, several famous scholars of Siyālkūtī's contemporaries also penned on it, *i.e.*, Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī, Abdul Haq Dehlawi – a few to mention.

Siyālkūtī authored a *ḥāshiyah* on the *sharḥ al-Husami*. It is not known whose *sharḥ* he went through. Only one record tells us about it. In some cases, it happens that the prominent scholars had many works on different disciplines or major works widely used in the ground during their higher studies or early career, some would come to the front and become eminent and some not. So, it is imaginable Siyālkūtī would have a work. According to Zubaid Aḥmed, a manuscript of it is preserved in Peshawar, no. 527. The

⁷⁵⁷ Köksal, "Osmanlılarda Mukaddimat-ı Erbaa Literatürü," 102, 104, 108.

same library belongs to *ḥāshiyah* on *Muqaddimāt al-Arba’a* of the latter (Siyālkūtī), a work of the same discipline, *i.e.*, *usūl-e fiqh*, and its detailed discussion is above mentioned.⁷⁵⁸

IV. Grammar

i. Siyālkūtī ‘ala al-ḥāshiyah ‘Abd al-Gafūr Lārī al-Kāfiyya

Abu ‘Amr ‘Uthman b. ‘Omar b. Abi Bakr b. Yunus (d. 646/1249), known as Ibn al-Ḥāḥib, was an Arab grammarian, prominent for his two renowned works *al-Kāfiyya* and *al-Shafiyya*. He is mostly remembered for his extraordinary creation; the first one (*al-Kāfiyya*) is a short manual of Arabic syntax (*naḥw*), one of the most read textbooks in Arabic grammar, extensively used in the major, if not all, educational centers of Islamic seminars. And the other one that is also famous is a short treatise on Arabic accidentence (*ṣarf*). So many *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah* have been written on *al-Kāfiyya* and its subsequent works. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), known as Mullā Jāmī – a prominent Iranian scholar and poet, authored a *sharḥ* on *al-Kāfiyya* known as *al-Fawa’id al-Diyāiyyah*, is regarded as the best of the lot. ‘Abd al-Gafūr Lārī (d. 912/1506) – a prominent Iranian scholar and Sufi, was also a famous student of the latter (Mullā Jāmī), wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Kāfiyya*, however, he could not complete it. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī worked extensively completing Lari’s *ḥāshiyah* naming *takmilah ḥāshiyah al-Lārī ‘ala sharḥ al-Jāmī*, and he authored a *ḥāshiyah* on the *ḥāshiyah* of ‘Abd al-Gafūr Lari. Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on Lārī is known as *ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Fawa’id al-Diyāiyyah li-Mullā*

⁷⁵⁸ See Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 323. See the original work and its dimensions Mustafa Uzunpostalcı, “Ahsikesi,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1989), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahsikesi>. And for other Hind scholars’ work see Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 3:252; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:548, 632, 666; Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 112.

Jāmī ‘ala’l-Kāfiyyah li-Ibn al-Ḥāḥib and ḥāshiyah ‘ala’l-Kāfiyyah fi-naḥw – a few to mention.⁷⁵⁹

Concerning the time of its composition is unknown. Our source informs about a manuscript of a *ḥāshiyah* on *Lārī* dated in Ramadan 1051/ December 1641. It is a time when Siyālkūtī was very active in academic affairs as well as his contribution to the court. But it lacks the name of the scribe, the catalog expert tells us there is a possibility of having this copy of Siyālkūtī himself (or he would have scribed it). The writing style was Persian, and it was scribed beautifully. The word ‘qawluhu’ is written in red. The manuscript is one of very rare collections preserved in the Islamic College Library (Ghulam Jilani Collection), Peshawar University, no. 1346.⁷⁶⁰ Although it is possible to be a copy of Siyālkūtī, it would also be a copy that Siyālkūtī would have used it rather than the copy he wrote himself, as generally, first writing a manuscript is often understood, seeing so many corrections and editions are very normal. If the expert observes those things, he must have noted down which he did not. It is very important to imagine the composition time of this manuscript. As it is dated 1051/1641, at least a few years ago, Siyālkūtī would have prepared it and took time for two extensive works. So, most possibly, he started working on it in the 1030s/1620s and perhaps completed it around 1040/1630(s). No doubt, this work was widely accepted among the Hind scholars and placed among one of

⁷⁵⁹ See for Ibn al-Hajīb’s scholarly life and contribution Hulusi Kılıç, “İbnü’l-Hâcib,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2000), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ibnul-hacib>; Moh Ben Cheneb, “Ibn Al-Ḥāḥib,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936)* (Brill, April 24, 2012), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-1/ibn-al-hadjib-SIM_2998. And for Mullā Jami, see Ömer Okumuş, “Abdurrahmân Câmî,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1993), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cami-abdurrahman>. For Lari, see DİA, “Abdūlgafūr-i Lârî,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1988), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/abdulgafur-i-lari>. See for *takmilah* and *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī A.R.B., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Philology, Arabic): V. XX, XX:85*, no. 2061; ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Tasdiqāt* (İstanbul, 1259); Abdulhakim es-Siyālkūtī, “Hāṣiye ale’l-Kāfiye fi’n-Nahv” (n.d.), Orhan, No. 1421, Bursa İnebey Kütüphanesi.

⁷⁶⁰ Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-‘Arabiyyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’, al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi’*, (*Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan*), vol. II, III, IV, no. 675.

the good *ḥāshiyah* on the *al-Kāfiyya* scholarly trend. Some regard this work, as Annemarie Schimmel claims, as the most famous *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī among his so many works.⁷⁶¹

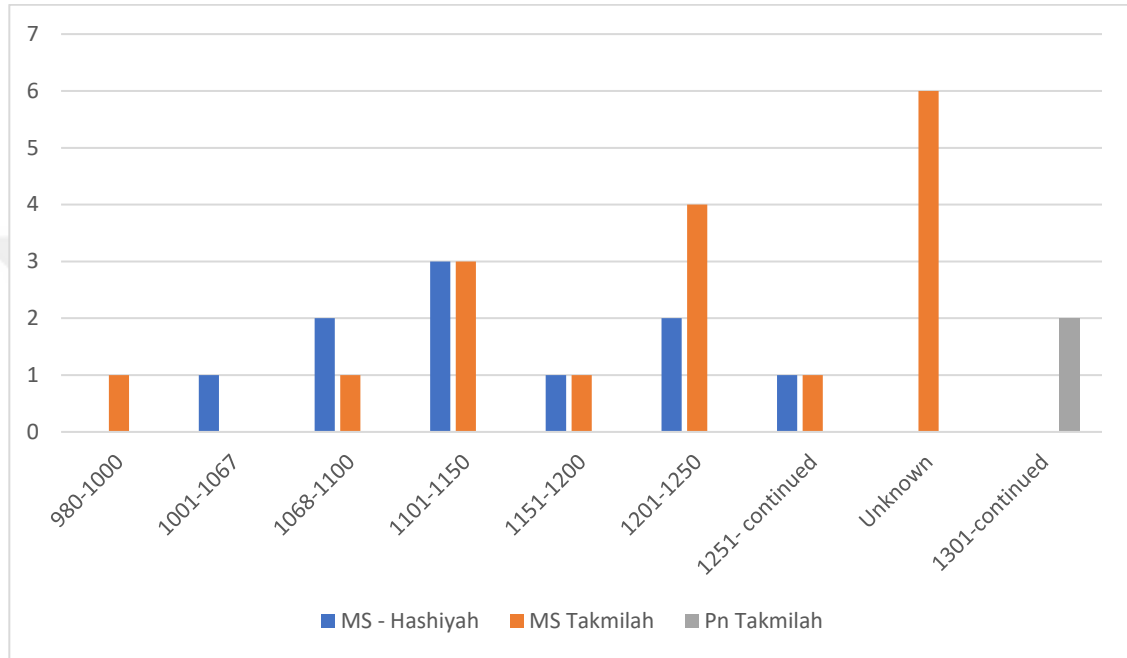


Figure 3. 14: Siyālkūtī's takmilah of the *ḥāshiyah* of Lārī on *al-Kāfiyya* and *ḥāshiyah* on the latter's scribed and published in Hindustan. (MS for manuscript, PN for publication)

It seems that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Lārī took a good position among the trend of *al-Kāfiyya*. As a result, many students and readers got an opportunity to see it. A manuscript preserved in the Library of the Islamic College (Ghulam Jilani Collection), Peshawar University, no. 2/1267 mentions several prominent names who worked on *al-Kāfiyya*, *i.e.*, Abdul Samad, 'Abdullāh, Mullāh Sadegh, and Qul Aḥmad, as well as Maulavi Kul Muḥammad, Muḥammad Gholam Hussain, and Gholam Jalani. They all are

⁷⁶¹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Literatures of India, A History of Indian Literature* ; v. 7 : Modern Indo-Iranian Literatures, Pt. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), 39.

put together as a compilation (*mecmua*), and Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Lārī also took place in the last part of it.⁷⁶²

Our analysis tells that Siyālkūtī's *takmilah* and *ḥāshiyah*, amid so many preceding and succeeding works on the channel of *al-Kāfiyya*, continuously used over the centuries. Particularly, his *takmilah* of Lārī was scribed as many times as his *ḥāshiyah* or even more, and a continuous surge is observed. In the late nineteenth century, it was published four times in four cities so far available records accessed and examined, *i.e.*, 1302/1885 (lithographed) in Lucknow, 1295 / 1878 in Cawnpore, 1307/1890 in Delhi, and in 1309/1894 in Calcutta. All these records show that the ground, whether capital or far from the capital city, published Siyālkūtī's work. It shows that the ground holistically went through these two works.⁷⁶³ The number could be increased in the days to come if a broad analysis is conducted.

Although it is not surprising that printing from distant regions as there were educational centers, it helps to understand that its use was perhaps all the Hind educational centers like Delhi, Lahore etc., showing a continuous demand of the ground. No doubt, so many scholars and students read Siyālkūtī's two works. One such example is found that Lisan-e Sulṭān Maḥmūd al-Dawlah Munshi Maḥmūd Safdar Ali Khan, whom little information is available, perhaps was a prominent scholar of the nineteenth century, is named over the title page dated 1272/1856.⁷⁶⁴

Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Lārī recognized among the scholars of different parts of Muslim lands, backgrounds, and ethnic identities, *i.e.*, Arabs, Turkish etc. An edition of this work was published in Bulak, Cairo, Egypt, in Rabiulakhir 1256/June 1840. The

⁷⁶² See, Khan, *Fihris al-makhtutat al-'Arabiyah fi Bakistan. al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi'*, *al-Ajza, al-thani wa-al-thalith wa-al-rabi'*, (*Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan*), II, III, IV:327, No. 618.

⁷⁶³ A.R.B., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Philology, Arabic): V. XX*, vol. XX, nos. 2055, 2057–60; Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume I*, 1:548–49.

⁷⁶⁴ A.R.B., *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Philology, Arabic): V. XX*, vol. XX, no. 2058.

editor of the work (Mūsahhih), Muḥammad b. IsmaʿIstanbul Shihab al-Dīn extended his respect and praiseworthy to Siyālkūtī for such a valuable work that he ever imagined and commented as:

*In correcting, elucidating his temperament, refining his character, and adapting him to his treatment, I delved into his meanings and explored the gardens of his structures. And I sipped from the chain of its flowing streams what tasted of leaves and picked from the fruits of its leafy branches, which was pleasant to the end of the leaf. It was up to me to mention what I saw of the virtues in it, so that my student would take the initiative to sip the jiryāl/gharial (red wine) in it, so I said, “I found, created a historian, and chanted.”*⁷⁶⁵

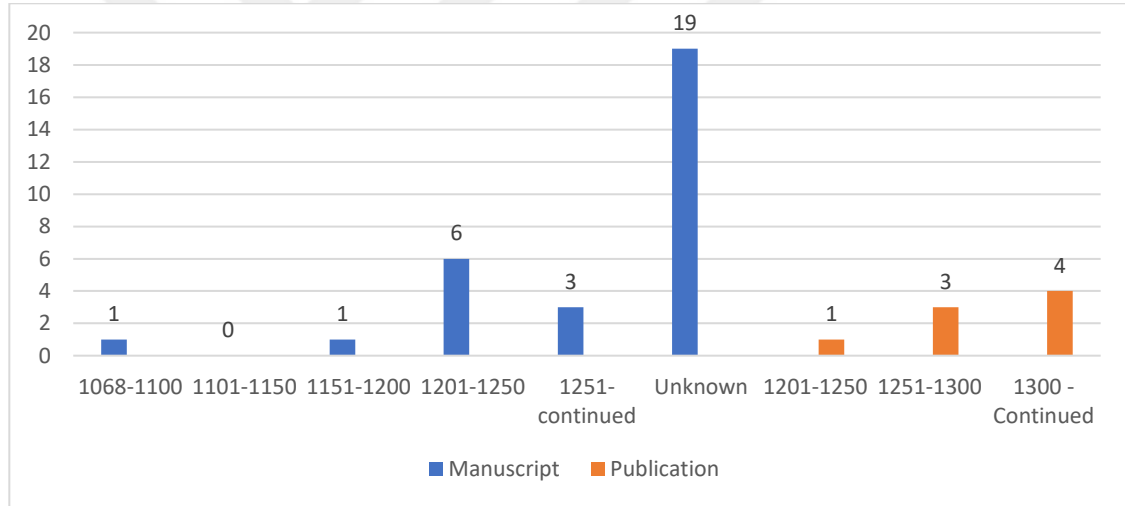


Figure 3. 15: *Siyālkūtī ‘ala al-ḥāshiyah ‘Abd al-Gafūr Lārī al-Kāfiyya* scribed and published in Ottoman land.⁷⁶⁶

Prior to its use in the Ottoman land, other works of Hind scholars on *al-Kāfiyya* reached this ground. Some of the works are seen in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK), such as Abūl Muẓaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn b.

⁷⁶⁵ See es-Siyalkūtī, *Hāshiyeh alā Hāshiyeti'l-Fevā'id-Ziyā'iyye.*, 232.

⁷⁶⁶ It seems, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* had been used in the Ottoman ground, and there was but very few of his *takmilah*. So, the analysis includes naming *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī on Lari. And one publication (Istanbul 1254) is found was of *takmilah* of Siyālkūtī is shown in the graph together.

‘Umar al-Dawlatābādī’s (d. 849/1445) *sharḥ al-Kāfiyya*.⁷⁶⁷ Siyālkūtī’s work perhaps reached the ground during Siyālkūtī’s lifetime. The earliest date mentioned in the manuscript examined in our work tells us that Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on Lārī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *al-Kāfiyya* was scribed in 1082/1671 – just within fifteen years of the demise of him (Siyālkūtī). Unfortunately, only some manuscripts give us the date of the scribe, *i.e.*, 35%. So, this date indicates many things. Perhaps many copies were in the ground as other works of Siyālkūtī already reached the ground. Like Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyahs* on *Khayālī*, *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matqiyyah*, *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, it also recognized widely in the academia though the ground had many other scholars’ works on the milieu of *al-Kāfiyya*.

The examination based on available sources in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK) and others tells us that the work’s use increased in later times, like early modern times. Particularly, with the commencement of publication, its demand and use increased. In the thirteenth/nineteenth century, four publications were recorded. It is a good number that clearly shows its place in academia. As mentioned, its use gradually increased, even during our times; traditional madrasahs of different parts of Türkiye, particularly the students and teachers of the madrasahs of its eastern part, are not only familiar with the work, but also it is subject to going through to make experts. At the same time, Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on Lārī could be found in many formal and non-formal Turkish libraries.

Additionally, it is important to mention that the work published in the Ottoman ground was with the *ta’lik* of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, whom we discussed above. However, it is missing in the title of the copy, but one can easily understand it while reading the work's preface. All these things show that Siyālkūtī’s work on the channel of *al-Kāfiyya* has been

⁷⁶⁷ It is also another example that shows prior Siyālkūtī’s intellectual connections between Hind and Ottoman, see Ebu’l-Mefāhir Şihābüddin Ahmed b. Şemseddin b. Ömer ed-Devletābādī el-Hindī, “Şerhu’l-Kāfiye” (1005), Manisa Ktp., Manisa İHK, no. 2308.

continuing for centuries, even in our times. Siyālkūtī's work never gets lost from its trend.⁷⁶⁸

Siyālkūtī's work is so much integrated with other scholars' works as well. It may be seen while publishing together, or the manuscript's marginalia is used with the notes of other scholars, and his (Siyālkūtī) views are put side by side. In Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Lari, so many quotes or views are taken from Khalid al-Naqshabandī's (d. 1827) work without mentioning the name of the work. In the same way, 'Isam al-Dīn al-Isfarainī's (945/1538) *sharḥ 'ala al-Kāfiyyah* was printed with Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Lari. All these developments show that Siyālkūtī was an important member of the scholarly Ottoman ground in this scholarly trend.⁷⁶⁹

Ḥāshiyah 'ala Mullā Jāmī

Some account also tells us that Siyālkūtī also wrote a treatise, *i.e.*, *ḥāshiyah* on Mullā Jāmī directly beside his extensive work on Lari's *ḥāshiyah* and *Ta'liqāt*, as discussed above.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁸ I am grateful to Selahaddin Yöndeş – a scholar of Turkish traditional madrasah in Istanbul who has been teaching for decades. He feels happy sharing his scholarly experience and solving my difficulties, particularly during my engagement with Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on Lari. He studied in the Eastern part, particularly in Diyarbakir, of Türkiye. His abundant respect for Siyālkūtī is frequently expressed, and he recalls his teachers' praiseworthy comments and unlimited respect for him (Siyālkūtī). Additionally, available manuscripts do not show much use of the work in the region that we have come to know from the real ground. This phenomenon may be possible in many other cities. For the preface see 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah 'ala 'Abdu'l-Gafūr Li-Siyālkūtī* (Matba'a-i 'Âmire, 1307), 2–3.

⁷⁶⁹ See for the quote taken from Khalid Nakshbandī es-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah alâ Hāshiyeti'l-Fevâ'idî'z-Ziyâ'iyye.*, 167, 174, 176. And for the Siyālkūtī and Isami's work published together, see 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī and Isâmüddin el-İsferâyînî, *Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah al-Fawā'id al-Ḍiyā'iyyah (with sharḥ al-Kāfiyyah)*, vol. 1–2, 2 vols. (İstanbul, 1277).

⁷⁷⁰ See Kamboh, *Aml-e Şāliḥ or Shāh Jahān Nāma*, 1939; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

ii. *Ta'liqāt 'ala sharḥ 'Awāmil li-Jurjāni fī al-Naḥw*

There is very little information about it. Only one account tells us Siyālkūtī's work on it. Perhaps Siyālkūtī did it in his very early career, and *'Awāmil* in syntax was always among the most used parts.⁷⁷¹

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥ 'ala Taṣrīf al-'Uzza li-Sayyid (Sharīf Jurjāni)*

Beside this work, Siyālkūtī had a *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ 'ala Taṣrīf al-'Uzza li-Sayyid (Sharīf Jurjāni)*. As Muḥammad Amīn b. Fadl Allah al-Muḥibbi tells about it, which means he saw it, and this work at least reached a foreign land.⁷⁷²

iv. *Mirāḥ al-Awrah*

Another work of Siyālkūtī is mentioned only in the name by many historians; however, we did not find a copy of it. It is also on the discipline of *Ṣarf*, named *Mirāḥ al-Awrah*.⁷⁷³

V. Balagat (Rhetoric)

i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala al-Muṭawwal*

Mutawwal is one of the most important works of Sa'ad al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390) that has been used in the madrasah curriculum as the textbook for centuries in all more-or-less learning centers. Taftāzānī, as it is known that he was a versatile scholar, and his expertise includes many disciplines. Among them, the balagat (rhetoric) field is perhaps

⁷⁷¹ Bolat and Bolat, *Mu'jam Tarikhi al-Turas al-Islami Fi Maktabat al-Alam- al-Makhtutat Wa al-Matbu'at*, 2/1588.

⁷⁷² al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, 2:318; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, 3:3/283.

⁷⁷³ Hasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:558; Maulavi Faqir Jhelumi, *Hadaiq Al-Hanaḥīyyah (Wn 1886)*, 435; Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, 1785; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 133; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 280–81.

the strongest discipline. It is mukhtasar (concise version) that played a significant role in the madrasah syllabus and has continued up to contemporary times. It is still an important work in academia. This is not Taftāzānī's original work. Abu Ya'qub al-Sakkaki's Miftah al-'Ulūm's third part is about balagat. Khatib al-Qazwīnī wrote a mukhtasar on it (Miftah al-'Ulum), naming *Talkhis al-Miftah*. Taftāzānī wrote *sharḥ* on the latter (Talkhis al-Miftah), which is known as *Mutawwal*. Siyālkūtī write extensive *ḥāshiyah* on it.⁷⁷⁴ Although it is familiar as the Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*, it has been used in some places with minor changes, such as *ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala sharḥ al-Talkhis* – it would be easily understood if '*al-Miftah*' was added with the name as *ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala sharḥ al-Talkhis al-Miftah* (as *sharḥ al-Talkhis al-Miftah* is named as *Mutawwal*). Sometimes, *ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥi'l-Miftah* – it was supposed to be *ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥi't-Talkhis al-Miftah*.⁷⁷⁵ Sometimes, some pages would be omitted for any causes that are generally happening for other works. It may create confusion when fixing a work. One manuscript of this work is omitted in the first few pages.⁷⁷⁶

In Hindustan, its use started in the fifteenth century and spread to many madrasahs in the sixteenth century. Maulana 'Alim al-Kabili (d. 992/1585) and Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589) were among the earliest scholars worked on *Mutawwal*. It is not clear when Siyālkūtī, for the first time, read *Mutawwal*, but it is imaginable that perhaps he went through during his student life, *i.e.*, in the 1570s or early 1580s. Perhaps the necessity of writing *ḥāshiyah* would be felt during this time, if not during his teaching period – generally happened for Siyālkūtī. An account informs us that Siyālkūtī scribed a copy of

⁷⁷⁴ See for about Taftāzānī and his works Özen, "Teftāzānī." And see for the earliest rhetoric works, *Mutawwal* and other works happened in Hindustan, Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 201–14.

⁷⁷⁵ Qama Biasdarah Markaj al-Malik Faisal, *Khajanat Al-Turath- Fihris Makhtutah*, 8/236; Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, "Hāṣiye alā Şerhi'l-Miftāh" (n.d.), Manisa Ktp., Manisa İHK, no. 5481, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/96608>; "Hāṣiye alā Telhisi'l-Miftāh" (n.d.), Bursa İnebey Ktp., Genel, No. 4083. In the same way, several manuscript libraries use the work's name relating to *Talkhis* and *al-Miftah*, see Çankırılı Kayyūmzāde 'Abdullāh Efendi b. Ḥasan, "Ta'liqāt 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī sharḥ al-Talkhis al-Miftah (Mutawwal)" (n.d.), Çorum Hasan Paşa Ktp., Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK, no. 2366; *Hāshiyah 'ala al-Siyālkūtī 'ala sharḥ al-Mutawwal* (Istanbul, 1266); "Manisa Ktp., Manisa İHK, no. 5481."

⁷⁷⁶ es-Siyalkūtī, "Manisa Ktp., Manisa İHK, no. 5481."

Taftāzānī's *Mutawwal*. This is important information that shows the traditional educational culture of the students.⁷⁷⁷ That is seen in his students as well.

And so far, it is understood from the description of Abdul Hai Ḥasani and Zubaid Aḥmad the most famous works on *Mutawwal* include Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1589), 'Muḥammad Farīd b. Muḥammad Sharīf (d. 11th century, after 1649), Mullā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shāhid b. 'Abdul Halim Sihālāwī (1103/1691) along with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī. However, the latter's work is familiar and widely used in academia. Many works happened on it (*Mutawwal*) in the eleventh/seventeenth century and twelfth/eighteenth century.⁷⁷⁸ It seems before Siyālkūtī penned on it, only two works happened, and only one work is familiar (Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī's one) so far it is known. So, it is clear that the ground needed other work that would help go through the main text, *i.e.*, *Mutawwal*. It is, unfortunately, unknown when Siyālkūtī wrote it.

Siyālkūtī's thoughts that he expressed in this *ḥāshiyah* were widely discussed among perhaps the most famous scholars of this discipline. For example, concerning the relation between expression (word) and meaning (lafiz-anlam), Taftāzānī, in his work *Mutawwal* - a *sharḥ* on Qazwīnī's *Talkhis al-Miftah*, adheres to the views of early linguists on many issues. Whereas, Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, in his *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*, followed the opinions of 'Aḥud al-Dīn al-Ījī. Throughout history, these two different stances have been subject to debate. For instance, Siyālkūtī defended Taftāzānī in his *ḥāshiyah* on

⁷⁷⁷ See It seems the work name is written mistakenly as *sharḥ al-Mutawwal 'ala Talkhis al-Miftah*. It was supposed to be *al-Mutawwal 'ala Talkhis al-Miftah* which is written by Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. The scholar's name has been put rightly. Muhammad 'Ayish, *Fihāris al-Kutub wal-Adillah: Fihrist al-Makhṭū'āt al-'Arabiyyah fī al-Maktabah al-Watanīyyah al-Nimsāwiyyah*, vol. 1 (Jeddah, KSA: Ṣaqīfat al-Ṣafā al-'Ilmiyyah, 2008), 195.

⁷⁷⁸ It seems the Hind ground had at least some works along with *Mutawwal* an account informs a *ḥāshiyah* of Abul Qasim b. Abi Bakr al-Laythi al-Samarqandi (d. 888 or 890 h.), see Malik, *Arabic Catalogue, Arabic Manuscripts Collections, Punjab University Library, Lahore*, no. 807. For the earlier works, see Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 457, 461, 357. For other works happened on it see for earliest work Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 4:855; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 457. See for the works done in the seventeenth century Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:472, 476, 558, 639, 659; Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi'l Hind*, 41. And See for later works Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 6:755, 812, 748, 709, 759,; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 7:1118, 1120; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 8:1272, 1383.

Mutawwal, while Mestchizade critically examined the views of both scholars in his work *Ikhtilaf al-Sayyid wa Sa'd al-Dīn*.⁷⁷⁹

The earliest copies' information that has been accessed so far tell us that a copy of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* was scribed in 1073/1662 – six years after the demise of Siyālkūtī. There are several copies of the work found here and there dated closely, *i.e.*, late eleventh/seventeenth century.

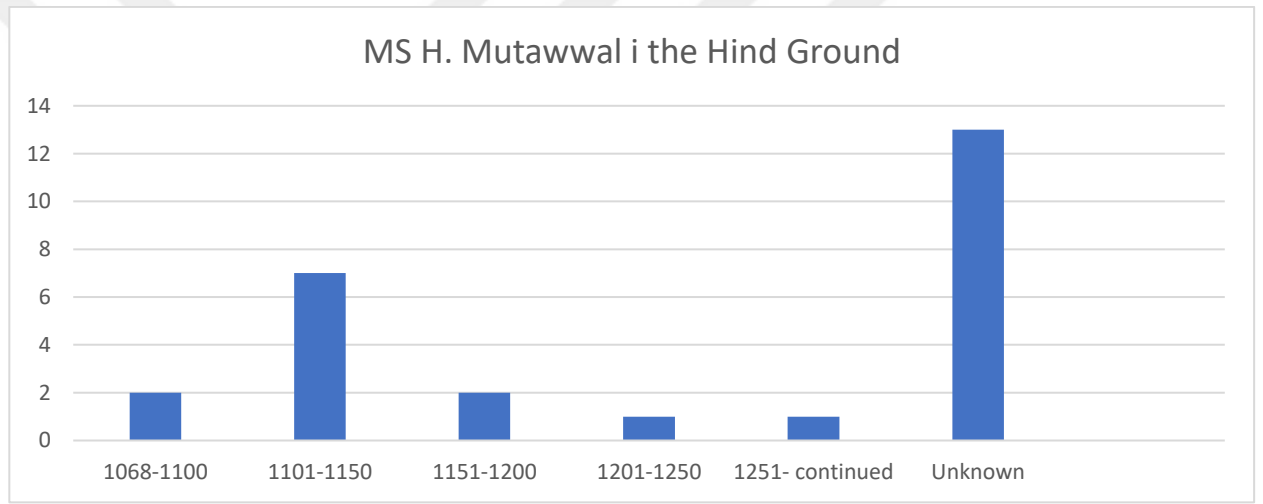


Figure 3. 17: Available manuscripts of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* in Hind ground

Although a few manuscripts have been accessed so far, it is imaginable that there will be many copies of the work in the days to come. This graph shows that the work had a continuous presence. One account, though not surprising and could be seen in medieval Muslim educational centers more often in Ottomans, tells us that a copy of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* was ordered to scribe for the royal treasury. And there are official seals over the manuscript; some belonged to Gazi Shāh Alam BadShāh, popularly known as BadShāh Aurangzeb, as well as to Mīr Muḥammad Mahdi in the year 1113/1702. The ownership of the manuscript changes, perhaps over time. The names mentioned in the

⁷⁷⁹ Şükran Fazlıoğlu, "Vaz'," in *DİA*, 42 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2012).

manuscript include Abd al-Muttalib b. Najm al-Dīn Ali al-Isfahani, ‘Abdullah b. Muḥammad, famous for Hakīm, and Abdul Raḥīm b. ‘Abdullah. All these names would be scholars, teachers, and learned people of that time.⁷⁸⁰

As happened several times, works were scribed in the Ottoman land and preserved in the libraries, thanks to the developed library administration, which helped have access to so many copies of the works. Coming to Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*, it is seen that, like other works, it also arrived in the early time of the work. There is even a possibility of reaching Ottoman land during Siyālkūtī’s lifetime. The earliest copy found so far is dated 1073/1663 – six years after the demise of Siyālkūtī.⁷⁸¹

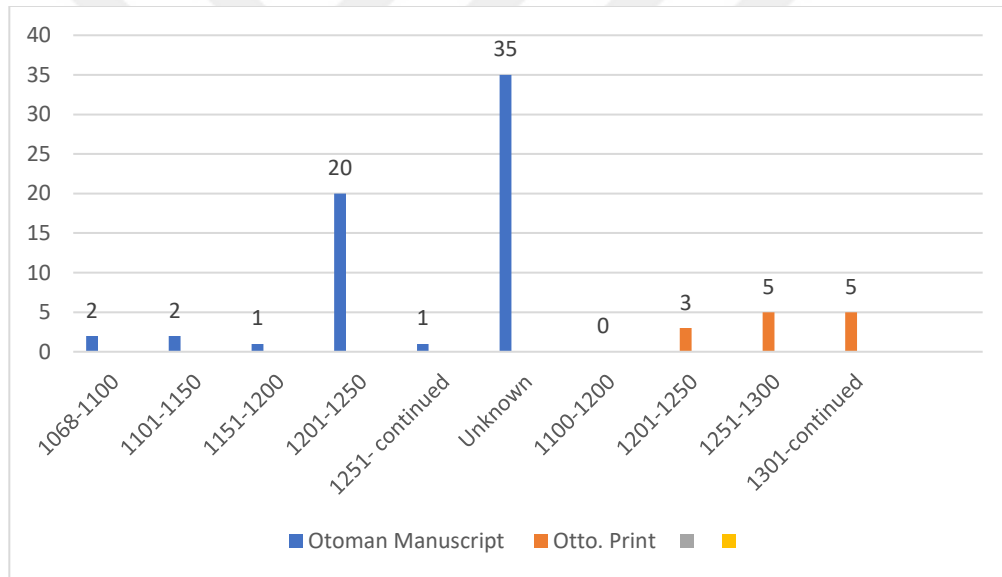


Figure 3. 18: Time and usages of Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* in Ottoman land

⁷⁸⁰ It is possible to uncover numerous manuscripts from medieval times, involving courts and various administrative entities in intellectual endeavors. This potential arises when the archives and rare collections of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan are processed and made openly accessible. These advancements facilitate the rediscovery of long-neglected aspects of medieval Hind history, particularly in intellectual history—a field that may have been notably lagging. See Ahmed Khan, *Fihristü'l-Mahtutati'l-Arabiyyeti'l-İslâmiyya Fî Bakistan (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscript in Pakistan)*, vol. I, ; (Rabat : Islamic Educational Scientific, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO), 1997), no. 315, <http://ktp.isam.org.tr/ktp/recordview.php?idno=53354&ele=%3D&Demirbas=078406>.

⁷⁸¹ Abdulkakim es-Siyalkûtî, “Hâşiyetü’s-Siyalkûtî ale’l-Mutavvel.” (1073), Ragıp Paşa Ktp., Ragıp Paşa, no. 01238.

The Ottoman intellectual ground was more adjusted and familiar with the trend of *Mutawwal* and its legacy than Hindustan, where it was written. So many works happened on *Mutawwal* and in the subsequent works. Şükrü Özen mentions some of the scholars, along with Siyālkūtī, went through this milieu.⁷⁸² It is interesting for this work that when discussing Miftah al-'Ulum, Talkhis al-Miftah or *Mutawwal* relating to Ottoman ground Siyālkūtī is remembered.

The accessible manuscripts and publications give very important insights. Unfortunately, more than half of the manuscripts are not dated and do not mention place names. The mentioned dates are very significant. It shows that the work retained its presence in the late eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. And from the thirteenth/nineteenth century onwards, both manuscripts and publications received a sharp rise. Most passively, this time, the work started becoming an influencing factor in academia in the *Mutawwal* trend. Further research may explore a comparative discussion and the exact place of the work in Ottoman academia, particularly since the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

During this long period, no doubt, so many people read, taught, scribed, and so on. For example, Shaykh Ali Khwaja (Hoca) transferred a copy of the work to Alhaj Hayya – Khatib of Bursa in 1242 h. And probably later, it was sent to Vahit Paşa Library, Kütahya, where it is preserved now. The library was perhaps connected with the Ulu mosque of

⁷⁸² Among them Mullā Khusrau (Hüsrev), Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Abu'l-Kasim al-Samarqandi, Fanari Ḥasan Çelebi, Hojazade Muşliḥ al-Dīn Efendi, Kamalpashazade, Muşliḥ al-Dīn Lari, Mīrzājan Habibullah al-Shīrāzī, Sadruddinzade al-Shirwani, Siyālkūtī, Ibn Ashur Muḥammad Tahir are a few to name. See Özen, “Teftāzānī.” By this way, Siyālkūtī is placed in within Ottoman scholarly tradition’s rhetoric arena through his *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*, see Gafgaz Abdurahmanov, “Emīn El-Hūlī, Hayatı, Arap Dili ve Edebiyatındaki Yeri” (Ph.D., Turkey, Necmettin Erbakan University (Turkey), 2019), 121; Tefvīk Rüştü Topuzoğlu, “Hāşiyē,” in *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi, 1997), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hasiye>.

Kütahya.⁷⁸³ It means the mentioned names, most possibly, were teachers of different madrasahs, and the text or manuscript would travel from one place to another over time.

Comparably, manuscripts from Istanbul or other locations traversed foreign lands, not just for Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Mutawwal but also for other works. Multiple copies of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Mutawwal are evident in Princeton University's Garrett Collection (nos. 534-535). The latter (Garrett Collection, no. 535) was transcribed by Aḥmad b. Mustafa, known as al-Akhir al-Makhtumi al-Islambuli, in Yani Shāhir, likely 'Yeni Şehir' in local Turkish. The scribe's link to Istanbul underscores Siyālkūtī's prominence in the Ottoman realm.⁷⁸⁴ This also emphasizes how Siyālkūtī's works gained attention from Ottoman scholars and significant figures worldwide. Simultaneously, the Ottoman domain was perceived as a crucial, intellectually developed center. Scholars from diverse backgrounds engaged in reading, debating, transcribing, and publishing, akin to contemporary practices in intellectually advanced countries, disseminating diverse intellectual property globally.

Like other important works, this work was handed over to another over time. Perhaps it would often happen for the students. Upon completing the course/subject, one manuscript could be sold or handed over to another student(s). It is possible to see copies of this work as well. Three names have been written over the manuscript's title page, preserved in Manisa Ktp., Manisa İHK collection no. 5481. The mentioned names are (1) Aḥmed b. Mūsa, seems to be the scribe as well a reader of the manuscript. He scribed it in 1213, and the copy was handed over (sold) to (2) Muḥammad Amin b. Osman Islambuli

⁷⁸³ For the library, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Vahid Paşa Kütüphanesi" (Istanbul, 2012), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vahid-pasa-kutuphanesi>. One point is important to understand the library and manuscript culture in the Ottoman ground. The cover page of the manuscript describes that it has been written in order to achieving satisfaction of Almighty and to gain reference from Prophet Muḥammad. And it is bestowed to Muttasil Vahit Paşa library. After getting it known, if anyone changes the copy that will be a sin (gunah). The name mentioned is Muḥammad Tawfiq dating in most possibly 1287 h. (only shows 87). It seems his father Murad Efendi was also a mudarris (teacher), perhaps he was from a learned family background. See Erünsal.

⁷⁸⁴ Philip K. Hitti, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection: (Persian, Turkish, Indic)* (Princeton University Press, 1938), nos. 534–535.

in 1222 h. Again, the copy was sent to the scribe - Aḥmed b. Mūsā in 1236 h. There is no description of why it was returned in the first person. After completing the work, perhaps the second person sold it or sent it back to the first person after keeping it in hand for fourteen years. By this time, the first-person Aḥmed b. Mūsā would be a teacher of a madrasah and might have at least several students. He would need copies or personal copies, and interest always remains for all that would happen as well.⁷⁸⁵



⁷⁸⁵ es-Siyalkūtī, “Manisa Ktp., Manisa İHK, no. 5481.”

VI. Tafsīr

i. *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī*

“This work has pioneered a paradigm, showcasing excellence in investigation, analysis, critical insight, eloquent expression, and comprehensive exploration of references. Its outstanding attributes position it as a pinnacle for researchers and deem it a masterpiece for scholars.”

- Ibn Ashūr⁷⁸⁶

Qāḍī Naṣīr al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh al-Baiḍāwī’s (d. 685/1286 or 1316) prominent tafsīr “*Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī*,” also familiar as *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, holds a unique and crucial role in the educational framework of Islamic seminaries, serving as a foundational element for tafsīr instruction. The continuous teaching of this work has been instrumental in refining and elevating the standards of tafsīr education. It is like a pinnacle of higher education and has been extensively disseminated across Islamic regions since medieval times to all major Muslim intellectual centers; particularly, it became more popular in the non-Arab regions, *i.e.*, Hind, Iran, Afghanistan, and Asia Minor under the Seljuks and Ottomans.⁷⁸⁷

In Hindustan, numerous *ḥāshiyahs* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, both preceding and succeeding Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah*, exist. The latter (Siyālkūtī) gained broad acceptance, becoming one of the most, if not the most, popular. In the introduction, Siyālkūtī, after praising God, invokes blessings on the Prophet and companions, underscores al-Bayḍāwī’s esteemed status among scholars, and emphasizes its indispensability for

⁷⁸⁶ Muḥammad al-Tahīr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tahīr b. Ashūr, popularly known as Ibn Ashūr (1879-1973) – a Tunisian thinker and intellectual, commentator (*mufasssir*), jurist, scholar of Arabic language and literature. He has nearly forty works, *i.e.*, composition, *sharh*, *ḥāshiyah*, etc. in the genre of tafsīr, hadith, fiqh, usul-e fiqh, Arabic language and literature. See for his life and works, Atilla Çetin, “Muhammed Tāhir İbn Âşûr,” in *DİA* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1999). Being a modern intellectual of different disciplines, his study and comment on Siyālkūtī is significant which relates Siyālkūtī’s relevancy in the contemporary world, see al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Fāḍil Ibn ‘Ashūr, *Al-Tafsīr Wa-Rijālul* (Cairo; also published in Tunis in 1966, 1970), 100.

⁷⁸⁷ Walid A. Saleh, “Marginalia and Peripheries: A Tunisian Historian and the History of Quranic Exegesis,” *Numen* 58, no. 2–3 (January 1, 2011): 307, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852711X562326>.

knowledge seekers. And he states, “*Truly, I perceive a fire in the depths of this book, and from it, I offer you a flame, hoping it illuminates your path.*” His introduction informs that he made an effort to explore and discover some of its concealed meanings and presented what he found in it from the remedies that relieve the heart and bring clarity to the keen-sighted.⁷⁸⁸

The precise date of composition remains unknown but is conceivable from available accounts. Manuscripts from late eleventh/seventeenth-century Istanbul and Shāhjahānabad, within thirty years of Siyālkūtī’s death, indicate a plausible timeframe. However, it remains unclear what approximate time it was prepared. If the work reached the Ottoman and Damascus during or soon after the demise of Siyālkūtī, it would be written at least twenty years before his passing, *i.e.*, around 1040s/1630s.

Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* did not cover the full of *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*; however, it is in the first chapter, and the second chapter is up to 230 verses (three-quarters of the second juz). Though it is not full of the Quran, just a part of it, for its huge implications in Hindustan and outside got popularity. There are some characteristics could be identified that Siyālkūtī followed in his works, as follows:⁷⁸⁹

1. Siyālkūtī, a scholar of profound knowledge, meticulously provides grammatical and literal explanations for intricate terms and idioms found within *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*.

⁷⁸⁸ See the complete introduction of the *ḥāshiyah*, where the author extolled Emperor Shāh Jahān in elaborate language and detailed the journey he undertook during the composition of the work. The quoted statement by Siyālkūtī underscores the significance of the original work and his endeavors for his community, drawing inspiration from the Quranic verse: “*verily, I have seen a fire; perhaps I can bring you some burning brand*” (Sura Tāhā: 10) Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, *Hāṣiye alā Envāri’t-Tenzīl ve Esrāri’t-Te’vīl* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1270), 2–3. Abdu Hai Ḥasanī mentions many scholars name who wrote *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī*, see Ḥasanī, *Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyyah Fi’l Hind*, 155.

⁷⁸⁹ See es-Siyalkūtī, *Hāṣiye alā Envāri’t-Tenzīl ve Esrāri’t-Te’vīl*, 2–3; Ibrahim, “Mulakhass Bi Al-Rasail al-Ilmiyya Wal-Abhath: Hāshiya al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Sīyālkūtī ‘alā Tafsīr al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī Min Awwaliḥā Ilā Qawlihi Ta’ālā (Khatam Allāh ‘alā Qulūbihim Wa ‘alā Sam‘ihim...) al-Āyah al-Sābi‘ah Min Sūrat al-Baqarah: Dirāsah Wa Taḥqīq (Mu’allif: Jamal Mustafa Abdul Hamid Al-Najjar)”; Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 36–37.

2. The language employed by Al-Bayḍāwī in his work is notably succinct, concealing nuanced implications that may be challenging for many to comprehend. Siyālkūtī dedicates efforts to clarify and define these unclear and brief sentences and meanings.
3. In his thorough examination of *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, Siyālkūtī delves into the Hadiths cited by the original commentator. He adeptly identifies their sources, especially in cases where Bayḍāwī omits them, and presents the full texts of Hadiths that were merely alluded to and difficult to understand due to their concise form.
4. A noteworthy aspect of Siyālkūtī's glosses is his vigorous defense, as a Hanafite scholar, of the arguments and precedents belonging to the Hanafī school. This stands in contrast to Allama Bayḍāwī's allegiance to the Shafī'ite school of thought.
5. Siyālkūtī meticulously crafted this comprehensive work, considering a multitude of disciplines and showcasing his expertise in interpretation (tafsīr), hadith, jurisprudence, creed, language, poetry, biographies, history, and more.

The available manuscripts are most possibly scribed in Hindustan, showing that the *ḥāshiyah* retained its acceptance and coming to the thirteenth/nineteenth century and onwards, several publications are found. According to Kamran Bashir, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* with other *ḥāshiyahs* maintained a central role in the tafsīr tradition until the major developments of Shāh Waliullāh's time and his intellectual lineage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁹⁰ See Kamran Bashir, *The Qur'an in South Asia: Hermeneutics, Qur'an Projects, and Imaginings of Islamic Tradition in British India*, Routledge Studies in the Qur'an (London ; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 239–40.

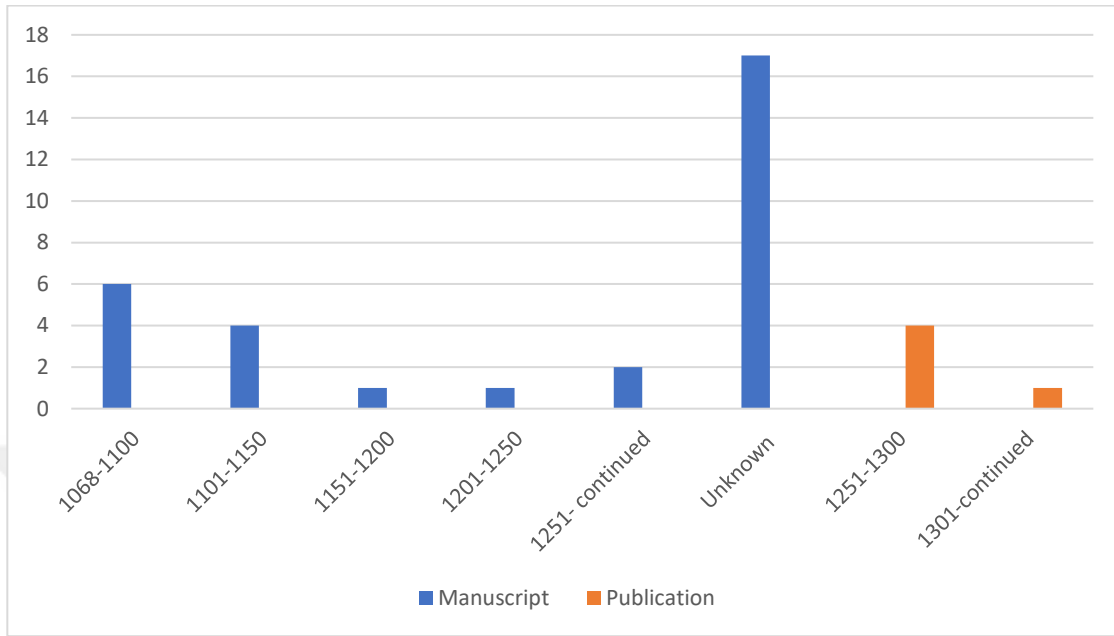


Figure 3. 19: Time and usages of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Tafsīr al-Baidāwī in the Ottoman land

In the Ottoman tafsīr tradition, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* is placed, no doubt, in an important position in the channel of tafsīr. So many works, *i.e.*, ḥāshiyah and ta'lik, are written on it in different ways, sometimes only a small chapter (Sura) or part of the Quran. According to İsmail Cerrahoğlu, there are more than 250 works that could be found on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. Among them, the most famous are Ibn Tamjid (Istanbul 1287), Shaykhzade (Istanbul 1283), Siyālkūtī (Cairo 1271), Shāhabuddin alHafajī (Cairo 1283) and Ismail b. Muḥammad al-Konevī's (Istanbul 1283) works are among the most famous works on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*.⁷⁹¹

It is not known when the work reached Ottoman for the first time; however, as discussed above, there are several manuscripts found in the Presidency of Turkish Manuscript Association (YEK) written in the late eleventh/seventeenth century. It indicates that within the short time of the demise of Siyālkūtī, and Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1699) also went through this work, which is discussed below. This thing lets

⁷⁹¹ İsmail Cerrahoğlu, "Envâru't-Tenzîl ve Esrâru't-Te'vîl," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1995), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/envarut-tenzil-ve-esrarut-tevil>.

us know that it is possible to reach it in the earliest time of its composition, even it is not impossible to reach it during Siyālkūtī's lifetime; what happened for other works, as already discussed.

Although available manuscripts do not give us exact information about the work's use, they can convey an approximate message. The existing data informs that Siyālkūtī's work was available in the intellectual ground since the late eleventh/seventeenth century. Although the number of manuscripts and their scribing seemed to be low, it never stopped. Coming to the thirteenth/nineteenth century, it gained a considerable increase in intellectual ground, printing at least four times. Even in modern times, other lands have followed the Ottoman copy, *i.e.*, 'Abd al- Karīm Maktaba Islāmiyya, Quetta, Pakistan followed the 1270/1853 Istanbul edition.⁷⁹²

From different accounts, it is clear that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* was recognized in Ottoman scholarly tradition. Siyālkūtī's work has been read with other scholars' work as well. It could be seen in the manuscripts used in the intellectual ground, *i.e.*, a copy preserved in Süleymaniye library, Hafid Efendi collection no. 00149 shows many notes are taken from 'Isam and Qāḍī Bayḍāwī's work.⁷⁹³ Similarly, it is possible to find Siyālkūtī's comments used in the works of other scholars in the milieu of *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), a prominent scholar of the eleventh/seventeenth century who could be regarded in many titles, *i.e.*, Arabic language and literature scholar, poet, historian etc., being born and raised in a scholarly family, he worked as a teacher in Istanbul and Bursa, as well as in Damascus, and as a judge in Cairo and Beirut, and wrote various works, most of which have not survived to the present day. He mentioned Siyālkūtī and his work; particularly, he talks about Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* loudly describing how he went through the whole work and perused

⁷⁹² Bashir, *The Qur'an in South Asia*, 244n.

⁷⁹³ Abdulkakim es-Siyalkūtī, "Hāṣiye alā Şerhi'l-Akâ'idî'l-Adudiyye" (1215), fol. 61, Süleymaniye Ktp., Hafid Efendi, No. 00149.

detailed research within it. No account tells us if he penned any report and works on it. However, as a teacher, he could use the work to lecture students.⁷⁹⁴

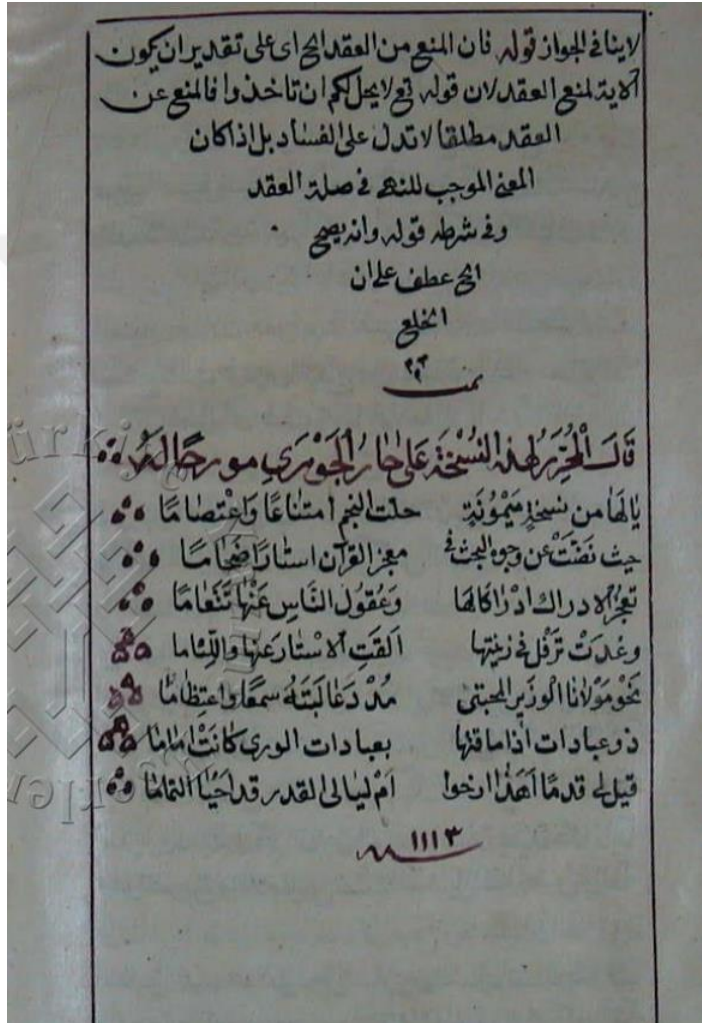


Figure 3. 20: Last page of a copy of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī, containing a poem of Muharrir.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹⁴ See for Mhibbi's life and contributions İsmail Durmuş, "Muhammed Emîn Muhibbi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: DİA, 2020), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/muhibbi-muhammed-emin>. And for his comment, see al-Muhibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, 2:318.

⁷⁹⁵ It shows adjustment of the art and scholarly work, and it seems Muharrir wrote and put the poem of seven couplets (beyit) to mention the time, Abdulhakim es-Siyalkūtī, "Hāṣiye alā Envārī't-Tenzīl ve Esrārī't-Te'vīl" (1113), Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, No. 00224.

Finally, it is possible to say that Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, though written in the eleventh/seventeenth century, perhaps according to the demand of the Hind intellectual ground, played very important roles in all the centuries since the mentioned time. Ibn Ashûre's comments also support this argument. As discussed above, at least four dissertations have been written only recently at Al-Ajhar University. So, it appears that the work is relevant in the intellectual discourse.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala al-Kashshaf*

Abul Kasim Maḥmūd b. Omar b. Muḥammad al-Kahrizmi al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144), commonly known as Zamakhshari, is a versatile Mu'tazila scholar renowned for his tafsīr, particularly *al-Kashshaf*, and contributions to Arabic language and literature.⁷⁹⁶ This work, influential in grammatical and rhetorical aspects, laid the groundwork for subsequent commentaries, resulting in numerous super-commentaries. It holds significance in various intellectual centers. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī authored a *ḥāshiyah* on it, but limited information is available, and the work remains unpublished with a copy reserved in Rampur, no. 31.⁷⁹⁷

iii. *Tafsīr 'ala Sura al-Fatiḥa*

Writing on Sura *al-Fatiḥa* was like a common tradition for so many scholars. Perhaps it was a common and primary work asked to be done during a student's early life or when they were to reach an expert level. It is possible to see this in Abu'l-Faḍl, 'Abdullāh al-Labīb and others. Coming to Siyālkūtī, it is needed for further discussion as he wrote

⁷⁹⁶ See M. Suat Mertoğlu and Mustafa Öztürk, "Zemahşeri," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2013), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/zemahseri>.

⁷⁹⁷ See for more about the work Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic*, 16, 278; Andrew J. Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary: The Kashshāf of Jār Allāh Al-Zamakhsharī* (BRILL, 2006), 320.

ḥāshiyah on *Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī*, where he worked on Sura al-Fatiha and Sura al-Baqarah as discussed.⁷⁹⁸

VII. Taṣawwuf

i. Translation of Ghunyat al-Talibīn

‘Abdul Qader Gīlānī (d. 561/1166) – an eminent scholar of taṣawwuf and founder of the Qadiriyyah branch of it. He authored many works and many genres/hagiographies (manāqib) relating to him. It is understood that the *Ghunyat al-Talibin* of ‘Abdul Qader Gīlānī was one of the most necessary works for ordinary Muslims, and most possibly, it had no translation in the local languages like Persian. For the benefit of so many people, Shaykh Bilawal Qadiri Lahori – a Sufi saint of Lahore from the Qadiri branch (as understood by his name), requested Siyālkūtī to translate the work (*Ghunyat al-Talibin*) into Persian language. There is a speech by ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb in the preface of the work where he mentioned the spiritual order given to Siyālkūtī to translate into the Persian language, as mentioned above. It is not confirmed when the work was translated and the time of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb’s preface. Here he expressed gratitude and many attributes to his father and teacher, *i.e.*, “*ḥaḍrat shikhuna shaik al-Afaq, ustad al-Kul fī kulli ‘ala’l-Ilaq, ‘alim-i tahrīr, muttaqun, Jāmī’ ‘ulum-i awwalīn wa akhirīn, abī wa ustazi wa wathiqi ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm b. Shaykh Shams al-Dīn.*” The book discusses the virtue of worship and the daily life of Muslims, and the issues of belief are explained on the basis of Salaf belief. While sects such as Shi’a, Mu’tazila, and Jahmiyya are harshly rejected, some explanations resembling similes and glorifications about Allah are included. In the work, Sufi issues are discussed at the level of asceticism and piety. *Ghunyat al-Talibin* has been

⁷⁹⁸ It seems there is two works on Sura al-Fatiha, one is tafsīr and another one is *ḥāshiyah*, that is on *Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī*. See Qama Biasdarah Markaj al-Malik Faisal, *Khajanat Al-Turath- Fihris Makhtutah*, 90/178, 90/491.

translated into some languages. Perhaps the work was scribed and published here and there over time.⁷⁹⁹



⁷⁹⁹ See more about the translation Süleyman Uludağ, “Abdülkadir-i Geylani,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1988), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/abdulkadir-i-geylani>; Abdul Qadir Gilani, *Ghunyat Al-Talibin (Arabi and Persian)*, trans. Abdul Hakim Sialkoti (Lahore: Dar Matba’ Omid, n.d.), 2–3. There are few copies available in the Khuda Baksh library, and at least one record tells about its publication in 1282/1865. See *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Sufism, Prayers, Hinduism and History of Creds and Sects)*, Second Ed., vol. XVI (Patna, India: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), 79–81; Uludağ, “Abdülkadir-i Geylani.”



Figure 3. 21: Image of Siyālḳūtī's speech in the preface and Persian translation of Ghunyat al-Talibin of 'Abdul Qadir Gīlānī⁸⁰⁰

⁸⁰⁰ Gilani, Ghunyat Al-Talibin (Arabci and Persian), 3.

Other works

There are some works of Siyālkūtī, whom very little information is available, and some are still not confirmed from strong historical evidence, such as:

Dalā'il al-Tajdīd

Available one document tells us that Siyālkūtī wrote a book named *Dalā'il al-Tajdīd* about Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Tajdīd* movement regarding him *mujaddid al-f-e thanī*. However, whether Siyālkūtī wrote a book on it would be a letter is not confirmed. We have not been able to have access to it. It needs further analysis.⁸⁰¹

Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī: This text is on Arabic literature as recorded and can be found in the library of Kuwait University. Several copies bear the same names as other writers, which suggests they might have been mistakenly documented.⁸⁰²

Ḥadāiq al-Ḥaqāiq al-Daqāik: It is also the same thing as happened for *Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, same university, and the same way. It seems it has also been documented mistakenly.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰¹ See Muhammad Azeem Farooqi, "Solution of Current Issues of Muslim Ummah in the Light of Imam-e-Rabbani's Teachings" 16, no. 1, 2017 (June 30, 2017): 9, <https://www.prdb.pk/front/solution-of-current-issues-of-muslim-ummah-in-the-light-of-i-6793>.

⁸⁰² N/A, "Fihris Maktabah Al-Makhtutah" (Kuwait UNiversity Library, n.d.), no. 4175, <http://library1.kuniv.edu.kw/manuscript/Scriptsview.asp?ID=37491>.

⁸⁰³ N/A, "Fihris Maktabah Al-Makhtutah" (Kuwait UNiversity Library), no. 104, accessed December 17, 2023, <http://library1.kuniv.edu.kw/manuscript/Scriptsview.asp?ID=16332>.

VIII. Ottoman and Contemporary Scholars' works on Siyālkūtī.

S/N	Name	Death	City	On which work he worked
1	Abū al-Faṭḥ Ismā'īl bin Muṣṭafā bin Maḥmūd al-Gelenbewī (Gelenbevī)	1205/1791	Istanbul	<i>Ta'liqāt on Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah</i>
2	'Abd Allāh bin Ḥasan al-Kānqarī al-Uskdārī al-Anṣārī Qayimzādah	1239/1824	Istanbul	<i>Ta'liqāt 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī sharḥ al-Talkhis al-Miftah (Muṭawwal)</i>
3	Abū al-Bahā' Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Mawlānā Khālīd bin Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn al-Shahrazūrī al-Naqshbandī Khālīd Baghdādī	1242/1827	Istanbul	<i>Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala ḥāshiyah Khayālī 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah</i>
4	Muḥammad bin Rasūl bin Muḥammad (Ibn Rasūl)	1246/1830	Istanbul	<i>Ta'lik 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah</i>
5	Khawājah 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-Amāsī	1303/1886	Amasya	<i>Hāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala Tasawwurāt.</i>
6	Qul Aḥmad 'Āsim al-Kūtāhīawī Doğalarlızade	1305/1888	Kutahya	<i>Ta'liqāt 'ala al-Khayālī wa al-Siyālkūtī 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah</i>
7	Sırrı Pasha	1313/1895	Girit	<i>Translation of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah with others</i>
8	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥusayn al-Inbābī	1313/1896	Cairo	<i>Taqrīr or report on Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on Mutawwal</i>
9	'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Umar al-Na'imī ibn Aḥmad al-Kharbūtī (Harpūtī)	1320/1902	Harput	<i>Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah 'ala Tahṛīr al-Qawā'id al-Mantiqiyyah's Tasawwurāt part naming ḥāshiyah Jadīdah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī.</i>
10	'Abdurrahman bin Muḥammad Shirabnī al-Miṣrī	1325/1908	Egypt	<i>Fayḍ al-Fattāḥ 'alā Hawāshī Sharḥi Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ, and Taqrīr 'alā ḥāshiyah 'Abd al-Ḥakīm 'alā'l-Quṭb 'alā' al-Shamsiyyah</i>
11	Abū 'Alī (Abū Muḥammad) 'Abdurrahmān b. Mullā Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Karadāghī	1335/1917	Iraq	<i>Ta'liqāt 'alā ḥāshiyah 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī 'alā sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah li-Quṭbuddīn al-Rāzī</i>
12	Aḥmed Rāfi' bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥusaynī al-Qāsimī et-Tahtāwī	1355/1936	Egypt	<i>Raf' al-Ghawāshī 'an Mu'ḍilāt al-Muṭawwal wa-l-Hawāshī</i>
13	Shaykh Ṭāhir bin 'Āshūr Muftī Tūnis	1393/1973	Tunisia	<i>Ghayth al-Afrīqī ḥāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī lil-Mutawwal</i>

Table 3. 1: At a glance of the scholars and their works on Siyālkūtī's works

Siyālkūtī's works spread rapidly throughout the Islamic world soon after their composition. It seems some of his writings attracted the attention of others, prompting wider circulation. Biographers, historians, and catalogers from various regions documented his works and reputation over time.⁸⁰⁴ This widespread recognition placed him among the prominent scholars of Muslim rational sciences over time. Being a most influential scholar on his ground, he successfully achieved eminence from other grounds. It helped put him with the most prominent scholars over time.⁸⁰⁵ Though perhaps belated, scholarly works analyzing Siyālkūtī's writings were conducted over time, as shown in the table. This information provides a glimpse into those engaged with Siyālkūtī's work, although this is not an exhaustive list and detailed discussion. However, the following short discussions on the scholars who went through Siyālkūtī will help readers understand closely, paving the way for further research.

a. Abū al-Faṭḥ Ismā'īl bin Muṣṭafā bin Maḥmūd al-Gelenbewī (d. 1205/1791)

He is known as Gelenbewī (Gelenbevi), a prominent twelfth/eighteenth-century Ottoman scholar known as a mathematician, astronomer, logician, theologian, and teacher (*mudarris*). Originating from a learned family, he completed his initial education in his

⁸⁰⁴ Paşa, *Keşfü'z-Zunûn an Esâmi'l-Kütüb ve'l-Fünûn (Zeyli)*, 1:1148; Shikoh, *Sakinat Al-Auliya*, 65; Kamboh, *Aml-e Şâlih or Shâh Jahân Nâma*, 1914, III:382–83; Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khân, *Mirat Al-Alam: Tareekh-e-Aurangzeb*, II:447; Bhandari, *Khulasat Al-Tawarikh*; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat Al-Athar Fī A'yân al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, 2:318; Bilgrami, *Ma'athir al-Kiram*, 204–5; Bilgrāmi, *Subhat Al-Marjān Fī Athār Hindustān*, 133; Maulavi Faqir Jhelumi, *Hadaïq Al-Hanafīyyah (Wn 1886)*, 435; N/A, *Fihrist Al-Kutub al-'arabiyyah al-Mahfūzah Bi-al-Kutubkhānah al-Khudaywiyyah (Catalogue of Arabic Books Preserved in the Khedivial Library)*, 2/18, 1/166, 6/55, 4/43, 2/261; Lahori, *Khazinat-Ul-Aṣfiya*, 2:2/351; Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-e-Hind*, 281; Baghdadi, *Hidayat-Ul-Arifeen Asmaa al-Muallifeen Wa Aasar al-Musannifin*, I:504; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558; Taimour, *Fihris Al-Khajanat al-Taimuriyya*, 3/155; Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-Matbu'at al-'Arabiyyah Wa-al-Mu'arrabah*, 2:1068–69; Talas, *Al-Kashshaf 'an Makhtutati Khajaini Kutub al-Awqaf*, 25, 178, 196, 205; Tabrizi, *Rayhanat Al-Adab*, 3:104–5; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, 3:283; Bolat and Bolat, *Mu'jam Tarikhi al-Turas al-Islami Fi Maktabat al-Alam- al-Makhtutat Wa al-Matbu'at*, 2/1540.

⁸⁰⁵ Robert Wisnovsky put him with the scholars of several channels of works, i.e., *ḥāshiyah al-Risalāh al-Shamsiyyah*, *al-Mawāqif*, *Hikmat al-'Ain*, *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, and *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*. See Robert Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-Classical (ca. 1100-1900 Ad) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 47, no. Supplement_83_Part_2 (February 1, 2004): 164, 175, 177, 181, 184, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-5370.2004.tb02314.x>.

hometown, Gelenbe, Aydın. Then, he furthered his studies in Istanbul, attending the Soğuk Kuyu and Fatih madrasas. Under the tutelage of the renowned scholars Yâsinjizâde Osman Efendi, he learned Arabic and transmitted subjects and the intellectually acclaimed Muftizâde Mehmed Emin Efendi, who is familiar as a “standing library” (“ayaklı kütüphane”), he delved into rational sciences. Having concluded his madrasa education in 1177/1763, he successfully passed the scholarly examination and became a teacher. He also participated in the Royal Lectures held in the presence of the Sultan in the years 1190/1776 and 1197/1783.⁸⁰⁶

Gelenbewî wrote a *ta'liqât* on Siyâlkûtî's *ḥāshiyah 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*. It seems Gelenbewî also had accessed Siyâlkûtî's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*. In a printed copy of this *ḥāshiyah*, a note is found on a separate page where Ustad al-Fadil Abd al-Raḥmān – most possibly a prominent Ottoman scholar and one of Gelenbevi's contemporaries engaged in a conversation on '*shai*' or 'thing' with distinguished Ottoman scholar Gelenbevi. And it was, perhaps later, reported by another distinguished Ottoman scholar, Muhammad As'ad al-'Arif Imamzade (d. 1851). It is not confirmed what page(s) or topics it is related to; however, most possibly, the discussion was about a point or subject which Siyâlkûtî mentioned, which they discussed once it would be revealed that he had also a report or note on Siyâlkûtî's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*.

‘Abd Allāh bin Ḥasan al-Kānqarī al-Uskdārī al-Anşārī Qayimzādah (d. 1239/1824)

He is also known as Qayimzādah (Kayyimzâde) and Çankırlı Kayyūmzâde ‘Abdullāh Efendi, was a prominent Ottoman scholar and was the great-grandfather of Çankırlı Sadr al-Dīn Efendi (d. 1931)- a teacher of Dar al-Fünūn's theology (İlahiyat) faculty. Often, he

⁸⁰⁶ See Şerafettin Gölcük and Metin Yurdağur, “Gelenbevî,” in *DİA* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1996); Hasan Umut, “Gelenbevî İsmâ’il Efendi,” in *İslam Düşünce Atlası*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer (İstanbul: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2022), <https://islamdusunceatlası.org/gelenbevi-ismail-efendi/239>.

is remembered for his student, Shaykh al-Islam Meshrepzade Ārif Efendi (1791-1858). ‘Abdullāh Efendi wrote *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Muṭawwal*.⁸⁰⁷

- b. Abū al-Bahā’ Diyā’ al-Dīn Mawlānā Khālīd bin Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn al-Shahrazūrī al-Naqshbandī Khālīd Baghdādī (d. 1242/1827)

He is popularly known as Khālīd Baghdādī. He is the founder of the Khālidiyyah branch of the Naqshbandi School of Sufism. Khālīd Baghdādī, esteemed as “Mawlāna” in the Naqshbandi order, is believed to have lineage tracing back to Ḥz. Osmān. His early education was in Karadağ, notably under Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm and his brother Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm from the Berzenj family. He focused on logic and kalām, traveling to various learning centers in the region before moving to Baghdad. Declining an offer from Governor Ibrāhīm Pasha to become a professor, he instead took charge of the madrasah in Sulaymānīyah after Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm’s demise in 1213 (1798-99). He taught there for approximately seven years, renowned for his asceticism and profound knowledge while deliberately keeping a distance from political authority. After a pilgrimage, Khālīd resumed his teaching duties. In 1809, during a visit by Mīrzā Raḥīmullāh ‘Azīmābādī, a Hind dervish, Khālīd was advised to seek guidance from Naqshbandi sheikh ‘Abdullah Dihlewī in Delhi. His journey to Delhi, through Iran and Afghanistan, was marked by intense sectarian debates with Shi’ite scholars, notably with Shaykh Ismā‘īl Kashī of Tehran. In Delhi, he rapidly advanced through the Naqshbandi ranks under ‘Abdullah Dihlewī’s mentorship, completing the *seyrusuluk* stages in five to eleven months. Subsequently, he was appointed as a caliph and sent back to Sulaymānīyah. Khālīd also received permissions in the Qādirī, Suhrawardī, Kubrawī, and Chishtī orders, reflecting

⁸⁰⁷ The work is mentioned as *Ta’liqāt* and *ḥāshiyah*, see Ali Benli, “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyete Çankırılı Bir İlim Ailesi Kayyımzâdeler,” in *Çankırı’nın manevî mimarları*, ed. İbrahim Akyol (Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Türkiyat Enstitüsü, 2017), 412; Hasan, “Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK, no. 2366.” See for *ḥāshiyah* ‘Abd Allāh bin Ḥasan al-Kānqarī al-Uskdārī al-Anşārī Qayimzādah, “Ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala Mutawwal.” (n.d.), Beyazıt Ktp., Veliyyüddin Efendi, no. V2796.

his broad spiritual influence and affiliations within Islamic mysticism. Finally, he has been regarded as a key Sufi who could be followed by all the groups of Taṣawwuf.⁸⁰⁸

This versatile scholar wrote an *ḥāshiyah* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, naming *ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala ḥāshiyah Khayālī ‘ala al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*. It seems that the work has been used in the madrasah in a wide range of ways and has been published several times.⁸⁰⁹

c. Muḥammad bin Rasūl bin Muḥammad (d. 1246/1830)

He is known as Ibn Rasūl, a famous scholar from Shafī‘ī school of thought connected with the Madrasah of Sulaymaniyah. He wrote extensive *ta’lik* on the *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*.⁸¹⁰

d. Khawājah ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-Amāsī (d. 1303/1886)

Hoca Abdülkerim Amasî, an eminent 19th-century Ottoman scholar, initially trained in a madrasah, reflects a fusion of Islamic and Western academic traditions. Sent to Europe for scientific research, his studies represent the Ottoman Empire's engagement with European intellectualism. Upon returning to Istanbul, he held various educational roles, leveraging his diverse knowledge. Abdülkerim Amasî was an educator and a prolific writer in Arabic and Turkish, covering Philosophy, Logic, Geography, and Grammar. His work signifies a significant blend of traditional Islamic scholarship with modern European

⁸⁰⁸ See Hamid Algar, “Hālid el-Bağdādī,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1997), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/halid-el-bagdadi>.

⁸⁰⁹ See for more Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition. Supplement Volume 1*, 1:788. See Abū al-Bahā’ Diyā’ al-Dīn Mawlānā Khālid bin Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn al-Shahrazūrī al-Naqshbandī Khālid Baghdādī, *Ḥāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala ḥāshiyah Khayālī ‘ala al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* (İstanbul, 1259).

⁸¹⁰ Muḥammad bin Rasūl bin Muḥammad, *Ta’lik ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī ‘ala al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* (İstanbul, 1303).

thought, marking him as a key figure in the Ottoman intellectual landscape of his time. He wrote *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah 'ala Tahrīr al-Qawā'id al-Mantiqiyyah's Tasawwurāt* part, naming *ḥāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala Tasawwurāt*. It is an extensive work published in two volumes, covering 400 (1885) and 398 pages (1887).⁸¹¹

e. Qul Aḥmad 'Āṣim al-Kūtāhīawī Doǧalarlızade (d. 1305/1888)

He prepared *ta'lik* on the *ḥāshiyah* and Siyālkūtī and Khayālī together. Although these works are not always seen, they seem to help understand the main text. Qul Ahmed Asım el-Kütahyevi's work, perhaps, would be used as an explanatory dictionary, which is often seen in the *ḥāshiyah* and *ta'lik* tradition. This kind of work helps compare the comments of several authors together.⁸¹²

f. Giritli Sırrı Pasha (d. 1313/1895)

In the late nineteenth century, a trend of translation into the Turkish language got speedy. This time, Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah* also shows integrated within the existing madrasah educational system. Such as, Sırrı Pasha prepared a big project of four volumes consisting of 800 pages on the *sharh al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*. It included the work of Khayālī, Isfaraini, Ramazan Efendī, Siyālkūtī and

⁸¹¹ See Khawājah 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-Amāsī, *Ḥāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī 'ala Tasawwurāt*, 1302; İlhami Ayrancı, "Hoca Abdülkerim Amasî'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri," vol. II (International Amasya Scholars' Symposium, Amasya: Amasya Üniversitesi, 2017), 482, 489.

⁸¹² In the work of Qul Aḥmad, it is seen the thought of Siyālkūtī and Khayālī starts with *qawluhu* Siyālkūtī and *qawluhu* Khayālī respectively, and *qawluhu* for Qul Aḥmad. See Qul Aḥmad 'Āṣim al-Kūtāhīawī Doǧalarlızade, "Ta'liqāt 'ala al-Khayālī wa al-Siyālkūtī 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah" (Kütahya, 1290), Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp., Vahid Paşa, No. 1934.

Vidi Mufti. This is not directly the whole work but the selected part of their works brought to one place. This work was published in Trabzon in 1301/1884.⁸¹³

g. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥusayn al-Inbābī (1313/1896)

He was a famous scholar of al-Azhar of Cairo, wrote *taqrīr* or report on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*.⁸¹⁴ It seems he helped let his students know about Siyālkūtī, and at least one of his students also went through and worked on Siyālkūtī, which is given below.

h. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Umar al-Na‘īmī ibn Aḥmad al-Kharbūtī (Harpūtī) (d. 1320/1902)

He was one of the prominent scholars of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, becoming an expert in rational and transmitted subjects, wrote Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah ‘ala Taḥrīr al-Qawā‘id al-Mantiqiyyah*'s *Tasawwurat* part naming *ḥāshiyah Jadīdah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī*.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹³ Tekin, “Serbestzāde’nin Tercüme-i Celāl’i Örneğinde 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kelâm Tercümelerine Genel Bir Bakış,” 439.

⁸¹⁴ Ahmed İbrahim Eidibrahim, “Şemseddin El-Enbabi’Nin Risale Fi Ilmi’l-Vad’ Adlı Eserinin Tahkiki ve Değerlendirilmesi” (M.A, Turkey, Necmettin Erbakan University (Turkey), 2019), 15.

⁸¹⁵ See ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Umar al-Na‘īmī ibn Aḥmad al-Kharbūtī, *Ḥāshiyah Jadīdah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī* (İstanbul: Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1289). Celal SÜRGEÇ mistakenly mentions the work was on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal*. In the published work it is clearly shown that it is on the part of the *ḥāshiyah* on *Tasawwurat*, however, he also mentions Kharbūtī's work on the *ḥāshiyah* of Siyālkūtī on *Tasawwurat*, see Celal Sürgeç, “Müderris Abdülhamid Hamdi Efendi (1245-1320/1829-1902)” (Uluslararası Harput’a Değer Katan Şahsiyetler Sempozyumu, Fırat: Fırat Üniversitesi Harput Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2015), 45–47.

- i. ‘Abdurrahman bin Muḥammad Shirabnī al-Miṣrī (d. 1325/1908)

He wrote a report (*Taqrīr*) on Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal and Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah* naming respectively *Fayḍ al-Fattāḥ ‘alā Ḥawāshī Sharḥi Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, *Taqrīr ‘alā ḥāshiyah ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm ‘alā’l-Quṭb ‘alā’ al-Shamsiyyah*.⁸¹⁶

- j. Abū ‘Alī (Abū Muḥammad) ‘Abdurrahmān b. Mullā Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Karadāghī (d. 1335/1917)

He is known as Ibn al-Khayyāt al-Karadāghī is a prominent Iraqi scholar who wrote extensively on so many works. That also includes a *Taqrīr* on Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Tahrir al-Qawā‘id al-Mantiqiyyah* naming *Ta’līqāt ‘alā ḥāshiyah ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī ‘alā sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah li-Quṭbuddīn al-Rāzī*.⁸¹⁷

- k. Aḥmed Rāfi‘ bin Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ḥusaynī al-Qāsimī et-Tahtāwī (d. 1355/ 1936)

He is a familiar Egyptian scholar who studied with many scholars of al-Azhar. In 1882, Ahmed Rāfi‘ et-Tahtāwī received his *ijazah* and teaching permission from Al-Azhar Sheikh Muhammad al-Inbābī (who also worked on Siyālkūtī’s *Mutawwal*). During the tenure of Mahdi al-Abbāsī as the Sheikh of Al-Azhar, Tahtāwī was offered a high-level religious position but declined, choosing instead to return to his hometown to focus on teaching and writing.

⁸¹⁶ See Ahmed Özel, “Abdurrahman b. Muhammed Şirbini,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2010), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sirbini-abdurrahman-b-muhammed>.

⁸¹⁷ Ahmet Özel, “İbnü’l-Hayyât el-Karadâğî,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2020), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ibnul-hayyat-el-karadagi>.

Among Tahtāwī's notable students were scholars such as Rāḡib et-Tabbah, Abu'l-Fayz Ibn al-Siddiq al-Gumarī, his brother Abu'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Siddiq al-Gumarī, and Zahid Kevseri. These students reflect the broad impact of Tahtāwī's teachings and contributions to Islamic scholarship in later times.

Tahtāwī wrote extensive *Ta'liqāt* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* naming *Raf' al-Ghawāshī 'an Mu'dilāt al-Muṭawwal wa-l-Ḥawāshī* consisting of five volumes, only first volume was published in 1333/1914 from Cairo.⁸¹⁸

1. Shaykh Ṭāhir b. 'Āshūr Muftī Tūnis (d. 1393/1973)

He is popularly known as Ibn 'Āshūr, a prominent Tunisian thinker, commentator, jurist, and scholar of the Arabic language and literature of our contemporary times. He wrote *ḥāshiyah* on Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *Mutawwal* naming *Ghayth al-Afrīqī ḥāshiyah 'ala ḥāshiyah al-Siyālkūtī lil-Muṭawwal*.

⁸¹⁸ See Philip Charles Sadgrove, "Ahmed Rāfi' Tahtāwī," in *DĪA*, XXXIX (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2010).

IX. Awards

Siyālkūtī was fortunate that he successfully proved his place in the intellectual ground and retained its dominance for around half of a century. It starts formally, and so far, it is known with the ascension of Jahāngīr. He awarded a considerable *jagir* to Siyālkūtī. We do not know the specific time, but it seems the time may be in the early time of the former's reign. Maybe Siyālkūtī's age was around 45-50. So, he could successfully afford to attract the court during this time., Jahāngīr met Mian Mīr – one of the famous Sufi scholars based in Lahore. Siyālkūtī accompanied him. It is meaningful that by this time, Siyālkūtī became famous and gradually became familiar to the intellectual community.⁸¹⁹

Muḥammad Sharif, mostly known as Mutamid Khān (d. 1639/40) – a court historian of Emperor Jahāngīr (r. 1605-1627) placed Siyālkūtī among the contemporary scholars. In the book's third part, he also mentions the early time of Shāh Jahān (r. 1628-1658). There is a possibility that the learned people's names were written before the death of Jahāngīr; if not, it was penned in the very early time of Shāh Jahān. Perhaps Siyālkūtī still was not introduced to the Baburid court. Seems among rational scientists who took place on the list are Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri (d. 1651) and Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Harawī (d. 1651) enlisted.⁸²⁰

This learned scholar was awarded status financial and psychological support by many, *i.e.*, the Baburid court and scholars of that time. Not only did he receive them during his lifetime, but his descendants also kept up receiving privileges provided by the Baburid statesman and Hind scholars. It is well known that Medieval Hind, notably the Baburid

⁸¹⁹ Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 163.

⁸²⁰ Mutamid Khān mentions some names describing them as the prominent scholars (*ashraf*) as: Mullā Ruzbahan Shīrāzī, Mullā Shukarullah Shīrāzī, Mullā Tuqayī Shustari, Mīr Abdul Kasim Gīlānī, A'mī A'marl, Mullā Baqar Kashmirī, Mullā Baqar Tuhta'I, Mullā Maqsud 'Alī, Qāḍī Nurullah, Mullā Fazil Kabulī, Mullā 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Mullā Abdul Muttalib Sulṭānpuri, Mullā Abdul Rahman Bhurah Gujrati, Mullā Ḥasan Faraghi Gujrati, Mullā Husain Gujrati, Khwajah 'Usman Hisari, Mullā Muḥammad Jaunpuri. For more information see, Khan, *Iqbāl-Nāma-i Jahāngīrī*, 308. And for Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Harawī, see: Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Muslims in India*, trans. Mohammad Asif Kidwai, Third (Lucknow, India: Islamic Research and Publications, 1980), 82–83.

rule, is famous for patronizing the development of knowledge, learning, and literature. The Baburid Hind attracted regional and many foreign scholars to contribute to learning and sciences. It became possible because of its economic strength and socio-political stability; perhaps it possessed a stronger position in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century compared with other empires like the Ottomans and Safavids.⁸²¹ This learned scholar was weighed twice in gold⁸²² for his treatises. He was paid six thousand rupees each time- a vast amount of money. He was also given numerous villages where he stayed, studied, wrote, and taught.⁸²³ However, it was unsurprising to us that Siyālkūtī was awarded a vast number of resources as it was a common phenomenon in the Baburid ages. Many scholars would be awarded for their contribution as Siyālkūtī was bestowed regardless of origin, sect, and race. This event was very scarcely seen in the neighboring Safavid state.⁸²⁴ It will not be an exaggeration to mention this Baburid patronization as a common phenomenon. Many scholars and poets were presented with a reasonable sum of money or assets.

The courtiers, nobles, and regional statesmen also followed this tradition. Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh (d. 1627) of Bijapur donated to Zuhuri (d. 1616) – a famous poet, gold and silver loaded elephants; there were 9000 gold pieces. It was when Zuhuri wrote a book of

⁸²¹ See for more information, Suraiya Faruqi, *The Ottoman and Mughal Empires: Social History in the Early Modern World*, Paperback edition first published in 2021 (London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, and Sydney: I. B. Tauris, 2021), 19, 107; Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court Part II.-Humayun*. (Allahabad: The Indian Press, LTD, 1930), 150–51.

⁸²² Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court Part II.-Humayun*., 150; Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway, eds., *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order*, Penn Museum International Research Conferences, v. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2012), 309.

⁸²³ Qannuwjī, *Abjad Al-’ulum: Al-Washi Almarqūm Fi Bayān Ahwal al-’ulum*, 3:184; Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawatir*, 1999, 5:558.

⁸²⁴ In Safavid state we do not see efforts like Baburids did as weighed in gold except Shani Taklu – a famous persian poet was weighed in gold by Shāh Abbas. And there was no monthly honorium more than thirty tumans given by the courts to the scholars, poets and leaned people. See for more information, Spooner and Hanaway, *Literacy in the Persianate World*, 287.

poems and attributed it to the above-mentioned ruler.⁸²⁵ ‘Urfi (d. 1591) – a famous Sufi poet, was donated ten thousand rupees by Abdur Raḥīm Khan-i Khanan (d. 1627) – a poet and minister of Akbar. Hayati Kashi – a Shiraz-origin poet who migrated to Hind, Jahāngīr, weighed him in gold for his verses. In the same way, Shāh Jahān followed his previous trend and increased it many times. He weighed several scholars and poets in gold and other precious things. Some of them Abu Talib Kalim (d. 1651)- a Ḥamadānī poet; Saida-i Gilānī- a Master of Art of cutting and polishing stones, Abdul Hamid Lāhori (d. 1654)- a court historian who wrote Shāh Jahānname, and Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Harawī (d. 1651) – an expert in philosophy and logic, were weighed in gold. Moreover, Muḥammad Jan Qudsi (d. 1646) - Mashhadi (Iran) poet who migrated to Hindustan, was regarded as one of the most eloquent poets and received royal patronization from Shāh Jahān’s court. He was given heaps of gold and silver with the land; also, Shāh Jahān filled his mouth with valuable jewels seven times.⁸²⁶

Besides awarding twice in gold and villages, Siyālkūtī was also weighed in silver on one occasion.⁸²⁷ In other places, it is mentioned that he was weighed two times in silver, bestowing him six thousand rupees each time.⁸²⁸ In medieval times, it is well known that the courts made huge patronizations to inspire scholars, literates, and other learned personalities, but poets took places differently; it is also clearly understood from the above-mentioned names. As far as we have accessed, besides Siyālkūtī, Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Harawī (d. 1651) – an eminent scholar of rational sciences, was weighed in gold.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁵ David Ayalon and Moshe Sharon, eds., *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization: In Honour of Professor David Ayalon* (Jerusalem : Leiden: Cana ; E.J. Brill, 1986), 271.

⁸²⁶ For more details, see: Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court Part II.-Humayun.*, 150–51; Spooner and Hanaway, *Literacy in the Persianate World*, 307; Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire*, 186–87; Nadwi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit Volume 4*, 21; Nadwi, *Muslims in India*, 1980, 82–83.

⁸²⁷ Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans)*, 183; Nadwi, *Muslims in India*, 1980, 82–83.

⁸²⁸ Here, the prominent biographer did not mention about awarding the gold, said only silver and other estates. See: Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat Al-Khawātir*, 1999, 5:558; Nadwi, *Muslims in India*, 1980, 282.

⁸²⁹ Nadwi, *Muslims in India*, 1980, 96.

Regarding the contribution to the Baburid intellectual development, it seems that Siyālkūtī held the most respected and highest position that the Baburid court recognized during Emperor Shāh Jahān. There are many indications in the introduction of Siyālkūtī's treatises, where he expressed his utmost gratitude to the Emperor for the court's encouragement and support. So, awarding enormous resources and precious things that were not awarded to other scholars, at least to the scholars of rational sciences, is very meaningful in identifying his position in the Baburid state.





Conclusion

*“The most commendable deeds are stringent,
denoting strength and solidity.”*

- Siyālkūtī⁸³⁰

This study explores the intellectual biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, elucidating his impact on Islamic intellectual life in Hindustan and Ottoman. Numerous discussions on Siyālkūtī and his intellectual journey exist; however, we selectively present key findings deemed most relevant to our discussion.

Foundations of Wisdom: A Scholar’s Early Odyssey

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, a versatile scholar of his time, left a lasting intellectual legacy that continues to resonate among knowledge seekers for generations. His intellectual journey began humbly, a story familiar to many of his contemporaries. Siyālkūtī’s father, Shaykh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, laid the groundwork for this journey, instilling early education that would later flourish. A conscious and educated individual, the latter (Shaykh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn) successfully prepared his son to become a student of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, most likely around the age of fifteen. Before this, he meticulously groomed him. This preparation attests to his proficiency as an effective teacher.

A successful father, Shaykh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn paved the way for Siyālkūtī to emerge as one of the preeminent scholars of his era and beyond. Following him, Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī made significant investments of time, serving as a dedicated teacher, mentor, and guide. His influence played a pivotal role in Siyālkūtī’s intellectual development within the Hind ground. The latter (Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī), esteemed for his versatility, inherited intellectual depth and legacy from both his family and teacher.

⁸³⁰ He tells it upon completion of his *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* referring to a ḥadīth of Ibn Abbas – a companion of Prophet Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Hāshiyah ‘ala ḥāshiyah al-Khayali ‘ala sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* (Istanbul: Matba‘a-i ‘Āmirah, 1257), 381.

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's educational journey was diverse, influenced by figures such as Faṭḥullāh Ḥaqqānī, the son of Shaykh Ismail Kubravī, who was directly connected to Sayyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī. Concurrently, Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī studied under Khawaja 'Abd al-Shāhid Naqshbandī Aḥrārī, a prominent Naqshbandī representative in Hindustan. Siyālkūtī mirrored these experiences, maintaining strong connections with various schools of thought, including Naqshbandī and Qadiri, throughout his early and later years.

The madrasah of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, though scantily documented, evokes an image from both Hind and global perspectives, nurturing scholars like Siyālkūtī and Aḥmad Sirhindī—widely esteemed across times and lands. Siyālkūtī likely delved into major works and later contributed to some.

Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, titled 'Allama Mashriqain' (the Savant of East and West) and 'Muallim al-Saqalain' (the Teacher of Men and Genii), held esteemed positions, including being acknowledged as the 'Imām Muwaffaq' of Kashmīr. A comprehensive exploration of foundational Hind scholars, such as Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, is imperative. It is not an exaggeration to assert that the genesis of Siyālkūtī, the initiation of an enduring journey—an odyssey from Miyan Waris Mosque, ignited by Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī's spark, echoing across the world, then and now.

Siyālkūtī's interactions with other teachers, like 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, a founding hadith scholar, enhanced his excellence. While there is no confirmation of his lectures on hadith, Siyālkūtī received certification from 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, indicating his capability to lecture on the subject. Furthermore, Siyālkūtī's studies with 'Abd al-Salām al-Kirmānī al-Diwah and Shaykh Daniyāl of Chawrasa are pivotal for understanding their developments, his positioning in the intellectual landscape and adaptation to innovations, notably those advanced by Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī.

Quest for Wholeness: Shaping an Integrated Intellectual Terrain

The examination unveils the dynamic landscape of the late tenth/sixteenth century. This period witnessed Akbar's ascendance to unparalleled prominence in statecraft. Socio-political and cultural shifts unfolded, intricately connected with Siyālkūtī's

intellectual odyssey. Hindustan experienced unprecedented developments in culture, religion, and intellect. Our exploration yields the following insights and analyses:

Although Babur and his father, ‘Umar Shaykh Mīrzā, maintained a close relationship with the Naqshbandi Aḥrārī tradition, it consistently struggled to establish dominance in Hindustan. Babur and Humayun maintained a diplomatic relationship, prioritizing state interests, often causing discontent. The Baburid court navigated a diverse population with religious backgrounds different from others, such as the Ottomans. Akbar’s era marked a distinct shift. While Naqshbandi Shaykhs were not treated as royal Shaykhs pre-Akbar, state policies now took unexpected dimensions from their perspective. Although Akbar and some high court officials were connected to the Naqshbandi Aḥrārī lineage and provided opportunities, they were not considered influential. As a result, Aḥrārīs could not expect as they would from Central Asian rulers or Babur and Humayun. These circumstances compelled them to reconsider their position.

In this context, Bāqī Bi’llāh, a representative of the Naqshbandi order with access to other Sufi schools of thought, emerged and expressed ideas that did not align with the longstanding aspirations of the Naqshbandi Aḥrārī tradition in Hindustan. Some fundamental ideas changed with his initiative. For instance, prioritizing *sharī‘a* over *tarikah*, and asserting that *waḥdat al-shuhūd* is closer to the truth than *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. A significant number of disciples quickly followed him, with Aḥmad Sirhindī being among the foremost.

Siyālkūtī’s relationships extended across diverse Sufi backgrounds, maintaining connections with Naqshbandi Shaykhs, notably Aḥmad Sirhindī, and others from different orders. His attempt to become a disciple of Qadiri Sufi Shaykh Shāh Hussain Dahdaha (d. 1008/1599) reflects his acceptance of the ṭaṣawwuf tradition, even amidst his deep engagement in rational sciences.

As a student of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, who studied under Khwaja ‘Abd al-Shāhid Aḥrār, Siyālkūtī navigated this intricate intellectual and cultural landscape. He was likely cognizant of the enduring aspiration of the Naqshbandi–Aḥrārī tradition to influence

rulers, cherished by its Shaykhs and leaders. Although unfulfilled, this concept persisted in the minds of its community. Siyālkūtī, influenced by his teacher and the enduring legacy he embraced, embarked on a journey to become not just a scholar but potentially an influential figure in the intellectual realm. This inspiration fueled his unwavering dedication until his final moments.

This study explores the rational sciences and their consciousness in the tenth/sixteenth century, focusing on Akbar's rule and delving into the nature of the pre-Baburid intellectual landscape. It highlights distinctions in the rational sciences between pre-Baburid and eleventh/seventeenth-century times, showcasing their unique characteristics. Subjects were consistently present, whether confined to specific courses and works or operating on a broader level within the Taṣawwuf dominant ground.

During the Lodi dynasty, discussions and patronization of rational sciences gained momentum. A lasting scholarly network for future generations remained elusive despite notable contributions, particularly from Sikandar Lodi, in expanding and integrating rational sciences into the madrasah syllabus. Transitioning to the Baburid era, holistic changes occurred due to socio-political, economic, cultural, and educational developments. These factors, directly or indirectly, facilitated broadening the rational ground. Akbar's initiative to engage scholars from diverse religious backgrounds posed challenges to Sunni Muslims (scholars) but expanded intellectual horizons beyond political and geographic constraints. Christian missions' inquiries prompted reflection, extending discourse beyond *'Ibādat-Khāna* to broader educational spheres.

The brief existence of *Din-i Ilahi* and the *Sulh-i Kul* principle stirred temporary societal shifts towards religious pluralism and liberalization. Dissenting Muslim scholars contested these policies despite facing suppression. The emperor's achievements in war, economic prosperity, and political stability rapidly disseminated through well-connected regions, influencing collective consciousness, and prompting a shift towards rational and other sciences. Sunni scholars responded by intellectually combating evolving Islamic teachings, fostering increased interest in rational sciences. Both traditional madrasah 'ulamā' and the court-endorsed education system converged, observed closely by figures

like Siyālkūtī, Sirhindī, and ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, as they navigated the evolving scientific landscape.

The influx of foreign scholars from Central Asia, neighboring regions, and Iran played a pivotal role in accelerating the demand for the flourishing of rational sciences in the existing intellectual landscape. The migration of Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Kashmīrī and other scholars to Sialkot’s madrasah significantly contributed to its enrichment.

Moreover, Iranian scholars migrating to various educational centers across Hind, from Deccan to Gujarat, Punjab, Multan, and Delhi, brought a sphere of influence that resonated with the existing trend. Their robust education in Muslim kalām and rational sciences facilitated integration with the Hind ground, fostering awareness and intellectual competition. Versatile scholars like Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī played instrumental roles in institutionalizing rational and other sciences, inspiring a wave of scientific discoveries. The court’s influence further propelled students, academics, and scholars to seek advancements in these disciplines, directly impacting figures like Siyālkūtī.

The proposed curriculum marked a shift towards rational and secular sciences, diminishing the prominence of Muslim religious subjects. The pervasive theme of ‘reason’ and the emphasis on various sciences, including medical and technical studies, prompted a direct or indirect engagement with rational sciences in the intellectual landscape. Figures like Siyālkūtī, Sirhindī, and Dihlawī likely encountered these texts, excelling in pursuit of advancement as these developments unfolded. Notably, Siyālkūtī pioneered, dedicating himself extensively to rational sciences.

The state-sponsored effort to develop Sanskrit through translation facilitated the discovery of ideas across different knowledge branches, enabling the comprehension of indigenous thoughts and adaptation to contemporary trends. The coexistence of Sanskrit with Persian, functioning complementarily, facilitated a deeper understanding. Educated individuals proficient in rational sciences held state positions, often influencing students through teaching and lecturing. Cultural components like *sabk-i hindī* and intellectual

connections with various centers propelled the ground forward. While some developments may lack a direct connection with Siyālkūtī, they collectively played a crucial role in shaping the intellectual landscape holistically.

Regarding the court-scholar relation, in Hindustan's diverse socio-cultural and religious milieu, scholars enjoyed notable freedom compared to the medieval socio-political and global order. While scholars and institutions, often privately initiated, received court support, it did not entail subservience. Instances exist where scholars, including Aḥmad Sirhindī and 'Abd al-Qadir Badayunī, disagreed with rulers like Akbar. Siyālkūtī similarly opposed Emperor Shāh Jahān's order to restore a converted mosque in Gujarat. Despite dissent, scholars were rarely punished for their opinions.

Hind Muslim statesmen, especially the Baburids, notably supported academics, scientists, poets, historians, etc. Their patronage surpassed that of other Muslim lands like the Ottomans and Safavids. Scholars like Siyālkūtī were honored with valuable rewards and weighed in gold twice. Lifetime *jāgīrs* and hereditary property rights were granted, a practice uncommon elsewhere.

While scholars were respected, Baburid rulers differed from the Ottomans regarding scholars' role in state policymaking. Hind scholars lacked an institutionalization like the Ottoman 'Shaykh al-Islām' with authoritative rule-issuing powers. Although the court sought opinions or religious jurisdiction, scholars, even during Aurangzeb, had limited influence in state affairs.

An in-depth analysis of intellectual developments during the Muhasebe Dönemi (Age of Reckoning) requires a comprehensive analysis from various perspectives. While both similarities and differences exist between intellectual developments in Hindustan and the Ottoman Empire, two points are noteworthy.

For example, the concept of '*kānūn-ı kadīm*' could be seen differently with a close result. It was applicable within the Sufi schools of thought. Later, it helped prepare the ground for the study of rational sciences. In other words, Sufi schools of thought underwent significant developments within their boundaries from the sixteenth to

seventeenth centuries. Subsequently, rational sciences became institutionalized during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This somewhat similar development can also be observed in Ottoman history.

On the other hand, when intellectual connections and exchanges between the Ottomans and Safavids weakened, Hindustan developed closer ties with the Safavids. This development, however, led to a rapid increase in the adaptation of rational sciences on educational grounds, which further fueled other scholarly advancements. That helped move side by side with other learning centers.

Illuminating Generations Across Centuries

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī’s intellectual legacy manifests through his students and extensive works. His son, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, transcended his role as a mere son, becoming a renowned student, representative, and colleague who effectively perpetuated and expanded Siyālkūtī’s legacy. ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, the shadow of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī during his lifetime and beyond, authored numerous books still found in Hind and Turkish manuscript libraries. Maintaining favorable relations, the court, notably Emperor Aurangzeb, respected and consulted with him, earning ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb the title “Imām of the age.”

Siyālkūtī’s later generations continued his path, excelling in various disciplines. This work observes Siyālkūtī’s offspring, directly contributing to scholarship until the late thirteenth/nineteenth century. Respected more than others, their genealogy with Siyālkūtī garnered significant attention from courtiers and high officials. This support played a pivotal role in preserving Siyālkūtī’s legacy and ensuring the continued dissemination of knowledge. Siyālkūtī emerges as a successful father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, leaving an indelible mark on future generations.

‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī had a substantial number of students, likely in the hundreds, if not thousands, directly taught by him. These students, hailing from various

cities, returned to their hometowns or other locations, functioning as his representatives and perpetuating his intellectual legacy. This knowledge transmission persisted through subsequent generations, emphasizing the enduring impact of Siyālkūtī's contributions. The noteworthy success of his students, and even their students, in rational sciences and other fields highlights the profound and extensive influence of Siyālkūtī's educational methods. This lasting legacy extended well into the nineteenth century, attesting to the enduring efficacy of Siyālkūtī's teachings.

Several of his students played pivotal roles in the Hind intellectual realm. For instance, Maulana Muhammad Afzal Jaunpuri (d. 1062/1652) established a madrasah in Jaunpur after completing his education. The madrasah produced numerous globally recognized scholars, such as Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpuri (d. 1062/1652), known for his original work on astronomy titled *Shams al-Bazighah*. Another widely known scholar, 'Abd al-Rashid Jaunpuri (d. 1083/1672), was a grand student of Siyālkūtī, contributing significantly to the Hind intellectual landscape.

Simultaneously, Badr al-Dīn al-Hindi, a student of Siyālkūtī, relocated to Hejaz, where he engaged in lecturing. Abu Salim 'Abdullāh al-'Ayyashi (d. 1679), a Moroccan scholar, studied under al-Hindi. Siyālkūtī's lessons attracted students from diverse backgrounds. Notably, he had non-Muslim students, such as Chandar Bhan Brahman (d. 1075/1665), a distinguished Hindu poet celebrated for his Persian-style poetry. Serving as a munshi (scribe or secretary) from a Brahman family in Lahore, Chandar Bhan authored several works significant for Hind Persian literature history. These instances underscore Siyālkūtī's diverse students and their enduring intellectual contributions, ensuring his presence across ages in the Hind intellectual context.

Another significant contribution lies in his extensive works. No Hind scholar, before or after Siyālkūtī, is known to have worked as extensively and gained such wide acceptance. Notable among his works are:

In kalām, Siyālkūtī extensively authored on kalām, producing *ḥāshiyahs* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, *al-'Aqā'id al-'aḍuḍiyyah*, *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, and *al-Risālah al-*

Khāqāniyyah. His major contributions to Kalām include ḥāshiyah on al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah and ḥāshiyah on sharḥ al-Mawāqif. Both works gained widespread acceptance soon after completion, spreading to different parts of the world. Even if Siyālkūtī had no other works except his ḥāshiyah on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, it would secure his lasting legacy. The same applies to his ḥāshiyah on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. These and his other Kalām works played a crucial role in establishing a robust Kalām tradition in Hindustan. Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah*, likely his best investment during his youth, stands out as a “*magnum opus*” among his vast works.

In logic, Siyālkūtī’s ḥāshiyah on *Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah fi sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* played a pivotal role. His logical work is pioneering in Hindustan, unmatched before him. Siyālkūtī extensively worked on logic, addressing Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī simultaneously.

Similarly, Siyālkūtī made significant contributions to usūl-e fiqh, producing ḥāshiyah on Muqaddimātu’l-Arba’a. In syntax, his ḥāshiyah on al-Fawāid al-Ḍiyāiyyah, in rhetoric ḥāshiyah on Mutawwal, in tafsīr ḥāshiyah on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī*, and in taṣawwuf, his translation of Ghunyat al-Talibin stand as major works. Each of these works warrants extensive discussion and analysis.

Our examination suggests that since the early eleventh/seventeenth century, Siyālkūtī occupied a prominent position in Hind’s intellectual history, particularly in rational sciences. His acknowledgment of Aḥmad Sirhindī as “*mujaddid al-f-e thani*” gained wide acceptance among scholars. Under Shāh Jahān’s rule, he received comprehensive patronage, standing as the foremost scholar by any measure. This unquestioned influence persisted until at least the early twelfth/eighteenth century when Mīr Zāhid Harawī and Muḥibbullāh Bihārī’s works started gaining popularity. In other words, Siyālkūtī could be positioned as the most influential or dominant scholar in rational sciences in the eleventh/seventeenth century. This time could be regarded as the age of Siyālkūtī. Despite the evolving landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, encompassing Shāh Waliullāh’s emphasis on transmitted subjects and the advent of the British colonial education system, Siyālkūtī maintained his influence. Biographers

consistently positioned him undisputedly in the realm of rational sciences during his lifetime and onwards.

Blessed and Everlasting Beyond Boundaries

Siyālkūtī's fortune lay in producing texts widely accepted in his local milieu and renowned Muslim learning centers, such as the Ottomans. His extensive and widely recognized works, considered among the best in foreign lands, immortalized him. While Siyālkūtī's texts were initially confined to a specific group in Hindustan, they rapidly circulated between madrasahs in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period. The developments might describe that while finding Siyālkūtī's texts was challenging in Hindustan, taking days, weeks, or even months; however, they were discoverable here and there in various locations in the Ottoman Empire from the nineteenth century onwards. This underscores the significant role of foreign lands in preserving their lasting influence. Siyālkūtī's impact in the Ottoman realm can be analyzed through several lenses. Key points include:

A scholar of the Age of Reckoning (Muhasebe Dönemi), Siyālkūtī requires a comprehensive analysis of his intellectual contributions to determine his position within the scholarly landscape. This work examines his connections with Ottoman scholarship. The fact that his works were used alongside those of Ottoman scholars during his lifetime suggests that his texts were well-suited to meet the prevailing needs. While there may be significant differences when categorizing the Age of Reckoning in Ottoman and Hind intellectual spheres, Siyālkūtī appears to have successfully adapted and placed himself to the scholarly trend by supporting and critiquing the classical texts.

The research scrutinized the interconnectedness between Hind and Ottoman during the eleventh/seventeenth century. Siyālkūtī's works, such as the *ḥāshiyah on al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* and *ḥāshiyah on Tafṣīr al-Bayḍāwī*, were swiftly acknowledged, noted in Ḥājī Khalīfa's work shortly after completion. This tradition persisted on both sides. Hejaz, a culturally rich center, served as a hub where scholars engaged in lectures

and intellectual activities. Subsequently, Cairo and Damascus played pivotal roles in disseminating knowledge to Istanbul and other Ottoman centers.

A significant number of prominent Ottoman scholars engaged with Siyālkūtī's works, particularly with *ḥāshiyah 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, *ḥāshiyah 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*, *ḥāshiyah 'ala Taḥrīr al-Qawā'id al-Mantiqiyyah*, and *ḥāshiyah 'ala Muṭawwal*. Notable figures of the early modern times, such as Gelenbewī (Gelenbevī), Abū al-Bahā' Khālīd Baghdādī, Khawājah 'Abd al-Karīm al-Amāsī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Umar al-Na'imī al-Kharbūtī (Harpūtī) from the Ottoman Empire, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Inbābī, 'Abdurrahman al-Miṣrī, Aḥmed Rāfi' al-Tahtāwī from Egypt, Abū 'Alī al-Karadāghī from Iraq, and Shaykh Ibn 'Āshūr from Tunis, to mention some, are among the very prominent scholars of their time. It is significant that they found Siyālkūtī's works important and invested their scholarship to enrich the intellectual tradition. In this way, they further paved the way for disseminating Siyālkūtī's work to a wider range. All these facts demonstrate Siyālkūtī's relevance in many intellectual arenas and intellectual grounds in both the early modern and modern times.

Ḥājji Khalīfa's acknowledgment of Siyālkūtī's *ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* as the best *ḥāshiyah*, widely embraced by scholars, holds significance in Hind-Ottoman Islamic intellectual history. Not constrained by geographical or cultural boundaries, this recognition highlights the era's extensive intellectual development. This work's continued relevance and influence over centuries further underline its enduring impact in the realm of Islamic scholarship. In the same way, Siyālkūtī's several works kept their wide acceptance in the Ottoman intellectual realm, and all of his works were available in the ground; their use increased by many folds since the thirteenth/nineteenth century with the advent of the printing age.

This analysis also reveals a steady increase in the presence of Siyālkūtī's works from the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century, persisting without interruption. In the thirteenth/nineteenth century, all major works were extensively published, along with the development of printing. Concerning the city where his works were published, amid many cities publishers contributed, like Delhi, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Cairo, Istanbul became

unparalleled to any of them. In addition, Matba‘a-i ‘Āmirah – a state publishing center – played an extensive role along with many private printing centers. In the nineteenth century alone, several of Siyālkūtī’s works were collectively published in Istanbul at least 62 times, a significant testament to his enduring influence. Notably, *ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyyah* saw 16 publications, while *ḥāshiyah* on *Thrīr al-Qawā’id al-Mantiqiyyah* surpassed it with twenty publications. Additionally, *ḥāshiyah* on *sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was published five times. These statistics underscore Siyālkūtī’s indispensable presence in the Ottoman intellectual landscape.

Possible Future Works

This thesis highlights the need for further research on Siyālkūtī and the ground. He stands out as a unique scholar, with the breadth of his knowledge and contributions significantly impacting Muslim scholarly development. Further exploration is crucial to bring the richness of the Hind intellectual ground to light. Some important areas for further discussion include:

Concerning the Siyālkūtī’s Critique of Hasan Çelebi, a close analysis and a case study of the texts is necessary to understand the motivations behind Siyālkūtī’s critique of Hasan Çelebi’s *ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. Were there political factors at play, given the tense relations between the Baburid Hindustan and Ottoman empires during that time? Siyālkūtī’s *ḥāshiyah* on *Khayali* is also similar to in-depth analysis is needed to understand Siyālkūtī’s objectives in writing his commentary on *Khayali*.

This research suggests that further exploration of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, Siyālkūtī’s main mentor, is essential. Understanding Kashmīrī’s contributions can shed light on the intellectual environment that nurtured scholars like Aḥmad Sirhindī and Sa‘dullah Khan, and provide a deeper understanding of the Hind scholarly ground and local Sunni scholars’ contributions. In the same way, Siyālkūtī’s son and successor, ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb, also merits further investigation.

Almost all the works that made Siyālkūtī famous have not been analyzed. In this case, several monographs could be written analyzing the various aspects of Siyālkūtī's works from different perspectives.

The unexplored nature of the Baburid intellectual ground becomes evident. Further research is needed to analyze the developed ideas of Siyālkūtī and other scholars to understand the ground and compare it with other grounds' developments.

Finally, this work suggests that intellectual exchange between Hind and Ottoman scholars continued in various forms. They were aware of each other's work, and the circulation of works likely occurred relatively quickly. The development of archives and libraries offers valuable resources for further exploration of these intellectual connections.



Appendix 1: List of Siyālkūtī's work

S/N	Title	Category	MS copies 5+/10+	Mentioned in Catalogue Works	Printed Editions - Ottoman (5+/10+)	Printed Editions - Modern (5+/10+)	Comment
1.	Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah al-Khayālī 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah	Kalam	10+	10+	10+	4+	
2.	Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah	Kalam	10+	10+	10+		
3.	Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Mawāqif	Kalam	10+	10+	10+	1+	
4.	Al-Risālah al-Khāqāniyyah	Kalam	10+	10+			
5.	Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Hikmat al-'Ain	Kalam		10+			
6.	Hāshiyah on sharḥ al-Hidaya al-Hikmah li-Maybudhi	Kalam		1+			
7.	Hāshiyah 'ala Ilahiyāt al-Shifā	Kalam					Doubtful
8.	Hāshiyah 'ala Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah (Qutbi)	Logic	10+	10+	10+	3+	
9.	Hāshiyah 'ala hāshiyah al-Jurjānī 'ala Tahrir al-Qawaid al-Matiqiyyah (Mir Qutbi)	Logic	10+	10+	10+	3+	
10.	Mizān al-Mantiq	Logic		1+			
11.	Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Maṭali' al-Anwār	Logic		4+			
12.	Hāshiyah 'ala Muqaddimāt al-Arba'a min kitāb al-Tawḍīḥ al-Tasrīḥ bi-Gawāmiḍ al-Talwīḥ	Usūl-e Fiqh	10+	10+	1+		
13.	Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ al-Ḥusāmī	Usūl-e Fiqh		1+			

14.	Hāshiyah ‘ala hāshiyah al-Fawā’id al-Diyāiyyah li-Mullā Jāmī ‘ala’l-Kāfiyyah li-Ibn al-Ḥāḡib	Syntax	10+	10+	10+		
15.	Takmilah hāshiyah al-Lāri ‘ala sharḥ al-Jāmī	Syntax	10+	10+		3+	
16.	Hāshiyah ‘ala Mullā Jāmī	Syntax		5+			
17.	Ta’liqāt ‘ala sharḥ ‘Awāmil li-Jurjāni fi al-Naḥw	Syntax		2+			
18.	Hāshiyah on sharḥ ‘ala Taṣrīf al-‘Uzza li-Sayyid (Sharīf Jurjāni)	Şarf		3+			
19.	Mirāh al-Awrah	Şarf		5+			
20.	Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Muṭawwal	Rhetoric	10+	10+	10+		
21.	Hāshiyah ‘ala Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī	Tafsīr		10+	5+	3+	
22.	Hāshiyah ‘ala al-Kshshaf	Tafsīr			4+		
23.	Tafsīr ‘ala Sura al-Fatiḥa	Tafsīr			4+		
24.	Translation of Ghunyat al-Talibīn	Taşawwuf					
25.	Dalā’il al-Tajdīd			1+			Doubtful
26.	Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī			1+			Doubtful
27.	Ḥadāiq al-Ḥaqāiq al-Daqāik			1+			Doubtful

Appendix 2: Chronology of Siyālkūtī's Life and Intellectual Developments

S/N	Date	Description
1.	968/1561	Birth of Siyālkūtī
2.	1561-1576	Stay at home and early education with his father
3.	1564	Fathullah Haqqani, and Mulla Kamal's migration to Sialkot
4.	1564	Birth of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī
5.	1576	Siyālkūtī started education with Mulla Kamal
6.	1584	Death of ‘Abd al-Shāhid Naqshbandi Aḥrārī. He came to Akbar's court around 1560
7.	1589	The death of Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī. He was a senior contemporary of Siyālkūtī who went through rational sciences with other disciplines extensively through his writings and lectures. However, it seems he did not successfully reach a broad audience in Hind learning centers like Siyālkūtī successfully did.
8.	1585-1598	Lahore was made the capital of Akbar
9.	1587-1590	Birth of ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb
10.	1587-1590	‘Abdullāh al-Labīb's birth
11.	1600	Siyālkūtī regarded Aḥmad Sirhindī as <i>Mujaddid al-f-e Thānī</i>
12.	1600-1603	<i>Ḥāshiyah</i> on <i>sharḥ al-‘Aqa’id al-Nasafīyyah</i>
13.	1600	<i>Ḥāshiyah ‘ala sharḥ al-Matali al-Anwar</i>
14.	1605	Demise of Emperor Akbar and ascension of Jahangir
15.	1605-06	Siyālkūtī was bestowed <i>jāgīr</i>
16.	1608-9	Demise of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī
17.	1610s	<i>Ḥāshiyah</i> on <i>Tafsir al-Baydawi</i>
18.	1627-28	Demise of Jahangir in 1627 and ascension of Shāh Jahān in 1628
19.	1628-29	Siyālkūtī was appointed as a principal of a royal collage in Agra
20.	1629-30	Death of ‘Abd al-Salām al-Kirmāni al-Diwah - a teacher of Siyālkūtī
21.	1640s	Siyālkūtī was granted another <i>jāgīr</i> by Shāh Jahān. He was invited to the court as one of the most prominent scholars of that time and later he was placed in “ <i>malik-ul-‘ulamā</i> ” (seat of the learned) position.

22.	1640s	Siyālkūtī's <i>ḥāshiyah</i> on <i>al-Mawaqif</i> reached Ottoman land
23.	1647	al-Risalah al-Khaqaniyyah
24.	1630s	Siyālkūtī's <i>ḥāshiyah</i> on Khayali reached to the Ottoman land
25.	1630s	<i>Takmilah and Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>
26.	1648	Composition of <i>Hadaiq al-Haqaiq</i>
27.	1648	Demise of Mullā 'Abd al-Wahhab Pursaruri
28.	1648	Demise of Shāh Muhibbullah Allahabadi (d. 1058/1648)
29.	1652	Demise of Maulana Muhamamd Afzal Jaunpuri
30.	1657	Demise of the learned scholar, Siyālkūtī on January 4, 1657, and buried in Sialkot.
31.	1658	End of the rule of Shāh Jahān and a new administration by Aurangzeb.
32.	1665	Demise of Chandar Bhan Brahman
33.	1677	Demise of Mir Sayyid Ismail Bilgrāmī - a student of Siyālkūtī
34.	1086/1675 (January 21)	'Abdullāh al-Labīb met Emperor Aurangzeb in Lahore
35.	1682	'Abdullāh al-Labīb was offered for the position sadr of Azmir by the Emperor Aurangzeb
36.	Rajab 1094 / July 1683	Demise of 'Abdullāh al-Labīb

Appendix 3: Manuscript and Published Work of Siyālkūtī

Hāshiyah on al-‘Aqa’id al-Nasafiyyah

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	1252	Müftizade al-Sayyid Ahmed	1220		
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	1672	Muhammad Masud	1228		
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	1672/2	Hussain b. Muhammad	1194		
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötügen İHK	3508				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	164	Imamzade Ahmed	1214/1799		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	164		1214		
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	1227	Abd al-Rahman	1070/1659-60		
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	1228				
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	246				
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	275		1258/1842		
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	600	Abd al-Rahim	1235		
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	1119	Ismail b. Taj Muhammad Alhaj Ibrahim	1129/1717		
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	417/2	Mustafa b. Mehmed	1228/1812		
Amasya Bayazıt İHK	Bayazıt	921		1225/1810		

Amasya Beyazıt Ktp.	Bayazıt	B921		1225		Shaikh Ali Zade 'Abdullah Efendi
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B009175/ 1	Ali b. Ismail b. Hussain	1116/17 04		
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B3055	Ali b. Mehmed Ahiskawi	1210		
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B3228				
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B9083				
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B9174	Hussain b. Osman	1199/17 84	Giresun	Khalil b. Salih
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B9177	Hussain b. Osman	1199/17 84		
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 3779				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 5857				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 1125				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 1125				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 2126				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 4117				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 4117				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000003 87/2		1218		

Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00001981/5				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00009198/1				
Bölge YEK	Burdur İL H.	998				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Carullah	1190		3 Recep 1046/ Dec 1, 1636		
Çorum Hasan Ktp.	Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK	959				
Çorum Hasan Ktp.	Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK	3990		1203		
Çorum Hasan Ktp.	Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK	974/1	Murtaza b. 'Abdullah	1189	Kilis	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Darülmesci	298	Hasan al-Tarabzoni	1231 Waqf Date		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	003617-I	Mustafa b. Mustafa	Safar 19/March 14, 1811	Kilis	
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	4954	Muhammad b. Hussain b. Hasan b. Musa b. 'İsa	Zilqad 13, 1209/ June 9, 1892		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	002321-III	Ali b. Ahmed el-Gelenbârî	1234/18 18-19	Hadim (Konya)	
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	004834-I				
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	004931-XX				
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	3764-I		1118/17 06-07		
	Diyanet Um. Ktp	1844				

	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	2323		1235		
Topkapı Sarayı Ktp.	Emanet Hazinesi	916	Ibrahim al-Kırımı	1213/1799		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Erzincan	20	Mustafa b. Hüseyin Bosnewî Kocewî	1183	Amed (Diyarbakır)	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	1165	Sayyid Ibrahim Karahisar	1223/1808.		Sayyid Muhammad Es'ad el-Arif
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	1166M				Sayyid Muhammad Es'ad el-Arif
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Eskişehir İHK	26 Hk 241/3				
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Eskişehir İHK	26 Hk 35				
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Eskişehir İHK	26 Hk 508		1213/1797		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Fatih	2973	Khalil b. Ya'kub Saruhani	1178 Jumadi ul Akhir, Saturday		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Fatih	2974	Osman b. Mustafa Bosnewi	1109	Istanbul	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Fatih	2975	Muhammad Amin b. Sulaiman	1225		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Fatih	2976	Osman b. Ahmed Kilisi Melekani Çerkeszade	1189	Kilis	

Süleyma niye Ktp.	Fatih	2978		1273	Istanbul	
Bursa İnebey Ktp.	Genel	1177	<i>Khayruddin b. 'Abdullah</i>	1148		
Bursa İnebey Ktp.	Genel	4667	Muhammad b. Mustafa al-Zunûn	1159	Lefke	
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	1262	Sa'id b. Isma'il			
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	1265				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	1317				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	01262-001	Sa'îd b. İsmâ'il (?)	1231		
Hacı Selim Ağa Ktp.	Hacı Selim Ağa	627		1098		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hamidiye	737		1138	Istanbul	
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hamidiye	738	Ali b. Mustafa el-Beypazari (Bekbazari)	1077		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hamidiye	739	Mustafa es-Sakîzî	1185		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hamidiye	740		1164		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Harput	322	Ahmed			
Hacı Selim Ağa Ktp.	Hüdai Efendi	877	Shaikh Muhammad Rushen			

Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kasidecizade	126	Shehirli Hafız Muhammad			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kasidecizade	470	Al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Mustafa	1192/1779		
Kastamonu YEK	KHK	KHK12		1106/1693	Amasya	
Kastamonu YEK	KHK	KHK1588	Abdullah b. Ahmed	1226		
Kastamonu YEK	KHK	KHK1617	Alhaj Mehmed b. Alhaj Mustafa	1219/1803		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kılıç Ali Paşa	516		1207		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Laleli	2183	Khalil b. Ali.			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	M. Hilmi F. Fehmi	52				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	49		1090/1678	Mecca	
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	97	Mustafa b. Ahmed	1198/1783		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	5796				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	5796				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	74/1				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	911				Osman Zade

						Hussain Ağa b. Haji Ahmed
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6751	Karacazade (?) Mustafa efendi b. Khalil efendi	1225/ 1809		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6408/1	Muhammad b. Sulaiman b. Mustafa b. Hussain	1193/17 78		
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	205				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Mehmed Nuri Efendi	46				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Murad Mollā	1345		1071		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Murad Mollā	1347		1184		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Nuruosm aniye	2118				
Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp Paşa	00734-002				Muhamma d Ali
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Raşid Efendi	464				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Raşid Efendi	488				
Milli Kütüpha ne	Samsun İHK	55 Hk 351/1	Abdullah Efendi (knwon as Hazine darza de)	1256 (around)		Abdullah Efendi
Milli Kütüpha ne	Samsun İHK	55 Hk 428		1100 (?)		

Edirne Selimiye Ktp.	Selimiye Yazmalar	4622				
Edirne Selimiye Ktp.	Selimiye Yazmalar	6353		1198		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Serez	1334	Musa b. Abdurrahman			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Serez	1429				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Servili	153	Yahya b. Al-Sayyid Abdulmu'min	Shaban 1178		Alhaj Sayyid Mustafa
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Süleymaniye	751	Ibrahim b. Mahmud	1190		
Bursa İnebey YEK	Ulucami	268		1222		
Bursa İnebey YEK	Ulucami	2036				
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	267				
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	268	Mehmed Khwajagi	1222		
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	1956				
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	1964	Hasan b. Muhammad	1219		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Veliyyüddin Efendi	V2016				

Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2017		1205		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2016				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2017		1205		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2018		1125		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yozgat	375	Abdurrahman b. Hasan	1186		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yozgat	708		1165/1752	Istanbul	
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yozgat	00340-003		1185		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yozgat	00343-003				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yozgat	340-003	Khalil b. Hussain b. Ali b. Ibrahim	1180	Aleppo	
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yusuf Ağa Ktp.	YY00000 04723	Ali b. Ali (al-Ma'nawi?)	1145 (Rabiul Akhir 29, Friday)	Istanbul	
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yusuf Ağa Ktp.	YY00000 04724	Abdulgazi b. Barakat b. Yusuf	1124	Medine	

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place
AMU I	Habibganj	2/179	Ghulam Muhammad Shiakh Ismail	Muharram 5, 1073	
Asiatic Society		25			
Bankipur		170			

Buhar		107			
Cairo		18			
Central Library, Peashwar Universaity, Peshawar	Ghulam Jilani	95	Rafi b. Mulla Muhammad Sharif	Jamadiul- I, 1237	
Central Library, Peashwar Universaity, Peshawar	Ghulam Jilani	96			
Central Library, Peashwar Universaity, Peshawar	Ghulam Jilani	453		Zulhijjah 12 1072	
Central Library, Peashwar Universaity, Peshawar	Ghulam Jilani	811			
Gotha		675			
Haydarabad	Fann Kalam	31			
Indian Office		397			
Indian Office		398			
Khuda Bakhsh		509		12th C. (1092 Original copy)	
Khuda Bakhsh		510		11th C.	
Khuda Bakhsh		511			
Khuda Bakhsh		383 3		12th C.	
Khuda Bakhsh		383 4			
Maulana Azad	Habibganj	408	Ghulam Muhammad Shah Ismail	1083/1672	
McGill		51	Abd al-Latif Najl Mulla Muhammad al- Husayn	1285/1868	
Princeton	(Yahuda Section) in the Garrett	223 7			
Princeton (New)		48			
Punjab		441			
Punjab		442			

Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 3	Mir Shah Qasim b. Qalandar Shah Badakhshani	12th C.	
Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 4	Turab Muhammad b. Mirza Malik Beg	12th C.	
Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 5	Fazlullah usmani Beg	12th c. 2nd recension	
Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 6			
Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 7		1181/1767	
Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 8		12th C.	
Raza Library, Rampur (II)	Arabic Manuscript s	156 9	Abd al-Rasul b. Inayat Ullah b. Ya'qub Badayunī -st of S.	1061/1651	
Royal A.S., Bengal		930		1077	

Publication

Publisher	City of PN	Date	Page
	Istanbul	1185	
	Istanbul	1220	
	Istanbul (?)	1221	316
Darü't-Tıbaatü'l-Amire	Istanbul	1235	392
Matbaa-i 'Amire	Istanbul	1257	
Matbaa-i 'Amire	Istanbul	1259	
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1263 (Zilhaj)	335
Hacı Hüseyin Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1270	662 s.
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1270	335
	Delhi	1273	335
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1275	335
Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1276	335

Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1285	335
Matbaatü'l-Kübrâ el-Emiriyye	Cairo (Bulak)	1286	335
Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1286	335
Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matba'ası	Istanbul	1287/1870	115
Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1289	335
Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1296	335
Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1304	335
Sanayi-i Nefise Matbaası	Istanbul	1306	335
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1308	335
Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1308	335
Sanayi-i Nefise Matbaası	Istanbul	1308	335
Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1311	335
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1317	335

Hāshiyah 'ala sharh al-'Aqa'id al-'Adudiyyah

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	01303/1	Ahmed b Hussain al-Trabzonî	1162	
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	01301/1 (a)	Muhammad b. Ali	1105	
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Adana İHK	01 Hk 454	Sulaiman b. Khalil b. Idris	1165	Kilis
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B3159			
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000005769		1168	Kayseri
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000003801		1195	
Çorum Hasan Ktp.	Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK	969			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	1699			

Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	1425	Abdullah Siddiki (Sidki)	1275	Istanbul
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hafid Efendi	149		1215	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	İz. Mustafa Ef.	50M		1271	Istanbul
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Laleli	2202		1214	
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	929	Ahmed el-Mağnisawi	1214	Istanbul
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	3240			

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe
Bankipur		554		
Bengal I		308		
Bengal I		308		
Indian office		457		
Khuda Bakhsh		554		12th C.
Maulana Azad	Habibganj	424		
Rampur		111		
Rampur		112		
Rampur		113		
Royal A.S., Bengal		580		

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Publisher	City of PN	Date	Page
el-Matbaatü'z-Zatü'l-Fehame	Cairo	1148	107
	Istanbul	1257	335
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1271 (Muharram)	120
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1275	117
	Istanbul	1290	
el-Hâc Ali Karahisârî Matbaası	Istanbul	1306	117 s

Mahmud Bey Matbaası	Istanbul	1308	335
Rifat Bey Matbaası	Istanbul	1316	447
Matbaa-i Hayriyye	Cairo	1322	212
Osmaniye Matbaası	Istanbul	1323	212
Matbaa-i Hayriyye	Cairo	1325	384

Hāshiyah on sharh al-Mawaqif

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp paşa	765	Abdullah b. Mustafa	1132 (Shaban 17, Monday)	Mecca	Muhammad Khwaja al-Siwasi
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	266	Ali b. Ahmed	1217		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Yusuf Ağa Ktp.	YY000000 4718	Hussain b. Omer	1155		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	104	Ismail b. Mustafa Ahmed	1222/1806		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Nuruosmaniye	2131	Muhammad Hilmi (Alemi) Sharif al-Din	1127 (5 Rabiul Thani)	Mecca	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Laleli	2224	Mustafa b. Hasan	1206	Istanbul	
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	1837				
Diyarbakır Ktp.	Diyarbakır İHK	654		1151		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	1128				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	166/2				

Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	4852		1240/1823 (Rabiul Akhir)		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Veliyyüddin Efendi	V2014		1189		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Veliyyüddin Efendi	V2015				

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place
Bankipur			538		
Bankipur			539		
Indian office			449		
Indian office			450		
Islamic College, PU	Ghulam Jilani		787		
Khuda Bakhsh			538	Muhammad Askari (?)	1106 (before of)
Khuda Bakhsh			3853		12th c.
Khuda Bakhsh			3854		13th C.
Khuda Bakhsh			3855		13th C.
Nadwah			99	Mulla Muhammad Jan b. Mulla Muhammad Gawuth b. Muhammad Salim Peshawari	1223 (Shawwa 9)
Paris			6578		
Princeton	(Yahuda Section) in the Garrett		3102		
Princeton (New)			708		
Princeton (New)			708		
Rampur 11			558		
Tunis, Zayt.			21, 111		

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Publisher	City of PN	Date	Page

Dar al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyye	Beirut	1227	
	Delhi	1227	
	Istanbul	1239	
	Istanbul	1287	
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1287/1870	
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1292	3+501+493+7 s
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1311	491
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1311	351
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1311	590
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1311 as page number 491 (1257? Muhur 257)	491
	Istanbul	1316	447
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1321	
	Istanbul	1322	
	Cairo	1325	261+401 s.
Dar al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyye	Beirut	1408/1988	
Amir Matbaası	Qom	1412/1991	
Daru'l-Kutubu'l- Ilmiyyah	Beirut	1418/1997	501
Matba'at al-Sa'ada	Cairo	1418/1997	
Dar al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyye	Beirut	1419/1998	

al-Risalah al-Khaqaniyyah

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	993/4	Ahmed b. Musa b. Mehmed Karabağî	1209/1793
Çorum Hasan Ktp.	Çorum Hasan Paşa İHK	2480/4	Ahmed Feyzi	
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	004334-IX	Hussain b. Wali b. Alhaj Bekir Hajioğlu Bazari	
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	608/02	Salih b. İbrahim	1211/1795
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kasidecizade	00671-001	Sulaiman Efendizade Ahmed	1221
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Adana İHK	178/4		1043/1633 Yanlış as S. Wrote it in 1050

Amasya Beyazıt Ktp.	Bayazıt	B51/02		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Çelebi 'Abdullah	00392-003		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	4334		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	01188-001		
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	00720-015		

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
Aligarh	Shaifta Collection	25 (Book no.)				
Asafia Library	Hissaduom	319				
Asiatic Society of Bengal		p. 101, Vol. 1				
Asiatic Society of Bengal		p. 4, Vol. II.				
Bengal II		42				
Bengal II		42				
Berlin		2344				
Berlin		2344				
Delhi		1877				
India Office Library		2012 (Foil., 35-59)				
Khuda Bakhsh		3474		1057		
Khuda Bakhsh		3475		13th C. Seal-1291		Nimat Ali
Kulliyatu'l Islamiyyah, Peshawar University, Peshawar	Ghulam Jilani	3/1964		1057 - Rabiul Akhir 5,		
Peshawar		858/4				
Peshawar		1964/3				
Petersburg Library	Bukhara Collection	440				

Prof. Ahmad Hasan	Personal					
Prof. Ahmad Husain	Personal					
Raza Library, Rampur	Fann-e-Kalam	. 626/2, 1412(1); Old Catalogue No. 411				
Royal A.S., Bengal	(Bibliotheca Indica)	Vol. I, p. 387-8				

Hāshiyah 'ala al-Risalah al-Shamsiyyah

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.		Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Adana İHK	1166-005					
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Adana İHK	179			1218/1802		
	Akseki Halk	287			1193/1780		
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötüken İHK	4600		Ahmed b. Salih b. Hasan	1253/1836		
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötüken İHK	4369		Hasan Dermewi	1231		
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötüken İHK	758		Wali b. Mustafa Iskilibi	1211	Istanbul	
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötüken İHK	774	Tasdiqat				
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötüken İHK	2241					

Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan Ötüken İHK	2576					
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	1628	Tasawwurat	Ahmed b. Hussain			
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	1627	Tasawwurat				
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	241					
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	627					
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	315/01					
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B9704	Tasawwurat				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00007072/2	Tasdiqat		1246		
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000007116					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000000162					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000000364					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000007116					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000007913					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000007913					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000000364					

Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000000162	Tasdiqat				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00000004590					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00000004590					
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000007088/6	Tasdiqat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Darülmescnevi	325		Esirizade Muhammed			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Darülmescnevi	1947	Tasdiqat		1208/1793.		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Darulmescnevi	00325M	Tasdiqat		1208		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Denizli	263	Tasdiqat	Mehmed			
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	004089-IV		Abdurrafik b. Ali b. Abdurrahim	1275		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	3804		Isa b. Mahmud b. Hussain	1231 [1815]		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	3167	Tasawwurat				
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	2048	Tasawwurat		1276		
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	1723	Tasdiqat		1288		
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	1940	Tasawwurat				
Bölge YEK	Elmalı Halk.	2837	Tasdiqat	Abid b. Omer			

Bölge YEK	Elmalı Halk.	2806	Tasdiqa t	Mehme d b. Sayyid Mustafa .	1245/1 830		
Bölge YEK	Elmalı Halk.	2822	Tasdiqa t				
Bölge YEK	Elmalı Halk.	2850	Tasdiqa t				
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	1947	Tasdiqa t				Mustafa Nazif, Muhamma d Sadık el- Hüseynî, Muhamma d Sa'd, Mir Muhamma d Münîr
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Eskişehir İHK	26 Hk 223/2					
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Eskişehir İHK	26 Hk 735/2					
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Fatih	3276	Tasdiqa t		1208		
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Fatih	3277	Tasdiqa t				
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Fatih	3278	Tasaw wurat				
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Fatih	3279	Tasaw wurat				
Bursa İnebey Ktp.	Genel	4715					
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Giresun Yazmalar	00210- 002	Tasdiqa t	Mollâ Abdâl b. Mehme d	1223	Istan bul	

Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	5745	Tasawwurat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Halet Efendi	504	Tasdiqat	Mustafa b. Ahmed			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Halet Efendi	503	Tasawwurat				
Bursa İnebey Ktp.	Haraccı	1363					
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	1261	Tasdiqat	Ismail b. Mustafa	1223		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kasidecizade	500	Tasdiqat				
Kastamonu YEK	KHK	KHK132/02	Tasdiqat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kılıç Ali Paşa	00651-001			1185		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kılıç Ali Paşa	651	Tasawwurat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kılıç Ali Paşa	00651-002					
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Laleli	2572	Tasdiqat	Muhammed Ali	1114		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Laleli	2573	Tasawwurat				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	609		Mustafa b. Ahmed Turnawî	1212/1796		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	5708/1			1226/1810		

Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	5572/1		Kadi Wali b. Omer Efendi			Sayyid Abdur Raḥmān (1240)
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	2165		Mustafa Efendi b. İbrahim Efendi	1207 /1791		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	2169/2			1184/1769		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6668			1209 /1793		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6931			1221		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6629					
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	9997					
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Mehmed Ağa Cami	142	Tasdiqat		1259	Istanbul	
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	302	Tasdiqat		1226		
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	300	Tasawurat				
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	301	Tasdiqat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Mehmed Nuri Efendi	123	Tasdiqat				
Milli Ktp.	Milli Ktp. Yazma	06 Mil Yz A 6119	Tasawurat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Murad Mollâ	1496	Tasawurat				
Bursa İnebey YEK	Orhan	896					
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Pertev Paşa	363	Tasdiqat				

Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp paşa	886		Muhammad Abu Tâhir b. İbrahim b. Şihabuddin al-Madani	Rajab 22, 1100/ May 12, 1689	Medina	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Sayyid Nazif	37		Ömer b. Ali.	1210/1795		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Serez	2189	Tasdiqat		1238		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Serez	2229	Tasdiqat		1269		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Servili	204		Muhammad b. Mustafa	1231		Tirnovili İbrâhim Efendi, Mehmed Emin
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Servili	00276-002		Sulaiman b. Mehmed Giresunî	1120		Alhaj Sayyid Mustafa
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Servili	276	Tasdiqat	Sulaiman b. Mehmed Giresunî			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Süleyman iye	800	Tasdiqat				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Tercüman	517	Tasdiqat	Muhammad b. Haji Muhammad	1275		
Bursa İnebey YEK	Ulucami	2333			1222		

Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	995	Tasdiqa t	Muham mad b. Sulaima n	1209		
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	1304	Tasaw wurat				
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2199	Tasdiqa t				
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	1526 (216)			1227		
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	1524 (214)					
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Yazma Bağışlar	2053		Sulaima n b. Abu Bekir el- Gumulji nawi	1123		
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Yazma Bağışlar	730	Tasaw wurat				
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Yazma Bağışlar	948					
Süleym aniye Ktp.	Yusuf Ağa Ktp.	YY00000 04950	Tasdiqa t		1209(? Muhur)		

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.		Scribe	Date of Scribe	Plac e
AMU I	Subhanalla h	445		Nizam al- Din		
AK Azad APRI		1289		Mirza Muhamm ad	1242/18 26	
AK Azad APRI		1290				

Aligarh		88				
AMU III	Abdul Hai	805/107				
Bankipur		2253 (p. 174)				
Berlin		5264				
Buhar		296			13th/19th c	
Delhi		1408				
Indian Office		518				
Indian Office		519				
Khuda bakhsh		3617			12th c	
Khuda bakhsh		3618			13th C.	
Khuda bakhsh		3619			13th C.	
Khuda bakhsh		3616		Inayat Hussain	1276/1860	
Kulliyatu'l Islamiyyah, Peshawar University, Peshawar	Ghulam Jilani	2/1770			1055 (Rajab 11)	
Maulana Azad	Habibganj	502				
McGill		64			11/17th c.	
Princeton	(Yahuda Section) in the Garrett	3206				
Punjab		936				
Punjab		937				

Publication

Area	Publisher	City of PN	Date	Page
	Darü't-Tibaaü'l-Amire	Istanbul	1238	317
	Yahyâ Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1238	244
Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1238	317
Tasdiqat	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1253	
	Matbaa-i 'Amire	Istanbul	1259	284
Tasawwur at	Halil Efendi Matba'ası	Istanbul	1259	284

Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1259 (Cemaziyelevvel)	284
Tasdiqat	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1259	284
Mir Qutbi		Delhi	1259	179
	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1268	234
Tasdiqat	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1268	284
Tasdiqat	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1269	179
Tasdiqat		Istanbul	1269	317
	Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1276	244
	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1276	244
Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1276	
Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1276	246/244 seems both are same
Tasawwur at	Şirket-i Sahafiyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1276	244
Tasdiqat	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1276	244
		Delhi	1287/1870	
	Şirket-i Müretibiyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1288	151
Tasawwur at	Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1288	224
Tasawwur at	Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Matbaası	Istanbul	1288	
		Lucknow	1288	317
Tasawwur at	Şirket-i Müretibiyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1289	224
Tasawwur at		Istanbul	1290 (before)	240
	Halil Efendi Matba'ası	Istanbul	1291	317
Tasawwur at	Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1291	317
	el-Matbaatü'l-Kürdistanü'l-İlmiyye	Cairo, Egypt	1304	224
Tasawwur at	Alem Matbaası	Istanbul	1304	224
Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i 'Amire	Istanbul	1304	224
	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1307	224
	Şirket-i Müretibiyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1307	283

Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1307	151
Tasawwur at	Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1307	224
Tasawwur at	Bosnalı Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1309	224
Tasawwur at	Şirket-i Sahafîyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1320	224
Tasawwur at	Yahya Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1320/1902	224
Tasdiqat		Istanbul	1903	161 s
		Cairo	1327	
	el-Matbaatü'l-Kürdistanü'l-İlmiyye	Cairo, Egypt	1328	2-343, 2-253 s

Hāshiyah ‘ala Muqaddimat al-Arba‘a min kitābī’t-Tawdhīh al-Tasrīh bi-gawāmiẓ al-Talwih

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe		Date of Scribe	Place	Own
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	473					
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	00818-001		1251	1251		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	818		1251	1251		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	00818-001		1251	1251/1836		
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	671	Osman Atif b. ‘Abdullah Kadi	1222	1222		
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	608/1	Salih b. Ibrahim b. Mustafa	1211	1211/1795		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Denizli	92		1237	1237/1821		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	004334-VIII	Hussain b. Wali b. Alhaj Bekir Hajioğlu Bazari				
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	005583-VI					

Süleymaniye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	1164	Sayyid Muhammad Es'ad-Mudarris	1225	1225/1810		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	802		1283	1283	Istanbul	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	447					
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	00447-002					
Kastamonu YEK	KHK	KHK1932/01					
Kastamonu YEK	KHK	KHK50/02					
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	993/3	Ahmed b. Musa Mehmed Karabağî	1209	1209/1793 (?)		
Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp paşa	2110					Has Efe
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Veliyyüddin Efendi	V942/2					Has Efe

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe		Date of Scribe	Place
Ghulam Jilani Collection	Ghulam Jilani	575				
Indian office		326				
Princeton	(Yahuda Section) in the Garrett	930				
Rampur		270				

Publication

Publisher	City of PN	Date	Page
Esad Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1283	79

Hāshiyah on Sharh al-Husami

Siyālkūtī on ‘*Abdul Gafūr Lari’s ḥāshiyah al-Kāfiyya*

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
Millet Ktp.	A.E. Arabi	3739	Beyli Arif	1227		
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	2467	Isam al-Din	1199		
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B11035				
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B11030				
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B11032				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY0000000634				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00000009043				
Konya YEBM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY00000009043				
Topkapı Sarayı Ktp.	Emanet Hazinesi	1898	Ali al-Sun'i b. Mustafa			
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Fatih	4856	Khayruddin b. ‘Abdullah	1246	Istanbul	
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	5942				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Hacı Mahmud Efendi	05942-001				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	01436-002	Muhammad As'ad b. Muhammad Sharif	1306		Al-Sayyid Muhammad Sa'eid

Süleyman iye Ktp.	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	1434				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Kılıç Ali Paşa	899	Muhammad b. Ahmed	1082		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelza de	1809				Younus b. Manal (?) Sadiq (Talib)
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	563		1202		
Bursa İnebey YEK	Orhan	1421				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Servili	292	Hasan b. Khalil b. Hasan al-Selâniki	Shaban 11, 1248.		Alhaj Sayyid Mustafa
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Servili	286		Rajab 20, 1248		
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	2139		1259		
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V3354				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	216		1227		
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	214				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	369				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	1669 (369)				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yahya Tevfik	1669				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yazma Bağışlar	478				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Yazma Bağışlar	6112				

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Work's Name	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
AMU I	Subhanallah	483	<i>Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>				
Aligarh		130	<i>Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>				
AMU III	Abdul Hai	1117/103	<i>Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>	Abu'l Hasanat Muhammad Abdul Hai from Ahmad Ali and Muhammad Abdul Halim	1092		
AMU III	Abdul Hai	1117/103	<i>Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>	Zeyn al-Din, son of Mueen al-Din	1092		
AMU III	Abdul Hai	1094/80	<i>Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>	Abu'l Hasanat Muhammad Abdul Hai from Ahmad Ali and Muhammad Abdul Halim	1230 (copied from 1140)		
AMU III	Abdul Hai	1067/53	<i>Ḥāshiyah on Lari</i>				
Bankipur		2057	<i>Takmilah</i>	Muhammad Hasan	Ramadan 10, 1108/1696		

Bengal		B. 13	<i>Takmil ah</i>				
Bengal		B. 22	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>				
British Museum		14593	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>				
Buhar		390	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>		12th/18t h c		
Calcutta		LXX	<i>Takmil ah</i>	Wajiu'd- Din	1234		
Calcutta		LXXI	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>				
Delhi		1055	<i>Takmil ah</i>				
Ghulam Jilani Collectio n	Ghulam Jilani	1346	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>		1051 (...51)		
Ghulam Jilani Collectio n	Ghulam Jilani	2/1267	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>				
India Office		930	<i>Takmil ah</i>		1179 (seal, before of)		
India Office		931	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>				
Indian office		928	<i>Takmil ah</i>		10th century		
Indian office		929	<i>Takmil ah</i>				
Khuda Bakhsh		2057	<i>Takmil ah</i>	Muham mad Hussain	1108/16 96		
Khuda Bakhsh		2062	<i>Hāshiy ah on Lari</i>		12th/18t h C.		

Khuda Bakhsh		2059	<i>Takmil ah</i>		13th/19th C.		
Khuda Bakhsh		2061	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>		13th/19th C.		
Khuda Bakhsh		2060	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>	Muhammad Nasir al-Haq	Rabius Thani 1256		
Khuda Bakhsh		2058	<i>Takmil ah</i>		1272 (there is an inscription, so before of)		
Khuda Bakhsh, Patna		3379	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>		12 C. /18 c		Muhammad Zamir al-Din Shamsi Mujibi Qadiri 1233, 23 Rabiul Awal.
Khuda Bakhsh, Patna		3378	<i>Takmil ah</i>	Sajjad Ali (collator in 1245)	13 C. /18 c		
Rampur		536	<i>Takmil ah</i>				
Rampur Raza Lib.		S/N-286 Manus. No. 4866	<i>Takmil ah</i>		1097/1685		
Rampur Raza Lib.		S/N- 282, Manus. No. 4862	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>		1106/1694		
Rampur Raza Lib.		S/N-284 Manus. No. 4864	<i>Takmil ah</i>	Abdullah Bin Ismail	12 C. /18 c		
Rampur Raza Lib.		S/N-285 Manus. No.4865	<i>Takmil ah</i>	Abdullah	13 C. /18 c		

Rampur Raza Lib.		S/N- 283 Manus. No. 4863	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>				
Royal A.S., Bengal		323	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>				
Royal A.S., Bengal		565	<i>Takmilah</i>				
Royal A.S., Bengal		753	<i>Hāshiyah on Lari</i>				

Publication

Publisher	City	Date	page
Şirket-i Tevfikiyye-i İlmiyye (Hasan Hilmi er-Rizevî)	Istanbul	1239	
	Istanbul	1254	
Dâru't-Tibâ'atî'l-Bâhire (Râtib Hüseyin Efendi) V. I-II	Cairo	1256	412 s Vol. 2/2
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1277	232 S Vol. 1/2
	Istanbul	1287	
	Cawonpore	1295	
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1302	255
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1307	496
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1308	46
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1308	493/495
	Calcutta (?)	1309	
	Lacknow	1303/1885 (lithographed)	
	Delhi (Ghulam haydar)	1307/1890	

Hāshiyah 'ala Muṭawwal

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
Milli Ktp.	Ankara Adnan	06 Hk 380				

	Ötüken İHK					
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	692				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Antalya Tekelioğlu	692				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Arslan Kaynardağ	264				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Aşir Efendi	339		1210		
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	2329				
Atıf Efendi Ktp.	Atıf Efendi	2331				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Bağdatlı Vehbi	1773				
Balıkesir Ktp.	Balıkesir İHK	729	Sayyid Muham mad Sadiq al- Shahir	1208/1 788	Istanbul	
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B10802		1237		
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B10802		1237		
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B5987	Abdulaz iz b. Muham mad			
Konya YEPM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 4506				
Konya YEPM	Bölge Yazma Eserler	BY000000 4506				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Darülmesc nevi	463	Sulaima n	1229/1 814.	Istanbul	

			Trabzon î			
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Denizli	371		1215/1 800.		
Diyanet Ktp.	Diyanet İşleri	2873	Muham mad b. Alî Sibbagz ade	Jamadi ul Awal 1, 1242/ Decem ber 1, 1242		
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	1715		1241		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	2972				
Milli Ktp. Bşk.	Eskişehir İHK	26 Hk 647		1208/1 792		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Fatih	4563				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Fatih	4565				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Fatih	4564				
Bursa İnebey Ktp.	Genel	4083				
Amasya Beyazıt Ktp.	Gümüşha cı Köyü	130				
Bursa İnebey YEK	H. Çelebi (Hüseyin Çelebi)	945				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Halet Efendi	450	Muham mad Eşref b. Kemal.	1235		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Hamidiye	1231				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Kasideciz ade	535	Sulaima n b. Osman			

Süleymaniye Ktp.	Kılıç Ali Paşa	864	Ibrahim al-Kırımı			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Laleli	2801	Abdullah Mustafa el-Kahiri.	1132		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	450	Tali b. Abdulkadir	1252/1835		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	567	Hasan b. Muhammad b. Hasan Boluwi	1195/1780	Istanbul	
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	5876				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6482				
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	5481	Ahmed b. Musa	1213		
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	6860	Ismail b. Ahmed	1224/1808		
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	489		1134		
Köprülü Ktp.	Mehmed Asım Bey	491				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Mehmed Nuri Efendi	169		1216		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Mehmed Sefayihî	27				
Milli Ktp.	Milli Ktp. Yazma	06 Mil Yz A 7738	Hussain b. Mahmud Bodrûmî	1215		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Murad Mollâ	1599		1221		Muhammed Shaikhzade,

						Muhammed, Trabzoni Muhammad, Ahmed b. Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Emin, Muhtar Ahmed, Sâlih, Abdulwahab
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Murad Mollâ	1631				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Nuruosmaniye	4424				
Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp paşa	1238	Muham mad	1073		
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Raşid Efendi	994	Ibrahim al-Kırımı			Sayyed Muhammad Zahir al-Haqq of Diyawan (distt. Patna) folis 144b and 237a.
Edirne Selimiye Ktp.	Selimiye Yazmalar	4733		1215		
Edirne Selimiye Ktp.	Selimiye Yazmalar	274		1226	Istanbul	
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Serez	2432				
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Serez	2430	Mustafa b. Ali el-Kengara wi.			
Süleymaniye Ktp.	Süleyman iye	887	Hasan Sıddik b. Ahmed al-			

			Gerede wî (Gerede li Hasan?)			
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Tırnovalı	1641	Receb b. Ahmed.			
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	1309		1226	Bursa	
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	1024	Mustafa b. Hasan	1226 (muhur - before of)		
Kütahya Vahid Paşa Ktp.	Vahid Paşa	2601	Nur Ahmed b. Dewlet b. Han Timur (Han- Khan)	1274/1 857		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2796				Abdullah b. Sayyid Muhammad Talib
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2771		1205		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Veliyyüd din Efendi	V2770	Nur Muham mad Tahtî	1097		
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yusuf Ağa Ktp.	YY000000 7432				
Süleyma niye Ktp.	Yusuf Ağa Ktp.	YY000000 4971	Ibrahim b. Muham mad al- Ankara wi	1207		

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner
AMU II	Habibganj	470	Abd al-Razzaq	Shawwal 6, 1130	Kanpur, Haidarabad	
Bankipur		2168				
Bankipur		2169				
Bankipur		2170				
Bankipur		2171				
Bankipur		2172				
Buhar		403		1113/1701		Muhammad Amin b. Uthman Islambuli (in 1222)
Delhi		1192				
India Office		476				Ahmed Ağa, Mehmed Ali b. Abdurrahim, Mehmed Aziz.
Indian office		457				
Indian office		876	Hafiz Muhammad Ali			
Islamic College, PU	Ghulam Jilani	1161				
Khuda Bakhsh		2169		1120/1708 (before of)- Seal		Sayyid Muhammad Munib (in1221), Hafiz Muhammad Khatib (in

						1222), Mustafa Shahin Birdahizade (in 1223/4), and Muhammad Aa'raj (in 1227)
Khuda Bakhsh		2168		12th/18t h C.		Shaikh Ali Khwaja, Alhaj Hayya Hussain
Khuda Bakhsh		2172		12th/18t h C.		
Khuda Bakhsh		2170		1190/17 76 (before of -Seal)		
Khuda Bakhsh		2171	Shaikh Safi Muhamma d b. Shaikh Jamal	1073/16 62		
Khuda Bakhsh		538				
Khuda Bakhsh		3438	Abdur Raḥmān b. Hafiz 'Abdur Raḥmān al- Ahmadaba di	13 C. /18 c		
Madrasa h Aliah	Muhamm ad Ali	0 (315 Cat)		1113 (before of)		
Maulan a Azad	Habibganj	699 (written 799 mistakenl y)	Abdur Razzaq	1130/17 17	Kahanpur	
Maulan a Azad	Abdul Hai	1064/48				

Library, AMU						
McGill		47		11/17th c.		Mustafa Ashir b. Mustafa er-Rûmî (d. 1218/1804)
Nadwa		486				
Princeton	(Yahuda Section) in the Garrett	3901		Safar 1278		
Sayyid Masood Ahmad Jhandir		0 (316 Cat)	Abul Qasim	1171		

Publication

Publisher	City	Date	page
Matbaa-i Amire (Amire Basımevi)	Istanbul	1227	
Matbaatü'l-Kübrâ el-Emiriyye	Cairo (Bulak)	1241	691
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1241	691
Matbaa-i Âmire	Istanbul	1266	616
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1282/1866	616
	Istanbul	1866	
Yahya Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1290	560
	Istanbul	1300	
	Istanbul	1305 (Kanstantiniyye)	
Yahya Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1307	
Şirket-i Sahafîyye-i Osmaniyye Matbaası	Istanbul	1311	560
Matbaatü'l-Kübrâ el-Emiriyye	Cairo (Bulak)	1316	447
Matbaatü Medreseti vâlideti Abbas	Cairo	1325/1908	
	Istanbul?	1328	2-343, 2-253 s

Hāshiyah 'ala Tafsīr-e Baiḍāwī

MS in Ottoman Ground

Lib.	Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place	Owner	
Topkapı Saray Ktp.	Ahmed III Kit.	188	Muhammad b. Mustafa b. Musa	1101/1690			
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Aşir Efendi	18	Abdulkarim	1161 Muhur			Mustafa Ashir b. Mustafa er-Rûmî (d. 1218/1804)
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Ayasofya	301					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Ayasofya	302					
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	BM631		1270			
Beyazıt Ktp.	Beyazıt	B8036					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Carullah	179					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Çorlulu Ali Paşa	60		1096			
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Damat İbrahim	174		1087/1676			
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	2019		1270			
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	2020					
	Diyarbak. Um. Ktp	1696					
Diyarbakır Ktp.	Diyarbakır İHK	41		1081 (1669)			
Topkapı Sarayı Ktp.	Emanet Hazinesi	582	Hafız Hussain Hamdi b. Al-Sayyid				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Esad Efendi	224		1113/1701			Omer b. Muhammad, Mustafa Asim Mekkizade

Süleyman iye Ktp.	Fatih	562					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Hacı Beşir Ağa	63					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Hamidiye	160					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Laleli	275	Abdullah b. Hasan	1101			
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Laleli	274					
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade	397	Hussain Hamdi b. Al-Sayyid Hasan	1208 /1792			Hussain Hamdi b. al-Sayyid Hasan
Manisa Ktp.	Manisa İHK	42	Muhammad Said b. Hüseyin Karsi	1092 (1680) /			Haji Husain Ağa b. Ahmed Ağa
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Mihrişah Sultan	36	Musa				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Mihrişah Sultan	35	Osman				
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Murad Mollā	230					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Nuruosmaniye	531		1113			
Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp paşa	140	Muhammad Tahir b. Hasan Ali	1091			Mehmed Ragib Pasha
Ragıp Paşa Ktp.	Ragıp paşa	141	Fathullah b. Omer b. Fathullah	1091	Istanbul		
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Serez	313					
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Veliyyüddin Efendi	V331	Ali b. Mustafa (Imam)	1163			
Süleyman iye Ktp.	Veliyyüddin Efendi	V332					

MS in Hind Ground with Others

Lib./Collection	No.	Scribe	Date of Scribe	Place
Rampur	5450 (old no. 4463)	Dost Muhammad B. Jafar al-Husaini al-Jaunpuri	1097/1686	Shahjahana bad
Punjab	83	Muhammad Said	1100	
Maulana Azad	87	Muhammad Arif Akbarabadi	1112/1700	Gawaliyar
Buhar	6		12th/18th C.	
Khuda Bakhsh	1398		12th/18th C.	
AMU I	134		Safar 16, 1276	
Royal A.S., Bengal	460			
Hyderabad List	53			
India office	1122			
Punjab	82			
Indian office	90			
Indian office	91			
Peshawar	42			
Princeton	371			
Punjab	82			
Punjab	83	Muhammad Said		
Rampur	28			

Publication

Publisher	City	Date	page
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1256	232
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1259	
Bosnevi Mehmed Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1270	662
Bosnevi Mehmed Efendi Matbaası	Istanbul	1292/1875	
Matbaa-i Amire	Istanbul	1308	
	Delhi	1270	662

‘Abd al- Karīm Maktaba Islāmiyya	Quetta, Pakistan		
	Delhi	1292	

Ḥāshiyah on al-Kshshaf

Translation of Ghunyat al-Talibin





Appendix 4: Images and Maps

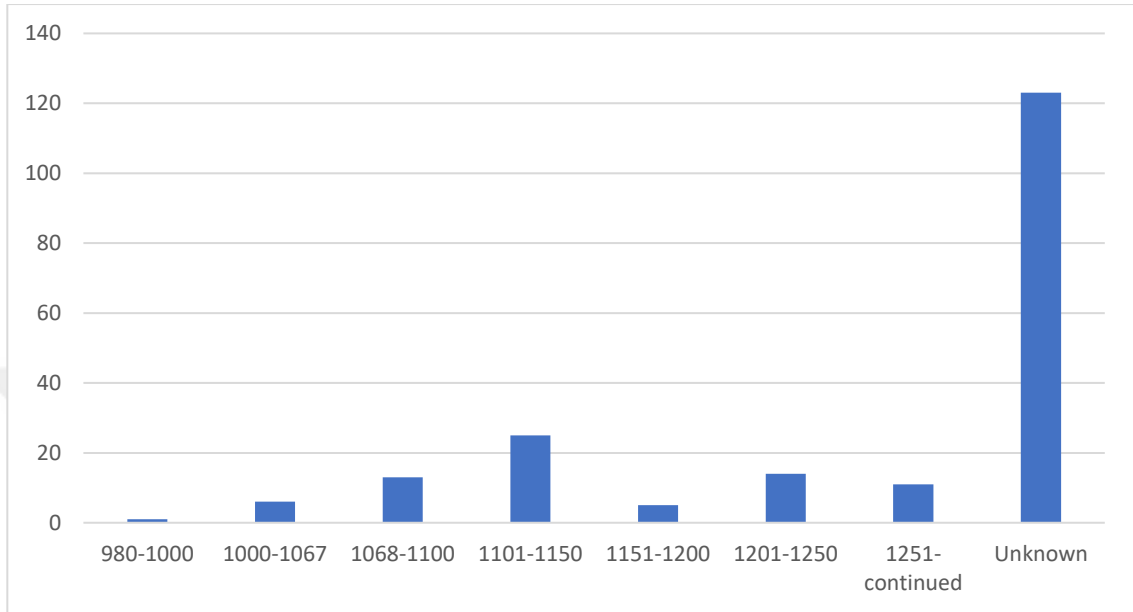


Figure 4. 1: Time and number of manuscripts available in Hind and other regions

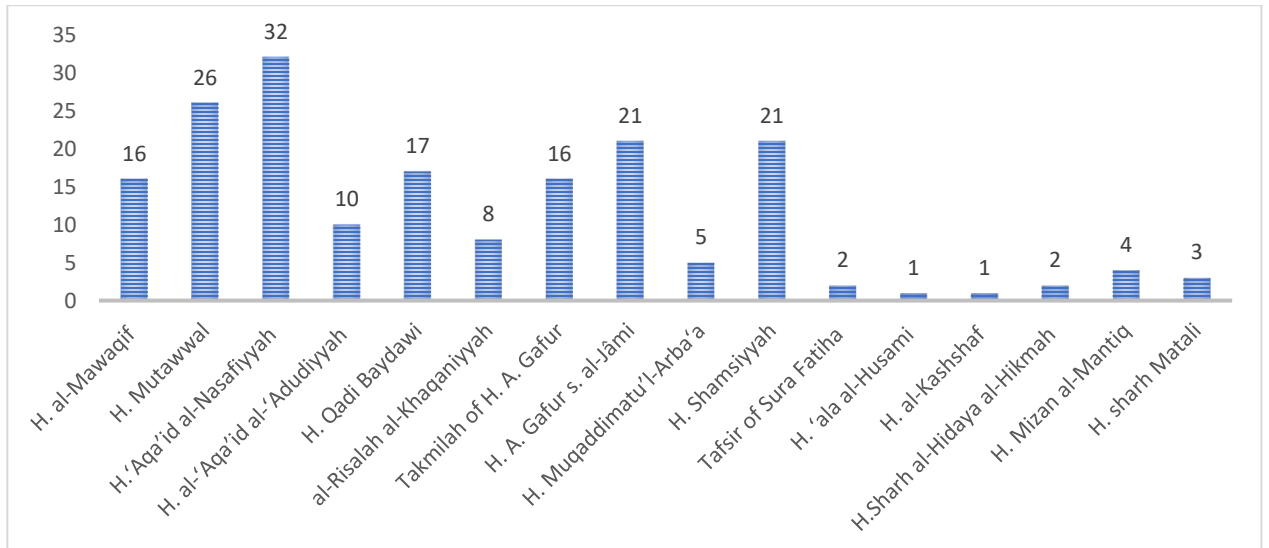


Figure 4. 2: Number of Manuscripts of Siyālkūtī's works in Hindustan

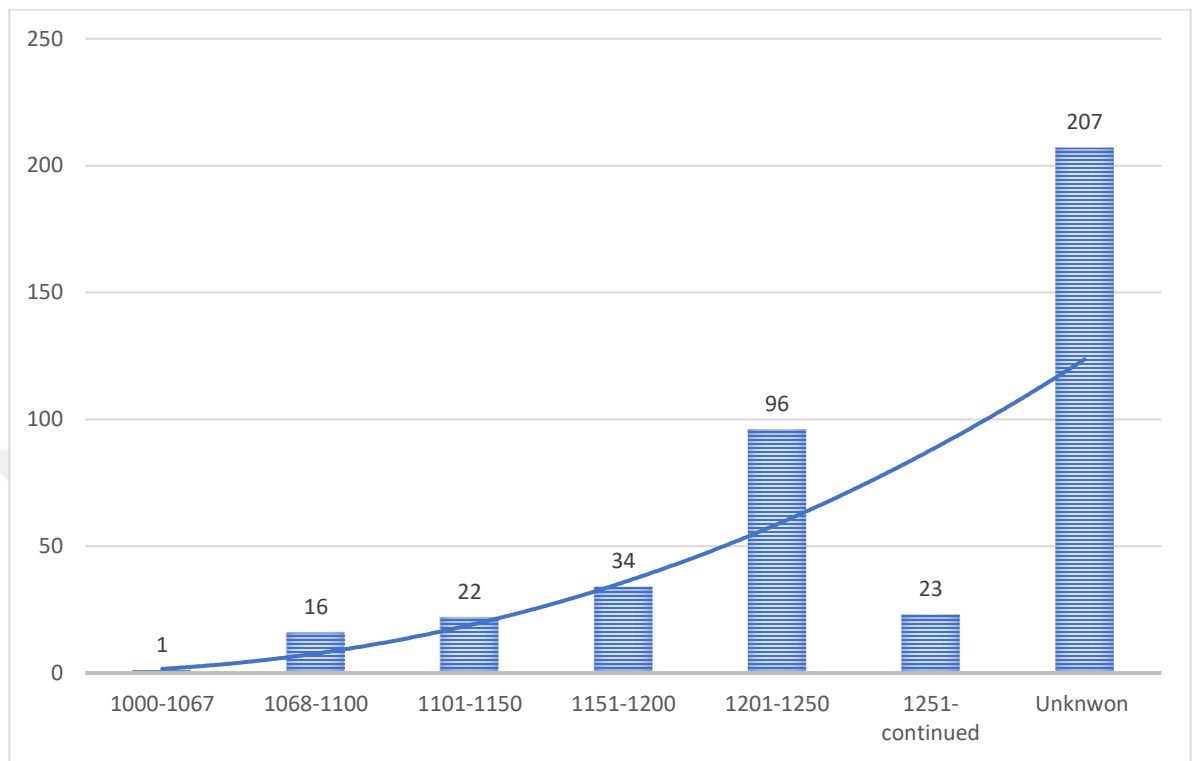


Figure 4. 3: Time of scribe and number of manuscripts in the Ottoman ground

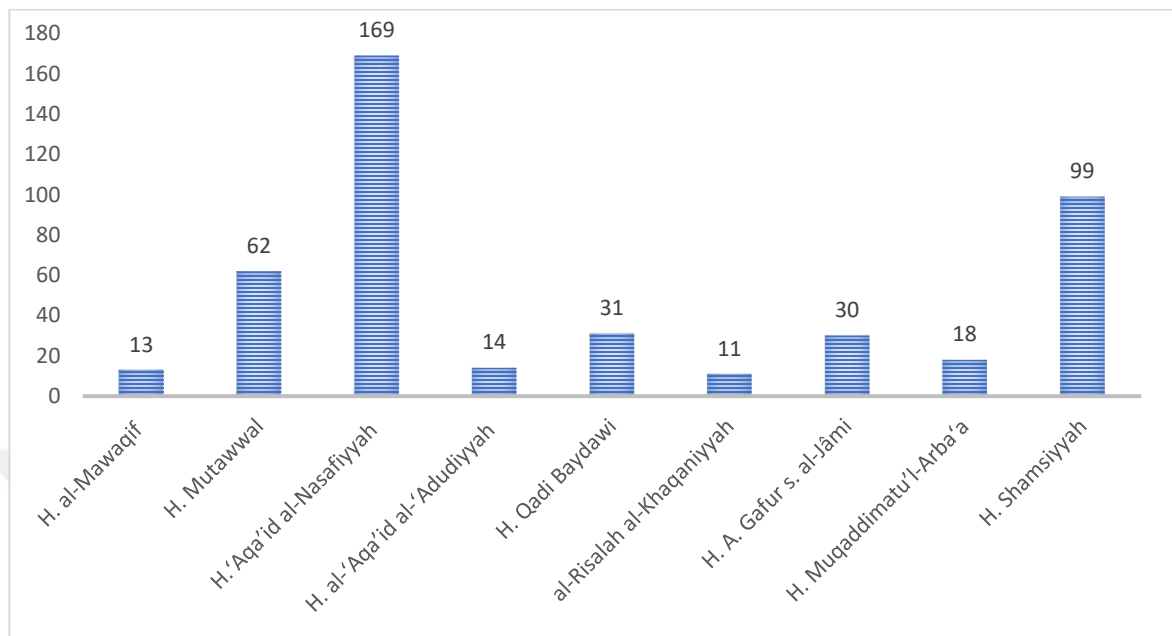


Figure 4. 4: Number of Manuscripts of Siyālkūtī's works used in the Ottoman ground

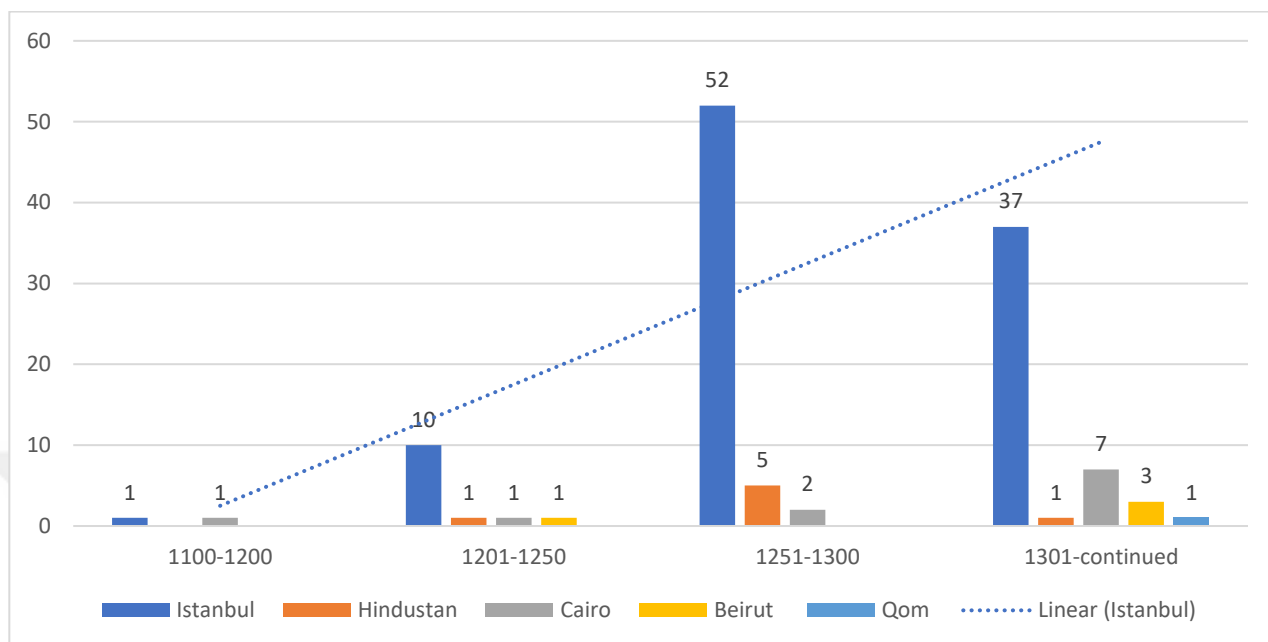


Figure 4. 5: Number of published works in different cities

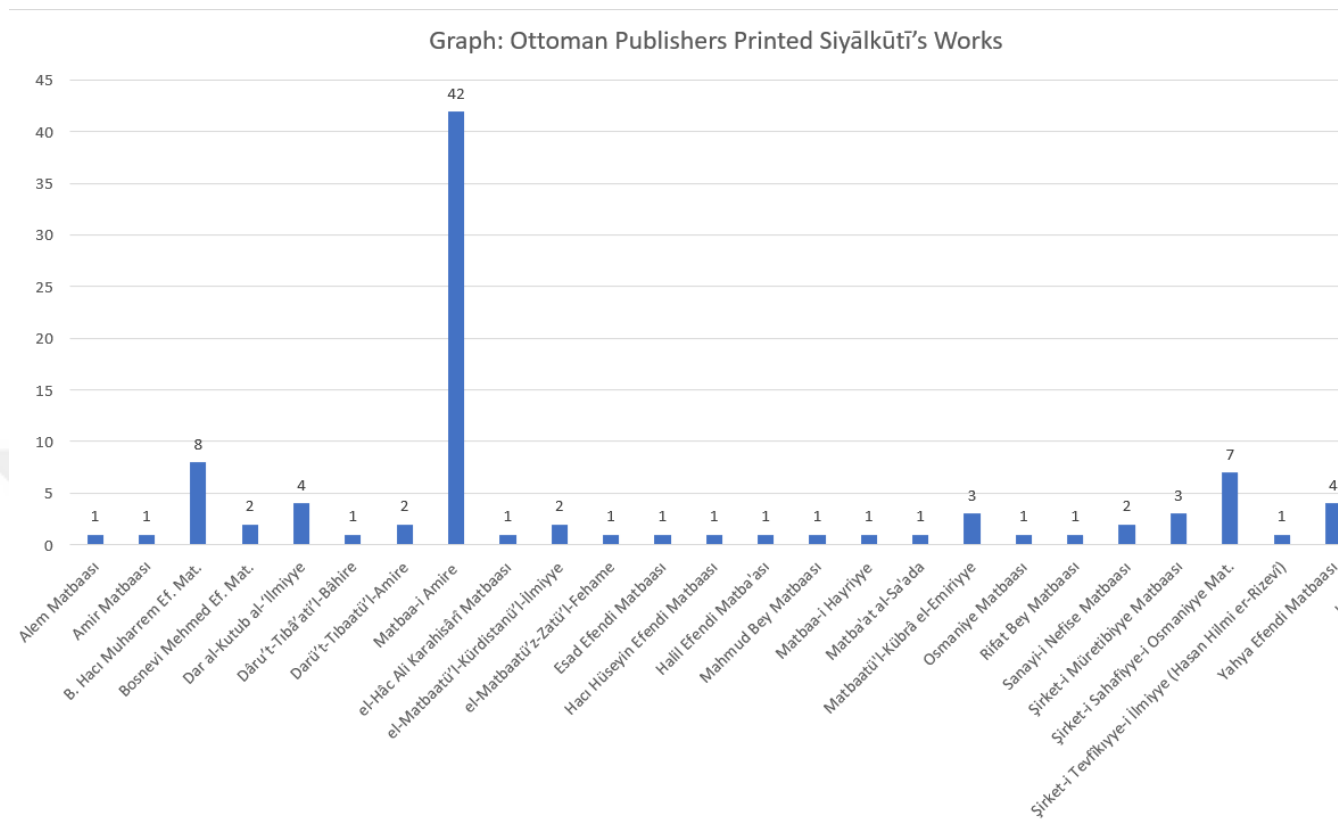


Figure 4. 6: Publishers and Published numbers of Siyâlkütî's works in the Ottoman ground



Figure 4. 7: Siyālkūtī's published work in Ottoman land



Figure 4. 8: The final page of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah 'ala al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah published in Istanbul in 1263, featuring accolades for Siyālkūtī, acknowledging his work, along with praise for the collaborative efforts of other contributors in completing the task.⁸³¹

⁸³¹ 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, *Ẓubdat al-Afkār* (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Āmirah, 1263), 335.

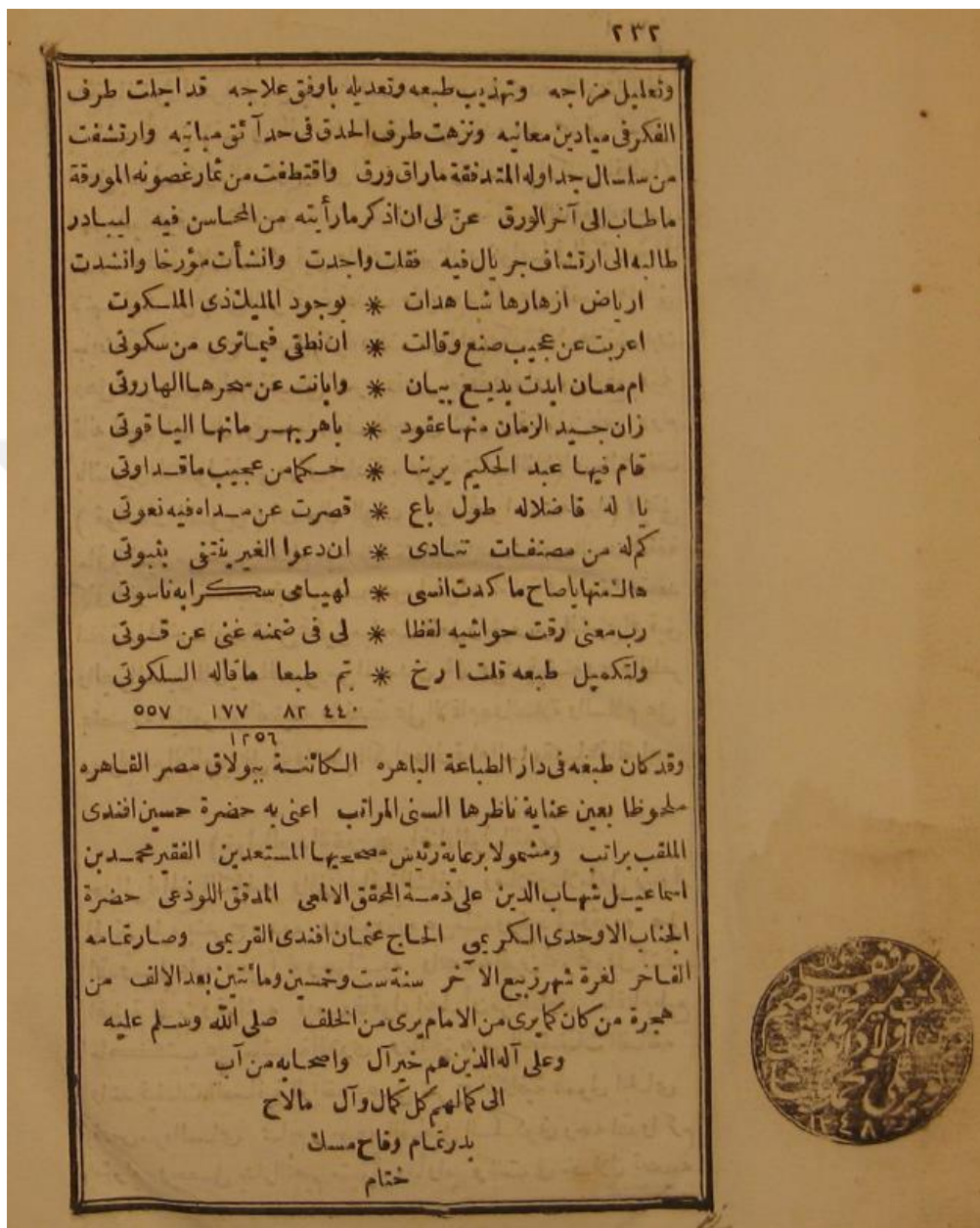


Figure 4. 9: Muḥammad b. Ismaʿil Shihab al-Dīn's poem on Siyālkūtī's secret charisma put in the text.⁸³²

⁸³² es-Siyalkūtī, *Hāṣiye alā Hāṣiyyeti 'l-Fevā'idi 'z-Ziyā'iyye.*, 232.



Figure 4. 10: It depicts the final page of Siyālkūtī's ḥāshiyah on al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah, published in Istanbul in 1235, featuring commendation for Siyālkūtī and his work.⁸³³

⁸³³ al-Siyālkūtī, *Ẓubdat al-Afkār*, 1235, 392.

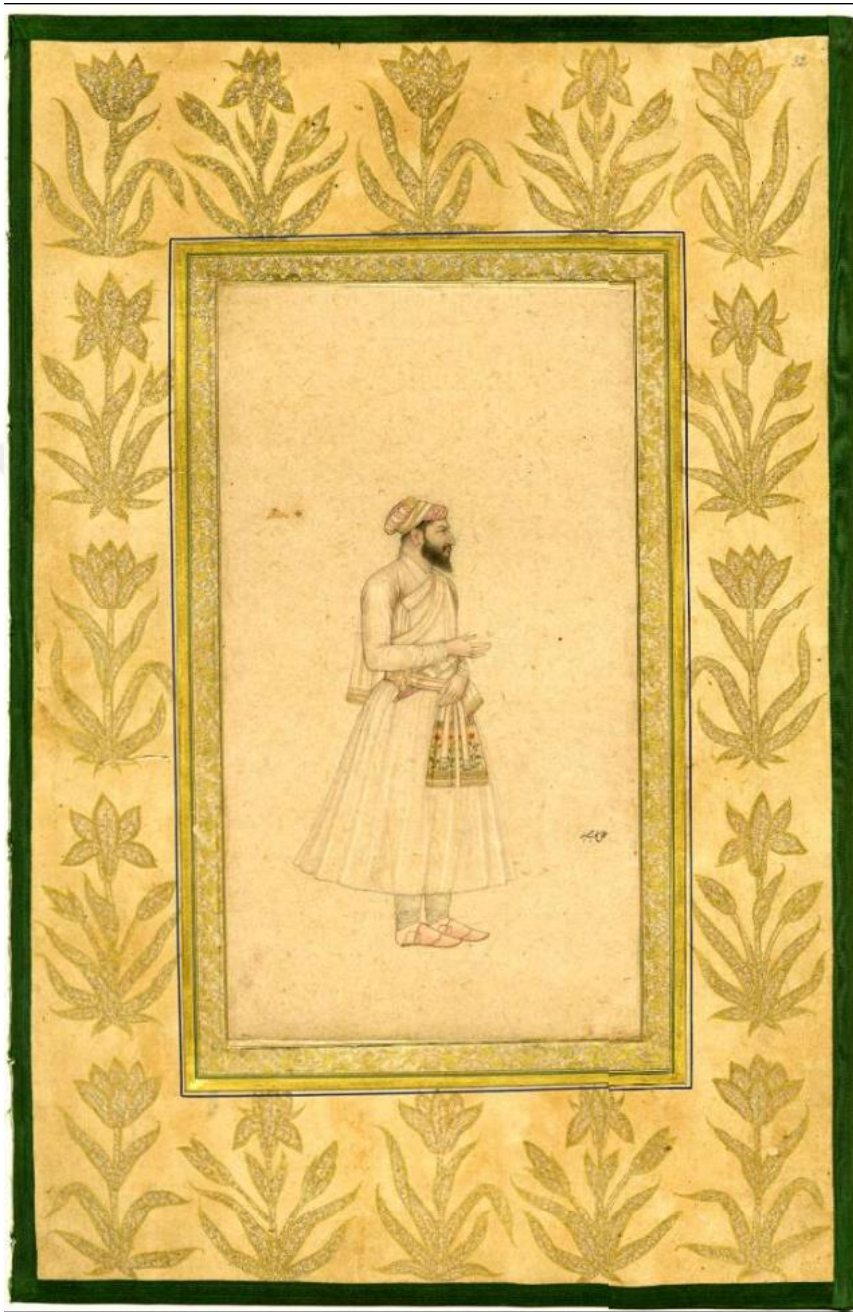


Figure 4. 11: Sa'dullah Khan (d. 1655-6) – a class fellow of Siyālkūtī and Prime Minister under Shāh Jahān.⁸³⁴

⁸³⁴ Anup Chatar, *Portraits of Hindu Princes and Chiefs (Portrait of Mullā Sa'dullah Khān (d. 1655-56))*, 1658 1627, 1658 1627, The British Museum collection, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1920-0917-0-13-31.

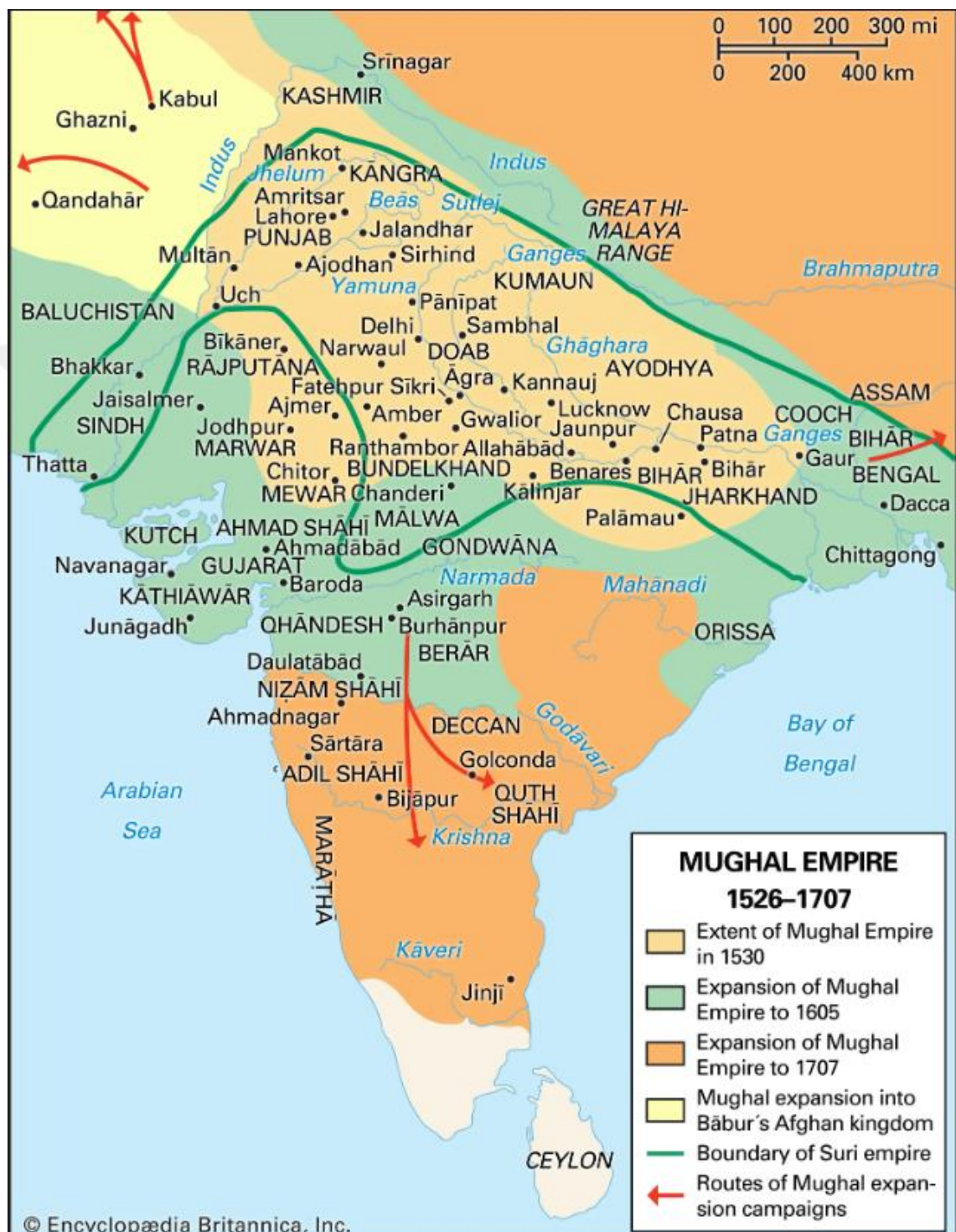


Figure 4. 12: Map of Baburid Empire

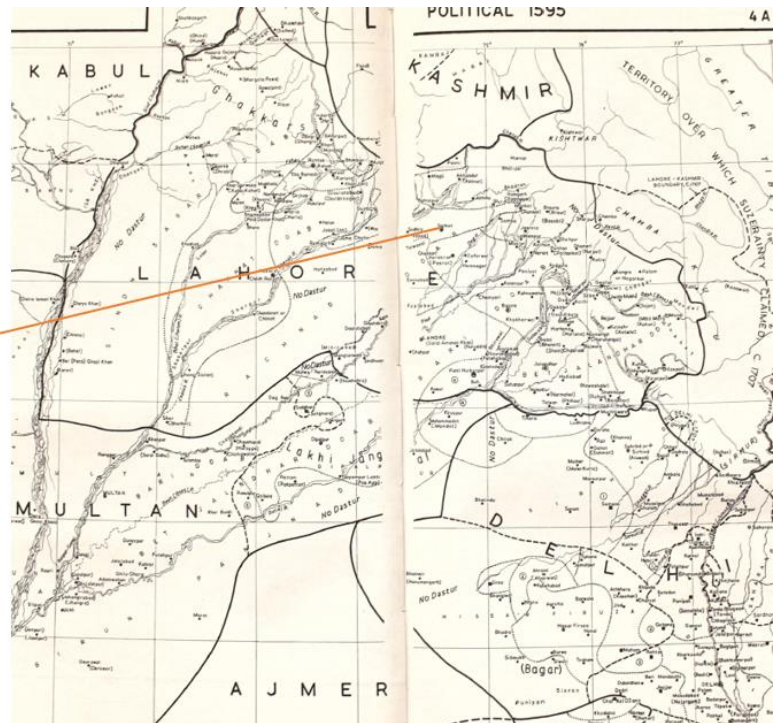


Figure 4. 13: Map of Sialkot and its neighboring cities



Figure 4. 14: Cemetery of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālḳūtī and ‘Abdullāh al-Labīb



Figure 4. 15: Cemetery of ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālḳūtī



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