

IBN SĪNĀ'S IMPACT ON THE RATIONAL AND
SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

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Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) in his *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl* divided the seekers of knowledge into the *mutakallimūn* (experts in scholastic theory), *bāṭiniyya* (Ismā'īlīs), *falāsifa* (rationalists and scientists)¹ and *ṣufiyya*. These groups represent the principal streams of the Islamic intellectual movements from the ninth century onwards. Early in the thirteenth century the Ismā'īliyya movement went underground in the Delhi Sultanate, leaving its rivals the *mutakallimūn*, *ṣufiyya* and *falāsifa* to exert their influence on the intellectuals. The *mutakallimūn* represented the orthodox and exoteric, while the *ṣufiyya* embodied the eclectic and esoteric trends in Islam. However, both followed the lead given by Ghazālī in the *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* (The incoherence or inconsistencies of the Philosophers) and were pitted against the rationalists and scientists. From time to time, the *mutakallimūn* and *ṣufīs* were successful in suppressing the rationalists but they could not eradicate them. Ziyā' al-Dīn Baranī (b. 684/1285, d. after 758/1357) says,

“By God who had saved Maḥmūd (of Ghazna 388-421/998-1030) from all types of misfortune had the son of Sīnā (Ibn Sīnā), who was the founder of the Greek sciences and was the leader of the *falāsifa* in the Islamic countries, fallen into his (Maḥmūd's) hands he would have ordered that he (Ibn Sīnā) be torn to pieces and his flesh thrown to the vultures. For twelve years Abū Sīnā (Ibn Sīnā) remained underground for fear of Maḥmūd”.²

There is no doubt that from 392/1002 until his death, Ibn Sīnā (b. 370/980-81 d. 428/1037) enjoyed no respite. He was burdened with strenuous political duties and was forced to move from court to court seeking refuge. He was imprisoned more than once. However, as he had left Khwārizm long before 408/1017, and unlike al-Bīrūnī (b.362/973, d.after 442/1050), did not fall into the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, he was able to produce a large *corpus* of philosophical and scientific works. Although a considerable number of his writings are not traceable, the surviving books number about 250 and include voluminous works such as the *Kitāb al-Shifā* (Book of Healing [of the soul]); the *Qānūn fi't-Tibb* (Canon of Medicine) and some short treatises of a few pages each. All of his works except the *Dānishnāma-i*

'*Alā'ī* (Book of Wisdom, dedicated to his patron 'Alā 'al-Dawla of Isfahān) were in Arabic. Essentially a Persian-speaking Bukhāra native, Ibn Sīnā was a philosopher and scientist in the Arabic language, although like similar other scholars who wrote in Arabic, he was actually not an Arab.³ Although he was preceded by a galaxy of eminent philosophers and scientists, his comprehensive world view of philosophy, science, religion, and mysticism made him undoubtedly the greatest philosopher and scientist in the East. Naturally from his own time to the nineteenth century, Ibn Sīnā was the target of a tirade from both the '*ulamā*' and *ʿūfis*. Ibn Sīnā, however, was not himself unaware of these invectives against him but he dismissed them in the following quatrain :

A man like me cannot be vainly and superficially dubbed as a heretic,
 There can be no faith superior to mine,
 In the whole world I am unique and even if I am a heretic,
 Then in the whole world there is not a single Muslim.

Ibn Sīnā had great patience when clarifying his views for scientists and religious leaders. In his correspondence with al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Sīnā defended the Muslim peripatetic school of natural philosophy, advocating a synthesis of Aristotle and his Alexandrian commentator with a certain element of later neoplatonism. On the other hand, al-Bīrūnī presented a synthesis of anti-Aristotelian philosophy and Hindu sciences and metaphysics. In this correspondence Ibn-Sīnā did not fail to accede to al-Bīrūnī's defence of the elliptical movement of the heavens.⁴

According to Muḥammad bin Munawwar, the biographer of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd bin Abī'l Khayr (357/967-440/1049), not only did the Shaykh and Ibn Sīnā exchange correspondence but, for three days and nights, they were in retreat together. When Ibn Sīnā came out of retreat, he replied, in answer to his disciples' questions, that all that he knew was miraculously perceived by the Shaykh. Similarly, Shaykh Abū Sa'īd remarked to his students that all that he miraculously perceived was known to Ibn Sīnā. According to Muḥammad Munawwar, Ibn Sīnā remained a close associate of the Shaykh, and his philosophical works, such as the *Ishārāt (Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa'l Tanbihāt)*, were impregnated with Shaykh Abū Sa'īd's thoughts.⁵

Muḥammad Munawwar does not seem to have exaggerated the intimate relationship between Ibn Sīnā and the Shaykh for, while adhering basically to Greek philosophy, Ibn Sīnā consciously attempted to reconcile Qur'ānic revelation with a rationalist approach. However, Ibn Sīnā was anathema to the *mutakallimūn* because of Ghazālī's condemnation of the *falāsifa* in general and Fārābī (258/871-338/950) and Ibn Sīnā in particular,⁶ for their beliefs in the eternity of the world, theories of emanation, God's knowledge of particulars, causality and sixteen other similar points.⁷ Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (543/1149-606/1209), who had compiled

a commentary on the *Ishārāt* and the '*Uyūn al-Akhhār*' by Ibn Sīnā and drew upon them in his own theological writings, also trenchantly criticized him.

However, it was only Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics that was condemned; his contributions to all branches of mathematics and natural philosophy had become indispensable to the *mutakallimūn*. Even Ghazālī asserted that it was the collective duty of Muslims (*farʿ kifāya*) to study sufficient medicine, arithmetic, and geometry to protect the interest of the community. Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics and ethics were rehabilitated in India by Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (597/1201-672/1274). Although Ṭūsī's *Hall Mushkhlāt al-Ishārāt* is a monumental commentary on the *Ishārāt* by Ibn Sīnā, and provides a very spirited defence against Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's attacks on him, it was his *Akhlāq-i Nasirī* that added a new dimension to the study of Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics and ethics.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century there were few references to Ibn Sīnā but the *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī* by Zīzā 'al-Dīn Baranī⁸ shows that both the *mutakallimūn* and *ḡūfis* considered the *falāsifa* a threat to orthodoxy. However, during Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī's reign (695-715/1296-1316) the expert physician, Badr al-Dīn Dimashqī lectured eloquently and competently on Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*.⁹ He and another physician, Mawlānā Ḥusām, were also mystics. It would seem that the expert Hindu physicians were now in close touch with their Muslim counterparts and this allowed an exchange of views and techniques which stimulated a new interest in the *Qānūn*. By that time surgery and ophthalmology were independently practised.¹⁰

Philosophical discussion was a consuming passion with Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq (725-752/1325-1351).¹¹ According to Baranī, a group consisting of the logician Sa'd, the poet 'Ubayd, and the philosophers Najm Imtishār and Mawlānā 'Alīm al-Dīn met frequently with Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq to discuss and popularise *ma'qūlāt* (the rational sciences). Baranī comments that the Sultan, being interested only in rational studies, ignored divine revelations. Naturally, Baranī continues, this made him a bloodthirsty tyrant and each day '*ālīms*' (theologians), *Sayyids*, *ḡūfis*, *qalandars*, government officials and soldiers were slaughtered at his court.

Interest in the study of *ma'qūlāt* heightened during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodī (894-923/1489-1517). The Sultan himself did not feel that devotion to *ma'qūlāt* (rational sciences) undermined faith in *manqūlāt* (traditional sciences) and believed they could co-exist. However the real genius of Sultan Sikandar Lodī's reign was his favourite minister Miyān Bhūwa. Although the biographical notes on Miyān Bhūwa are mainly anecdotal, it seems he was a patron of philosophers, scientists and '*ulamā'*'. Miyān Bhūwa was himself well-versed in all branches of science and philosophy and was an expert in scholastic theology.

At his invitation, scholars from Iraq, Khurāsān and Transoxiana moved to India but the real monument to his fame was the *Tibb-i Sikandarī*, compiled under his supervisions.¹² The work shows that the Indian teachers of the *Qānūn* were aware of the need to draw upon the knowledge of the Āyurvedic medical practitioners.

In the fifteenth century Sind, Jām Nizām al-Dīn established several seminaries in all his principal towns. His patronage of learning generally, and science in particular was famous and prompted Mullā Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī (830/1427-908/1502-3), the author of the *Lawāmi' al-Ishrāq fi Makārim al-Akhlāq* or the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* who had re-interpreted Ibn Sīnā, to send two talented disciples, Mīr Shams and Mīr Mu'īn, to Thatta to explore the opportunities for his migration to Sind. Unfortunately, Dawwānī died before the arrangements for his travel were completed. However, Mīr Mu'īn and Mīr Shams al-Dīn settled down in Thatta.¹³ Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Tulanbī and Shaykh 'Azīzu'llāh Tulanbī, of the Multān centre of rational sciences, also moved to Sultan Sikandar Lodī's court. 'Azīzu'llāh lived at Sambhal while Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh established his seminary in Delhi. It would seem that they succeeded in impressing the *mutakallimūn* who, by now, had begun to study the works of Sayyid Sharīf al-Jūrjānī (740/1339-816/1413), Taftātzani (*d.* 791/1389) and Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and made them their disciples.

Sometime before 1535, when Shaykh Abu'l-Fāzī's (958/1551-1011/1602) father, Shaykh Mubārak Nāgorī (911/1505-6-100/1593), moved from Nāgor to Gujarāt, its capital Aḥmadābād had already become the centre for the study of Ibn Sīnā. Khatīb Abu'l-Faẓl Kāzīrūnī, a disciple of Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī and an expert on the works of the *Ishrāqī* philosophy of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī Maqtūl (549/1154-587/1191), had already settled in Aḥmadābād at the invitation of one of the sultans of Gujartā. Khatīb Abu'l-Faẓl taught Shaykh Mubārak the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and *al-Ishārāt wa'l-Tanḥīhāt*. In 950/1543 Shaykh Mubārak moved to Agra and settled there. His seminary became a new centre for traditional scholarship and rational science. One of his most talented disciples, who in his youth had been an outstanding rationalist, was Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'unī (*b.* 947/1540, *d.* about 1004/1595-6).¹⁴ However, the jealousy and frustration caused by the rapid promotion of Mubārak's sons, Fayzī (954/1547-1004/1595-6) and Abu'l-Faẓl, changed him into an uneasy defender of orthodoxy. However, Fayzī completed his study of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Shifā'* at the age of eleven and Abu'l-Faẓl completed his education at the age of fifteen, thanks to their own precocity and Shaykh Mubārak's teaching methods. In the early years of Akbar's reign, Shaykh Mubārak and his sons had been stringently persecuted by the orthodox 'ulamā'. However, Abu'l-Faẓl, helped by his father and brother, succeeded in destroying the orthodox influence at court after his own admission in 1575. He filled Akbar's mind with the ethicomystical and rational teachings of the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and *Ishārāt* and the *Ishrāqī* philosophy of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl. Although the theory of being and

the cosmological doctrines of Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-'Arabī and Shaykh Maqtūl¹⁵ differed radically from each other in many aspects, Abu'l Faẓl underlined the factors that united rather than those which divided them. Following Ibn Sīnā, he explained reality in the following manner :

“God forbid that evil should find its way in the divine picture gallery of creation ! Evil sleeps in the dormitory of non-existence (*'adam*). What makes garments of existence (*wujūd*) from the veils of the invisible (*ghayb*) is Pure Good. How can the Bestower of life and Adorner of the World, who creates nothing containing good and evil in equal degrees, create unmixed evil ? It should therefore be known that good and evil in equal degrees as well as predominant evil, like unmixed evil, are non-existent. They belong to the category called “impossible being” (*mumtani'-wujūd*). The calamities and afflictions faced by past sages, and those being faced by modern ones, are outwardly confusing to everyone ; but in fact they are great gifts from the Distributor of justice and Creator of the world.”¹⁶

Abu'l-Faẓl contributed a preface to the *Mahābhārata*, which was translated into Persian by the scholars in the translation bureau at Akbar's court. He warned his readers that the whole work should not be considered literally true but that attention should be paid to its moral. Underlining the teachings of Bhīṣma in the sixth *pravāna* of the *Mahābhārata*, Abu'l-Faẓl remarked that only fear of prolixity had restrained him from comparing Bhīṣma's philosophy with that of the Greek thinkers and the *ṭalāsifa*, as their similarities were both instructive and thought-provoking.¹⁷ Abu'l-Faẓl guided the intellectual and rational movement in Akbar's court on a broad basis in which Ibn Sīnā, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardy Maqtūl and Ibn 'Arabī were blended with ancient Hindu mystical and rational thinking.

Although the migration of some talented philosophers and scientists from Iran had greatly strengthened Abu'l-Faẓl's hands, a new dimension was added to his intellectual movement with the arrival of Hakīm Faṭḥu'llāh Shīrazī at Akbar's court in 990/1582. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, a harsh critic of Akbar's favourites, says ;

“He was one of the Sayyids of Shirāz and the most learned of the learned men of his time. He was for a long time the spiritual guide of the rulers and nobles of Frās. 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, which were not, however, equal to those of Mawlānā Mirzā Jān of Shīrāz, who was a teacher in Transoxiana, an abstemious recluse, and was unique among the learned men of the age."¹⁸

Although literary sources tell us only of the changes suggested by Shāh Faṭḥ-Allāh to Akbar's mint, the introduction of the solar Ilāhī calendar and some revenue reforms, his influence may be discovered in many mechanical inventions, including the gun modifications introduced during Akbar's reign and the new water-works system. After his death at Srinagar (Kashmir) in 997/1589, Akbar paid tribute in the following words :

"Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks, and they had demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should have gladly entered upon such profitable traffic, and have bought that precious jewel cheap."¹⁹

All the contemporary and later references show that Shāh Faṭḥ'llāh was a true disciple of Ibn Sīnā's school and was expert both in the *Ishrāqī* philosophy of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl and the mysticism of Ibn al-'Arabī. Mullā Badā'ūnī's comment that Faṭḥ'llāh Shīrāzī left no disciples qualified to succeed him, is not correct. Although none of his disciples were his equal in both rationalist and scientific investigations, the tradition of combining *kalām* with the study of Ibn Sīnā survives until the present. This conjunction was transmitted by Faṭḥ'llāh Shīrāzī's disciple, 'Abdu's-Salām Lahorī (*d.* 1037/1627-8), and was perfected in the *Dars-i Nizāmī*. The latter's intellectual ancestors are as follows :

Mīr Faṭḥ'llāh Shīrāzī²⁰
 ↓
 'Abdu's Salām of Dewa²¹
 ↓
 Mullā Daniyāl Chawrāsī
 ↓
 Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn Sihālawī²²
 ↓
 Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn (*d.* 1161-1748)²³
 (the founder of *Dars-i Nizāmī*)

Other rational currents and cross-currents emerged and stimulated the study of Ibn Sīnā under the Mughals. The most prominent rationalist teachers of *kalām* were Qādī Muḥammad Aslām al-Harawī (*d.* 1061/1650-51) and his talented son Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid²⁴ (*d.* 1111/1699-1700). They were essentially *kalām* scholars but were also expert in Muslim peripatetic and *Ishrāqī* philosophy. Mullā 'Abd al-Hakīm (*d.* 1067/1656), a philosopher and *kalām* scholar at Shāhjahān's (1037-1068/1628-1657) court, wrote the *Durrat al-Thamīna*²⁵ in order to vindicate the position of both Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā. However, the most brilliant rationalist and scientist of Shāhjahān's reign was Mullā Maḥmūd Fārūqī Jaunpūrī (*d.* 1062/1652). His teacher, Shaykh Muḥammad Afzal of Jaunpūr, was also expert in *ma'qūlāt* and

manqūlāt. Mullā Maḥmūd's *Shams al-Bāzighā* is not a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, but follows it closely in explaining the concepts of finite and infinite, space, motion and rest. It also discusses at length the universe and creation. The Mullā was very friendly with the Qādiriyya *Ṣūfī*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rashīd (d. 1083/1672-73) of Jaunpūr, an expert on the works of Ibn al-'Arabī. Both the Mullā and the Shaykh hardly slept at night. The Shaykh prayed and the Mullā watched the stars in an attempt to solve astronomical problems. Like Ibn Sīna, he did not have an observatory. Shāhjahān wished to build him one but it never materialised because of the Prime Minister's opposition.²⁶

Dānishmand Khān's²⁷ passion for research was unique. Besides patronising the scholars expert in the science of Ibn Sīnā and the Sanskrit scholars, Dānishmand Khān took Francois Bernier into his service. Bernier translated the works of Gassendi²⁸ (1592-1655) and Descartes (1596-1650) for his master. Dānishmand Khān's study of *al-Qānūn* aroused in him a desire to read William Harvey²⁹ (1578-1657) and Jean Pacquet³⁰ (1622-74). Bernier says :

“He can no more dispense with philosophical studies in the afternoon than devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography, and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendi and Descartes.”³¹

From the seventeenth century, experimental science began to undermine *al-Qānūn*'s importance in Europe but unfortunately for India and Iran, no scholar, comparable with Dānishmand Khān in intellectual liveliness and research, appeared. However, Shāhnavāz Khān (1111/1700-1171/1758) was so disappointed with Dānishmand Khān's devotion to European science that he went to the extent of telling us in the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* that Dānishmand Khān discussed European “falsifications”,³² meaning thereby the perversion of Divine revelations as contained in the Old and New Testaments.

In the eighteenth century, the metaphysical and mathematical contents of the *Dars-i Niẓāmi* maintained interest in Ibn Sīnā. The Khayrābād school of *ma'qūlāt* (rational sciences) was connected with both the Firangī Mahal and the orthodox traditional school of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (1159/1746-1239/1824). The Khayrābād school owed its fame to the scholarly contributions of Mawlānā Faẓl-i Imām (d. 1240/1825), and his talented son Mawlānā Faẓl-i Ḥaqq. Faẓl-i Imām wrote a summary of the *Shifā'* while Faẓl-i Ḥaqq made a gloss on his father's summary. He also wrote treatises on Ibn Sīnā's theory of physics, Being, *māhiyya* (essences) and *jism* (body).

In 1859, Mawlānā Faẓl-i Ḥaqq was transported for life to the Andaman Islands for leading the 1851-58 freedom struggle in India. On 12 Ṣafar 1278/19

August 1861, Mawlānā Faẓl-i Ḥaqq Khayrābādī died in captivity. With his death an important phase concerned with studying Ibn Sīnā's rationalism, ethics, and mysticism ended. However, *al-Qānūn* and the *Shifā'* are still taught at the important centres of traditional medicine and the glosses and commentaries on Ibn Sīnā's works are still studied at the leading centres of the *Dars-i Nizāmi*.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- ¹The *Falāsifa* or *Hakims* divided philosophy into speculative philosophy and rational philosophy. Speculative philosophy was divided into metaphysics, mathematics and natural science. Metaphysics was divided into theology and primary philosophy. The principal branches of mathematics were geometry, science of numbers, astronomy (excluding astrology), science of composition and the science of music. The derivatives of mathematics were science of perspective and optics, science of algebra and the science of mechanics. The fundamentals of the natural sciences were 1) knowledge of space and time, motion and rest, finiteness and infinity; 2) knowledge of simple and compound bodies in the heavens and the world; 3) knowledge of universal and composite elements, science of generation and corruption; 4) knowledge of aerial or terrestrial phenomena like lightning, earthquake and meteorology; 5) mineralogy; 6) botany; 7) zoology; 8) psychology. There were several derivatives of natural science such as the science of medicine, science of astrology and science of agriculture. Practical philosophy was divided into ethics, economics and politics.
- ²Afsar Saleem Khān (Ed.), *Fāṭawa-i Jahāndārī* by Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, Lahore, 1972, p. 16.
- ³For Ibn Sīnā's biography see Yahyā Mahdavi, *Bibliographie d'ibn Sīnā*, Tehran, 1954; G. C. Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicennienne*, Cairo, 1950; Sa'īd Naficy, *Bibliographie des principaux travaux europeens sur Avicenne*, Tehran, 1953.
- ⁴S. Hossein Nasr and Mahdi Mahaghegh, *Abū Rihān Bīrūnī wa Ibn Sīnā*, Tehran, 1972, p. 5; Ismā'il Wā'iẓ Jawadi, *Dāwari bayn Abū Rayhān wa Ibn Sīnā in Nashariyya-i danishkada-i 'ulūm-i tarbiyati*, Isfahān, 1974, pp. 41-43.
- ⁵Muḥammad Munawwar, *Asrār-ut Tawhīd*, Tehran, 1348 shamsī/1969, pp. 209-11.
- ⁶Sulaymān Dunyā (Ed.), *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, Cairo, n.d., 3rd edition, pp. 75-76.
- ⁷*Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, I, Cairo, 1931, pp. 23, 29, 45.
- ⁸Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1860-62, p. 362.
- ⁹*Ibid.*, p. 363.
- ¹⁰Defrémery, C. et Sanguinetti, B. R., (Ed. and French tr.), *Voyages d'ibn Batoutah*, IV, p. 343.
- ¹¹*Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 465.
- ¹²Shaykh Rizqu'llāh Mushtāqī, *Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī*, British Museum Ms. Rieu II, 802b, pp. 63-64.
- ¹³Mawlānā 'Abdu's-Salām Nadwī, *Hukmā'-i Islām*, II, A'zamgarh, 1956, p. 317.
- ¹⁴Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, 1, Calcutta, 1864-69, pp. 323-25.
- ¹⁵"The *mutakallimūn* (scholastic theologians) believed that the world began at some point in time, while the peripatetics used the term "beginning" in its purely ontological sense. Mir Dāmād propagated the notion of eternal creation (*huduth-i dahri*), which means neither a beginning in time, nor a beginning which took place eternally, but a beginning which is perpetually occurring, an eternal happening." S.A.A. Rizvi, *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his Times*, Canberra, 1980, p. 65.
- ¹⁶Abu'l-Faẓl, *Mukātabāt-i 'Allāmī*, Lucknow, 1262/1846, pp. 268-69.

- ¹⁷*Māhābhārāt Fārsī*, Lucknow, n.d., pp. 17-18; S.A.A.Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 207-11.
- ¹⁸Haig, T. W., English translation of the *Muntakhabu'l-tawārikh*, 3, Calcutta, 1899-1925, p. 216.
- ¹⁹Beveridge, H., English translation of the *Akbarnāma*, 3, Calcutta, 1939, p. 248, S.A.A. Rizvi.
- ²⁰Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmi, *Ma'āthiru'l-kirām*, Lahore, 1971, p. 226.
- ²¹*Ibid.*, p. 225.
- ²²*Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.
- ²³Rizvi, S.A.A., *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his Times*, Canberra, 1980, pp. 386-92.
- ²⁴*Ma'āthiru'l-kirām*, pp. 195-98.
- ²⁵Raza Library, Rāmpūr.
- ²⁶*Ma'āthiru'l-kirām*, pp. 189-91.
- ²⁷"A native of Yazd in Iran, his name was Mullā Shafī'ā'i who, after completing his higher education, arrived in India with Iranian merchants. Spending some time in the imperial camp he departed for Surat to return to his homeland. Meanwhile, Shafī'ā'i's admirers so highly impressed Shāhjahān with their friend's talent that he recalled him from Surat. After his arrival at the court in 1061/1651, Shafī'ā'i's promotions were very rapid and seven years later he was appointed governor of Delhi. His differences with Dārā-Shukōh seem to have prompted him to resign but in the second year of his reign Awrangzīb re-employed him, awarding him a high *mansab* of 4000/2000 and reappointing him governor of Delhi. Despite his differences with Dārā-Shukōh, Dānishmand Khān joined a minority group of nobles who recommended that Dārā's life be spared, and that he merely be imprisoned in Gwalior. Awrangzīb continued to promote him to higher *mansabs*, appointing him the *mir-bakhshī* in the tenth year of his reign. On 13 Rabi' I 1081/10 August 1670 he died." Rizvi, S.A.A., *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his Times*, p. 67.
- ²⁸Note No. 139, p. 68, Rizvi, S.A.A., *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his Times*.
- ²⁹Note No. 137, p. 68, *Ibid.*
- ³⁰Note No. 138, p. 68, *Ibid.*
- ³¹Constable, A. (Ed.), *Travels in the Mogul Empire* by F. Bernier, London, 1891, pp. 324, 325, 353.
- ³²*Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā'* 2, Calcutta, 1887-89, pp. 30-32.