

PART I

A Study of the *Ladder* and  
Its Commentarial Tradition



## The *Ladder of the Sciences* and Its Commentaries

This chapter introduces the *Sullam al-‘ulūm* and its commentarial tradition. In this context, commentary is understood as any hypertext, regardless of the extent of its completeness and of its designation as a *sharḥ*, *ḥāshiya*, *ta’līq*, or *majmū‘a*.<sup>1</sup> Commentaries on the *Sullam* were written almost entirely in Arabic until the first quarter of the twentieth century, when a number of Urdu commentaries also began to be published. Commentaries in Persian were limited to anonymous interlinear lexicographical interventions, but I do not take them into account in this investigation.

A product of the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century (before 1109/1698), the *Sullam al-‘ulūm* received greater commentarial attention on the Indian soil than any other complete logic textbook.<sup>2</sup> In the course of about two hundred years, for example, it garnered more than one hundred Indian commentaries and supercommentaries;<sup>3</sup> and it also secured the position as the most advanced logic textbook taught in the celebrated Nizāmī curriculum. By virtue of certain disciplinary concerns and orientations of the *Sullam*, its commentarial tradition interacted seamlessly with other disciplines, such as legal theory, theology, and rhetoric, and it also inspired a number of independent treatises devoted to specific topics, such as the Liar Paradox (*al-jidhr al-aṣamm*), copular existence (*al-wujūd al-rābiṭī*), the paradox of the absolutely unknown (*al-majhūl al-muṭlaq*), the nature of knowledge (‘ilm), simple and compound generation (*ja’l basīṭ/murakkab*), and the paradox of entailment (*shubhat al-istilzām*).<sup>4</sup> All these issues had been discussed in earlier literature, but they were often mediated through the *Sullam* commentarial tradition in Muslim India.

The five sections of this chapter present a historical account of the development of the *Sullam* tradition. The primary aim here is to bring to light the details of the intellectual networks that were the sites of its production, so that one may understand how commentarial writing was determined by scholarly contacts and extratextual contexts. In the first section, I present an intellectual biography of the

author of the *Sullam*; in the second and third sections, I reconstruct the two phases of commentarial work on it. I then turn my attention, in the fourth section, to the second-order commentaries on three first-order commentaries that had quickly emerged as windows into the *Sullam*'s lemmata. Finally, in the fifth section, I discuss the remaining first-order commentaries written up to the contemporary period.

As the reader will observe below, commentarial production was intimately tied to certain scholarly networks, institutions of learning, geographical locations, systems of patronage, linguistic communities, and the fortunes of print culture. These factors explain the patterns of activity that will emerge below.

#### MUḤIBBALLĀH AL-BIHĀRĪ

The author of the *Sullam*, Muḥibballāh b. ʿAbd Shukūr al-Bihārī, was born and raised in Karā, a town among the dependencies of Muḥibb ʿAlī Pūr in Bihar, India. He was a Ḥanafī jurist, who began to gain fame for his legal scholarship in the reign of Awrangzīb (r. 1069/1659–1119/1707). Under the latter's patronage, al-Bihārī served as the *qāḍī* of Lucknow and Hyderabad; later, he was also appointed as a private tutor for the emperor's grandson Rafīʿ al-Qadr (d. 1124/1712).<sup>5</sup> Toward the end of his life, al-Bihārī was appointed by Shāh ʿĀlam (r. 1118/1707–1123/1712) to the central ministry and given the title *Fāḍil Khān*.<sup>6</sup>

Little more has been communicated in the sources about his life. We know that he was a student of Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692), the fountainhead of the Farangī Maḥallī tradition of scholars,<sup>7</sup> and of his student Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shamsābādī (d. 1121/1709).<sup>8</sup> Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī was a student of Shaykh Dāniyāl al-Chawrasī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fārūqī al-Lakhnawī (d. 1077/1666). And both these latter two were students of ʿAbd al-Salām al-Dīwī (d. 1040/1630). This latter was also the teacher of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1067/1656 or 7). In other words, the teachers of al-Sihālāwī counted al-Siyālkūtī, who is embedded in certain discussions of the *Sullam*, as their peer. Further, the lineage of al-Sihālāwī ran via his teachers to the Dashtakī circle of scholars in ninth-/fifteenth- and tenth-/sixteenth-century Shirāz.<sup>9</sup> Both Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shamsābādī and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī were also the teachers of Amānallāh al-Banārasī (d. 1133/1721), who held the post of the minister of Lucknow during al-Bihārī's appointment as *qāḍī* in the same city. It is during this period that these two scholars are known to have held debates on various scholarly matters. With respect to certain influences on the *Sullam*, it is worth noting that al-Banārasī had also composed a *Muḥākama* between Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1630) and Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī (d. 1072/1652) on the topic of perpetual creation (*ḥudūth dahrī*) that the latter scholar had severely criticized in his *Shams bāzigha*.<sup>10</sup> It is perhaps in such a context of debate that al-Bihārī had become familiar with Dāmād's *Ufuq mubīn*, which forms an undercurrent of the *Sullam* with respect to certain solutions in logic, as we will observe below.<sup>11</sup>

Al-Bihārī's scholarly output seems to have been limited to legal theory, logic, and philosophy. Other than the *Sullam* and some short treatises on logic, he

also penned a highly influential textbook in legal theory, called the *Musallam al-thubūt*. Written in 1109/1698, the latter work is a detailed technical exposition of Ḥanafī *uṣūl*, set against the Shāfi‘ī tradition, and containing also a heavy dose of *kalām* and logic as a framework for *uṣūlī* hermeneutics. Although the contraposition with the Shāfi‘ī tradition was indeed a hallmark of postclassical Ḥanafī legal theory, as is evident in such works as the *Tanqīh* of Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a and the *Manār* of al-Nasafī, al-Bihārī’s engagement with it is programmatic. This is not only mentioned explicitly by him in the *Musallam*; it is also manifest in his treatise “On Establishing that the Doctrine of the Ḥanafīs Is Further from the Method of Ra’y Than the Doctrine of the Shāfi‘īs, Contrary to What Is Commonly Believed.”<sup>12</sup>

#### THE EARLIEST LAYER OF FIRST-ORDER COMMENTARIES

The earliest engagement with the *Sullam* was al-Bihārī’s self-commentary. The date of this work is not apparent, although it is certainly possible that it was composed simultaneously as a teaching companion and a clarification for the compressed hypotext itself. This phenomenon of the self-commentarial guide to the future commentary on the allusive hypotext is familiar from a number of cases, including those of Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī’s *Shams bāzigha* and Qāḍī Mubārak’s self-commentary on his commentary on the *Sullam*.<sup>13</sup> It is also recognizable from other disciplines, such as legal theory. Indeed, here one may briefly cite al-Nasafī’s (d. 710/1310) self-commentary on his *Manār* as an instructive example of how the hypotextual work emerged and why a self-commentary on it was written. In the introduction to his *Kashf al-asrār*, al-Nasafī explains:

When I witnessed the [scholars] to be inclined to . . . [al-Bazdawī’s] and . . . al-Sarakhsī’s legal theory . . . I abridged them [*fa-ikhtaṣartuhumā*] at the request of students. I mentioned all the principles and gestured toward the [underlying] proofs and the derivations [*mūmiyan ilā d-dalā’il wa-l-furū’*] and took into account the order of [the work of . . . al-Bazdawī]. [I adhered to all this] except with respect to that to which necessity called . . . Then, when some of those who used to frequent me reflected on its underlying sources and origins and delved into its knotty parts and its rules, they increased their visits to me, requesting from me that [I produce] a commentary that unveils [the solution to] its insolubles [*kāshifan li-’uwayṣātihi*], clarifies its mysteries [*muwaḍḍiḥan li-mu’ḍilātihi*], and opens up that which was inaccessible [*fātiḥan li-mā ughliqa*] in the legal theory of [al-Bazdawī], while encompassing the choice elements of what is mentioned in the *Muntakhab al-Maḥṣūl* of . . . [al-Rāzī].<sup>14</sup>

Neither the *Sullam* nor its self-commentary supplies the reader with a mission statement of this sort. As we will observe in the next chapter, however, the conclusions culled from the details of the commentarial tradition of the *Sullam* overlap rather nicely with al-Nasafī’s expository statements. For example, much like the hypotext of al-Nasafī, the *Sullam* appears to be a concise *teaching* text that embeds the tradition

that preceded it within its lemmata.<sup>15</sup> Yet, it differs from the *Manār* in that it is not an epitome of the positions of clearly identified authors. Rather, in an internally consistent manner, the *Sullam* gathers together and commits itself to various authors and texts, producing a new, defensible synthesis. The patchwork of lemmata directly quoting or inspired by earlier works is generally arranged in the recognizable structure of premodern madrasa logic texts. This method also corresponds to al-Nasafī's concern with maintaining the order of an underlying text. Much like al-Nasafī's hypotext, the *Sullam* is laden with puzzles, obscure points, insolubles, hints, and gestures. Unlike the *Kashf*, however, the self-commentary of the *Sullam* was meant mostly to guide the *future* commentators toward a resolution of its difficulties. As we will observe below in the next chapter, it was not meant to resolve such difficulties fully.

Both the self-commentary and the *Sullam* must have gained wide and quick circulation. The earliest extant first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* were completed no later than 1707/1119, the year of the author's death; and some were certainly started well before this time. All such commentaries quote al-Bihārī's self-commentary, although the earliest two do so with limited attribution. The commentary of al-Sā' inpurī, which may well be the first extended commentary on the *Sullam*, is dedicated to Nawwāb Khudābandah Khān, who died in 1119/1707.<sup>16</sup> This same work presents the first lemma of the hypotext with "The author, [al-Bihārī,] may God give comfort to his soul, said."<sup>17</sup> This indicates that the work was completed in the first half of 1119/1707, as both al-Bihārī and the nawwāb died in this year, the latter in the month of June. Since the last few years of the nawwāb's life were spent in Delhi, where he was appointed as the grand steward of the imperial household, and since Sā' inpur is about one hundred miles from the capital, it is likely that the author resided somewhere in the vicinity and that the work was completed there.<sup>18</sup> The commentator mentions in the introductory statements that the *Sullam* was already well-known at the time he composed the work.

At least seven other first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* were written around the same period. The first one of these, by Mullā Firūz b. Maḥabba, has the title *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* and was dedicated to Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh. Given the title with which the dedicatee is referred and the invocation of the perpetuity of his reign,<sup>19</sup> the work must have been composed during his rule between 1118/1707–1124/1712.<sup>20</sup> Although some witnesses of Firūz's commentary have survived and fragments are also included in the margins of some nineteenth-century lithographs of the *Sullam*, no further information about the author is available.<sup>21</sup>

The first-order commentary of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Mubārakī al-Jawnpurī, called *Mi'rāj al-fuhūm*, was composed after 1709/1121. This is gauged by an internal reference to the commentary of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740) on the *Musallam al-thubūt* of al-Bihārī that was completed in the same year; the author was eighteen years old at the time of the composition.<sup>22</sup> Al-Mubārakī was born and raised in Dhaka, but received his further training in Delhi.<sup>23</sup>

The commentary of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Sa'id b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1167/1754),<sup>24</sup> called the *Suddat al-'ulūm*, was completed

in 1136/1723–4; the author also wrote a partial self-commentary on this work.<sup>25</sup> In his introductory comments, the author mentions the existence of other commentaries on the *Sullam*, and explains that he began the work with the second section, on Assents (*Taṣḍīqāt*). It is only after the completion of this section that he reverted to comment on the first section, the Conceptualizations (*Taṣawwūrāt*).<sup>26</sup> The author was the grandson of the fountainhead of the celebrated scholarly family of Farangī Maḥall, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī, and was born in 1103/1692. After Sihāla, he moved to Lucknow, where he studied with his uncle Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī.

None of the aforementioned commentaries from the first half of the twelfth/ eighteenth century attracted supercommentaries, although, as we will observe below, they exercised influence on commentaries of the same order. The earliest first-order commentary from this period to generate supercommentaries was written by Qāḍī Mubārak b. Muḥammad Dā'im al-Gūpāmawī (d. 1162/1749).<sup>27</sup> The latter was trained by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (d. ca. 1125/1713), a student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī, by Ṣifātallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Khayrābādī (d. ca. 1157/1744), a student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī and of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shamsābādī, by the latter himself, and perhaps also by Mīr Zāhid al-Harawī (d. 1101/1689).<sup>28</sup> As noted above, al-Sihālāwī and al-Shamsābādī were both also teachers of al-Bihārī; in other words, Mubārak belonged to the next generation of a shared lineage. And like some of the commentators from this period, he arrived in Delhi after the completion of his studies to take up a teaching post.<sup>29</sup> It is during the entire period, stretching from his course of studies to his setting roots in Delhi, that he composed the commentary. In a valuable passage, he writes,

I had begun to write [the first-order commentary] during the period of my studies. When I finished commenting on the connective syllogism, fate did not help me [complete] it until I emigrated . . . to Delhi to obtain a means of living. Completing it was not facilitated due to the contingencies of events . . . Then I was guided to the friendship of the Great Amīr Nawwāb Sharī' at Allāh Khān Bahādur and my heart found repose [in the city]. So I finished it . . . in the era of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Rūshan Akhtar in the city of Delhi. [By this time,] one thousand one hundred and forty-three years had passed since the prophetic *hijra* . . . The beginning [of the first-order commentary] was in the period of the reign of Muḥammad Awrangzib Ālamgīr . . .<sup>30</sup>

Thus, Qāḍī Mubārak's commentary on the *Sullam* had begun in 1118/1707 (the year of Awrangzib's death) at the latest and it lasted a quarter of a century.<sup>31</sup> The year of its completion also witnessed the publication of his self-commentary, preserved in the margins of an autograph in the Rampur Raza library.<sup>32</sup> Another autograph, along with marginal notes, was completed in Delhi in 1154/1741 for his son, Muḥammad Amīr.<sup>33</sup> Several other manuscripts also preserve the self-commentary in the margins.<sup>34</sup> The latter was finally given the form of a collection by Mubārak's student, 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Sahāranpūrī, after the author's death in 1162/1749.<sup>35</sup> As I noted with reference to other cases above, this indicates that self-commenting was often coterminous with the writing of the hypertext and

that it was meant to be a key to unlocking the obscurities of the hypotext, which may itself have been a hypertext.<sup>36</sup> The commentary of Mubārak is reported to have been adopted by scholars as part of the curriculum, a development that must have transpired relatively quickly: one observes, for example, that it was already being taught by ‘Abd al-‘Alī Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (d. 1225/1810) to a descendant of Mubārak, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī.<sup>37</sup>

The commentary on the *Sullam* to receive the greatest attention from second-order commentators was written by Ḥamdallāh b. Shukrallāh al-Sandilawī (d. 1160/1747). Born and raised in Sandīla, Ḥamdallāh was a notable Shī‘ī scholar who studied under Mullā Nizām al-Dīn and his student and paternal cousin Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1175/1761), whose role in the legacy of the *Sullam* will be discussed in more detail below. He also spent some time in Delhi as a teacher.<sup>38</sup> He was also honored with the title of Faḍlallāh Khān by the Mughal emperor Aḥmad Shāh Dihlawī<sup>39</sup> and awarded many villages as private grants; this fortune afforded him the possibility of setting up a grand madrasa in Sandīla, which became the nascent site of the legacy of his commentary (see below).<sup>40</sup> Ḥamdallāh’s commentary on the *Sullam* is limited to the section on Assents (*Taṣḍīqāt*), although ‘Arshī reports a very small portion of a commentary on the Conceptualizations (*Taṣawwūrāt*); I have not been able to check this manuscript and have, therefore, not been able to verify this claim.<sup>41</sup>

Ḥamdallāh’s work is undated. However, internal and external evidence indicates that it must have been completed after 1142/1730, i.e. after the publication of Mubārak’s commentary. And it also cannot be doubted that it was written in conversation with the latter. For example, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy explains:

“The students of Mubārak would study their master’s commentary on the *Sullam*, the students of . . . Ḥamdallāh would study his commentary, and the students of . . . Baḥr al-‘Ulūm would teach his commentary to their students. When their respective students would encounter each other, they would mention the writings of their masters and criticize those of the others’ masters. Thus all the commentaries on the *Sullam* became the subject of scholarly discussions and investigations, and the students and teachers had to maintain an engagement with all these commentaries. The outcome was that control in the discipline of logic required knowledge of all these commentaries and glosses.”<sup>42</sup>

The culture of scholarly encounters and discussions, and of living dialectics in the oral medium had a large part to play in the horizontal influence among commentaries. It is, therefore, entirely conceivable that, just as Mubārak was writing and teaching his commentary, along with the device of his self-commentary, it had begun to filter into the scholarly circles of Ḥamdallāh. This mode of transmission may certainly explain the influence of the former on the latter.

For this same period, two additional first-order commentaries are listed in the sources. One of these was written in 1151/1739 by Muḥammad Ashraf al-Bardawānī (in Bengal), a pupil of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī, who was himself a student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī. Shihāb al-Dīn was also the teacher of Mubārak, as noted



above, and of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Bengal and Lucknow; the latter was also a student of Mīr Zāhid al-Harawī. And Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, in turn, was also the teacher of Muḥammad Ashraf.<sup>43</sup> Thus, a close-knit network of scholars engaged with the *Sullam* had emerged among scholars associated with Gūpāmaw.

Finally, a first-order commentary on some difficult parts of the *Sullam*, such as the Liar Paradox, was written by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Dawlat b. Ya‘qūb al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīḥpūrī (d. 1175/1761).<sup>44</sup> The author was a student of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn and taught a number of commentators on the *Sullam*, such as Ḥamdallāh, Mullā Ḥasan, Muḥammad Walī, and ‘Abd al-‘Alī Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (see below).<sup>45</sup>

As Kamāl al-Dīn was an important figure in the growth of the *Sullam*’s commentarial tradition, some of his biographical details warrant attention. Indeed they bear testimony to the tight personal and professional ties that perpetuated the history of the text. He was related to the Farangī Maḥallī family via his paternal ancestor, Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn, who was also the maternal ancestor of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī.<sup>46</sup> The latter was also the teacher of Kamāl al-Dīn’s father, Muḥammad Dawlat, whom he had taken into his household as his son. After the murder of Quṭb al-Dīn in 1103/1692, Muḥammad Dawlat moved from Sihāla to Fatīḥpūr and then to Delhi, where he joined the group of scholars working on the famous *Fatāwā Hindīyya*. It is at this time that he also rose in the favor of Awrangzīb, because of the latter’s respect for Muḥibballāh al-Ilāḥābādī, who was the father of Muḥammad Dawlat’s paternal grandmother.<sup>47</sup> al-Ilāḥābādī was also the maternal grandfather of the aforementioned Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī, who was also trained by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī. We recall that Shihāb al-Dīn was, in turn, the teacher of Mubārak and Muḥammad Ashraf, both of whom were mentioned above as first-order commentators of the *Sullam*.<sup>48</sup>

Kamāl al-Dīn, therefore, was a representative figure whose genealogy and training included both the Sihālāwī and Ilāḥābādī lines; indeed both the latter traditions themselves reverted to ‘Abd al-Salām al-Lāhūrī.<sup>49</sup> This same kind of confluence was also manifest in the work of the aforementioned Āmānallāh al-Banārasī, the interlocutor of al-Bihārī, who had engaged the works of such scholars as al-Ilāḥābādī, Dāmād, Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī, and al-Dawānī. From Kamāl al-Dīn, another scholarly line was established in Kirāna: he was the teacher of his paternal nephew, Qāḍī Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Kirānawī (d. 1180/1767). This scholar, the author of a number of commentaries on books in the *Dars-i Nizāmī*, initially had the patronage of the nawwāb Sa‘dallāh Khān in Bareilly, where he taught in a madrasa. Then, after the death of his father, who had royal patronage, Nūr al-Ḥaqq assumed a judgeship in Kirāna; and following this appointment, he assumed a judgeship in Deoband. When he vacated this last post, it was taken up by his brother’s son-in-law, Ḥimāyatallāh b. Faḍllallāh, a grandson of Mubārak.<sup>50</sup> These intellectual and genealogical continuities are presented in trees 1 and 2 below. Lines with arrows represent master-disciple links; lines without arrows represent a father-son relationship; double-horizontal lines are marriage ties; dotted lines represent a tie via some unrecorded intermediaries; and boxes indicate commentarial writing on the *Sullam*.

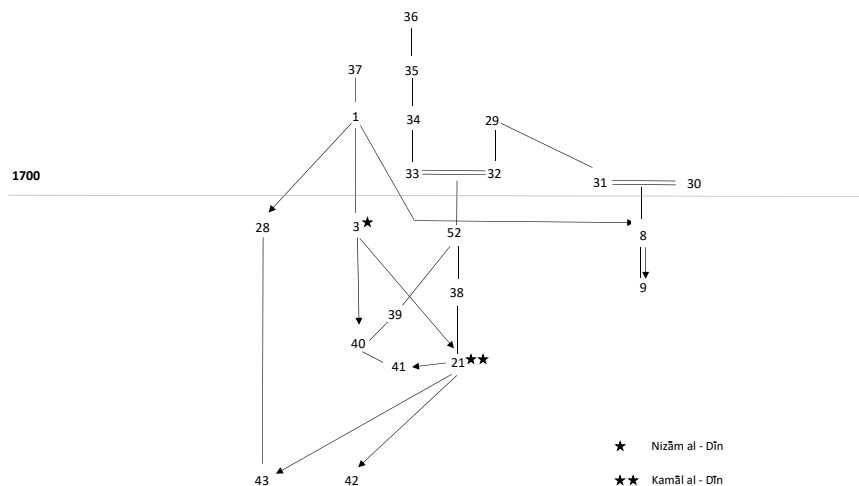


FIGURE 1. Tree 1: Kirānawī—38, 39, 40, 41.

KEY FOR TREE 1

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
3. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740)
8. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (d. ca. 1125/1713)
9. Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī
21. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīhpūrī (d. 1175/1761)
28. Šifatallāh b. Madīnatallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Khayrābādī (d. 1157/1744)
29. Muḥibballāh al-Ilāhābādī (d. 1058/1648)
30. Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Salām
31. Daughter 1 of Muḥibballāh al-Ilāhābādī
32. Daughter 2 of Muḥibballāh al-Ilāhābādī
33. Farīd b. Sa‘dallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn
34. Sa‘dallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn
35. Aḥmad b. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn
36. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn
37. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm
38. Muḥammad Dawlat al-Anṣārī al-Sihālāwī
39. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kirānawī
40. Muḥammad ‘Ashīq b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kirānawī (d. 1138/1726)
41. Qāḍī Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. Qāḍī Muḥammad ‘Ashīq al-Sihālāwī al-Kirānawī (d. 1180/1767)
42. Muḥammad Barakat b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ilāhābādī
43. Aḥmadallāh b. Šifatallāh al-Khayrābādī (d. 1167/1754)
52. Muḥammad Ya‘qūb al-Anṣārī al-Sihālāwī

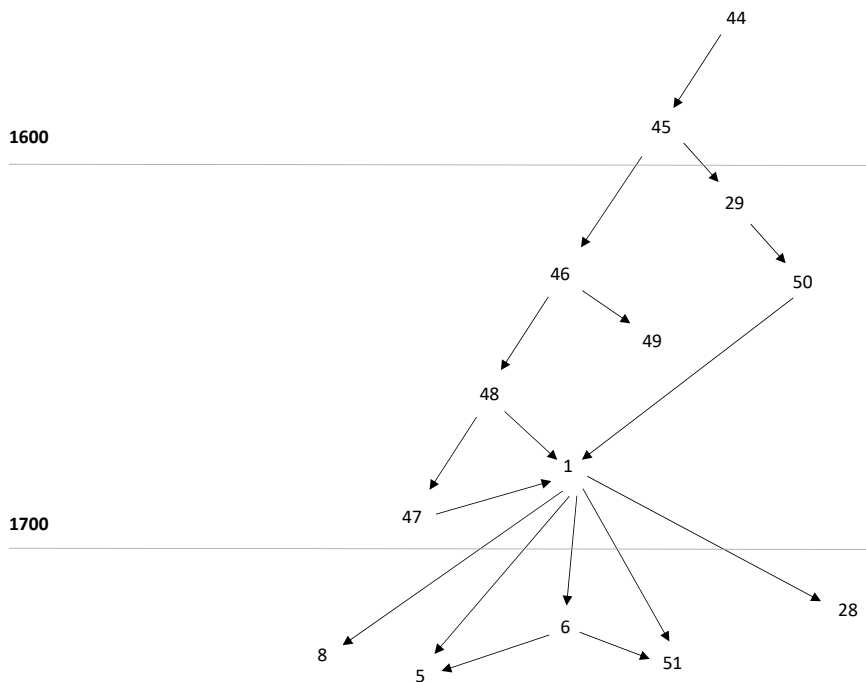


FIGURE 2. Tree 2: From Shirāz to Sihāla.

#### KEY FOR TREE 2

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
5. Muḥibballāh b. ‘Abd Shukūr al-Bihārī (d. 1119/1707)
6. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shamsābādī (d. 1121/1709)
8. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (d. ca. 1125/1713)
28. Šifatallāh b. Madīnatallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Khayrābādī (d. 1157/1744)
29. Muḥibballāh al-Ilāhābādī (d. 1058/1648)
44. Faṭhallāh al-Shīrāzī
45. ‘Abd al-Salām Lāhūrī
46. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Abī Sa‘īd Dīwī (d. 1040/1630)
47. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fārūqī al-Lakhnawī (d. 1077/1666)
48. Shaykh Dāniyāl al-Chawrāsī
49. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1067/1656 or 1657)
50. Šadr al-Dīn b. al-Qāḍī Dāwūd al-Ḥanafī al-Chishti
51. Amānallāh al-Banārasī (d. 1133/1721)

### *Summary of Findings*

The details above reveal some interesting patterns. The *Sullam* was clearly a product of the Farangī Maḥallī intellectual lineage that receded ultimately into the Shīrāzī circle of scholars. Therefore, it demonstrates an intimate familiarity with the contributions of scholars who constituted that tradition and with its specific prehistory. In addition, because of the networks of its author and the logic texts in vogue during his era, it evinces detailed knowledge of eleventh-/seventeenth-century debates on Indian soil regarding the contributions of such scholars as al-Siyālkūti and Mīr Dāmād. The locus of its production was Lucknow or Delhi, where its author had enjoyed enviable imperial patronage.

Other than the self-commentary of al-Bihārī, at least eight first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* were completed in about the first five decades of the twelfth/eighteenth century. Several of the authors were associated with Delhi and received imperial patronage. As we observed, some of these commentaries were already begun in the lifetime of the author; they are all either partly or completely extant. This deluge of commentarial activity and the reports from some of these commentators about the fame of the *Sullam* and the existence of yet other commentaries are testaments to the incredible pace of the work's popularity.

The *Sullam* may well have been composed as a madrasa text whose meanings were meant to be unfolded in the process of future dialectical writing. For this reason, some of the commentarial activity connected with it may have been student exercises in the service of sharpening the wit and cultivating the student's independent scholarly growth.<sup>51</sup> This is true at least of Mubārak, who states that he started writing his commentary in his student days, and of Mubārakī, who completed his composition at the age of eighteen. Within the space of the madrasa and the nascent period of the *Dars-i Nizāmī* method of training, some of these commentaries on the *Sullam* were also written for the consumption of students, although, as we will observe below, they usually did not lose sight of the benefit of hypotextual brevity for the purposes of future commentarial growth.<sup>52</sup>

The details above indicate that the earliest commentaries on the *Sullam* were an exclusively North Indian affair, written by scholars largely associated with Delhi, Lucknow, Gūpāmaw, Sihāla, and Sandīla. Delhi is represented among the earliest sites of commentarial activity; thereafter, Lucknow and Gūpāmaw were the leading centers of production, with most other relevant cities located in close proximity. Again, this is not surprising, since the *Sullam* must have been taught in its early phases precisely in the region where it was composed. The earliest commentaries on the *Sullam*—such as those of Sā' inṣūrī and Firūz—were dedicated to imperial figures, and a number of commentators from this period, such as Mubārak and Ḥamdallāh, had the support of the royal household. In this period, every commentator about whom we have sufficient biographical information was closely associated with the network of the Farangī Maḥallī family, and two commentators, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and Kamāl al-Dīn, were members of the family—the former directly and the latter via matrilineal ties. Thus, in terms of geography, patronage, and networks, the tradition of the *Sullam* demonstrated a remarkable continuity in its first few decades. The early commentarial efforts on the *Sullam* can be represented in the following tree (tree 3).<sup>53</sup>

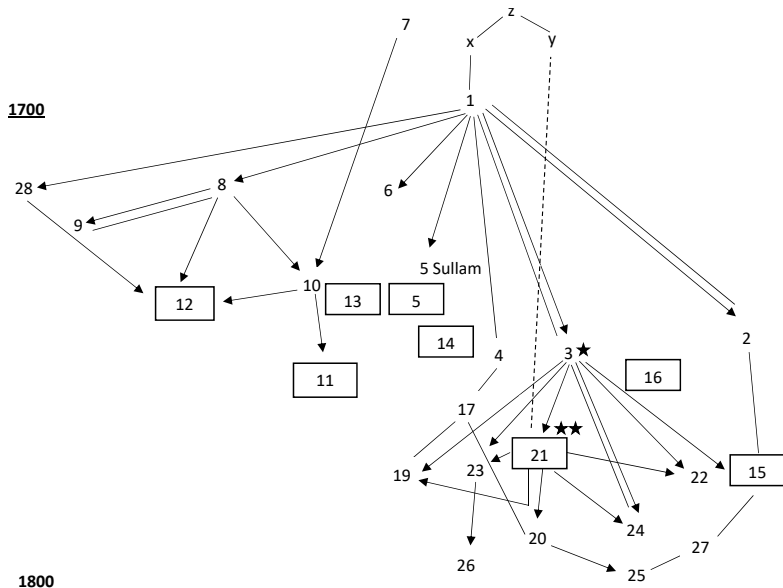


FIGURE 3. Tree 3: The earliest commentaries on the *Sullam*.

KEY FOR TREE 3

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
2. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī
3. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740)
4. Muḥammad Asʿad
5. Muḥibballāh b. ʿAbd Shukūr al-Bihārī (d. 1119/1707)
6. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shamsābādī (d. 1121/1709)
7. Mīr Zāhid Harawī (d. 1101/1689-90)
8. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (d. ca. 1125/1713)
9. Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī
10. Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ
11. Muḥammad Ashraf b. Abī Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Bardawānī (ca. 1151/1739)
12. Qāḍī Mubārak b. Muḥammad Dāʿim b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Gūpāmawī (d. 1162/1749)
13. Mawlawī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Sāʿinpurī (ca. 1119/1707)
14. Mullā Firūz b. Maḥabba (ca. 1118/1707-1124/1712)
15. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1167/1754)
16. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Mubārakī al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Jawnpurī (ca. after 1709/1121)
17. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Asʿad
19. Muḥammad Walī b. al-Qāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1198/1784)
20. Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1199/1784)
21. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīhpūrī (d. 1175/1761)
22. Muḥammad Aʿlam b. Muḥammad Shākīr al-Sandīlawī (d. 1198/1784)
23. Ḥamdallāh b. Shukrallāh b. Dāniyāl b. Pīr Muḥammad al-Sandīlawī (d. 1160/1747)
24. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Nizām al-Dīn Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1225/1810)
25. Mubīn b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1225/1810)
26. Qāḍī Aḥmad ʿAlī b. Faṭḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī al-Sandīlawī (d. 1200/1786)
- 27./101. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq
28. Ṣifātallāh b. Madīnatallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Khayrābādī (d. 1157/1744)

## FIRST ORDER COMMENTARIES: STAGE TWO

The first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century had witnessed the production of two gateway commentaries on the *Sullam*—namely, Mubārak and Ḥamdallāh.<sup>54</sup> Geographically and genealogically, commentarial writing on the *Sullam* generally does not appear to have spread during this period once the initial hold of Delhi was loosened; on the contrary, the textual control of scholars associated with Lucknow and with the Farangī Maḥallis had tightened. The next period saw similar trends and the production of an additional gateway commentary.

Perhaps the most significant node in the growth of the commentarial tradition of the *Sullam* during this period was the aforementioned Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī. Of the seven identifiable first-order commentators from this second phase, three were directly his students, and two (perhaps three) were taught by his students. And among first-order commentaries to receive the greatest second-order commentarial attention, all but one (Mubārak, mentioned above) were written by Kamāl al-Dīn's students. Let me take up the direct cases first, since their growth reveals other notable patterns.

During this second period, a first-order commentary was composed in 1155/1742 by Muḥammad Walī b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d.1198/1784), a great grandson of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī.<sup>55</sup> Muḥammad Walī had been trained both by Kamāl al-Dīn and his father's uncle Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī. He was raised and educated in Lucknow and, like his father, he was appointed a judge in Mallāwah; after he was removed from this appointment, he returned to Lucknow to resume teaching activities.<sup>56</sup> The second commentary was written by his brother, Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1199/1784), who was also trained by the same two scholars and taught in Lucknow for several years. It was in Lucknow or soon thereafter, in Rampur, that he must have composed the commentary on the *Sullam*, which is dated 1177/1763–64.<sup>57</sup> This commentary, after those of Mubārak and Ḥamdallāh, garnered the most second-order commentarial attention in the *Sullam*'s history.

The third student of Kamāl al-Dīn to produce a major commentary on the *Sullam* was the celebrated 'Abd al-'Alī b. Nizām al-Dīn Baḥr al-'Ulūm (d. 1225/1810). Like the two immediately preceding scholars, Baḥr al-'Ulūm was also trained by his father. He initially taught in Lucknow, leaving it for Shāhjahānpūr around 1167/1754 amid sectarian tensions developing in the former city. He spent twenty years teaching in the latter city, departing from it when the nawwāb Ḥāfiẓ al-Mulk was killed in 1188/1774. Thereafter, he spent about four to five years in Rampur at the behest of its ruler, who wished to establish a madrasa there. After spending some time in Buhār, he received the invitation of the nawwāb of Carnatic Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān al-Gūpāmawī (d. 1210/1795) to Madras to head a madrasa in that city. Throughout this period, Baḥr al-'Ulūm enjoyed the patronage of a number of princely states and of the British East India Company.<sup>58</sup>

In his self-commentary, Baḥr al-‘Ulūm writes that he had composed the commentary on the *Sullam* in his youth. By this, he most likely means to refer to his student and early teaching days in Lucknow. Thus, the commentary was in all likelihood composed before 1167/1754, perhaps no earlier than 1162/1749, when he was about twenty years old. As the commentary refers to his *‘Ujāla nāfi‘a*, a metaphysical work focusing on ontology; and as its major concern is frequently with precisely this subject in the context of the discipline of logic, it is possible that he imagined the former as setting the stage for the latter. But I will say more about this in the next chapter.<sup>59</sup>

Baḥr al-‘Ulūm’s self-commentary was probably collected in the form of a book in Rampur, as the sources indicate that it is in this city that he attended to his earlier commentaries; one might thus date the received text to sometime between 1188/1774 and 1192 or 1193/1778 or 1779. However, the various parts of the text were written as drafts well before this time. This can be gauged by Baḥr al-‘Ulūm’s reliance on the work in his *Fawātiḥ al-raḥamūt*, a commentary he completed in 1180/1767 on al-Bihārī’s legal theory work, the *Musallam al-thubūt*.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, on the basis of self-commentarial practices with which we are familiar—the aforementioned cases of al-Nasafī and al-Jawnpūrī are examples of such practices—and the author’s own expressions, one might be able to surmise that the uncollected self-commentary had emerged even before this period, perhaps during the time that he was composing the first-order commentary. As we will note below, the self-commentary was often a guide to one’s own hypotext in the oral and/or written hypertextual space that was usually connected to the context of teaching in the madrasa. And often, its collection occurred at a later stage (see the observations on the collection of Mubārak’s self-commentary above). In this vein, Baḥr al-‘Ulūm explains in the opening passages of his self-commentary, “I *had* written (*kuntu katabtu*) these glosses in a dispersed fashion, on various folios, and I wished to collect them . . . it is asked of students that they not rely on the commentary except after going over these glosses.” Thus, the aim of collecting the self-commentary was to substitute a guiding text for himself, the master, so that the students might be able to work through the intricacies of his pithy and allusive hypotext.<sup>61</sup>

Three other first-order commentaries from this period are associated with the intellectual lineage of Kamāl al-Dīn. One of these was written by Qāḍī Aḥmad ‘Alī b. Faṭḥ Muḥammad al-Sandilawī (d. 1200/1786). He was a student and in-law of Ḥamdallāh; we already encountered the latter scholar above as both the student of Kamāl al-Dīn and the first-order commentator of the *Sullam* to receive the most intense commentarial attention. Aḥmad ‘Alī was also the teacher of Ḥamdallāh’s son Ḥaydar ‘Alī al-Sandilawī (on whom see below).<sup>62</sup> Another first-order commentary, completed in 1200/1786, was written by Mubīn b. Muḥibb al-Sihālāwī (d. 1225/1810). Born and raised in Lucknow, Mubīn was a student of the aforementioned commentator on the *Sullam*, Mullā Ḥasan. His commentary, titled

*Mir'āt al-shurūḥ*, is arguably the most lucid and extended exposition of the entire commentarial tradition associated with the *Sullam*.<sup>63</sup> Finally, within the scholarly lineage of Kamāl al-Dīn there may also have been a first-order commentator on the *Sullam* by the name of Nizām al-Dīn al-Kirānawī. Although no further information about this author is available, he most likely belonged in the family of the Kirānawī paternal cousins of Kamāl al-Dīn whom we encountered above.

The only other sufficiently identifiable scholar from this period to have written a first-order commentary on the *Sullam* was Muḥammad 'Azīm b. Kifāyatallāh al-Gūpāmawī al-Mallānawī (d. before 1199/1784)<sup>64</sup>. Born and raised in Gūpāmaw, he studied under the aforementioned Quṭb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī, Muḥammad 'Iwaḍ al-Khayrābādī al-Gūpāmawī, and Şifatallāh al-Khayrābādī (d. 1157/1744).<sup>65</sup> Thereafter, he moved to Mallānūh and taught there.<sup>66</sup>

### *Summary of Findings*

As I briefly mentioned at the beginning of this section, the second phase of the first-order commentarial tradition on the *Sullam* manifested the following patterns. A rather large number of identifiable commentators were students of Kamāl al-Dīn, who, owing to his genealogical and intellectual ties, appears to have been a central figure for facilitating the interaction of the various threads of the *Sullam*'s commentarial traditions. Kamāl al-Dīn was not only himself a commentator of the *Sullam*; he was also the teacher of two of the three commentators on the *Sullam* whose work received sustained second-order commentarial interest. These commentators were Ḥamdallāh and Ḥasan (Mubārak was the third); both were also students of Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī. Kamāl al-Dīn also taught the celebrated Baḥr al-'Ulūm and the teachers of some other important first-order commentators. Furthermore, a rather large percentage of the commentators of the *Sullam* from this period were also members of the Farangī Maḥallī family, all of whom had prolonged associations with Lucknow. The remaining commentators were associated with two other distinct regions and dense networks that overlapped with the preceding one: Gūpāmaw, with the legacy of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (and his student Mubārak), and Sandīla, which was dominated by the commentary of Ḥamdallāh, as we will observe below. These observations may be summarized in tree 4.

## SECOND-ORDER COMMENTARIES

### *Ḥamdallāh*

By the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century, the commentaries on the *Sullam* that would subsequently receive commentarial attention had already been composed. These were the *Sullam Qāḍī Mubārak*, the *Sullam Ḥamdallāh*, and the *Sullam Mullā Ḥasan*.<sup>67</sup> It is surprising that the *Sullam Baḥr al-'Ulūm*, which was written by one of the leading scholars and teachers of the twelfth/eighteenth century,



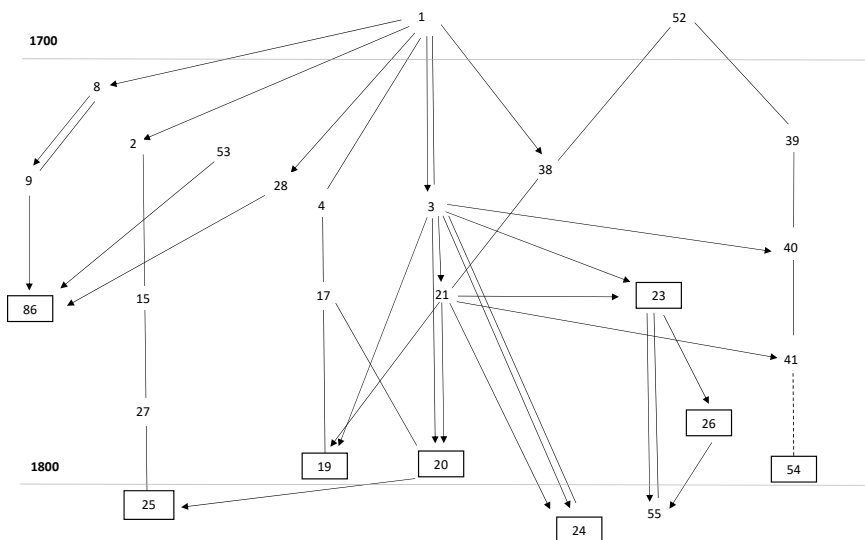


FIGURE 4. Tree 4: Second stage of first-order and gateway commentaries on the *Sullam*.

#### KEY FOR TREE 4

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
2. Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī
3. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740)
4. Muḥammad As'ad
8. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (d. ca. 1125/1713)
9. Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī
15. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1167/1754)
17. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad As'ad
19. Muḥammad Walī b. al-Qāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1198/1784)
20. Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1199/1784)
21. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīhpūrī (d. 1175/1761)
23. Ḥamdallāh b. Shukrallāh b. Dāniyāl b. Pīr Muḥammad al-Sandīlawī (d. 1160/1747)
24. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Nizām al-Dīn Baḥr al-'Ulūm (d. 1225/1810)
25. Muḥib b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1225/1810)
26. Qāḍī Aḥmad 'Alī b. Faṭḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī al-Sandīlawī (d. 1200/1786)
- 27/101. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq
28. Šifātallāh b. Madīnatallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Khayrābādī (d. 1157/1744)
38. Muḥammad Dawlat al-Anṣārī al-Sihālāwī
39. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kirānawī
40. Muḥammad 'Āshiq b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kirānawī (d. 1138/1726)
41. Qāḍī Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. Qāḍī Muḥammad 'Āshiq al-Sihālāwī al-Kirānawī (d. 1180/1767)
52. Muḥammad Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Sihālāwī
53. Muḥammad 'Iwāḍ al-Khayrābādī al-Gūpāmawī
54. Nizām al-Dīn al-Kirānawī
55. Ḥaydar 'Alī b. Ḥamdallāh al-Sandīlawī (d. 1225/1810)
86. Muḥammad 'Azīm b. Kifāyatallāh al-Fārūqī al-Gūpāmawī al-Mallānawī (d. before 1199/1784)

received practically no commentarial attention. This may be because, much like Mullā Mubīn's commentary, it was introduced into the curriculum only at a later phase of its development, and interest in these books was not sustained in the context of scholarly training.<sup>68</sup> Generally, it is not mentioned in the sources as a text that was taught in the madrasa—the colossal *Nuzha*, for example, refers to it only once—and it is cited infrequently in other commentaries.<sup>69</sup> The 1309/1892 lithograph published by the Maṭbaʿ-*yi* Muṣṭabāʾī, however, does have marginal glosses on the work. The majority of these were written by Muḥammad Ilyās b. Muḥammad Ayyūb (d. 1364/1945). This scholar, whose intellectual genealogy was truncated from the complex of commentarial work that I will discuss below, was born near Peshawar in 1275/1858 and taught in Lucknow for some time. During this period, he also edited books for the aforementioned press. It is likely, therefore, that the commentarial activity was tied to the prospects of publishing the hypotext and was not the product of the madrasa context.<sup>70</sup> The same lithograph also contains commentaries from two other scholars: Khalīl Aḥmad al-Isrāʾīlī al-Sanbhalī (d. 1340/1922) and Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Isrāʾīlī al-Sanbhalī. Although I have not been able to obtain any meaningful information about the latter, I suspect that he was the former's brother. This is indicated by the onomastics and the fact that he was alive at the time the lithograph was prepared. Khalīl Aḥmad was taught at least partly in Aligarh by Fayḍ al-Ḥasan al-Sahāranpūrī (d. 1304/1887), a student of Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī (d. 1278/1861, see below).<sup>71</sup> After completing his studies, he was appointed to teach in Aligarh, where a late second-order commentator on the *Sullam*, Muftī Luṭfallāh (see below), also taught.<sup>72</sup> Thus, the three identifiable commentators on the *Sullam Baḥr al-ʿUlūm* were late scholars whose work was penned around the time of the production of the lithograph.<sup>73</sup> The scholars are anomalous in that they are generally disconnected from commentarial networks, as well as the sites, contexts, and temporal range of commentarial production. It appears, therefore, that the assessment of the historical value of the *Sullam Baḥr al-ʿUlūm* is mediated by the modern dissemination it received owing to the printing press.<sup>74</sup> This statement, of course, is not a judgment on its intellectual contribution, which was quite significant.

The commentaries of Mubārak and Ḥasan defined the reception of the *Sullam*'s section on Conceptualizations (*Taṣawwūrāt*), while that of Ḥamdallāh was a gateway to the section on Assents (*Taṣḍīqāt*). Of the remaining aforementioned first-order commentaries, Mullā Mubīn deliberately cast a wide net, covering broadly and with remarkable expository capacity a range of topics discussed in both the commentarial tradition of the *Sullam* and the earlier, living dialectical space from which the hypotext had emerged. The contributions of all other commentaries of the twelfth/eighteenth century came to be articulated within the lemmata of these aforementioned commentaries. It is through them—especially Mubārak, Ḥamdallāh, and Ḥasan—that the subsequent tradition grappled with the *Sullam*.

Of the aforementioned, the hypertext to receive the greatest second-order commentarial attention was Ḥamdallāh. We may recall that Ḥamdallāh was a Shīʿī scholar and that, after completing his studies, he received handsome royal patronage

and established a madrasa in Sandīla; it was in this city that the commentarial effort on Ḥamdallāh began, most likely in the context of scholarly training. The authors of several commentaries on Ḥamdallāh are easily identifiable, and they display certain denominational and geographical patterns.

Excluding the self-commentary found in the margins of some early witnesses, the first commentary on Ḥamdallāh was composed by his student Bāballāh Jawnpūrī (fl. twelfth/eighteenth centuries).<sup>75</sup> This work must have been completed before 1188/1774, as two witnesses, dated 1188/1774 and 1189/1775, include it in the margins; the second witness was copied by a scribe also associated with Sandīla.<sup>76</sup> Bāballāh was also the teacher of a number of leading scholars and commentators on Ḥamdallāh. The first one of these was Ghulām Yaḥyā b. Najm al-Dīn, who studied with Bāballāh in Ḥamdallāh's Madrasa-yi Manṣūriyya in Sandīla.<sup>77</sup> After completing his studies, he taught for some time in Lahore and then in Delhi. He subsequently returned to Lucknow, where he passed away in 1180/1767.<sup>78</sup> His commentary must have been completed before 1189/1775, as it is included in the margins of the aforementioned witness from Sandīla that was completed in the same year. This same witness includes marginal commentary by the third commentator, Muḥammad Qā'im b. Shāh Mīr Sa'id Ilāhābādī. There is no information available on this author's training, although two of his students were associated with Ilāhābād and Lucknow.<sup>79</sup> Thus, we are able to gauge that, very soon after its composition, Ḥamdallāh's work received commentarial attention in Sandīla; some of the commentators were in his direct intellectual lineage, and they very likely commented on the work in the setting of the madrasa, either in the course of training or teaching. These same scholars were then also affiliated with teaching circles in Lucknow.

The historical trajectory of Ḥamdallāh's commentary began to stretch beyond the Sandīla-Lucknow complex by the work of its fourth commentator, Muḥammad A'lam al-Sandilawī.<sup>80</sup> A'lam (d. 1198/1784) was a younger peer of Ḥamdallāh in that he was trained by both Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī and Nizām al-Dīn. After completing his studies and following the pattern of a number of preceding scholars, he went to Delhi in search of royal patronage. Failing in this effort, he turned to Khayrābād, where he resided for a few years. He returned to Sandīla in the latter part of his life.<sup>81</sup> Muḥammad A'lam is an interesting figure insofar as he stands as a node in the complex network through which the history of Ḥamdallāh's commentary was mediated. For example, he was a teacher of his maternal nephew 'Abd al-Wājid al-Khayrābādī (d. 1216/1802).<sup>82</sup> The latter's other teacher was Qāḍī Wahhāj al-Dīn, the son of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī, whose father, Shihāb al-Dīn, was one of the teachers of Mubārak.<sup>83</sup> And the latter, we recall, was also taught by Ṣifatallāh al-Khayrābādī; his son Aḥmadallāh (d. 1167/1754) was also a teacher of the aforementioned 'Abd al-Wājid.<sup>84</sup> It was thus in a complex of the Gūpāmawī, Sandilawī, and Khayrābādī scholarly traditions of the *Sullam* that 'Abd al-Wājid al-Khayrābādī was trained. In turn, he was a student of Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1244/1828 or 29), whose family played an important role in the commentarial tradition of the *Sullam*, including that of Ḥamdallāh and Mubārak, as we will observe below.<sup>85</sup>

Although the commentary by Ḥamdallāh had begun to spread rather quickly with the efforts of some of his students and peers to seek patronage in other cities, the commentarial attention on it generally remained a Shī'ī and/or Sandilawī affair during the next two generations. Two exceptions may quickly be noted: it appears that the two early commentaries, one by Ḥakīm Sharif b. Akmal (d. 1222/1807)<sup>86</sup> and another by Asadallāh al-Panjābī (1242/1827),<sup>87</sup> were composed during the first century of the life of the *Sullam*. The former scholar was the renowned eponymous member of the Sharifi family of physicians. Appointed as the court physician to Shāh 'Ālam II (d. 1221/1806), he spent the greater part of his life in Delhi.<sup>88</sup> The latter scholar was born and raised in Punjab and studied in Ilāhābād and may also have taught in Lucknow.<sup>89</sup> Although these are exceptions for this period, they do revert the commentarial practice to the cities that were associated with some of the aforementioned scholars who commented on Ḥamdallāh.

But the stronger currents were as follows. The next commentary on Ḥamdallāh composed by his son, Ḥaydar 'Alī (d. 1225/1810), who was trained by his father and two of the latter's students, the aforementioned Qāḍī Aḥmad 'Alī and the commentator Bāballāh, in Sandīla.<sup>90</sup> In Sandīla, he taught Qāḍī Irtidā 'Alī al-Gūpāmawī, Mirzā Ḥasan 'Alī Lakhnawī, Ḥusayn Aḥmad Malīḥābādī, and Dildār 'Alī al-Naṣīrābādī. The last of these scholars, who was also trained by Bāballāh, was a celebrated figure of Shī'ī intellectual and political history in India.<sup>91</sup> The author of the next commentary on Ḥamdallāh, he is reported to have studied the text with Ḥaydar 'Alī himself in Sandīla, following his early training in Ilāhābād. After spending some time in Iraq, he returned to Lucknow, where he received royal patronage and initiated an important program of Shī'ī legal and theological revival in India.<sup>92</sup> He died in 1235/1820. Dildār 'Alī also taught his son Muḥammad (d. 1284/1868), who was born in Lucknow in 1199/1785. He enjoyed regional royal patronage, was given the title Sultān al-'Ulamā', and was appointed muftī in Lucknow. Both he and his brother Ḥusayn (d. 1273/1857) also commented on Ḥamdallāh.<sup>93</sup>

During the period that Dildār 'Alī was preparing his own commentary on Ḥamdallāh, the commentaries of certain other scholars associated with Lucknow and Rampur also began to appear. Most likely, the first of these was by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Labkanī, who studied under the Farangī Maḥallīs, Baḥr al-'Ulūm and Mullā Ḥasan, in Lucknow or Rampur.<sup>94</sup> Thereafter, this trend pressed forward: biographical details of all but one commentator suggest that the Farangī Maḥallīs had emerged as the major mediators of the legacy of Ḥamdallāh, starting in the second quarter of the thirteenth/nineteenth century. The activity was most intense in Lucknow, especially in the circle of the students of Muftī Zuhūrallāh al-Farangī al-Maḥallī (d. 1256/1840). This latter scholar was the student of his paternal uncle Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā, whom we encountered a number of times above as a major commentator of the *Sullam* and as a teacher of some of its other supercommentators.<sup>95</sup>

At least four students of Zuhūrallāh commented on Ḥamdallāh. One commentator, Turāb 'Alī (d. 1281/1865), was born in Lucknow and studied there

also under Muftī Ismā‘īl b. al-Wajīh.<sup>96</sup> Another commentator was Zuhūrallāh’s student, ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Amīnallāh (d. 1285/1869), who was descended from the line of Muḥammad Sa‘īd Farangī Maḥallī. He was also trained in Lucknow by his father, his father’s paternal uncle, Muḥammad Aṣghar, and by his father’s paternal cousin, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Aṣghar; all these scholars were Farangī Maḥallis and some, as we will observe below, also wrote supercommentaries on the *Sullam*.<sup>97</sup> Zuhūrallāh’s third student to write a commentary on Ḥamdallāh was Muftī Sa‘dallāh b. Niẓām al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1294/1877). Born in 1219/1805 in Murādābād and recognized as a leading philologist, he traveled for his studies from Rampur to Najībābād to Delhi. In 1243/1828, at the age of twenty-four, he arrived in Lucknow to study under Muftī Ismā‘īl b. al-Wajīh and Zuhūrallāh.<sup>98</sup> It is likely that he wrote his commentary on Ḥamdallāh during this period or soon thereafter, when he was appointed to teach at the Madrasa-yi Sulṭāniyya in Lucknow. The intensity of attention to the *Sullam* in the teaching circles of Zuhūrallāh can be gauged from the fact that Sa‘dallāh copied a number of manuscripts of commentaries on the *Sullam*, many of which are preserved in the Raza Rampur Library.<sup>99</sup> Zuhūrallāh’s fourth student to write on Ḥamdallāh was Ja‘far ‘Alī al-Kasmandawī (d. 1284/1868), who also studied in Lucknow.<sup>100</sup> Both he and the aforementioned Turāb ‘Alī enjoyed royal patronage: Turāb ‘Alī was honored with the title Rukn al-Dīn and Ja‘far ‘Alī was appointed over the *‘ushr* (tithe) and *kharāj* (land tax) in Ghātampūr. Both scholars claimed descent from ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib; Ja‘far is explicitly mentioned as having descended from the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. However, unlike the scholars of Sandīla who have been mentioned so far, neither scholar seems to have belonged to the Imāmī Shī‘ī denomination. The sources mention, for example, that each also studied *ḥadīth* with leading Sunnī scholars of the time and they do not suggest that they received similar training in a comparable Shī‘ī tradition.<sup>101</sup>

Yet the network with Sandīla and the Shī‘ī tradition was still maintained among these commentators of Ḥamdallāh. For example, Turāb ‘Alī was a teacher of two other commentators on Ḥamdallāh—Ḥaydar ‘Alī al-Riḍawī (d. 1302/1885) and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Mūhānī (d. 1295/1878); both were Shī‘ī scholars associated with Lucknow.<sup>102</sup> Turāb ‘Alī also trained Ja‘far ‘Alī b. Afḍal (d. 1300/1883) and Anwar ‘Alī al-Lakhnawī (d. 1303/1886).<sup>103</sup> The former of these was a Shī‘ī scholar who received his legal training from Dildār ‘Alī’s son Ḥusayn, who in turn was also trained by his brother, the aforementioned commentator on Ḥamdallāh, Muḥammad b. Dildār ‘Alī.<sup>104</sup> J‘afar ‘Alī b. Afḍal was a teacher of Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn, who in turn taught Bashīr al-Dīn b. Karīm al-Dīn (d. 1296/1879); the latter scholar was also a commentator of Ḥamdallāh.<sup>105</sup> Bashīr al-Dīn was also a student of Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan, under whom he studied the commentaries on the *Sullam*. This latter scholar’s teacher was Sharaf al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1268/1852),<sup>106</sup> whose teacher, Ghulām Jilānī b. Aḥmad Sharīf al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1234/1819), was a student of Baḥr al-‘Ulūm and Mullā Ḥasan.<sup>107</sup> Ja‘far ‘Alī b. Afḍal also taught the aforementioned Anwar ‘Alī.<sup>108</sup>

And Anwar 'Alī, a physician and *qāḍī* in Lucknow and then Bhopal, was, in turn, the teacher of Ilāhī Bakhsh al-Ḥanafī al-Fayḍābādī (d. 1306/1889).<sup>109</sup> This latter scholar was also a commentator on Ḥamdallāh and later, perhaps partly owing to his association with Anwar 'Alī, was appointed in Bhopal as a tutor of Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān's children. The patronage bore fruit in his further appointment as the overseer of the *madāris* in Bhopal.<sup>110</sup>

The aforementioned commentator on Ḥamdallāh, Ja'far 'Alī al-Kasmandawī, taught at least one student from Sandīla by the name of Wārith 'Alī b. Aminallāh al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1247/1832).<sup>111</sup> This same scholar was also the student of Sirāj al-Ḥaqq,<sup>112</sup> another commentator on Ḥamdallāh, who belonged to the coterie of some important scholars of Lucknow of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.<sup>113</sup> In the next generation, the Lucknow scholar 'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Rabb al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1288/1872), the grandson of Baḥr al-'Ulūm, also wrote a commentary on Ḥamdallāh.<sup>114</sup> In addition to being taught by his father, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm was also the student of Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Farangī Maḥallī, the grandson of one of the earliest commentators of the *Sullam*—namely, the aforementioned Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq. Finally, within the Farangī Maḥallī family, at least one other commentary on Ḥamdallāh was produced. This was composed by Barakatallāh b. Aḥmadallāh (d. 1343/1925), from the lineage of Ghulām Muṣṭafā, whose descendants not only wrote some of the earliest commentaries on the *Sullam* (Muḥammad Walī and Ḥasan are two examples), but who also trained commentators on Ḥamdallāh (Zuhūrallāh being an example). Barakatallāh was trained by two descendants in the lineage of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.<sup>115</sup> His commentary was one of the last engagements with Ḥamdallāh.

The commentarial tradition on Ḥamdallāh had thus followed a traceable trajectory. It first thrived in Sandīla in the second half of the twelfth/eighteenth century among Shī'ī scholars, some of whom were students of Ḥamdallāh, and others who were trained by his students. In Sandīla, it was cultivated also by A'lam Sandīlawī, a peer of Ḥamdallāh, whose role in the commentarial growth of the *Sullam* I will discuss presently. While the association with Shī'ī scholars was maintained, in the first half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, commentarial activity was most intense in Lucknow and among the scholars affiliated with Farangī Maḥall. In all these cases, the networks of production were dense, and it is likely that most commentaries were generated in the context of studying and teaching in the madrasa.<sup>116</sup>

In the later part of the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, commentarial writings on Ḥamdallāh began to disperse to other regions, although the intellectual genealogies of the authors ultimately reverted to the same scholarly landscape. A few commentaries of these other regions are worthy of mention. The first of these was composed by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī (d. 1316 or 1318/1899 or 1901), the grandson of Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī.<sup>117</sup> We might recall that the latter scholar was trained by Muftī 'Abd al-Wājid, whose intellectual

lineage included the tradition of the *Sullam* from Sandīla, Gūpāmaw, and Khayrābād. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī was trained by his father, Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī, and he received patronage first in Rampur from Nawwāb Kalb ‘Alī Khān, then from the princes of Hyderabad, and then again in Rampur from Nawwāb Mushtāq ‘Alī Khān.<sup>118</sup> He was known to turn to Khayrābād at various periods in his life, and he also enjoyed a period of patronage from the rulers of Tonk.

A number of scholars of the Khayrābādī tradition, including Barakāt Aḥmad, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq’s student, found patronage in Tonk, which had begun to emerge in the middle of the thirteenth/nineteenth century as an important center of *ma‘qūlī* scholarship.<sup>119</sup> A scholar associated with this city composed one of the last commentaries on Ḥamdallāh between 1309/1892–1322/1904. Begun in Lahore and dedicated to the prince Muḥammad ‘Ubaydallāh Khān Firūz Jang (d. 1318/1900) of Tonk, the commentary by ‘Abdallāh b. Šābir al-Tūnkī (d. 1339/1921) was composed at the behest of his students, very likely during his appointment at the Oriental College, Lahore.<sup>120</sup> Al-Tūnkī, who also held appointments in Delhi, Kolkata, and Lucknow, was trained by Muftī Luṭfallāh b. Asadallāh al-Kū‘ilī (d. 1334/1916), who is reported in the sources as including Ḥamdallāh in his teaching cycle.<sup>121</sup> His intellectual lineage passed through Ḥaydar ‘Alī al-Tūnkī (d. 1273/1857), a student of Mullā Mubīn Ghulām Jīlānī, and of Rustam ‘Alī Rāmpūrī (d. 1240/1825); the last had been a student of Baḥr al-‘Ulūm.<sup>122</sup> Another student of Muftī Luṭfallāh’s in Aligarh, Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī (d. 1322/1904), was also a commentator on Ḥamdallāh. He settled in Sahāranpūr.<sup>123</sup>

Rampur, as a site of commentarial activity on Ḥamdallāh, was also represented by Faḍl-i Ḥaqq b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1358/1939). Born in 1278/1862, al-Rāmpūrī received his initial training in his hometown, and then in Aligarh and Bareilly. His most advanced training was under the supervision of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī, with whom he read some works of the classical authors. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq received several prestigious appointments at various colleges in Bhopal and Kolkata, but returned frequently to Rampur, where he eventually settled as the head of the Madrasa-yi ‘Āliya.<sup>124</sup> ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī’s student, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Kābulī (on whom see below), trained ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yūsuf. Born in 1290/1873, he was one of the last commentators on Ḥamdallāh.<sup>125</sup>

Thus, in its later phases, commentarial activity on Ḥamdallāh had begun to move beyond the tightly knit enclaves of the Sandīla and Lucknow teaching circles to scholars associated proximately with such cities as Rampur, Lahore, Aligarh, and Tonk. This development was partly the function of patronage and the establishment of new *madāris*, the attendant dissipation of the networks of the earlier scholarly and teaching centers, and the emergence of new dense networks that counted more recent scholars as authoritative nodes. The developments presented in this section are summarized in tree 5 below.







60. Mufti Zuhūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1256/1840)
61. Turāb ‘Alī b. Shajā‘a ‘Alī (d. 1281/1865)
62. Ḥaydar ‘Alī al-Tūnki (d. 1273/1857)
63. Abū al-Maẓhar Sharaf al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1268/1852)
64. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan
66. Bashīr al-Dīn b. Karīm al-Dīn (d. 1296/1879)
69. ‘Ināyat Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Bakhsh (d. 1279/1863)
70. Muftī Luṭfallāh b. Asadallāh al-Kū‘ilī (d. 1334/1916)
71. Ḥaydar ‘Alī al-Riḍawī (d. 1302/1885)
72. Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī (d. 1322/1904)
73. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī (d. 1316 or 1318/1899 or 1901)
74. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1278/1861)
75. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad A‘ẓam al-Kābulī (d. 1321/1903)
76. ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yūsuf (b. 1290/1873)
77. Ghulām Jilānī b. Aḥmad Sharīf al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1234/1819)
78. Muḥammad Qā‘im b. Shāh Mīr Sa‘īd Ilāhābādī
79. Ghulām Yahyā b. Najm al-Dīn (1180/1767)
80. Ḥakīm Sharīf b. Akmal b. Wāṣil (d. 1222/1807)
81. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Labkanī
82. Muḥammad Shākir
83. ‘Abd al-Wājīd al-Khayrābādī (d. 1216/1802)
84. Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1244/1828 or 1829)
85. Qāḍī Wahhāj al-Dīn
88. Anwār al-Ḥaqq al-Farangī Maḥallī
89. Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Farangī Maḥallī
90. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Anwār al-Ḥaqq
91. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Farangī Maḥallī
92. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Farangī Maḥallī
93. Abū al-Riḥīm b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
94. Akbar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
95. Aṣghar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
96. Amīnallāh b. Akbar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
97. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Amīnallāh b. Akbar (d. 1285/1869)
98. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1304/1887)
99. Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Aṣghar b. Abī al-Riḥīm (d. 1286/1870)
100. Izhār al-Ḥaqq b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq
- 101./27. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq
102. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1270/1854)
103. Ḥabīballāh b. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq
104. ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Anwār al-Ḥaqq
105. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Anwār al-Ḥaqq
106. In‘āmāllāh b. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī
107. Afḥāmāllāh b. In‘āmāllāh b. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh
108. ‘Aẓmatallāh b. In‘āmāllāh b. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh
109. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
110. Ni‘matallāh b. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
111. Aḥmadallāh b. Ni‘matallāh b. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
112. Barakatallāh b. Aḥmadallāh (d. 1343/1925)
113. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1358/1939)
114. ‘Abd al-Rabb b. ‘Abd al-‘Alī

115. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Rabb al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1288/1872)
116. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūhānī (d. 1295/1878)
117. Muftī Sa'dallāh b. Nizām al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1294/1877)
119. Rustam 'Alī Rāmpūrī (d. 1240/1825)
120. Anwar 'Alī al-Lakhnawī (d. 1303/1886)
121. Ja'far 'Alī b. Afḍal (d. 1300/1883)
122. Ja'far 'Alī b. Bāqir 'Alī al-Kasmandawī (d. 1284/1868)
123. Sirāj al-Ḥaqq b. Fayḍ Aḥmad
124. Ilāhī Bakhsh al-Ḥanafī al-Fayḍābādī (d. 1306/1889)
125. 'Abdallāh b. Šābir al-Tūnkī (d. 1339/1921)
126. Wārith 'Alī b. Aminallāh al-Ḥusaynī

### *Qāḍī Mubārak*

As noted above, Ḥamdallāh was not the earliest commentary written on the *Sullam* to receive second-order commentarial attention, although it may have been the quickest to elicit it. The curriculum and the scholarly enclave at Ḥamdallāh's Madrasa-yi Maṣūriyya in Sandila were clearly responsible for this swift growth. The earlier commentary of Ḥamdallāh's contemporary, Mubārak, also invited supercommentaries, although this activity appears to have begun in the second generation after Mubārak. This delay may be explained by the fact that, unlike Ḥamdallāh, the latter did not command a privately endowed madrasa that hosted a dense network of scholars. In the initial phase, commentaries on Mubārak were written mainly by scholars associated with Lucknow and Rampur, where the work was being taught by the Farangī Maḥallis and Khayrābādīs.<sup>126</sup> In both cases, the regional focus can be related back to two distinct networks of scholars, and, as with Ḥamdallāh, it is likely that the commentaries were penned in the context of scholarly training. For again, one often finds that, where a master produced a commentary, the disciple did so as well. Interestingly, a few commentaries on Mubārak were also written by scholars who were disconnected from any patterns of engagement. And some of these scholars, although unassociated with each other, were from Pashtun and Afghan backgrounds. Thus, part of the historical trajectory of this set of supercommentaries is somewhat haphazard as compared to that of commentaries on Ḥamdallāh.

One of the earliest commentaries on Mubārak appears to have been written by Nūr al-Islām b. Salāmāllāh. Born and raised in Rampur, Nūr al-Islām studied under Mullā Ḥasan and Baḥr al-'Ulūm, the Lakhnawī Farangī Maḥallī scholars and commentators on the *Sullam*, during their respective tenures in that city. Since the former died in 1199/1784, Nūr al-Islām must have been born no later than the mid-1170s/1760s.<sup>127</sup> The sources do not give much information about him, although some students of his are mentioned in the biographical dictionaries. Almost all were trained by him in Rampur; and two also studied under Ḥaydar Tūnkī, also in Rampur.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, although this first commentary was written in Rampur, its author belonged directly to the intellectual lineage of the Lucknow scholars of Farangī Maḥall.

The next commentator on Mubārak from Lucknow, Muftī Nūr Aḥmad al-Sahsawānī (d. 1280/1864), was also trained by Baḥr al-‘Ulūm. Born in 1190/1776 to a family of muftis, the commentator studied in Sahsawān, in Murādābād, and in Lucknow.<sup>129</sup> The next several commentators on Mubārak were deeply embedded within the Farangī Maḥallī tradition. Turāb ‘Alī,<sup>130</sup> whom we encountered above as a commentator on Ḥamdallāh, Zuhūr ‘Alī b. Ḥaydar (d. 1275/1859), and Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Aṣghar (d. 1286/1870) were all students of the aforementioned teacher of various commentators on Ḥamdallāh, Zuhūrallāh, who had himself written a commentary on Mubārak.<sup>131</sup> Born in 1223/1808, Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Aṣghar, like his teacher, was a member of the Farangī Maḥallī family, from the line of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the brother of the early commentator of the *Sullam*, Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq.<sup>132</sup> In 1277/1861, Muḥammad Yūsuf was appointed a teacher at the Madrasa Ḥanafīyya Imāmiyya in Jawnpur, where he trained a number of students.<sup>133</sup> None of them, however, is known to have written a commentary on Mubārak. His aforementioned student and paternal nephew, ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm, however, wrote a commentary on Ḥamdallāh (and Ḥasan, on which, see below).<sup>134</sup> Like the last commentator, Zuhūr ‘Alī was also descended from the Farangī Maḥallis—his grandfather was Mullā Mubīn, the celebrated commentator on the *Sullam*.<sup>135</sup> Also from Lucknow, the commentator on Ḥamdallāh, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm b. ‘Abd al-Rabb al-Farangī Maḥallī, wrote a commentary on Mubārak.<sup>136</sup>

Commentarial writing on Mubārak in Lucknow took place simultaneously with the work of scholars associated with Rampur. However, before I discuss them, it is worthwhile to point out that, starting from the earliest phase of commentarial activity on Mubārak in these two cities, a few unassociated Pashtun scholars had also begun to comment on the work. The first of these was most likely Jahd ‘Alī b. Muḥabbat Khān al-Hazārāwī, who was born in 1150/1738 and died in 1250/1834; unfortunately, we do not have any further information about him.<sup>137</sup> The Pashtun scholar, Muḥammad Aḥsan b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq, who was also known as Ḥāfiẓ Darāz (d. 1263/1847), also composed a commentary on Mubārak. Again, we do not know much about this scholar other than that he was from Peshawar and taught a scholar by the name of Ghulām Nabī (d. 1306/1889) in the same city.<sup>138</sup>

A scholar by the name of Muzammil b. Fidā’ Muḥammad (d. 1292/1875), known as Mullā Ṣarikh, also wrote a commentary on Mubārak. The lithograph of the commentary states that he was a Yusufzai in terms of his genealogy—that is, from the region of modern-day northwestern Pakistan or eastern Afghanistan—and that he was a Ṣarikhawī in terms of his home.<sup>139</sup> Biographical notices indicate that his father had settled in Ṣarikh after living in Mardān, which appears to have been an important center of learning during this period.<sup>140</sup> The work is dedicated to Dūst Muḥammad Khān, a ruler of Afghanistan, who died in 1279/1863. The introductory comments mention the tribulations in the land; these may very well be a reference to the First Anglo-Afghan War. If this is the case, then the work was written sometime in the late 1830s and early 1840s.<sup>141</sup> The lithograph of the

work, produced after 1847, also includes marginal commentary by the author's son, Ḥabiballāh. Given that no further information is available about his teachers, this case also appears to be an interesting anomaly in the continuity of the *Sullam* tradition in general. That said, Muzammil b. Fidā' was a teacher of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Kābulī, a commentator on Mubārak (on whom see below).

A commentary on Mubārak's self-commentary was composed by another Pashtun scholar during this same period. The author, Sa'dallāh b. Ghulām Ḥaḍrat al-Qandahārī, is otherwise unknown. The lithograph of the work, which was published one year after its composition in 1299/1882, mentions the title of the work as *al-Kāshifāt*.<sup>142</sup> Since no further information is available, these cases appear to be intriguing anomalies in the continuity of the *Sullam* tradition in general. They do indicate that Mubārak had become popular among Pashtun scholars outside the scholarly ambit of Lucknow and Rampur, that this occurred relatively early in its commentarial history, and that the interest was sustained.

Commentaries on Mubārak were also written by later Pashtun scholars. Again, I mention them here, since their intellectual genealogies generally do not appear to map onto recognizable patterns. For example, a commentary on Mubārak was produced by Miyān 'Abdallāh b. Miyān Abrār Shāh al-Pishāwari (d. 1335/1917).<sup>143</sup> Another commentary on Mubārak was written by Qāḍī 'Abd al-Subḥān al-Hazārāwī (d. 1377/1958). Born in 1316/1898, he was trained by Barakāt Aḥmad, the student of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī, and by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Balyāwī, a notable scholar of the Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband, who also wrote a commentary on the *Sullam* (see below).<sup>144</sup> Another Pashtun scholar, Muḥammad Nadhīr Sawātī (d. 1391/1971), also wrote an extensive commentary on Mubārak that was published in 1395/1975.

The aforementioned Pashtun scholars are somewhat difficult to place in the networks of commentarial production on Mubārak. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that Pashtun scholars writing on the *Sullam* generally expended their energies on Mubārak and, to some extent on the *Sullam* itself, not on the two other gateway commentaries. As we will observe below, certainly the later investment in the work was tied to the curriculum at Deoband, where a number of these scholars studied.

We may now return to familiar territory. Along with Lucknow, the continuity of the commentarial tradition on Mubārak was afforded by scholars associated with Rampur, specifically among those who defined the Khayrābādī tradition. The latter was an offshoot of Farangī Maḥall, issuing from A'lam Sandilawī; and through his student, 'Abd al-Wājid al-Khayrābādī, it also incorporated the scholarly tradition of Gūpāmaw.<sup>145</sup> The first two scholars from among the Khayrābādīs to write a commentary on Mubārak were Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī, the fountainhead of the tradition, and his son, Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī.<sup>146</sup> The latter was born in 1212/1797 in Khayrābād and was trained mainly by his father, who had arrived in Delhi after 1218/1803. It is here that Faḍl-i Ḥaqq began his teaching and civil career, passing thereafter through Alwar, Sahāranpūr, and Tonk as a teacher

between 1246/1832 and 1256/1840 at the invitation of the rulers there. Around 1256/1840, he moved to Rampur at the behest of Nawwāb Muḥammad Saʿīd Khān (d. 1271/1846), was appointed tutor of the royal household, and assumed other posts for ten years. Between Delhi and Rampur, Faḍl-i Ḥaqq trained a large number of students.<sup>147</sup> A contemporary of Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī, Tāj al-Dīn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Madrāsī (b. 1214/1800), also commented on Mubārak. He was trained by Turāb ʿAlī b. Nuṣratallāh al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 1242/1827), a scholar of Khayrābād and a student of the ʿAbd al-Wājid al-Khayrābādī.<sup>148</sup>

Among the Khayrābādīs, the next commentary on Mubārak was written by Faḍl-i Ḥaqq's son, the commentator on Ḥamdallāh, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī. Yet another commentary was composed by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Aʿẓam al-Kābulī (d. 1321/1903), a student of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī. Al-Kābulī received his early training in Kabul, where he was born. After studying with a certain Mullā Surayj, who is identified in the sources as a commentator on Mubārak, he went to Kolkata and Rampur to complete his studies.<sup>149</sup>

At least three other commentaries on Mubārak were written after this period, none of which appear to belong either to the Lucknow or the Rampur network. The first was written by Ghulām Muḥammad b. Ghulām Rasūl al-Jawlākī al-Jihāyisī (d. 1325/1907). Born in 1282/1866 in Punjab, he undertook his initial studies under his father's supervision and then went to Sahāranpūr to study at the Madrasat Mazāhir al-ʿUlūm.<sup>150</sup> The next two commentaries are modern. One of these was completed in 1398/1978 by Abū ʿUbayd Manzūr Aḥmad Nuʿmānī (b. 1340/1922), who was trained in the rationalist disciplines at the Dār al-ʿUlūm Deoband, including by Ibrāhīm al-Balyāwī. The other commentary was written in 1424/2003 by Muḥammad ʿUbaydallāh al-Ayyūbī al-Qandahārī.<sup>151</sup>

### *Summary of Findings*

Some general observations are now in order. Much like Ḥamdallāh, the career of Mubārak was generally tied to specific scholarly circles, the first centered in Lucknow and perpetuated by the Farangī Maḥallis and their students, and the second in Rampur among the Khayrābādīs. It is worth noting that, just as the writings on Mubārak were starting to dissipate among the first group, they were beginning to receive sustained attention among the second. This is most likely a function of the ascendancy of the princely state of Rampur as a site of royal patronage, just when Lucknow, its rival, was grappling with increasing financial and political pressures from the British East India Company and the rise of sectarian tensions.<sup>152</sup> For example, three of the leading scholars of Farangī Maḥall and the most notable commentators and teachers of the *Sullam*, Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Mullā Ḥasan, and Ṣuhūrallāh, had all departed from Lucknow between the second half of the twelfth/eighteenth and the first quarter of the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries and had found patronage in Rampur. We might also recall that a similar shift on a more modest scale had taken place with reference to Ḥamdallāh, although interest in it continued to

be sustained in Lucknow; this makes some sense in view of the rise of Lucknow as a Shi'ī principality and the sectarian affiliation of Ḥamdallāh and his earliest commentators, such as Dildār 'Alī. The production of commentaries on Mubārak in Rampur may be explained with reference to the movement of the aforementioned scholars, while its commentarial footing in Lucknow may well relate partly to the continuity with the Shi'ī tradition that extended back to Sandīla. Indeed, as noted above, a number of Lakhnawī commentators on Ḥamdallāh were Shi'a.

A couple observations should also be made regarding the Khayrābādī tradition of Mubārak in Rampur. First, the Khayrābādīs, much more than the Farangī Maḥallīs, were entrenched in Mubārak's intellectual lineage: Mubārak was trained by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī and Ṣifatallāh al-Khayrābādī, both of whom were directly within the intellectual lineage of the Khayrābādīs, as noted above. This may suggest that, at some earlier stage, Mubārak was studied in their circles with the same intensity as Ḥamdallāh was studied in Sandīla. Secondly, this possibility also explains the curricular choices and interpretive angles of the Khayrābādīs. As I will outline in the next chapter, the *Sullam*, in certain cases, and Mubārak, much more broadly, had infused the study of logic in South Asia with the apparatus of the *Ufuq Mubīn* of Mīr Dāmād. And it was precisely among the Khayrābādīs, who included Mubārak and other Gūpāmawī scholars in their intellectual lineage, that the *Ufuq* was most intensely studied and critically assessed. Starting with Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī, the tradition included scholars who taught the *Ufuq* and also wrote the occasional commentary on it.<sup>153</sup> As we will see below, the range of these commentaries pertained to precisely those issues that were of greatest interest to some aspects of the propositional semantics of the *Sullam*.<sup>154</sup> Intriguingly, the scholars explicitly presented in the sources as having studied the *Ufuq* with the Khayrābādīs were Pashtun, and two, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Kābulī and al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Nūr al-Qandahārī, were mentioned above as commentators on Mubārak. Since there is no further information about such commentators, one wonders if there is a correlation in their interest in the latter and in the *Ufuq*. The details of this section are presented in tree 6.

#### *Mullā Ḥasan*

Like Ḥamdallāh and Mubārak, Mullā Ḥasan also wrote a self-commentary. Other than that, at least eleven supercommentaries were written on his work. The earliest commentary appears to have been written by Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1270/1854), the paternal nephew of the celebrated commentator on the *Sullam*, Mullā Mubīn b. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.<sup>155</sup> Born in 1182/1769, Walīallāh was raised in Lucknow and trained under his paternal uncle, who, as noted above, was a student of Mullā Ḥasan himself. Walīallāh also wrote a commentary on Ḥasan's *Ma'ārij al-'ulūm*, a logic work with a critical approach to the *Sullam*.<sup>156</sup>

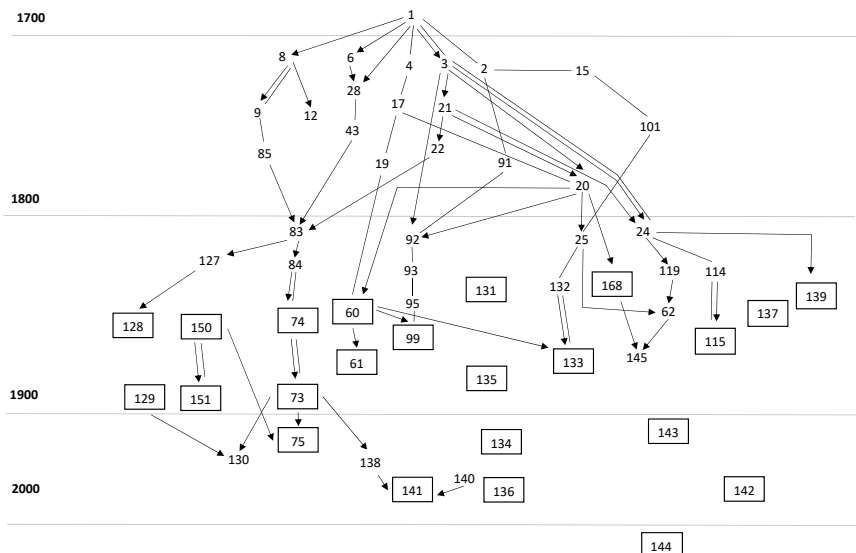


FIGURE 6. Tree 6: Commentaries on Mubārak.

KEY FOR TREE 6

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
2. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī
3. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740)
4. Muḥammad Asʿad
6. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shamsābādī (d. 1121/1709)
8. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī (d. ca. 1125/1713)
9. Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūpāmawī
12. Qāḍī Mubārak b. Muḥammad Dāʿim b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Gūpāmawī (d. 1162/1749)
15. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1167/1754)
17. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Asʿad
19. Muḥammad Walī b. al-Qāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1198/1784)
20. Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1199/1784)
21. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīhpūrī (d. 1175/1761)
22. Muḥammad Aʿlam b. Muḥammad Shākīr al-Sandīlāwī (d. 1198/1784)
24. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Nizām al-Dīn Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1225/1810)
25. Mubīn b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1225/1810)
28. Šifatalāh b. Madīnatallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Khayrābādī (d. 1157/1744)
43. Aḥmadallāh b. Šifatalāh al-Khayrābādī (d. 1167/1754)
60. Muftī Zuhūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1256/1840)
61. Turāb ʿAlī b. Shajāʿa ʿAlī (d. 1281/1865)
62. Ḥaydar ʿAlī al-Tūnki (d. 1273/1857)
73. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī (d. 1316 or 1318/1899 or 1901)
74. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1278/1861)
75. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Aʿẓam al-Kābulī (d. 1321/1903)
83. ʿAbd al-Wājīd al-Khayrābādī (d. 1216/1802)

84. Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1244/1828 or 29)
85. Qāḍī Wāḥḥāj al-Dīn
91. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Farangī Maḥallī
92. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Farangī Maḥallī
93. Abū al-Riḥīm b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
95. Aṣghar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
99. Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Aṣghar b. Abī al-Riḥīm (d. 1286/1870)
- 101./27. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq
114. ‘Abd al-Rabb b. ‘Abd al-‘Alī
115. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm b. ‘Abd al-Rabb al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1288/1872)
119. Rustam ‘Alī Rāmpūrī (d. 1240/1825)
127. Turāb ‘Alī b. Nuṣratallāh al-Khayrābādī (1242/1827)
128. Tāj al-Dīn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Madrāsī (b. 1214/1800)
129. Al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Nūr al-Qandahārī
130. Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Allāh Bakhsh al-Ḥanafī
131. Jahd ‘Alī b. Muḥabbat Khān al-Hazārāwī (d. 1250/1834)
132. Ḥaydar b. Mubīn b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd
133. Ḥuhūr ‘Alī b. Ḥaydar (d. 1275/1858)
134. Miyyān ‘Abdallāh b. Miyyān Abrār Shāh al-Pishāwarī (d. 1335/1917)
135. Sa‘dallāh b. Ghulām Ḥaḍrat al-Qandahārī (ca. 1299/1882)
136. Muḥammad Nadhīr Sawātī (d. 1391/1971)
137. Muḥammad Aḥsan b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq (Ḥāfiẓ Darāz (d. 1263/1847))
138. Barakāt Aḥmad (d. 1347/1928)
139. Muftī Nūr Aḥmad b. Naẓar Muḥammad al-Sahsawānī (d. 1280/1864)
140. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Balyāwī (d. 1387/1967)
141. ‘Abd al-Subḥān al-Hazārāwī (d. 1377/1958)
142. Abū ‘Ubayd Manẓūr Aḥmad Nu‘mānī (b. 1340/1922)
143. Ghulām Muḥammad b. Ghulām Rasūl al-Jawlākī al-Jihāyisī (d. 1325/1907)
144. Muḥammad ‘Ubaydallāh al-Ayyūbī al-Qandahārī (ca. 1424/2003)
145. Ibrāhīm b. Mudayyinallāh
150. Muzammil b. Fidā’ (d. 1292/1875)
151. Ḥabīballāh b. Muzammil b. Fidā’
168. Nūr al-Islam b. Salāmullāh

The next set of commentaries, except two, were all products of scholars associated with Lucknow; and the two exceptions were the two last commentators on Ḥasan that I have been able to identify. Almost every commentator was trained directly or indirectly by a member of the Farangī Maḥallī family, and a number of them were members of the family itself. After Walīallāh, the next commentary was composed by the grandson of his teacher, Khādim Aḥmad b. Ḥaydar b. Mubīn al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1271/1855) of Lucknow.<sup>157</sup> We have already encountered his brother, Ḥuhūr ‘Alī, as a commentator on Mubārak. Thus, the initial writings on Ḥasan came from a closely knit enclave of the family, which included the lineage of Ḥasan’s own student, Mubīn.

The next flurry of commentaries, also composed in the first half or the early parts of the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, were all written by students of the major commentarial node, Ḥuhūrallāh al-Farangī al-Maḥallī.



And all four of these Lakhnawī scholars had also written at least one other supercommentary, either on Ḥamdallāh or Mubārak or both, so that they have been mentioned above: Sa‘dallāh Rāmpūrī, Turāb ‘Alī, Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Farangī Maḥallī, and ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Farangī Maḥallī.

In the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, two recognizable phenomena present themselves. First, just as in the case of Ḥamdallāh, the commentarial tradition had shifted to Lucknow from Sandīla, even as a tie with Shī‘ī scholars was maintained, so in the case of Ḥasan, the tie with Shī‘ī scholars was established even as that with Lucknow as a locus of activity was maintained. In this regard, as before, the role of Turāb ‘Alī appears to be significant. He trained two Shī‘ī commentators on Ḥasan who had also commented on Ḥamdallāh—these were Kamāl al-Mūhānī (d. 1295/1878)<sup>158</sup> and Ḥaydar ‘Alī al-Riḍawī (d. 1302/1885).<sup>159</sup> The latter scholar was also trained by yet another Shī‘ī commentator on Ḥasan—namely, Mīr ‘Abbās al-Shushtarī (d. 1306/1888), a student of Ḥusayn b. Dildār ‘Alī.<sup>160</sup>

### *Summary of Findings*

The details may be summarized as follows. First, commentarial activity on Ḥasan appears to have begun only in the second generation after its composition. This delay is similar to the one faced by Mubārak and may perhaps be explained in view of the immediate entrenchment of supercommentarial activity on Ḥamdallāh. This was likely a trend against which both Mubārak and Ḥasan had to contend.

Secondly, like Ḥamdallāh, Ḥasan was a subject of commentary in Lucknow throughout the thirteenth/nineteenth century and always among scholars associated with Farangī Maḥall. Its sectarian growth, however, occurred in a reverse direction. For whereas Ḥamdallāh’s early career was mainly in Sandīla among Shī‘ī scholars, only to be perpetuated among the latter and Sunnī scholars in Lucknow, the engagement with Ḥasan in Lucknow was a Sunnī affair, passing onto the Shī‘ī scholars of the city only in its second phase. In this regard, the roles of Ḥuhūrallāh and Turāb ‘Alī, and the intellectual lineage of Dildār ‘Alī appear to be rather significant. Keeping with these same patterns, one of the latest commentaries on Ḥasan was written by the commentator on Ḥamdallāh, Barakatallāh b. Aḥmadallāh al-Farangī Maḥallī.

It is only in its final phases that commentarial activity on Ḥasan shifted away from Lucknow. The two latest commentaries of which I am aware were composed by Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ḥuhūr Ḥasan al-Isrā‘īlī al-Sanbhalī (d. 1305/1888), who lived between Sanbhal and Rampur, and Muftī Luṭfallāh of Aligarh.<sup>161</sup> I have not been able to get any more useful information about the former, but we may recall that the latter’s intellectual lineage can be traced back, via Mullā Mubīn, to Mullā Ḥasan himself. The observations above are summarized in tree 7.

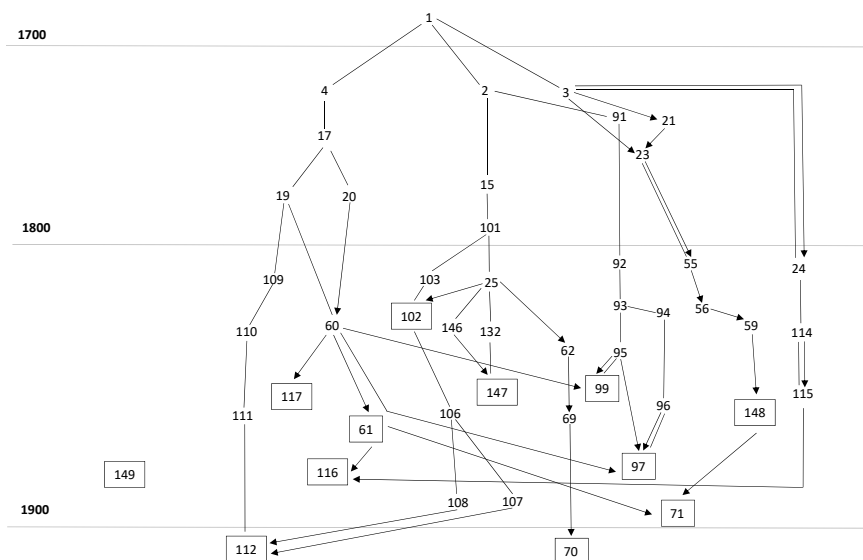


FIGURE 7. Tree 7: Commentaries on Ḥasan.

KEY FOR TREE 7

1. Qutb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
2. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Qutb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī
3. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740)
4. Muḥammad Asʿad
15. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Qutb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1167/1754)
17. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Asʿad
19. Muḥammad Walī b. al-Qāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1198/1784)
20. Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1199/1784)
21. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīhpūrī (d. 1175/1761)
23. Ḥamdallāh b. Shukrallāh b. Dāniyāl b. Pīr Muḥammad al-Sandīlāwī (d. 1160/1747)
24. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Nizām al-Dīn Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1225/1810)
25. Mubīn b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Qutb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1225/1810)
55. Ḥaydar ʿAlī b. Ḥamdallāh al-Sandīlāwī (d. 1225/1810)
56. Dildār ʿAlī al-Naṣīrābādī (d. 1235/1820)
59. Ḥusayn b. Dildār ʿAlī (d. 1273/1857)
60. Muftī Zuhūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1256/1840)
61. Turāb ʿAlī b. Shajāʿa ʿAlī (d. 1281/1865)
62. Ḥaydar ʿAlī al-Tūnki (d. 1273/1857)
69. ʿInāyat Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Bakhsh (d. 1279/1863)
70. Muftī Luṭfallāh b. Asadallāh al-Kūʿilī (d. 1334/1916)
71. Ḥaydar ʿAlī al-Riḍawī (d. 1302/1885)
91. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Farangī Maḥallī
92. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Farangī Maḥallī
93. Abū al-Riḥīm b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
94. Akbar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

95. Aṣghar b. Abī al-Riḥim b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
96. Aminallāh b. Akbar b. Abī al-Riḥim b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz
97. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Aminallāh b. Akbar (d. 1285/1869)
99. Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Aṣghar b. Abī al-Riḥim (d. 1286/1870)
- 101./27. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq
102. Waliallāh b. Ḥabiballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1270/1854)
103. Ḥabiballāh b. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq
106. In‘āmallāh b. Waliallāh b. Ḥabiballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī
107. Afhāmallāh b. In‘āmallāh b. Waliallāh b. Ḥabiballāh
108. ‘Azmatallāh b. In‘āmallāh b. Waliallāh b. Ḥabiballāh
109. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
110. Ni‘matallāh b. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
111. Aḥmadallāh b. Ni‘matallāh b. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
112. Barakatallāh b. Aḥmadallāh (d. 1343/1925)
114. ‘Abd al-Rabb b. ‘Abd al-‘Alī
115. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm b. ‘Abd al-Rabb al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1288/1872)
116. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūhānī (d. 1295/1878)
117. Muftī Sa‘dallāh b. Nizām al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1294/1877)
132. Ḥaydar b. Mubīn b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd
146. Muḥammad Mu‘īn b. Mubīn b. Muḥibb b. Aḥmad
148. Mīr ‘Abbās al-Shushtarī (d. 1306/1888)
149. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ḥuhūr Ḥasan al-Isrā‘īlī al-Sanbhalī (d. 1305/1888)

#### OTHER FIRST-ORDER COMMENTARIES ON THE SULLAM

In this last section, I will mention a number of first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* that were not the subject of second-order commentarial attention. Some of the earliest examples, from the thirteenth/nineteenth century, reflect the patterns of production that were observed above. Thereafter, commentarial work generally tended to be tied to the fortunes of print culture and to the Dār al-‘Ulūm Deoband, eventually yielding to the Urdu language.

One of the earliest commentaries from the early thirteenth/nineteenth century was written by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Nānūtawī. Born and raised in the province of Sindh, he received his higher training from Ghulām Ḥusayn Ilāhābādī. The latter was a student of A‘lam Sandilawī and, in turn, taught Dildār ‘Alī. Thus, Nānūtawī was the latter’s contemporary and can be said to fit within the earlier networks of commentarial work between Sandila and Lucknow.<sup>162</sup>

The next few minor commentaries on the *Sullam* were also written by scholars associated with Lucknow and Rampur. These included Khalīl al-Raḥmān al-Muṣṭafābādī al-Rāmpūrī, who was trained by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī and Mullā Ḥasan. After completing his studies, Khalīl al-Raḥmān arrived in Tonk, where he was appointed qāḍī and was known to engage Ḥaydar al-Tūnkī in debates.<sup>163</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn, who was also trained by Ḥasan and Baḥr al-‘Ulūm in Lucknow or Rampur, was also a first-order commentator on the *Sullam*.

Three additional commentators on the *Sullam* fit these patterns. Muḥammad Ḥanīf b. Abī al-Ḥanīf al-Dhamtūrī (d. 1276/1860) was trained in Delhi and Lucknow. In the latter city, his teachers were Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Farangī Maḥallī and the latter's father, Anwār al-Ḥaqq al-Farangī Maḥallī, students of Ḥasan and Baḥr al-ʿUlūm respectively.<sup>164</sup> The second commentator, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Rustom ʿAlī al-Qannawjī (d. 1223/1808), wrote on the *Sullam* up to the end of the section on conditionals.<sup>165</sup> He is also reported to have been a teacher of Naʿīm al-Dīn al-Qannawjī, who commented on the *Taṣḍīqāt* section of the *Sullam*.<sup>166</sup>

Notwithstanding two exceptions, the dense enclave for the production of first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* began to dissipate in the next period. Let me mention the two cases that form a continuity, before I turn to the other cases. The first one is Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1304/1887), a celebrated scholar of Lucknow who was trained by members of his family.<sup>167</sup> The other commentator was the aforementioned commentator on Ḥasan and Ḥamdallāh, Barakatallāh b. Aḥmadallāh al-Farangī Maḥallī.

In the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, these networks of commentarial production began to unravel, and they gave way to different continuities. A good part of the explanation for the changes relates to the emergence of new institutions, methods, and curricula of scholarly training, and the attendant use of print culture. With the immediate exception of two cases—one, a Pashto commentary by Muzammil b. Fidāʾ (d. 1292/1875)<sup>168</sup> and another by a certain Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ, whose work was composed around 1322/1904 for the printing press<sup>169</sup>—a very large set of first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* were produced from this point on by scholars associated with the Dār al-ʿUlūm Deoband. This was as much an indication of the late thirteenth-/nineteenth-century decline of earlier networks, methods, and institutions of learning that had sustained the *Sullam* tradition as it was of the emergence of new systems that had arisen in their stead.<sup>170</sup>

One of the earliest of these commentaries was written in the first quarter of the fourteenth/twentieth century by ʿUbaydallāh al-Pishāwarī (d. 1344/1924).<sup>171</sup> Thereafter, between the end of the first quarter and the third quarter of the century, the following Deobandī scholars wrote commentaries on the *Sullam*: Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Balyāwī (d. 1387/1967), who was a student of a student of Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī,<sup>172</sup> Muḥammad Ishāq al-Hazārawī (d. 1391/1971),<sup>173</sup> Sayyid Anwār al-Ḥaqq al-Pishāwarī (d. 1388/1968),<sup>174</sup> and Mawlānā Mumtāz al-Dīn.<sup>175</sup> The last two of these commentaries were in Urdu and a number of them were produced for facilitating the training of students.<sup>176</sup>

In the last quarter of the fourteenth/twentieth century and up until the current period, at least five commentaries on the *Sullam* were produced. Three were written by scholars of Deoband—Muftī ʿAṭāʾ al-Raḥmān Multānī (published 1422/2002),<sup>177</sup> Muftī Saʿīd Aḥmad Pālanpūrī (published 1433/2012),<sup>178</sup> and Muftī Shakīl Aḥmad Sītāpūrī.<sup>179</sup> The remaining two commentaries were composed by

Mawlānā Sayyid Ḥamīd al-Raḥmān<sup>180</sup> and Mawlānā Šiddīq Aḥmad Bāndawī.<sup>181</sup> All these commentaries were written in Urdu.

### *Summary of Findings*

We may summarize the results as follows. In the generation after the production of the three gateway first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* and up until the turn of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, most of the other first-order commentaries were produced either by the Farangī Maḥallīs or by their students. Every commentary—with the exception of one in Pashto—was written in Arabic.<sup>182</sup> As was the case with commentaries on Mubārak, some of these commentaries were also written by Pashtun scholars whose intellectual genealogies are mostly truncated from the dense networks outlined above, although a couple of cases point to their participation in the Khayrābādī tradition.

By the late thirteenth/nineteenth century, a new set of patterns began to emerge. First, a rather significant number of first-order commentaries were written by scholars associated at some point with the Dār al-‘Ulūm Deoband. Interestingly, some of these scholars were also Pashtun. In this new kind of institutional setting, several of the commentaries were written for the purposes of seeing their production in print and often for facilitating ease of understanding the Arabic text. Although the Arabic *matn* almost always accompanied the text, the vast majority of commentaries composed in this period was in Urdu and did not display the same complex dialectical engagement that was the hallmark of the earlier tradition. In its last century, therefore, the tradition of the *Sullam* had generally shifted away from supercommentaries on the gateway hypotexts and became tied to a different curriculum belonging to a recent institution—the new madrasa that replaced the extended scholarly networks of production—whose fortunes were tied to print culture. As we observed, it is this print culture, too, which, by the function of its dissemination of texts, also sometimes elicited *readerly* commentaries. Put differently, in the last century, the commentarial tradition of the *Sullam* had come to serve the teaching of a set curriculum within a formalized institution; it was generally no longer a dialectical locus of attention. It is also for this reason that one no longer observes the commentary as unfolding discursively from one generation to another, from master to student, from the gestures of the hypotext to its fulfillment in the hypertexts that perpetuate the exercise.<sup>183</sup> The commentaries discussed in this section are represented in tree 8.

### CONCLUSIONS

Within the Subcontinent, the commentarial tradition of the *Sullam* was vast. This text was also unique in this respect: although by the thirteenth/nineteenth century it had become familiar to scholars outside India, only Indian scholars appear to have commented on it.<sup>184</sup> The text of the *Sullam* was in all likelihood composed in

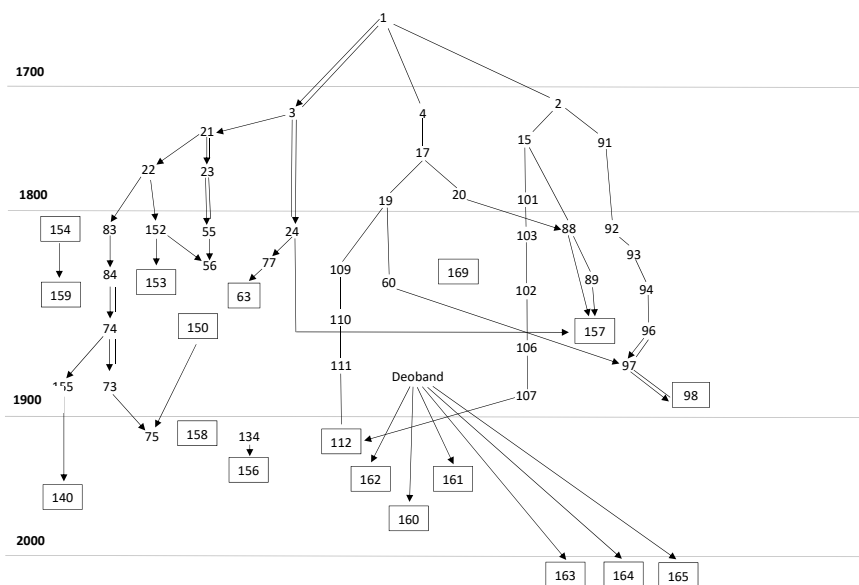


FIGURE 8. Tree 8: The rest of first-order commentaries.

#### KEY FOR TREE 8

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 1103/1692)
2. Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī
3. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1153/1740)
4. Muḥammad As'ad
15. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī (d. 1167/1754)
17. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad As'ad
19. Muḥammad Walī b. al-Qāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1198/1784)
20. Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (d. 1199/1784)
21. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sihālāwī al-Fatīhpūrī (d. 1175/1761)
22. Muḥammad A'lam b. Muḥammad Shākīr al-Sandīlāwī (d. 1198/1784)
23. Ḥamdallāh b. Shukrallāh b. Dāniyāl b. Pīr Muḥammad al-Sandīlāwī (d. 1160/1747)
24. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Nizām al-Dīn Baḥr al-'Ulūm (d. 1225/1810)
55. Ḥaydar 'Alī b. Ḥamdallāh al-Sandīlāwī (d. 1225/1810)
56. Dildār 'Alī al-Naṣīrābādī (d. 1235/1820)
60. Muftī Zuhūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī al-Farāngī Maḥallī (d. 1256/1840)
63. Abū al-Maẓhar Sharaf al-Dīn al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1268/1852)
73. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq al-Khayrābādī (d. 1316 or 1318/1899 or 1901)
74. Faḍl-i Ḥaqq b. Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1278/1861)
75. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad A'zam al-Kābulī (d. 1321/1903)
77. Ghulām Jilānī b. Aḥmad Sharīf al-Rāmpūrī (d. 1234/1819)
83. 'Abd al-Wājīd al-Khayrābādī (d. 1216/1802)
84. Faḍl-i Imām al-Khayrābādī (d. 1244/1828 or 29)
88. Anwār al-Ḥaqq al-Farāngī Maḥallī
89. Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Farāngī Maḥallī
91. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Farāngī Maḥallī

92. Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad Sa'id al-Farangī Maḥallī
93. Abū al-Riḥīm b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-'Azīz
94. Akbar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-'Azīz
96. Amīnallāh b. Akbar b. Abī al-Riḥīm b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-'Azīz
97. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Amīnallāh b. Akbar (d. 1285/1869)
98. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1304/1887)
- 101./27. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq
102. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī (d. 1270/1854)
103. Ḥabīballāh b. Muḥibballāh b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq
106. In'āmāllāh b. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh al-Farangī Maḥallī
107. Afḥāmāllāh b. In'āmāllāh b. Walīallāh b. Ḥabīballāh
109. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
110. Ni'matallāh b. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
111. Aḥmadallāh b. Ni'matallāh b. Nūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī
112. Barakatallāh b. Aḥmadallāh (d. 1343/1925)
134. Miyyān 'Abdallāh b. Miyyān Abrār Shāh al-Pishāwarī (d. 1335/1917)
140. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Balyāwī (d. 1387/1967)
150. Muzammil b. Fidā' (d. 1292/1875)
152. Ghulām Ḥusayn Ilāhābādī
153. 'Abd al-Raḥīm Nānūtawī al-Sindhī (ca. early thirteenth/nineteenth century)
154. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Rustam 'Alī al-Qannawjī (d. 1223/1808)
155. Hidāyatallāh Khān
156. 'Ubaydallāh al-Pishāwarī (d. 1344/1924)
157. Muḥammad Ḥanīf b. Abī al-Ḥanīf al-Dhamtūrī (d. 1276/1860)
158. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bahā' (ca. 1322/1904)
159. Na'im al-Dīn b. Faṣīḥ al-Dīn al-Qannawjī
160. Muḥammad Ishāq Hazārawī (d. 1391/1971)
161. Sayyid Anwār al-Ḥaqq al-Pishāwarī (d. 1388/1968)
162. Mawlānā Mumtāz al-Dīn
163. Muftī 'Aṭā' al-Raḥmān Multānī (published 1422/2002)
164. Muftī Sa'id Aḥmad Pālanpūrī (published 1433/2012)
165. Muftī Shakīl Aḥmad Sītāpūrī
169. Khalīl al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad 'Irfān al-Muṣṭafābādī al-Rāmpūrī

Lucknow or Delhi in the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century and gained circulation at a very quick pace. Its earliest commentaries were also written either in Delhi or its vicinity by scholars who, like the author of the hypotext, enjoyed imperial patronage. Some of these earliest commentaries were begun within the lifetime of the author and at least one was completed in the year of his death.

With the shift in the fortunes of the network of Farangī Maḥallī scholars with whom the author had been associated and of Delhi, commentarial activity in the first phase shifted first to Lucknow, and then swiftly also to Gūpāmaw, and Sandīla; this occurred in the first and second quarters of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

In the next phase of first-order commentarial production, which may be dated to the second and third quarters of the twelfth/eighteenth century, a large number of students of Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sihālāwī, who had scholarly and matrilineal ties to Farangī Maḥall, emerged on the scene. It was during this period that two

of the gateway commentaries on the *Sullam* and some of those that were most intensely studied in the madrasa were composed by his students. A large number of commentators during this period belonged to the Farangī Maḥallī family and remained associated with Lucknow. Other commentators, associated with the same scholarly tradition, were located in Gūpāmaw and Sandīla.

The vantage points into the tradition of the *Sullam* had thus been identified during this second phase with three gateway commentaries. Owing to the dialectical and oral-textual spaces that commentary inhabited, these three works had come to have a horizontal influence and had also absorbed the commentarial contributions of the first phase. All these works were also accompanied by self-commentaries that served as curatorial guides for commentarial disquisitions, especially with reference to those lemmata that were left deliberately allusive and elusive, so as to exercise the students and sharpen their acumen.<sup>185</sup>

Of the three gateway commentaries, Ḥamdallāh received almost immediate commentarial attention. The first flurry of writings came from Sandīla and from Ḥamdallāh's students at the Madrasa-yi Maṣūriyya, which had been supported by an imperial grant; the commentators were also Shī'ī. This trend began to shift partly during the first half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, when scholars from Lucknow who were closely associated with Farangī Maḥall—either as members of the family or as students—began to compose commentaries. During this period, however, the ties with Shī'ī scholars, some of whom also produced super-commentaries, were maintained. In the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, commentaries on Ḥamdallāh began first to be produced in Rampur and then, via ties to scholars in the latter city, in Tonk, Lahore, and Aligarh. These movements, as before, were tied to new centers of patronage; in the case of the latter two cities, they reflected the emergence of new institutions of learning, such as the Anglo-Oriental College (later, Aligarh Muslim College) and the Oriental College Lahore.

The commentary on Mubārak also reflected traceable patterns of production, along with some intriguing anomalies. Its earliest commentary was composed in the second generation after the author—that is, in the late twelfth/eighteenth century. During this time, both Lucknow and Rampur were the sites of commentarial production, the former firmly in the hands of the Farangī Maḥallī tradition and the latter among the Khayrābādīs. The latter, as we noted above, were more directly part of Mubārak's intellectual lineage. Starting in the first half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, commentaries on Mubārak were also produced by a number of Pashtun scholars; this was an activity that continued into the second half of the fourteenth/twentieth century in the context of the training at Deoband.

The commentary of Ḥasan was perhaps the most closely entrenched within the Farangī Maḥallī enclave of Lucknow. In keeping with the trends noted above, the work started in the first half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century; by the middle of this period, in a manner converse to the production of commentaries



on Ḥamdallāh, it had begun to absorb the effort of the Shī'ī scholars of Lucknow. Again, this makes sense in view of the political history of the region. In cases of second-order commentarial production, the Khayrābādīs, Zuhūrallāh, Turāb 'Alī, and Dildār 'Alī served as important nodes and mediators.

Finally, other first-order commentaries on the *Sullam* had also begun to be written when second-order commentarial activity was taking shape. This work was almost entirely in the hands of the scholars associated with Farangī Maḥall and some Pashtun scholars whose intellectual genealogies are obscure. This trajectory continued until the late thirteenth/nineteenth century, when commentarial activity shifted largely to the Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband. During this period, the new institutional setting and curriculum also came to be tied to the vernacular Urdu, print culture, and the textualization of training, in place of the orality embedded within the commentarial tradition. Thus, most commentaries were produced in Urdu for mass distribution among students, and very few supercommentaries were penned. Remarkably, in the three hundred years since it was composed, the massive amount of commentarial work on the *Sullam* has remained almost exclusively a North Indian affair.