



# NEẒAM-AL-DIN AḤMAD GILĀNI

---

NEẒAM-AL-DIN AḤMAD GILĀNI, “Hakim-al-Molk” (b. 993/1585; d. Hyderabad? after 1072/1662), a Persian philosopher and physician in the service of the Qoṭbšāhi rulers in the Indian Deccan, also known by the pen name (*taḳalloṣ*) Falak, the honorific (*laqab*) Ḥakim-al-Molk, and with Moridāni Lāhiji Gilāni as his personal home affinity (*nesba*). He was an Imami Shi‘ite natural philosopher, physician, theologian, ethicist, exegete, occultist, and statesman. His works include *Anwār al-faṣāḥā wa asrār al-barā‘a*, a Persian translation and Arabic commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha* of ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb (q.v.), in addition to many short treatises in other diverse fields.

Today, an upland area in western Hyderabad named Hakimpet surrounds a 17th century tomb complex that developed upon an estate controlled by Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad. He and his contemporaries dubbed it “The Mountain of Light” (Jabal al-Nur; Tabrizi, fol. 89b). His estate, endowed as a *waqf*, included a palace, hostel, mosque, gardens, and a reservoir to sustain a community of gnostics (*‘āref*; *Šajara-ye dāneš*, fol. 433a-b). At this location, he taught a combination of peripatetic and *eṣrāqi* philosophy among a circle that included Mowbadšāh, the Zoroastrian-leaning author of the *Dabestān-e maḍāheb* (q.v.; Mowbadšāh, fols. 37b, 85a-b). Although Ali Asgar Bilgrami dated the Hakimpet tomb to 1059/1649-50 and attributed it to a different physician (Bilgrami, pp. 150-52), the local community asserts that it is the resting place of Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad, whom they refer to as Ḥakim Bābāšāh. Since praise poetry indicates



that the tomb had pre-existed the palace, completed in 1064/1653-54, and other evidence confirms that Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad lived until at least 1072/1662 (Tabrizi, fol. 46b), the true identity of the occupant of the Hakimpet tomb remains unclear. Its current custodians hold the annual ‘ors celebration to commemorate the deceased’s “spiritual wedding” on 29 Šhawwal, which they claim is venerated by adherents of the Češti, Qāderi, and Naqšbandi Sufi orders. It appears that Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad is instead buried alongside his colleague, ‘Abd-al-Jabbār Gilāni, in the “twin tombs” made for two court physicians in the Qoṭbšāhi royal tomb complex just north of Golkonda fortress.

In a handful of modern studies, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad is consistently confused with two of his contemporaries (e.g., in the edition of his *Do resāla*, pp. 10-20), specifically the Persian-heritage Arabic litterateur and Qoṭbšāhi statesman, Mirzā Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad b. Moḥammad-Ma‘sum b. Amir Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad (executed in Hyderabad, 1086/1674), a descendant of the Daštaki (q.v.) family of scholars through his father and the Safavid royal household from his mother, and the historian Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad b. ‘Abd-Allāh Šā‘edi Širāzi, author of *Ḥadiqat al-salāṭin al-qoṭbšāhi*, a history of the first seventeen years of the reign of Sultan ‘Abd-Allāh Qoṭbšāh (r. 1626-72).

*Family.* Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad was the son of another physician named ‘Ali, grandson of Ḥasan, and great-grandson of Neẓām-al-Din, as attested by the colophon of his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāḡa* (Ayatollah Golpāyagāni Library, Qom, MS 34/4-6634, p. 430). An anecdote related on the authority of his mother reveals that his father, ‘Ali, had practiced medicine in Daylaman (*Majmu‘a šarifa*, fol. 53b), suggesting that Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad may not have studied with him directly. His great-grandfather may have been the astrologer and geomancer of the same name mentioned by K̄vāndamir, who had come from Gilan to Herat during the rule of Sultan Ḥosayn Bāyqarā (r. 875-912/1470-1506; ‘Abd al-Ḥosayn Navā’ī, p. 294). His ancestral village of Moridān lies close to the village of Malāt, which served as the original seat of power of the Kār Kiā dynasty (r. 791-1000/1389-1592, q.v.) that came to rule over the eastern half of Gilān (Bia-piš). Even late in life, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad maintained close relations with figures from this village as well as other Gilān-origin scholars in the Deccan (*Majmu‘a šarifa*, fol. 2a; Šā‘edi Širāzi, pp. 224-25). His many scattered transcriptions of letters and legends of the Kār Kiā rulers attest to his affinity for that local dynasty, which invested heavily in the training of physicians and scholars of rational sciences (*Šajara-ye dānish*, fols. 373b, 430b-32b; *Resāla fī bayān al-‘aql*, fols. 77b-101b; *Resāla dar daf*).



His descendants included a son called Bahā'-al-Din Moḥammad, who assisted his father in the acquisition of goods and horses in the Safavid domains during Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad's tenure as the Qoṭbšāhi ambassador to the courts of Shah Ṣafi I (r. 1629-42) and Shah 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66) (untitled document in Peterman 145, fols. 10b, 62a; Eskandar Beg Torkamān, p. 250). Ṣā'edi Širāzi (p. 272) describes how an unnamed son replaced his father in the Qoṭbšāhi court assembly (*majles*) at Hyderabad while his father undertook these ambassadorial duties. This son appears to have been Ġiāṭ-al-Din Moḥammad, who resided at Hyderabad in 1051/1644 (Jurjāni, fol. 167a).

*Scholarly pedigree.* Between 1000/1591 and 1055/1645, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad claims to have studied with and encountered many Safavid, Mughal, and Deccan luminaries. These include: in Isfahan, Bahā'-al-Din 'Āmeli (q.v.; d. 1030/1621), Mir Moḥammad-Bāqer Dāmād (q.v.; d. 1041/1631), Ebrāhim Hamadāni (d. 1026/1617), 'Abd-Allāh Šuštari (d. 1021/1612), Qāzi Mo'ezz al-Din Moḥammad Eṣfahāni (fl. 1020/1611), Qāzi Nur Šā'er, Mollā Solṭān Ḥosayn (likely Kālifā-Solṭān Āmoli, d. 1064/1653), and Mir Abu'l-Qāsem Fendereski (q.v.; d. 1050/1640); in Shiraz: Šāh Taqī-al-Din Moḥammad Nassāba (d. 1019/1610), Amir Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad (b. Ebrāhim Daštaki, d. 1015/1606); in Mecca, Mir Naṣir-al-Din Ḥosayn (b. Ebrāhim Daštaki), Mirzā Moḥammad Ma'ṣum (b. Amir Niẓām-al-Din Aḥmad Daštaki, d. 1032/1622-23) and Mollā Moḥammad Amin Astarābādi (q.v.; d. 1036/1626-27); in Agra, Ḥakim 'Ali Gilāni (d. 1017/1609), and Qāzi Nur-Allāh Šuštari (executed 1019/1610); in Hyderabad, Mir Moḥammad-Mo'min Astarābādi (d. 1035/1625-26; *Ṭebb-e Qoṭbšāhi*, fol. 60b). Beyond his associations with the latter Daštakis and the doyens of the so-called Isfahan School of Philosophy (q.v.), his inclusion of the latter three names suggests that Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad ventured from Iran to India during his youth to acquire knowledge long before he undertook a second emigration to initiate his professional career around 1630.

*Professional Career.* The colophon of *Anwār al-faṣāḥa*, Neẓām-al-Din Ahmad's commentary on the *Nahj al-balāḡa* (written between 1034-36/1625-27), does not reveal a place of authorship, yet several of his other treatises indicate that he resided in Isfahan in 1618 and again in 1628. Around the time of Mir Dāmād's death, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad had relocated to Delhi, where he served as a boon companion to Shah Jahān's general, the Kān-e Kānān Mahābat Khan (d. 1634). The general, a known late Shi'i convert who pursued cultic forms of devotion to the Imams, patronized many Muslim and Indian physicians (Bhakkari, II, pp. 172, 178, 180). Among the general's entourage, Neẓām-al-Din



Aḥmad served alongside two other physicians with family ties to his homeland: Ḥakim Koṣḥāl and Ḥakim Ḥādeq, sons of the late Ḥakim Homām Gilāni (d. 1604, son of ‘Abd-al-Razzāq, the *ṣadr* of Khan Aḥmad Khan Gilāni, the ruler of Bia-piṣ), who are attested members of Mahābat Khan’s medical retinue (Bhakkari, II, pp. 164-65, 303). For the general, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad organized intellectual salons in which he debated the local Sunni *‘olamā* and ridiculed their lack of refined Persian and misplaced efforts in exoteric subjects like Qur’anic exegesis that could not match his training in universally-sanctioned philosophy (*ḥekmat*; *Resāla dar bayān*, fols. 17a-20a). In Delhi, he accompanied Mahābat Khan to the shrine of Neẓām-al-Din Awliā’ (d. 725/1325), the venerated Češti saint in Delhi (in Peterman 145, fol. 31a), and tutored the general’s son, Khan Zamān, a rising military officer (autograph marginal statement and poetry in Peterman 145, fol. 3a; *Šajara-ye dāneš*, fols. 398b-99a). Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad persisted among the Khan’s entourage when they ventured south to conquer the beleaguered Neẓāmšāhi sultanate in 1632 (contrary to Arnzen, p. 114, who places him amongst the city’s defenders in 1627 in the employ of the earlier Kān-e Kānān, ‘Abd al-Raḥim Khan). After a months-long siege, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad claims to have delivered victory over the city of Dawlatabad by way of a charm or spell (*afsūn*). Mahābat Khan’s resulting jealousy over this success compelled him to torch his physician’s personal library and ruined their professional relationship (*Šajara-ye dāneš*, fols. 32b-33a). Shortly before Mahābat Khan’s death, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad obtained permission to travel to the shrine cities of Iraq (*Šajara-ye dāneš*, fols. 32b-33a). While waiting to board a ship in the port of Masulipatnam on the Coromandel coast, he was recruited by Qāsem Korāsāni, an officer working on behalf of Sultan ‘Abd-Allāh Qoṭbšāh (r. 1626-72), whose court retained several other physicians also hailing from Gilan (Šā’edi Širāzi, pp. 103, 167). Neẓām-al-Din accepted the offer, for which he was paid handsomely and outfitted with a former minister’s house (Šā’edi Širāzi, p. 166).

As ‘Abdollāh Qoṭbšāh’s chief physician at Hyderabad, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad was invested with the title Ḥakim-al-Molk. In the 1640s, the sultan sent him as envoy (*elčī*) to Safavid Iran to sell pearls and purchase horses while covertly drumming up support for his state that faced increasing Mughal encroachment (Tabrizi, fol. 71a). He is also credited with negotiating peace with the neighboring ‘Adelšāhi sultanate in 1058/1648 after the two states squabbled over annexing territory in the southern Karnatak (“Tāriḳ-i ṣolḥ fimā bayn ‘Adelšāh va Qoṭbšāh,” in Peterman 145, fol. 48a). Scattered letters and poetic compositions laud Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad’s service as the Qoṭbšāhi



chief (*pišvā*) religious officer during the early 1650s shortly after the death of his predecessor, Ebn Kātun ‘Āmeli (d. 1059/1649). He also played a central role in negotiating the survival of the Qoṭbšāhi sultanate in 1655, when the Mughal prince Awrangzēb (q.v.) invaded Hyderabad to force the surrender of the family and property of the turncoat general, Moḥammad-Sa‘id Ardestāni (d. 1663), who was previously named chief Qoṭbšāhi general (*sar-ḳayl*) and state plenipotentiary *jomlat-al-molk* and who commanded the Qoṭbšāhi conquest of the Karnatak (Kanbu Lāhuri, III, p. 224). His final major act of state service appears to have been the orchestration of the 1072/1662 marriage between one of the daughters of ‘Abd-Allāh Qoṭbšāh and Abu’l-Ḥasan, who would become the final Qoṭbšāhi sultan (r. 1672-87) upon his father-in-law’s death (Tabrizi, fols. 154b-56a).

From this evidence, it should not be inferred that Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad’s scholarly output was the result of an apolitical or renunciatory stance towards temporal affairs. Rather, his scholarship complemented the praxis-oriented ideals of prominent Persianate philosopher-physicians (*ḥakims*) inhabiting various administrative and governmental posts.

*Textual Corpora.* Ḥosayn Mottaqī’s study of Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad’s extant manuscripts is the most complete source to date, while other anthologies have recently surfaced that should also be included in his survey (i.e., *Majmu‘a-ye šarifa fi’l-ṭebb wa ḡayrehe*). Two compilations of poetry and other literary works entitled *Ḳerad va soḳan* and *Awraq-e dāneš* were held until recently in the private library of Ḥakim Moḥammad-Nabi Khan Jamāl Soveydā in Lahore (Monzawi, VII, p. 868), but unfortunately appear to have been lost recently. At least nine copies of Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad’s commentary on the *Nahj al-balāḡa* are held in libraries in Iraq, Iran, and Yemen.

*Thought.* Shi‘ism. Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad, as a devoted Imami Shi‘i, is guided by the *Nahj al-balāḡa* in nearly all of his philosophical, medical, occult, and other ideas by authorizing diverse sciences within the traditions of the Shi‘i imams. He calls the *Nahj al-balāḡa* a “second Qur’ān,” claiming that he was permitted to write his commentary by ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb himself, who appeared in a vision after performing *estekāra* (*Anwār al-fašāḡa*, p. 431). The commentary’s introduction explains Arabic literary theories of ornate speech that demonstrate his qualifications (pp. 1-50). His main interlocutors for parsing the difficult language of the text include al-Sharīf al-Rāzi (d. 1016; the compiler of the original text) and Zamaḳšari (d. 1144), as well as Mayṭam Baḥrāni (d. 1238) and Ebn Abi’l-Ḥadīd (d. 1258)—authors of the two most prominent



earlier commentaries in Arabic. The actual Persian translation is undertaken as an inter-lineal concordance within the Arabic text, followed by commentary almost exclusively in Arabic, suggesting that Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad’s minor effort was to make the text more accessible through the Persian, while his major intention was to establish his authority in unlocking the text’s inner meanings for other members of the scholarly elite. Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad affirms that training in rational sciences from within the broader fields of physics and metaphysics (*al-ḥekmat al-ṭabi’a wa al-elāhiya*) allows him to comprehend the Imam’s statements (p. 75). To explain questions about creation, the soul, and human nature, he relies on the statements of Hellenic sages including Aristotle and Plotinus, as well as later Muslim philosophers like Qoṭb-al-Din Širāzi (d. 1311). The philosophical tenor of the commentary places Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad within the tradition of other scholars including Mir Dāmād who viewed philosophy (*ḥekmat*) as a means to explain scriptural sources including the Qur’ān and Shi’i traditions that revealed universally sanctioned knowledge (Pourjavady and Schmidtke). Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad’s other treatises detail the practical side of this philosophical orientation towards Shi’i traditions, such as a work on medicinal plants sourced from the *Ketāb al-kāfi* of Kolayni (untitled treatise in *Majmu’a-ye Ebrāhimi*, fols. 43b-49b). Another treatise highlights his indebtedness to Neoplatonism for reading the ontological diversity of twelve imams as well as other existents as originating in a principle of monism (*Resāla men al-waḥdāt elā eṭnā’ašariyāt*, pp. 2-12).

*Philosophy.* Owing to his studies under the masters of the so-called Isfahan School of Philosophy, his philosophical pedigree extended into both peripatetic and *ešrāqi* (Illuminism, q.v.) currents. He authored a number of treatises of synoptic and commentary form on the works of Avicenna (q.v.) and Mir Dāmād, arguably his two greatest philosophical influences. Emblematic works include a refutation of the transmigration of the soul (*Resāla dar daḡ-e tars az marg*); a summary of the *Ketāb al-qabasāt* of Mir Dāmād (“Montakab-e ketāb-e qabasāt”); an untitled treatise on atmospheric phenomena (in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS 2641/29, fols. 144a-48a); a treatise explicating the active intellect (*Resāla fi bayān al-’aql al-fa’āl*); and a treatise on the innate heat (“Bayān al-ḥarārāt al-ḡariziya,” in *Šajara-ye dāneš*, fols. 308a-313a). In much of his writing, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad does not engage purely in ratiocination and construct syllogistic proofs. Instead he references spiritual and mental askesis, including prayer and solitary meditation undertaken in the manner of previous *ešrāqi* philosophers, to aid in the



derivation of answers to diverse issues. This embodied, affective, and process-driven habitus stands apart from sober rationalism often unfairly expected of philosophers of the era. In the tradition of philosophical thaumazein, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad continually expresses surprise (*‘ajab*) in awe of the natural world in order to occasion the very venture of inductive philosophical inquiry, from which he strives to understand first principles and resist wallowing in perplexity (*taḥayyor*).

*Medicine.* Like many of his contemporaries, Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad held medicine as a divine science inherited from pre-Islamic sages like Hermes Trismegistus and Asclepius. His Galenic views were informed by way of the Avicennan tradition, while he also transmitted medical knowledge ascribed to the Shi’i Imams. As in Andrew Newman’s reading of the younger Majlesi, there is no indication that Neẓām al-Din Aḥmad perceived these two approaches as dichotomous, as he frequently cited Hellenic medical aphorisms alongside imamic traditions with equal weight. His anthologies include prescriptions and electuaries from other royal physicians including ‘Ali Gilāni, Ṣadr al-Šari‘a b. Pilah Faqih Gilāni, ‘Emād-al-Din Maḥmud Širāzi (*Šajara-ye dāneš*, fol. 373b-74b, 389a) as well as Mir Dāmād with whom he studied medicine in addition to philosophy (*Ṭebb-e Qoṭbšāhi*, fols. 64a-65a). Like other Iranian émigré physicians including Moḥammad-Qāsem Henduśāh Ferešta Astarābādi (see INDIA xxxiii. INDO-MUSLIM PHYSICIANS), Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad incorporated Indic medical knowledge into his practice, remarking that he considered himself a veritable student of the *terminalia chebula* (*halila-ye kāboli*), which is a common plant found throughout South Asia used as a panacea in Ayurveda medicine (*Resāla dar kawāṣṣ-e halilaj*, fol. 260b). The source of this influence is not mentioned, although he undoubtedly practiced medicine alongside Indian physicians who were active both in the retinue of Mahābat Khan as well as at the Qoṭbšāhi court (Ṣā‘edī Širāzi, pp. 21, 103). Some of his more widely circulated medical works include a commentary and summation of the remedies of Hippocrates (*Šajara-ye dāneš*, 32b-159b); a treatise debating the ontological purity of the human fetus (“Fi’l-e’terāḍ ‘alā al-foqahā’ wa’l-aṭebbā”); a treatise on antidotes (*Resāla dar šarḥ-e pāzhar*); a treatise on mummy (in *Šajara-ye dāneš*, fols. 220a-b); and a treatise on the origins of medicine (*Resāla dar peydāyeš’elm-e ṭebb*).



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

Works.

*Anwār al-faṣāḥā wa asrār al-barā 'a fi šarḥ Nahj al-balāḡa*, Ayatollah Golpāyagāni Library, Qom, MS 34/4-6634; Malek Museum, Tehran, MS 1343 (translation and commentary of 'Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb's *Nahj al-balāḡa*).

*Do resāla-ye falsafi-ye fārsi*, ed. Āzāda Karbāsiān and Moḥammad Karimi Zenjāniašl, Qom, 2013.

“Fi'l-e'terād 'alā'l-foqahā' wa'l-aṭebbā' en al-janin fi baṭn ommoho ya'kol ḥayḍ wa'l-menān najesan moṭlaqān wa'l-dam najesan moṭlaqān,” in Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, MS Arabic Philosophy 109/7, fols. 33a-35b).

*Majmu 'a -ye Ḥakim-al-Molk*, Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, Hyderabad, MS Ṭebb-e yunāni 306.

*Majmu'a-ye Ebr āhimi*, Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, MS Persian Kaškul 37.

*Majmu'a šarifa fi'l-ṭebb wa ḡayrehe*, MS Ahuan Islamic Art Ltd., London.

“Montakāb-e ketāb-e qabasāt,” in Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, MS Arabic Philosophy 109, fol. 1a-11b.

[Peterman 145] Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, MS Peterman 145 (a codex of treatises copied or written by Gilāni in his own hand, along with untitled or marginal statements).

*Resāla dar bayān woqū'-e akbār fa'l wa ḥarf keh jami' naḥwiyān monker<sup>an</sup> ān-  
ra*, Malek Museum Library, Tehran, MS 1142/8.

*Resāla dar daf-e tars az marg*, Malek Museum, Tehran, MS 1142/5.

*Resāla dar kawāṣṣ-e halilaj*, in *Jāme ' Ebn Kātun*, Majles Library, Tehran, MS 5138, fol. 260b.

*Resāla dar peydāyeš-e ' elm-e ṭebb*, University of Tehran Library, MS 3223/5, pp. 57-62.



*Resāla dar šarḥ-e pāzhar*, Raza Library, Rampur, MS Persian 1336, fols. 218a-20a.

*Resāla fi bayān al-‘aql al-fa‘āl*, in Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, MS Peterman 145, fols. 45b-47a.

*Res āla men al-waḥdat elā eṭnā’ ‘ašariyāt*, University of Tehran Library, MS 3223/1.

*Šajara-ye dāneš*, Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, Hyderabad, MS Majāme‘ 39.

*Ṭebb-e Qoṭbšāhi*, Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, MS Persian Ṭebb 286.

#### References.

Khvāja Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-e akbari*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1931.

Rüdiger Arnzen, “Mapping Philosophy and Science in Safawid Iran and Mughal India: The Case of Niẓāmaddīn Ahmad Gilānī and Ms. Khudā Bakhsh 2641,” *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 56, 2004, pp. 107–60.

‘Abd-al-Qāder b. Molukšāh Badā’uni, *Montaqab al-tawāriḳ*, Lucknow, 1868.

H. Beveridge, *The Akbar Nāmā of Abu-l-Fazl*, 3 vols., New Delhi, 1989.

Eskandar Beg Torkamān, *Ḍayl-e tāriḳ-e ‘ālam-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsi*, Tehran, 1938.

Šayḳ Farid Bhakkari, *Ḍaḳirat al-ḳawānin*, ed. Sayyed Mo‘in al-Ḥaqq, 3 vols., Karachi, 1961-74.

Ali Asgar Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan: A Comprehensive Guide to the Archaeological Remains of the City and Suburbs of Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1927.

Moḥammad-Taḳī Dānešpażuh and ‘Ali-Naḳī Monzavi Tehrāni, *Fehrest-e Ketābkāna-ye madrasa-ye ‘āliyā Sepahsālār*, 5 vols., 1977.

‘Ali Šadr al-Din b. Aḥmad Ebn Ma‘šum Madani, *Sulāfat al-‘ašr fi maḥāsin al-šo‘arā bi-kolli mišr*, Cairo, 1906.

Abu al-Fayẓ b. Mubārak Fayẓī, *En š ā-ye Fayẓī*, Lahore, 1973.



Hakim ‘Ali Gilāni, *Šarḥ-e qānun*, facs. ed., Tehran, 2011.

Muḥammad b. ‘Ali Jorjāni, *Šarḥ hedāyat al-ḥekma*, Ketābkāna-ye madrasa-e ‘āliyā Sepahsālār, Tehran, MS 8121/2.

Moḥammad Šāleḥ Kanbu Lāhuri, *‘Amal-e šāleḥ, al-mawsum be Šāhjāhān-nāma*, ed. Gōlām Yazdāni, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1939.

‘Abd-al-Ḥosayn Navā‘ī, *Rejāl-e ketāb Ḥabib al-siar*, Tehran, 2000.

Moḥammad b. Amin b. Fażl-Allāh b. Moḥebb al-Din b. Moḥammad Moḥebbi, *Ḳolāṣat al-āṭar fī a’yān al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘ashar*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1873.

Aḥmad Monzavi, ed., *Fehrest-e moštarak-e nosḳahā-ye ḳaṭṭi-e fārsi-e Pākestān*, 14 vols., Islamabad, 1983-1997.

Ḥosayn Mottaqi, “Falak-nāma: Ketāb-šenāsi wa nosḳa-šenāsi-e ātār-e Ḥakim-al-Molk Niẓām-al-Din Aḥmad Lāhiji Gilāni,” *Mirāt-e Šehāb* 15, 2008, pp. 124-201.

Mowbadšah, *Divān-e Mowbad*, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS HL 3747.

Andrew J. Newman, “Bāqir al-Majlisi and Islamicate Medicine: Safavid Medical Theory and Practice Re-examined,” in Andrew J. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, Boston, 2003, pp. 371-96.

Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, “An Eastern Renaissance? Greek Philosophy under the Safavids (16th-18th centuries AD),” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3, 2015, pp. 248-90.

Neẓām-al-Din Aḥmad b. ‘Abd-Allāh Šā‘edi Širāzi, *Ḥadiqat al-salāṭin al-qoṭbšāhi*, ed. Syed Ali Asgar Bilgrami, Hyderabad, 1961.

Dabiḥ-Allāh Šafā, *Tāriḳ-e adabiyāt dar Irān*, 5 vols. in 9, Tehran, 1959-92.

Nawwāb Šamšām-al-Dawla Šāhnavāz Khan Awrangābādi, *Ma’ āṭer al-omarā*, tr. Henry Beveridge as *The Maāthir-ul-umar ā*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. in 3, I, Patna, 1979.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the*



*Early Modern World*, Waltham, Mass. 2011.

Moḥammad-Qāsem Ṭabasi, *Monša'āt, roqa'āt, wa mokātabāt*, in Ebn Kātun 'Āmeli, *Jāme ' Ebn Kātun*, Majles Library, Tehran, MS 5138, fols. 492a-509a.

Ḥājji 'Abd-al-'Ali Tabrizi, *Monšāt-e nāẓer al-mamālek al-solṭāni*, British Library, London, MS Add. 6600.