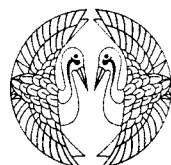


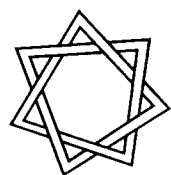
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O. F. Akimushkin

A RARE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HAGIOGRAPHY OF THE NAQSHBANDIYYA-MUJADDIDIYYA SHAYKHS

The full title of the work represented by manuscript C 1529 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is *Ḥasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn* (“Marvelous Deeds of the Righteous under the Leadership of Those Close [to Allah]”) [1]. In the main body of the text, which is an authorial rough draft, the author does not give his name. However, he cites three letters addressed to him by his spiritual teacher (*murshid*), *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd [2], in which the latter addresses the author as *shaykh* Muḥammad Murād [3]. On the margins of an introduction, written **after** the work’s completion, we can also find a note in Arabic revealing the author’s name: “I, incapable one Muḥammad Murād, the son of *muftī* Ṭāhīr Kashmīrī...” [4]. This name, before the *basmala* [5] and in a chapter where he writes about himself [6], is given fully as *shaykh* Muḥammad Murād b. *muftī* Ṭāhīr Kashmīrī. In addition to the information Muḥammad Murād provides about himself in this work [7], some facts about him are given by his disciple (*murīd*) Muḥammad A‘zam in his history of Kashmīr, *Wāqī‘āt-i Kashmīr*, compiled in 1160/1747 [8], and by Muḥammad Ghulām Sarwar in the hagiography *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā‘*, written in 1281/1864–65. The latter also notes that Muḥammad A‘zam dedicated a separate work to his *murshid* which he entitled *Fayḍ-i Murād*, where the life and deeds of his *shaykh* are described [9].

Muḥammad Murād was born in Kashmīr in 1059/1649 into the family of a well-known local theologian and learned man, the *muftī* Muḥammad Ṭāhīr, who possessed the right of *khirqā-yi iftā‘*, namely, the exclusive right to draw legal conclusions concerning the practical application of certain norms and injunctions of the *sharī‘a* or to decide a case on the basis of the latter. Following in his father’s footsteps, Muḥammad Murād early demonstrated a propensity for religious studies and received a solid religious education. In his youth, he independently developed an adherence to mystical practice and, according to Muḥammad A‘zam, succeeded in attaining the state of *ḥāl* — spiritual unity with the Only Existing One in an ecstatic state — after two years of asceticism. First a zealous follower of the Kubrawiyya brotherhood doctrine, Muḥammad Murād carefully studied works by the *shaykhs* of the brotherhood, visited their dwellings, journeyed to the *mazārs* where they were buried, and carried out missionary activities. As a re-

sult, he collected a large amount of material and began to compile a genealogy (*shajara*) of all the Kubrawiyya *shaykhs*. He tells that when he was immersed in this work and was about to begin his account of the Herat “favorites of Allah” (*awliyā‘*), he had a vision of the founder of the Kubrawiyya-Hamadāniyya branch, *shaykh amīr* ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī (1314—1385) [10]. After this vision, he failed to complete his work; and was not able to write a line over the succeeding 13 years [11].

In Ṣafar 1081/June—July 1670, during Sayf-khān’s governorship in Kashmīr [12], the sons of *shaykh* Muḥammad Sa‘īd [13] and the grandsons of Aḥmad Sirhindī, ‘Abd al-Aḥad and Sa‘d al-Dīn Muḥammad [14], arrived in this area, accompanied by 40 *murīds* and a large retinue. Their appearance in Kashmīr, as was the case with other representatives of Aḥmad Sirhindī’s clan at other times, was dictated by purely pragmatic motives: they sought to recruit new adherents to the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya brotherhood and extend its influence to the region, where the influence of the Kubrawiyya-Hamadāniyya branch was traditionally strong. At the end of Rabī‘ II 1081/September 1670, the above-mentioned *shaykhs* finished their mission and returned to Sirhind. Among their newly converted *murīds* was Muḥammad Murād, who even accompanied them to their residence. He lived in his native land after returning to Kashmīr, but on 20 Rajab (3 December) of the same year we encounter him once again in Sirhind, where he stayed at the *mazār* of Aḥmad Sirhindī for a year and a half. He returned home as *khalīfa* (deputy) of the *shaykh* with the right of initiating new members of the brotherhood and their guidance. Three years later, he left for Delhi to spend one year as a *murīd* of the Naqshbandiyya *shaykh* Sharafandūz. Later, according to Muḥammad Sarwar’s account, he spent 14 years in one of the mosques of Kashmīr propounding the views of his teacher [15], whose tutorship, as well as the help of *khawāja* Ḥujjatallāh Naqshband, enabled Muḥammad Murād to attain “perfection on the path of mystical knowledge of the Mujaddidiyya brotherhood” [16]. In Kashmīr, according to the *Ḥasanāt al-abrār*, *shaykh* Muḥammad Riḍā bestowed on him the *khirqā-yi khilāfat* of such brotherhoods as the Kubrawiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Chishtiyya [17]. Hence, after 1085/1674—75, Muḥammad Murād held the rank of *khilāfa* in four brotherhoods and was considered a *murīd* of *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd.

By all appearances, Muḥammad Murād was not surprised by his *murshid's* proposal to write a work on the deeds of the *shaykhs* of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and its Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya branch, as he already had experience in the field. He began to write the work, undertaking a number of journeys in Northern India and Kashmīr, where *shaykhs* in the branch generally conducted their activities. He also visited the *khānqāhs* they had founded, their burial places, collected and wrote down oral accounts and tales of the miracles (*karāmāt*) they worked. At the same time he conducted an intensive correspondence with members of Aḥmad Sirhindī's large clan. Finally, he made broad use in his work both of the oral clarifications of the *shaykhs* (mainly *shaykh* 'Abd al-Aḥad, who pronounced them "publicly and in personal conversation", and of doctrinal treatises by the branch's founder and his direct successors [18]. On 20 Jumādā I 1093/27 May 1682, Muḥammad Murād completed his major work "in very short order" [19]. We know practically nothing of his later years. We can only state that he returned to Kashmīr near the end of his life and died there on 5 Shawwāl 1134/14 July 1722 at the age of 75 [20].

Sources, Structure and Contents

As was noted above, the full title of Muḥammad Murād's work is *Ḥasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn* [25]. An original idea was to compile a thorough biography of all the *shaykhs* in the Khwājagān-Naqshbandiyya brotherhood from the Prophet on down. But the author limited his task in the course of his work, noting that "it is simply impossible to treat all of them". Therefore, he included in his hagiography only those ascetics whose biographies he was able to find in the sources he used and whose activities were conducted in the period between the Prophet and the *shaykhs* of the Mujaddidiyya branch. Moreover, he strove to accord special attention to *shaykhs* from Sirhind, that is, Aḥmad Sirhindī, his successors, sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, as well as their deputies (*khalīfa*) and followers (*aṣḥāb*) [26]. Muḥammad Murād made broad use both of written sources and notes of his personal discussions with many *shaykhs* among his contemporaries. He employed 27 sources, but a list of the main sources in the introduction, includes only the following works:

- 1) *Nafāḥāt al-uns* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (1414—1492);
- 2) *Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayat* by Wa'iz Kāshifī (1463—1532);
- 3) *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 1220);
- 4) *Kashf al-mahjūb* by al-Khujwīrī (d. ca. 1074);
- 5) *Shawāhid al-nubuwwat* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī;
- 6) *Maqāmāt-i shaykh Naqshband*, which is apparently *Anīs al-tālibīn* by Ṣalaḥ b. Mubārak al-Bukhārī (first half of the 15th century);
- 7) *Maqāmāt-i sayyid amīr Kulāl* by Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 1437);
- 8) *Rawḍat al-shuhadā* by Ḥusayn Wa'iz Kāshifī (d. 1504);
- 9) *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* by *khwāja* Muḥammad Pārsa (d. 1420);

A few remarks on Muḥammad Murād's written legacy can be made. In addition to *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* and the uncompleted "Genealogy of the Kubrawiyya *Shaykhs*", Muḥammad Murād also penned a number of treatises and works of an ethical Ṣūfī nature, among which he mentions: (1) *Risāla-yi durar an-naẓm* (Epistle on Threaded Pearls), in which he treats eight well-known provisions of the Khwājagān school as formulated by 'Abd al-Khālīq Ghijduwānī (d. between 1204—1220) [21]; (2) a commentary (untitled) on a *bayt* from the *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207—1273) [22]; and (3) a collection he compiled of letters-epistles sent to him by his *murshid*, 'Abd al-Aḥad [23]. Moreover, Muḥammad A'zam singles out his work *Tuḥfat al-fuqarā'* ("A Gift to Those Who Chose Voluntary Poverty"). Judging by the title, it differs in content from the hagiography *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* [24]. According to a remark by A. Munzawī, in 1124/1712 — after a gap of 31 years — Muḥammad Murād reworked *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* and also modified its title to *Ḥasanāt al-muqarrabīn* ("Marvelous Deeds of Those Close [to Allah]").

10) *Wird al-murādīn* by *shaykh* Bābā Dawūd Kashmīrī Khākī (d. 1586);

11) *Risāla-yi yawāqūt al-Ḥarāmāyn* by *khwāja* Muḥammad 'Ubaydallāh (1628—1672) [28];

12) *Nasamāt al-quds* by Muḥammad Hāshim al-Badakhshānī Kishmī (d. ca. 1643);

13) *Risāla-yi Bahā'īya* by Abū-l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (first half of the 15th century) [29].

In addition to the Ṣūfī works he employs, Muḥammad Murād frequently refers to four volumes of *maktūbāt* by Aḥmad Sirhindī and three volumes of *maktūbāt* by the third son of the latter *shaykh*, Muḥammad Ma'sūm (1599—1668). But his primary source is *Nasamāt al-quds* by Muḥammad-Hāshim Kishmī. The second book (*maqāla*) of this work is almost entirely incorporated into Muḥammad Murād's composition beginning on fol. 115a [30]. The author explains it as follows: "When the author of these lines had already begun to carry out his task, he obtained the book *Nasamāt*, compiled by one of the *murīds* of *shaykh* Muḥammad Bāqībillāh and the *khalīfa* of Aḥmad Fārūqī. The book contained information on the great *shaykhs* [of the Naqshbandiyya] and was expounded in such form as he himself would have wished. Hence, he wrote everything [here] in accordance with the second *maqāla* of *Nasamāt al-quds*, borrowing that which he considered necessary and adding that which was missing [and could not be there]" [31]. It should be noted that Muḥammad Murād, when writing of Ṣūfī ascetics, devotees, and *shaykhs*, always cites the source of his information, a rarity among authors of the time.

The work by Muḥammad Murād is divided into numerous chapters, sub-chapters and internal sections that differ in length and content. They are all indicated by the same word — *ḥasana* [32]. The entire work is prefaced by a detailed *fihrist* which contains the names of 122 *shaykhs* whose biographies are included. The *fihrist* was drawn up by one of the owners of the copy who omitted in it the name of *khwāja* Muḥammad Pārsa [33].

کتابت در شهر تبریز در روز پنجشنبه ۱۱ شعبان ۱۲۸۰ هجری قمری
 از شیخ محمد رفیع بن علی طاهر کاشغری
 در شهر تبریز

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 و بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خدا ای روح معبودی بی منبای که سبب و برکت و شکرش در لیس گفته شده است و هو السمیع البصیر
 موجودی که کفر و کفرانندارد و نه زاد و کبر را نیز زاد بیگانه است که غایت تقدیر و کمالی
 قل الله احد لم یلد ولم یولد ولم یکن له کفوا احد بعضی کنت کنزاً مخفیاً و احسب
 ان اذ عرف قلقت الخلق بعد کینه عظام خطاب نموده و فرمود و اذ قال ربک لعل الله انی بائس
 فی الایة خلیفه آدم را فرمود و فرمود و یوسرط عطمت شای و یوسرط الخ
 برضی آنی که خالوا و التجدیدینا از بعد از سجده که خاصه معبود بود و بلائیکه کم از
 بازماند هر که رغبت سجد نمود و بازماند هر که رغبت نه نمود از بارگاه محمد کنت معلق در
 استکبرت ام کنت بر العالمین قال انما خیر منه خلقه ربنا و خلقته مع طایف قال فاضح منها
 و ان علیک لعین الیوم الدین در میان حور است از دشمنی و کاف از مخالف کشت و کافیه
 ابتدا بر باشد و صفات ذمیه بطور آرد و در این باب کشت و ارسال رسل و انبیا در میان
 علیهم الصلوة والسلام پس زان در آخر زمان بهترین انبیا و اولیقرآن محمد مصطفی احمد طیب را
 برگزید و خلیفه روی زکی نمود و مری به از بر و کافر عی به از اهل حرم فی الحقیقه نبوت این
 بیسی از حور شای بود لهذا بزبان و بیسیان فرمود کنت نبیا و آدم بیسی الما و الطین برکت
 بر همه این آدم بر این است و بود صبا که خود فرمود و انما سید ولد آدم و لا اجد ابدا
 و در آخرت که دارالقدر است هم مرتبه شفاعت و سیادت بر اینان خواهد بود صبا که خود و ان اول

ازین
 الله الصمد
 نفع

Fig. 1

In evaluating the work as a hagiographic and, in part, historical source, one easily notes that it is clearly divided into two parts of unequal size and significance. The first, which occupies nearly three quarters of the work and treats the biographies of *shaykhs*, including Aḥmad Sirhindī, is compilative and of little interest, as it is based on well-known extant writings. This part contains three of the four sections which make up the work:

I. Fols. 1b—5a. Introduction and author's foreword [34], which provides several spiritual genealogies (*silsila*) of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and its branches. Fols. 7a—131b. Lives of the four Rightly-guided caliphs, 11 Shi'ite *imāms* and 40 well-known Ṣūfīs, ascetics, and devotees from Ma'ruf Karkhī (fol. 58a) to *khwāja* Laṭīf Kandibadamī (d. 1024/1615), pupil of Khwājagi-yi Amkīnagī b. Darwīsh-Muḥammad (d. 1008/1599—1600).

II. Fols. 131b—166b. Biographies of *khwāja* Muḥammad Bāqibillāh (d. 25 Jumādā II 1012/30 November 1603), his two sons, 'Ubaydallāh, known as Khwāja Kalān, and 'Abdallāh, known as Khwāja Khurd, *murīds*, *khilāfas* and followers [35].

III. Fols. 166b—314a. Biographies [36] of *shaykh* Aḥmad Fārūqī-yi Sirhindī (1564—1624), his ancestors, and 24 of his *khilāfas* and devotees (fol. 272a) [37].

The second part of the work is of an entirely different nature; it contains tales about the sons and grandsons of Aḥmad Sirhindī. This part constitutes the fourth section. Lives of the six sons of Aḥmad Sirhindī, of whom two, Muḥammad Farrukh and Muḥammad 'Isā, are merely named, as they died in childhood, and 14 grandsons:

IV. Fol. 314a — the eldest son, Muḥammad Ṣādiq (1000—9 Rabī' I 1025/1591—27 March 1616). Fol. 318a — the second son, Muḥammad Sa'īd (Shawwāl 1005—1072/May 1597—1662), known as Khāzin al-raḥmat. The author enumerates eight sons of the latter — Shāh 'Abdallāh, Shāh Luṭfallāh, Farrukh-shāh, Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad, 'Abd al-Aḥad, Muḥammad Khalīlallāh, Miyān Ya'qūb and Miyān Taqī — but gives biographical information for only four of them: fol. 325b — *shaykh* Farrukh-shāh; fol. 330b — Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad; fol. 331b — *shaykh* Muḥammad Khalīlallāh; fol. 333a — *shaykh* 'Abd al-Aḥad, *murshid* and spiritual teacher of the author, who provides extensive details on his views and activities.

Fol. 366a — the third son, *shaykh* Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm (11 Shawwāl 1007—9 Rabī' I 1079/7 May 1599—17 August 1668), successor of Aḥmad Sirhindī in directing the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya branch. Information on his six sons; fol. 378a — *shaykh* Muḥammad Sibghatallāh (1032—1120/1622—1709); fol. 381a — *shaykh* Ḥujjatallāh, known as Muḥammad Naqshband (Dhū-l-Qa'da 1034—9 Muharram 1115/August 1625—25 May 1703); fol. 399a — *shaykh* 'Ubaydallāh, known as Miyān Ḥadrat (1 Sha'bān 1037—19 Rabī' I 1083/6 April 1628—15 July 1672); fol. 403a — *shaykh* Muḥammad Ashraf (1048—1117/1638—1706); fol. 403b — *shaykh* Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad (1049—26 Jumādā I 1096/1639—30 April 1685); fol. 405a — *shaykh* Muḥammad Siddīq (1057—5 Jumādā II 1130/1647—6 May 1718).

Fol. 406a — biography of Aḥmad Sirhindī's fourth son, *shaykh* Muḥammad Yahyā, known as Miyān-shāh (b. 1022/1613) [38].

Fol. 407a — autobiographical notes by the compiler of the work, Muḥammad Murād b. *mufī* Ṭāhir Kashmīrī.

Ḥasanāt al-abrār by Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī, written 56 years after the *Zubdat al-maqāmāt* of Muḥammad Hāshim Kishmī [39] and approximately 40 years after the *Ḥaḍarāt al-quds* of Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī [40], is of interest primarily for its originally authored section, which complements earlier hagiographic works.

Beginning of the introduction and author's foreword after the *basmala* (fol. 1b):

الحمد لله الذي نور قلوب العارفين بنوره و صلى الله تعالى
على رسوله و حبيبه وآله بعد بثنوه و بدان ای طالب
سخنان طریقت مشایخ که از حال است نه از قال ...

Beginning of the main body of the work after the *basmala* (fol. 5b):

خدای برهق معبود بی همتایی که سمیع و بصیر است و مثل
ندارد ...

As an analysis of the text shows, the work represents the author's rough draft. The manuscript is undoubtedly of Indian origin. It is undated. Endpaper fol. 01a contains a note by a later owner on the birth of a son, Muḥammad 'Aṣim, on the eve of Thursday, 18 Jumādā II 1114/9 October 1702. The manuscript displays numerous additions and corrections on the margins and in the text; the majority of them belong to the author. Some of the pages left blank by the author were later written in by later owners (fols. 5a, 6a, 17a, 29b, 38a—39a, 50b, 55a, 60a, 84a, 86a, 93b, 94a, 106b, 111b, 153a, 170a, 176a, 185a—185b, 222a, 235a, 246a, 251b, 277a, 279a—284b, 290a—290b, 313b, 324b, 325a, 330b, 331a, 359a, 376a, 378b, 381a, 383b, 385a, 398b, 411b).

The manuscript (call number C 1529; old call number Nov. 1125) belongs to a collection gathered in Bukhārā by V. A. Ivanov in 1915. (Fol. 01a: note by V. A. Ivanov: No. 797, Bukhārā, 8/X 1915). The text is written in typical Indian *nasta'liq* on thin, lightly glossed paper of a brownish hue produced in India. The ink is black. Headings of chapters, their sub-divisions and paragraphs are written in red ink, which is also used to overlay phrases in Arabic (verses from the Qur'ān, *ḥadīths*, etc.). 411 fols. + 2 endpapers at the beginning with a *fihrist* and one folio at the end of the copy. Folio dimensions are 24.5×15.5 cm; text dimensions are 19.5×11.0 cm with 18 lines per page. Foliation is both Eastern and European. The Eastern foliation shows that the manuscript originally contained 422 folios (not counting the foreword, which was not foliated). The manuscript is partially sewn (fols. 115—157); folios 306—313 fall out; there are lacunae after fols. 365, 401, 404, 405, 406; there is no ending; the folios are out of order, the correct order is: 1—119, 128—133, 127, 120—126, 134—411. The binding is Eastern, paperboard, *muqawwā'*. The edges of the binding and back are of red, finely worked leather. The manuscript was rebound in Central Asia, apparently in Bukhara, no earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. The rebinding damaged the marginal text.

Aside from the indubitable significance of Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī's work for the study of the political and ideological struggle the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood waged to expand its influence within Indian society, the work is

also of interest as a valuable historical source. It provides valuable information on more than 100 years of the brotherhood's activity in India after it established itself on the

subcontinent in the second half of the sixteenth century, creating a new branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya brotherhood.

Notes

1. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadjhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Peoples of Asia). Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia* (Biographical Works) (Moscow, 1961), pp. 148–50; *Persidskie i tadjhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Peoples of Asia: A Concise Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. 1, ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maclay (Moscow, 1964), No. 1046. I was unable to find a work by this name in any reference work. Nonetheless, the well-known Iranian bibliographer, Aḥmad Munzawī in his *Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭi-yi fārsī-yi Pākistān* (Karachi, 1369/1990), xi, p. 944, notes a work by *shaykh* Muḥammad Murād Kashmīri Naqshbandī-yi Mujaddidī — *Ḥasanāt al-muqarrabīn* — completed in 1124/1712. This information was conveyed to me by Prof. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington, Indiana) to whom I offer my sincere thanks. Judging by the date of completion as indicated by A. Munzawī, the work is either a second, or expanded, redaction of the work found in our copy.

2. The grandson of the founder of an independent branch (later, brotherhood) of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya, *shaykh* Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī (14 Shawwāl 971—28 Šafār 1034/26 May 1564—10 December 1624), known as the “renewer of the second millennium” (*mujaddid-i alf-i thānī*). His name is linked with the final formulation of the doctrinal conception of Muslim mysticism, *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of witness), in which context he was an intransigent and fervent opponent of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) developed by Ibn ‘Arabi (1165—1240) and his followers. By his own assertion, the doctrine of the Great Shaykh rests entirely on subjective experience. For this reason, all mystical “states and insights that lead to spiritual ‘union’ with the Divine (*ittiḥād*) are merely delusion. The final goal of mystical perfection, in his view, is to “serve Allah” (*abdiyat*), which is sent down to the mystic after he covers the stages of “unity of being” (*wujūdiyyat*) and “general conception” (*zilliyat*). Spiritual revelations from above which lead to knowledge of the secrets of divine being can befall a person only if he strictly observes the norms and injunctions of the *sharī‘a*. Aḥmad Sirhindī expounded his views in numerous epistles (*maktūbāt wa ‘arā‘id*), later gathered into four volumes by his pupils. According to our author (fol. 299a—299b), the first volume contains 20 ‘arīḍas and 293 maktūbs, the second — 99 epistles, the third — 114, and the fourth — 14. For more detail, see S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi, 1983), ii, p. 183.

3. Manuscript C 1529 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 355a.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 5a.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 5b.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 407a (marginal insertion).

7. *Ibid.*, fols. 3a—3b, 5a, 83b, 114b—115a, 116b, 131b, 157b, 331b, 346b, 378b, 381a, 382b, 399a, 400b, 407b—410b.

8. Manuscript B 663 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 163b—171b, 240b—241a, 269a. For more on the manuscript and work, see: N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadjhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 3: *Istoricheskie sochineniia* (Works on History) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 379—80, No. 496; also, *Persidskie i tadjhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)*, No. 4556; Ch. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, fasc. 3: *Medieval History of India* (London, 1939), pp. 683—4.

9. *Khazīnat al-asfiyā* (Kaunpur, 1894), i, pp. 658—9.

10. About him see D. DeWeese, “Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions”, in *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. L. Lewinsohn (London—New York, 1992), pp. 121—58.

11. Manuscript C 1529, fol. 407a—407b.

12. Sayf-khān b. Tarbiyat-khān occupied the post of governor of Kashnūr from 1076 to 1088/1665—1678 with an interruption of two years from 1079—80/1669—70.

13. Aḥmad Sirhindī's second son was born in Shawwāl 1006/May 1597. He gained fame as an extremely erudite expert on Muslim religious law (*fiqh*). He died while returning from Delhi to Sirhind in 1072/1661—62. For more detail, see Rizvi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 242.

14. The sons of *shaykh* Muḥammad Sa‘īd (see n. 13), the fifth and fourth respectively. According to our author, ‘Abd al-Aḥad was born in 1047/1637—38, completed a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz together with his father in 1067/1656—57, and wrote a treatise about this *ḥāj*. Our author's *murshid* and spiritual teacher also acted as a *shaykh* of the Qādiriyya brotherhood and initiated many members into it. See manuscript C 1529, fols. 330b—331b, 333a—363a. Rizvi gives the date of his death as 1142/1729—30 (Rizvi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 244). According to an anonymous work compiled in Istanbul around 1240/1824—25 on the biographies of Naqshbandiyya and Mujaddidiyya *shaykhs*, ‘Abd al-Aḥad died soon after 1100/1698—99. See Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadjhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia*, pp. 156—8, No. 205 (manuscript C 2019 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 25b).

15. *Khazīnat al-asfiyā*, p. 658.

16. *Ibid.* Khwāja Ḥujjatallāh Naqshband (Zū-l-Qa‘da 1034—9 Muḥarram 1115/September 1625—25 May 1703) was the second son of *shaykh* Muḥammad Ma‘šūm (11 Shawwāl 1007—9 Rabī‘ I 1079/7 May 1599—17 August 1668), who headed the Mujaddidiyya after the death of Aḥmad Sirhindī.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 659.

18. Our author meant *shaykh* Muḥammad Ma‘šūm (see n. 16).

19. The author of an anonymous work (manuscript C 2019, fol. 52b) indicates that the work was dedicated to ‘Abd al-Aḥad.

20. This date is given by Muḥammad A‘zam Kashmīri (*Waqī‘āt*, fol. 241a). It seems preferable to us, as Muḥammad A‘zam was the *murīd* of Muḥammad Murād and, as he himself reports, accompanied the body of his *murshid* to its burial place. Moreover, he provides

two chronograms (*tārīkh*) for the date of his spiritual teacher's death: “*shaykh-i akābir*” and “*muḥarram az khudā way būda*”. The sum of the letters' numerical values for each equals 1134. However, Muḥammad Ghulām Sarwar (*Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā*, p. 659) notes that Muḥammad Murād died at the age of 75 on 17 Rajab 1131/5 July 1719.

21. In discussing this treatise, the author expressed the hope of including it at the end of *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* (manuscript C 1529, fol. 83b). The treatise is not found in our copy of the author's rough draft, however.

22. *Ibid.*, fol. 346b.

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 510b.

24. *Waqi'āt*, fol. 269a.

25. The above-mentioned anonymous author made thorough use of the *Ḥasanāt al-abrār*, calling it simply *Maqāmāt-i shaykh Murad Kashmīri* (manuscript C 2019, fols. 25b, 52b, 55a).

26. “Especially about those who at the time he writes these lines are of sound mind and body” (manuscript C 1529, fol. 3b).

27. We have retained the order of the author's list (manuscript C 1529, fol. 3a–b).

28. This treatise, written in Arabic, describes a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina undertaken in 1657–1658. It was translated into Persian in 1071/1660–1661 by a *murīd* of the author, Muḥammad Shākīr b. *shaykh* Badr al-Dīn Aḥmadī and received the title *Ḥasanāt al-Ḥaramayn* (“Beauties of the Two Holy Cities”). A copy of this work is found in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (manuscript B 2145, fols. 169b–203b). The copy is dated 1299/1881–82, but is a copy of another copy which was completed on 12 Jumādā II 1080/8 October 1670. See *Persidskie i tadjhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)*, No. 1047.

29. See Storey, *op. cit.*, i, pt. 2, pp. 954, 964, 938, 948, 987–90, 1061; Russian translation of the work: Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskiĭ obzor*, reworked and augmented by Iu. E. Bregel, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 561–5, 623–7; also V. A. Zhukovskii, *Raskrytie skrytogo za zavesoi* (The Revelation of What Is Veiled) (*Kashf al-mahjūb*) (Leningrad, 1926).

30. This book (*maqāla*) consists of three sections (*maqṣad*) which contain lives of: (a) *shaykh* Muḥammad Zāhid Wakhshī and his followers (fol. 116a); (b) *khwāja* Muḥammad Bāqībillāh Birang and his *murīds* and followers (fol. 131b); (c) the ancestors of Aḥmad Sirhindī, he himself, his direct descendents, *aṣḥāb* and *khalīfas* (fol. 166b). See A. Z. Validov, “Vostochnye rukopisi v Ferganskoĭ oblasti” (“Eastern manuscripts in the Ferghana area”), *Zapiski vostochnogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XXII, pp. 306–8; A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie tadjhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Vostochnogo otdeleniia Biblioteki LGU* (Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts in the Eastern Section of the State Leningrad University Library). Vol. 1: *Istoriia, biografīa, geografīa* (Leningrad, 1962), No. 147, pp. 343–51.

31. Manuscript C 1529, fols. 114b–115a.

32. When copying the second book of *Nasamāt al-quḍs* into the rough draft of his work, Muḥammad Murād retained the names of chapters (*faṣl*) and paragraphs (*nasama*). Upon completing his work, he not only left a note (on the margin of fol. 115a) for the copyist about preparing the final draft (“Remember, that from here on *ḥasana* should be written in place of *nasama*”), but also crossed out the former in all instances, writing the latter in above it.

33. Endpapers fols. 01b–02a. They were pasted in later and have neither Eastern nor Western foliation.

34. The foreword lacks Eastern foliation. Since the author wrote it after the main body of the work had already been completed, the folios were inserted and a title was provided. European foliation was marked in the manuscript when it was acquired by the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

35. Subheading: “*Maqṣad* 2 of the second *maqāla* [*Nasamāt al-quḍs*]”.

36. Subheading with note: “It was this third *maqṣad* of the second *maqāla* that served as the reason for writing this book”. In this instance, our author appears to have repeated verbatim his original source, the *Nasamāt*.

37. See the list of their names given in the description of a copy of *Zubdat al-maqāmāt* in the book *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library of Bankipore* (Calcutta, 1925), viii, No. 672, pp. 45–7.

38. Judging by descriptions in catalogues of Persian manuscripts available to us and by the scholarly literature, the author was the first to give a relatively detailed biography of *shaykh* Muḥammad Yahyā. It seems appropriate to cite here a note left by one of the owners of the copy on endpaper 02b: “Sons and descendents of [Muḥammad] Yahyā. The first son was Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf, whose son was Muḥammad Bāqir, whose son was Shāh-Nithār Aḥmad, whose son was Nithār Riḍā. The second son of *shaykh* [Muḥammad] Yahyā was *shaykh* Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, whose son was Muḥammad Rawshan, who had two sons: the first was Shāh-Ghulām Aḥmad, whose son was Shāh-Wajh-i Aḥmad, whose son was Wazīr-Aḥmad. The second son of Muḥammad Rawshan was Ḥājji Muḥammad”.

39. Storey, *op. cit.*, i, pt. 2, p. 988; Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadjhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia*, No. 188; *Persidskie i tadjhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)*, No. 2167.

40. Storey, *op. cit.*, i, pt. 2, p. 1002; Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadjhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia*, No. 192; *Persidskie i tadjhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)*, No. 1050.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī, *Ḥasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn*, manuscript C 1529 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, late 17th century, beginning of the main body of the work, fol. 5b.