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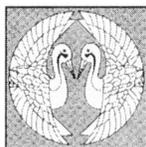
Front cover:

Fragment of the drawing demonstrating acupuncture points which should be applied when healing back pain and a half-body paralysis. *Sabsire sūiha sindara ferguwecuke argan*, manuscript B 92 mss in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, illustration 13, fol. 42, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Back cover:

Drawing of a male figure with acupuncture points which should be applied when healing child's night crying and tooth-ache. The same manuscript, illustration 1, fol. 28, 27.0×46.3 cm.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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BIOGRAPHIES OF MAKHDŪM-I A'ZAM AL-KĀSĀNĪ AL-DAHĪDĪ, SHAYKH OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NAQSHBANDĪYA*

So far, biographical works on the Šūfī *shaykhs* of Central Asia have been studied quite insufficiently, notwithstanding that their significance as a valuable source of information has been noted by many scholars. At present, however, with scholars paying increasing attention to the dynamics of the religious situation in the region and to the history of the Šūfī brotherhoods in particular, interest in the hagiographic literature has grown noticeably [1]. But the greater part of the source material remains unknown to specialists, primarily because specialised works on such sources appear very rarely. Even more rare are editions of Central Asian Šūfī hagiographies, and those published, mainly in Iran and Turkey, do not always meet the standards of critical editions. This is especially true of the biographies (*maqāmāt*) of the *shaykhs* of the most influential brotherhood in Central Asia, the Naqshbandīya, which were written in the second half of the sixteenth—nineteenth centuries.

The chronological boundaries were not chosen at random. A serious transformation took place in the activities of the Naqshbandīya in the second half of the fifteenth century, which we know to be connected with the name of Khwāja Ahrār (d. 1590). The basic elements of these changes were intensive economic activity and involvement in politics. The initial asceticism, “disdain for riches”, as well as almost complete indifference to politics were replaced by a vivid interest in economic power and an attempt to establish close relations with the authorities.

This trend, which was accompanied by noticeable change in the Naqshbandīya doctrines, could not but influence the character of the hagiographic literature. Authors began to give special attention to the political activity and authority of *shaykhs*; the extent of their wealth was described as the special result of “divine mercy”, although their lack of attachment to their property was also stressed. These new trends did not supplant the basic generic feature of Naqshbandīya hagiography — the presentation of *shaykhs* actions as miraculous ones, even if these actions were real. Still, the penetration of worldly, secular elements into the *ṭarīqat*'s activity freed hagiography from excessive

and very specific mythologization and, to a certain degree, eased the transition toward realistic interpretation of historical events described therein. Biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam, a prominent Naqshbandīya theoretician in Mawarannahr in the first half of the sixteenth century demonstrate it in full measure.

Makhdūm-i A'zam succeeded in transforming the brotherhood, or at least the part he headed, into a religious-political organization which came to be known as Kār khāna-yi Khwājagān. Its members continued to engage in social and economic activity with great energy, protecting the poorest layers of the population and participating in trade and crafts. The Naqshbandīya, and especially its leader, Makhdūm-i A'zam, was even more active in politics. Following Khwāja Ahrār, Makhdūm-i A'zam announced that the brotherhood's political activity was a priority and exerted serious efforts to make his contacts with the Shaybānids more intensive. All these circumstances led to including in his biographies absolutely original information on all aspects of the brotherhood's functioning, unusual for hagiography. These biographies place special emphasis on the political activity of the Naqshbandīya. Moreover, in addition to containing historical episodes not found in other sources, they present well-known historical events very differently than, for example, chronicles. The latter were normally drawn up at the behest of rulers, which made the authors be much constrained both in the selection of materials and description of events. This does not certainly mean that the authors of the *Maqāmāt* of Makhdūm-i A'zam were unbiased in conveying those events which they witnessed or recorded on the basis of eyewitness accounts. Quite the contrary, hagiographic works require even greater caution than other types of sources. The biographies of Šūfīs have, however, indubitable virtues which have not yet been adequately assessed.

The biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam are the only sources which permit us to have an idea of the activities of the brotherhood he headed in Mawarannahr [2]. Among the extant biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam, descriptions of

* We express our sincerest gratitude toward M. Hasani, A. K. Muminov, and B. D. Kochnev for their valuable advice during the composition of this article.

three incomplete and non-original copies have found their way into catalogues known to us. The defectiveness of early versions and too biased nature of later biographies seem to have misled some specialists (see below). It should be noted that published catalogues contain no description of the earliest work, *Anīs al-tālibīn*, which contains brief biographical information on Makhdūm-i A'zam. It was written in Persian by a little-known Šūfī poet from Bukhārā, Qāsim b. Muḥammad Shahr-i Šafāyī, whose pen-name was Kātib (16th century). I was lucky to discover one copy (apparently, the single one) of this work in the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan (henceforth, IOSUz) [3]. Judging by the handwriting (rather crude *nasta'liq*), the copy can be dated to the nineteenth century. The copyist's name is lacking. The text displays numerous blots and grammatical errors; several omitted words and prepositions were later written into the margins, either by the owner or by a reader.

The author provides his name, pen name, and examples of his own verse (in *munājāt* style) at the very opening of his work (fols. 2—4 ff.). He also gives very brief information about himself in the introduction (*muqaddima*). It seems that the author was of Bukhārān origin. We learn that already an adult, Qāsim Shahr-i Šafāyī suddenly experienced "torments of his heart and soul" and, following the advice of his friends, began to visit the *mazārs* of the "Bukhārān *shaykhs* of Khwājagān" [4]. Finally, at the urging of certain "venerable [ones]" (*azīzān*), he came to the "threshold of His Holiness Makhdūm-i A'zam", who eased his spiritual torments by accepting him as a pupil (fols. 3b—4ab). In his own words, the author remained in the service of His Holiness Khwājagī Kāsānī for many years until the death of his teacher.

Qāsim b. Muḥammad also indicates that he wrote his work "on the instruction of Ḥaḍrat [Khwājagī] and his closest *aṣḥāb*" (fol. 7b). Though the author does not provide an exact date for the composition of the work, he cites a story told by the well-known court poet of the Shaybānīd 'Ubaydallāh Khān (1533—1539), Sayyid Muḥammad Pādīshāh Khwāja (d. 1547), who was apparently still alive at the time of composition (fol. 77b). This enables us to place the *Anīs al-tālibīn* between 1542 (the year of Makhdūm-i A'zam's death) and 1547.

The work is divided into ten chapters (*bābs*), of which the first seven are very brief and are either of a didactic nature (*dar bayān-i ādāb*, *dar bayān-i tawba*, etc.) or provide explanations of Šūfī rituals and terminology (*dhikr*, *rābi'a*, *tawajjuh*, etc.). This section of the work (fols. 4b—31a) is not original and provides frequent citations from famed Šūfī *shaykhs'* writings, including excerpts from the works of the Naqshbandīya theoretician Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 1419/20) and others.

As for chapters XIII—X (fols. 31a—117a), they contain valuable information on the early biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam recorded as provided by his inner circle, his admirers, and the author himself. Cited here is the earliest variant of Makhdūm-i A'zam's genealogy, which goes back to Qārakhānīd (?) Burhān al-Dīn Qilīch (11th century) (fols. 31b—32a). These sections of the work were compiled by later biographers of Makhdūm-i A'zam. It is interesting, Qāsim b. Muḥammad frequently cites the works of his *pir*, but for some reason rarely makes references to them [5].

The work contains little direct information on Makhdūm-i A'zam's activities, especially those of a political

nature, while tales of the *shaykh's* miracles are abundant in the writing. The most frequent are stories about the overflowing or drying up of the Kuhak, the main river in the Zarāfshān valley [6]. In these tales, Makhdūm-i A'zam is depicted as succeeded in returning the river to its banks or in filling it with water by calling forth rain (fols. 102a—102b, 115b—116b ff.). Even more frequent are stories about how all who dared oppose Makhdūm-i A'zam or merely treat him without due respect (*biādāb*) received punishment as a result of accident, illness, or even death (fols. 65b—66a, 105a—105b ff.). On the whole, the text demonstrates the common features of early Šūfī hagiography.

Much more original is the section where the author concentrates mainly on the *karāma* of his teacher, on the latter's views on relations between *murīd* and *murshid*, types of *dhikr*, *samā'*, etc. The author only rarely mentions his teacher's political involvement, though he cites in abundance Makhdūm-i A'zam's works on the necessity of constant contacts with "Sultāns of the time in order to promote the *sharī'at*" (fols. 54b—55b ff.). We also encounter mention of several Shaybānīd rulers who considered themselves "*murīds* of the Ḥaḍrat" (fols. 65a, 79a, and others). Only the relations between Makhdūm-i A'zam and 'Ubaydallāh Khān are treated in more detail. As the author indicates, "Ḥaḍrat was obligated by invisible benefactors (*rijāl al-ghayb* — B. B.) to help this *khān*" (fols. 65a, 90b—91b, 97a—97b). Also, there are tales of the "political foresight" of Makhdūm-i A'zam, who foresaw the capture of this or that city by the Shaybānīds (fols. 106a—109b, 114a—114b).

Let us turn now to another work, the *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-muḍillīn*, which also belongs to a pupil of Makhdūm-i A'zam, Dūst Muḥammad b. Nawrūz Aḥmad al-Kīshī Fālizkār (16th century) [7]. According to the author himself, for about five years, he "inclined his head in humility toward the footprints of the Sultān of the *ṭarīqat* [8] ... Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Aḥmad Kāsānī ..." (fol. 43a). During this time, at his teacher's behest, Dūst Muḥammad Fālizkār wrote down everything he heard from him and then gathered these notes into a book of "amazing happenings and events" to which he was witness (fols. 43a—44b). This writing contains significantly less biographical information than the *Anīs al-tālibīn*.

The single copy of this work, held in the collection of the IOSUz, is unfortunately incomplete; it lacks the final section, which apparently contained biographical information on Makhdūm-i A'zam. The work begins with an ample, but quite traditional introduction (*muqaddima*) in four parts, with explanations of the specifics of Khwājagān (Naqshbandīya) ritual practice, elucidation of the spiritual lineage of the brotherhood (fols. 44a—64b), and so on. Of seven *faṣls*, which were to follow, according to the author's plan, only the first has survived. In it, the author devotes the bulk of his attention to the rituals practiced in the Khwājagān brotherhood (*dhikr*, the *khatm-i Khwājagān* rite, etc.). One can term this work a biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam, although it is quite a stretch, at least until a complete copy of the work is discovered.

The fullest and most detailed biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam is contained in another vast work by Dūst Muḥammad b. Nawrūz Aḥmad al-Kīshī Fālizkār — *Silsilat al-siddīqīn wa-anīs al-āshiqīn* [9]. This work contains unique and extremely valuable materials not found in other sources. These include, for example, the details of many political events, various aspects of the religious situation in

Mawarannahr during the first half of the sixteenth century, the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood situation of that period, etc. It is truly surprising that this work has until now been practically unnoticed by specialists. The main reason for this, I suspect, is the absence of a more or less complete description. Existing mentions of this source are either too brief [10] or inaccurate [11], which makes it necessary to provide more details about the copies of the work known to us. Moreover, the most informative and earliest of them have not yet been catalogued and remains unknown to specialists. It is held in the collection of the IOSUZ, which possesses in all three copies of the work. MS 622 is the most complete of them. It contains 220 folios and has not been catalogued until recently. Judging by the handwriting (small calligraphic *nasta'liq*), MS 622 was copied in the late sixteenth century. The name of the copyist and the place of copying are not indicated. Infrequent errors are corrected in the margins, mostly in the copyist's hand. The marginalia also contain additional information about Makhdūm-i A'zam, for example, his genealogy written in by an owner or reader. The paper is thick, crème-colored and apparently manufactured in Samarqand (as determined by A. Urumbayev).

Another copy of the work in the same collection (call number 2471) lacks both beginning and ending. It is only briefly described in the catalogue of Eastern manuscripts of the IOSUZ [12]. It was copied at the end of the seventeenth century. There are *lacunae* at the beginning and in the middle of the text, as one can judge from the *pāyگیر*s. The name of the copyist is unknown. The handwriting (*nasta'liq*) is crude and the text displays orthographic errors. In style and arrangement, the manuscript is close to the preceding copy. The paper is grey, soft and most likely of Bukhāran manufacturing.

Judging by the writing (large, bold *nasta'liq*) of the third copy, as well as by its paper, MS 1904 was copied in the second half of the nineteenth century in Bukhāra. It has not been catalogued. Although the copy does not display *lacunae*, there are some abridgements in the text in comparison with above-mentioned manuscripts. Yet, it has more folios (270) than MS 622. The style of the MS 1904 text is somewhat simplified, and certain Arabic phrases have either been replaced by Persian phrases or equipped with Persian translation. The copyist does not give his name in the colophon, limiting himself to the traditional epithets like *al-faqīr* or *al-haqīr*. The graphic format of all three copies is quite unassuming.

Another manuscript of the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn wa-anīs al-'āshiqīn* is held at the State University of Istanbul library (call number F 691). I was able to consult a microfilm of the manuscript in the collection of the late Prof. M. Molé. Judging by the palaeographic data, this copy was produced in the eighteenth century. The copyist indicates his name as 'Ibādallāh Bābā al-Bukhārī (fol. 95a). The manuscript is considerably shorter (95 fols.) than the Tashkent copies: it lacks the final sections which lay out the biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam. However, the introduction and first chapters (fols. 20a—80b) are, on the contrary, more complete. It is worth noting that in the Istanbul copy the *nisba* Akhsikāfī (fol. 12a) is attributed to the author, while we find al-Kīshī in the Tashkent copies.

The author of the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* says that he spent 25 years in the service of Makhdūm-i A'zam, carrying out most important assignments for his teacher (MS 622, fols.

9b, 121b—123b, etc.). He even managed to write a work about his *pīr* — *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-mudillīn*. Having finished his education at one of Bukhāra's (?) *madrasas*, Dūst Muḥammad al-Kīshī was already an adult when he became a pupil of Makhdūm-i A'zam (fol. 105a). Some political events described in detail by the author permit us to assume that the work was written during the lifetime of Samarqand ruler 'Abd al-Laṭīf Sulṭān (1533—1552) and his political rival, the ruler of Bukhāra, 'Abd al-'Azīz Sulṭān (1539—1550). Consequently, the work was completed no later than the middle of the sixteenth century.

According to the author, he was spurred to "take *qalam* in hand" by Makhdūm-i A'zam himself, who ordered him to describe three events. The first of these is connected with Makhdūm-i A'zam's success in foreseeing the capture of Kāsān (a city in the north of Farghāna) by the united forces of the Uzbeks led by Jānībīk Khān (1513—1529). The second concerns an attack by a "twenty-thousand-strong force of *kāfīrs* on Mīrzā Bābur" (d. 1530) [13]. In this case, by means of *Ṣūfī* meditation (*murāqaba*) and concentration of thought (*tawajjuh*), Makhdūm-i A'zam could foresee Bābur's victory. Finally, the third tale describes one of the campaigns of 'Ubaydallāh Khān (1533—1539) against Khurāsān, as a result of which he was able to establish himself in Harāt for nearly a year (campaign of 1535—1537). According to the author, this victory was made possible by a blessing which 'Ubaydallāh Khān received from Makhdūm-i A'zam (MS 622, fol. 1a; MS 2471, fols. 2b—3a).

The language of the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* is relatively simple, lacking notable refinements and "plays of metaphor". Dūst Muḥammad al-Kīshī also equipped his work with an extended and quite traditional introduction (*muqaddima*) in which he cites *Ṣūfī* authorities to prove that *taṣawwuf* wholly conforms to the Sunna of the Prophet. This is followed by an enumeration of the seven parts (*qisims*) which were to make up the basic contents of the book. These are (i) *dar bayān-i Waliyat wa karāmat ch-ist, wa karāmat-i walī ch-ist*; (ii) *dar ibtidā-yi hāl wa jazbat wa ghalabat-i ān Ḥadrat*; (iii) *dar bayān-i silsila-yi ḥadarāt-i Khwājagān*; (iv) *dar bayān-i shafqat wa 'ibādat wa tarbiyat-i Ishān nisbat be-ṭālib*; (v) *dar bayān-i majālis-i sharīf-i Ḥadrat-i Ishān*; (vi) *dar bayān-i karāmat wa aḥwāl-i Ḥadrat-i Ishān*; (vii) *dar bayān-i samā'*.

Unexpectedly, the actual arrangement of parts in all copies is confused. For example, in the three Tashkent copies, where the first section (*qism-i awwal*) is indicated, we find instead the title of the fifth part, which in MSS 622 and 1904 includes the names of the wives and children of Makhdūm-i A'zam (MS 622, fols. 36b—40; MS 1904, fols. 45b—53a). But in MS 2471, the members of Makhdūm-i A'zam's family are listed practically at the end of the work without any connection to the basic content of the text (fol. 173a—173b). Not one copy follows the order of sections evidently planned by the author. Furthermore, not one copy contains the first or fifth sections. In MSS 622 and 1904, the third section (judging by its contents) has a different title — *Dar bayān-i anfas-i qudsiya* (MS 622, fol. 42b; MS 1904, fol. 53a). Interestingly, an attentive reader (but not the copyist), having noticed the discrepancies described here, wrote in or corrected in the margins the numeration of chapters (MS 622, fol. 36b, 66b, and others). But this did not clear up the confusion. The copyist of MS 2471 attempted to reconstruct the order of the sections by bringing them into accordance with the contents listed in the

muqaddima. He was not entirely successful in this, as he was apparently working from a text with a confused arrangement. We discovered the same discrepancies in titles and order in the Istanbul copy, which, in addition, does not contain the later sections at all. These observations lead us to believe that the author did not finish his work and that the first copyists received a rough draft of the author's work.

Despite the fact that the author failed to complete his opus, the events, especially of a political nature, which he describes, are not found in any other sources, including narrative ones. Especially original are the accounts of diplomatic and military clashes between the appanage Shaybānids and about the role played in these clashes by the leaders of the largest Sūfī brotherhoods in Mawarannahr, whose political and social activities are one of the major characteristics of the region's history during the period [14]. Moreover, vivid examples illustrate the serious changes which took place in the doctrines and activities of these brotherhoods and in the status of *shaykhs*, who become influential political figures, apart from their role as religious leaders. One can see an evident "secularisation" of the majority of Sūfī *ṭarīqats*, and especially the Naqshbandiya.

Among the original information found in the *Silsilat al-siddiqin*, of special interest are the accounts of Makhdūm-i A'zam's peace-making efforts in the endless Shaybānid intestine strife. Some his efforts ended in peaceful accord (fols. 159a—159b, 164b—166b), while in others the *shaykh* extended diplomatic or military support to various appanage Shaybānids (among his *murīds*). For example, in 1540/41, Makhdūm-i A'zam succeeded in preventing the seizure of Bukhārā by the united forces of Barāq Khān (ruled in Tashkent; d. 1556) and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Khān (ruled in Samarqand in 1533—1552). After unsuccessful attempts to convince the attackers to give up their siege, Makhdūm-i A'zam was able to attract to the side of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān, ruler of Bukhārā, another appanage Shaybānid, Kistīn Qarā Sulṭān (ruled in Balkh, d. ca. 1550) by sending a message to the latter. This caused the besiegers to conclude a peace and retreat to their appanages (fols. 121a—123a).

The author reports that Makhdūm-i A'zam had "special people" for such missions (fol. 166a—166b). The author himself also carried certain "special assignments" for his *pīr*. One of these "assignments" was connected with the seizure of several of Makhdūm-i A'zam's villages by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who acted at the order of Barāq Khān. The messenger, this time our author, Dūst Muḥammad, was unable to obtain the return of the land, but received from "certain *amīrs*" advice to "kill this disrespectful, obstinate person" (Sulṭān Ibrāhīm). Makhdūm-i A'zam then drew up a message for Barāq Khān (we know nothing of its contents) and sent Dūst Muḥammad to Tashkent to deliver it. Furthermore, the *shaykh* hinted that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm could die within three days, and the latter was indeed killed in his home by 'Alī Sa'īd biy, which the messenger learned while on the way to Tashkent. There, with the aid of Mīrzā Turūm, a *murīd* of Makhdūm-i A'zam, he obtained an audience with Barāq Khān. Mīrzā delivered the letter from his *pīr* and said to the *khān*: "This hapless Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was the cause of his own undoing by showing such disrespect to our Ḥaḍrat. Do not even consider comporting yourself with similar disrespect toward His Holiness — return the villages!" The *khān* quickly ordered that the confiscated lands be returned (fols. 123b—124b). "May it be known," adds the author, "that [in fact] only three days passed before the

long-standing enemy [of Ḥaḍrat], Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, was killed; as a result of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's murder, Barāq Khān and all [of his] *amīrs* became sincere admirers [of Ḥaḍrat]" [15].

No doubt, this and other incidents, which are numerous in the source, convey real events; we find support for this in the entirely earth-bound and secular motives which drove the participants, who are all actual historical figures, the clearly defined geographical setting, the absence of the mythicization so characteristic of early Sūfī hagiography, etc. In keeping with the times, such harsh actions in defense of one's economic well-being and political interests became one of the brotherhood's basic modes of functioning.

Of interest are also the events described by the author which took place after the death of Makhdūm-i A'zam (after 1542). Thus, in 952/1545—46, his *mazar* and adjacent village of Dabhd (15 km north-west from Samarqand) were seized and destroyed by a group of armed *amīrs* of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Khān. Moreover, the *khān* not only failed to halt the pillage, but refused to punish those responsible when the descendants and former pupils of Makhdūm-i A'zam in Samarqand demanded retribution (fol. 217a—217b).

The last biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam to be compiled was the *Jāmi' al-maḳāmāt* which was written by his grandson, Abū-l-Baqā' b. Bahā' al-Dīn b. Makhdūm-i A'dham in 1026/1617—18. The work is found in many manuscript collections across the world, but the greatest number of copies (21) is held in the IOSUZ. Only five of them have been catalogued [16]. Of all extant copies, the earliest and most complete was transcribed "by the hand of the feeble servant of God ... Shāh Muḥammad Sūfī b. Darwīsh Biy Khānāzāda in 1034/1624—25" [17], that is, only seven or eight years after the work was written. A comparison of all the manuscripts which have reached us convinced us that they are identical in content (discounting lacunae), with the exception of MS 1606/1 (IOSUZ), which is close to the *Silsilat al-siddiqin* described above. There are also abridged versions of the work, represented by a number of copies in the IOSUZ or the copy in the Berlin National Library [18].

As far as I know, this source was first mentioned in brief by V. V. Barthold and later in more detail by V. L. Viatkin, who noted its importance for the study of the first half of the sixteenth century [19]. A more complete description of the manuscript was published by Academician B. A. Akhmedov [20]. Unfortunately this description is not free from errors, especially with concern to biographical information on the author. B. A. Akhmedov writes that the author, Abū-l-Baqā', was an "individual who carried out orders (i.e. who was a *ḥukmgīr*) for the Shaybānid 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān" (p. 179). Chronological considerations, however, make this unlikely: even if one assumes that Abū-l-Baqā' completed his work at a ripe old age (in 1617/18), then during the reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān I (1539—1549) he would have been extremely young (if not a child). It is even more doubtful that before this (if one is to believe B. A. Akhmedov) Abū-l-Baqā' managed to travel to various places (Balkh, India, Kāshghar) in connection with his commercial operations (p. 179).

Furthermore, Akhmedov asserts that the author "occupied the post of ambassador in Kazakhstan and lived there for two years, endured misfortune ... and returned home only with difficulty" (*ibid.*). In fact, the episode Akhmedov describes here was compiled from the *Silsilat al-*

siddiqin and conveyed by Khwāja Jakka (but not the author) (MS 622, fol. 202a—202b; *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt*, MS 72, fol. 122a; MS 7638, fols. 232b—233a) [21]. As concerns “commercial operations” of Abū-l-Baqā', these tales, drawn from earlier biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam, are not conveyed directly by the author, too (*Jāmi' al-maqāmāt*, MS 7638, fols. 104a, 110a). Therefore, the “biographical information” about the author of the *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* should in fact be attributed to informants whose testimony was compiled by Abū-l-Baqā' from previous biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam. Also, he often does not provide the names of his informants, saying simply: *Naql kardand ki ...*

One can also hardly agree with B. A. Akhmedov's interpretation of certain episodes in this source. For example, the scholar considers the tale of the seizure of Kāsān by Uzbek forces, told in the confused and non-concrete style typical of hagiography, a “popular uprising” (p. 180). In fact, it was not. In all versions, it is only said that during the siege of Kāsān, Makhdūm-i A'zam came into conflict with the city's spiritual elite (Bābā Mīrak and others), who had taken the defence of the city into their hands. As a result, “Ḥaḍrat Khwājagī was compelled to leave the city”. After the capture of the city, the population was subjected to beatings and pillage; the rulers were executed (MS 622, fol. 75a—75b; MS 72, fol. 124a—124b). The author of the *Jāmi'* comes to the conclusion that the misfortune took place because “those unreasonable and haughty people (responsible for the defence) dared to disobey Ḥaḍrat (i.e. Makhdūm-i A'zam)” and were deservedly punished (*ibid.*). True, neither the informant nor the author indicates what exactly Makhdūm-i A'zam wished to gain from Bābā Mīrak and his circle. One can, however, guess from following episodes that Makhdūm-i A'zam was most likely trying to incline them toward the voluntary surrender of the city, since he felt that in cases of “struggles between the Sulṭāns of the time”, “people of the *ṭariqats*” should work to reduce the number of innocent victims [22].

The writing of Abū-l-Baqā' includes a short introduction (MS 72, fols. 1a—3b), three chapters (*bābs*) and a brief conclusion (fols. 148—151a). Of special importance are the author's explanations of the reasons which caused him to compose his work: “May it not be concealed,” he writes, “that Mawlānā Dūst (Muḥammad al-Kīshī Fālizkār — B. B.) was one of the greatest of the *aṣḥāb* of the Ḥaḍrat ... Makhdūm-i A'zam, at whose will he drew up a book about his *karāmāts* and miracless [23]. The author says that “it was also on the counsel of this Ḥaḍrat that Khwāja

Ibrāhīm [24] and mullā Qāsim Kātib [25] wrote about him — both were among his (Makhdūm-i A'zam's) *aṣḥāb*”. Abū-l-Baqā' adds: “But until now there was no collection (*jāmi'*) of his *Maqāmāt* [26]. Furthermore, copies of these (*Maqāmāt*) were provided for reading to His Holiness” [27], who “deigned to say: ‘May a copy (*nuskha*) be made which brings together all of these texts and which includes other events not mentioned in the above-mentioned anthologies (i.e. *Maqāmāt*)’” (fol. 2a—2b).

One should note that the author conscientiously included in his work, practically without alteration, a large number of tales from the above-mentioned biographies. The only original section is a part of the first chapter, where he explains the reasons and motives which led the eldest son and successor of Makhdūm-i A'zam, Khwāja Muḥammad Amīn, to transfer the leadership of the *ṭariqat* to the influential Bukhāran *shaykh* Khwāja Islām Jūybārī (d. 1563) (fols. 6—8). Also, we find in the *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* a more detailed elucidation of the conflict between Makhdūm-i A'zam and Mīr-i 'Arab, the well-known spiritual dignitary from the circle of 'Ubaydallāh Khān [28]. However, contrary to established opinion [29], the major part of *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* can hardly be called original. Even a cursory glance allows one to conclude that the basic source for the extensive compilations made by Abū-l-Baqā' was Dūst Muḥammad al-Kīshī's *Silsilat al-siddiqin* (not *vice versa*) [30].

And finally, *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* was compiled under the obvious influence of the Jūybār *khwājas* (it even seems to have been ordered by them). This is evident from the above-cited authorial justification of the work's “timeliness”, as well as from the exposition of the conflict between Khwāja Islām Jūybārī and Mawlānā Luṭfallāh Chūstī for the right to lead the “Bukhāran brothers (*yārān*) of the Khwājagān (Naqshbandīya)” (fols. 79a—80b), an exposition clearly biased in favour of Khwāja Islām Jūybārī.

These are, it seems, all of the biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam which have come down to us. One can borrow some information about his life from his own works [31], as well as from the lives of his pupils [32]. In the latter case, the information is naturally of a biased nature in favour of a particular pupil. But even such accounts might greatly advance our understanding of the brotherhood's functioning, of relations between Makhdūm-i A'zam's main successors, etc. To conclude, it is to be hoped that the above-mentioned hagiographic works will receive many-faceted treatment, and the *Silsilat al-siddiqin* in particular, which no doubt demands its publication as soon as possible.

Notes

1. The specifics of hagiography — the absence of universal methodologies for extracting the actual, if very mythologised, base of real events in hagiographic works — makes it difficult to work with this literature and renders its analysis extremely labour-consuming. Furthermore, to understand and interpret hagiographic works, one must be not only well-trained in Islamic studies and familiar with complicated Sūfī terminology, but must also bear in mind the specific features of literature created within this or that brotherhood. Success is only possible after one has “read through” the largest possible number of appropriate works. One must also retain a sense of balance both in one's critical appraisal and in respecting the “absolute presumption of a source's veracity”. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that we witness little enthusiasm with concern to investigating Sūfī hagiography writings.

2. The economic, political, and charitable activities of Khwāja Ahrār and the Jūybār *shaykhs* has received fuller study. This is linked to the availability of a multitude of extant documents, letters, detailed biographies and information from other sources which provide a firm basis for reconstructing the history of the Naqshbandīya under these *shaykhs*. Meanwhile, not one document has been hitherto discovered on the extensive estates of Makhdūm-i A'zam, and his large correspondence, part of which has survived in the accounts of his biographers, is little known. These circumstances enhance the importance of biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam as historical sources.

3. Qāsim b. Muḥammad Shahr-i Šafāyī, *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, MS 3969 in the collection of the IOSUZ.

4. Members of the Sūfī brotherhood founded by 'Abd al-Khāliq Gijdūwanī (d. A.D. 1180 or 1220).

5. The most complete known collection of Makhdūm-i A'zam's works is held in the collection of the IOSUz (MS 501) and contains twenty-eight treatises (*risālas*). It was copied in 977/1569—70 by Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mīr Jalāl (fol. 287b). Another four treatises not included in the above-mentioned collection have survived in a later copy (MS 1443/XXVII—XXXI) held in the same collection (copied in 1134/1721—22). One can find a brief description of these treatises in the *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1955), iii, pp. 298—315, Nos. 2517—2520, 2523—2557; *ibid.*, (Tashkent, 1963), vi, pp. 517—29, Nos. 4950—4979).

6. That is the Zarāfshān River.

7. Dūst Muḥammad Fālīzkār, *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-mudillīn*, MS 3711/III in the collection of the IOSUz, fols. 40—75. This copy, the only one of the work, was completed in 1281/1864—65. The copyist's name is not indicated. The author listed his full name and some autobiographical details in another of his works (see below).

8. In another work (see below), the author indicates that he "was in the service" of Makhdūm-i A'zam for 25 years until the latter's death (1542). Consequently, the *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-mudillīn* can be dated to approximately 1522.

9. The author's full name is Dūst Muḥammad b. Nawrūz Aḥmad b. Khūsh Muḥammad b. 'Ādil Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn b. Qadr-shāh b. Nawrūz al-Kīshī Fālīzkār.

10. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei*, iii, p. 31, No. 2576. This brief description of MS 2471 held in the collection of the IOSUz gives the name of the work, its author's name, the exterior characteristics of the copy and the approximate date of copying (17th century). Later, this date was mistakenly understood by some authors as the time of the work's composition. Even more brief mention of the manuscript is contained in B. A. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaiia literatura Srednei Azii XVI—XVIII vv. Pis'mennye pamiatniki* (The Historico-Geographical Literature of the Sixteenth—Eighteenth Centuries Central Asia. Literary Texts) (Tashkent, 1985), p. 182. The title of the work in this edition is given erroneously as *Silsilat al-salatīn wa-anīs al-'ashiqīn*.

11. "Fonds M. Molé", *Studia Iranica*, extrait du tome 7 (Leiden, 1978), p. 138, MS 69. This is in fact a description of a microfilm made specially for Prof. M. Molé from a copy held in the library of Istanbul University (MS F 691). The title is reproduced erroneously: *Kitāb silsila al-šādīqīn wa-anīs al-'ushshāqīr*; the author's name is given with the *nisba* al-Alskāfī. The date of writing has not been determined.

12. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei*, iii.

13. There is no mention of this incident in published copies of the *Bābur-nāma*. It is possible that a description of the event was contained in a missing section of the Bābur's work (events of 1510—1519).

14. For more detail, see: B. Babadzhānov, "Iasaviia i Nakshbandiia v Maverannakhre: iz istorii vzaimootnosheniī (XV—XVI vv.)" ("Yasawīya and Naqshbandīya in Mawarannahr: on the history of relations in the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries), in *Yasauī taghlymy* (Turkstan, 1996), pp. 89—112.

15. *Pushida namānad, ki az guftan-i ān Ḥadrat se rūz guzashte būd, ki munkir-i qadīm Sultān Ibrāhīm be-qatl rasīde; wa be-sabab-i kushte shudan Sultān Ibrāhīm, Barāq Khān wa jamī' umarā' az jān-u-dil mukhlīš wa mu'ṭaqid gashtand* (fol. 125b).

16. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei*, iii, pp. 315—16, Nos. 2571—2575; for a list of literature and catalogues, see *ibid.*

17. MS 72 from the IOSUz (the V. L. Viatkin collection), fol. 151a (colophon). This manuscript is briefly described in *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei*, iii, p. 315. The number of folios is indicated incorrectly (148 instead of 151).

18. The Berlin copy (MS Oct. 1562) was transcribed in 1236/1811—12. Copyist's name is not indicated in colophon (p. 110), European pagination, *nasta'liq*. The text contains errors.

19. V. V. Bartol'd, "Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan" ("Report on a working visit to Turkestan"), in *Sochineniia* (Works), viii (Moscow, 1973), p. 153; [V. L. Viatkin], *Perechen' vostochnykh rukopisei V. L. Viatkina v Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteke Uzbekskoi SSR* (List of V. L. Viatkin's Eastern Manuscripts Held in the State Public Library of the Uzbek SSR) (Tashkent, 1935), i, No. 73.

20. Akhmedov, *op. cit.*, p. 179—82. The scholar did not indicate the archival number of the copy he employed, although on the basis of certain information, not always accurate though, one can guess that his remarks concern MS 7638 from the IOSUz. This is the second oldest copy (1043/1633—34) containing more folios (251) than other copies. However, this manuscript's big volume is most likely connected with the bold hand (*nasta'liq*) inside a small (8.5×17.5 cm) page surface bordered in Indian ink and vermilion. Although the large number of folios creates the impression that we have here a full copy, the contents are identical to MS 72.

21. It is true that in the earliest biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam, *Anīs al-tālibīn*, this episode is conveyed by a certain admirer (*mukhlīš*, name not given) (fol. 109b). This source adds that the ambassador was dispatched by the ruler of Akhsiket to Uzbekistan, meaning, apparently, to the territory of the nomadic Uzbeks (approximately the south-western part of what is today Kazakhstan).

22. For more detail, see Bakhtiyar Babajanov, "La Naqshbandiyya sous les premiers Sheybanides", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, 3—4 (Tashkent—Aix-en-Provence, 1997), pp. 82—3, 86.

23. This concerns the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn wa-anīs al-tālibīn* described above.

24. Unfortunately, I was not able to find this work.

25. That is the work by Qāsim b. Muḥammad — *Anīs al-tālibīn* — described above.

26. The author means that there was no compilation of all of the biographies of Makhdūm-i A'zam.

27. Although no name is given, it is clear that this concerns one of the Jūybār *khwājas* who ordered the writing of this work. The head of the Jūybārid house at the time was Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1646).

28. For more detail, see B. Babadzhānov, "Mīr-i Arab", in *Kul'tura kochevnikov na rubezhe vekov (XIX—XX, XX—XXI vv.): problema genezisa i transformatsii* (The Culture of Nomads at the Turn of the Centuries (XIX—XX, XX—XXI): Problems of Origin and Transformation) (Almaty, 1995), pp. 89—91.

29. Akhmedov, *op. cit.*, pp. 179—82.

30. B. A. Akhmedov is of a different opinion. For example, he writes that *Jāmi' al-maḥāmāt* was later reworked by Dūst Muḥammad al-Kīshī (see Akhmedov, *op. cit.*, p. 182). This assertion seems to be even more dubious if one bears in mind that Dūst Muḥammad was already an adult when he became a pupil of Makhdūm-i A'zam and remained with him for 25 years until the latter's death (see above). Moreover, the author of *Jāmi' al-maḥāmāt* speaks of using al-Kīshī's work.

31. See, for example, the above-mentioned collection of Makhdūm-i A'zam's works (MS 501/I—XXXI from the IOSUz, fols. 284b—86b, and others).

32. Mawlānā 'Ubaydallāh Naqshbandī al-Samarqandī, *Sirāj al-sālikīn wa-laṭā'if al-'arīfīn*, MS 5785 from the collection of the IOSUz, fols. 81b—82b, 84a—85b, 112a—112b, and others.