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Association Archipel

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New Evidence on the Origin of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*

Introduction: Early Hypotheses ²

It is a commonly-held view amongst scholars that the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*³ (henceforth *HMH*) is one of the oldest Islamic popular romances of Malay Islamic literature and culture. According to the 23rd chapter of the *Sejarah Melayu*, for example, this story was recited by Malaccans at the time of the Portuguese siege of Malacca in 1511⁴. This in turn suggests that Malays were familiar with *HMH*'s features and qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) by that time, and they could use it during wars, conflicts, and disasters. Scholars have been investigating the contribution of *HMH* to the Islamization of the Malay World since the turn of

1. Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Freiburg, Germany.

2. This work is part of a larger research project at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), University of Freiburg, Germany, where I work as a Junior Fellow and Marie S. Curie Fellow of the European Union. This article would not have been possible without the kind support of the FRIAS and Johanna Pink (from the Orientalisches Seminar, University of Freiburg). I also thank Edwin Wieringa (University of Cologne) for reading the draft of this article and providing me with his helpful comments. My thanks go to Michael Lecker (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Andreas Goerke (University of Edinburgh) for sharing valuable information about Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyyah with me. I also thank the University of Leiden Library (the Netherlands), the Ganj baksh Collection Library (Pakistan) and the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries (New Zealand) for granting permission to access their collections and use images of their manuscripts.

3. In written form, “Hanafiyyah” is sometimes rendered “Ḥanafiyya” or “Ḥanīfah.”

4. *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals. An annotated translation* by C.C. Brown, with a new introduction by R. Roolvink, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 162-163.

the 20th century; they have believed that the more we understand of *HMH*'s origin, the more we will be able to understand about Islam in this region. According to Edwin Wieringa, this story "was not only received into Malay literature at an early period, but it has remained popular a long time, [since the 19th century] one of the best-sellers of the indigenous press."⁵

Van Ronkel was one of the first scholars to attempt to uncover the origin of *HMH*. In the late 19th century, he connected this story to sources in Persian; going through the *HMH* manuscripts held in the Cambridge University Library, he noted the existence of various Persian terms throughout the text. Later, he expanded his theory by referring to Charles Rieu's catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum (now in the British Library), in which manuscript Add. 8149 is listed.⁶ This Persian manuscript was copied in the Murshidabad region of Bengal in 1134-5/1721 and is composed of two parts. Van Ronkel concluded that the Malay *HMH* is a rendering of these two Persian parts: (i) *Qiṣṣa-yi amīr al-mu'minīn Ḥassan va Ḥusayn* (fols. 1-28); and (ii) *Hikāyat-i Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah* (fols. 29-82)⁷. Winstedt agreed, stating that "though in Arabic there are biographies of Muhammad Hanafīyyah, only in Persian is there a special *hikayat*."⁸

However, scholars have been unsure as to whether both the Persian and the Malay versions were "one unified text, consisting of two or more parts, or [...] two or more *originally independent* fragments which have been combined."⁹ Winstedt, Voorhoeve, and Brakel¹⁰ have all pointed out that some Malay versions of *HMH* are prefaced with another mystical story about the creation of Muḥammad and his light, known as *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* (henceforth *HNM*), which is not found in the Persian version.¹¹ As such, Brakel suggested that the Malay romance includes three sections: (a) *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*; (b) *Hikayat Hasan dan Husain*, "mainly about these two sons of 'Alī, up to their death"; and (c) *HMH*, "describing the war of 'Alī's third son Muḥammad

5. Edwin Wieringa, "Does Traditional Islamic Malay Literature Contain Shi'itic Elements? 'Alī and Fātimah in Malay Hikayat Literature," *Studia Islamika* 3/4, 1996, pp. 93-111.

6. Ph. S. van Ronkel, "Account of six Malay manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 46/1, 1896, pp. 1-53; see also Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, Singapore, Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1939, p. 106.

7. Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, The British Museum, 1881, vol. 2, p. 819; V. Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2005, pp. 181-182.

8. Winstedt, 1939, p. 107.

9. L.F. Brakel (a), *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafīyyah: A Medieval Muslim-Malay Romance*, Berlin, Springer, 1981, p. 16.

10. Hence, Brakel is the one who provided readers with the most comprehensive edition of the Malay *HMH*; this article inevitably refers to his works frequently.

11. Winstedt, 1939, p. 107; Brakel (a), p. 16. See also P. Voorhoeve, "Les manuscrits malais de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," *Archipel* 6, 1973, pp. 42-80.

ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah with Yazīd,” the son of Mu‘āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty.¹²

Additionally, Brakel found that one of the oldest manuscripts of the Malay *HMH*, from the 17th century, includes a colophon that says “*tammāt hikayat maqatil Husain dan MH*” (“the story of Ḥusayn’s death as well as Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah is finished”).¹³ Following Bausani, Brakel declared that the term *maqatal*,¹⁴ which is very common in Middle Eastern literary works and refers to the killing of Ḥusayn at Karbala in 680 CE, has been known in the Archipelago since the 16th century. Brakel also highlighted the commonalities between the Persian and Malay *HMHs*. In short, he, along with most other scholars, believes that the Malay version of *HMH* was not only influenced by Persian literary works but seems to be a direct translation of a Persian work probably written in the 14th century. The two most important conclusions about the date of the British Library Persian manuscript Add. 8149, as presented by Brakel, are that:

- The Persian manuscript includes terms, names, and phrases found in Firdawsi’s (d. c. 1020 CE) *Shāh-nāma* or the *Satire on Maḥmūd of Ghazne*. Therefore, it must have been influenced by Firdawsi’s writing.
- The city of Tughan Turk, Tabriz, whose name is mentioned in both the Persian and Malay stories of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah, was the capital of Ghazan Khan from 1295 until 1304 CE.¹⁵

Therefore, *HMH* must have been written after these dates. In order to prove his findings, Brakel produced an edition and translation of the Malay *HMH* entitled *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah* in 1977. He believed that chapters 2-4 and 21-26 of Part I and chapters 1-17 and 20-21 of Part II “could be traced in the Persian” manuscript Add. 8149.¹⁶

However, Brakel and other scholars remained uncertain about: (a) various aspects of the Persian original, such as its author, date, and main features¹⁷; and (b) whether or not *Hikayat Hasan dan Husayn* or *maqatal* (part I) was originally associated with *HMH* (part II), or with *HNM*. This article seeks to build on previous studies of *HMH* by shedding some light on details of

12. Brakel (a), p. 16.

13. Ibid., p. 24.

14. *Maqātil* is the plural form of *maqatal*.

15. Brakel (a), p. 54.

16. L.F. Brakel (b), *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1977, p. v.

17. Brakel (a), p. 54.

the Persian original. The following sections will discuss the background of the Persian text the author has seen and its relationship with the Malay *HMH*. In order to achieve the latter, the following subjects will be examined:

- The similarities between various types of the Persian original (prototype) and the chapters in Brakel's edition of the Malay *HMH*, which are traced in Add. 8149;
- The common points between our Persian prototype and Brakel's edition of the Malay *HMH* that are not found in Add. 8149.
- A discussion of the arguments of former scholars of *HMH* in the light of the Persian prototype.

The Persian Prototype

While compiling a catalogue of Islamic writings kept in various libraries in New Zealand,¹⁸ I came across several manuscripts of one text. It is called *Durr al-Majālis*, also written as *Durr-i Majālis* ("The Jewel of Remembrance Sessions," henceforth *DMJ*) and was written by Sayf al-Dīn Zafar Nawbahārī Bukhārī,¹⁹ a religious and mystical figure from the late 7th century AH/13th century CE²⁰. As part of the present study I consulted all full or partial manuscripts of *DMJ* that are preserved in libraries around the world (see the appendix). The work has 33 chapters, although the titles, order, and length of these vary from manuscript to manuscript. Upon reading them, it became apparent that a number of chapters have titles or parts of stories that are similar to those of the Malay *hikayat*, such as: "*Dar Hikāyat-i [Sulṭān] Ibrāhīm Adham*" ("The Story of [Sultan] Ibrāhīm Adham"); "*Dar Hikāyat-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī raḍī Allāh 'anhu bā Khātūn-i Qiyāmat Fāṭimah Zahrā'*" ("On the Story of the Commanders of the Believers, 'Alī, and the Lady of the Judgment Day, Fāṭimah")²¹; *Dar Faḍīlat-i Yūsuf* ("On the Virtues of Joseph");

18. See Majid Daneshgar, *Middle Eastern and Islamic Manuscripts Held at Sir George Grey Special Collections Auckland Libraries New Zealand*, Auckland, N.Z., Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 2018; Majid Daneshgar and Donald Kerr, *Middle Eastern and Islamic Materials in Special Collections University of Otago*, Dunedin, N.Z., Special Collections, University of Otago Library, 2017.

19. His name is rendered slightly differently in some copies, as Sayf al-Dīn Zafar Bothohārī, Nūr-Bahārī, Tothohārī or Pothohārī, Sayf al-Dīn Zafar b. Burhān, Sayf Zafar 'Alī, and, on one occasion, very differently, as Yūsuf Zafar Abū Tāhir.

20. Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar'ashī Najafī, *Fihrist-i Nuskha-hā-yi Khaṭṭi-yi Kitāb-khāna-yi Buzurg-i Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī*, Qum, Kitāb-khāna-yi Buzurg-i Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī, 1383/2004, vol. 32, no. 12750, and no. 10680, p. 405; Muḥammad Hossein Nūrī-niā et al. *Fihrist-i Nuskha-hā-yi Khaṭṭi*, Mashhad, Sāzmān-i Kitāb-khāni-hā, Mūzi-hā va Markaz-i Asnād-i Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī, 1388/2009, Manuscript no. 40539, p. 75.

21. An alternative title is: "*Dar Hikāyat Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī Karram Allāh Wajhah bā Khātūn-i Jannat Fāṭimah Zahrā'*" ("On the Story of the Commanders of the Believers, 'Alī, and the Lady of the Paradise, Fāṭimah").

“*Dar Hikāyat-i Mard-i Sakhī va Zan-i Bakhīl*” (“On the Story of the Generous Man and Miserly Woman”); “*Dar Faḍīlat-i Peyghāmbār-i Mā, Haḍrat-i Muḥammad*” (“On the Virtue of Our Messenger, the Prophet Muḥammad”); “*Ḥaqq-i Yatīmān*” (“The Orphans’ Rights”); “*Dar Hikāyat-i Māriyah Qibṭiyah*” (“The Story of Māriyah Qibṭiyah”); “*Dar Faḍīlat-i Khālīd b. Walīd*” (“On the Virtues of Khālīd b. Walīd”); “*Dar Hikāyat-i Shaykh Barsīsā*” (?) (“On the Story of Shaykh Barṣīsā”), and so on. A full assessment of the connection between the aforementioned stories with those found in various Malay texts will be the subject of a future study. Interestingly, the Pashto works of *Tawallud-nāma* (“The Story of the Birth and Lives of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn”) and *Jang-nāma-i Imāmāyn* (“The Battle and Killing Story of the Two Imāms in Karbala”) by, for example, Ghulām Muḥammad Gagyānī/Gigyānī in the late 18th and early 19th century, were written “on the basis of the account in the Persian [work of] *Durr-i Majālis* by Sayf ul-Ẓafar Naw-bahārī.”²²

The oldest manuscripts of *DMJ* I consulted are Or. 565, preserved in Leiden University Library in the Netherlands (henceforth OL), and dated Ṣafar 972/1564, and PAK-001-0770 (henceforth OP), kept in the Ganj bakhsh Collection, Islamabad, Pakistan, and dated 1092/1681 (fig. 1). This study will focus on one of the last chapters of *DMJ*, entitled “*Dar Maqṭal-i Amīr al-Mu’minīn [Imām] Ḥassan va [Imām] Ḥusayn*” (“On the Killing of the Commanders of the Believers Ḥassan and Ḥusayn”). The 31st chapter of OL (folios: 214-226) and OP (folios: 267-302), entitled “*dar maqṭal-i/qatl-i Imām/Amīr al-Mu’minīn Ḥassan va Ḥusayn Raḍī Allāh,*” are identical to each other,²³ and their content and length largely resemble that of most *DMJ* manuscripts. However, they are considerably shorter and incomplete compared to two other copies of *DMJ* that were apparently copied in the late 18th or early 19th centuries: (a) GMS 170, The National Library of Auckland, New Zealand (henceforth GA); and (b) PAK-001-1498, Ganj bakhsh Collection, Pakistan (henceforth NP).

It was the existence of the similarities between this one chapter of *DMJ* and the Malay manuscripts of *HMH* that led me to write this article.

22. See James Fuller Blumhardt and D.N. MacKenzie, *Catalogue of Pashto Manuscripts in the Libraries of the British Isles*, London, The Trustees of the British Museum and the Commonwealth Relations Office, 1965, pp. 108-114.

23. Nonetheless, the table of contents shows it as “*dar maqātil-i Amīr al-Mu’minīn Ḥasan va Amīr al-Mu’minīn Ḥusayn Raḍī-allāh ‘anh.*”

Fig. 1 – From left to right: the colophons of OL and OP

For instance, different copies of *DMJ* start part I with titles such as:

- / در مقتل امیر المومنین حسن و امیر المومنین حسین رضی الله عنه (OL/OP)

“On the Killings of the Commander of the Believers Ḥasan and the Commander of the Believers Ḥusayn, May God Be Pleased with Him [Them]”

- / در مقتل امیر المومنین (امام) حسن و (امام) حسین رضی الله عنه (GA and NP)

“On the Killing of (Imām) Ḥasan and (Imām) Ḥusayn, May God Be Pleased with Him”

- / در مقتل امیر المومنین حسین (1959 Vienna)

“On the Killing of the Commander of the Believers, Ḥusayn”

- / در حکایت معاویه (PAK-001-1506)

“On the Story of Mu‘āwiyā”

Malay *HMH* MSS D5, preserved in the British Library, includes the following titles for the first part:

- (D 5) / این حکایه محمد حنفیه (D 5)
“This is the Story of Muḥammad Ḥanafīyya”
- (Brakel): هذا الحکایت مقتل حسین /
“This is the Story of the Killing of Ḥusayn”

On another occasion, the interest of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in the fruits brought to them by Dihyah al-Kalbī is seen in both the Persian and Malay texts²⁴:

(OL/OP)

رسول علیه السلام گفت...
هر بار که دهیه قلبی/وحیه قلبی بر من می آید
بجهت این چیزی می آرد

(D 5)

مک سید رسول الله تونهمب این دسقن حیاة الکلبی درفد قوم نبی...
بار غکالی داتغ ادله سسواة بوه ۲ هن دباوان اکن حسن دان حسین

This is despite the fact that **Dihyah al-Kalbī**'s name is misspelt in the Persian texts (OL/OP) and in the Malay version (D 5). Gabriel then brings them heavenly fruit—only a pomegranate (*anār*) in the Persian version, both a pomegranate (*delima*) and a grape (*anggur*) in the Malay.

There are also references to Ḥasan's and Ḥusayn's demand for the feast garment. Ḥasan received a green one, symbolizing his death with poison, and Ḥusayn had the blood-red one, reflecting his murder in Karbala²⁵:

(OL/OP)

جامه سبز بیرون آمد آنرا به حسن داد...
و جامه لعل گشته به حسین داد

(D 5)

...مک دامبل اوله حسن فکاین یغ هیجو ...
کمدين مک دامبل اوله حسین فکاین یغ میره ...

The Story of Ḥusayn's Death in DMJ: General Overview

In manuscripts OL and OP, the chapter begins with the death of Mu'āwiya

24. English translations are found in the table, below.

25. English translations are found in the table, below.

and Yazīd's attempts to destroy Ḥassan and Ḥusayn and ends with the captivity of Ḥusayn's family and their presence in Yazīd's palace. Not only do GA (fols: 129-47) and NP (fols: 449-88) contain OL's/OP's stories, but they also add a number of events and elements to them (part I). Regarding the first part of this chapter in the *DMJ* manuscripts, a number of points should be highlighted:

- In most manuscripts, excluding GA and NP, this chapter concludes with a scene in the palace.
- In most manuscripts, except GA, this scene ends with the unsuccessful attempt by a specific servant (whose name, according to some *DMJ* copies and Add. 8149, was Šālīh) to kill Yazīd and his subsequent wanderings, unhappy and overburdened by the disasters of life. OP, for example, says: “[...] *chun ghulām īn sukhān bishnīd, dast bi tīgh kard va bar sar-i Yazīd zad. Ammā qaḍā’ taqdīr-i Yazīd-i La’īn naraśīda būd hīch kār nakard. Ghawghā barkhāst va chihil nafar-i Yazīd rā ghulām bi-kusht, āngāh khud ham kushta shud va ta madām ki Yazīd-i nā-ba-kār dar jahān būd hargiz khud khushdīl nashud va mardūd-i dīn va dunyā būd*” (“when the servant heard this, he drew his sword and struck Yazīd's head. However, he was unsuccessful because the accursed Yazīd's death had not yet been predetermined. Pandemonium ensued as the servant killed 40 of Yazīd's followers; then he, too, was killed, and for as long as Yazīd was alive in this world he was never again happy, and was rejected by both religion and the world”).

However, the most important difference relates to an additional part found in both GA (fols: 147-54) and NP (fols: 489-517) (part II). This is the second part of the story, where it dramatically moves on to recount how Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah, the half-brother of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn, became determined to avenge their enemies and kill Yazīd. In both GA and NP, part II of the story comes immediately after part I. Interestingly, part II is (clearly) separated from part I in GA by a single phrase, “*bāz qīṣṣa az sar bayān kunam*” (“Now a new story begins”), which is similar to the phrase *al-qīṣṣa* (القصة) employed in the Malay *HMH*, which means “the story is that.” In NP, while part I finishes with the death of the servant and wanderings of Yazīd, part II starts with the heading “*Khabar shudan-i Imām Ḥanīfah va Intiqām az Yazīdi-yān Badbakhtān Giriftan*” (“News of Imām Ḥanīfah and the Revenge on Yazīd's Wretched People”), written in a different hand and with a different paper quality.

In the two manuscripts, part II begins as follows:

- GA: “*ān-rūz ki amīr al-mu’minīn shahādat yāft... chun ghulām [-i amīr al-mu’minīn Ḥusayn] dar Kūfa āmad dar ānjā namānd, dar Makka dar-āmad shādiyāna-yi Yazīd mizadand va ān ghulām dar Madīnah dar āmad, ānja ham shādiyāna-yi Yazīd zadand [...]*” (“On the day

of the martyrdom of the Commander of the Believers, ... the servant [of the Commander of the Believers, Ḥusayn] arrived in Kufa and he then left there. He went to Mecca and saw people celebrating Yazīd's [victory], and then the servant went to Medina. There, he also saw that people were celebrating Yazīd's [victory]”).

- NP: “*al-Qiṣṣa: ammā Ḥusayn rā ghulāmī būd az qadīm [...] ān ghulām ‘alam-i adhā rā basta bi-jānib-i Kūfa ravāna gardīd [...] shādiyāna bar-pā kardand [...] az ānjā ravāna-yi Makka-yi mu‘azzam gardīd, dar ānjā nīz shādiyāna-hā barpā shud*” (“The story is that: Ḥusayn had a servant for years [...] [and] that servant raised the flag of mourning and moved towards Kufa [...] [People] were celebrating there [...] [so] he left and went to Mecca, and there were celebrations there, too [...]”).

The rest of the story is more or less similar, full of repetitions, in GA and NP. Their part II (which is the last part of the chapter) is also very similar to that of the Malay *HMH*, and ends as follows:

- GA: “[...] *Yazīd bugrīkht dar qaṣr āmad chun Muḥammad Ḥanīfah rā dīd az asp furūd āmad va dar ṭasht-khāna dar āmad va miyān-i palīdī ghūṭa khurd. Muḥammad Ḥanīfah raḍī Allāh ‘anhu farmūd tā ātash gardānand va ba ‘dī guyand ki sang-i siyāh shud gird bi gird-i kūh-i Qāf bi-gardad tā Rūz-i Qiyyāmat nashusta (?) khāhad būd ba ‘d az ān faṭh shud va ‘Alī Asghar dar Dimishq va Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidīn dar Shām bi-Khilāfat nashāndīd*” (“Yazīd ran away and went to the castle. When he saw Muḥammad Ḥanīfah, he got off his horse and hid in the toilet, becoming covered in filth. Muḥammad Ḥanīfah ordered a fire be lit [around him], and some say that he [Yazīd] became like a black stone and will run around the mountain of Qāf, and be unclean until Judgment Day. Then there was conquering and Muḥammad Ḥanīfah appointed as rulers ‘Alī Asghar in Damascus and Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidīn in Shām”).²⁶
- NP: “[...] *Yazīd chunīn aḥvāl dīd, ū nīz bugrīkht va afrād-i (?) ū parākanda shudand va jumla az tars-i jān-i khud bi Yazīd bad miguftand. Imām Muḥammad Ḥanīfah bi dunbāl-i Yazīd rānd va dar ṣaf-i mu‘minān ṭabl-i shādī zadand va Yazīd-i nābikār dar khāna dar-āmad. Dar khāna jāy-i qaḍā-yi ḥajat būd dar ājnā dar āmad, har chand dar khāna ū rā ṭalab kardan hargiz nayāftand. Imām Muḥammad Ḥanīfah farmūd... ātash dar damīd...tā bi khāna-yi ū ātash girift. Bi qudrat-i Parvardgār Yazīd bi-ṣūrat-i sag-i zard shud va baḍī mī-gūyand bi ṣūrat-i gurg shud va*

26. It is odd that both ‘Alī Asghar and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn will rule the same regions. This also gave Winstedt the idea that “Zain al-‘Abidin is installed ruler of Damascus in Indo-Malay Muslim fashion, seated on a throne with a Sanskrit name [...]” Winstedt, 1939, p. 107.

Fig. 2 – From left to right: the end of the part I and the beginning of the part II in NP. The different hands are obvious. Part II starts with the heading “*Khābar shudan-i Imām Ḥanīfah va Intiqām az Yazīdī-ān Badbakhtān Gīrīftan*.”

bi-gardāgard-i kūh-i Qāf migardad va tā bi-rūz-i Qiyāmat tashna khāhad būd va ‘Alī Asghar rā bi-khalāfat-i Dimishq nashānd, har yik bi mulk-i khud raft” (“When Yazīd understood the situation, he ran away [...] and his people were scattered, and they all cursed [talked badly about] Yazīd in order to save their lives. Imām Muḥammad Ḥanīfah went to find Yazīd. The believers banged drums of joy and the evil Yazīd went into [his] house. There was a toilet into which Yazīd entered. Although they tried hard to find him, they could not. Imām Muḥammad Ḥanīfah ordered a fire be lit [...] and his [Yazīd’s] house burnt down. Due to God’s will, Yazīd became as a yellow dog, while some say that he became like a wolf and will run around the mountain of Qāf until Judgment Day while suffering terribly from thirst. And [Muḥammad Ḥanīfah] appointed ‘Alī Asghar as the ruler of Damascus; everyone went towards his kingdom [...]).

It seems clear that there are two versions of chapter 31 (generally known as “The Story of the Killing of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn”): (a) the shorter version, part I only, which ends with Yazīd’s failure in religion and the world; and (b) the longer version, which includes parts I and II, the latter of which details the

revenge of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah. Due to the existence of variant versions of this chapter, it can be suggested that, although parts I and II are connected, copyists often tried to produce or re-write only part I of the story, in which Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah does not play any major role. This is obvious in NP: a different writer, with different handwriting and using other paper, added part II into the body of chapter 31 after part I (fig. 2).

Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah as an Indigenous Spiritual Leader: Challenging Hurgronje's Hypothesis

In MS Malay B 6 (f. 93v) and MS Malay D 5 (f. 49v), both preserved in the British Library, Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah is said to have been from Boeniara/Buniara (بنير), which, according to Snouck Hurgronje, is “a subdivision of the Kingdom of Medina”²⁷. According to him, Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya of Boeniara was able to kill Yadib (Yazīd). Then, “a small remnant of Yadib’s followers took refuge in a cave. At this moment the cave closed of its own accord, and the holy man and his horse are still there, awaiting patiently the day appointed for their resurrection”²⁸. However, he does not provide any reference that mentions the name of Boeniara as the residence of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya. Also, a number of experts I consulted had never heard of the name Boeniara/Buniara as either a subdivision of Medina or the residence of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya. Likewise, the earliest Islamic historical sources, such as Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī (d. c. 892 CE), do not have Boeniara as either a subdivision of Medina or Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya’s place of residence. In his *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Genealogies of the Nobles), al-Balādhurī opens up new sections dealing with Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya after the story of the killing of Ḥusayn (*maqtal al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī*). In these sections, which also include references from Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidī (d. c. 823 CE), a well-known early Arab historian, the main cities related to Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya are Medina, which is also his place of death, and al-Baqī’, where his grave is located.²⁹ Nonetheless, there is a place in Medina called al-Buwayra that, according to Michael Lecker, is related to the “Jewish Naḏīr.” Apart from the obvious difference between the orthography of al-Buwayra and Boeniara, the map of the markets of Medina on the eve of Islam created by Lecker³⁰ as well as the reference by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī’s (d. c. 1505) *Wafā’ al-Wafā’* to the house of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya clearly demonstrate that he was living near

27. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, Leiden & Batavia, E.J. Brill & Landsdrukkerij, 1894, vol. 2, p. 180.

28. Ibid.

29. al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Jumal min Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, n.d., vol. 3, pp. 395-487. There are even disagreements on the birthdate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, either thirteen or twenty one years after Hijrah.

30. Michael Lecker, “On the Markets of Medina (Yathrib) in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8, 1986, pp. 133-147.

“Baqī‘ al-Gharqad, the cemetery of Medina,” close to the Prophet’s mosque, and far from al-Buwayra.³¹

However, we should bear in mind that the name of Muḥammad Ḥanafīyya’s residence figures prominently in part II of the story, which, according to Brakel, is purely legendary.³² Thus, it is highly likely its name will not be found in any historical or traditional sources of Islam. Instead, more attention should be paid to how his residence is introduced in other versions of this story, in different languages.

Islamic epics present a lion-hearted and chivalric image of Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah, who is displayed as the Imām of his age as well as a messiah. Traces of stories (Pers. *Qīṣaṣ va hikāyāt*) dedicated to him can be found in various corners of Western Asia, particularly in the Middle East, in places such as Kharg Island, in Bushehr province or Guilan of Iran, where a tomb ascribed to him (*Buq‘a-yi Mīr Muḥammad-i Ḥanafīyyah* and *Imāmzāda-yi Muḥammad-i Ḥanafīyyah*, respectively) is located.³³ It is said that sailors from South Asia used to visit his tomb on Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf as well. The messianic facet of Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah has been underscored for many years in the Bamyān Valley of northern Afghanistan, where an area is dedicated to the “dragon slayer” Ḥazrat-i ‘Alī.³⁴ Local people believed that Emir (*Shahzāda*) Ḥanafīyya, the son of ‘Alī, is waiting in an underground passageway to reappear and fight for peace, along with his horse and his beloved wife, Bībī Ḥanīfah.³⁵ Indeed, the legends of this region present Muḥammad Ḥanafīyya as *al-Mahdī al-muntaẓar* (“The Awaited Mahdī”), which is an important principle of Twelver Shi‘ism. Indeed, calling Muḥammad Ḥanafīyya the Mahdī “was initiated by some Shi‘ite sects which claimed that he had not died but was only hiding in mountains and which expected his ‘second coming’ before long.”³⁶

Following Marc Gaborieau, Calmard says:

the cult and legendary accounts of Muḥammad b. Ḥanafīyya seem to have penetrated into India following the Ghaznavid expedition in the Panjab. A legend centered on Ghāzī Miyān (identified as a certain Sālār Mas‘ūd, a nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghazna) became very popular in Northern India. Ghāzī Miyān becomes a sort of avatar of the “twin” brothers Ḥassan

31. I am grateful to Michael Lecker for drawing my attention to this point.

32. Brakel (b), p. v.

33. It should be noted that some reports suggest that his grave is located in other places, such as Medina.

34. Jean Calmard, “Mohammad b. al-Hanafīyya dans la religion populaire, le folklore, les légendes dans le monde turco-persan et indo-persan,” *Cahiers d’Asie centrale* 5/6, 1998, pp. 201-220.

35. Ibid.

36. Braginsky 2005, p. 181. The followers of Kaysāniyyah believed that Muḥammad b. Ḥanafīyya is their Imām who is alive and hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā, near Medina. W. Madelung, “Kuraybiyya,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al., Leiden, Brill, 1979, vol. 5, pp. 433-434.

and Ḥusayn. Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya (or rather Ḥanīfah or Ḥanīf or Ḥambiya Muḥammad) appears as avenging his brothers killed by a Hindu raja.³⁷

Perhaps unsurprisingly, every author or copyist of the saga of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya tried to indigenize and present him as one of his own people (e.g., a South Asian or Indian Muslim, a Malay Muslim). As such, the copyist of GA, Shaykh Dawūd Mirdkir, says that the servant of Ḥusayn, upon leaving Medina, decided to visit Muḥammad-i Ḥanīfah, “*khalīfa-yi pahlavān-i ākhir al-zamān va shīr-i pāk-i ‘ālam*” (“The Brave Caliph of the End of Time and the Most Chivalric of the Universe”), to inform him of the death of his brother in Karbala. The servant then travelled for three months over a considerable distance before arriving at Muḥammad Ḥanīfah’s headquarters in the city of Bamyān³⁸; In the NP version, copied by Muḥammad Sharīf, the son of Mullā Quraysh Ākhund Zādah,³⁹ in order to visit “*pahlavān-i dīn, Imām al-ashja ‘īn*” (“The Hero of the Religion, the Leader of the Brave People”), i.e. Imām Muḥammad-i Ḥanīfah, the servant sets off for the city of Banil, which refers to the region of Banil Kalle in Pakhtunkhwa, which had been conquered earlier by the Ghaznavids. More importantly, in the Persian manuscript of the British Library, Add. 8149, also previously examined by scholars, the servant travelled to Anbaz(i), a city outside the Arabian Peninsula, to visit *Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya.⁴⁰

These points clearly demonstrate the resemblance of the Malay *hikayat* of Muhammad Hanafiyya (mainly those introduced by Hurgronje) with those of Central and South Asia, and particularly of the Bamyān valley. Furthermore, another Malay version of this story, MS 12377, also preserved in the British Library, suggests the headquarters of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah is not Boeniara but another city, one derived from the letters b-n-t-y-a-r:

pergi membawa surat kepada saudaranya ke benua b-n-t-y-a-r

Whether it reads as Bentara, Bentiar or Bentyar, it is clear that the scribe of this version of *HMH* did not identify Boeniara as the headquarters of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya. This signifies that local Malays also tried to indigenize his story. On this subject, it is further possible that the reference to Boeniara in some Malay *HMH* refers to a district with the same name in Southeast Asia,

37. Marc Gaborieau, “Légende et culte du saint musulman Ghâzî Miyân au Népal occidental et en Inde du Nord,” *Objets et Mondes* 15/3, 1975, pp. 289-310. Jean Calmard, “Popular Literature under the Safavids,” in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. Andrew J. Newman, Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2003, pp. 316-339.

38. Or Banyan, which is a title used for Indian merchants who traded between India and the central and southern parts of Persia.

39. There is a city called Akhund Zādah in contemporary Afghanistan.

40. See for example, fl. 28 v and 29. However, further evidence is required to arrive at firm answers in this respect (i.e. Anbaz(i)).

than to a subdivision in Medina, Arabia. In addition, it might be possible that the name of Boeniara in Java was taken from “a foreign-derived” *HMH*.⁴¹

However, as the Safavids (r. 1501-1736) established the Twelver Shī‘ī school of Islam as the religion of their empire, storytellers tended to—or had to—produce more works that would decrease and marginalize the messianic and leadership significance of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya. Thus, on the basis of earlier stories, they produced new or revised older “epico-religious” texts such as the *Junayd-nāma*, and *Mukhtār-nāma*, among others, in which Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya is just a warrior while Zayn al-‘Ābidīn instead is the main figure of the story, one who is presented as the only Imām of his age⁴², the one who, according to the Safavids, can transfer the genes of ‘Alī and Fāṭimah to the next Shī‘a Imām.

Analyses

A Comparison of HMH and DMJ

Brakel declared that the structure of both the Persian and the Malay texts is largely similar⁴³. Both works include the two main parts of (part I) the *Maqṭal*, on the death of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn, and (part II) the *Hikayat* of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya, which relates the revenge story. As mentioned previously, Brakel used an unspecified Persian manuscript, Add. 8149, dated 1721 AD. In his comparison, he discovered that 9 out of 26 chapters from part I and 19 out of 22 chapters from part II of *HMH* can be traced back to the Persian text.

In this section, the following will be examined:

- The similarities between *DMJ* and Brakel’s *HMH* found by Brakel in Add. 8149;
- The similarities between *DMJ* and Brakel’s *HMH* NOT found by him in Add. 8149.

This comparison will lead to conclusions in two distinct areas: (a) how far *DMJ* influenced *HMH*; and (b) how this article can build on the work of previous scholars.

As this essay seeks to support previous scholarly work on the origins of *HMH* it will employ the Romanized and the English versions of *HMH* produced by Brakel as a composite text, which has elicited some debate among philologists, as well as various other manuscripts. It may be questioned whether the original manuscripts of *HMH* should be employed in this study. In response to this, it should be noted that I went through the two original Malay *HMH* that are preserved in the British Library (D5 and B6), and found that, as Brakel himself reported, the aspects found in his critical edition are seen in most other Malay manuscripts. Unfortunately, however, lack of space

41. Personal comm. Edwin Wieringa, 30 January 2018.

42. Jean Calmard, “Popular Literature under the Safavids”, 2003, pp. 316-339.

43. Brakel (a), p. 64.

precludes the inclusion of details from all the Malay manuscripts. Hopefully we will publish a full study on this in the near future.

The main *DMJ* mss. consulted were OL/OP and GA. The OL and OP mss. are the oldest versions of *DMJ* available to me, while the GA ms. provides the most detailed version of the story. In addition, other versions of *DMJ*, particularly NP, will be used where it is deemed necessary. Although I wanted to examine whole pages of Add. 8149 – the Persian source examined by Van Ronkel and Brakel – this was not possible⁴⁴; however, this should not pose a problem since OL and OP were copied in 1564 and 1681 AD respectively, i.e. much earlier than Add. 8149.

(A) Similarities between *DMJ* and *HMH* on the Basis of Add. 8149

Part I

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
Chapter 2a: Daḥyat al-Kalbī's habit of bringing fruit to Ḥassan and Ḥusayn and their seeking fruits in his sleeves	" <i>Jibra'īl az Rasūl pursīd Ḥusayn dar āstīn-i man chi mikhāhad. Rasūl guft ey barādar Jibra'īl tu nazdīk-i man bi-šūrat-i Dahiya Qalbī mi-āyī va har bār ki Dahiya Qalbī bar man mi-āyad bi-jahat-i īn chīzī mī-ārad va bar-ān khiyāl āstīn-i tu mībīnad [...]</i> " ("Gabriel asked the Messenger what Ḥusayn was seeking in his sleeve. The Messenger said 'O my brother, you look like Dahiya Qalbī while you are in my presence. And whenever Dahiya Qalbī approached me, he used to bring something with him. As such, Ḥusayn is seeking your sleeve [...]'")	--	With the exception of GA, this story is found in other versions of this chapter in <i>DMJ</i> , including NP. According to the Malay <i>HMH</i> , Gabriel brought a pomegranate and a grape from heaven for Ḥassan and Ḥusayn. However, in <i>DMJ</i> 's chapter, Ḥusayn is the only grandson of Muḥammad who seeks the sleeve of Gabriel, who brings him a pomegranate. Nonetheless, GA refers to the food sent to Ḥassan and Ḥusayn, via Gabriel, from heaven.

⁴⁴. I only had the chance to examine parts of this manuscript. Following other scholars, I will rely on Brakel who went through Add. 8149 completely.

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
Chapter 2 b: Hassan's and Husayn's interest in wearing the feast-day garments and how the Prophet gave them what they wanted. Later, the green one was chosen for Hassan and red one for Husayn.	“[...] <i>Fāṭimah guft yā peyghāmbār-i khudāy, emrūz 'īd ast; jāma-yi Ḥassan va Ḥusayn [...] kuhna shuda-and va ishān mi-giryand ki mā-rā jamā-yi khūb bidī [...] jāma-yi sabz birūn āmad, ān-rā bi Ḥassan dād; duyūm karrat dast-i mubārak az āb gīrad Ḥusayn rā kashīd guft tu-rā chi rang bāyad. Ū guft marā la'l rang mī-bāyad. Peyghāmbār dast-i mubārak az āb bīrūn kashīd va jāma-yi la'l ghashṭa bi Ḥusayn dād [...]</i> ” (“Fāṭimah [while sad] said: ‘O, Messenger of God, today is the feast day. The garments of Hassan and Husayn are threadbare, and they are crying and saying that they want a suitable garment’ [...] the green garment came out and the Messenger gave it to Hassan; for the second time, Muḥammad took out his sacred hand from the water and asked Husayn, ‘what color is yours?’ He replied, ‘mine is blood-red’. The Messenger took out his sacred hand and gave Husayn the red-colored garment [...]”).	--	This story is seen in other Persian versions, including NP. Unlike the Persian version, the Malay <i>HMH</i> says that Muḥammad received two garments for Hassan and Husayn from a chest brought by Gabriel. However, in GA, it is Gabriel who pours green onto the handbook (?) of Hassan (<i>sabz bar takhta-yi Ḥassan</i>) and ruby red onto that of Husayn (<i>Yāqūt-i surkh bar takhta-yi Ḥusayn</i>)
Chapter 2c: an angel with burnt wings sat on Gabriel's shoulder; Hassan and Husayn rubbed her shoulders; thus, she was healed and could fly away.	“ <i>Firishta bar bāzū-yi Jibra'īl nishasta va nazdīk-i Rasūl rasīd. Peyghāmbār nigāh bar-vey gardīd ki har-du bāzū-yi firishta sukhta ast [...] bugū/bigū har du dast-i Ḥusayn bar du bāzū-yi īn fereshta furūd āyad...nīkū gasht va dar zamān, fereshta bi-havā parīd [...]</i> ” (“the angel sat on the shoulder of Gabriel while he approached the Messenger. The Messenger looked at her and observed that her wings were burnt [...] Husayn's hands touched the shoulders of the angel [...] it was healed, and then she flew away”).	--	This story is seen in other Persian versions, including NP. In contrast to the Malay version, which says that Hassan and Husayn touched the shoulder of the angel, Persian texts only mention the name of Husayn.

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
Chapter 3: The Prophet gave a bottle with earth in it to Ummi Salamah	<p>“<i>Jibra’l ‘alayh al-salām bi-dasht-i Karbalā raft va qadrī khāk biyāvārd va burd dast-i mihtar-i ‘ālam bi-dād va guft har-gāh ki in khāk bi-rang-i khūn shavad, kushtan-i Ḥusayn nazdik ast va guft ey Ummi Salamah, in khāk dar shīsha bi-kun va nigāh-dār [...]</i>” (“Gabriel, God’s mercy be upon him, went to the Karbala Plain and picked up some of its earth, gave it to the Messenger [the best of the universe], and said that when this earth turns red, the killing of Ḥusayn is close. And the Prophet told Ummi Salamah to put the earth into the bottle and keep it [...]).</p>	<p>“<i>[Muḥammad] guft yā Jibra’l qadrī khāk az dasht-i Karbalā biyār: Jibra’l ‘alayh al-salām rafta az-ān khāk āvarda; Rasūl šallī Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallam dar qārūra andākht va bi-man dād va guft Ummi Salamah...chun in khāk khūn khāhad shud, vaqt-i marg-i Imām Husayn nazdik rasīda [...]</i>” (“[Muḥammad] told Gabriel to fetch some of Karbala’s earth. Gabriel, mercy be upon him, went and got some earth; the Messenger (peace be upon him) put it into a bottle and gave it to me and said: ‘O Ummi Salamah [...] when this earth gets blood red, Imām Ḥusayn’s death is close [...])’”).</p>	<p>Other Persian manuscripts express the story as do OL/OP. In both GA and the Malay <i>HMH</i>, this story is prefaced with the Prophet’s concern about the loneliness of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn at the time of their deaths. In this regard, the GA version says that Muḥammad said: “<i>vāy Ḥassan vay Ḥusayn; vāy gharībān; vāy yatīmān</i>” (“Poor Ḥassan, poor Ḥusayn; my two poor lonely children, my poor orphans”).</p>
Chapter 4: Mu’āwiya’s (unsuccessful) attempt not to have intercourse with a woman and “to remain childless,” as per Muḥammad’s recommendation, is seen after he was bitten by a scorpion.	<p>“<i>Peyghāmbar [bi-Mu’āwiya] farmūd az pusht-i tu farzandī peydā shavad, kushanda-yi Ḥassan va Ḥusayn-i man ū bāshad. Mu’āwiya guft ey peyghāmbar-i Khudāy dar jahān, hīch pisarī nadāram va ba’ d az in sowgand mikhuram ki gird-i ‘awrat nagardam tā marā hīch farzandī nashavad...Mu’āwiya shabī barkhāst tā bowl kunad, ba’ d az bowl kardan istinjā bi dīvārī kard va dar dīvār kazhdum nishasta</i></p>	<p>“<i>ān hazrat farmūd az pusht-i tu farzandī āyad ki farzandān-i man bi-nā-ḥaqq kushad. Mu’āwiya guft ki zan na-mikunam, az in sabab Mu’āwiya zan nakardī tā bi-taqdīr-i Allāh ta’ālā kazhdum āvīkhta shud; ṭabībān guftand ‘alāj-i ān bi-zan kun ta nīkū shavī. Dard-i ū ghālib shud [...] kanīzakī dāsht [...] bar ū ‘alāj kard...az ān ‘alāj Yazīd dar shikam-i ān kanīzak mānd [...]</i>” (“Muḥammad said [to Mu’āwiya], ‘From your loins will come a child</p>	<p>Brakel said that he could not find a parallel for “the birth of Yazīd” in Add. 8149*. However, all available Persian versions of <i>DMJ</i> have the story from OL/OP. Furthermore, intercourse with a slave is found</p>

* Brakel (a), p. 7.

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
	<p><i>būd, sar-i ālat-i Mu'āwiya nīsh zad [...] ḥakīmān guftand ki tu bā 'awrat nazdīkī bu-kun tā zahr-i ālat-i tu rīkhta gardad va nīkū gardī. Mu'āwiya [...] nazdīkī kard va Yazīd-i la'īn dar shikam-i Mādar qarār girift [...]</i> ("The Prophet said [to Mu'āwiya]: 'from your loins a child will appear who will be the killer of my Ḥassan and Husayn.' Mu'āwiya said: 'O Messenger of God of the universe, I do not have any son, and hereafter I promise not to have intercourse with any woman in order not to have a child' [...] Mu'āwiya woke up one night to urinate. He cleaned his penis on a wall in which there was a scorpion, and it bit the head of his penis [...]. Doctors said to Mu'āwiya, 'you should have intercourse with a woman in order to extract the poison and be cured.' [...] So Mu'āwiya had sex [...] and the accursed Yazīd was placed in his mother's womb").</p>	<p>who will unjustly kill my children.' Thus, Mu'āwiya did not get married until, in accordance with the divine predestination of God Almighty, he was bitten by a scorpion, and doctors said that his healing would depend on him finding a wife. His pain increased [...] he had a female slave [...] she became his healing [...] [and], from that intercourse, Yazīd was placed in the womb of that female slave").</p>	<p>in <i>HMH</i>: "<i>Tabīb berketa: Hay Mu'āwiyah! Jika tiada engkau kepada perempuan, tiadakan sembuh penyakit itu! [...] Maka daripada sangat tiada menderitanya, maka disuruhnya cahari seorang perempuan tuha lagi Habsi [...]</i>" (p. 124). See the discussion in the final section of this article.</p>
<p>Chapter 21: (a) Yazīd's desire to marry 'Abdullah Zubair's wife "who was particularly beautiful" (b) Mu'āwiya's suggestion to 'Abdullah Zubair that he gives his former's daughter to 'Abdullah Zubair and the latter becomes the ruler of Egypt.</p>	<p>"<i>Mu'āwiya bar Yazīd āghāz kard man ki chandīn ranj va mashiqqat dīdam va khilāfat bi-dast āvardam az bahr-i tu kardam, aknūn ey farzand hīch raghbati va āruzūi dar khātir dārī ki ān-rā bi tu bi-rasānam?; guft ey (sic) 'Abdullāh Zubair zanī dāsht, zanī sāhib-i jamāl dārad ki dar shahr bi jamāl-i ān zan hīczanī na-mīrasad va āruzū-yi man ān-ast ki ū imrūz marā bāshad. Rūz-i dīgar Mu'āwiya 'Abdullāh Zubair rā bi-khānd va khalvat bi-kard [...] dar haqq-i tu mikhāham lūf kunam va dukhtar-i khud rā bi tu daham va vilāyat-i Miṣr rā ḥavāla-yi tu gardānam, 'Abdullāh Zubair bi-dīn chīz-hā farīfta kard [...] Mu'āwiya Mūsā Ash'arī rā ṭalab numūd [...] va bā-vey guft man tu-rā az bahr-i ān khāndam ki bar zan-i 'Abdullāh Zubair bar-</i></p>	<p>"<i>Va ān-chinān būd ke Mu'āwiya (RA) rā mawt nazdīk shud chashm pur āb kard va guftand ey Mu'āwiya girya īn chīst: guft marā hamīn yik pisar buvad [...] Mu'āwiya Yazīd rā jahd bisyār numūd, Yazīd būrūn āmad va dūstān-rā jam' kard guft: ey yārān kudām dukhtar khub-tar ast? Hama guftand ki ey khalīfa hīch zanī dar jahān khūbtar nīst tā az Shahr-Bānū va ū zan-i 'Abdullāh Zubair ast agar hīla kunī 'Abdullāh Zubair ān-rā ṭalāq dahad hīch zan az ān khub-tar-nīst. Yazīd az zabān-i Mu'āwiya jānib-i 'Abdullāh Zubair maktūb nivisht ki mā-rā bā tu kāri ast [...] Yazīd guft ey Mu'āwiya marā bar 'Abdullāh Zubair vaṣīyyat kun tā ba'd az tu rūy az man na-gardānad [...] Yazīd bar 'Abdullāh guft mi-khāham ki tu-rā khāhar bi-zanī khā-kunām [...]</i></p>	<p>This story is found in other versions of <i>DMJ</i>. However, the GA version introduces the wife of 'Abdullāh Zubair as Shahr-Bānū. Moreover, GA tries to excuse Mu'āwiya and ascribes the cuckolding of 'Abdullāh Zubair to Yazīd.</p>

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
<p>(c) Mu'āwiya sent Mūsā Ash'arī to the wife of 'Abdullāh Zubair, to propose his son to her.</p> <p>(d) The wife of 'Abdullāh Zubair rejected Yazīd and instead accepted Ḥusayn's proposal, who, according to Mūsā Ash'arī, also wanted her.</p>	<p><i>āvar ān-bi-jahat-i pisar-i man bi-dīd bi-khāh [...] ['awrat] dar zamān guft nikāh-i man bar Ḥusayn bar-khān [...]</i> ("Mu'āwiya told Yazīd 'I worked hard and suffered a lot and obtained the caliphate and give it to you. Now, my son, do you have any desire in your mind which I can grant to you?' [Yazīd said] 'this 'Abdullāh Zubair has a wife, a beautiful wife that no woman's beauty in the town can compete with. My desire is that she will be mine today'. Some day later, Mu'āwiya called for 'Abdullāh Zubair and talked alone with him [...] [Mu'āwiya told him] 'I want to do a favour to you, to give you my daughter and give you the governorship of Egypt'. He tricked 'Abdullāh Zubair with such things [...] Mu'āwiya asked Mūsā Ash'arī [...] and said to him: 'I asked you to go to 'Abdullāh Zubair's wife and to see her and get her for my son [...] [the wife] promptly told [Mūsā Ash'arī]: 'Marry me to Ḥusayn'").</p>	<p><i>ba'd az vafāt-i Mu'āwiya Yazīd rā bi-khilāfat –i pādshahī nishāndand va Mūsā Ash'arī rā bi Shahr-Bānū risālat firistād barāy-i munākihat-i khūd [...] Shahr-Bānū guft Imām Ḥusayn rā bi-khāh [...]</i> ("And so it was that death was close to Mu'āwiya (RA) and his eye was full of tears, and it was said to him 'O Mu'āwiya, why are you crying?' He said: 'I have only this son' [...] Mu'āwiya tried to convince Yazīd (to marry). Yazīd came out and gathered his companions and said: O my followers, which girl is better? All said 'O Caliph, no woman in the world is better than Shahr- Bānū. She is the wife of 'Abdullāh Zubair; if you trick 'Abdullāh Zubair he will divorce her. No woman is better for you than her [...] Yazīd, on behalf of Mu'āwiya wrote to 'Abdullāh Zubair, saying 'I want to talk to you' [...] Yazīd then said 'O Mu'āwiya, command 'Abdullāh Zubair not to refuse me' [...] Yazīd told 'Abdullāh: 'I want to give you my sister' [...] After the death of Mu'āwiya, Yazīd was given the caliphate and he sent Mūsā Ash'arī to Shahr- Bānū to get her to marry him [...] [however], Shahr- Bānū chose Imam Ḥusayn as her husband [...].")</p>	
<p>Chapter 22:</p> <p>(a) Mu'āwiya dies</p> <p>(b) Yazīd asks the leader of Medina to kill Ḥassan and Ḥusayn; "[he] replied that he was not capable of fighting openly against Ḥusayn".</p>	<p><i>"tā āvarda-and chun Mu'āwiya dar jahān namānd, khilāfat bar Yazīd girift va ān bad-bakht rā dar khāfir uftād ki Ḥassan va Ḥusayn raḍī Allāh ta'ālā tā bi-makr az miyān dūr-kunam va quwwat-i yik-dīgar az īshān bishkanam. 'awratī zālī rā bar zan-i Amīr al-mu'minīn Ḥassan raḍī Allāh 'anhu firistād va guft [...] tu Ḥassan rā az pish dūr kun ta man tu-rā dar nikāh-i khud dar āvaram va tā tu malaka-yi ḥaram bāshī [...] ān rūz garmā-yi sakht būd va dar vaqt-i iftār-i rūza qadaḥ-i zahr ta'biya kard [...] va Amīr al-</i></p>	<p><i>"Yazīd qaṣd-i kushtan-i imāmayn kard va maktūb bar valī-yi Madīnah ki 'Utbah b. Walīd būd nivisht ki Imām Ḥassan va Ḥusayn rā bikūshī. 'Utbah [b.] Walīd javāb nivisht ki man ishān-rā kushtan natvānam ki ahl-i Madīnah hama ānhā rā dūst mī-dārand. Agar man ishān-rā bikusham dar ḥāl īshān marā bikushand [...] chun shab shud 'Utbah pinhān bar Imām Ḥassan va Ḥusayn dar āmad va khidmat kard va dast-basta istāda shud va girīstan girift [...] Yazīd maktūb-i dīgar firistād ki ey 'Utbah marā ma'lūm shudī</i></p>	<p>According to both Malay <i>HMH</i> and Persian stories of <i>DMJ</i>, Yazīd tried to kill Ḥassan and Ḥusayn after the death of his father, Mu'āwiya. OP's story resembles that of NP, too.</p>

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
(c) persuades Hassan's wife to kill him with poison "with the promise that he would marry her and make her a ruler".	<i>mu'minīn Ḥassan ān-rā bi-khurd va bi-mujarrad-i khurdan, zahr dar kār shud va haftād parkāla/purkāla az jigar bi-uftād [...] Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn biyāmad, ḥalat-i barādar bi-naw'-i dīgar bi-dīd [...] [Ḥassan] guft: aknūn dast-i shafaqqat az sar-i farzandān-i man bāz-nadārī ki yatīmān dīl shikasta bāshand [...] ba'd naql-i marā dar rawda-yi jaddam barīd [...] yik-pāya jināza Ḥusayn bigrift va dīgar pāya Muḥammad Junayd girift. Khāstand tā bi-ḥazīra-yi rasūl barand, Yazīd-i badbakht bar madīna bi-guft nakhāham ki Ḥassan rā dar ḥazīra-yi peyghāmbar ṣal'am dafn kunand [...] Ḥusayn-i 'Alī khāst tā bar īshān jang kunad, 'Abdullāh Mas'ūd dar-āmad va guft ey yādgār-i Rasūl Allāh [...]"</i>	<i>ki dūstdār-i pisarān-i 'Alī raqī Allāh 'anhu hastī, sākhta bāsh, imrūz yā fardā sar az tan judā mīkunam va agar kheyriyat-i khud mikhāhī, pisarān-i 'Alī rā bi-har hīla ki dānī va tavānī īshān-rā bukhush [...] ['Utbah] 'awratī būd dar Madīnah, sāḥirah nām [...] ṭalab kard pīsh-i ū hizār dīnār-i surkh nahād [...] ān zan-i bad-bakht chun zar dīd farīfta shud [...] yik ghulūlah dar-ū kard va dar-ū zahr ta 'biya kard va nazd-i zan-i Imām Ḥassan, zanān-i bisyār karda būd, āmad [...] ki nām-i ān Quṭṭāmah/Qaṭṭāmah būd [...] ayyām-i tābistān būd, Imām Ḥassan dar khāna khud āmad ki bānū istāda shud [...] ba'd az sā'at āb ṭalabīd [...] ān sharbat bi-nūshīd, balki shu'la-yi ātash būd, bi-mujarrad-i nūshīdan shūrī dar vujūd-i mubārak uftād [...] pisar-i khud, Qāsim, rā guft ki ey nūr-i dīda-yi man barādaram ṭalabīda biyāvar [...] Imām Ḥassan [bi Ḥusayn] guft: [...] az sabab-i kasī ki ḥāl-i man chunīn shuda ast, ū rā naranjānī ki man avval ū rā shifā'at khāham kard va bi ziyārat-i man bisyār āy va naẓar-i shafaqqat az Abū al-Qāsim darīgh nadārī [...]"</i>	It is clear that the different stories outlined in <i>HMH</i> on the death of Ḥassan are seen in both OP and GA. In other Persian manuscripts of <i>DMJ</i> (e.g. Ms. 853 in Michigan), the name of Ḥassan's wife is mentioned as Asmā, which is the case according to most Islamic traditions.
(d) Ḥassan is killed when he breaks his fast with the poisoned water.	<i>(“It has been narrated that, when Mu'āwiya died, Yazīd wanted to eliminate Ḥassan and Ḥusayn and break their bond. He hired a witch to approach Ḥassan's wife and said to her, 'if you kill Ḥassan, I will marry you and you will become the princess of the hareem' [...] that day was very hot and, during iftār, [she] gave him a poisoned drink [...] and the commander of the believers, Ḥassan, drank it. The poison took effect and his liver was split into 70 parts [...] The commander of the believers, Ḥusayn, came and saw his brother in a changed condition [...] [Ḥassan] told him, 'do not remove your kind support from my children, as they are broken-hearted orphans now [...] then, place my body in the tomb of my ancestor (grandfather) [...]'. Ḥusayn picked up one side of the body and Muḥammad Junayd picked up the other. They wanted to move the body into the tomb of the Prophet but misfortune [fell] as Yazīd told [the people of] Medina: 'I do not</i>	<i>both Imāms and wrote a letter to the ruler of Medina, 'Utbah b. Walīd, [saying] 'you must kill Ḥassan and Ḥusayn.' 'Utbah Walīd responded: 'I cannot kill these imāms as all the inhabitants of Medina love them. If I kill them, they will immediately kill me'. Then [...] 'Utbah went to visit Imām Ḥassan and Imām Ḥusayn at night, secretly, and was in their service and cried [...] Yazīd sent another letter, saying 'O 'Utbah, it has become clear to me that you are a follower of 'Alī's sons; be aware and be ready as you will be beheaded today or tomorrow [i.e. very soon], and if you want what's best for you, try to kill the sons of</i>	Unlike both Persian and Malay stories, Shī'ī traditions suggest that Quṭṭāmah is the one who tempted Ibn Muljam to kill 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.
(e) Before his death, Ḥassan asks Ḥusayn to “bury him by the tomb of the Envoy!”, which is refused by Yazīd.			
(f) 'Abdullāh Mas'ūd intervenes and does not allow Ḥusayn to attack Yazīd, because Ḥusayn was “the only surviving descendant of the Prophet”			

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
	<p>permit you to bury Ḥassan in the tomb of the Messenger (peace be upon him) [...]. Ḥusayn went to fight them, but ‘Abdullāh Mas’ūd intervened and said: ‘O the only memory of the Messenger of God [...]’”).</p>	<p>‘Alī by every trick you know and can implement [...]’. [‘Utbah] called for a witch named Sāhirah, in Medina, and gave her one-thousand red dinars [...] that shiftless woman was tempted upon seeing the coins [...] [so] she made a bag/ball of medicine, in which she placed some poison. She took it to one of Imām Ḥassan’s many wives, whose name was Qaṭṭamah/Quṭṭamah [...]. This all happened during the summer; Imām Ḥassan entered his house and his wife was standing there [...]. After a while, he demanded some water [...] He drank the liquid, and it was like the flame of a fire [inside him]. Upon drinking it, his sacred body’s condition was changed [...] and he said to his son, Qāsim, ‘O the light of my eyes, ask my brother to come [...]’ Imām Ḥassan said [to Imām Ḥusayn]: ‘[...] Do not punish whoever has made me this [poison], as my intercession will cover her at the outset, and visit my tomb regularly (more and more) and do not leave your kind attention from Abū al-Qāsim’”).</p>	
<p>Chapter 23: (a) “Yazīd sent a letter to Utbah [...] in which he informed him that all the Arabs had already paid homage to him as Caliph. When Utbah conveyed the letter to Husayn, the latter became enraged and wondered whether the Arabs had perhaps forgotten that the Prophet had destined Yazīd for Hell.”</p>	<p>“[Yazīd] nāma dar Madīnah bar ‘Utab (sic) firistād ki Ḥusayn ‘Alī rā dar bay‘at-i man bi-khān, Walīd nāma bar dast girift va dar masjid-i peyghāmbar šal’am dar āmad va nāma pīsh-i Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Ḥusayn nahād. Va Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Ḥusayn ān-rā bi-khānd va dar khashm dar-āmad va guft man dar bay‘at-i ū chigūna dar-āyam ki ū az ahl-i dūzakh ast. [Yazīd] bār maktūbī dīgar bar Walīd ‘Utab (?) firistād: har-gāh ki chūn in nāma-yi man bi-tu rasad chinān kunī ki sar-i Ḥusayn judā gardānī va bi-nazdīk-i man firistī [...]” (“Yazīd sent a letter to ‘Utbah in Medina asking Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī to pledge. Walīd got the letter and entered the mosque of the</p>	<p>“‘Utbah Walīd bar Imām Ḥusayn guft ki ay makhdūm-zāda-yi man (?) Yazīd bar man har bār mī-nivīsad barā-yi bay‘at shumā; banda chī-kunam: Imām Ḥusayn barābar-i muḥibbān mashvirat kard ki chī ittīfāq kunīm...marā yik šavāb uftād ki man az Madīnah tark gīram va sukūnat-i Makka ikhtiyār kunam va Makka rā hīch kas fath nakarda ast magar peyghāmbar [...]” (“‘Utbah b. Walīd told Imām Ḥusayn: ‘Yazīd frequently sends me letters to get your pledge. What should I do?’ Imam Ḥusayn consulted his followers about what can be done [...] ‘I can do one good thing, move from Medina to settle in Mecca. Mecca was not conquered by anyone except the Prophet [...]’”)</p>	<p>The resemblance between <i>DMJ</i> OL/OP and the Malay versions are more obvious than in the GA copy.</p>

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
(b) "Yazīd asked Utbah to bring him Husayn's head in return for a reward."	Prophet (peace be upon him) and placed the letter before Ḥusayn. The Commander of the Believers Ḥusayn read the letter and became enraged and said, 'how can I pledge with Yazīd when he is one of the people of Hell?' Yazīd sent another letter to 'Utbah b. Walīd [saying]: When you get this letter of mine, chop off the head of Ḥusayn and bring it to me [...]"		
Chapter 24: (a) Shamīr (Simir) went forward to behold Ḥusayn; (b) [Emir] Ḥusayn asked him to show his chest (c) Shamīr's chest was black and he had the nipples of a dog (d) Ḥusayn recalled the Prophet's statement about his killer's physical features;	" <i>Shibr-i** (Shamīr) mal'ūn az asp furūd āmad, bar sīnah-yi Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn binshast va tīgh kashīd tā sar-i mubārak judā kunad [...]</i> [<i>Ḥusayn raḡī Allāh 'anhu guft</i>] <i>ey mal'ūn tu sīnah-yi khud bāz kun ki kushanda-yi marā jaddam nishān gufta ast. Shibr-i bad-bakht sīnah-yi khud gushād va Amīr al-Mu'minīn dar sīnah-yi ū nigāh kard va bi-guft [...]</i> <i>rāst guft peyghāmbār-i khudāy ki kushanda-yi tu-rā dar sīnah qiyās-i varam-i pīsī bāshad [...]</i> [<i>Shibr</i>] <i>sar az tan judā gardānīdah [...]</i> " ("The accursed Shamīr dismounted the horse, and sat on the chest of the Commander of the Believers, Ḥusayn. He took out his sword to cut off the holy head [...] [Ḥusayn said]: 'O accursed one, bare your chest, as my grandfather (the Prophet) informed me about my killer's signs'. The Commander of the Believers looked at his chest and said '[...] the Prophet was right, you have the sign of leprosy on your chest'. [...] [Shamīr then] cut off his head [...]"	" <i>Shamīr-i badbakht bar sīnah-yi mubārak nishasta [...]</i> <i>Imām Ḥusayn guft [...]</i> <i>sīnah-yi khud bāz kun [...]</i> <i>ān bad-bakht sīnah rā bāz kard, dāgh-i baraş bar sīnah būd; Imām Ḥusayn guft šidq shanīdam az jadd-i khud, Muḥammad-i Muştafā ki kushanda-yi Ḥusayn kaşī bāshad ki dāgh-i baraş bar sīnah-yi ū bāshad [...]</i> <i>va sarash bi-burīd</i> ("The wretched Shamīr sat on the holy chest [...] Imām Ḥusayn said '[...] bare your chest' [...] that poor man showed his chest, which had signs of leprosy. Imām Ḥusayn said 'I have heard the truth from my grandfather, Muḥammad Muştafā' (peace be upon him) who said that the killer of Ḥusayn has the sign of leprosy on his chest [...]' Shamīr then cut his head off [...]"	The death scene of Ḥusayn in <i>HMH</i> largely resembles that in <i>DMJ</i> . Although none of the available versions of <i>DMJ</i> mention that Shamīr had the nipples of a dog, the only available Persian document frequently copied from the 16th to 19th centuries is "The Garden of the Martyrs" ("Rawḡat al-Shuhadā") (c. 1503), the magnum opus of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī. According to this work, Ḥusayn observed that Shamīr's teeth had turned into those of a pig and that his chest was afflicted with leprosy***.

** The name of Shamīr was written as Shibr in the *Abū Muslim-nāma*, too. See Jean Calmard, "Popular Literature under the Safavids", 2003, p. 318.

***Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī, *Rawḡat al-Shuhadā'*, Lucknow, Munshi Newal Kishore, 1873.

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
<p>Chapter 25:</p> <p>(a) Upon the death of Ḥusayn, Ja'far the son of Abū Bakar stayed in Mecca where he performed the <i>ṭawāf</i>. There he saw a masked man who was seeking God's forgiveness as he had wanted to get the jewel on the belt of Ḥusayn's corpse.</p> <p>(b) He cut off both Ḥusayn's hands; then he heard a voice.</p> <p>(c) Angels washed Ḥusayn's corpse.</p> <p>(d) The appearance of Noah, Abraham, Ismail, Miriam, Eva, Sarah, Hagar, and Isaac.</p>	<p><i>“Va Ja'far Muḥammad Šādiq guft ān rūz dar Makka būdam ke Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn Shahādat yāft. Dawr-i ṭawāf-i Ka'ba āvāzī shanīdam ki mardī miguft yā Rabb ma-rā bi-yāmurz [...] dīdam shakhshī nīmī-rūy-i ū siyāh gashta va zār-zār migiriyad [...] [guft]man rikāb-dār-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn va dahum az māh-i Muḥarram rūz-i 'Āshūrā Ḥusayn shahīd shud va dar izār-i band-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn gowhar-i qaymati-yi kharāj-i vilāyat būd va marā ṭama'-i ān gowhar dar sar uftād ki az band-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn bistānam [...] shaytān dar khāṭir talqīn bi-kard ki dast bi-bur sar-i angushtān, kārđ kashīdam bar dast bar andām va judā kardam [...] [šadāy-guft]: natarsīd va az fardā-yi Qiyāmat va az rūy-i peyghāmbār (saw) sharm nadāshī [...] fowjī az āsimān firishtigān furūd āmadand va basāfī gustardand [...] va tan-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn rā bi-mushk va za'farān va gulāb bi-shustand [...] [chahār howdaj dar ta'ziyat-i Ḥusayn] dar ān [...] mihtar Ādam va Hawwā būd, va dar duyyum [...] mihtar Nūḥ būd va dar siyyum [...] Ibrāhīm va Sārah būd va dar chahārrum peyghāmbār/ peyghambar”</i> (“And Ja'far Muḥammad Šādiq said: ‘I was in Mecca the day Ḥusayn was martyred. While performing <i>ṭawāf</i>, I heard a man's voice saying, “O my lord, forgive me” [...] I observed a man, half of whose face was black, crying [...] [he said] “I am the servant of Ḥusayn and it was on the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, the day of 'Āshūrā, that Ḥusayn was martyred. And there was a wealthy jewel of the caliph in the loincloth of Ḥusayn's belt and I was tempted be embarrassed on</p>	<p><i>“Va Ja'far Muḥammad Šādiq guft ān rūz dar Makka būdam ke Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn Shahādat yāftih, az ṭawāf-i Ka'ba āvāzī shanīdam ki mardī miguft bārī bar man raḥmat kun. Nazdīk-i u shudam [...] ki shakhshī nīm-rūy siyāh gashta va zārī mikard [...] Muḥarram rūz-i 'Āshūrā Ḥusayn shahīd shud va dar izār-i band-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn gouhar-i qaymati-yi kharāj-i vilāyat būd va marā ṭama'-i ān gouhar dar sar uftād ki az band-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn bistānam [...] shaytān dar khāṭir talqīn bi-kard ki dast bi-bur sar-i angushtān, kard kashīdam bar dast bar andām va judā kardam [...] [šadāy guft]: natarsīd va az fardā-yi Qiyāmat va az rūy-i peyghāmbār (saw) sharm nadāshī [...] fowjī az āsimān firishtigān furūd āmadand va basāfī gustardand [...] va tan-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ḥusayn ra bi-mushk va za'farān shustand [...] [dar ta'ziyat-i Ḥusayn] dar ān basāt mihtar Ādam va Hawwā būd, va dar duyyum [...] mihtar Nūḥ būd va dar siyyum [...] Ibrāhīm va bībī Sārah būd va dar chahārrum peyghāmbār”</i> (“And Ja'far Muḥammad Šādiq said: ‘I was in Mecca the day when Ḥusayn was martyred. While performing <i>ṭawāf</i>, I heard a man's voice saying, “O my lord, forgive me” [...] I observed a man, half of whose face was black, crying [...] [he said] “I am the servant of Ḥusayn and it was on the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, the day of 'Āshūrā, that Ḥusayn was martyred. And there was a wealthy jewel of the caliph in the loincloth of Ḥusayn's belt and I was tempted to take it from Ḥusayn's belt [...] Satan tempted me to cut the hand and fingers (?). I took a knife and chopped it [...] [a voice said]: ‘won't you be afraid and won't</p>	<p>This story is found in almost every version of <i>DMJ</i>.</p> <p>As Brakel says: Ja'far bin Abī Bakar in the Malay text is “of course a corruption of Ja'far as-Sādiq b. Muhammad al-Bakir (the famous Imam), as confirmed by the Persian account” of Add. 8149 and other <i>DMJ</i> versions.</p>

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
	to take it from Ḥusayn's belt [...] Satan tempted me to cut the hand and fingers (?). I took a knife and chopped it [...] [a voice said]: 'won't you be afraid and won't you the Day of Judgment when facing the Prophet?' [...] a group of angels came down from heaven and began a feast [...] and washed the corpse of Ḥusayn with musk and saffron and rosewater [four <i>howdah</i> come to commemorate his death]. At this event Prophet Adam and Hawwa, second Noah, third Abraham and Sarah, and fourth the Prophet himself were in attendance").	you be embarrassed on the Day of Judgment when facing the Prophet?" [...] a group of angels came down from heaven and began a feast [...] and washed the corpse of Ḥusayn with musk and saffron [to commemorate his death]. At that event Prophet Adam and Hawwa, second Noah, third Abraham and bibi Sarah and fourth the Prophet himself were in attendance").	
<p>Chapter 26:</p> <p>(a) Angels, along with Adam, Khadija, Fatimah, and Mary paid the final honours to Ḥusayn's corpse.</p> <p>(b) The women in Ḥusayn's army were captured by Yazīd's army.</p> <p>(c) A believer in Damascus left the city and saw the women of the Prophet's family having their veils removed.</p> <p>(d) The believer introduced himself as Saleh.</p>	<p>"<i>Dar-īn miyān muḥāfah-yi Fāṭimah Zahrā az havā peydā gasht va firishtigān anbūh anbūh muḥāfah va jumla jāmi-hā-yi mātām pūshīda [...] ham da-rīn miyān 'Alī Murtaḍā bā firishtigān zārī-kunān rasīd, tan-i farzand rā kinār girift [...] va khalq-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn rā bigiriftand [...] mardī dar Dimishq in vāqi' khāndan shanīd, chandān bigirīst az girya bī-hūsh shud. Chun be-hūsh bāz-āmad bīrūn-i shahr shud dīd Ahl-i Bayt-i nubuwwat rā sarhā-birahna va piyāda mī-ārand, Ahl Bayt Ḥusayn chun ān mard rā mihrabān dīdand pursīdand tu kīstī guft man dustdār-i khāndan-i Peyghāmbar-i khudāy-am, guftand chī nām dārī? Gut nām-i man Šāliḥ ast [...]</i>" ("In the meantime, the <i>howdah</i> of Fāṭimah Zahrā appeared in the sky and many angels were consumed with grief [...] in the meantime, 'Alī Murtaḍā, crying, arrived with the angels and hugged his son's corpse [...] and the followers of Ḥusayn were imprisoned [...] a man in Damascus heard what happened, and he cried so much he became unconscious. After he recovered he came out and saw the People of the Prophet's House coming, being un-veiled while they were walking [...] when</p>	<p>"<i>Dar-īn miyān muḥāfah-yi Fāṭimah Zahrā az havā peydā gasht va firishtigān anbūh anbūh muḥāfah va jumla jāmi-hā-yi mātām pūshīda [...] ham da-rīn miyān 'Alī Murtaḍā bā firishtigān zārī-kunān rasīd, tan-i farzand rā kinār girift [...] va khalq-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn rā bigiriftand [...]</i>" ("In the meantime, the <i>howdah</i> of Fāṭimah appeared in the sky and angels were consumed with grief; Here, 'Alī Murtaḍā arrived with the angels while crying. He hugged the corpse of Ḥusayn [...]"</p>	<p>Although GA is silent on the role of Šāliḥ, NP presents it as very similar to that in other <i>DMJ</i>'s as well as Add. 8149 and Malay <i>HMHs</i>. In most <i>DMJ</i> versions, following the incarceration of Ḥusayn's family the story of a monk who was asked to hold the head of Ḥusayn overnight is told, which is also not in the Malay edition of Brakel.</p>

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	OL/OP	GA	Additional Comments
	the Household of Ḥusayn found the man they asked him: 'Who are you?' He replied that he was a friend of the family of the Prophet of Islam. They asked, 'what is your name?' He said, 'my name is <i>Ṣāliḥ</i> [...]'")		

As such, it can be said that all the similarities between Brakel's *HMH* and Add. 8149 can be found in the different versions of *DMJ*.

Part II

Brakel noted that similarities between *HMH* and the Persian manuscript (Add. 8149) are also present in part II. As mentioned earlier, he said that chapters 1-17 and 20-21 of the second part are found in MS Add. 8149 in the British Library. And this is also the case when *HMH* and *DMJ* are compared. For instance, the first chapter of part II of Add. 8149, as well as of GA and NP, starts by telling how a servant informed Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah of the death of his brother(s), after which Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah tore his clothes.⁴⁵

Also, in both GA and NP, the names of people and events are largely similar to those of *HMH*; for instance, in both the Persian and Malay versions, Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah sent messages to his brothers who were living in various parts of the world:

- GA: "*maktūb bi-jānib-i Mashīb bi-Kāqah nivisht va dar 'Irāq firistād [...] yik maktūb bar Tughān Turk, Amīr-i Tabrīz nivishta [...] va yik maktūb bi-ṭaraf-i 'Umar 'Alī, Ṭalīb- va 'Aqīl 'Alī nivishta dar Shām firistād [...]*" ("[he] sent letters to Mashīb bi-Kāqah (?) in Iraq [...] one letter [was] sent to Tughān Turk, the ruler of Tabriz [...] and one letter he sent to 'Umar 'Alī, Ṭalīb 'Alī and 'Aqīl 'Alī in Shām [...]").
- NP: ["*Muḥammad Hanīfah*] *farmūd ki tā dabīr-i dānā [...] maktūb bi-jānibi-i Masīb Qa'qa'ah bi-nivīsad [...] nāma bi jānib-i Masīb Qa'qa'ah dar 'Irāq firistāda shud, [...] va yik maktūb bi-jānib-i Ibrāhīm [Ashtar] nivishta karda dar shahr-i Najaf firistād [...] maktūb-i siyyum bi jānibi-i Tughān Turk samt-i Tabrīz nivishta kard [...] va maktūb-i chahārum bi-jānib-i [...] 'Umar 'Alī, Maṭlab 'Alī va 'Aqīl 'Alī dar Shām firistād [...]*" ("[He] told his wise secretary to write a letter to Masīb Qa'qa'ah [...] the letter was sent to Masīb Qa'qa'ah in Iraq [...]

45. L.F. Brakel (b), p. 51.

and one letter was written to Ibrāhīm [Ashtar] and sent to Najaf [...] the third letter was written to Tughān-i Turk in Tabriz [...] and the forth one was sent to ‘Umar ‘Alī, Maṭlab ‘Alī and ‘Aqīl ‘Alī in Shām [...]).

- *HMH*: “[...] sembilan kami bersaudara: seorang namanya Umar Ali [...] Talib Ali, Akil Ali benua Baghdad [...] Sebermula anak-anakan bapaku Syahi Mardan Ali, Masib Kaka namanya, [...] benua Irak [...] Bermula Ibrahim Astar, anak raja benua Tuj‘ah [...] Tughan Turk dan Mughan Turk, benua Tabriz [...]”⁴⁶ (“[Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah and ‘Alī Akbar] addressed our [i.e. their] nine brothers: ‘Umar ‘Alī, Ṭālib ‘Alī and Aqīl ‘Alī in Baghdād [...] the son of my father, Shah Mardan Ali, whose name is Masib Kaka [...] in Iraq [...] Ibrāhīm Astar, the son of the king of Tuj‘ah [...] Tughan Turk and Mughan Turk from Tabriz”).

It seems that Mughan Turk, who accompanies Tughan Turk in the revenge story in *HMH* is known as Sayalān/Saylān Turk in GA and Asad Turk in NP.

There is yet another similarity: the animals that appear in both *HMH* and *DMJ* are the same: e.g. horse, elephant, camel, etc. Furthermore, the names of the allies of Yazīd, Marwān and ‘Utbah b. Walīd are largely similar:

- GA: *Khāqān-i Chīn, Ḥabashī* (from “Khaqan of China and Abyssinia”)
- NP: *Khāqān-i Chīn; Zang-bār, Ḥabashī* (from “Khaqan of China, Zanzibar and Abyssinia”)
- *HMH*: *Feringgi, Cina, Habsi, Zanggi* (Franks [Portuguese(?)], China, Abyssinia, Zanzibar)

Although the Franks are not listed as allies of Yazīd in the versions of *DMJ* here examined, the rest of the story in GA calls the enemy of Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah *Khārijī-ān*, which means “Franks.”

B) Common Points between *DMJ* and *HMH* which are NOT found in Add. 8149

Brakel stated that chapters 1 and 5-20 of part I and chapters 18-19 and 22 of part II of the Malay *HMH* are not found in the Persian manuscript Add. 8149. However, it will be seen that the stories from these Malay chapters are, on the other hand, found in the *DMJ* versions. Examples include:

⁴⁶. Ibid., pp. 206-207.

Part I

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i>	GA	Additional Comments
Chapter 1: Muḥammad is unable to recite but Gabriel instructs him to do so. It is expressed that Gabriel is henceforth as a brother to the Prophet.	“[...] <i>ey farzandānam man dar aṣl nivishtan nimidānam</i> [...] <i>Jibra’īl ‘alayh al-salām dar-rasīd</i> ” (“O my children, I, indeed, cannot read and write [...] Gabriel then came”).	Muhammad’s illiteracy is clearly explained in GA when Ḥassan and Ḥusayn show their handwriting to Muḥammad. Also, throughout OP, Muḥammad frequently addresses Gabriel as his brother (<i>barādar/akhī</i>).
Chapter 6: Muḥammad becomes ill; his close companions understand about the approaching death of the Prophet; the Companions’ responsibilities during the funeral are detailed.	“ <i>Chun ḥaḍrat-i risālat panāh rā nīz shahādat rūzī gardānd bi-sabab-i zahr dādan</i> [...] <i>zahr rā farmān shud dar pāshna-yi pāy bāsh, tā sar-i vaqt-i vafāt, Ḥaqq Ta’ālā zahr rā dar vujūd-i mihtar-i ‘ālam bi-junbānad va az ān sabab shahīd shud</i> ” (“Whereas the martyrdom of the Prophet by poison was predetermined ... the poison was ordered to stay in the heel of the Prophet until the time of death, when God Almighty allowed the flow of the poison into the body of the Prophet; due to that poison, the Prophet was martyred”).	Although <i>DMJ</i> talks about the death of Muḥammad, its quality differs from that of <i>HMH</i> . However, the GA ms. starts with a qur’anic verse about martyrdom: “And do not say about those who are killed in the way of Allah, ‘They are dead.’ Rather, they are alive, but you perceive [it] not”. Later, it talks about the death/killing of the Companions and the first four caliphs, whose names and deaths are mentioned in the 6th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and other chapters of part I of <i>HMH</i> . Nonetheless, different stories about the death of Muḥammad and the Companions’ roles are found in other chapters of <i>DMJ</i> , which will be discussed in subsequent studies.
Chapters 8 and 9: the death of Fāṭimah after seeing her father, Muḥammad, in a dream; how ‘Alī and his sons buried Fāṭimah; the Companion’s demand for the body; how ‘Alī “became furious and put on battle-dress [...]”, as well as the Prophet’s recommendation to Abū Bakr that “all of mankind together was no match for ‘Alī when dressed like this.”	“ <i>Mu’āwiya guft</i> [...] <i>Rasūl farmūd ana Madīnah al-‘ilm wa ‘Alīyyun bābu-hā</i> [...]” (“Mu’āwiya said [...] the Prophet (peace be upon him) said that ‘I am the city of science and ‘Alī is its door’”).	Although the death of Fāṭimah and her funeral are not discussed in this chapter of <i>DMJ</i> , the story is found in another <i>hikāyat</i> of <i>DMJ</i> entitled “on the story of ‘Alī and Fāṭimah”. In this <i>hikāyat</i> , Fāṭimah first dreamed about her father and then she died. However, interestingly, all the Companions were allowed to carry the coffin of Fāṭimah, a point which is mentioned in Brakel’s commentary. The only prophetic <i>ḥadīth</i> in GA regarding ‘Alī relates to his knowledge, which is expressed by Mu’āwiya to his fellows.
Chapter 12: Shahr-Banun wanted to choose her husband; she rejected Ḥassan because he was a polygamist.	“ <i>Imām Ḥassan zanān-i bisyār dāshd va rahā karda būd; guyand haftād-u du tan zan karda</i> [...]” (“Imām Ḥassan had many wives and he left them/divorced them; it is said that he had 72 wives [...]”).	GA does not refer to the Ḥassan’s interest in Shahr-Bānū; however, there are several references to his polygamous lifestyle, which caused his wife to give him a poisoned drink.

Part II

Brakel's edition of <i>HMH</i> in Part II	GA	Additional Comments
Chapter 18 "Tughan Turk and Mughan Turk had set out to intercept the army of the Zanggi"	" <i>Va Tughān-i Turk va Sayalān-i/ Saylān-i Turk bā chihil hizār savār muqābil-i Ḥabashī shudand</i> " ("And Tughan Turk and Sayalān/ Saylān Turk, along with their 40,000-strong army, intercepted the army of Abyssinia").	
Chapter 19: A mighty battle between Yazīd and Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah and "the fighting became still more violent"	" <i>Va Amīr al-Mu'minīn Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah raḡī Allāh 'anhu jānib-i Dimishq ravān shudand va Yazīdān dah lak savār būd va bā ān-hā dar maydān dar-āmadand va jang mī-kardand va du pās-i rūz tīgh rafta</i> " ("And Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah (may God be pleased with him) moved towards Damascus. The followers of Yazīd were in ten groups, and they encountered them on the battlefield and they fought and attacked each other with swords for two days."	

Further Discussion of Earlier Literature

Discussion of Earlier Arguments

The above sections have tried to show the strong connection between *DMJ* and *HMH*. However, this section provides readers with more analysis of recent literature:

1. The references to Tughan Turk, the Emir of Tabriz, in *DMJ*'s 31st chapter on the death of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn confirms the claim of both Brakel and Bausani that this story must originally have been written when Tabriz was the capital of Persia under Ghaza Khān in the 13th and early 14th century⁴⁷. Also, the name of Zahrāb as the one who killed Ḥusayn's infant, as found in the *DMJ* copy in Michigan, had been already mentioned in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. A couplet by Sa'dī

47. Brakel (a), pp. 54-55.

is also found in *DMJ*'s manuscripts. These details put together help us to conclude that *DMJ* was probably composed in the 13th century.

2. As mentioned above, this article seeks only to uncover the possible origins of *HMH*, rather than to discuss the process by which it was translated from Persian or the production of *HMH* and additions made by Malay scribes. However, it should be noted that *DMJ*'s account of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn's death and of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah may disagree with both Brakel and Braginsky, particularly in the second part.
 - a. Brakel stated that he was unable to find a parallel for [I4:] how Mu'āwiya's son, Yazīd, was conceived. As such, he stated that *HMH* "exempted Mu'āwiya from any blame. Yazīd is reviled again and again because of his illegitimate birth [...]." ⁴⁸
 - b. Braginsky argued that:

Another peculiarity of the tale, which is largely a Malay innovation, is the strict division of its characters into two camps. The first of them, headed by Muhammad Hanafiyyah, is connected with the divine world, as is indicated by prophetic dreams of the main hero and wonderful events that happen to him. The second, headed by Yazīd, is connected with the demonic world, as is testified to, for instance, by Yazīd's begetting of Mu'awiah, poisoned by a scorpion's venom, and an old black Ethiopian woman [...]. ⁴⁹

These scholars believed that the episode of Mu'āwiya and the scorpion was not found in Persian sources. Yet, as seen previously, Yazīd's connection "with the demonic world" is clearly shown in the *DMJ* mss.; indeed, all available *DMJ* manuscripts state that Mu'āwiya was poisoned by a scorpion's (*kazhdum*) venom and that then, to cure himself, he was advised to have sex with a woman, an event which ultimately led to the birth of Yazīd. GA in particular presents Yazīd's mother as an insignificant female slave (*kanīzak*). Interestingly, this infelicitous image of Yazīd's birth is also seen on fl. 51 of a poetic Bengali version of *Jang-nāma-i Imām Ḥusayn* (Isl. Ms. 853), preserved in the special collections of the University of Michigan.

It is true that *HMH* tried to portray Mu'āwiya as a faithful Companion of Muḥammad, although it did not come to the attention of earlier scholars that part I of the *DMJ* mss. in general, and of the GA in particular, is replete with stories that exempt Mu'āwiya from any wrongdoing. For instance, on fol. 132 of GA, there is a report that highlights Yazīd's mistake and then says:

"[...] in *makr-i Yazīd būd va ba 'dī bar Mu'āwiya idāfat mīkunand, bizih-kār mīshavand zīrā-ki Mu'āwiya az kibār-i Ṣaḥābah būd va kātib-i vaḥy būd va Rasūl Allāh 'Alayh wa-sallam guft harkas bi-dhikr-i nīk yād kunad aṣḥāb-i man, ū rā ast bihišt pas har-ki Mu'āwiya rā bi badī yād kunad ū bizih-kār shavad [...]"* ("it was a trick played by

48. Brakel (b), p. 7.

49. Braginsky, 2005, p. 183.

Yazīd, however, one which some people ascribed to Mu'āwiya, though they are sinners, as Mu'āwiya was one of the Companions and the writer of the revelation, and the Prophet of God said 'whoever remembers my Companions well, he deserves Paradise'; thus, anyone who remembers Mu'āwiya badly is a sinner [...]"

Brakel also agreed that only an Acehnese manuscript—Or. 8667—mentions both Yazīd and Mu'āwiya "as fellow Muslims". However, there is a point worth mentioning regarding GA: when Mu'āwiya learned about the pregnancy of his female slave he wanted her to have an abortion because Yazīd was cursed, "however, the opinion of Sunnis is not to curse Yazīd, and this is the true opinion" ("va qawl-i ahl-i Sunnat va Jamā'at in ast ki Yazīd rā la 'nat nakunad ki hamīn ṣaḥīḥ ast").

Also, in both GA and NP manuscripts the Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah section not only starts with a letter carried by the servant but it is also bolstered by a prophetic dream in which Muḥammad told him:

(GA, fol. 149) "[...] ey farzandān, ū rā bikush ki man bā tu hastam va hīch khaṭā va uft va nikbatī bar tu nakhāhad rasīd va tu-rā fath va nuṣrat khāhad shud" ("Oh my children, kill him [Yazīd] and know that I am with you and you will not receive blame, loss and misery, and you will be victorious [...]").

(NP, fol. 495) "[...] ammā fath va nuṣrat bi-nām-i nāmi-yi tu bar lawḥ-i azal nivishta-and va dar zadan-i dushman-i khānah-dān va asīr numūdan-i īshān dirang makun" ("but your conquering and victory has been carved on the eternity plate [or: on the plate of eternity], and do not be patient in beating and capturing the enemies of the family [...]").

1. As mentioned earlier, Winstedt, Voorhoeve, and Brakel have all pointed out that some Malay versions of *HMH* are prefaced with another mystical story about the creation of Muḥammad and his light, i.e. *Hikayat Nur Muhammad (HNM)*, which is not found in Add. 8149. Indeed, they are still uncertain whether part I (the killings of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn), part II (the Muḥammad Ḥanafīyyah revenge story), and *HNM* are found in one manuscript or whether both the Persian and Malay versions were "one unified text, consisting of two or more parts, or [...] two or more *originally independent* fragments which have been combined."⁵⁰

To provide an answer to such uncertainties, and before referring to *DMJ*, Brakel's statement should be examined:

In Acehnese literature these three [I. *HNM*; II *Hikayat Hasan dan Husain* (= part one); III *HMH* (= part two)] are still found separately. In Malay, one finds separate copies of the *HNM* (in many different redactions) but perhaps only one ms. of a separate *Hikayat Hasan dan Husain*, and as far as I know no separate mss. of the *Hikayat Muh. Hanafiyah* proper. II and III at least are translations from Persian, and they are already found combined in a ms. of the Persian original (Br. Mus. Add. 8149) [...] in our ms. however the beginning of III is clearly marked⁵¹.

50. Brakel (a), p. 16.

51. Ibid.

Now, let's discuss it as follows:

- a. The above structure described by Brakel is found in *DMJ*, as well. In most of the *DMJ* manuscripts, *The Story of the Killing of Hassan and Husayn* (part I) is separate from that of *Muhammad Hanafiyyah* (part II). In some cases, however, as in GA and NP, it is not.
- b. Although there are many paragraphs in *DMJ* that highlight the creation of Muhammad, the GA ms. ends with a story called *Nūr-nāma-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Rasūl Allāh* ("The Book of the Light of the Prophet") (part III) (fols: 158-62), which is about the creation of Muhammad from light. This work is largely similar to the Persian, Arabic, and Malay *HNM*. It starts with a conversation between Gabriel and Muhammad in which the latter tells the former: *ū sitārah az nūr-i man ast* ("that star is from my light"). The story ends by mentioning the existence of 990 copies of *Nūr-nāma* during the lifetime of Muhammad Ghazālī and references to the particular attention that Maḥmūd of Ghazna had paid to it (fig. 3).
- c. Also, other versions of *DMJ*, such as 14248, preserved in the library of the Parliament in Tehran, are bound with other stories, such as the *Wafāt-nāma*; these stories are largely similar to that of Muhammad's death as it appears in *HMH*.

Obviously, whether part I, II, and III are or are not separate can be seen in the various *DMJ* MSS. Malay scribes seem to have followed or been influenced by the way in which *DMJ* was written or copied by Muslims in Central or South Asia.

Final remarks

This study has shown how Muhammad Hanafiyyah, whose role is frequently seen in the legendary part of the text (part II), was indigenized and established as the hero of a particular region. It shows that scribes tried to localize Muhammad Hanafiyyah to make him one of their own, ruling a territory that was not limited to Boeniara. Moreover, although Brakel and other scholars opined that *HMH* is based on the Persian manuscript Add. 8149 in the British Library, this article has shown the possibility that *HMH* was dependent on the Persian text *DMJ*, which has been studied for the first time here. Interestingly enough, not only is *DMJ*'s story older but it is also more detailed than the Add. 8149 manuscript, so that those chapters of *HMH* whose parallels Brakel could not find in Add. 8149 do appear in *DMJ*. Furthermore, the final question posed by earlier scholars regarding the link between *HNM* and parts I and II of *HMH* has been answered, as *DMJ* manuscripts also place part I and II of *HMH* alongside *HNM*. Finally, this essay has tried to build on earlier literature to shed more light on the Persian origin of *HMH*.

Fig 3 – Nūr-nāmah-yi Haḍrat-i Rasūl Allāh, GA ms.

Appendix

The *DMJ* manuscripts available to the author

1. MS Or. 565, Leiden University Library, Leiden
2. MS Or. 877, Leiden University Library, Leiden
3. MS 170, Auckland Libraries, Auckland
4. MS 853, University of Michigan Special Collections Library, Michigan
5. Cod. Pers 187, Staatsbibliothek, Munich
6. Cod. Pers 188, Staatsbibliothek, Munich
7. MS 29, The National Library of Iran, Tehran
8. MS 258, The National Library of Iran, Tehran
9. MS 27641, The National Library of Iran, Tehran
10. MS 33429, The National Library of Iran, Tehran
11. MS 14248, Iranian Parliament Library, Tehran
12. MS 19495, Iranian Parliament Library, Tehran
13. MS 53, Talaat Library, Cairo
14. PAK-001-0770, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
15. PAK-001-1043, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
16. PAK-001-1471, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
17. PAK-001-0487, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
18. PAK-001-1180, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
19. PAK-001-1506, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
20. PAK-001-1666, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
21. PAK-001-1498, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad
22. PAK-001-2123, Ganj Bakhsh, Islamabad

The Catalogue-based examination of *DMJ* Manuscripts

23. MS 40539, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
24. MS 40550, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
25. MS 40551, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
26. MS 27706, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
27. MS 46429, SOAS Library, London
28. MS 1959, Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien, Vienna
29. MS 26/1, Library of Dargah Aliyah Mahdaviyeh, Palanpur, Gujarat
30. MS Corpus, No. 88, Libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, Cambridge
31. MS Egerton 1026, British Museum (now British Library), London
32. Nos. 1762 and 1882, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, India Office Library, London
33. MS 40539, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad

34. MS 40550, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
35. MS 40551, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
36. MS 27706, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, Mashhad
37. Sh. 211, National Library of Tajikistan, Dushanbe
38. Sh. 201, National Library of Tajikistan, Dushanbe
39. Cod. 19, The Russian State Library/V. I. Lenin State Library of the USSR, Moscow
40. Cod. 20, The Russian State Library/ V. I. Lenin State Library of the USSR, Moscow
41. Cod. 2870, Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat
42. MS B 1006, The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences/ Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow
43. MS 12750, Mar 'ashi Najafi Library, Qum
44. MS 10680, Mar 'ashi Najafi Library, Qum
45. MS 54, McGill University Persian Manuscripts, Québec
46. MS 5777, Imam Sadiq University, Tehran
47. MS 544, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
48. MS 545, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
49. MS 546, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
50. MS 547, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
51. MS 548, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
52. MS 549, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
53. MS 550, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
54. MS 551, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan
55. MS 552, Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan