

**CAN HUIJWIRĪ'S KASHF AL-MAḤJŪB
BE CONSIDERED A 'PROTO-TADHKIRAH'?
A STUDY OF ITS BIOGRAPHICAL
CONTENT AND GENRE CLASSIFICATION**

¹TANVIR ANJUM

²ADEELA GHAZANFAR

¹Tenured Professor, Department of History,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
e-mail: tanviranjum1@yahoo.com

²Assistant Professor,
Department of Basic Sciences & Humanities,
NUST, Rawalpindi.

Kashf al-Maḥjūb [Revelation of the Veiled] authored by Abu'l-Ḥ'asan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Jullābī al-Hujwirī (d. between 1073-77 circa) was written in Lahore after mid-eleventh century. It is considered the first treatise on Sufism in the Persian language, as well as one of the most read classical texts on Sufism. It offers valuable information on the doctrines, practices and ethics of Sufism along with the biographies of renowned early Sufis. Like many other early Sufi texts, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* is a hybrid text, combining features of varied genres of Sufi literature, hence denying any neat genre classification. Nonetheless, it has generally been considered a survey or handbook of Sufism. While analyzing the debate on the genre classification of *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, the present study confirms the prevalent view, since the biographical section in the Sufi text under study forms a major portion of it, challenging its exclusive branding as a Sufi manual. The present study argues that *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* cannot be treated exclusively as a Sufi manual or a *ṭabaqā*. In other words, it is more than a Sufi manual owing to its rich biographical subject matter. Furthermore, the study argues that *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* partly appears to be a proto-*tadhkirah* as well due to its biographical content, since it was produced at the time when development of the genre of *tadhkirah* writing had not yet originated. Later, it served as a model for writing the first *tadhkirah* of Sufi literary history, i.e. *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* by Farid-ud-Din 'Aṭṭār.

Keywords: Saiyyid 'Alī Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, Sufism, Prosopography, Sufi Text, *Tadhkirah*

Kashf al-Mahjūb [Revelation of the Veiled] authored by Saiyyid Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Ghaznawī al-Jullābī al-Hujwirī (d. between 1073-77) is a celebrated treatise on Sufism written in Lahore after the mid-eleventh century. It is considered the first treatise on Sufism in Persian language, as well as one of the most read classical Sufi texts. It offers valuable information on the doctrines, practices and ethics of Sufism along with the biographies (or prosopographies) of renowned early Sufi masters. However, it has generally been considered a survey or handbook of Sufism by the scholars of Sufi studies. The present study is an attempt to analyze the debate on its genre classification, but before proceeding further, it seems pertinent to have a brief overview of the biography and scholarship of Saiyyid 'Alī Hujwirī.

Saiyyid 'Alī Hujwirī as a Sufi Author: An Introduction

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Ghaznawī al-Jullābī al-Hujwirī's profile is not much known to the present-day world as he is not the subject of any independent and detailed biography. His own work *Kashf al-Mahjūb* offers some details about the events of his life. Al-Hujwirī was born in the town of Hujwir (also spelled as Hajvare) near the city of Ghazna in Central Afghanistan. He spent the early years of his life at his native town Ghazna, but *Kashf al-Mahjūb* informs us that the author also travelled far and wide to meet prominent Sufis of the time. He went from Syria to Turkistan, and travelled widely in many areas of Central Asia, Arabia, Iraq and other parts of the world. Treading on the path of Sufism, he was influenced by renowned Sufis of his time. Most important among them were Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ḥakīm Tirmidhī (d. 255/869), 'Amr b. 'Uthmān Makkī (d. 297/909 circa), Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Abu'l Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), and Abu'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Khuttalī. He finally settled at Lahore (in present day Pakistan), where he spent the latter part of his life till death. According to *Khulaṣat al-Tawarīkh* and *Safīnat al-Awliyā* he reached Lahore accompanying the armies of Sultan Maḥmūd (r. 389/999-421/1030) of Ghazna, when the latter conquered the area.² He came to be known as the most prestigious Sufi of the region, and became an acclaimed Sufi after his death. Later, he came to be popularly known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, (literally the bestower/conferer of treasures). He was buried in Lahore, where his shrine is greatly revered and referred to as Dātā Darbār. Hujwirī was a well-

versed and erudite scholar of Sufism who wrote extensively on the subject. One comes to know about the details or titles of these works through *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* where he refers to them. Otherwise we do not have any other source of information about these works. Below is the list of the treatises written by him which he cites in *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*:³

1. *Kitāb al-Fanā wa Baqā*⁴ [The Book of Annihilation and Subsistence]. The book discusses the ideas of annihilation (*fanā*) and subsistence (*baqā*). However, in *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* he confesses that the views expressed in the said treatise were quite bold and candid, and admitted that he would be more cautious in the present work.⁵
2. *Asrār al-Khirāq wa'l Mu'anāt*⁶ [Mysteries of the Patched Frocks and the Means of Livelihood]. It deals with the secrets and mysteries revealed to a Sufi on the path of Sufism, and the sources of income permitted for a Sufi.
3. *Al-Ri'āyat bi-Ḥuqāq Allah*⁷ [The Observance of What is due to God]. This treatise was written in refutation of the Zoroastrian dualists as well as the philosophers and Mu'tazilites.
4. *Kitāb al-Bayān li-ahl al-'Iyān*⁸ [The Book of Exposition for Persons of Intuition]. This work also deals with the Sufi concepts of union and separation.
5. *Baḥr al-Qulūb/Naḥv al-Qulūb*⁹ [The Sea of Hearts]. This work also elaborates the Sufi concept of union.
6. *Minhāj al-Dīn*¹⁰ [The Highway of Religion]. The work contains a lengthy chapter on *Ahl-al-Ṣuffa* or the people of the platform.
7. *Manajāt Ḥusayn bin Manṣūr*¹¹ [The Supplication]. This work exclusively deals with the life account of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922)

These works establish Hujwiri's credentials as a discerning follower of the path of Sufism and its perceptive analyst.

***Kashf al-Maḥjūb*: An Introduction**

As stated *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* is the earliest known work on Sufism in Persian, written probably after the mid eleventh century in Lahore. It was written in Persian when Arabic language was primarily used for production of religious and mystical/Sufi literature. According to Carl W. Ernst, Hujwārī used the "elegant and courtly Persian of the Samanid

style” in his work.¹² The *Kashf al-Mahjub* became a prominent and significant text in South Asia, not only because of its content but also due to Hujwiri's popularity as a celebrated Sufi in Punjab at that time.¹³ It is one of the most read books on Sufism. ‘Abd-al-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), a Sufi poet and biographer, refers to *Kashf al-Mahjub* in his book, *Nafahāt al-uns* [Lives of the Saints] as the very first “Persian” Sufi handbook, and “one of the renowned and revered books on this discipline [of Sufism], in which [Hujwiri] has compiled many subtleties and truths”¹⁴ *Kashf al-Mahjub* received much acclaim not only in Sufi and scholarly circles but it has also been very popular among the laity. It is not merely a “literary production” but also “an exposition of practical Sufism that summarizes a wide tradition of centuries of reflection and is still one of the best descriptions of the Sufi path.”¹⁵ It is also known to be a Persian version of *Risālah-i’ Qushayriyyah* fi ‘ilm al-tasawwuf, written around 437/1045 by Abu’l Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) of Nīshāpur in Arabic,¹⁶ since Hujwiri adopted the latter's organizational style. *Kashf al-Mahjub* has a rich content, which makes it a hybrid Sufi text, as it combines features of varied genres. Nonetheless, despite its hybridity, it is generally classified as a Sufi manual. In order to analyze the debate on its genre classification, it is imperative to study the content as well as organization of the said work.

Content and Organization of *Kashf al-Mahjub*

Kashf al-Mahjub comprises of twenty-five chapters in total, but for the purpose of analysis, clarity and convenience, these disparate chapters can be divided into three distinct parts. It must be noted that Hujwiri himself has not divided his work in three distinct parts. What follows is a discussion on the contents of these three parts:

The first part of the book consists of six chapters on varied sufi themes and concepts. These include ‘ilm (knowledge), *faqr* (austerity), *ṣafā* (purity), *muraqqa’* (patched cloak) and *malāmat* (blame). Here it is important to note that the articulation of and discussion on the Sufi notion of blame in sixth chapter of *Kashf al-Mahjub*, is a pioneering effort in a ‘Sufi manual,’¹⁷ since no earlier Sufi theorist or author penned it. In Mojaddedi's opinion, Hujwiri's self-experience being on the path of blame makes his contribution well-documented, highlighting its significance as well as authenticity.¹⁸

The second part of the book comprises of seven chapters containing biographies. These chapters are chronologically organized. The first

chapter in this part (chapter seven of the book) offers life-accounts of the first four Caliphs of Islam, including Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The second chapter of this part (chapter eight of the book) deals with the lives of five Imāms, from Imām Ḥasan b. ‘Alī to Imām Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq. The third chapter of this part (chapter nine of the book) discusses *Ahl al-Ṣuffā* or the ‘People of the Platform.’ The fourth chapter of this part (chapter ten of the book) deals with the biographies of *Al-Tābi‘ūn* (the successors / generation next to the Companions of the Holy Prophet [ﷺ]). The fifth chapter of this part (chapter eleven of the book) throws light on the lives of the generations of Sufis after *al-tābi‘ūn* down to the times of the author (i.e. the third quarter of the eleventh century). This is the longest chapter of the biographical part, as it relates the life accounts of sixty-four Sufis. According to Nicholson, many of them are taken from al-Sulamī’s *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyā*.¹⁹ However, Hujwirī’s list is lengthy and embraces a lot more Sufis than those recorded by al-Sulamī. He incorporates scholars and men of piety in addition to the Sufis, such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), Muḥammad b. Idrīs Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) and others. In the sixth chapter of this part (chapter twelve of the book) Hujwirī narrates the biographies of the major Sufis of his own times, which are ten in numbers. The next chapter (chapter thirteen of the book) offers valuable but brief information about the Sufis living in varied geographical regions such as Syria, Iraq, Persia, Transoxiana, and Ghazna, etc. The biographical part of the book ends here.

The next chapter (chapter fourteen of the book) focuses on another major contribution of Hujwirī, as he identifies twelve distinct groups or *garouh* of Sufis in it.²⁰ Historically, this classification or identification of Sufi groups is the first attempt of its kind. Before him, no Sufi scholar or theorist had ever tried to identify these groups. Mojaddedi argues that these groups seem to be a construct of Hujwirī’s time, and his classification of these groups served his purpose of looking at variations and dissimilarities among Sufis regarding their opinion on various issues.²¹ Hujwirī’s description of Sufi groups tends to authenticate ten of these groups as *maqbul* (accepted/approved), while the remaining two, the “Ḥoluliān” and the “Ḥallājiān” have been condemned as *mardūd* (disdained/disapproved).²² To him, the Ḥolulians are the adherents of the heretical notion of incarnation, while the “Ḥallājiāns” are the fake devotees of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj. Hujwirī blames them for falsely attributing their permissive ideology or philosophy to al-Ḥallāj.²³ Discussion on varied Sufi concepts is skillfully weaved into this chapter by the author. This

chapter seems to form a different section or part of the book in thematic terms, as it appears to be independent of the preceding as well as the succeeding chapters.

The third and the last part of the book is comprised of eleven chapters (chapters 15-25 of the book), each one unveiling a particular 'veil' on the path of Sufism, hence the book is titled 'Unveiling of the Veiled.' These chapters offer elaborate discussion on Sufi notions of gnosis of God, unity, faith, purification, ritual prayer and fasting, pilgrimage, companionship and its rules and regulations, Sufi terminology and its explanation, and, last but not the least, devotional Sufi music.

Before going into the debate of genre classification of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, it is important to compare the organizational style and similarities between *Kashf al-Mahjūb* and *Risalah-i' Qushayrīyyah*, since the two works are often compared to each other. The latter was written in Arabic and the former is first of its kind in Persian language. Both are considered as each other's counterpart. Both are popular and are considered influential manuals or surveys of Sufism in their respective languages. Both works enjoy an exalted position in their respective traditions. Both have distinct scholarly blending of different intellectual tendencies of Sufism that existed in their time. In the words of Karamustafa, there is a happy marriage of "Tasawwuf and legal-theological scholarship" in *Risalah-i' Qushayrīyyah* and *Kashf al-Mahjūb*.²⁴ The major parts of these texts comprised of Sufi lexicon, stations and states on the path of Sufism. These works contain chapters on Sufi conduct and manners, and also include set of rules and principles for the ones who aspire to become Sufis in future. However, Karamustafa does not count much on the biographical entries in these works and dismisses them as mere 'survey of Sufism.'²⁵ While the *Risalah-i' Qushayrīyyah* includes eighty-three biographies of Sufis, the biographical part or section of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is one-third of the entire text.²⁶ Interestingly, both *Kashf al-Mahjūb* and *Risalah-i' Qushayrīyyah* are 'dual-generic,' since they both combine features of two genres of Sufi literature, i.e. thematic chapters on Sufi philosophy, ideals and Sufi practices along with chapters containing biographical material on the lives of the Sufis.

Genre Classification of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*

The term 'genre' is used when one refers to different forms/kinds/categories of literary works. It combines different aspects, i.e. the focus and subject matter, pragmatic function or purpose of the work, organization

and structure, style and length, etc. It is noteworthy to mention that genres and forms in literature change over time and cannot be understood or defined without regard to time and context. *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the text under study, has a rich content. Keeping in view its content and style, it is generally classified as a Sufi manual or a survey of Sufism, which offers a complete guide of the Sufi path.²⁷ In addition, it is sometimes labeled as a dictionary of Sufi terminology.²⁸ In 2001, however, Jawid Mojaddedi studied *Kashf al-Mahjūb* under *ṭabaqāt* category.²⁹ To Mojaddedi, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is a 'dual-generic' work, as it falls under the category of *ṭabaqāt* genre owing to its biographical content, along with being a Sufi manual.³⁰ However, he also warns the reader regarding Hujwirī's organization being different from *ṭabaqāt* style.³¹ Traditionally, in Arabic textual tradition, in *ṭabaqāt* the biographical notes are arranged under a system of ranks, classes or generations, hence it is termed as *ṭabaqāt*, the plural of *ṭabaqa*, literally meaning level or stratum.³² However, Hujwirī does not group the biographies into ranks or generations. Furthermore, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* accommodates a diverse range of individuals, rather than focusing merely on most celebrated Sufis in a particular manner. In a nutshell, the text under study is unique in various ways as it connects the Arabic and Persian Sufi textual traditions.

Kashf al-Mahjūb combines features of more than one genres of Sufi literature, which makes it a hybrid text or a 'multi-generic' Sufi writing, as along with providing details on Sufi doctrines, it incorporates elaborate Sufi biographies in its second part. A 'hybrid' or a 'multi-generic' work refers to a text which combines two or more genres of literature, and thus may fall in more than one category. The issue of genre classification of medieval texts, many of which are hybrid, is quite complex. As far as contemporary genre classification models of literary texts are concerned, the medieval Sufi texts defy any neat categorization. In fact, the analysts need to have a "thorough comprehension of the processes of inter-textuality and intra-textuality of these works in order to classify them in one or the other category."³³

As pointed out above, a text cannot be studied and analyzed without reference to the time when it is produced, and its broader context. Regarding the genre classification of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, it is worth noting that one cannot overlook the spirit of the age in which it was composed. It was produced in an era when the development of Sufi literature was in its formative or nascent phase. Most of the genres had not yet been produced such as *Malfūzāt* (collection of the sayings of Ṣufi shaykhs or masters collected by their disciples), *Maktūbāt* (collection

of letters or correspondence) or *tadhkirah* (collection of life accounts or biographies of the Sufis), etc. Since the categories or genres pertaining to biographies are relevant here, it seems pertinent to briefly compare *ṭabaqāt* and *tadhkirah*. *Ṭabaqāt* is an umbrella term for any literature dealing with famous personalities divided in ranks or levels, whereas *tadhkirah* does not categorize the personalities in ranks or levels. This indicates a difference between *ṭabaqāt* and Sufi *tadhkirah* as the former is a broad category of Arabic literature dealing with the biographies of pious people, which may include jurists, theologians, military generals, as well as Sufis, while the latter deals primarily and more often exclusively with the biographies of the Sufis. *Tadhkirah* may be treated as a subcategory of *ṭabaqāt*, which later developed as an independent category of Sufi literature and was systematized by sufi scholars such as Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. circa 618/1221), the author of *Tadkirat al-awliyā*, which was composed in 1220. Literally, *tadhkirah* means memorial, commemoration and remembrance. As a genre of literature, it commemorates the lives of scholars, poets, and most importantly, Sufis. *Tadhkirah* is one genre of Muslim biographical writings besides *khawāṣṣ*, *ṭabaqāt*, *sīrah*, *manāqib* and others. A Sufi *tadhkirah* is an anecdotal collection of Sufi lives, sayings and their teachings. It is also known as ‘memorative communication,’³⁴ since it tries to commemorate the lives and times of renowned Sufis.

Tadhkirah writing tradition developed in the early thirteenth century. During the eleventh century, when Hujwiri lived, or even a century after him, *tadhkirah* had not yet been originated or developed. Probably, that is why Mojaddedi puts *Kashf al-Mahjūb* into *ṭabaqāt* category instead of *tadhkirah*. However, Mojaddedi's classification is also problematic. It is important to note that prior to *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the genre of *ṭabaqāt* was quite well-developed, and many scholars had produced *ṭabaqāt*, which included some renowned Sufis, who wrote the life accounts of notable Sufis. However, in these works, the life accounts of the sufis were organized according to their ranks, generations, or their authors adopted a chronological order. These include, among others, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as-Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyyā* [Generations of the Sufis] having one hundred and five entries of sufi notables,³⁵ and his *Dhikr an-niswā al-muta‘abbidat aṣ-ṣūfiyyāt*, [Early Sufi Women] consisting of the life accounts of eighty-two sufi women up till his own time.³⁶ The latter work is similar to the earlier one, though the latter focuses on female sufis exclusively. There is another work of *ṭabaqāt* genre titled *Ḥilyat al-awliyā wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā* [Adornment of the

Sufis and Generations of the Pure] authored by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd-Allah Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1039) which was comprised of six hundred and fifty biographical entries.³⁷ These works fall in the category of *ṭabaqāt*, and there were no *tadhkirahs* composed yet.

As for the *tadhkirah* writing tradition, the first well known *tadhkirah* was composed in 1220 titled *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* authored by Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār,³⁸ which presents seventy-two biographical notes on Sufis. Carl W. Ernst observes that Hujwiri’s work served as a model for writing *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*,³⁹ which is known as the first *tadhkirah* of Sufi literary history. This work was followed by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256-57) who authored *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ* in the early thirteenth century. However, *Siyar al-Awliyā’ dar aḥwāl va Malfūzāt-i Mashāyikh-i-Chisht*, [Biographies of the Sufis and the States and Conversations of the Chishtī Sufi Masters] by Amīr Khurd Kirmānī, composed in 1351, appears to be the first *tadhkirah* or a proto-*tadhkirah*⁴⁰ in South Asian history.

Furthermore, some biographical notes were found in didactic literature and geographical dictionaries, etc.⁴¹ Moreover, the biographical content in Sufi manuals produced before *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* either did not exist, or was very limited in content. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Aṭiyya b. Ḥārithī al-Makkī’s (d. 386/996) *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Mu‘amalāt al-Maḥbūb wa Waṣf Ṭarīq al-Murīd ila Maqām al-Tawḥīd* [The Nourishment of Hearts in Dealing with the Beloved and the Description of the Seeker’s Way to the Station of Declaring Oneness] was probably the first sufi manual that does not incorporate any Sufi biographies.⁴² *Kitāb al-Lumā’ fī l-Taṣawwuf* [The Book of Sparkling Lights in Sufism] by Abū Naṣr ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Alī al-Ṣarrāj al-Ṭūsī (d. 988/1370) adds biographical content in chapters from fifty-six to sixty-two, on the mannerism of the Companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) ‘as a pattern of the Sufi life.’ It does not offer any Sufi biographies *per se*. There is another renowned work of the same kind titled *Kitāb al-Ta‘arruf li Madhab ahl-Taṣawwuf* [The Doctrine of the Sufis] by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Bukhārī al-Kalabādhī (d. 380/990) which offers a one page ‘list of the famous men among the sufis.’ This list only indicates the names of around forty Sufis but does not offer any biographical details.⁴³

Keeping in view the above discussion, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* seems to occupy a unique position based on its biographical content which is added differently to it as compared to the earlier works. As pointed out earlier, the biographical content comprises one-third of the text, while the remaining two-thirds deal with the Sufi doctrines and practices. In a nutshell, primarily

speaking, *Kashf al-Mahjub* is a Sufi manual, but the arrangement, structure and organization of its biographical content is different from a usual Sufi manual. Noteworthy to mention is that these biographical entries are also different from the *ṭabaqāt* genre. As stated above, these are neither arranged in ranks, nor grouped into generations. Thus, the text under study forms a unique type of Sufi literature which does not fully or strictly fall into the category of a Sufi manual or a *ṭabaqāt* owing to its biographical content. In other words, it cannot be treated exclusively as a Sufi manual or a *ṭabaqāt* owing to its rich content combining Sufi doctrines, practices along with the biographical material. In this manner, it is more than a Sufi manual. Moreover, it also does not fall into *tadhkirah* category but it can be regarded as a 'prototype' of *tadhkirah* genre, or a proto-*tadhkirah* since it served as a model for the first *tadhkirah* of Sufi literary history, i.e. *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* by 'Aṭṭār. *Kashf al-Mahjub* provided a base for the genre of *tadhkirah* to develop later on.

Notes and References

1. No one is sure about his date of death. Reynold A. Nicholson in his preface of the translation of *Kashf al-mahjūb* states it as either 1063 or 1071/72. 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Mahjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism*, Eng. Tr. Reynold A. Nicholson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1911), XVIII. [Nicholson used the Lahore edition, and compared it with MSS in the India Office and British Museum.] However, Karamustafa is sure and gives the date of death as between 1073-1077. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 84.
2. C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern India, 994-1040* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1992; first pub. 1963), 177. See also Javed Majid, *Shaykh Hujwiri aur Kashf al-Mahjūb: aik Taḥqīqī Muṭāl'a* (Lahore: Idarāh-i Thaqāfat-i Islamiyyah, 2016), 16-27. There is another recent work done by Tehseen Firaqi on comparison of the Persian text of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* and the English translation of Nicholson, while admiring Nicholson, he sometimes does not agree with his translation. Tehsīn Firāqī, *Nukāt: Tanqīdī Maqāmīn* (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqī-i Adab, 2019).
3. K. A. Nizami, *Historical Role of Three Auliya of South Asia*, ed. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi (Karachi: University of Karachi, 198, 10-11. The work, published as Dr. I H. Qureshi Memorial Lecture Series No. 2, contains three lectures by Prof. Nizami. The first lecture deals with the spiritual revolution brought by Saiyyid 'Alī Hujwiri, pp. 3-36.
4. Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Abī 'Alī 'Uthmān Jullābī Hujwiri Ghaznavī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (Lahore: Saman Publications, Khānā-i' Farhang Jamhūrī Islāmī Irān, 1384 Solar Year), p. 72.

5. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 72.
6. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 67.
7. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 405, 491.
8. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 378.
9. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 379.
10. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 2, 104.
11. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 499.
12. Al-Hujwirī, *Revelation of the Mystery: Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, Eng. Tr. R. A. Nicholson (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2005), see Foreword by Carl W. Ernst, viii.
13. Norman Calder, Jawid Ahmad Mojaddedi, and Andrew Rippin, *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge 2013), p. 248.
14. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns min Ḥaḍrāt al-Quds*, ed., M. ‘Abidī (Tehran, 1992), p. 321.
15. *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, Eng. Tr. R.A. Nicholson, see Foreword by Carl W. Ernst, viii-ix.
16. There are numerous editions and translations of *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* available in present times. Its editions have been published since the 1903 Lahore edition. Reynold A. Nicholson translated *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* in English in 1911, and used the Lahore edition for its translation. (Nicholson, Eng. Tr., xv-xvi). The influence of Nicholson’s translation on India should also be noted. In 1997, a Chishtī Sufī Wāḥid Bakhsh Siyāl Rabbānī translated it again in English. In addition to South Asia, the Persian text is also published from other parts of the world as well, like Tashkent in 1912, Tehran in 1948 as the reprint of 1926 St. Petersburg edition prepared by Valentin Zhukovskī. This has been reprinted several times already; the reprint of 1979 includes a detailed introduction by Qāsim Anṣārī. *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* is translated into numerous languages most importantly into Arabic by Is’ād ‘Abd al-Hādī Qandīl. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, ed. & Arabic Tr., s’ād ‘Abd al-Hādī Qandīl (Beirut: Dār al-Nahda al-‘Arabiyya, 1980).
17. Jawid Mojaddedi, “*Kashf al-Maḥjūb* of Hujwirī,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XV, Fasc. 6 (2011), pp. 664-66.
18. For details, see Jawid Mojaddedi, “Extending the Boundaries of Sufism: Hujwirī’s *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*,” *Sufi: A Journal of Sufism*, Vol. 35 (1997), pp. 45-49.
19. *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, Eng. Tr. Nicholson, 108 n2, 114 n1, p. 338.
20. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 257-386.
21. Jawid Mojaddedi, “Getting Drunk with Abu Yazid or Staying Sober with Junayd: The Creation of a Popular Typology of Sufism,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (2003): pp. 1-13.
22. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 183.
23. Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 194, 334.
24. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, p. 99.
25. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, pp. 99-103.
26. *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, Eng. Tr. Nicholson, see Foreword by Ernst, ix.
27. Nile Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia: Between Texts, Territories and the Transcendent,” *South Asia Research*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2004), 125; Karamustafa, *Sufism*, p. 99.
28. Carl W. Ernst, “Mystic Language and Early Lexicons of Sufism,” in *Mysticism*

- and Language, ed., Steven T. Katz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 182-83.
29. Jawid Ahmad Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism: The Ṭabaqaāt Genre from Al-Sulamī to Jāmī* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001).
 30. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*, 133. See also Gerhard Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'anic Hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl At-Tustari (d. 283/896)*, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), pp. 31-34.
 31. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*, pp. 129-30.
 32. Marcia K. Hermansen, "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Islamic Biographical Material," *Religion* (1988) vol. 18, pp. 163-82.
 33. Tanvir Anjum and Adeela Ghazanfar, "Hybrid Sufi Texts, and the Problem of Genre Classification: A Study of Amīr Khurd Kirmānī's *Siyar al-auliya'*," *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 3-4 (2018), p. 175.
 34. Marcia K. Hermansen and Bruce B. Lawrence, "Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications" in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, eds., David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 149-75.
 35. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān as-Sulamī, *Early Sufi Women: Dhikr an-Niswa al-Muta'abbidāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyāt*, Eng. Tr. Rkia Elaroui Cornell (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2005), p. 39.
 36. For an understanding of its genre, see as-Sulamī, *Early Sufi Women*, pp. 47-48.
 37. as-Sulamī, *Early Sufi Women*, 40. See also, Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*, 42.
 38. Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār Nīshāpurī, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*, ed. Muḥammad Isti'lāmī, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Zavvr, 1991).
 39. *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, Eng. Tr. Nicholson, see Foreword by Ernst, viii.
 40. Anjum and Ghazanfar, "Hybrid Sufi Texts and the Problem of Genre Classification: A Study of Amīr Khurd Kirmānī's *Siyar al-Auliya'*," pp. 171-85.
 41. For various genres, characteristics and functions of Muslim biographical writings, see Hermansen, "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Islamic Biographical Material," p. 165.
 42. M. A. M. Shukri, "Abū Ṭālīb al-Makkī and His Qūt al-Qulūb," *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (1989): pp. 161-70.
 43. Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfī: Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-Madhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf*, Eng. Tr. A. J. Arberry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 12.