Saiyid Ashraf was one of the most famous chishti saints of India. The Ashrafi branch of chishti order had been established in different parts of the country in his own days. Old documents show that nobles and governors of the Mughal period had great regard for Ashrafi sufiis. In the 20th century, this 'silsila' was revived and propagated by Saiyid 'Ali Husain Ashrafi. Even today the followers of 'Ali Husain are spread all over India and Pakistan. The tomb of Saiyid Ashraf is visited by thousands of Hindus and Muslims every year. Several books have been written on his life. His discourses, 'The Latif-i-Ashrafi' has been printed twice. But in spite of this, his real personality remains obscure. It is mainly due to the interpolations in his own writings and in the writings of the compiler of his discourses. Moreover the information about his life that we find in 'Tazkiras' is furnished from these writings without any critical judgment.

His biographers have not only tried to show him as a superhuman figure, but they have also accepted all the myths and legends made in the Latif as unchallengable facts.

It is, a general notion that Saiyid Ashraf was a great king of a great empire as well as a great warrior and victorious, that Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula SemnanI was the minister of his father and that the date of the death of Saiyid Ashraf is 808 A.H. According to some writers, he was a contemporary of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. Thus many wrong notions have been prevalent about him.
In this introduction an attempt has been made to remove the wrong notions about the personality of Saiyid Ashraf and to give a brief life-sketch of the Saiyid based on historical facts which would present the saint not as a supernatural being, but a spiritual man who lived in this material world.

For this, the first but the most difficult task is to make a critical investigation of the source-material. The source-material of the life of Saiyid Ashraf is not only mixed with apocryphal writings, but it has been also left so far unexamined and unsifted, with the result that the crusts of legends and fictions have been growing around his personality and making it as blurred as possible.

The sources of the life of the Saiyid, so far as their nature is concerned, can be divided into three categories:

1. His own writings and discourses and the writings of his disciples.
2. The memoirs of Ṣūfīs.
3. Miscellaneous books in which some references have been made about him.

1. His own writings and discourses and the writings of his disciples.

This sort of writings consists of:

(1) Latūf-ī-Ashrafi:

It is the compilation of his discourses, but not free from interpolations, and no MS. written before 11th century A.H. could be discovered.
His letters were compiled in two parts, the first part by Niẓām Qarīb Yamanī which is not available and the other by Nūr-ūl-ʿAin, which is available and is called as the 'Maktūbāt-i Ashrafi'. These letters are of great significance and bear testimony to his personality as a man of great learning and knowledge and as a saint of high order. It was compiled in 869 A.H.

It is a supplement to the Maktūbāt-i Ashrafi. It was written by Nūr-ūl-ʿAin, the compiler of the Maktūbāt-i Ashrafi. It is, in fact, the only source through which we come to know about the early life of Saiyid Ashraf, his education and the history of Semnan. With reference to different famous historical books, the brief history of all royal dynasties of Iran has been traced in this supplement to M.A. While writing the history of Semnan, the reference has been made to Tārīkh-i Ibrāhīmī, written by Shaikh ʿAlā-ud-Daula Semnāni. It is now

1. The first part of his letters compiled by Niẓām Yamanī has been mentioned by Nūr-ūl-ʿAin in the preface of the present Maktūbāt-i Ashrafi.

2. In the preface of the Maktūbāt-i Ashrafi, this date has been alluded in a Qīta:
not available. Not only the history of Semnan as described in this Supplement lacks external evidence but there are also glaring mistakes in dates mentioned therein.

(4) Tambīh-ul-ikhwān:
(5) Irshād-ul-ikhwān:

Both these books were written by Saiyid Ashraf for his disciple and Khalīfa, Saif Khan. These books throw some light on his mystical thoughts and on some aspects of his life, and support some statements of the Lataif-i-Ashrafī. The MSS. of these books are preserved in the library of the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

2. The Memoirs of Sufis

There are a number of the books of 'Tazkira' in which Saiyid Ashraf has been mentioned, but they are not, so far as the personality of Saiyid Ashraf is concerned, of much value. Firstly because none of them is found to be written before 11th century, secondly because their writers have totally depended on the Lataif-i-Ashrafī and the Maktubat-i-Ashrafī without making any critical analysis of the contents of these books. A list of some such books, have been quoted at their appropriate places in this preface, however, is given below:-

(1) Akhbar-ul-Akhyār:

It was written by 'Abd-ul-Haqq Muḥaddīs Dehlawi (Ob.1641 A.D.). It is in a printed form.
(2) Mir'atul-Asrar:

It was written by 'Abdur-Raḥmān Chishti in 1095 A.H. An MS. of this book is preserved in the Maulānā 'Alād Library 'Aligarh Muslim University, 'Aligarh.

(3) Gulzar-i-Abrar-i-Ghausi:

It was compiled by Muḥammad Ghaus Ṣhaṭṭārī between 1014-1022 A.H.

(4) Ṭabaqāt-i-Shahjahānī:

It was compiled by Muḥammad Sādiq during the period of Shah Jahn.

(5) Maʿārijul-Walāyat:

Compiled by Ghulām Muʿīn-ud-Dīn 'Abdullāh in 1094 A.H.

(6) Muʿīn-ul-Auliya:

Compiled by Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Dy. S.P. Ajmer in 1290 A.H.

(7) Khażīnatul-Asfīya:

Compiled by Ghulām Sarwar Lahorī in 1280 A.H.

(8) Sharaif-i-Ashrafiya:

Compiled by Saiyid 'Alī Naqī Ashrafi in 1313 A.H.

Besides these books of 'Ṭażkira-i-Ṣūfīya' several books have been written on his life during the past half a century, but since they do not reveal, in the least, the real personality of Saiyid Ashraf, it is useless to mention them here.
These are the verse-books composed by Malik Muhammad Jäisi. These verses do not have any historical description of Saiyid Ashraf. There have been made only some references to him in these verse-books. They are important in that, that they are the only source which presents such an external evidence as is the oldest and most reliable. But some writers have been misled by these verses of Jäisi in determining the time of Saiyid Ashraf, and they have wrongly concluded that Saiyid Ashraf was a contemporary of Malik Jäisi. Therefore here it is apropos to discuss it in detail.

In Padmāvat, Akhrāwat and 'Akhiri Kalam, Jäisi has mentioned Saiyid Ashraf with great love and faith. He has also paid his tribute to some reputed saints of the descendants of his first Sajjāda Nashīn, 'Abdur-Razzaq Nur-ul-'Ain. He has mentioned the names of some Sūfis belonging to Manikpur. He has named Shaikh Mujīyud-Dīn as his "Guru" (Master), and Saiyid Ashraf as his "Pir" (spiritual guide). For this reason some writers have considered Saiyid Ashraf as contemporary of Malik Jäisi. To elaborate the fact, the relevant verses of Jäisi with translation

1. For example see "आधुनिक शायदीवानी " (p. 10) edited by Ram Chandra Shukla, and "गद्दानवल्क खान भाष्य " (p. 10) illustrated by Prof. Kunshi Ram Som.
are quoted here. The verses of Padmāvat are as follows:

Translation: (18): Saiyid Ashraf is my beloved master who showed me the straight and bright path (of spiritualism) and who enlightened my heart with the candle of Divine love, and the darkness of my path was dispelled. He washed away my sins in the sea and saved me by taking me in his boat and by making me his disciple. I was being drowned and he caught me by the hand and then I was able to cross the sea of life. One who has a shipmaster like Ashraf can soon and easily cross the sea of lustful desires. Saiyid Ashraf always lends a hand to me in difficulties. It is he who seeing me drowned in the sea of sins helped me.

Saiyid Ashraf Jahanār Chisti's deeds are bright like the moon. He is the master of the world and I am a servant of his house.
In the house of the master Ashraf, a jewel-like son, adorned with all good qualities, was born. His name was Shaikh Haji. To show the true path to the world, God created the two bright candles in the house of Shaikh Haji. One of them is Shaikh Mubarak who is full of light like the moon and the other was Shaikh Kamal who was the brightest one in the world. Both are fixed at their places like the pole-star and are loftier than the Sumeru and the Kishkingha mountains. God has adorned them with handsomeness and brightness of character and to sustain the world they have been created like fixed poles. Due to them the world is sustained. One who once touched their feet was abolutioned.

Jaisi says that the disciples who get good (spiritual) master, advance carelessly on the path of religion. One who has such a vessel (master) will soon cross the sea of this world.

In the Akhrawat also, he has mentioned Muhyiud-Din as his "Guru" (master) and Saiyid Ashraf as his "Pir" (spiritual guide) in the following stanzas:

In the Jakhri Kalam, Malik Jaisi has paid a tribute to Saiyid Ashraf only:

Jaisi has mentioned in the 19th stanza of Padmawat some persons
of Ashraf family, i.e. Shaikh Haji, Shaikh Mubarak and Shaikh Kamal. Saiyid Ashraf had himself been to Jais. Saiyid Ashraf himself had sent Saiyid Haji Ahmad, the son of 'Abdur-Razzaq to Jais to settle and preach there. Even today, Jais is inhabited by the descendants of Haji Ahmad. The name of the only son of Haji Ahmad was Saiyid Haji, eulogized in the verses of Malik Jaisi, who latter on, was known as Haji Qattal. Haji Ahmad died in 906 A.H. and the worthy grandson of Haji Qattal, Shaikh Mubarak died in 974 A.H. Jaisi was born in 900 A.H. and he was contemporary of Shaikh Mubarak, the grandson of Haji Qattal.

All the three works of Jaisi were written since the time of Babar upto the time of Sherghah, while Saiyid Ashraf was in the times of Kiroz Tughlaq, Muhmud Tughlaq and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, some hundred years before Malik Jaisi.

In the light of the above mentioned facts, it is clear that Jaisi and Saiyid Ashraf were not contemporaries, that the descendants of his first Sajjada Nashin settled in Jais and some of them were the saints of good repute and that Jaisi had

1. Lataif-i-Ashraf, Chapter 15 under the title "The Memoirs of Saiyid Ashraf’s disciples."
2. Lataif-i-Ashraf, Chapter 60.
3. Sharafi-i-Ashrafis
4. Sharafi-i-Ashrafis
5. Jaisi himself says: भा अवतार मार भी स्वदेशि
   तीस अर्ल सुपर को ध्वंसि
   (Padmavat)
   i.e. "I was born in 900 (A.H.) and began to compose poetry at the age of 30."

6. See "पदमवत्तक अनुसार भा" illustrated by Prof. Munshi Ram Sharma Som M.A.
great love for the Ashraf family, but actually he was a disciple of Muhīyūd-Dīn who belonged to Manikpur branch of Chishtī order.

Malik Jāisi mentions Saiyid Ashraf because he was the greatest saint and founder of Ashrafi branch of Chishtī order, and he might have been the greatest source of Jāisi's spiritual inspiration. He names Shāikh Ḥājī because he was the first Ṣūfī who established the Ashrafi branch in Jāis.

Malik Jāisi, in his fervour of love, has praised Saiyid Ashraf with great exaggeration, yet the glorious personality of the Saiyid as reflected in these verses is not an illusion. These verses do give us the glimpse of the real figure.
2. **THE DATES OF HIS BIRTH AND DEATH**

In the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, the date of his birth is not given. But the date of his death varies in various copies of the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* and in the books of *Tagkira* as well. There are four dates mentioned in these books: 792 A.H., 798 A.H., 808 A.H., and 840 A.H. All his biographers of the present century agree to the opinion that the date of his death is 808 A.H. 2

But neither 792 A.H. nor 798 A.H. can be the date of his death for the following reasons:

The battle between Mulla Khan and Timur has been mentioned in both, the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* and the *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, and this battle took place in 801 A.H. 3 For example:

   - *L.A. MS. Sup.* Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., 792 A.H. in figure, but 798 A.H. in words
   - *L.A. MS. Lytton* No. 30: 798 A.H.
   - Printed copies of the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*: 798 A.H.
   - *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* MS, owned by Maulavi Sayid Qadir Ahmad Kichrawichian: 808 A.H.
   - *Makhtul-Ashrār*: 808 A.H.
   - *Akhbār-ul-Akhvār*: 808 A.H.
   - *Tabaqāt-i-Shah Jahān*: 840 A.H.

2. See *Zafar Nāma* (p. 130), *Zafar Nāma-i-Ashrafiya* (p. 10), *Preface to the Sirat-ul-Ashraf* (p. 38) etc.

(i) He writes to Saif Khan:

"حق تعالی جنگ صاحبچان را ظفر پخشید و کارولخان بهمیت اجسید بزرگ
از اگر ولایت و بآر حمایت خوش میگشت هر خبر و ظرف که مسبیده ختیح
هندستان از هست رجال الفهیب و نهتم عمال الفهیب پرست آنده."

(ii) In a letter written to Sultan Ibrahim, he has given a reference to the letter written by Shaikh Nur Bengali and has quoted his 21 verses in which the victory of Timur over Delhi has also been mentioned. Of these, two couplets are quoted here:

 جدا صاحبچان از تنوی دین
فرود سنت دهلی میرمیور
دوسم امری که دیده نسبت
پیم برود جود هل شهر میرمیور

(iii) In the letter written to Shaikh Husain, he gives a reference to the victory of Timur over Delhi:

"سلطان السلاطین ابراهیم جنوری ازین نظر انتساب کرده که حضرت قطب الولایت
شیخ نور بنگال این بنامه کرده که ولایت بنگال از زمین خدیب چنین خلقت که امراء
سلطان السلاطین و برخوان الحوائج شمع الدین تنتم بود ونگت بنگال اردست
وی شده دویست سال باشد که آخرین عرصه اسلام پدر کر نذر آورد سکردابین
در پی در جواب گفت زیاد مسادات و خیابانه امراء که سلاطین نامدار ها و خواین
علیبدیار از عصر خود در امانت عظیما و حمایت سمن دیدگان قرب کنید قبلا که
صاحبچان و مالکه کبیر که امر تیمور کورگان دیوان اسلام دیوان رازه اند که
تحلون و کوشان در امر دیوی شنیده بودند آنده به نظر قاروی تاخنده."

1. Maktubat-i-Ashrafii, letter No. 42.
4. The writer of Riyāṣa-e-Salāṭin writes:

"بلکه اختیار الدین حبد پیتیار الولین کسی است از اول اسلام که در باناة
بنگال حکومت کر گردی در سال ۵۹۹ هجری جمه سلطان قطب الالین بعد فتح فارس
کالجور شهر میروی که پایهی نخت کاپی بود رفته متروک شد.
(ریاض السلاطین صفحه ۱۲)"
Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne in 804 A.H. It means that Saiyid Ashraf was alive after 804 A.H. This view is further supported by the following evidences:

(i) In the letter written to Ibrāhīm Shah, Saiyid Ashraf has addressed him with the appellation of Sultan al-salṭānīn (King of kings).

(ii) In the letter No. 24 written to Ibrāhīm Shah, his words clearly imply that this letter was written after Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne.

It has already been said that in some copies of the Laṭīf-i-Ashrafī and in some other books also, the date of his death has been given 808 A.H., and his biographers of the present century also are agreed with this view. But this date also cannot be correct for the following reasons:

1. There is a letter written to Hushang Khan Ghaurī, the king of Malwa, which was written in reply to the king's letter on the occasion of his accession to the throne.

According to the Tabāqāt-i-Akbarī (Vol.III p. 289), Hushang sat on the throne in 809 A.H., and according to the

Firishta (Vol. II p. 462) in 808 A.H. In the *catalogue of Persian MSS.* in the British Museum compiled by C. Charles Rieu Vol. I p. 412, the date of his accession has been given 810 A.H. This seems to be more correct, because, after the death of his father, the Dilawar Khan Ghauri (who, according to *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Vol. III, p. 289, died in 809 A.H., and according to *Firishta* Vol. II in 808 A.H.), Hushang was captured and imprisoned by Muzaffar Shah Gujrati and was released in 810 A.H., after which he occupied Mandu, the capital of Malwa, and celebrated his installation ceremony. But even if it is accepted that Hushang occupied the throne in 808 A.H. and that Saiyid Ashraf also died the same year, the above mentioned letter could not be written the same year, because, according to the remarks in all the books (the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* as well as the other books on his life), he died on 28th Muharram and after 24th Muharram he was continuously unconscious, and there is no reason to differ from it.

Within two or three weeks, the reaching of a letter from Mandu to Kichranebba and its reply from this village to Mandu do not seem possible in those days, or it will have to be admitted that Hushang had become a king before 808 A.H. which is against all records. Then this letter was undoubtedly written after 808 A.H.; that is, Saiyid Ashraf was alive after 808 A.H.

(2) In the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* and the *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* both, Saiyid Ashraf has mentioned his journey to Gulbarga

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his stay in the Khanqah of Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. In his letter written to Saiyid Hamid-ud-Din, he writes:

"I have been a student of Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. He frequently visited the Khanqah of Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz in Deccan. In his letter written to Saiyid Hamid-ud-Din, he writes:

From the above statement, we can derive the following conclusions:

(a) His first travel to Deccan commenced when Hazrat Gesu Daraz had settled in Gulbarga, i.e. after 804 A.H.

(b) At that time Gesu Daraz had completed his book on "Siyar-un-Nabi" which was written after 810 A.H. Therefore his

1. Maktubat-i-Asrab, letter No. 32.
2. F.22); this book is one of the two most authentic books on Gesu Daraz, the other is "Siyar-i-Muhammadi," therefore the remark of Bazm-i-Sufya (p.454) that Gesu Daraz reached Gulbarga in 801 A.H., and the remark of Rauzatul-Auliyâ that he reached Gulbarga in 815 A.H. both are incorrect.
3. The oldest book on Gesu Daraz, "Siyar-i-Muhammadi" whose writer was himself in companionship with him during his journey to Gulbarga (see Siyar-i-Muhammadi F.27) contains the following statement:

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first journey to Deccan must have taken place after 810 A.H.

(c) In connection with the second journey to Deccan no allusion has been made to Gesū Dārzā, but his grandsons, Shāh Yadullāh and Shāh Saiyidullāh have been mentioned. Gesū Dārzā died in 825 A.H. Therefore it lends a strong possibility to the view that the second time he would have travelled to Gulbarga after 825 A.H.

(3) In the Lataf-i-Ashrafī the date of the death of Gesū Dārzā has been given 825 A.H. It means that Saiyid Ashraf was alive after 825 A.H.

(4) His three letters were written during the period of Kans, the ruler of Bengal. He wrote a letter to Ibrāhīm Shāh to persuade him to attack Bengal. In his letter to Shāikh Nur Bengali, he asked him to bear Kans' tyranny patiently informing him that he had instigated Ibrāhīm Shāh to invade Bengal. In the letter written to Shāikh Husain, he has condoled the murder of his two sons and has prophesied that the tyranny of Kans would come to an end.

Kans usurped the throne in 817 A.H., but hearing the news of the arrival of Ibrahim's army to invade Bengal, he desecrated the throne and declared his renegade son Jalālud-Dīn as the king.

1. The words of the Lataf-i-Ashrafī (Vol. I, p.367) are as follows: "وانات پیرو چند روز شنیده که وی نیک سی جم هم مارس کرد، جم هم انداز، ورامین" 2. Maktubāt-i-Ashrafī, letter No. 45.
of Bengal. But when on the recommendation of Shaikh Nur, Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur, Kans again occupied the throne. In 821 A.H., Jalal-ud-Din rebelled against him and succeeded in occupying the throne and he reigned till 837 A.H. Therefore the letters describing Kans' tyranny must have been written between 817 A.H. and 821 A.H. Before the probable date of his death, it would be advisable to determine the date of his birth.

According to the Latif-i-Ashrafi, Saiyid Ashraf completed his formal education at the early age of fourteen. Then, from five to six years, he practised the teachings of Khwaja. At the age of twenty, he left Sehnan for Bengal. It is worthwhile to quote it in original:

But Nurul-'Ain writes that Saiyid Ashraf, after the death of his father, was crowned at the age of fifteen years and having reigned twelve years he abdicated the throne. According to this

1. For the chronology of the rulers of Bengal see "Islamic Culture" Vol. XXXII No. 2 p. 135-207 under the title "Some New Data Regarding the Pre-Mughal Muslim Rulers of Bengal" by Z. Desai; and "The House of Ganesh" by A.J. Dalal and "History of Bengal" Vol. II p. 116-129 by J.N. Sarkar.
4. The words of 'Abdur-Razzaq are as follows:

Suppe Haktot-l-i-Ashrafi, Sub. F.160.
statement he would have been 27 years old at the time of leaving Semnan.

While he was leaving Semnan, Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula was alive. The latter died in 736 A.H. Therefore Saiyid Ashraf would have left Semnan before 736 A.H. At this time his age was twenty years or twenty seven years. Now we can conclude that he would have been born in (736-20) 716 A.H. or in (736-27) 709 A.H.

Nizam Gharib Yamani writes that Nūrul-'Ain, after the death of Saiyid Ashraf, became his vicegerent and remained his Sajjāda Nashīn for the rest of his life, i.e. forty years; and Nūrul-'Ain writes that he compiled Saiyid Ashraf's letter in 869 A.H. If we add 40 to 829, we get 869 that is, the date of his death must not preceded 829 A.H.

From the present evidences what we can infer is this that he would have been born in 709 A.H. or in 716 A.H. and would have died round about 829 A.H.

4. Preface to the *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*
3. HIS NATIVE LAND & EARLY LIFE

We have no historical evidence about the early life of Saiyid Ashraf and his ancestors. That his father was a ruler of Semnan, he himself inherited his ancestral throne, met the king Timur, lived in company of so many saints of India and Islamic world, was in contact with several kings and nobles of India and travelled abroad, are known not only from the Lataif-i-Ashrafi and supplement to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi, but his letters\(^1\) also inform us about these things, which are no less reliable than any book of history dealing with any period.

Some chapters of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi\(^2\) have been devoted to the descriptions related to his life, but their contents are not all genuine and authentic.

Supplement to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi being so far unsupported by any literary, numismatic or epigraphic evidence bears no historical significance. But after a critical analysis of these sources we can reach some probable conclusions, which, in the absence of any external support, cannot be totally rejected, but, on the contrary, they provide a new field for historical researches.

A brief account of his native land and early life, therefore, based on the above-mentioned sources and critically judged, is given here.

Saiyid Ashraf belonged to a royal dynasty of Semnan which ruled from the time of the second Samanid king, Ahmad bin Ismail.

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1. Maktubat-i-Ashrafi, letters Nos. 45,32,28,23,2 etc.
2. Chapters Nos. 22,23,36,55,56,57,58,60.
(d. 301 A.H.) till his time. In the supp. Maktubat-ı-Ashraki, the history of Samân from its existence till the time of Saiyid Ashraf is given thus:-

"When there occurred a dispute between Ismai'îl Samânîd (d. 296 A.H.) and his brother Mahmûd for the throne of Buhîrâ, the nobles of Ismai'îl's court counselled him to have a treaty with Mahmûd as his army was not strong enough to compete with Mahmûd's strength. His minister Nizamud-Dîn Barmaqî advised him to gain the invocation of Mahmûd Nur Bâshî who was an eminent saint of the age. On this advice, Ismai'îl approached the saint and expressed his desire. The saint invoked God for his success, and at last Ismai'îl came out victorious in the battle against his brother.

After Ismai'îl's death, his son Ahmad ascended the throne. He appointed Tajud-Dîn Bahdol Nur Bâshî, the son of the saint Mahmoud Nur Bâshî, his minister. After three years of his reign, he granted some portions of 'Iraq and Khurasân to Taj-ud-Dîn Bahdol on feudal tenure. But after the death of Ahmad bin Ismai'îl, Taj-ud-Dîn declared his independence and inserted his name in coins and in the harangues of fridays. He cultivated friendly relations with the 'Abbaside Caliph al-Raghi-Billah and he visited Baghdad twice. Nasr bin Ahmad (d. 331 A.H.) wanted to extirpate his state but could not dare for fear of the 'Abbaside Caliph.

After fifty years' reign of Taj-ud-Dîn, his son Zahirud-Dîn sat on the throne. He expanded the frontiers of his state and made Qazvin his capital. Khwaja Asîruddîn was appointed his

1. In the Zain-ul-Akhbar, the name of Ismai'îl's brothers has been given Nasr and according to it this battle took place in 275 A.H.
minister. The book Gharaib-ul-Maklulqat (now defunct) is attributed to him. He died in 400 A.H.

Then Nizam-ud-Din Ali Shir sat on the throne and appointed Khwaja Sharaif-ud-Din Barmaki his minister. He had good terms with Masud bin Mahmud Guarna. The prince Imad-ud-Din bin Nizam-ud-Din accompanied Masud in his invasion of India, but hearing the news of his father's illness he turned back to Iraq and in 550 A.H. inherited the state, gave the ministership to Majd-ud-Din Barmaki, and after five years' reign took his last breath.

After his death, in 557 A.H. Ibrahim Shah ascended the throne. Alauddaula Barmaki became his minister. He paid special attention to learning and education. Several books were dedicated to him. About Sahib-ul-Murad, a book (now defunct) written by Majd-ud-Din Barmaki, Semnani, the writer of the Supplement, Maktubat-i-Ashraf, gives his own opinion.

After his death, in 557 A.H. Ibrahim Shah ascended the throne.

1. In the Lataif-ul-Ashrafi, Vol.II, p.114, it has been exaggerated to an incredible extent. Its words are as follows:  

Ibrahim had been cherishing for eight years the desire of having a son, for he had only two or three daughters. At last in a dream the prophet blessed him with the birth of two sons and asked him to name the first son Ashraf and the second one 'A'raf Muhammed (أشرف محمد) and told that Ashraf would be the owner of both the material as well as the spiritual kingdom.

In 595 A.H, Sultan Ibrahim died, and Ashraf was crowned as a king. After twelve years' reign, according to the instructions of Khwaja Khizir, he abdicated the throne and left for India in search of a spiritual guide.

In the *Jahâf-i-Ashraf*, Chapter 4, a battle between Saiyid Ashraf and Mongols is also mentioned in a very exaggerated manner, in which, it is told, fifty thousands Mongols were killed and captured.

After a perusal of the above statements the following points can easily be understood by a student of Persian history:

1. All the dates mentioned in this statement are patently wrong.
2. The status of the kingdom of Saman as stated by 'Abdur-Razzaq himself, was not more than a gift presented by Ahmad bin Ismâ'il Samânîd on feudal tenure as a symbol of gratitude to the son of Mahmud Nur Bakhshî.
3. After Ahmad Samânîd, there might have been annexed some territories to the kingdom, but if it existed in the Ghâznavide or Seljûq period, its status would not have been more than a nominal feudal state unable to attract the greedy imperial eyes; and after the invasion of Chingiz and Hulagu, its existence is even more incredible. In one of his letters, Saiyid Ashraf himself refers to the invasion of Chingiz and Hulagu in which all the land of Iran
and Khurāsān came under the occupation of Mongols. He writes:

(4) In the Ḩulāl period, had it existed, its status would have been quite insignificant.

(5) At that time there was a strong central government of ʿIlkhāns firmly established in Iran, and in comparison to this kingdom, Semnan could not have any importance. In this condition, the statement of the Latāfī-i-Ashrafī that there occurred a battle\(^{2}\) between Saiyid Ashraf and Mongols in which fifty thousand Mongols were killed and captured does not seem to be wholly correct. Saiyid Ashraf himself refers to a battle held between him and Mongols in which he was defeated. He writes:

The battle was too insignificant to attract the attention of historians and may be that it would have been even unknown to the people of the country beyond Semnan. But it was too much to inflict a severe blow to a tiny kingdom like Semnan. In this battle, only a few Nūr Bakhshī Saiyids were left alive. Saiyid Ashraf himself

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2. Latāfī-i-Ashrafī, Chapter 4.
was, with a great difficulty, able to escape from the battlefield and to take shelter in Semnan. Apparently, it was not a battle against the powerful Ilkhani king, otherwise Semnan would have certainly annexed to Ilkhani kingdom and there was no chance for the Saiyid's younger brother to rule over Semnan. Moreover the silence on the part of historians like Hamdullah Mustawfi and Hafiz Abrū on this point lends support to our view.

When Saiyid Ashraf attained the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days, the ceremony of his "Abjad" was performed with great pomp and show. Maulana 'Imad-ud-Din Tabrizī taught him first. Within a year, he learnt by heart the holy Qur'an and at the age of 14, he completed his formal education.¹

When he was fifteen years old, his father died and he inherited his ancestral throne and inserted his name into coins and friday-sermons. Two anecdotes showing his justice and sharp-mindedness have been mentioned in the Lata'if-i-Ashrafi with reference to some books written by Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula Semnāni.²

From the beginning his mind was occupied with saintly thoughts and his heart was inclined towards mystic life. In the beginning, he tried to satisfy his spiritual thirst in company of Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula Semnāni, but he was discontented with the life of aristocracy. His stirring days were to come to an end after a catastrophic tragedy. While he was living a life of mental ennui and spiritual malaise, he happened to meet with a battle which all of a sudden turned his course of life. The battle and his defeat added fuel to the fire and he was ready to renounce the throne, but did not know where to go. Meanwhile he was directed by Khwāja Khizir to leave the throne and reach Bengal and purify

his soul under the spiritual training of Shaikh 'Ala-ol-Haqq Bengali. He did accordingly and set out on his journey.

Some historians have remarked that having travelled far and wide and having obtained gnosis, he arrived in Bengal and became a devotee to Shaikh 'Ala-ol-Haqq.

'Abdul Haqq Muhaqqiq Dehlavi writes:

"Dr. Salehath ba aibar Saeed Ul Huda dei soor e te biafis bai nisab Haddistan anfand oor Hulle Aaradat Shikh ala al haqq dead ar aar e bish aaradat nisabul ala".

The compiler of Gulzar-i-Abrari-i-Ghausi writes:

"Az Zaraqgi Tadhir Gnadash Haddistan Aaradat Bish Shikh ala al haqq bangali shu Aaradat Bish Shikh ala al haqq bish aaradat karden BIH.

Mohd. Sadiq writes:

"Bad aaradat hojx Haddistan Saeed oor Hulle Aaradat Shikh ala al haqq dead aar e bish aaradat maahb nisabul Nizam Aaradat karden Aaradat.

It seems that all the subsequent writers have blindly followed Muhaddid Dehlavi who is not correct in his assertion. It was not by chance that Sayid Ashraf arrived in Bengal. He travelled with Sayid 'Ali Hamadani after having completed his spiritual training under his "pir" (spiritual guide) and not before it, and no "karamat" (superhuman actions) before taking "akhilat" from his "pir" has been mentioned in the Lataif-i-Ashrafi or the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi or the Supplement to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi.

At the age of twenty (or twenty seven), Saiyid Ashraf left Semnan. He went to Buhara where he met a 'majzub' who rubbed his forehead with his forehead and forthwith the Saiyid was overcome by a cataleptic trance. The 'majzub' pointed towards the east and went away. In the way, Saiyid Ashraf and his companions gave their horses to some beggars and travelled on foot. In the way, Saiyid Ashraf left his companion and started on his journey alone.

After some months' arduous journey in which he had to pass through forests and hilly tracts, the Saiyid reached Uchh, the then centre of the saints of Suharwardi order. Here he met Saiyid Jalal BuMiari (d. 778 A.H.), a well-renowned saint of the time. From Uchh he came to Delhi. Here, some writers have mistakenly described an incident which actually happened on some other occasion and not during his first journey, as it is borne by the words of the Saiyid Ashraf.

According to the Supplement to the Matrubat-i-Ashrafi, from Delhi he came to Zafarabad where he uttered, "The first success would be achieved here." But in the Lataif-i-Ashrafi, no mention has been made of Zafarabad during his first journey (from Semnan to Bengal). Lataif-i-Ashrafi, however, tells us of his performance of funeral prayer of Shaikh Sharafud-Din Ya'hya Maneri which is not correct. Firstly because Sharaf-ud-Din Maneri died in 782 A.H. in the month of Shawwal, long after Saiyid Ashraf's arrival at Pandua (Bengal); and secondly because the same year in the month of Rajab, Saiyid Ashraf was present in Ruhabad (kichhchurcha).

According to the Lataif-i-Ashrafi (P.99), he lived in the service of his Shaikh for twelve years continuously. But in the 23rd Chapter (P. 99-100) it is written that after four years he was asked to preach in the other parts of the country. But realising the anxiety of his disciple on the news of his departure, the Shaikh allowed him to live with him for two years more. At last after 6 years, as directed by his Shaikh, he came to Jaunpur and at first stayed in the mosque of Zafarabad, where he came out exalted in an spiritual contest which took place between him and Shaikh Sadr-ud-Din Hajji Chiragh-i-Hind (d. 770 A.H.), to which an allusion had already been made by himself at his first stay at Zafarabad and also by his Shaikh while parting from Bengal.

At last he settled at a place adjacent to the village Bhidund. This place was subsequently given the name of Kichhchurcha.

Kichhauchha was already a Hindu religious centre; and to settle there was a great task. This could be undertaken only by a saint of such a high spiritual power as Saiyid Ashraf. There lived a "Jogi" (Hindu saint) with a large number of his disciples, who possessed "Istidraj" (superhuman power) and it was not easy to defeat him. After a spiritual contest between the Saiyid and the Jogi, the latter submitted himself and he and all his followers embraced Islam.

Saiyid Ashraf did not stay long at one place like most sūfīs of India. He itinerated within the country from Bengal to Gujrat and from Multan to Ceylon. He travelled abroad for thirty years with Saiyid 'All Ḥamadānī and came in contact with and benefitted from a number of Sufis of India and Islamic world. In a journey he met Timur. He also reached Baghdad where Saiyid 'Abdur-Razzāq, a lad of 12 years and son of Saiyid 'Abdul Ghafūr, was so much attracted by him that he could not tolerate his separation. He took leave of his parents and accompanied him for good.

According to the available copies of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi, in the same journey, he visited Semān where he met Shaikh 'Alā-ud-Daula Semānī and where Nizām Yamani was told by Shaikh 'Alā-ud-Daula about Saiyid Ashraf's early life, his parents and his ancestral state. His visit to Semān is also confirmed by his letters but his meeting with Shaikh 'Alā-ud-Daula is incorrect, because the Shaikh had died in 736 A.H. long before his travel from India to Semān.

At Kichchauchha, he managed his "Khanqāh" well. The locality of his tomb and the tank surrounding it from three sides, present a picturesque view and represent his aesthetic sense.
5. HIS RELATIONS WITH KINGS AND NOBLES

Saiyid Ashraf was against the common belief that saints should not meet kings. On the contrary, he was of the opinion that saints must meet kings and Amirs. In favour of his opinion he has given the following arguments.

"(i) To hate kings and nobles means that meeting with them is something derogatory, while it is, in fact, a sort of vying with high-born persons and a device to make them feel that they are inferior to siyds. This feeling of self is due to the vicesness of soul.

(ii) A king would be either just or unjust. If he is just, meeting him is a source of pleasure, for about justice and just king the prophet has said:

(a) At the time of meeting a just king, God showers his mercy (on the persons who meet).
(b) On the day of judgment, just kings would be ranked among the best servants of God.
(c) A moment of justice is better than sixty years of worship.

Hazrat 'Ali says that the existence of a just king is better than a torrent of rain.

And if the king is a tyrant, it is the duty of saints to meet him and to show him the right path."

Saiyid Ashraf was himself acting on these principles and as such, many an Amir was surrounding him and several kings benefited themselves from his guidance and preachings.

Saiyid Ashraf met Timur twice. At first he met him when Tuqatnaig Khan rebelled against Timur. Timur requested Saiyid Ashraf to predict the result of his rebellion. The Saiyid took an augury from the Divan-i-Haftun, which gave the following result:

Timur asked Saiyid Ashraf about Baba Ratna and the Saiyid told him that he himself had seen Baba Ratna.

Next time he met Timur at Maghad. Here also, the latter learnt many things from him. Saiyid Ashraf told him that he might win the favour of God for achieving victories in battles against his enemies by regular reading of Sura-i-Mujadala.

1. The first battle between Tuqatnaig Khan and Timur occurred in 791 A.H. (Zafar Nama, Vol. I, p. 331) and the second battle between them occurred in 797 A.H. (Zafar Nama Vol. I, p. 622). Therefore the meeting between Saiyid Ashraf and Timur must have take place between these two dates.

2. [Reference to a book or source is incomplete or unclear.]

3. Baba Ratna is also known as Ratna bin 'Abdullah al-Hindi or Karandi, or Ratna bin Shuhak bin Jugandaree, or Ratna bin Naqir bin Kirbili, or Ratna bin Ratan bin Handi, was a convert Muslim of India and a companion of the prophet, who lived up to the seventh century A.H. Hafiz Ibn-i-Tajar gives the name of several persons who met his (Ratna's) two sons Hahmud and 'Abdulah. He also quotes forty "Hadises" of the prophet from Baba Ratna. But Zahabi denies these "Hadises" and his long age as well. Some Persian writers also have mentioned him with reference to some book of Shaikh 'Ali-ud-Daula Semnani (d. 736 A.H.) and have mentioned his meeting with Shaikh Maliki-ud-Din Ali Lala (d. 674 A.H.). Abul Fazl writes that he died at Bhatinda (a place in Punjab) in 700 A.H. (see Aina-i-Akbari translated by Maulana 'Abdul-Raiiim, Vol. II, p. 327).

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (d. 844 A.H.) was very much faithful to Saiyid Ashraf. When Shaikh Nur Bengali (d. 851 A.H.), the saint of Bengal, overpowered by the tyrannies of Raja Kans on the subject of Bengal, wrote to Ibrahim Shah to attack Bengal, Ibrahim Shah wanted the permission and favour of Saiyid Ashraf. Saiyid Ashraf also received a letter from Shaikh Nur Bengali in which he was asked to persuade Ibrahim Shah to suppress

1. According to the Tārikh-i-Firuzshā (Vol. II, p. 578) and Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Vol. III, p. 265), and other historical books, Kans and Ibrahim were not contemporaries, as, according to these books, the period of Kans was from 787 A.H. to 795 A.H., while Ibrahim was crowned in 804 A.H. But modern researches have proved that these dates of Kans' reign are incorrect and they have established that the period of Kans was from 817 A.H. to 821 A.H. (see p. 17 of this preface). And these researches corroborate the statement of the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi. Saiyid Ashraf has quoted some verses of Shaikh Nur Bengali in one of his letters to Ibrahim Shah (Maktubat-i-Ashrafi, letter No. 45) which show that Delhi had been invaded by Timur and Ibrahim Shah had become the king of Jaunpur before Kans took Bengal in his possession. Some of these verses are as follows:

Kans. Saiyid Ashraf did so and also made a prophecy that Kans would be suppressed and the people of Bengal would get rid of his tyranny. 1

From the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, we learn that before the first meeting between Saiyid Ashraf and Ibrahim Shâh, the latter had sent a huge force to conquer the fort of Chanâdah 2 and was not sure of success. In the first meeting he expressed his desire in the following verses:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{دل کان اور است ارگام حشید} \quad \text{روان وشنزه از خرمش باعد} \\
& \text{جم حاجت عرض کزن بپنچرش} \quad \text{کسی کرا بپنی امید باعد}
\end{align*}
\]

Saiyid Ashraf replied:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{گریئین شد قدست استوار} \quad \text{گرد زدیا نم از آنی برآرآ}
\end{align*}
\]

After a few days, the king and his courtiers came with the tidings of the victory of Chanâdah and the king requested the saint to make his sons his disciples and to stay at Jaunpur. The saint said that he would not go beyond the frontiers of his state. At the time of parting, the saint gave the king a pillow which he had brought from Semnan. 4

Saiyid Ashraf stayed at Jaunpur for two months and preached his disciples and followers according to the principles of Sûfis. 5

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The reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh is much reputed for justice, peace, prosperity, learning and knowledge and political strength. As he had been regularly seeking guidance from Saiyid Ashraf, it may be safely claimed that the latter had a great hand in showing Ibrāhīm Shāh the right and just way of governing the subject.

A chapter of the *Latafīf-i-Asrāfī* and a letter written to Hūshang Khān Ghaurī on the occasion of his coronation have been devoted to the principles of governing the subject. Having occupied Mandū, the capital of Malwā, Hūshang expressed his sense of gratefulness to Saiyid Ashraf through a letter, and the latter in his reply has referred to Hūshang's letter thus:

KHUDAI-SHĀHAN

"بَلَأَ سَلَطَتِنَا أَرَى لَعْبَةَ سَلَطَنَاتِنَا حَزْنَتْنَا عَلَى سَأَلَّهِ بِلِبِيْنِ دِينْهَا وَ آتِئِهَا وَرَخَاهَا نَزِيرَةَ كُلْمَاتٍ وَ مَغْلِبَتُهَا. مَحْوَرُ أَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً لِبِلَاءَ ذِيْنِ. مَرْضِيْنِ وَرَكَابَةً Latafīf-i-Asrāfī, Vol. II, p. 108-115

It is clear that Hushang, before being crowned as a king, was attached to Saiyid Ashraf, that they communicated with each other through letters, that the saint had prophesied that he would become the king of Mandu and that having occupied Mandu, the king had expressed his gratitude for his auspicious prediction. Saiyid Ashraf in his letter to Hushang, however, emphasises that all things are subject to divine will:

After this, he gives several good pieces of advice which are useful for all kings. Some important portions of this letter are given below so that the readers may be well aware of his principles regarding preaching to the kings. At first he lays emphasis on justice:

And then he says that the Amir who is the leader of the whole nation and the subject is obedient to him, ought to abstain himself from wine and luxury, for wine destroys wisdom; and

1. Qurān 14, Ibrahim 7: "If ye give thanks, I will give you more." (The Meaning of the Glorious Koran by M.M. Pickthall).
lethargy, laziness and procrastination are the consequences of drinking:

"...And you know that drinking is a curse and its consequences are devastating. It harms the body, mind and spirit. It weakens the intellect and paralyzes the limbs. It makes the heart sick and the tongue bitter. It ruins the family and the community. It degrades the nation and destroys the state."

Then he says that in the discharge of the affairs of the state, the king should work in consultation with wise men:

"...Then he says that in the discharge of the affairs of the state, the king should work in consultation with wise men..."

The king must not be cruel to his subjects:

"...The king must not be cruel to his subjects..."

The king should be a worshipper of God and invoke his blessings for justice:

"...The king should be a worshipper of God and invoke his blessings for justice..."

After this, the king should sit in the company of learned and good men:

"...After this, the king should sit in the company of learned and good men..."

Before meeting Amirs and other kings, he should meet his minister:

"...Before meeting Amirs and other kings, he should meet his minister..."
He should behave with Amīrs and kings according to their ranks and should not have talks with every one more than necessary:

"بعد از آرمان سلطان و خوانین را بارزها و در خور حال شان آرام کند و اگر م جهود هرسک نقصان تکذیب وگلم بيضروت بحرکسک تکذیب نگل شجاع سلطان برجاگر و قرن خوانین ناحیا نیست ابتدا از آهم ان بیاد از آرام بیا هر کس را بی هد دادن و امیدوار سا ختن و بیان و نا دارند شمار بلند نحلی با حسان یبدو و بدار سامان نژاد پان با نام "

After this he should meet common men:

"بعد از خوانین ابلا بار اعما بهد تا قارای رد عار و عراي رعایا و سلتانان بخشنی رسانیده هرکه را بیگرد حداد و بر هر جه شمعت حکم آن بواجی بجا آن".

Suits filed by the یزید and Saiyids should be judged by the "Sadr" himself:

"عراي طلايه سادات و قنات و مشاهد را خود صدر خواهد رسید." 

The "Sadr" should be kind and pure at heart and should possess almost all good qualities:

"صدر این طالب ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰ شخص باید که پنی و رزمند بود بلند نتوانسته باید که برشم صنایع رسمی داشته باشد و رحیم حسنات ها آرامست و به آخر فضائل پیروسته کمکه چنان بود ارضا منصب صدر باید داد."

A minister who is adorned with good qualities must be religious. For, after the king, the minister is the most powerful man in the kingdom and whenever he entertains a desire to dethrone the ruler and himself become the monarch, faith (honesty) restrains him from this idea:

"وزیر ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰ بهم نمی آرامست و رجوع بپرسته بود بخصیبی دیدن از پایه وزیر در همه امر سلطنت از ختم و خزانی و ارکان دولت همه یافته ایم نیست "

Advocacy should be entrusted to one who is sharp in understanding and quick in replying:

"وکالت بکس سیار ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰کم اسرع الفهم و تیز جواب بود."
Each post-holder should be entrusted with only that kind of work which belongs to his post:

The life and wealth of a king is to be spent for the good of his subjects and for the sake of God.

In the last he says that the king who acts according to these principles must succeed in his life.

From his letters written to Saif Khan, it appears how faithful to him Saif Khan was. In all political matters, he was always waiting for his guidance and advice. Saif Khan loved him so much that he was ready to give up his post and lead a saintly life, but Saiyid Ashraf forbade him from doing so and said:

"The main thing is the purification of heart. He also told him that wealth and high social status do not always hinder the way to God. Afterwards he gave him the traditional cloak and made him his "Khalifa". He also wrote some books for Saif Khan.

Jamshed Beg 'Uzbek, Amīr 'Ali Beg, and Malik Mahmūd were some of those Amīrs and Jagirdars who always lived in his company. Jamshed Beg 'Uzbek was the Amīr of Turkistan who left

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1. See Maktūbāt-i-Ashrafī, letter No. 42, 56, 57.
2. See chapter 15 of the Latīf-i-Ashrafī, Vol. 1 under the title "The Descriptions of the Disciples of Saiyid Ashraf".
Malik Mahmūd lived in Bhind, a village near Kichhaushha. The village still exists: and his descendants still live there. He was one of the most beloved disciples of Saiyid Ashraf.

The work of the construction of his tomb (which was built in his life) and the digging of the tank surrounding the tomb on three sides, was entrusted to Malik Mahmūd.

In the light of these facts, it is clear that Saiyid Ashraf was a practical ṣūfī. There was a harmony in his spiritual and material life, and despite his compulsory and supererogatory spiritual meditations, he took interest in worldly affairs too.

But in spite of all his efforts to preach kings, Saiyid Ashraf is no exception to other ṣūfīs in tolerating imperialism. In his writings, he has ignored to distinguish between 'Khilāfat' and 'Muluqiyat'.
Saiyid Ashraf had acquired excellence in various branches of sciences prevalent in those days. He was well-versed in Quran, Hadis, Fiqh and mysticism. 'Tafaqquh' (adeptness in Islamic jurisprudence) was God-bestowed. He had such a good memory that only within a year he crammed the holy Quran with seven "qir'ats". His discourses, letters and books bear testimony to his vast learning and deep knowledge.

*Latafi-i-Ashrafi* itself is an example of his profound knowledge. It is the quintessence of all basic books on Islamic mysticism. The difficult problems of mysticism have been explained in a scholarly way and have been illustrated with examples and anecdotes. He had a good knowledge of Persian literature also. The *Latafi-i-Ashrafi* is full of thousands of verses of so many Persian poets like Rudaki, Firdausi, Nizami, Rumi, Sa'di, Zahir Faryab, Hafiz Shirazi, Khusraw, etc. Some of his letters and a chapter of the *Latafi-i-Ashrafi* have been devoted to the illustration of several verses of different poets.

He was himself a prolific poet and had a full command over verse-writing. Hundreds of his verses are scattered in the pages of the *Latafi-i-Ashrafi* and the *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* and in his other works. But these are mere verses devoid of poetic beauty. But whenever he was overcome by an exstatic state of mind, he could spontaneously produce good verses. For example when he was leaving Semnan, he recited the following ghazal spontaneously.

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On an occasion he wrote the following ghazal:

آهن حسنی، دون جان گرفت
در این باتلاق عشق داد ایان گرفت
رفت غنا محل جون سلطان گرفت
پاداش عماد عشق چرخ خوریدان و گرفت
پنج نیز به تخت بخت
عشق توجه افراد سلطان گرفت

On the occasion of his departure from his Shālik, he recited the following verses:

کس گردیدل توبیق پژوان
پرده از دیار کلامان
کشیده پای از اوزانگ تانی
درده پره ول بار و راهان
شراپ فرست پاران کشیده
کشیده دست اقامت در ساین
نپایه پای در سحرای میلی
رسیده در حرم باران
کشید چون سرم درخشم عبانی
برای آن از آخمه دوبارت
نگردم آذر به طوفان صیغن
جدا از حال درگاه حیای
مان از درد گال خدا را
چرا این سایه را از خشخاش وان
گزد چرخ حمایت چند بار
به جشمشان میخوریم وان

He had deeply studied all important books on mysticism in such a way as some of them were committed to memory. The references of historical books in the Maktubat-i-Ashrafī and the

1. Barakat 34a.
Latā'i-i-Ashrafi show his interest in history.

In India wherever he went, 'Ulemā, gathered round him, had discussions with him, accepted his scholarship, profited from him and many of them became his devoted disciples. Qādi Shihāb-ud-Dīn whose fame as an erudite scholar had spread all over the country and who was known as Malikul-'Ulemā was much impressed by his profound knowledge. In his first meeting with Saiyid Ashraf, the Qādi wanted to impress him by his vast knowledge. But Saiyid Ashraf, while offering his commentary on Ḥidāya and "Jawāshi" on the commentary of 'Awāriful-Ma'aṣīfī by Roz Bhān Bāqli, impressed upon him that ṣūfīs were not less than 'Ulemā in learning and knowledge. Thereupon the Qādi submitted his books for the Saiyid's opinion. Saiyid Ashraf commended his efforts in the commentary on Qur'an, namely 'Bahr-i-Ilāhī', but complained of its prolixity. This opinion is fully borne out by the eminent traditionist Ṣhaikh 'Abdul-Haq Dīhlawī.

Whenever the Qādi was confronted with any difficult theological problem, he referred it to Saiyid Ashraf who settled the problem to his entire satisfaction. 'Abdul-Haq Dīhlawī holds one of the Saiyid's letters written to the Qādi as a proof of his deep knowledge. Some hagiologists also hold the same opinion.

Similarly Maulānā 'Allām-ud-Dīn Jāisi, one of the distinguished scholars of his time, accepted the scholarship of Saiyid Ashraf and became his devoted disciple.

1. See the Latā'i-i-Ashrafi, Vol.I, Chapter 16, under the "memoirs of his disciple", and Maktubat-i-Ashrafi, letter Nos. 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 34 etc.


Shaikh Ahmad Gujrati who was known as Shaikhul-Islam also submitted himself to Saiyid Ashraf. On his request, Saiyid Ashraf wrote two booklets, Ashraful-Fawaid and Fawaidul-Ashraf.

Shaikh Samatud-Din whose erudition has been highly praised by Nizam Yamani, was his disciple. In the Maktubati Ashrafi, there is a letter dealing with some supererogatory prayers written to Shaikh Samatud-Din.

Shaikh 'Abdullah Daiyar Banarasi, Shaikh Naburak Gujrati, Shaikh Tajiud-Din, Shaikh Nurud-Din, Shaikh Haji Fakhrud-Din, Shaikh Abul-Mugaffar Lucknawi, Qa'ini Muhammad Siddhauri, 'Arif Makrani, Qa'ini Hujjat, Jamil-ud-Din Saped Baz, Shaikh Ma'ruf, Shaikh Suleman Muhaddis, Saiyid 'Usmun bin Khiyir, Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Awadhi, each of them was an important scholar of his day and was under his mystic discipline. Some letters are found in the Maktubati Ashrafi written to some of these persons.
7. **His Works**

Several of his works have been mentioned in the *Lataif-i-Ashraft*, the *Maktubat-i-Ashraft* and *Supp. to the Maktubat-i-Ashraft*. 'Abdur-Razzaq Nur-ul-'Ain writes in the *Supp. to the Maktubat-i-Ashraft*:

"حضرت سید اشرف جہانگیر جامعی کے مсмерт ہو اور یہ ایک مشرمانئی بیان ہے جس میں ممتاز تعلیم و تعلیم دی جاری ہوا ہے۔ حضرت شریف فردرک، ہم نے درکاریتی نظر کے باوجود، حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم۔ حضرت اورجیڑن دیا جانے والی تعلیم。"

Many of them are either extinct or undiscovered; only a few are available. The works which are not available are as follows:

1. **Nahw-i-Ashrafia**: It was a book of Grammar. Nur-ul-'Ain writes about it:

   "انقل روزگار را دستور ق ل" 1

2. **Sharh-i-Hidaya**: It was presented to Qazi Shihab-ud-Din. 3

3. **Sharh-i-'Asar**: 4

4. **Sharh-i-Fayz-ul-Jamāl**.

5. **Fawā'id-ul-'Aqā'id**: Originally it was written in Persian, and afterwards he translated it into Arabic. Nur-ul-'Ain writes:

   ____________________________________________________________

2. Ibid. F. 166.
3. Ibid. F. 166.
4. Ibid. F. 166.
5. Ibid. F. 166.
6. Bahr-ul-Askar: It was written in Qazwin
7. Fatwa-i-Ashrafi
8. Zish-i-Shemsh
9. Tafsir-i-Nur Bakshi
10. Kanz-ul-Asrar
11. Divan-i-Ashraf
12. Risala-i-Ghausia
13. Risala dar Manaqib-i-Khulafa-i-Rashidin
14. Mir'atul-Haqiq: It consisted of the illustrations of mystical terms
15. Bahr-i-Zakirin
16. Hujjatul-Zakirin
18. Indexing of the names of kings and nobles mentioned in some books of history written by Shaikh 'Alaud-Daula Semnanii.
Those which are available are as follows:

1. *Latif-i-Ashrafi*
2. *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*¹
3. *Supplement to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*²
4. *Ashraf-ul-Ansab*: It was written in Qazwin. The writer of *Mahbub-i-Yazdani*, S.N.Ashraf Jaisi claims to have a copy of it.
5. *Fawaid-ul-Ashraf*: It was written in Gujarát. A copy of it is also possessed by Ashraf Jaisi.
6. *Ashraf-ul-Fawaid*: It was also written in Gujarát and is possessed by Ashraf Jaisi.
7. *Basharat-uz-Zakirin*: It consists of a few pages and attached with the printed copies of the *Latif-i-Ashrafi*.
8. *Tambih-ul-Ikhwan*: It was written for Saif Khan and a copy of it is preserved in the library of the History Department A.M.U. Aligarh.
9. *Irshad-ul-Ikhwan*: It was also written for Saif Khan and a copy of it is preserved in the library of the History Department A.M.U. Aligarh.

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1. See in the Introduction under the source of the life.
2. Ibid.
4. See Preface to the "Mahbub-i-Yazdani".
5. *Suppo. to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* Sub. F. 149 and *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* Chapter 16 under 'the memoirs of the Khulafa' of Saiyid Ashraf.
6. See the Preface to the "Mahbub-i-Yazdani".
7. *Suppo. to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* Sub. F. 149 and *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* Chapter 16 under 'the memoirs of the Khulafa' of Saiyid Ashraf.
8. See the Preface to the "Mahbub-i-Yazdani".
A pamphlet namely "رسالة تحققات عشق" is attributed to him. A copy of its MS. is preserved in the library of Pir Muhammad in Ahmedabad. It was first discovered by S.N. Ashraf Jaisi. A copy of its MS. was sent to me also. Its title page bears the name of Saiyid Ashraf thus:

تصنيف لطيف حضرت سلطان الشايخ سيدي شاه احسين جهانگیر سلسلة رحلة الله عليه

But for the following reasons the booklet seems to be apocryphal:

(1) The style/language of this book totally differs from all his writings (which I have come across).

(2) While dealing with any mystical problem in his letters or other works, Saiyid Ashraf often gives references to the Lataif-i-Ashrafi in which nearly all the mystical problems have been dealt with in detail. In this booklet, the delicate mystical problems like "Heavenly love" and "Pantheism" have been dealt with without making any reference to the Lataif-i-Ashrafi.

(3) None of his writings is devoid of verses. This booklet lacks this characteristic.

(4) In each writing, he names his spiritual guide, while this book lacks such a reference.

(5) He himself writes his name as its writer in each of his books. But this book bears his name only on the title page.

1. See the Preface to "Mahbub-i-Yazdani".
8. "THE LATAIF-I-ASHRAFI"

The Lataif-i-Ashrafi is a compilation of the discourses of Saiyid Ashraf Semnanî. It was compiled by his disciple and "Khalifa" Ni'âm Gharîb Yamani who joined his company in 750 A.H.

The full name of this book is the Lataif-i-Ashrafi fi Bayân-i-Tawâ'if-i-Sûri. All the discourse have been arranged in an order under different topics called "Lâtîfâs".

The explanations of different theological and mystical problems are based on the Qur'ân and the traditions of the prophet. In support of his views, Saiyid Ashraf has also quoted from 'Ulemâ' and Sûfis. On controversial problems he has given the views which he favoured, and in support of them he has presented arguments. For further elaborations of the problems he has described the experiences of other Sûfis as well as his own. A separate chapter has been devoted to pantheism, and an elaborate interpretation of some Qur'anic verses and the traditions of the prophet has been given in support of it. Some chapters have been devoted to the memoirs of Sûfis and some eminent poets, and some others on the illustration of some complicated mystical verses and technical terms used by Sûfis in poetry. The book also throws light on his relations with kings and nobles. Thus the book has become interesting and useful for a Sûfi, an 'Alîm, and for a student of Persian literature and that of medieval history of Indian as well.

The book consists of an introduction, a preface and sixty chapters. In the introduction it has been told that there was a concluding chapter also. But it is not available now.

The details of its chapters are as follows:
معده در بيان نوايد علم ومظالمه كتب صوفه و استبعاد كلمات شائع و شرائط
آذاب و الاستبعاد آن...

لطيفه أول
دربيان توحيد و وراثه
لطيفه دوم
دربيان صحت عرف و عرف و جاهل
لطيفه مهبان
دربيان صحت و نصوص و ملايو و نقل و اصاف اين طائعه و ذكر اريب ولايت الهام و اهامان و اندازابار و ابدال و اخار و روحي اولياه مكرو و مثبت اطلاق اسم نصوف و صوфи بدين طائعه...

لطيفه ينجم
دربيان طريق هججز و ورامت و استدراج و ودلايل أتيات كرامت
ذكر صراج رسول عليه السلام

لطيفه ششم
در بيان اهلت شهاده و شرائط اقدام و آداب رشيد و مسترند كم
مجمع اهمين أكبر است و سلمه توجه و مطلب او

لطيفه هنتم
در بيان اصطلاحات صويف

لطيفه هشتم
دربيان حقائق راه سلوك وسلمه تربية ووجه خاص و حجاب علماني
رتبات و احوال جهليات و تربيه ابليسي

لطيفه نيم
دربيان شرائط لقنين اذكار مختلفه منوعه شائع و نصل ذكر
جليس برحله

لطيفه دهم
در بيان شرائط تذكر و وراثه و رفع و رفعه

لطيفه سيده
در بيان مشاهده وصول ورويتي صوفي و بطني و تبين

لطيفه شهارد
در بيان انواع لباس شائع از صوف و خزه و امثال آن و

لتضيف هواك و شرائط ارات سيد و مارد و ذكر بقاض و طائعه

لطيفه سيد هم
در بيان حق و قصر
لطيفه شهارد هم
در بيان به خلافه شائع كم دراسل سلف شهاره بوخدا
وقدر لوسيان
در بیان سلسله‌ی حفّرت قدره‌ی اکبر و سلسله‌ی حفّرت
نورامین و سلسله‌ی پیشی مشاهه سلف و خلف راسی
خلافی کلمه ایشان و تاریخ وفات و زنده، احاسیه ایشان
و تحمل و قضا و از کلار نتواند.
در بیان حین کلمه‌بیان از شفاهات و اثاث آن
در بیان آدم سیریت و زیارت شفاه و تبر ایشان و کامیط
پر بیان دو هری مبنی یلیشگرد
در بیان حس زلف و خال و اثاث آن
در بیان حین ابای منفره در حلالی نظامه که از میان هدسته ماده شده آن
در بیان سما و اختاماً زهور
در بیان سمه جهرا خیار فنا و قدر خیروش و بعضی
عقاید مطربه
در بیان تورک ارگه سلمانه و علی و از سربر مکت و مسیر
طریق سفر و اتقایه به هر مشاه عصر در راه پیش‌خیمی بحترت
نقدم جهانیان د ایشان بحتر حفّرت شفی شرف الادین یه
میری و رستم بحترت شفی علاء الادین وصول بپیدا رایثار
باقات حس و ا urząd را و اندار ختای جهانگری
در بیان تعین مال و نزول رایقات شفق و صدور علامه شفق
در علیرآبان و اظهار خواری یکدیگر و ذکر ارادة شفی که
سوری حضر
در بیان دیدن امر علوسلیهة و فقر سکایی را تقریبی متناه
نماد عالی سیف خان
در بیان ابایان و دلائل انباش صاع و حجت صاع و ازلیت و
ادیت امر علوسلیهة و طریقت
در بیان ابایان نظر و بروحان و اصحاب کش و اپهای وحیت
هر دوز طالبه و عقاید طالبه کش و حیث شریعت و طریقت
و حرفه دو هری مکت می‌گیرد.
در بیان دلائل حجت وجود واختلاف بعضی مشاهق درحوت
و حرفه و قیفیت در ایشان
در بیان توه
در بیان نظر
لطفه بینتاده م
لطفه یک
لطفه هنگد
لطفه هنگد
لطفه هنگد
لطفه هنگد
لطفه بست
لطفه بست
لطفه بست
لطفه بست
لطفه بست
لطفه بست و هسته
لطفه بست و هسته
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لطفه بست و هسته
لطفه بست و هسته
لطفه بست و هسته
لطفه بست و هسته
لطفه س نم
لطفه س رمز
لطفه س دیم
لطفه س وسم
لطفه س رسم
لطفه س تاج
لطفه س وتحت
لطفه س وتحت
لطفه س هشتم

در بیان طبق اطمین و نواده بعض ماکلات و مشروبات
در بیان شرائط استفاده و عزلت و رخلآفی تجزیه و تحلیل
در بیان وظایف صح رشام و همکار آیه و نواده وادعه
شیوهو آیا می کنیم بیایم صح نه؟

لطفه س و نهم
لطفه س نهم
لطفه س هشتم
لطفه س و همین
لطفه س همین
لطفه س همین
لطفه س همین
لطفه س همین
لطفه س همین
لطفه س همین

در بیان عشق و ورثات از
در بیان زهد و نقوی
در بیان تکل و کسب و شنا و نگرف خوف و رجا
در بیان تبریک خواب
در بیان بخل و سخارت و رق و شکر
در بیان مجاحده و ریاضی و در بیان سعادت و شکر
در بیان رسوم خلق و مکبه و مخاطب
در بیان تگز و عصر و هماهنگ
در بیان سیم و وصل
در بیان نمره و رتبه نمر و در نگرف بعض اشکاء مختلف
در بیان صفت ایبت و بیاب نزد و رقق علاقه و محیط
در بیان صفت مسی و جد و رقق و در نگرف آرزو و ندوادن
بلند و تنها برهن
در نگرف و طلب و بیاب زیبیل گردا نهایت
延迟不坏，因为它可以增加你的未来。你可以在自己身上看见，也可以在别人身上看见。
9. ITS COMPILATION

According to his own statement, Niẓām Yamanī, the compiler of the Lataif-i-Asfarafi lived in company of Saiyid Ashraf for thirty years and whatever he heard from him he recorded it. Probably this period of thirty years means the period from 760 A.H. to 780 A.H. which passed in continuous itineration with Saiyid Ashraf. For, it is evident from the Lataif-i-Asfarafi that he lived in company of his spiritual guide even after 780 A.H.²

The Lataif-i-Asfarafi consists not only of the discourses of thirty years but it also comprises many discourses and events of subsequent years. In the Introduction of the Lataif-i-Asfarafi, Niẓām Yamanī himself writes:

2. This year Yamanī met Saiyid Ashraf for the first time (Lataif-i-Asfarafi Vol. I, p.2).
3. His stay at Rūdkhāb (a part of Kichhaścchha) with the Saiyid in 782 A.H. and his accompaniment with him in the journey to Gulbaran (which took place after 810 A.H.) are proved by the Lataif-i-Asfarafi (see Brakat p. 224, and this preface p.77).
5. Preface to the Makhbūb-i-Yaṣīrī.

According to the Makhbūb-i-Yaṣīrī, the Lataif-i-Asfarafi was not arranged in the present form during the life of Saiyid Ashraf, but after his death, when Niẓām Yamanī compiled his discourses, he chose different topics and placed the relevant matters under each topic and called each topic: a 'latifa' and the book was named the Lataif-i-Asfarafi. But it is not all correct. The
Latíf-i-Ashrafī and the Maktubat-i-Ashrafī themselves lead to the conclusion that his discourses had been compiled under the name of the Latíf-i-Ashrafī long before the death of Saiyid Ashraf; but, of course, additions continued till his death. Some chapters were added even after his death and these are not the discourses of Saiyid Ashraf. These are the chapters on his illness and death and on his important "Khālifas."¹

According to Saiyid 'Abdur - Razzaq, the letters contained in the Maktubat-i-Ashrafī are those which were written after 787 A.H.² In his letters, Saiyid Ashraf, on several occasions, has referred to the Latíf-i-Ashrafī, which prove that his discourses had been compiled under the headings of different 'lātīfās' and were entitled on the Latíf-i-Ashrafī before 787 A.H., though the additions continued even after his death as already pointed out.

Some references to the Latíf-i-Ashrafī made in the Maktubát-i-Ashrafí are given below:

1. Letter No. 9.

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¹. Latíf-i-Ashrafī, chapter Nos. 16, 59, 60.
². Introduction to the Maktubat-i-Ashrafī.
It clearly indicates that the *Lataif-i-Ashraf* had been compiled in an arranged form in his life.

(3) Letter No. 32.

"... باتی سادات عراق و خراسان و مارا... \...

(4) Letter No. 40.

"... بدایت الرأیا... \..." جنگنده

(5) Letter No. 49.

"... ومنشای هرلباس برادر اعزام نماینده... \..." کره اند

(6) Letter No. 52.

"... وظایف ازبرای قرع اعماق دیار و جهت کل اشراز... \..." کره اند ازکرک لطیف حسین خواهد شد

(7) Letter No. 54.

"... بدایت برادر نزدیک... \..." نماینده

(8) Letter No. 62.

"... اگر امتحان درام دیار و ارزگیر... \..." جم در لطیف نزدیک اعزام نمایند درین رادیه نیک رفنده

(2) Letter No. 19.

"... بسمه... \..." دو کره براس ازمرکهٔ پر ازخی آرایش مسرای از نزدیک و نزدیک

(4) Letter No. 40.

"... بدایت الرأیا... \..." جنگنده

(6) Letter No. 52.

"... وظایف ازبرای قرع اعماق دیار و جهت کل اشراز... \..." کره اند ازکرک لطیف حسین خواهد شد

(7) Letter No. 54.

"... بدایت برادر نزدیک... \..." نماینده

(8) Letter No. 62.

"... اگر امتحان درام دیار و ارزگیر... \..." جم در لطیف نزدیک اعزام نمایند درین رادیه نیک رفنده

(2) Letter No. 19.

"... بسمه... \..." دو کره براس ازمرکهٔ پر ازخی آرایش مسرای از نزدیک و نزدیک
In these writings it is also implicit that Saiyid Ashraf in his letters had asked his several Khalifas and disciples to consult the *Latā'if-i-Ashrafi* on different theological and mystical matters. Therefore it seems probable that several copies of the *Latā'if-i-Ashrafi* would have been made and would have reached the remote parts of the country. Even today, although no fully reliable MS. of the *Latā'if-i-Ashrafi* is available, yet its several copies are preserved in different public and private libraries of the country.
Discussing on various problems, Saiyid Ashraf quotes from Qur'an, Tafsir, Hadis, and other religious and mystical works of his predecessors. The important works on Tafsir such as Tafsir-i-Razi, Tafsir-i-Shihabi, Tafsir-i-Zahidi, and on Hadis such as Sihah-i-Sitta, have been frequently used. On several occasions, references to some important historical books, like Tabari and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, have been also made. But the most important book which formed the bases of his source are as follows:

1. Sharh-i-Ta'arruf:

It is an important book on 'Ta'awwuf'. It was written by Abu Ibrahim Ismail bin Muhammad Mustameli Bukhari (d. 434 A.H.).

2. Risala-i-Qushairia:

It is also an important book on 'Ta'awwuf' and 'Tazkirah'. It was written by Abul-Qasim 'Abdul-Karim bin Havamah al-Qushairi (d. 465 A.H.). Several anecdotes and statements of this book have been translated and several extracts have been taken in the Lataif-i-Ashrafi.

3. Kashful-Mahjub:

It was written by Shaikh Ali Hujwiri in 465 A.H. Some the discussion of/chapters of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi are based on this books.

4. Tabaqat-as-Sufia:

There have been several books of this name, of which the
two are most famous, one in 'Arabic written by 'Abdur-Rahman Suliq (d. 412 A.H.) and the other in Persian by Abu Isma'il 'Abdullah Harawi (d. 481 A.H.); and here the latter is meant, as our author has made much use of it.

5. Ihyā'-ul-'Ulūm :

It is one of the most important works of Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazzali Tusi (d. 505 A.H.). Several references to this book have been made in the Latif-i-Ashrafi.

6. Fusūs-ul-Hikam :

It is the most important book on Islamic mysticism to all the sufis believing in pantheism. It was written by Muhuyd-Din Akbar (d. 638 A.H.). Saiyid Ashraf had compiled a separate book, namely 'Iš'at-ul-Haqq' based on Fusūs-ul-Hikam. This book (now not available) dealt with the technical terms used by Sufis. Nizam Yamani again extracted materials from this book and added it to the Latif-i-Ashrafi under the chapter "Ištillāhāt-i-Sūfia".

7. Futūḥat-i-Makkia :

It is a huge work of Shaikh Akbar and is one of the most important books of 'Taṣawuf'. It was completed in 629 A.H.

8. 'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif :

It was written by Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suharwadi (d. 539 A.H.). It is one of the fundamental books of Islamic mysticism. It is read and taught in all schools of Sufis. Saiyid Ashraf had thoroughly read it and had written a commentary on it. He had also read some Persian translations of 'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif.
such as "al-Mishkāh-ul-Hadiyya wa-Miftah-ul-Kifaya" by 'Izzud-Dīn Mahmūd Ṭaḥṣānī (d. 728 A.H.) and "Ma'arif-ul-'Awārif" by Najīb-ud-Dīn 'Abd al-Būzgāsh (d. 676 A.H.). Saiyid Ashraf has made much use of the former translation.

9. "Istām-ul-Huda:

It was also written by Shāikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Subhwardi.

10. al-'Urwah and Chehl Majlis:

The full name of the al-'Urwah is "al-'Urwah li-Ahli-Jalwah wal-Khalwah". It was written by Shāikh Ālā-ud-Daula Semnānī (d. 736 A.H.) in 724 A.H; and the Chehl Majlis consists of the Shaikh's discourses, compiled by his disciple Iqbal Sistani. Saiyid Ashraf had been himself in company of the Shaikh in his early life and had been very much influenced by him. The remarks and statements of the Shaikh quoted in the Lāṭālf-i-Asharaf are found nearly word by word in both these books, though they have not been named; and al-'Urwah has been mentioned only in one of his letters.

These books are not in printed form. The MSS. of these books are preserved in the Maulānā 'Izād Library A.M.U. Aligarh.

11. Ra'ūzur-Riyāhīn:

It was written by Imām 'Abdullāh Yāfī (d. 760 A.H.). Though the book has not been mentioned by name, yet from a comparison between the corresponding passages of the Ra'ūzur-Riyāhīn and the Lāṭālf-i-Ashraf it becomes clear that the book referred to is none but the Ra'ūzur-Riyāhīn. The complete similarity of the language between the Lāṭālf-i-Ashraf and the Ra'ūzur-Riyāhīn shows that Saiyid Ashraf did refer to this book the name of w. &c. he had forgotten.

1. Naktubat-i-Ashrafī, letter No. 42.
The *Latâf-i-Ashrafî* has been a source of other books of 'Tasawwuf' and 'Ta'zîra' in different centuries, which speak of its popularity and fame to the remote parts of the country. Some of them are as follows:


Of these, two books, *Nafahât-ul-Uns* and *Mîr'at-ul-Agrâr*, deserve notice.

Although Jâmî has made no mention of the *Latâfî-i-Ashrafî* as a source of the *Nafahât-ul-Uns*, yet the following evidences reveal that Jâmî had utilised the *Latâfî-i-Ashrafî*.

1. About some Sufis who were contemporaries of Saiyid Ashraf, the same statements occur in both the *Latâfî-i-Ashrafî* and the *Nafahât-ul-Uns*. Since the former is earlier, it would reasonably be presumed that the latter's information is based on the former. These Sufis are: Shaikh Abul Wafa Khwarazmi, Shaikh 'Alaud-daula Semnani, Shaikh Kamal-ud-Din 'Abdur-Rashid Kashani, and 'Abdur-Razzaq Kashani.

1. Shaikh Abul Wafa Khwarazmi (d.636 A.H.) was the disciple of Shaikh Abul-Futûn, son of Shaikh Behâd-din Khubâf (see *Nafahât-ul-Uns* p.434), he also got 'Khilâfat' from Saiyid Ashraf and lived in his company for a long time (see *Latâfî-i-Ashrafî*).

2. Shaikh 'Alaud-daula Semnani (d.736 A.H.) whose company had been shared by Saiyid Ashraf in his early mystic discipline was the disciple of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Abur-Rasâm Kashani, a well-known mystic of Iran (see *Latâfî-i-Ashrafî* p.376-79 and *Nafahât* p.439).

3. 'Abdur-Razzaq Kashani was a contemporary of Shaikh 'Alaud-daula Semnani and a reputed Sufi of that period. Saiyid Ashraf had lived in his company also.
and Ḥafīz Shūrāzī. About Shaikh Abul-Nasār Ḥāwarzmī, the words of the Ḥatūf-i-Ashrafi are:

"(Ferdowsi) ایوانا خوارزمی را از مشارب صائبه ایباه توحید و امسال اند."

The same words are in the Nafahat-ul-İnā." About Shaikh Ḥālā ud-Daulā Sīmanī, the Ḥatūf-i-Ashrafi gives the following information:

The above statements are not free from interpolations and historical mistakes, yet the similarity of the language of the Nafahat-ul-İnā and the Ḥatūf-i-ASHRAFI cannot be denied.

The words of the Nafahat are as follows:

Hafiz Shirazi who was a contemporary, and for some time a companion of Saiyid Ashraf, has been mentioned at several places in the Lataif-i-Ashrafi. About his Diwan, Saiyid Ashraf says:

And JamI also writes:

All the statements of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi attributed to Shaikh 'Alaud-Daula are found in the Al-Urwa and the Chehl Ma'all. Both these books might have been the sources of the Nafahat-ul-Uus also, but this point should not be neglected that only those statements of 'Alaud-Daula. SemnanI have been taken in the Nafahat-ul-Uus which have been given in the Lataif-i-Ashrafi. The similarity of so many exceptions cannot be mere by chance.

1. Nafahat-ul-Uus 439.
2. See Lataif-i-Ashrafi Vol.I, p. 81, 98, 204 etc.
There has been a controversy on Pantheism between Shaikh 'Ali-d-Daula and Shaikh 'Abdur-Razzaq Kashani, and they wrote letters to each other on this matter.

On the occasion when Shaikh Kashani asked Iqbal Sistani, the disciple of Shaikh Semnani, about his Shaikh's opinion about Ibn-i-'Arabi, Saiyid Ashraf was himself present. He gives an account of the talks held between the Shaikh Kashani and Iqbal Sistani.

After these lines those letters have been also given in the Latâf-i-Ashrafî.

Nearly the same lines are written in the Naṣâḥat-ul-Uljâb, the originality of which most probably can be claimed only by the Latâf-i-Ashrafî. The words of Naṣâḥat are also given here:

All the writings of the preface of the Nafahat-ul-Ulma are found in the Lataif-i-Ashraf under different Laatifs, and only those references have been given under the sub-headings of the preface of the Nafahat-ul-Ulma which have been given in the Lataif-i-Ashraf also. And if the sources of similar statements have not been referred to in the Lataif-i-Ashraf, they have not been given in the Nafahat-ul-Ulma also.

In this respect, an analysis of the preface of the Nafahat-ul-Ulma will be not amiss.

The first subheading of the preface is "...". What is written under this heading, the same is found

1. Nafahat-ul-Ulma, p. 482.
in *Latif-i-Shirazi* nearly word by word under the second 'Latifa'. Some statements of the *Latif-i-Shirazi*, however, have been omitted in the *Nafahat-un-Luna*. Under these headings, the references given in both the books are the same.

An example of the corresponding passages of both the books is given below:

The text of the *Nafahat-un-Luna*

1

وايت شنقا امت از رلي كم قرب امت و آن دو القسم امت:

وايت علم، وايت خامه

وايت علم، مشترک است میان همه میزان تال اتیم‌الله، ولی الذين انوا

بخریدم من الظالمات آل بيثر. ولیت خامه خصوصی است باوانزل آل آیه

سلاک، می‌عیاره من قضاء لاعدنی حفظ، ویتله به قانیلی هوالانی فيها

والباقی به ویتالبای امت از بنایت سرالی الله، و ایتالبای امت از

بدایت سیرنی الله، جه سیرالی الله، وی منصور شهید که بادمی، وجود را

باجم مدق کیبرئی قطع کند و سیرنی الله، آلم‌اله محقق شد که بنده، را

بعد از فنی طلق ووجودی وذاتی پرده از لوی حدنان احزاب دارد

تا بدان در عالم اضافه ویتالبای پیش، وITALبای بالاخالی ریانات تروت کند.

ابوعلی جوزفیلی رحمة الله كود:

الولی هوالانی من حاله ویتالبای من مشاهده الحق، ولی مدنی له عن نفسه

ابخاری وسیع غبرالله قادر ویل آن بیهد که فانی بود از حال و بایند

بود پیشالی حق سیحان، وعالی میلک تانبد مراوا که از خود خبره،

با خبر خدائند بیلارد....

پرویز ادوم رحمة الله عالیم مردنی را کفت خواهم که ولی بانی از

الویا، الله عالیم کفت بلی خواهم کفت لاتیرغب فی شن من الدنيا والاخرة

1. *Nafahat-un-Luna*, p. 86.
2. Qur'an 3, Baqar 36
وإنّه لفسخ الله تعالى وآباؤه وجوهه عليه بنّانيا وعذّب ركش كان ركيز اسمه
بالأعمال روع انحرق صبحه و تعالى وقمع كن مرجح را أن براع
دروة خدادر و الدنيا وعذّب را دردن را و روقي دل سباق أرويون
أين إيساف در تر موجود شد ولي باشي ـ

وفي الرسالة التضريبة: أى الويل له حينان أحد هما فضل حمى
فصول وهو من ينزل الله إمسى - قال الله تعالى وهو ينزل الصالحين فلا
يملك الله نقم لحفظ مل ينزل الحق صاحبه وإن كان فضل مبائة
من الفاعل و هو الذي ينزل عادة الله وطاعته فضيلة تجري عليه على التوالي
من غير أن يتخللها عصيان والكالسونين وأبح حتى يكون الويل وليا بعد تراث
يحق علّه الاستغاثة والاستنفاه ودراو خشف الله إما في السماة والشتاء
ومن شرط الويل أن يكون حفظة كما أن السماة التي ان يكون هموماً كدل
من كان للشاعر عليه. اعترضا نحو غير مخادع -

فقد أبو بكر المتنبي قد الله تعالى ورحيم به بعض من وصف بالولاية
فلم وليت مسجد قد ينظر خروج فخرج الرجل ورسى خذه تجاه القبلة فناسيف
ابو برك ولم يعلم إليه رفام هذا رجل غير بابون على أدب من أدب الشيماء
كذب يكن ابنا على أسراران -

شخص ينذك بك شيخ أبو سناد أبوالخير قدم سوء در كل ونخته
بأي جب اندر سجدي نبي شيخ اوراكش بارزك كه مركب در خاته
دوس أب أندر تباران شيد كان باوي صحبته دار -

شيخ ركن الدين علده له قزم الله روح غنوة است
ايبهاء علده السلام أن الذي كان عابداً صمام اند وراياً إز خور دانت
كم جمّ وحظم -

أز مخفق صلى الله عليه وسلم مرى است
ان تخدير الكلام فائز جيد. وأي عبد الله لا نبأ
و نذكية أين بتجار هغي كانه يدبر أن ابن ينست كه ينفع خود را
مفر وحرم تفانى -

And here is the text of the \textit{Lataif}\textsuperscript{1}

* حصرت نواكشين ان حتى ولات دخولست كردند فرودند كه ولاية

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Barakāhā-Čishtīa}, \textit{Latīfa} 2, p. 130-134.
محدر رلي لست ويعني قرب است وآن دو قسم بود ورئیت عليه ورئیت خامه
و رئیت عليه: شرکه است میانه ویتینن تال الله عالی الاله ویین الذين
آنوار يخرجهم من الظلمت الى النور و رئیت خامه شخص است بواصلا
ار لله سلته و هو غباره عن تناه المهد في الحق و بقاته به • تالواالله
هوانا فيه و الباقی به •

خبرت كبير من رمودن، كن فنا عبارت از جهه باعد فربعدتنا
عبارت است از تيتها سریان الله ویتا عبارت است از بیاایت سیر لیا
جه سیر الاله ویتا متنغي شود كن بابیه روجد اتنی يبیگنی
قطع كند و سیر في الاله آنی محقق رفرد الله ينده را از نفادی مطلق
و جبری و ذاک مطر از لحیث حداثان ارزانی دادن تببیدن در عامي اضاف
بماتبیان البین و اخلاص نتایجی ثروت كنه

ابوعلی حججی، کیبد رحمة الله عليه الولی هو الفانی من حلاله و بالاقی
ین المشاهدة الحقی لم يكن له عن نفسه آخبار لا مع غیرالله قرار.

ابراهیم ده مؤس را فیت كم خواهی كن زنی باشی از اعتقای خدا
عالی تعلیم خواهی • گفت لا ترعی في شيء من الدنيا ولا خروة وانف
نفسك لله تعالى واثنی بوجهك الیه •

خبرت قدرۃ الکبرى إررائی إرسال قیبیره للمبرودن • ان الولی له
میتین است اینه، میثقال بعض بفصل وهو من بیان الله امرة تال الله
عالی وهو بیانی المستین نلا یکن الى نفسه لینه بیانی الحق سحه
رعایه وانتیت فی فیلی مقائمة بیانی الیات ویلإ الاله ربطه
وربینه فیه عليه على ان لا ورائه من كن ان یستیلمها عبانی ركآ الیت
و شیثحق الولی رنیا بیان قیامة بیان الاله تعالى على الاستعما
والاستیعابا • • درم حفظ الاله ایاه في السرا وانترا

خبرت کبیر از شریعت ریل در خواستن • تال الارض الولی تلبیه مستناس
بالغ ویحیی عن غیر الله •

خبرت قدرۃ الکبری المبرودن • این شریعت الولی ان یکن بحکومه كما ان
من شرط النبی ان یکن مصوحاً لكل من كان للشیعه عليه اعتراض فهو مخور
رختاعی • •
Second subheading is

Its source has been given thus:

In the *latif-i-Ashraf* also, in the third 'latifa'

1. See *Kahfah-ul-Umara*, p. 7 and *Latif-i-Ashraf*, p. 70
The source of the third sub-heading has been given the *Tafsir-i-'Avārīf* and the same source has been given in the fourth 'latifa' of the *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi*.

The text of the fourth sub-heading is found in the first 'latifa' of the *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi* and the source of both the books is *Tafsir-i-'Avārīf*.

The fifth sub-heading is found in the fifth 'latifa' of the *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi*. The contents under this heading are not found under only one 'latifa' of the *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi*. But in the fourth 'latifa' *Kashfūl-Kabīr* has been referred to.

The source of the sixth sub-heading has been given *Tafsir-i-'Kabīr*. The same source has been mentioned in the fifth 'latifa' of the *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi*.

The sources of the seventh sub-heading are *Kashfūl-Kabīr*, *Rahāl-un-Kubwat* and *Lā'īn-ul-Huda*. The same sources have been given in the *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi* under the fifth 'latifa'.

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1. See *Nafahat-ul-Luns*, p.8-17 and *Latā'if-i-'Ashrafi*, p.82.
In the *Latīf-i-Ashrafl* having quoted from *Rahīl-un-Nulqāw*; Nizām Yamānī writes:

"... Perhaps in that book, the compiler enlarges and finally quotes the passage of Rahīl, word by word, but the source book is not given. But in both the books, the source-book is not given."

With the exception of the verse, the same words in the same manner are found in the *Nafahāt-ul-Ulema*.

After this the compiler of the *Latīf-i-Ashrafl* quotes some lines from Imam Qushaid and then writes the following Persian lines:

"The same Persian text in the same manner is found in the *Nafahāt-ul-Ulema*."

The eighth sub-heading is "The eighth sub-heading is..." and the content is similar to that of the *Latīf-i-Ashrafl* word by word. But in both the books, the source-book is not given.

---

The ninth sub-heading is some references have been given under this heading. Some references are found in the fourth 'latif' of the Latif-i-Ashrafi.

After this Jami writes a paragraph about his book, and then what he writes is found in the Latif-i-Ashrafi.

In the last, Jami writes some concluding paragraphs. These similarities between Nafahat and the Latif-i-Ashrafi cannot be considered to happen mere by chance, and we cannot but conclude that the Latif-i-Ashrafi was one of the sources of the Nafahat-ul-Uns.

The Latif-i-Ashrafi and the Nafahat-ul-Uns both acknowledge to have derived materials from the Tabaqat-us-Sufia Harawi. But a comparative study of the Latif-i-Ashrafi and the Nafahat-ul-Uns shows that Jami has exactly followed the Latif-i-Ashrafi in changing the words and sentences of the Tabaqat-us-Sufia Harawi. For example a few corresponding excerpts of these books are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nafahat-ul-Uns</th>
<th>Tabaqat us-Sufia Harawi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (1) Bi Tibrar Nisbatin Jami</td>
<td>1. (1) Bi Tibrar Nisbatin Jami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (1) Bi Tibrar Nisbatin Jami</td>
<td>2. (1) Bi Tibrar Nisbatin Jami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (2) Shuq al-Islam Qutl</td>
<td>3. (2) Shuq al-Islam Qutl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

آن واقع که امیر سیستانی پدر
حوادث بی‌پروازی بی‌پرو آدم
یک از اسئله‌های از رستمی
خواهی که خدی و بی‌می
نمایید، و بنوا خت و
کنک بارید گلگین آن
آن رستمی بدری دشت
بی‌پرو آدم و دوستی گرند
افتا معره عربی قریان رستمی
آن پدر رستمی قدرت
کند که امروز حاجیان حج کند
که کلید می‌دهد آنها بودید
لکگر حج کند کدک
می‌خواهی که تا آنجا بود شرطت
آن‌ها پسی کنی‌ها گفت تکم
انور برا مربوط برد و حج
کردن و دار باید آنده

آن رستمی نازی گفت
که نوچچی حج بی‌بی‌بی
دربنیان شیخانی می‌باشد
که پاداش خلیع می‌باشد
که کار حج را به‌کار برد
و دوازده آباده و هزاره‌های
که بیابان نادانه دارد
که از بیابان چترین
که دری نکرده و نهاد
که دوست آرام‌های
تشکیلچه برخی رست
ارادت ایمان را از...

که در خانه خونن بیشان
بسته‌ها بخوانن آرا ام
دریان کنار و نوگری باکس
جبزی نگفتی (ص ۱۴۵)

(ص ۱۴۲)
(3) شيخ الإسلام فقه كه طلبات خزرج بن عل

عبد الله خفيف بود شيخ

بوب الطلاب كه من خدمة

وي ميرم ووي علم شرف

بوم دام خون مريدن طلبت

در رو م نسباد وكن غاية

بوم مي أوار داد كت

شيرازي هين خشف الله

من شفاعة وروعتي يدي داد

على يغم بريد اراب

عبد الله خفيف كه توآن

معته الله جون بشيد

اريغ كت جون رحب الله

شيخ الإسلام كت لاح نبانات

مريد را ك دل استاد ربير

نكده لابون ونقاء دي

نجرده نابند لشفك الله

استاد شنيدة...

على يغم بريد اراب

عبد الله خفيف

خشف

خوذ درست بايد زعبر

ولا يلغن ك استاد وببور

م بادك ك دو رين

جتان سندره ولا يلغن تبور

ك يين استاد ربير (ص 362)

وي خوذ شرف كه...

(ص 362)
The next to the Rafahát-ul-Uno is the Mir'at-ul-Ašārār, a voluminous book on 'Taṣawwuf' and 'Tagkira-i-Ṣūfīs', written in India by Shaikh 'Abdur-Rahmān Chīshṭī in 1045 A.H. 'Abdur-Rahmān had himself visited the tomb of Saiyid Ashraf. He was himself a ṣūfī and has described his own experiences at Kichhauchha in his book. He has named the Latiṣ-i-Ashrafı as one of his sources.

1. His journey to Kichhauchha took place in 1034 A.H. (Mir'at-ul-Ašārār F. 306).
12. THE VALUE OF THE LATA'IF-I-ASHRAFI

(a) (As a book of Islamic mysticism)

Lata'if-i-Ashrafi, on the one hand, is based on the fundamental and the most authentic books of Islamic mysticism, and on the other, it had been approved by Saiyid Ashraf himself. These facts show its authenticity and enhance its importance.

To assess its value, however, it is quite apt to have at least a cursory glance over the sufistic literature produced in the 13th and 14th centuries A.H. of India, and over the activities of ṣūfīs of this period.

It was in the 13th century A.H. that the influence of Islamic mysticism became far-reaching and deep-rooted in India. In this century, in India, there appears a galaxy of bright stars shining on the firmament of Islamic mysticism which are even today enlightening our spiritual world. Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī, Qutb-ud-Dīn Bahātiyyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd-ud-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya, Nasīr-ud-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Behlī, Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariya Multānī, Ṣūfī Ṣamī-ud-Dīn Nāgorī and many others are even today reigning over the hearts of millions of people, and their teachings and deeds have survived for ever.

But there do not end the activities of Muslim saints. The second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century also are rich in number and glory of Muslim saints.

In the 13th century, Ṣūfīs learnt and taught Qur'ān, traditions of the prophets and the fundamental books of 'taṣawwuf'. They practised according to the teachings of these books and purified their own souls as well as the souls of their followers. Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariyyā, however, tried to save politics from pollution...
by his direct interference in political matters. But in this period no book was written in which the theoretical analysis of the difficult and delicate problems of Islamic mysticism could be noticed. In some discourses of the sufis of this period, there are, of course, some such discussions but they do not cover all the problems and moreover, their approach is mystical rather than theoretical. This period of a hundred years possesses some remarkable characteristics peculiar to itself.

Now the centre of activities of Muslim saints was not confined within northern India alone. There were so many centres established in the different parts of the country. In Kashmir, Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, in Gulbarga, Saiyid Muhammad Gau Daraz, in Bengal, Shaikh 'Alauddin and his son Shaikh Nivr, in Bihar, Sharaf-ud-Din Yahya Maneri and his son Ahmad Yahya Maneri, in Makanpur, Shaikh Badiuddin Madar, in Ayodhya, Shaikh Shamsuddin Awadhi, in Multan, Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari whose influence reached Dehli, and in Jaunpur, Saiyid Ashraf Semnan had established their "Khangha" and they were engaged in enlightening the atmosphere in which they breathed.

As regards the works on Islamic mysticism and the theoretical approach to its problems, 14th and 16th centuries are the most significant in Indian history of sufistic literature.

The next significant characteristic of this period is the communications between sufis and kings, nobles and men of learning and erudition. By their letters, sufis continued imparting their

1. By mystical approach I mean: when a sufi explains some problem in such a way as it is understandable only to a sufi, his approach will be mystical. In this explanation, he does not give arguments from Qur'an or Hadis but he is satisfied while furnishing some experiences of some eminent sufis.
spiritual teachings and thus kept their disciples in their contact even in their absence from 'Khānqāhs'. Kings and nobles came in direct contact with sufis. Keeping all these characteristics in view in general, when we study the personality of Saiyid Ashraf, we find him the unique personality of this period in which all these characteristics had combined together in a dynamic and vital form. His letters and discourses bear testimony to this effect.

The Ḭalāf-i-ʿAshrafī is the only book written in India in which all the problems of Islamic mysticism have been explained. The approach is not only mystical but also theoretical. It is the quintessence, and at the same time a commentary of all the fundamental books on Islamic mysticism.

This is the only book of 'Tasawwuf' containing such preachings and routine as can really guide kings and emperors in their administrative pursuits. A perusal of this book and a knowledge of the practical life of Saiyid Ashraf would adequately dispel the wrong notion that Islamic mysticism preaches confinement within a corner and a total cut off from the rest of life.
(b) **Literary Value**

Persian literature owes much to ṣūfīs. Saiyid Ashraf was himself a poet and writer. The *Latāf-i-Ashrafī* contains hundreds of his verses. The book displaying a personality of versatile tastes, extensive knowledge and vast experience, possesses such characteristics as distinguish it from other books of Islamic mysticism. The subject matter is not limited to only mysticism. Its literary aspect is also fascinating, and the book being the only and the most authentic source of Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī, has become an indispensable part of the history of Persian literature. In the following lines its literary characteristics are summed up:

1. As regards the literary history of Persia, the most significant aspect of this book is its statement about Ḥāfīz. The book presents the most authentic record about this poet.

   The credit of substantiating its literary importance goes to Prof. Naẓīr Ahmad who for the first time wrote under the title *Hāfiz-i-Shirāzī dar Qadīm-e-Tārīkh* (The two oldest sources of Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī) which was reproduced by Asghar 'Ali Ḥikmat in *Mauzūl truyền học*.

   The *Latāf-i-Ashrafī* presents the most authentic record not only about Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī, but also about Qādī Shihāb-ud-Dīn Daulatabadī, Shāikh 'Alā-ud-Daula Semnānī, Shāikh Kamāl-ud-Dīn ‘Abdur-Razzaq Kāshānī, Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and Ābul-Wafa Khwārazmī.

2. The *Latāf-i-Ashrafī* represents the *Tabaqāt-us-Ṣūfīya* Harawi for the first time, in simpler and more intelligible language.

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In the preface of the Nafahat-ul-Ung, Jami writes:

"... ولاحظون بياناً في موضع أنه قد درن السحور بعض وقعه بناءه، متحف نيمي وكأنه بجاح أحمد سعيد، كده درج سباع من موائع فهم فقه، فتبينه است تبديد فإماً محسوماً بدكر بعض من مقداره والذكاء، ديماً ذكر حصرت شيخ الإسلام، وصاحبان، وأزياء من جامع بيروت.

وقد برجع وطاقت، والمعروف أهل زارگست درب ديوان آن وآثراً كله، مذهب، درج، ملء صرحان جديه، وحارب، ملء مواقع، انخفاض...

It means that Tabaqat-us-Sūria Harawi, being in Harawi dialect, was not perfectly intelligible to all Persian-speaking people, and Jami, to make it more intelligible, transformed it into current Persian. But while discussing the similarity of the Nafahat-ul-Ung and the Latāfī-i-Ashrāfī, it has been proved that the Latāfī-i-Ashrāfī was one of the sources of the Nafahat-ul-Ung. And the Tabaqat-us-Sūria Harawi was the source of both these books. Therefore the credit of rendering it into simpler language should go to Saiyid Ashraf.

(3) In the Latāfī-i-Ashrāfī, several verses of some eminent Sufis have been explained and their backgrounds have been given. These verses are quoted below:

Several verses of Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī can be correctly understood only after the perusal of the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* in which they have been quoted on different occasions.\(^2\)

In a separate chapter,\(^3\) the meanings of the technical terms used by ṣūfīs in poetry have been expounded.

\(^{(4)}\) After the *Lubāb-ul-Albāb-i-*Awfi, it is the oldest document on some eminent Persian poets. In this context also, about several poets, the statements and words of the *Nafahat-ul-Ups* and the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* are the same. About Rūdākī, there is some similarity in the statements of the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* and the *Lubāb-ul-Albāb*.\(^4\) The *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* deals, however, briefly and simply. Both say: "المحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم" است. But to this sentence, there is an addition in the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*: "تَّثْ بِهِ بَعْضَ نَذَرُكَ نَذِيرًا تُلْكَ اثْمَارًا لَّكَكَمَا هَزَّتُكَ السَّمَّاَتِ". In the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, the background of the Qasida *บ'эн* has been given in a simple and brief manner, about which we are first informed by the *Chahār Maqāla*. But the *Lataif-i-

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1. This couplet was explained by the poet (Magferibi) himself before Kamāl Khajandī (see *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* Vol. II, p.363 and *Nafahat-ul-Ups*), and the same explanation in the same words has been given in the *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* and the *Nafahat-ul-Ups*, both.
2. For detailed information see *Fikr-o-Nazar*, January 1960, under the title *حَلَفَتْ بَيْنَ كَرْدِي وَزَرَّاءُ أَهِبَتُْ هَزَّتَ النَّجَّاَتَُ فَُرُدَّ الْمَلَأُ* written by Prof. Magīr Ahmad.
i-Ashrafi adds to our information saying:

"In this book the following poets have been mentioned under a separate chapter:


(5) Latulf-i-Ashrafi represents the language and style of the different periods of the history of Persian literature. There are to be found the models of the style and language from 5th century to 9th century A.H. The effects of Tabaqatus-Sufia Harawi and Kashful-Mahjub are quite manifest in this book. A number of old words, phrases, idioms, and sentences have been used in this book which can be rarely found in the books of 'Tasawuf' produced in 8th century A.H. For example:
بطور اسم (عجایب آن زیب ان و غرائب آن بین مشاهده کرده اند)

بعنی خواهش نماسی جایی در آن رکاز هیچ دیواری پیدا نمی‌گردد

بعنی استفاده قلم سخن

بعنی بیان آگر و بیژن کس و برادر (ماند هرود)

بعنی بهم ازما می‌آیند

بعنی گذشتند (پس هفته مقام ضرورت می‌گردد که مانند)

بعنی پای معاف (همین که درکند نیستند برود)

بعنی جریان شدن (از لازمی مانند)

بعنی عاجز شدن (ذکر حق کس را مسلم باند که نیاز

از پا به حرکت مانند باند)

بعنی راز نیستند (حرفه بیرون نیستند که

دیگر پرسی دیگرسان نین)

بعنی کرنا

بعنی پاشادهه می‌گین

(ورا در برابر خوان خاندل داده بود)

بعنی پیشود گزند

بعنی بی‌براری

کمیه از خدای میرز

بعنی در‌حریم از پاشادم

(از دست گذیدر در حریم از پاشادم)

بعنی جایی (ما خوان از کشف المجدوب)

(ما خوان از کشف المجدوب)

بعنی بی‌نخست

بعنی رازگر کردن

بعنی پیگاه تر

بعنی شیا نگاه
But it does not mean that the *Lataifi-i-Ashrafi* is only a representation of the language and style of other books. It has also its individual style which can be quite distinguished from other books. While describing a battle, the beauty is created by a grandeur in the style; while depicting a love story mentioned in the *Masnawi* of Rumi, the style is imbued with poetic beauty; while dealing with some delicate problems of mysticism, some suitable similies are selected to carry the idea home; and in purely descriptive language the simplicity is maintained with the use of idioms.

A few example will suffice to give the readers an idea of its style:

1. **Description of a battle:**

    حضور قدره اکبری میروبود که در ایام چهارم و هفتم و پنجا
    بر بیوه سه کم ترکنان و سردار انسان بود از شروع چهارم تا نهض

عدم و متفاق را دام بریز و سردار آنها را لغو شفاف و شرب و نشان آورند و برخی دردش‌ها و خوشبختی برای پناه‌جویان در فردا را راه‌یافته او صرف نمایند. در نهایت بعضی از اتاق‌ها و بعضی از دامنه‌ها از این دیدگاه در روز خبري، به‌صورت تخته و درجه‌بندی شوید. به ویژه در این نقطه واریزی‌های آخرين کرد و مدت گذشته ویداری به‌عنوان سیاه سمنان و نیز قیامت بیشتر برآورد شد...
A love story mentioned in the Ma'navi of Rumi.

1. Lataif-i-Ashrafî, Chapter 6.
On thinking (Chapter 10)

(3) On thinking (Chapter 10)

(4) On the Vision of God
در دنیا بیشتر حسن پنیبده و آن به کلیه خواب و رواهه باشند

البته روی دیگه حسن بین باید و آن کجا برده جهان بین من است

اعفت اصحاب کش و یگان راپید شهد رمید انست که حسن ماهن راپید و اسمه
اسم پر رابطه برای کهن درنامه دیده جه ذات عالی سما ارا نویست
که روی آرزو اجاره کنین و طرق احترام خانگی بود و گیا از آرزو اسم ار
وصفات موجب نتایج صبر نیزگار و ارتفاع سیرت ناظرین حساب است
جوانک ببی قهری ابرقیه که اسمه من حضرت حسن شاهید رحیم دیگر موجب ریت
راش می‌گردید آنچنان اسمه اسم حساب هم رواهه اردبیلیه شمس و جهود اصحاب
شهوده

"هنگرد که در جهه نسازنگار مشاهده عروس زیبا نگار نسازنگار عبانان کامل را حاصل
ولیکن پیغم رفیق از سوسن دیم برادر خسته که رفع از بدن آرود نبود است تا
نفرت باشد در مشاهده وحیت و بزید دانست که هنگرد نمک‌ریز به نزد مشاهده
وریت کاملتی در میان لطافت اینجا و آنجا و جهل و آنکه حضرت مائی ایله و جه
فروپید نوشف انگیزه لیمت آرای خوانی به همی در نزدیکی در دنیا و خواهد
جه زیارت خواهد بود بلکه زیادی در شوق وصول و نوریتی در دنیا حصول خواهد بود"
With all its literary, historical and other values, the contents of the \textit{Lataif-i-Ashrafi} are not all genuine or authentic. Some historical errors made in this book, have been discussed in detail in the previous chapters of this preface, and others have been critically judged on their relevant places in the present edition of the \textit{Lataif-i-Ashrafi} Vol. I. For the sake of the facility for the readers to have a quick access to such pages, brief references to such events and statements are given below:

(i) It has been said that Shaikh 'Alaud-Daula Semnani belonged to some royal dynasty of Persia and was himself the minister of the king Ibrahim. This statement has been proved to be wrong. (see p.111).

(ii) The remarks made by Abul-Hasan Qarshi about some Sufis of the 6th century A.H. have been proved to be unauthentic. (see pp.62, 63).

(iii) There is an anecdote which tells the tale of Shaikh Ahmad Aslam Tusif who refused the presents offered to him by a ruler of Hirat, while the matter did not really concern with Shaikh Ahmad Aslam Tusif. (see p. 91).

(iv) It has been said that Saiyid Ashraf had met Sultan Walad which cannot be correct (see pp.224 - 233).

(v) It has been said that Saiyid Ashraf travelled to Sulbarga in 770 A.H. and stayed in the Khangah of Saiyid Mohd. Gesu Daraz. One of the two things (either the date or his stay in the Khangah) must be wrong (see p.133).
(vi) A prophesy made by Ahmad Sibtî about Saiyid Ashraf has been mentioned which has been shown to be neither genuine nor authentic (see p. 136).

(vii) A battle between Saiyid Ashraf and Mongols has been very exaggeratedly described in which fifty thousand Mongols were killed and arrested. This statement has been shown to be quite incredible. (see p. 43).

(viii) The stories mentioned about Abul-Hasan Başarî show that Abul-Hasan had been born while the prophet was alive which is not correct (see p. 465).

The Lataif-i-Ashrafi was published by Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Husain and Saiyid 'Ali Husain Ashrafi Kichhauchhawi Faizabad with the help of Khan Bahadur Kalb-i-Hasan 'Ali, the Nawab of Rampur. First it was published in one volume in 1295 A.H. in the Nuṣrat-ul-Matbat, Delhi, and its second edition was published in 1298 A.H. in two volumes in the same press.

Saiyid Nazri-Ashraf Fazil Kichhauchhawi intended to translate it into Urdu but translated only first four "Latifas" which were published with the name of Barakat-i-Chishtiya in the "Ashrafi" magazine.

But, as a matter of fact, all these copies of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi could not be free from glaring mistakes. And as very old and dependable MSS. of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi are not available in any library of the world, a critical and reliable edition of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi based on only these books could not be possible. In addition to collating these books, I have, therefore, gone some steps farther in editing the book.

In this edition, an attempt has been made:

i. to check the statements of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi based on some particular books with the help of these source-books themselves,

ii. to check the historical and other events with external sources,

iii. to study the personalities mentioned in the book with the help of other books,

iv. and to make the book more useful by giving brief notes on the personalities and the old places mentioned in the book.
Several MSS. of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi are preserved in public and private libraries of India, but none of them is found to be transcribed before 12th century A.H. Some of them which seemed to be of some use, were utilised and others were neglected.

The examples of unavailed copies of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi are as follows:

1. MS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Catalogue No. 1214, E166. It was written in 12th century.

2. MS. of the library of the Madrasa-i-Qadiria Budaun. It contains 280 folios and the name of its transcriber is Najaf 'Ali, the date of its transcription is 17 Zil-Qa'ida 1218 A.H. It bears the stamp containing the name of Pir Muhammad Panah 'Ate Karl Ashrafi Adhami. I have seen this MS. It is full of mistakes and spurious writings.

3. MS. owned by Maulavi Saiyid Qadir Ahmad Kichhauchawi, transcribed in 1290 A.H. It is incomplete.

The MSS. used in correcting the text of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi are as follows:

1. The MS. donated by Subhanullah Khan to the Maulana 'Azad Library A.M.U, Aligarh. It was transcribed in 1119 A.H. during the reign of Aurangzeb. The printed copy of the Lataif-i-Ashrafi was minutely compared with this MS. and where the words or sentences remained doubtful, they were again compared with the following MSS:

3. MS. Lytton Supplement 31, the Maulānā 'Āzād Library A.M.U. Aligarh. The date of its transcription is 1198 A.H. The name of the transcriber is Malik Muhammad and Malik Ahmad 'Alī. It is incomplete.

4. The MS. Lytton 97, the Maulānā 'Āzād Library A.M.U. Aligarh. It contains 237 folios. The date of its transcription is 1171 A.H. It is also incomplete.