

ADDITIONS AND ERRATA

As I was absent from the Netherlands at the time of printing I was unable to see Vol. I through its final proofs. Hence I am particularly grateful for the opportunity to correct here certain mistakes that disfigure this Vol. Also my relative isolation in Australia, especially as far as matters Islamic are concerned, has tended to preclude consultations with my teachers and senior colleagues. Since my book appeared, however, some of them have been kind enough to offer me their suggestions. I shall indicate these below as follows:

- D. = Prof. Dr. G. J. W. Drewes (Noordwijk aan Zee, Netherlands);
- V. = Dr. P. Voorhoeve (Barchem, [Gld.], Netherlands);
- B. = Drs. J. T. P. de Bruin (Leiderdorp, Netherlands);
- J. = Dr. G. H. A. Juynboll (Exeter, Great Britain);
- R. = Dr. R. Roolvink (Voorschoten, Netherlands);
- R. J. = Dr. Russell Jones (London, Great Britain).

Finally, during a trip following the appearance of my book I was able to collect some additional material, which has also been incorporated here.

p. IX: TABLE OF CONTENTS, Chapter 3. Languages: r. Language.

INTRODUCTION

- p. 4: line 9 from below: remembrance: r. commemoration (D)
- p. 6: final sentence: in the meantime such an investigation has indeed taken place. The reference is to Dr. Wadād al-Qāḍī's book: *al-Kaisānīyah fi' t-tārīx wa'l-adab*, Bairūt, 1974), a work which certainly deserves translation into a Western language. On pp. 264-267 she discusses the fate of the Kaisānīyah after the fourth century H. Her conclusion is that there is no sound evidence to suggest the existence of the sect in a period later than the fourth century, even though admittedly there have been reports about it even up to the present time. This conclusion of course does not preclude a continuation of M. H. worship within the framework of the šī'ah itself well beyond the period in which the sect became extinct. In this context it may be useful to briefly compare the implied beliefs of the author of the H.M.H. and the basic tenets of the Kaisānīyah. In two important respects he seems to agree with the latter, in two no less important respects he shows a fundamental difference of opinion. In agreement with the Kaisānīyah he believes that M. H. was destined by the Prophet to avenge his brother, and was given

the latter's name, and that he showed great courage (I 26: 156-194). Furthermore he did not die, but disappeared, locked in a cave (II 22: 47-49). On the other hand however, he did *not* act as *imām* but made himself subservient to Zain al-^cĀbidīn. Moreover the concept of his *ruj^cah* and his future role of Mahdī are absent from the H.M.H. In one chapter of her book (*al-Kaisānīyah wa'l-firaq al-uxrā*, pp. 269-305) Dr. al-Qāḍī has shown that the two beliefs concerning M. H. which the author of the H.M.H. seems to share, were both acceptable to the šī^cah/Ism^cīliyah while the two other tenets were strictly anathema to them. (For Muḥammad giving M. H. his own name cf.o.c. p. 292: sayūladu laka ba^cdī waladu fasammihī bi'smī wa kannihī bi-kunyati) and for the acceptance of the concept of the *ḡaibah* among the šī^cah cf. o.c. pp. 275 ff.). If this evidence is taken into account we are, I think, justified in seeking the author of the H.M.H. amongst the šī^cah rather than within the (in his time probably already extinct) Kaisānīyah. Hence the extremist circles which worshipped M. H. referred to on p. 27, must be found within the šī^cah. In that way the chronological difficulty which arises if a work from the fourteenth century is linked to a sect which had ceased to exist several centuries ago, is solved.

- p. 7: line 12: Zaim r. Zain.
- p. 8: line 8. The year 1624 is inaccurate here as this is the date of Erpenius' death. His MSS. were not transferred to Cambridge till 1632 (cf. p. 55) (V).
- line 36: manuscript r. text.
- p. 12: I should have mentioned here that Rieu's catalogue being inaccessible to me in Melbourne, I was forced to check this entry against Van Ronkel 1896 b. where it is quoted. It has since been brought to my notice that the mistakes *prisoned* for *poisoned* and Yaz^cīd for Yazīd appear in the quotation but *not* in the original (J).
- p. 15: line 9 from below: dāhane r. dahāne (D).
- p. 17: line 8. The term 'unicum' (which I borrowed from Van Ronkel, 1896 b.) cannot be accepted as accurate any longer. Apart from the Leningrad MS, of the Persian H.M.H. referred to in Chapter 2, note 19, a third MS. is apparently kept in Dacca, Bangla Desh. I must stress however, that my argument that there is no Persian MS in which II and III are not found combined, remains unaffected.

The Dacca MS. is mentioned in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian, Urdu and Arabic Manuscripts in the Dacca University Library, in Two Volumes Vol. I: *Persian Manuscripts* by A. B. M. Habibullah, with a note on the history of the Manu-

script Collection by M. Siddiq Khan, Dacca University Library Publication 1, Dacca, 1966, p. 54 no. 65. It is described as: 'A legendary account of the events of Karbala, the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the military exploits of Muhammad Hanif (!) son of Ali, who avenged his brothers, defeated Yazid's men, released the members of his family from prison and suppressed the Kharijites.

The account ends with the installation of Zainul Abedin, Husain's surviving son in the Khilafat, discovery of Yazid's corpse in the bottom of a well and the final disappearance of Muhammad Hanif'.

As will be seen this description renders one important piece of information: viz. the disappearance of M. H. as related in II 22 is authentic and belongs to the Persian original (cf. my exclamation *Allāhu a'lam* on p. 21, line 18). The description further informs us that the title 'Jang Nama-i-Muhammad Hanif' is only found in the colophon and that 'the account is supposed to have been narrated by Imam Ja'far, wrongly stated here as the son of Abu Bakr Siddiq'. The latter corruption is already known to us from the Malay H. M. H. itself. The MS. consists of 106 ff. 14 ll., 8½ x 5½ in., on country-made paper, wormed. It is written in *nastaliq* mixed with *shikastah* and was copied by a certain Shihamuddin, son of Najmuddin Husain of Palkar, Pargana Talibabad (Dacca Dist.). It was completed on the Akshoy Divitiya, 10th Baisak 1194 (Bengali year) [B].

line 29: the term *distinctive* is probably too strong here as dream visions are part and parcel of Muslim literature. Yet I believe that beginning a story in this way may be more frequent in Acehnese literature than elsewhere [D].

- p. 24: line 7: it is true that *mukti* in the Skrt. meaning occurs in O.J. and Balinese. Van Ronkel's reference, however, clearly refers to the homophonous N.J. word [D].
- p. 28: line 15: Kaysaniyyah r. Kaisāniyyah.
- p. 32: line 2: t.w.'. r. t.w.';
line 12: D. r. Dr.
I would like to point out here that the quotation is from Shellabear, *not* from Drewes !
- p. 37: line 15: omit the words 'distance of a' [R].
line 24. It is methodologically wrong to include *kekenalan* here as that form belongs to the well known pattern ke-V-an (cf.: *kedengaran, kelihatan*). Consequently the caption should be amended into ke-V-i, and in line 26 the words following *patient* should be omitted. [R]
- p. 38: line 13: it is far from certain that this formation is limited to human beings. Dr. Voorhoeve refers to A. Bausani, Note su una

antologia inedita di versi mistici persiani con versione inter-lineare malese, AIOUN, 18, 1968, pp. 39-66 which contains the forms *hatingku*, *cahayangku*, *bagingku*, *rupangku*; to his own 'Kerintji Documents', B.K.I., 1970 dl. 129, pp. 369-399, esp. pp. 391-393: *sarba sartangku* [all my enemies] and to Bodl. Jav. e. 2. (Nur Muhammad, in Lampong script) which yields *cahayangku* [V letter 23.1.1976].

- p. 43: line 27: outside r. beyond.
- p. 44: At the end of Chapter 3 the following comment may be added:
A text that shows great linguistic affinity with the H.M.H. is the Hikayat Seri Rama, 1964, being the Shellabear MS of the Malay Hikayat Seri Rama. This affinity has been somewhat obscured in the romanized version.
In his article: Aanteekeningen op een ouden Maleischen Ramayana-tekst (BKI, 1919, pp. 379-384), Ph. S. Van Ronkel has pointed out several peculiarities which have their counterpart in the H.M.H. Among them are the forms *mamangku* and *hatingku* (Van Ronkel, p. 381). The form *kekenalan* is found in Hikayat Seri Rama, 1964, p. 196. Moreover in Hikayat Seri Rama, 1964, p. 80, we find the following sentence: 'karena harimau apabila tiada kuku dan tiada gigi dan telinga apa gunanya'. This may be compared to H.M.H. II 21 : 14-17 where we may also find the Persian original of this phrase.
Cf. the note on *poleng* below (add. to p. 307).

Another classical Malay text which yields some further 'ke-V-i' forms is the Sullam al-Mustafidina, a religious tract attributed to 'Abd ar-Ra'uf of Singkel and dating from the late 17th century. This text was edited by Miss E. A. Todd of Canberra, in an unpublished M. A. thesis. On p. 153 we find *ketakuti* and on pp. 167 and 182 *dikerelainya* (unless one regards this last form as a 'ke-N-i'-formation).

- p. 49: lines 20, 23: *nūra* r. *nūru* [V].
- p. 50: line 13: *raḍaytu* r. *raḍītu* [D].
- p. 53: line 7: agreement r. correspondence [D].
- p. 54: line 14: *Sāh-nāme* r. *šāh-ñame* (pass.).
- p. 56: line 1 ff. Drs. de Bruin believes that internal evidence points rather to Turkmenia [cf. the two Turks, and the likely provenance of the Leningrad MS from Central Asia]. On the other hand its popularity in *Bengal* [from whence hail two of the three extant Persian MSS] is well attested, from where it may well have reached the Archipelago.

line 12: Persion r. Persian.

- p. 62: line 7: The correspondence between this MS and the H.M.H. becomes all the more remarkable once it is taken into account

that in the Persian *ta^cziye*-tradition the hand that is cut off is not Ḥusain's but belongs to ^cAbbās [D].

- p. 65: line 5 from below: note 8 r. note 3 [V].
- p. 68: On the relationship between *ayyār* and *panakawan* cf. the fascinating study by A. Bausani 'An Islamic Echo of the 'Trickster'? The ^cayyārs of Indo-Persian and Malay Romances in 'Gururājamañjarika', Studi in Onore di Guiseppe Tucci, Napoli, 1974, pp. 457-467.
- p. 71: line 15: Once it is realised however that Zanzibar, in the Persian H.M.H. the homeland of the Zanggis, is in fact situated to the South East of Abyssinia, this geographical objection is overcome and the scheme can be upheld.
- p. 72: ad A L 1.6.5 r. L1.6.5 [V]
 ad M it is MS Farmer 6 [V]
 ad P Oph. 109 is now Or. 12.230 [V]
 ad V Sn H. 38 is now Or. 7265 [V].
- p. 73: ad CC St. r. C.St.
- p. 75: line 4 ff. Mainstone is also mentioned in an article by D. K. Basset: English Trade in Celebes, 1613-1667, JMBRAS 31, 1958, pp. 1-39. In 1660 he was in Makasar (Ujung Pandang, p. 33) and in 1667 in Jambi (p. 37). Moreover, according to Dr. Morrison, British Museum MS. B. M. Add. 7043 seems to contain another copy of his grammar. Who will devote a study to this fascinating personality? [R. J.]
- line 5 from below: as may be gleaned from the cover of Vol. I, MS. B does in fact read *dimasukkannya*, not the weird *dimasukannya*.
- p. 77: line 4 from below: for *karunia* one may also read *karena*, in which case the expression: *dengan karena Allah*, would be equivalent to an Arabic *min wajh Allāh*. [D]
- p. 79: ad K. Dr. Voorhoeve, in a letter of 23.1.1976, has presented me with some very strong arguments why K should *not* be considered as a product of the Batavian Scriptorium. In that case 1780 may well be the date of K itself.
- p. 80: line 8: for *white* r. *light* (?)
- p. 82: Add the following at the end of Introduction Chapter 8:
 A 31st MS of the H.M.H. has been recently discovered among the Malay community in Ceylon. It was found by Mr. B. A. Hussainmiya, a post-graduate student in the Department of Indonesian and Malay at Monash University, Clayton (Vic.), Australia. It numbers 461 pages with 17 lines on each page and

measures 6 x 7 inches. It is written on European type paper in a good, idiomatic Classical Malay. According to its colophon it was completed on 8 May 1894, in Kampung Kartil, Colombo. It has been damaged and it lacks the beginning. It belongs to version y_1 and contains a text that is widely superior to that of the lithographed edition.

Since I completed this Chapter two new catalogues of Malay MSS have come to my notice, both of which contain details concerning the H.M.H.

- (a) The 'Katalogus Koleksi Naskah Melayu Museum Pusat Dep. P + K' was published in 1972 (in Jakarta?). On pp. 192-194 we find short descriptions of the nine H.M.H. MSS of the Jakarta Library (hence including N). It may be useful to note here the new numbers of some of these MSS.

Y	=	ML 673
Z	=	ML 674
AA	=	ML 675
BB	=	ML 676
CC	=	ML 677
DD	=	ML 678

- (b) In the journal *Dewan Bahasa*, November 1973, pp. 516-535, a 'Katolog Manuskrip' was published, written by Ibrahim Kassim. It contains a description of the MSS kept in the Perpustakaan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. On p. 527 a copy of the 'Hikayat Muhammad Ali Hanafiah' is mentioned with the following details: 'Singapura: Haji Muhammad Amin bin Haji Abdullah, 1911, 194 n. 25 x 19 (Cap batu tulisan Jawi).' The last mentioned detail identifies this copy as an edition of the lithographed text.

- p. 84: paradigm Y, Y_1 r. y, y_1 .
- p. 85: line 10: areas r. area.
- p. 89: paradigm Y_1 r. y_1 Also there should be a *straight* line between y and z .
- p. 102: last line: note 1 r. note 2.
- p. 106: line 4 ff. That this feature (viz. the occurrence of M. H. in stories other than the H. M. H.) is not limited to Archipelagan literatures is evident from a reference in Maulavî Qâsim Ḥasîr Raḍavî and Maulavî ʿAbd-ul-Muqtadir, Khan Saheb: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bihâr Library* (Catalogue Raisonné of the Bihâr Library Vol. I), Calcutta, 1921, p. 330, no. 460.

There a 'Qiṣṣah-Bîbî Zaygün' is mentioned, a 'popular romance of Muḥammad Ḥanifah (sic) .. and Zaygün (the daughter of

the Sulṭân of Rûm)', of which it is said that 'the Bengali metrical version of this story is very popular in the villages of Bengal'.

Incidentally, Vol. II of the Catalogue Raisonné of this Library, containing a 'Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bihâr Library' by Shams-ul-^cUlamâ' M. Hidāyat Ḥusain Khān Bahādur, Ph. D. [Calcutta, 1923] p. 236, no. 202, contains a reference to a work by Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Muzaffar Yūsuf bin Kuzughlī (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawazī) called:

Tadkirat xawāṣṣ al-ummah fī ma^crifat al-a-'imma, dated A.H. 1307, the tenth 'bāb' of which is devoted ^cfī dīkr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanifah (!) [B].

- p. 106: line 20: As Dr. Ricklefs (SOAS, London) has pointed out in a letter of 21 January 1976: for *Ling Anbia* read: *Layang Anbia*.
- p. 107: line 32 ff. Prof. Drewes has been kind enough to amend my transliteration of the Acehnese text. It must be stressed, however, that so far he has not been able to check my readings against the original MS.

amended transliteration:

Kata Nurōdin ēbeunu Hasanji
 meunan neupeukri lam katanya:
 Mupakat ulama dumna siah.
 Meunoe neupeugah ka lam calitra:
 Soydina Ali ngon Mu^cawiyah
 niba' Allah pangkat beusa.
 Tanoh yub tapa' dua gandan (?)
 suci, tuan, teuleubeh ban. (?)
 Ba' masalan imeum nyang pat
 meunan, teebat, kheun ulama.

Soe nyang ceureuca dua ureueng
 niba' Tuhan keunong meureuka
 misē Yadēt aneu' Mu^cawiyah
 peulara lidah he syeedara
 be' keu takheun Yadēt kaphē
 hana dali nyang peusoe sa (?)
 hana hadih niba' nabi
 hana dali kheun Rabbōna.

Further it should be pointed out here that a printed version exists of the Acehnese H. M. H. It is called 'Hikayat Hasan Huseen, gubahan Sjih Rih Kroengraja', consists of four volumes and was published in Kutaraja in 1959. The Wason Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., holds a copy (PL 5194, K 57, H 3) from which I shall presently quote some fragments. I shall faithfully reproduce its

text except for some adjustments in the spelling. (cf. also *Indonesia*, Cornell I, (1966), p. 129).

It starts as follows (I p. 5)

Calitra nyoe Hasan Husēn,
Cuco jonjōngan Nabi kita.
Ma'neu Fatimah ayohneu Ali
Banduwa matē jiinanya.

Meukeurajeuen nanggroe Meusē,
Jigantoe lē dujih Raja.
Ayoh Yaziz Maqnawiyah,
Sahbat leubeh Nabi kita.

The hatred between Yazid and Husain is motivated in the following way:

Nyang jeuet pakē Yaziz ngon Husēn.
Sabab tuwan teulhee nisa.
Teuka Yaziz lakee meukawēn,
Kata jitēm ban teulhee Nisa.

.

Ngon sabab nyan Yaziz beunci,
Han jitukri meuinanya.
Dalam hatēji sakēt that,
Raja la'nat darōhaka.

Husain's agony (I 24 : 435-464) is described here as follows (II p. 12):

Ba' dada keunong busu bleuet,
Ka meuleubōb srōt ubumoe.
Ka jipeurab dum meurōn-rōn,
Ka jihudōm ban peuet sagoe.

Saydina Husēn ka meugulē,
Mangat hatē Kaphē pindoe.
Teuma teuka Marza^ceh,
Ureueng leubeh dagang pindoe.

Amir Husēn tanyong pantah,
Peue nama kah kahareutoe,
Jiseuōt lē deungon beungeh;
Si Marza^ceh nama lōn nyoe.

Beukit nyo bit ban kapeugah,
Dada tapeuhah lōn kalōn jinoo.
Si Marza^ceh buka dada,
Leumah nyata mom mupudoe.

Ba' dada jih mom na tujōh,
Nabi kheun yōh dilee saboh roe.
Masa hayat Rasulul 'lah,
Ka neupeugah ba' cuco droe.

Jikoh takue Amirin Husēn,
 Hana jichēn raja pindoe.
 Teuma jijōh uba' Yaziz,
 Binatang bit brō' sinaroe.

M.H. is first informed of the fate of his two half-brothers via a letter which 'Fatimah' has entrusted to the wind, afterwards (II p. 25) he has a dream-vision in which he meets the Prophet and Ali. The former orders him to take revenge (tatueng bila Hasan Husēn), after which he wakes up, tells his comrades and departs for the Mausoleum of the Prophet:

Ladōm wasiet ladōm khatam
 Macam-macam lakee du^ca.
 Karōnya Po sidroe Tuhan,
 Keudeungaran saboh suwara. (cf. II 11. p. 51-68).

The end of the story is as follows (IV p. 11):

Ali Akbar hana piyōh,
 Le that neupoh kaphē ^casi.
 Ban neukalōn Yaziz ka matē,
 Mangat hatē hana sakri.

Neucang kaphē meusōng-abōng,
 Ladōm puntōng jaroe gaki
 Ali Akbar that guransang,
 Kaphē neucang hana hanti.

Ladōm neutob ba' boh punggōng,
 Ka tapangkhōng (= seupeukōng ?) ka meugulē.
 Muhammad Nafiyah hana piyōh,
 Kaphē neupoh kala kali.

Nyang han ē' plueng habēh neupoh
 Tan meung saboh udēbjī lē.
 Ra'yat matē nanggroe dum soh,
 Rumoh reuloh kanan kiri.

As one sees, the final scenes of the Malay H.M.H. are not found here, It is worth pointing out that the continuity between the two parts of the H.M.H. is maintained in this version. As in the other Acehnese versions Hasan's murderer is called: Layla Meucēn. As Snouck Hurgronje has pointed out (1893-1894, II, p. 180) this is a corruption of Majnūn Lailā, the well known legendary Arab poet.

Further research should determine how close this adaption is to the original Acehnese H.M.H. That it contains authentic material may be considered certain. At any rate till the appearance of my own edition this text was the only romanized H.M.H. in any language, as far as could be ascertained.

p. 116: line 5: Sāh-nāme r. Šāh-nāme.