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THE OLDEST TEXT OF IBN AL-FĀRIḌ'S *DĪWĀN*: A MANUSCRIPT OF KONYA

by

Giuseppe SCATTOLIN

1. The Strange Story of a Momentous Find.

In the introduction to his translation of the 'Great *Tā'īyya*' (*al-Tā'īyyat al-kubrā*), a mystical poem composed by the Egyptian Sufi 'Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576/1181-632/1235), Arthur John Arberry (d. 1973), the well known English orientalist, mentions two reasons that pushed him to undertake such a difficult task¹. The first, as he says, was that: "... I happened to hit upon a manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems in the library of my generous friend Mr. A. Chester Beatty, a copy which antedates all other known codices". The other was that: "By one of those strange coincidences which

1. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's full name is Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ (or Abū l-Qāsim) 'Umar b. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Muršid b. 'Alī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥamawī. His family was from Ḥamāt (Syria), but he was born in Cairo on the 4th *Dū al-Qa'da* 576/22nd March 1181, where he also died on the 2nd of *Ġumādā al-Ūlā* 632/23rd January 1235. He spent most of his life in Cairo, except for a period in which, following an accepted Sufi custom, he went to Mecca where he stayed for some years, probably between 613/1216 and 628/1231. After his return from Mecca, the poet lived near al-Azhar mosque, away from public attention. It must have been during his last four years that Ibn al-Fāriḍ dictated his collection of poems (*dīwān*). In the current editions, this *dīwān* consists of about twenty four odes and some epigrams, in all about 1785 verses and all of them depend on the recension worked out by the poet's grandson, 'Alī *siḥf* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, a century later, around 733/1333. 'Alī also wrote a biographical introduction to the *dīwān*, called *dībāġa* (lit. ornament, a name usually given to the preface of a book). This is often found, though not always in full, at the beginning of the *dīwān*'s editions. It is this textual tradition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* that is now put into question by the find of the Konya manuscript here described. For more information about Ibn al-Fāriḍ's life and work see: R. A. Nicholson-J. Pedersen "Ibn al-Fāriḍ" in EI2 3,763a-764b; Thomas Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse and His Shrine*, Columbia (USA), University of South Carolina Press, 1994; Giuseppe Scattolin, "More on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Biography" in MIDEO 22 (1995) pp. 202-245.

almost persuade a man to believe in destiny, I had the luck at about same time to pick up in an obscure bookshop a copy of the very rare edition (published in the East in 1876) of the oldest and most detailed commentary on the poem, that written during the latter half of the thirteenth century by Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farghānī..."².

Such 'strange coincidences' seem to be not out of date. It happened to me too, in a most incredible way, to 'hit upon' a manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems which in all probability antedates even that of the Chester Beatty Collection, found and published by Arberry, dated around 691H (1292AD). The story of this find may seem far-fetched and unbelievable, but this is the plain truth, though I do not think that it will persuade anybody 'to believe in destiny'.

In summer 1993, while visiting Konya (Central Turkey) the tomb of the most venerated Persian Sufi poet, Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (606/1207-672/1273)³, I met in the market place a professor of the faculty of Arts of the local Seldjuk University. In our conversation, he put forward some odd ideas of his own about the popular Sufi poet of Konya, Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; the topic took us into an animated discussion. In the end, this casual acquaintance invited me to visit the local library of Konya, the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi, to show me some manuscripts that could prove his bizarre ideas on Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. While going through the pages of an old codex, we hit upon some poems I soon recognized to be of the great Egyptian Sufi poet, 'Umar Ibn

2. Arthur John Arberry, *The Poem of the Way*, translated into English verse from the Arabic of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Emery Walker, London, 1952, p. 7.

3. Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī b. Bahā' al-Dīn Sulṭān al-'Ulamā' Walad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad Ḥaṭībī was born in Balḥ (Iran) on the 7th Rabī' I 604/ 30th September 1207. His father was both a religious scholar and a Sufi. Under the pressure of the Mongol onslaught, his father left Balḥ, moving with his family westwards until he settled in Konya that had become a refuge for many Muslims in flight from the eastern regions of the Islamic world. Ġalāl al-Dīn went to Damascus for a short period where he probably met the great Andalusian Sufi, Ibn 'Arabī, who died in Damascus in 638/ 1240. Back in Konya, Ġalāl al-Dīn began teaching to a number of followers, and there, he met Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, Ibn 'Arabī's most prominent disciple and, according to an accepted tradition, lived in close friendship with him. However, the event that completely changed Ġalāl al-Dīn's life was his encounter with a wandering Sufi, Šams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī, whom he called the 'Sun of Truth'. This Sufi kindled in him the fire of mystical love and, under his sway, Ġalāl al-Dīn's poetical inspiration was awakened prompting him to express his inner experiences and thoughts in Sufi poetical compositions. Ġalāl al-Dīn died in Konya, where he was buried, on the 5th Ġumāda II 672/ 17th December 1273. After his death, his son Šulṭān Walad, a Sufi himself, continued his father's Sufi school organizing the disciples into a Sufi order which, because of its characteristic ritual dancing, became known as the order of "the whirling Dervishes". Rūmī's literary output was tremendous: he wrote more than 30.000 verses of lyric poetry, of which 26.000 verses constitute his great *Maṭnawī* (*Mesnevi* in Persian). It is impossible to draw up from such an ocean of verses something of a mystical system: his verses contain almost every conceivable mystical theory and every interpreter has found in them whatever he sought, from pantheism to personal mysticism, from enraptured love to law-bound orthodoxy; see Alessandro Bausani, "Djalāl al-Dīn" in EI2 2, 393b-397b.

al-Fāriḍ. There it was in front of us, in that old codex, the complete collection of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems, his *dīwān*. After some research, I could ascertain that this manuscript was not only the oldest known codex of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, but that it has not been classified or studied by anybody before: it was a completely unknown manuscript.

The importance of this find is that this old manuscript confirms in an unexpected way, an hypothesis put forward by Arberry about the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. As is well known, all current editions of the *dīwān*, the *textus receptus*, depend on the recension worked out by the poet's grandson, 'Alī *sibt* Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. ca. 735/1335), a century later, around 733/1333. 'Alī also wrote a biographical introduction to the *dīwān*, called *dībāḡa* (lit. ornament, name usually given to the preface of a book), commonly found, though not always in full, at the beginning of the current editions of the *dīwān*.

On the basis of the text of the Chester Beatty manuscript he published, Arberry could state on the contrary that: "... he [= the copyist] states in his colophon that he had been diligent in searching for the poems. We are left with these fourteen odes [fifteen, adding the *Tā'īyyat Kubrā*], as constituting the genuine and indisputable core of the *corpus*...". Arberry concluded with the warning: "It is clear, therefore, that the *textus receptus* needs to be examined very carefully, and that future researchers will be well advised to consider attentively the evidence furnished by the Chester Beatty manuscript as to the state of the text towards the end of the thirteen century"⁴.

Arberry's hypothesis received a further confirmation later, when, at the Oriental Manuscript Insitute of Leiden (Or. 2693), I happened to examine another old manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* dated before 757 H (1356 AD)⁵. This manuscript too, though later dated than those of Konya and Chester Beatty, confirms the contents of both, as it records only fifteen odes of the Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. Thus, from the evidence of the three oldest manuscripts one is led to conclude that the 'indisputable core of the *corpus*' of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, as Arberry called it, as known during the first century after the poet's death, consisted of only fifteen odes. A full report about these manuscripts and other manuscripts will be given in the present research-paper.

Believing or not 'in destiny', I saw my duty to publish the manuscript found in Konya and compare it with other early manuscripts and later printed editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* so as to offer a more critical and accurate edition of its text. In this way, I hope, Arberry's desire will also be fulfilled.

4. Arberry, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, translated and annotated, Emery Walker, Dublin, 1956, p. 6.

5. RijksUniversiteit, Leiden, Dept. of Oriental Manuscripts, Or. 2693.

In the following, I will give a complete account of my research on the Konya manuscript and the comparative survey of other witnesses about Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. From this survey, some important conclusions can be drawn.

2. Bibliographical References.

2-1. The codex of Yusufağa Kütüphanesi.

The manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* is contained in a volume of manuscripts (*muğmū*) found in the 'Yusufağa Kütüphanesi' (Yusufağa library) which is located near the shrine of Ğalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Mevlana Müsesi), in Konya⁶. The codex is a thick volume of 741 pages, bound in brown leather (*muğallad*), classified with number 7838/1-15 written inside the cover: this means that the volume contains fifteen manuscripts. With the same number the codex is registered in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Microfilm Service of Istanbul, from which I received its microfilm. The local catalogue of Yusufağa Kütüphanesi, instead, classifies the manuscripts of the codex with numbers going from 7838 to 7852. The dimensions of the codex are around 24,5 per 16,5 cm., but the written surface and the number of lines in its pages vary from one manuscript to another, as they have been written by different hands in different dates. Most of the manuscripts of this codex are actually works of the Andalusian Sufi, Ibn al-'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240)⁷. The pages are of a type of thick, glossy, fibreless paper. Most pages are white-yellowish coloured, mixed with a number of rather rose coloured ones, of the same make. They are distributed in sparse order in the manuscripts of the volume and have been copied at different

6. This library, located near Ğalāl al-Dīn's shrine, was founded by a learned man of the town, Yusufağa (from which its name), at the end of the eighteenth century. It contains a large number of manuscripts collected from many local libraries.
7. Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī al-Andalusī is usually called simply Ibn 'Arabī. Here, we prefer to name him according to its his original form Ibn al-'Arabī. Ibn al-'Arabī was born in Murcia (Spain) in 560/1165. After a first initiation into the Sufi life, he undertook in 599/1201 a long trip to the East, during which he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and, eventually, settled in Damascus, where he died in 638/1240. Ibn al-'Arabī was considered the "Greatest Spiritual Master" (*al-šayḥ al-akbar*) not only in his time, but also in the following generations. He surely represents one of the highest achievements of Islamic thought which reached in him an impressive synthesis. Ibn al-'Arabī formed his Sufi vision drawing inspiration from a large variety of religious and philosophical sources, and expressed it in a huge number of books that have become, in the course of time, a basic reference for Sufis, especially Sufi brotherhoods. His best known works are: "The Meccan Revelations" (*Al-futūḥāt al-makkiyya*), an encyclopedia or *summa* of his Sufism; «The Bezels of Wisdom» (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*), a treatise on prophetology and a summary of his teaching; «The Interpreter of Desires» (*Tarḡumān al-ašwāq*), a collection of symbolic love poems; see Aḥmed Ateş, "Ibn al-'Arabī" in EI2 III 706a-711b.

dates. I could verify that the same type of paper of volume No. 7838/1-15 is found in other contemporary manuscripts, as explained below.

Through careful research I could ascertain that this manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *diwān* contained in this codex of Konya has not been mentioned in any of the published catalogues of the manuscripts of Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi (Konya).

2-2. Catalogues of Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi manuscripts.

The two main references for the manuscripts of Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi (Konya) are:

A. *Beiträge zur Erschliessung der Arabischen Handschriften in Istanbul und Anatolien*, edited by Fuat Sezgin in 1986⁸. In this catalogue, a basic reference for all Arabic manuscripts existing in the Turkish libraries, two sections are dedicated to the libraries of Konya:

i. *Une liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les bibliothèques de Konya*, in *Beiträge*, Band III pp. 589-613 (publié à l'occasion du XXII Congrès International des Orientalistes, Istanbul, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1951). The article lists 253 mss. found in the Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi of Konya: there is no mention of the volume No. 7838/1-15.

ii. Ahmed Ateş, "Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar", *Beiträge*, Band III pp. 713-802 (first published in *Bulletten* 16, 1952, pp. 49-130). In this article, 92 mss from Konya libraries are listed: here, too, no mention is made of the volume No. 7838/1-15 of Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi.

B. Osman Yahya, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn al-'Arabī*, published in 1964⁹.

In his classification, Osman Yahya has drawn up the most complete list of Ibn al-'Arabī's works, in which also the manuscripts of Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi are mentioned. Of special importance, in this classification, are the sections called: "*Collections de samā'*", vol. 1 pp. 76-78, "*Copies autographes*", vol. 1 pp. 78-81, and the list of manuscripts from Yusufāğa library, Konya, *Index* p. 698. Ten of these manuscripts are listed as coming from 'the private library of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī' (*la bibliothèque*

8. *Beiträge zur Erschliessung der Arabischen Handschriften in Istanbul und Anatolien*, edited by Fuat Sezgin, Institut für Geschichte der Arabischen-Islamischen Wissenschaften, an der Johan Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Mein, 1986, 3 vols.

9. Osman Yahya, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn al-'Arabī*, publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Damas, Institut Français d'Etudes Arabes de Damas (IFEAD), 1964, 2 vols.: is part I (*Sources*) — part II (*Répertoire Général*) — part III (*Tables*).

privée de Qonawi), as Osman Yahya calls it. These writings contain a number of 'auditings' (*samā'āt*) and autographs of Ibn al-'Arabī himself. The auditings (*samā'āt*) are witnesses that the *ṣayḥ*, in this case Ibn al-'Arabī, had some of his works 'audited' by some of his disciples. Among them of particular importance are the 'auditings' witnessed by Ibn al-'Arabī's foremost disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (605/1203-673/1274)¹⁰. These auditings are usually introduced by the standard formulas: "*samī'a minnī...* - audited from me such and such...", if the master is writing the report; or "*samī'tu' min...* - I audited from such and such...", if the disciple is writing the report; for this reason they are called 'auditings' (*samā'āt*). Very often these auditings are autographs, written by some witnesses, in which date, place of the auditing and signature of its witnesses are recorded¹¹.

10. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (name attested in the sources and also in the texts found in the present codex, and not Yūnus as reported in the EI2 8, 753a) al-Qūnawī was born in 605/1203. After his father, Mağd al-Dīn al-Rūmī, died, Ibn al-'Arabī married his widow and adopted his son Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad. In fact in some parts of mss. 7838/1-15 Ibn al-'Arabī addresses him as 'my son' (see texts No.3-4-5). Ṣadr al-Dīn was one of the most prominent and closest disciples of the 'Greatest Spiritual Master' (*al-ṣayḥ al-akbar*), Ibn al-'Arabī, until the latter's death in 638/1240. Then, Ṣadr al-Dīn settled in Konya, where he became the head of an important Sufi school and for this reason he was called 'al-Qūnawī'. He counted among his disciples some of the most prominent Sufis of the 7th/13th c.: Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilmisānī (d. 690/1291), Fahr al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (d. 688/1289), Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farḡānī (d. 699/1300) and Muayyid al-Dīn al-Ġandī (d. ca. 700/1300). It has been usually reported that Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī held in great esteem his contemporary fellow Sufi of Konya, Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Some scholars, however, among them the professor I met in Konya, have serious doubts about such a friendship, a proof of this being the fact that Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī found an *alibi* so as not to attend Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's funerals on the 5th Ġumāda II 672/17th December 1273. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī died half a year later, on the 16th Muḥarram 673/22th July 1274, also in Konya, where his shrine exists up to today. From the information found in a number of sources and witnessed in many extant manuscripts we know that a library existed near Ṣadr al-Dīn's shrine, which he himself founded in the form of an endowment (*waqf*). It is from Ṣadr al-Dīn's library that also the manuscript No. 7838/1-15 comes. In time, according to the information I could gather in Konya, the library fell into ruin: one manuscript shows that half of it was soaked for a time in water, some manuscripts were probably stolen. What remained of that library was incorporated into the local library founded by Yusufağa, at the end of the eighteenth century near Ġalāl al-Dīn's tomb. A number of works are attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, although not all may be authentic. His teaching was, on the whole, a scholastic explanation of Ibn al-'Arabī's thought. William C. Chittick summarizes it as follows: "In contrast to Ibn al-'Arabī, Qūnawī focuses on a relatively small number of issues, thereby singling them out as the most essential teaching of his master", "Ṣadr al-Dīn" in EI2 8, 754b; see the whole article and bibliography EI2 8, 753a-755b.
11. The praxis and art of auditings (*samā'āt*) are a well known feature of Medieval Islamic society both on a scholarly level, as channels of transmission of culture, as on a popular level, as a way of entertainment. The auditings could be confirmed by a certificate (*iğāza*) given by the *ṣayḥ* to his pupil. I found in this volume the autograph certificate (*iğāza*) given by Ibn al-'Arabī to his pupil Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, reported at the end (see texts No. 3-4-5). For more on auditings see R. Sellheim, 'Samā' in EI2 8, 1018a-1020b, and Stephen Leder, *Dokumente zum Hadīṭ in Schriftum und Unterricht aus Damascus im 6./12. Jhdt.*, in *Oriens*, XXXIV (1994), 57-75.

Some manuscripts of the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi are of particular importance as they come from the 'private library of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī' and are a quite homogeneous group of writings. The codex No. 7838/1-15, too, comes from the same 'private library of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī' and contains a number of auditings and autographs. I have found that the manuscripts classified by Osman Yaḥyā under No. 5624 Eski (Yusufağa Kütüphanesi) are the same as those now classified under No. 7838/1-15; in fact, No. 5624 Eski is an older classification of the codex No. 7838/1-15. In his classification however, Osman Yaḥyā mentions only Ibn al-'Arabī's works contained in the volume with no reference to the manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, contained in the same volume. The reason for such a strange omission must be that, in all probability, Osman Yaḥyā was interested only in Ibn al-'Arabī's works, and he paid no attention to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's or anybody else's works.

2-3. Conclusion from the survey of catalogues.

The conclusion of this first survey is that such an old manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, in all probability the oldest one, has not been classified in any of the published catalogues of the Arabic manuscripts of Yusufağa Kütüphanesi (Konya). This fact still appears to me quite inexplicable since the manuscript does exist in the library. It is included in a quite large and visible volume of 741 pages and, moreover, it is listed in the local catalogue as well as in the official catalogue of Istanbul. However, after this first assessment, I saw that the task ahead of me was to gather as much information as possible about this manuscript, especially concerning the place and date of its redaction, the copyist and his sources. First of all a careful examination of the contents of volume No. 7838/1-15 has to be done; this is given in here together with translation of some of the most relevant passages, in which names, places and dates are mentioned. Some other important data, on the contrary, could be collected only by comparing this volume with those of the same family, i. e. those coming from the same private library of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and dated around the same time. From all this information a quite complete picture of the manuscript has emerged.

3. Internal Evidence of the Codex.

3-1. Classification of the Codex.

As said above, the codex No. 7838 is found in the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi of Konya and contains fifteen manuscripts classified with numbers going from 1 to 15, so it is referred to as No. 7838/1-15. The numbers are written inside the volume, at the begin-

ning of each manuscript. Under the same numbers the manuscript is also registered in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Mikrofilm Service of Istanbul. The local catalogue of the library instead has the manuscripts of the volume listed with numbers going from 7838 to 52. Inside the cover an older classification is found with No. 5624; this is the one mentioned by Osman Yahyā as 5624 Eski. In the following, only the first classification, i. e. No. 7838/1-15, will be mentioned. It must also be remarked that, although the official classification lists fifteen manuscripts, the actual contents of the volume, as will be shown, is of nineteen manuscripts. This fact suggests that, in time, the volume has undergone some re-arrangements.

3-2. Page numeration.

The volume has a double numeration of pages. An older one, in Arabic figures, numbers each page counting from 1 to 741 pp. A more recent one, in Western figures, numbers instead the folios (double pages) and counts on the whole 380 folios (= 760 pp.). The difference between the two numerations is due to the fact the Western numeration does not count the first page, the frontispiece; then, it leaps from folio 289 to the following one numbered 300 instead of 290, there that is a gap of 19 pages. In the end, Western numeration counts 380 folios, i. e. 760 pages, not 741, as correctly counted by the Arabic numeration. Both numerations will be reported as W (Western figures) and A (Arabic figures).

3-3. Frontispiece p. 1A. (Arabic text No. 1).

“The *ṣayb*, Şadr al-Dīn Abū l-Ma’ālī Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Qūnawī has constituted this book as an endowment (*waqf*) to the library founded near his tomb for the benefit of all Muslims in the way permitted to them by the law, fixing the condition that it will never be taken out of it altogether, either by pledge or by anything else. The [agreed] condition has the absolute priority in claim and right to be implemented.

May God accept this from him and reward him with Paradise, out of his bounty and generosity — He is the most merciful of the merciful”.

It is to be remarked that the same frontispiece with the same wording is found also in other manuscripts of the time. It witnesses that the present volume, with the included manuscripts, along with other volumes of the same type, was personally bequeathed by Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (so, before his death in 673/1274) to a library, built near his tomb. They all were part of the personal library of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.

3-4. Two indexes of contents.

There are two indexes of the contents of the volume. One is the above mentioned under No. 7838/1-15 and the numbers are written at the beginning of each manuscript.

On p. 1aW/2A, there is an older index of contents listing only twelve titles out of the fifteen of the official list. It must be noted that the last title of this older index is written in a handwriting different from the one used for the titles before, and similar to the one used in two verses of a poem added at the bottom of the index. So, this last title appears to be a later addition. From this fact and from the fact that the number of manuscripts contained in the volume is actually nineteen, one can infer that this volume has in time gone through some re-arrangements, and that the first eleven titles mentioned in the index on p. 1aW/2A represent, without doubt, the original collection of the volume. It is, therefore, all the more relevant to the present research to remark that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *diwān* is included in this first and older index of the volume. Consequently, it must have been part of its first and older collection which, as the frontispiece testifies, was part of the personal library of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. This is in itself a very important clue for the date of the manuscript.

In our description of the contents of the codex, the manuscripts will be briefly described according to the order in which they are arranged and numbered according to two indexes, the older index on p. 1aW/2A being put into brackets. The titles of the manuscripts will be reported according to the full wording given in the text itself, since the titles written in the index on p. 1aW/2A are shortened. At the end of some manuscripts, a colophon may be found in which the date, the place and the author of the copying are mentioned. Colophons of particular relevance will be translated. Additional and later writings are sometimes found at the beginning or at the end of a manuscript in which dates, places and authors may be mentioned. Some of these writings will also be translated. Arabic transliterated words are put into (...), added words to clarify the meaning of the text are put into [...]. In this way, from the information gathered from the internal examination of the codex the full picture of the volume will appear and the position of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *diwān* in it will become more evident.

3-5. Contents of the volume.

The volume contains a number of manuscripts: they number twelve, according to the oldest index, fifteen, according to the index given at the beginning of each manuscript, nineteen, according to the actual contents of the codex. We will give the full

list of the contents noticing that Ibn 'Arabī's works mentioned by the *Répertoire Général* of Osman Yahya in his *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn al-'Arabī* will be indicated in brackets (RG + number).

1-(1). "*Kitāb iṣārāt al-Qur'ān fī 'ālam al-insān*" (*The Book of the Allusions of the Koran regarding the World of Man*) (RG 303).

Under the title is written:

"[It was] composed by the Master (*ṣayḥ*), the Knowledgeable Guide (*imām 'ālim*), the-One-who-has-reached-the-Truth (*muḥaqqiq*), the-Reviver-of-Religion (*muḥyī al-dīn*), the Honour-of-Islām (*ṣaraf al-islām*), the-Tongue-of-(the Divine)-Truths (*lisān al-ḥaqā'iq*), the-Most-Informed-[Master]-of-the-World (*'allāmat al-ālam*), the-Model-of-the-greatest [Masters] (*qudwat al-akābir*), the-Wonder-of-time (*uḡūbat al-dahr*), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī, then al-Andalusī — May God bring him to a beautiful end!"

This is one of the longest list of titles given to Ibn al-'Arabī, usually known by the two titles of 'the Reviver of Religion' (*muḥyī al-dīn*) and 'the Greatest Spiritual Master' (*al-ṣayḥ al-akbar*). It is worth noticing that the patronimic Ibn al-'Arabī is missing here. The last eulogy 'May God bring him to a beautiful end!' is usually said when the person is still alive. While in the index on p. 1aW/2A the eulogy is always "May God be pleased with him", which is said when the person is already dead and is considered, as in the case of Ibn al-'Arabī, to be a holy, saintly person accepted by God. So, this book must have been written when the *shayḥ* was still alive, i. e. before his death in 638/1240, while the collection and the index were done when he has already passed away, i. e. after 638/1240.

After the title, there is a short poem written in a different, almost illegible handwriting. No date is to be read there.

This manuscript is No. 7838/1, pp. 1b-22bW/3-45A.

2-(2) "*Kitāb al-ḡalāla wa-huwa kalimat Allāh*" (*The Book of (Divine) Majesty which is the Word of God*) (RG 169).

"(It was) composed by the Master, the Knowledgeable Guide, the One-who-has-reached-the-Truth, the-Leader-of-the-(Sufi)-Way (*sayyid al-tā'ifa*), Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī. May God bring him to a beautiful end!"

Here the patronimic 'Ibn al-'Arabī' is added and the title 'al-Andalusī' is omitted.

The same eulogy is repeated here and no date is given.

This manuscript is No. 7838/2, pp. 23b-31bW/47-63A.

3-(3) “*Risālat al-muqni‘ fī idāb al-sahl al-mumtani‘*” (*The Book of the Convincing (Proof) to Make Clear what is Easy and Difficult -at the same time — to understand*) (RG 511).

“[It was] composed by the Master, the Knowledgeable Guide, the One-who-has-reached-the-Truth, the-Leader-of-the-[Sufi]-Way, the-True-Direction-of-the-Scholars-and-the-Gnostics (*Ka’ba al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-‘arifīn*), Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā’ī, then al-Andalusī. May God bring him to a beautiful end!”

Here, a new title is added ‘the *Ka’ba* (= the True Direction) of the Scholars and Gnostics’, others are omitted. No date is given.

This manuscript is No. 7838 (wrongly written in the manuscript as 8738)/3, pp. 32b-43bW/65-87A.

4-(4) “*Kitāb asrār al-ḥalwa’*” (*The Book of the Secrets of Seclusion — i. e. the Spiritual Retreat*) (RG 255).

“[It was] composed by the Master, the Knowledgeable Guide, the Gnostic (*al-‘arifī*), the-One-who-has-reached-the-Truth, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī, then al-Ṭā’ī al-Andalusī. May God bring him to a beautiful end!”

Al-Qūnawī’s autograph and date. (Arabic text No. 2). Under the title on p. 44bW/89A, there is an autograph of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, in the form of *samā’*, saying: “Heard this treatise (*risāla*) from my reading the thoughtful brother Muḥammad Abū Bakr b. Bandār al-Tabrīzī¹² — may God take him by his hand (i. e. help him) — on the first tenth of the month of Ramaḍān, the year 651 H (October-November 1253 AD). Wrote this the poor [servant] (*al-faqīr*) in respect to God, the Most High, Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad [these are the names of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, n. r.], blessing [the Prophet, i. e., saying the eulogy: may God give him blessing and peace], — and praise be to God”.

In the end of the text, on p. 54aW/108A, there is a line which says: “[The text] has been collated and corrected [comparing it] with the original, and this is the handwriting of the *ṣayb* [i. e. most probably Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn. al-‘Arabī]: may God forgive him!”

This *samā’* is very important because it witnesses that this text and, probably the previous ones written by the same handwriting, were written and audited before

12. Muḥammad Abū Bakr b. Bandār al-Tabrīzī: no information could be found about him.

Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's autograph dated in 651/October-November 1253 AD, i. e. over twenty years before his death (673/1274).

This manuscript is No. 7838/4, pp. 44b-54aW/89-108A.

5-(5). "*Ṣarḥ ḥal' al-na'layn*" (*-The Book — of the Explanation of "Taking off the Two Sandals"*). (RG 681)¹³

The Arabic title is not clearly written as in the previous books, but written in a different and hasty handwriting, followed by some unintelligible words. Such handwriting, found in the following titles of the volume, seems to be a later addition from someone who listed it.

No clear mention of the author is made here, but in the index on p. 1aW/2A it is said: "... also to the *ṣayḥ* — may God be pleased with him!", and on p. 73bW/147A it is said: "The second part of *ḥal' al-na'layn*", among the spiritual graces (*fawā'id*) of the *ṣayḥ*, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī". So, the author is surely Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī.

Colophon and date. At the end of the book, on p. 168aW/338A, there is an important colophon that clarifies the date of this and the previous writings:

"Has finished copying this (book) by his handwriting the poor servant with regard to God, the Most High, Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr b. 'Uṭmān al-Nasā'ī al-Ṣalḥarānī (?)¹⁴ — may God forgive him — on the day of Sunday, the twenty-fifth of Ṣafar in the year 640 H (i. e. 24th August 1242 AD)"

This colophon is a very important witness for dating this first collection of writings, five in number. They all are written with the same handwriting in clear *nashki*, and so by the same copyist who signed the colophon. The copyist names himself Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr b. 'Uṭmān saying that he has finished writing the last book on the 25th of Ṣafar, in the year 640/24th August 1242, i. e. two years after Ibn al-'Arabī's death (638/1240). After this first collection, the handwriting of the following manuscripts changes completely.

This manuscript is No. 7838/5, pp. 54b-169aW/109-339A.

6-(6). "*Kitāb al-maqṣid al-asmā fi l-iṣārāt*" (*The Book of the Highest Purpose (intended) by the Allusions*). (RG 418)

This title is also found in the text; the index in p. 1aW/2A instead of *al-iṣārāt* gives *al-kināyāt*, i. e. *metonymies*. Then it is written "The author: Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī".

13. This work is a commentary of the *Ḥal' al-na'layn* of the esoteric Andalusian Sufi Abū l-Qāsim al-Qasī (d. 546/1151).

14. Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr b. 'Uṭmān al-Nasā'ī al-Ṣalḥarānī (?): no information could be found about him.

Both the title and the author are written with the same hasty handwriting as in the previous writing. To be noted also is the shortening of Ibn al-'Arabī's name in Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī. The manuscript is written in *naskhi*, in rather small characters, quite different from the previous ones.

There is no colophon at the end of the book.

This manuscript is No. 7838/6, pp. 169b-174aW/339-349A.

After this manuscript, come two manuscripts that are not listed in the index on p. 1aW/2A, so they must not have been part of the first collection. As these two manuscripts are written in the same handwriting as the "*Kitāb al-maqṣid*", this fact may suggest that they were, probably, part of a same collection and added later at this point of the volume.

7- "*Kitāb al-ḥuḡub*" (*The Book of Veils*). (RG 247)

The title is written in the same hasty handwriting of the titles before. The author is not mentioned, but he is without doubt Ibn al-'Arabī, since it is found among his works and inserted here, in a series of writings all attributed to him. Another indication for this may be the eulogy, very often found in Ibn al-'Arabī's writings: "Praise to God and peace on his chosen servants".

There is no colophon at the end of the book.

This manuscript is No. 7838/7, pp. 174b-183aW/349-366A.

8- "*Kitāb al-yā' wa-huwa kitāb al-hū*" (*The Book of yā' which is the Book of He*) (*yā'* is the last letter of the Arabic alphabet). (RG 205)

The title is written by the same hasty handwriting of the titles before. Also here the author is not mentioned, but he is without doubt Ibn al-'Arabī, since it is found among his works and inserted here, in a series of writings all attributed to him. There is no colophon at the end of the book.

This manuscript is No. 7838/8, pp. 183b-188aW/367-376A.

9- "*Ibn al-'Arabī's autograph and index of his works*".

There is no real title to this writing and it must be gathered from the text itself in which Ibn al-'Arabī states that, on the request of a brother, he gives the list of his works.

This manuscript is not listed in the index on p. 1aW/2A.

An important autograph of Ibn al-'Arabī in the form of *samā'* is found on p. 188bW/377A saying (Arabic text No. 3):

"Audited from me the pious, good doer, most noble, pure son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qūnawī this index that contains

the names of our compositions and works in various subjects — may God grant us the benefit of science and give what is hoped (?). Wrote [this] Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Arabī al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥātīmī by his handwriting [the month of] Ṣafar, the year 627 H (December, 1229 AD). Praise to God and peace on his chosen servants”.

Compared with other writings (*Arabic texts Nos. 4 and 5*) found in the volume, this appears to be surely Ibn al-‘Arabī’s handwriting. After this autograph, there is an index of works fixed by Ibn al-‘Arabī himself. The handwriting is not that of Ibn al-‘Arabī but the text is a reported speech from him: so it seems to be a copy of a text written or dictated by Ibn al-‘Arabī himself.

At the end on p. 194aW/388A it is written: “It has been corrected. [These are] the works of al-‘Arabī [i. e. Ibn al-‘Arabī] left [to us] (*ma’ātīr*)”.

There is no colophon at the end

This manuscript is No. 7838/9, pp. 189a-194aW/378-388A.

- 10-(7) “*Min ḥadīṭ Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Ğā’far b. al-Ḥayṭam al-Anbārī ‘an šuyūḫi-hī*” (*From the Ḥadīṭ Transmitted by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ğā’far b. al-Ḥayṭam al-Anbārī from His Masters*)¹⁵.

The manuscript is divided in two parts. At the beginning of part one, on p. 194bW/389A, after a number of transmitters there is a *samā’*, an autograph of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, the handwriting being the same as that of other autographs by him, on p. 44bW/89A. It says:

“Auditing from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī [i. e. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī], may God benefit him with all sciences... [unintelligible words]”. This autograph too witnesses that the manuscript was written before Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī’s death (d. 673/1274)

At the end of part one, on p. 205bW/411A, there is a colophon in the form of a *samā’* saying:

“Heard this part and the following from my auditing... [then there comes a list of the names of the people who audited it]” and concluding “... and this on the second tenth of the month of Rabī’ al-Āḥar, the year 640 H (i. e. October, 1242 AD), and they completed it (the *samā’*) in the city of Alep — protected by God. Wrote this Yūsuf b. al-Ḥalīl ‘Abd Allāh al-Dimašqī”.

15. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ğā’far b. al-Ḥayṭam al-Anbārī no direct information is found about him. Bibliographical sources mention another famous traditionist and philologist called also Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Anbārī, i. e. from the town of al-Anbār (Iraq), but his full name is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Baššār al-Anbārī (271/884-328/940): EI2 1, 485; ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muḡam al-mu’allifin wa-tarāğim mušanniifi l-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, Maṭba‘at al-Taraqqī, Dimašq, 1376-81/1957-61, vol. 11 p. 297; Bassām ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ġābi, *Muḡam al-A‘lām*, Limasol (Cyprus), Al-Jaffan & Al-Jabi, 1987, p. 771.

The copist, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥalīl ‘Abd Allāh al-Dimašqī (555/1160-648/1250), is a known Hanbalite traditionist of Damascus, who lived in Alep and died there¹⁶.

At the beginning of part two, on p. 206bW/413A, after a number of transmitters, there is a *samā’* received from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, written in the same handwriting as that of the copyist of the manuscript. It says:

“...auditing from his companion (*ṣāhibi-hi*) Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī — may God benefit him with science”.

This *samā’* witnesses that the one who wrote it was a companion (*ṣāhib*) of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. Here the name of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī is mentioned in full. The eulogy implies that Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī was still alive, so this *samā’* must have been written before Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī’s death (d. 673/1274).

Also at the end of part two, on p. 218aW/436A, there is a colophon in the form of a *samā’* with the same list of names as the one at the end of part one on p. 205W/411A, written by the same copyist, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥalīl ‘Abd Allāh al-Dimašqī, with the same date, the second tenth of the month of Rabī’ al-Āḥar, year 640 H (October, 1242 AD), the place is not mentioned, but probably is the same, Alep.

The handwriting of the whole manuscript, part one and two, is a clear *naskhi* in very small characters, different from the handwritings of the previous manuscripts. This manuscript is No. 7838/10, pp 194b-218aW/389-437A.

11-(8). “*Ḥuṭba amīr al-mu’minīn — ṣalāwāt Allāh ‘alay-hi*” (*The Speech of the Commander of the Believers — Blessings of God upon Him*).

This speech is attributed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/660), the fourth of the rightly-guided Caliphs, as indicated in the index on p. 1aW/2A and in the text itself. This speech is called “*al-Qāṣī‘a*” (i. e. the Pouring — of abundant tears), because in this last speech ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib announces his death pouring abundant tears, hence its name.

The last part is written with a different handwriting. There is no colophon at the end.

This manuscript is No. 7838/11, pp. 219b-275bW/439-551A.

12-(9). “*Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*” (*Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*).

The title is written with the same hasty handwriting as in other titles of the volume. In the index on p. 1aW/2A there is the eulogy: “*raḥamatu Allāh ‘alay-hi*”

16. See Ṣams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uṭmān Al-Dahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, ed. Baṣṣār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf — Muḥyi Hilāl al-Sarḥān, Mu’assasat al-Risālat, Beyrouth, 1405/1985, vol. 23, p. 151; Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muḡam al-mu’allifīn* vol. 13 p. 297; Bassām ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ġābī, *Muḡam al-A’lām*, p. 964.

(*God's mercy be on him!*). This eulogy implies that Ibn al-Fāriḍ had already passed away at the time of the writing of the title, but also that he was not held on the same level of sainthood and veneration as Ibn al-'Arabī of whom it is always said: "*radiya Allāh 'an-hu!*" (*May God be pleased with him!*). From this eulogy one can also guess that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's death was not remote from the time of the writing. There is no date in it, so it must be inferred from a careful comparison with the other manuscripts of the volume and other contemporary writings.

The handwriting of the text is a very clear, carefully written *naskhi*. A fuller description of the text is given below.

This manuscript is No. 7838/12, pp. 277a-334aW/554-648A.

13-(10). "*Risāla fī l-'išq*" (*Treatise on Love*).

The title is written with the same hasty handwriting as in other titles of the volume. No author, date or place are mentioned in the manuscript. In the index on p. 1aW/2A, it is written: "*li-ḡayr l-ṣayḥ*" (i. e. *to someone other than the ṣayḥ* - Ibn al-'Arabī). In the official catalogue it is attributed to Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037)¹⁷. The handwriting is a clear *naskhi*, different from previous manuscripts.

This manuscript is No. 7838/13, pp 335a-345aW/650-670A.

13 bis- From p. 345b/671 to p. 353bW/687A, there is a number of *samā'āt*, not classified in the official catalogue, in which dates and places relevant to the research are recorded.

On p. 346aW/672A there is a *samā'* written in a handwriting very similar to that already found of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, as most of the *samā'āt* of this section. Place and date are clearly reported: Malaṭiyya, the year 624/1227; the same date is recorded in most of the *samā'āt* of this section.

An Autograph of Ibn al-'Arabī is found on p. 346bW/672A in the form of a *samā'*, the handwriting is the same as the one found on p. 188bW/377A. It says (Arabic text No. 4):

"I say, and I am Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī al-Ṭā'ī, and this is my handwriting, that from me audited the blessed, pure son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad son of my sincere companion, in God's mercy [i. e. defunct], Maḡd al-Dīn Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-Qūnawī, out of my compositions, reading [them] to me: '*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiya*' (*The Meccan Revelations*) (RG 135) in twenty vol-

17. Ibn Sīnā is the most celebrated Iranian philosopher, his full name is Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Al-lāh b. Sīnā (370/980-428/1037). "*Risāla fī l-'išq*" (*Treatise on Love*) is the title of one of his famous works, EI2 III 941a-947b.

umes and ‘*Mawāqī’ al-nuğūm*’ (*The Positions of Stars*) (RG 443) and ‘*al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya*’ (*The Divine Dispositions*) (RG 716) and ‘*al-Tanazzulāt al-mausiliyya*’ (*The Inspirations of Mossul*) (RG 762) and ‘*Kitāb al-ma’rifā*’ (*The Book of Knowledge*) (RG 433), ‘*al-Diwān*’ (*The Divan*) (RG 102) and ‘*al-Dahā’ir wa-l-a’lāq fī šarḥ tarğumān al-ašwāq*’ (*The Treasures and the Precious Boons in the Explanation of the Interpreter of the Desires*) (RG 116)”.

After Ibn al-‘Arabī’s autograph there is a note written by someone else saying: “The date is mentioned in another place also by the *šayḥ*’s handwriting — may God be pleased with him and forgive him — and this in the Ğumāda al-Awwal, the year 629 H (March 1232 AD), and the dates are specified in the original [texts] in succession in each book and in each place”.

This note is important to date Ibn al-‘Arabī’s autograph which must have been written before the date of this note, i. e. the Ğumāda al-Awwal of the year 629 H (March 1232 AD).

On the following page, p. 347bW/675A, there is a biographical note on Ibn al-‘Arabī, written in the same handwriting as that of the *samā’* on p. 346aW/672A, mentioning Ibn al-‘Arabī’s birthday, Ramaḍān 560/July 1165, and birth place, the town of Murcia, and the country, al-Andalus (Spain).

An autograph of Šadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī in the form of *samā’* is found on the following page, p. 348aW/676A, in which he mentions some compositions he audited from Ibn al-‘Arabī.

An autograph of Ibn al-‘Arabī, follows, also in the form of a *samā’* confirming al-Qūnawī’s *samā’* and giving him *iğāza* (permission or licence) to explain his works. Šadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī writes (Arabic Text No. 5):

“In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. I put my trust in Him and from Him I look for help.

Praise to God, as He alone deserves to be praised, and blessing upon Muḥammad his apostle and servant. Thus says the servant [of God] Muḥammad b. Ishāq that I audited from my lord, my protector and master, the most knowledgeable guide, well founded [in the Truth] and who has realized the Truth, who has been favoured by God with a special assistance and grace, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Arabī al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥātimī, then al-Andalusī — may God be pleased with him — what he has bestowed out of his compositions: *Kitāb risālat al-anwār* (*The Book of Treatise on the Lights*) (RG 33), and *Kitāb tasbiḥat al-ḥaqq* (*The Book of the Praise of the Real [i.e. God]*) (RG not mentioned), and *al-Kitāb al-musammā bi-l-a’lām bi-īšarāt abl al-ilhām* (*The Book called the Most Prominent [Men endowed] with the Signs of Inspiration*) (RG not mentioned), and *Kitāb marātib ‘ulūm al-wahb* (*The Book of the Sciences of the [Divine]*

Gift) (RG 423), and *Kitāb al-nuqabā* (sic) (*The Book of the [Nobles] Chiefs*) (RG 548), and *Šarḥ al-alfāz allatī yastamilūhā* (sic) *ahl tarīq Allāh fī mā baynahum* (*The Explanation of the Terms used by the People of the Way of God [= the Sufis] among themselves*) (RG 677), and *Kitāb al-maʿrifā* (*The Book of Knowledge*) (RG 433), and *Kitāb al-ʿabādila* (*The Book of ʿAbd Allāhs - i. e. those who have the name ʿAbd Allāh*) (RG 2), and *Kitāb ʿanqā muḡrib* (*The Book of the Fabulous Phoenix*) (RG 30), and *Kitāb al-taḡalliyāt* (*The Book of the — Divine — Manifestations*) (RG 738.740)”

Then Ibn al-ʿArabī’s autograph follows (Arabic Text No. 5):

“Audited from me, the good, pious, good doer, thoughtful, well-mannered, intelligent son, Šadr al-Dīn Muḡammad, son of the complained companion, in God’s mercy [i. e. defunct], Maḡd al-Dīn Iṣḡāq b. Muḡammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qūnawī — May God give him success — and he is the author of this handwriting above; he audited from me the books he named, mentioned above, whose composition is attributed to us, and I gave him permission (*agaztu la-hu*) to explain them in my name and [also] all my compositions and reports in all their different genres, at the condition agreed upon. Has written this by his own hand, the poor in regard to God, the Most High, Muḡammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḡammad b. al-ʿArabī al-Ṭāʾī al-Ḥātīmī, in [the month of] Muḡarram, the year 627 H (December, 1229 AD). Praise to God and Peace upon his chosen servants”

This autograph of Ibn al-ʿArabī records the *iḡāza* (permission or licence) he gave to his disciple Šadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī to explain his own works. It is dated Muḡarram 627/December 1229, but the place is not mentioned, and this is with all probability Malaṭiyya, as in many *samāʿ āt* of this section.

This section covers pp. 345b-353bW/671-687A, it has no classification number.

14-(11). “*Kitāb al-mubašširāt*” (*The Book of Good Tidings*) (RG 485).

The title is written with the same hasty handwriting as the other titles. In the index p. 1aW/2A, this book is attributed to the *šayḥ* (i. e. Ibn al-ʿArabī). The last of these tidings (which usually come as visions in dreams) is said to have happened in Ġumāda al-Ūlā, the year 629/March 1232.

There is no colophon indicating the author, the place and the date of the manuscript.

This manuscript is number 7838/14, pp 354a-360bW/688-701A of the volume.

15-(12). “*Risālat istiḡrāḡ al-aḡkām*” (*The Treatise on Computing the Rules, or the Age*, as said in the text).

The title is written with the same hasty handwriting as the other titles. Another title is written on margin in a different handwriting: “*Risālat al-ḡafr*” (*Treatise on*

Divination). In the index on p. 1aW/2A it is called “*Risālat al-nuğūm*” (*Treatise on Stars*). This book is a treatise on the science of stars, or more exactly of astrology, and is attributed in the text to the famous Iranian scientist Abū al-Rayḥān al-Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (d. 442/1050)¹⁸.

There is no colophon indicating the copyist, the place and the date of the manuscript.

This manuscript is No. 7838/15, pp 361b-380bW/703-741A.

3-6. Conclusion from the internal evidence of the codex.

A first conclusion, drawn from the information gathered from the internal evidence of the codex No. 7838/1-15, is that this volume contains a number of very ancient manuscripts dating from 624/1227, the date of the oldest one, to 651/1253, the date of the most recent. Moreover, it is quite clear that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* is located among the oldest group of these manuscripts. Hence, one can reasonably infer that the date of its writing must be fixed around the same period of time. All this leads us to infer that the present text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* must most probably have been copied in the circle of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's disciples between 632/1235, the date of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's death, and 651/1253, date of the latest manuscript. In this case, this is the oldest known manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.

4. Information from External Sources.

4-1. Survey of other manuscripts of the “Library of Qūnawī” in Konya.

The next step of the research was to compare the manuscript No. 7838/1-15 with other manuscripts of the same family, i. e. those coming from the same ‘library of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī’ and dated around the same time. In the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi I could examine five volumes of such manuscripts. They are numbered Nos. 4859, 4861, 4868, 4883, 5003 and have already been classified by Ahmed Ateş in “Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar”, *Beiträge.*. Band III pp. 713-802 as well as by Osman Yahya in *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn al-'Arabī*, (passim). These manuscripts contain a number of Ibn al-'Arabī's works of the greatest interest for those who are studying this author, since they are surely among

18. Abū al-Rayḥān al-Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (362/973-442/1050) is the great Iranian scientist and famous traveller, see EI2 I 1236a-1238a. This work, “*Risālat istiḥrāğ al-aḥkām*”, is listed in D.J. Boilot, *L'œuvre de al-Bērūnī: essai bibliographique* MIDEO II (1955) No. 75 p. 201. Boilot, however, does not mention this present manuscript of the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi of Konya which is, therefore, a new bibliographical addition to his list of manuscripts.

the oldest manuscripts of his works. A brief report of them is given here highlighting the data of interest to the present research.

- i. **Ms. No. 4859.** This volume contains two manuscripts of Ibn al-'Arabī's works. The frontispiece has the same wording and is written in the same handwriting as that of No. 7838/1-15, attesting that it is an endowment (*waqf*) of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. The first book is Ibn al-'Arabī's "*Kitāb al-asfār*" (*The Book of [Spiritual] Travels*) (RG not mentioned). No date is given of the script, but at the beginning of the text there is a *samā'* dated in Ṣafar 688 H (March, 1289 AD), so, the book was copied before this date. The second book is Ibn al-'Arabī's "*Kitāb al-'abādila*" (*The Book of 'Abd Allāhs* - i. e. those who have the name 'Abd Allāh) (RG 2). The colophon at the end says that the writing of the book was completed at the end of Ğumādā II 641 H (December, 1243 AD).
- ii. **Ms. No. 4861.** This volume contains only one manuscript which is Ibn al-'Arabī's "*Kitāb al-tanazzulāt al-mauṣiliyya*" (*The Inspirations of Mossul*) (RG 762). There is *samā'* at the beginning of the text saying that the *samā'* took place in Damascus, in Ibn al-'Arabī's house, in Rabī' II 622 H (May, 1225 AD). After it, there is an autograph of Ibn al-'Arabī, written in Malaṭiya, without date, followed by an autograph of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī without date and place.
- iii. **Ms. No. 4868.** This volume contains nine manuscripts of Ibn al-'Arabī's works. The first date found is in the colophon of "*Kitāb ḥilyat al-abdāl*" (*The Book of the Ornament of the Substitutes*) (RG 237), dated on the 9th of Rabī' I 612 H (8th July, 1215 AD). The second date is in the colophon of "*Kitāb tağ al-tarāğim fī iṣārāt al-'ilm wa-laṭā'if al-fahm*" (*The Book of the Crown of the Interpretations with regard to the Allusions of Science and the Touches of Understanding*) (RG 737), in which it is said that the writing of the book was completed in Malaṭiya on Thursday evening, the 19th of Ṣawwāl 617 H (16th December, 1220 AD). The third date is in the colophon of the "*Kitāb al-ğalāla wa-huwa kalimat Allāh*" (*The Book of the [Divine] Majesty which is the Word of God*) (RG 169) in which it is said that the writing of the book was completed on Thursday evening, the 19th of Ṣawwāl 615 H (8th Jnuary, 1219 AD). The fourth date is in the colophon of the "*Kitāb al-tamānī wa-talātīna wa-huwa kitāb al-azal*" (*The Book Thirty Eight which is the Book of Eternity*) (RG 68) in which it is said that the writing of the book was completed on Sunday, the 23th of Ṣafar 615 H (20th May, 1218 AD)
- iv. **Ms. No. 4883.** This volume contains eight manuscripts of Ibn al-'Arabī's works, without date. The handwriting is very similar to that of some of the above mentioned manuscripts.

v. **Ms. No. 5001.** This volume contains only one manuscript of Ibn al-'Arabī's work which is "*Mawāqī' al-nuġūm*" (*The Positions of Stars*) (RG 443). There is no date in it, but the handwriting is the same as that of the above mentioned "*Kitāb al-tanazzulāt al-mauṣiliyya*" (*The Inspirations of Mossul*) (RG 762), so it must have been written by the same hand. The lower half of the pages must have been soaked in water since the ink has been almost completely blotted out and it is now quite difficult to read.

4-2. Conclusions from the survey of the manuscripts from the "Library of Qūnawī" in Konya.

From a comparative study of those manuscripts one comes to the following conclusions:

- i. **The time.** These manuscripts were all written at about the same time as ms. No. 7838/1-15, i. e. the first half of the 7th/13th c. All of them come from Ibn 'Arabī's and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's circles and many of them were written in Ibn 'Arabī's lifetime and autographs of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and Ibn 'Arabī are found in them. One can notice that some of the books contained in ms. No. 7838/1-15 are also found in other volumes of the same time. On the whole, it appears that these manuscripts in Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's library form a group of writings quite homogenous in contents and date. It has already been remarked that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* is listed in the index on p. 1aW/2A among the oldest group of manuscripts of this volume No. 7838/1-15, so, in all probability, it belonged to the same group of manuscripts.
- ii. **The material.** There is an evident affinity in the material on which these manuscripts were written. The paper of all of them is, like that of No. 7838/1-15, a thick, white-yellowish, glossy, fibreless type of paper.
- iii. **The handwriting.** The handwritings used in these manuscripts vary a lot. Each of them, however, belongs to the same period of time, as the dates of their copying prove. The handwriting of the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, too, is homogenous with the others of the same period, the 7th/13th c. This is also the opinion given to me by people competent in Arabic handwriting, as Dr. Ayman Fu'ād, director of the manuscript section of the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub), Cairo.

In conclusion, the comparative study of these manuscripts confirms the first conclusion, i. e. that the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* contained in manuscript No. 7838/1-15 is homogeneous with the other manuscripts of the same time. On this evidence,

one can infer that it must have been written with the other manuscripts in Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's circle in the first half of the 7th/13th c. In the end, the external evidence too confirms that the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* contained in the manuscript No. 7838/12 of Yusufağa Kütüphanesi of Konya appears to be, up to the present, the oldest known text of the *dīwān*.

4-3. A confirming account of al-Farḡānī.

A story reported by Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farḡānī (d. 699/1300), a prominent disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī may shed more light on the question of the present manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. The story is reported by al-Farḡānī in his Persian commentary of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'īyya*¹⁹. In this commentary, entitled *Mašāriq al-darārī*, on pp. 6-5 and pp.77-78 al-Farḡānī reports a piece of interesting information about his master, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. His master told him that he went to Egypt for the first time in 630/1233, when Ibn al-Fāriḍ was still alive, without meeting him. Afterwards, he returned to Egypt in 640/1242 and this time he met a number of Sufis who urged him to write a commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem, *al-Tā'īyya*, which was held in high esteem by everyone. Back in Konya, al-Qūnawī used to explain Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *al-Tā'īyya* orally, during his lessons. On al-Qūnawī's advice and following his explanations, al-Farḡānī wrote his commentary on the poem in Persian and presented it to his master who approved and blessed the work. Later on, al-Farḡānī reworked his commentary in Arabic. The last part of this story is also reported by 'Alī, *sibt* Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. ca.735/1335), in his biographical introduction to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* called *dībāḡa*²⁰.

19. Sa'īd al-Dīn Abū 'Uṭmān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kāsānī al-Farḡānī, commonly known as Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farḡānī, was born in the town of Kāsān in the valley of Farḡāna (East Iran) in 629/1231 and died probably in Damascus, in 699/1300. This Kāsān must not be confused with Kāšān, a town in Central Iran, also famous in Islamic history. Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farḡānī came to Konya where he became a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and, later, a famous sufi in his time. Al-Farḡānī is famous for his commentaries on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'īyya*. Firstly, he wrote a commentary in Persian entitled «*Mašāriq al-darārī al-zuhar fī kašf ḥaḡā'iḡ naẓm al-durar*», which translates: «*The Rising Places of the Brilliant Stars in the Unveiling the Realities of the Knitted Pearls* (i. e. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'īyya*)». This commentary has been edited and commented by Sayyid Ġalāl al-Dīn Aštīyānī, Mašhad, 1398/1978. Then, al-Farḡānī reworked it in Arabic with the title «*Muntabā al-madārik wa-muntahā lubb-i kull-i kāmil-in wa-'arīf-in wa-salik-in*», which translates: «*The Utmost Realities Accessible to the Intellects and the Understandings of Any Perfect, Knowing and Ascetic Sufi*», edited in two volumes by Maktab al-Šanā'ī, Istanbul, 1293/1876. For more information about Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farḡānī see Giuseppe Scattolin, "Al-Farḡānī's Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Mystical Poem *al-Tā'īyyat al-Kubrā*" in *MIDEO* 21 (1993) 331-383.

20. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, ed. by 'Abd Al-Ḥālīq Maḥmūd 'Abd Al-Ḥālīq, Cairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984, p. 27-28.

In conclusion, from al-Farghānī's account one may presume that Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī acquired a manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* or had it copied in Egypt where he went twice. This may have happened, in all probability, on the occasion of his second trip, in 640/1243, since at that time Ibn al-Fāriḍ had already passed away and, by then, his *dīwān* had been surely completed. The text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* Şadr al-Dīn could get must have been the one known in Egypt at that time, i. e. a few years after the poet's death and so very near to its source, the poet himself. From this text Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī must have been quoting during his lessons in Konya and to this text the present manuscript No. 7838/12 of Yusuğa Kütüphanesi, which, as the frontispiece says, comes from al-Qūnawī's library, is probably related. Later on, copies of this text must have spread among al-Qūnawī's followers, as al-Farghānī's commentary proves. In fact, some textual affinities are found among Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* texts related to Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's school²¹.

4-4. General conclusion of the textual research.

The overall conclusion reached through the textual research is that the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* contained in manuscript No. 7838/12 located in Yusuğa Kütüphanesi of Konya is, up to present, the oldest known text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. Moreover, it is a most important witness of the first transmission of the text, since it comes from a milieu very near to its source, Ibn al-Fāriḍ himself. In fact, this text seems to be related to the one in use in Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Sufi circle during his lifetime, and from him it passed to his disciples. On the basis of such evidence, this text must be held as a very important and early witness of the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.

5. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* in Konya Manuscript: a Brief Description of the Text.

5-1. **The material.** As said, the text Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* is found inside a volume of manuscripts all dated in the first half of the 7th/13th c. The dimensions of the volume are of ca. 24,5 x 16,5 cm. and its paper is a thick, white turning to yellow,

21. I could assess this point in my work for the edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's great mystical poem *al-Tā'īyyat al-Kubrā*. The main copies related to Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Sufi school are, besides the above mentioned texts of Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farḡānī, that of the Chester Beatty Collection edited by Arberry (London, 1952) and dated around 691/1292; that of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī (d. 730/1330) edited in Cairo, 1310; and that of Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī, (d. 751/1350), edited by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall in Wien, 1854. For more, see the forthcoming critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* based on the Konya's manuscript compared with some of the most important witnesses of the text.

glossy, fibreless type of paper. The same type of paper is found in other manuscripts of the time. Some rather rose-coloured pages are in sparse order in volume No. 7838/1-15 which seem to have no connexion with the content or date of the writings. Specifically, Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* is written partly on white-yellowish and partly on rose-coloured papers. This implies that the difference of colours has no relevance for the date of the text.

5-2. **Collocation and page numeration.** Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* occupies pp. 277a-334aW/554-648A of the volume No. 7838/1-15. Specifically, it is No. 7838-12(9), located between ms. No. 11-(8) "*Ḥuṭba amīr al-mūminīn*" (*The Speech of the Commander of the Believers*) and ms. No. 13-(10) "*Risāla fī l-'išq*" (*Treatise on Love*), attributed to Ibn Sina.

5-3. **The title.** The title given at the beginning of the manuscript on p. 277aW/554 is "*Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*" (*Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*). This title is written with the same hasty handwriting as other titles of the volume. The text opens with common religious formulas, used also in other parts of the volume:

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. God suffices for us, He is the best of trustees".

Then, follows the true opening of the *dīwān*:

"Said the Master (*ṣayh*), the most Knowledgeable Guide (*al-imām al-'ālim*), the Virtuous (*al-fāḍil*), the Unique-of-his-time (*waḥīd 'aṣri-hi*) and the Incomparable-of-his-epoch (*fāriḍ dahri-hi*), Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥaḥṣ 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Sa'dī known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ — May God santify his spirit and enlighten his tomb!"

5-4. **Colophon and date.** The *dīwān* on p. 334aW/648A with a common eulogy: "Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds, and may God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family and all his companions. God suffices for us — He is the best of trustees".

There is no mention of date and place in the colophon, so these must be estimated, as above, from a careful comparison with the other manuscripts of this volume and other contemporary manuscripts.

5-5. **The handwriting.** The handwriting of the text is a very clear, carefully written *nashī*. The text is vocalized to a great extent and this fact facilitates its reading. The conditions of paper and script are excellent. After consultation, Dr. Ayman Fu'ād, director of the manuscript department of the National Library of Cairo, confirmed that according to him such handwriting is surely from the 7th/13th c. and

this confirms our estimation of the date of the manuscript. Each page contains seventeen lines and every line contains a verse of the poem. It must be noted that the two hemistichs of each verse are not clearly separated, as is usual in old Arabic writings.

5-6. **Other features.** Variants and corrections are found on margins and inside the text. This is a clear indication that the text has been compared with other contemporary texts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. In fact, at the end of the poem *al-Tā'īyyat al-kubrā*, on p. 318bW/617A, a short colophon says: "It has been compared and corrected — Praise be to God!", and at the end of the *dīwān*, on p. 333bW/647A, there is a colophon saying: "The comparison has been completed and all effort possible has been made for it". This fact proves that already at that very early date there were some differences in the transmission of the text and already a kind of textual research was going on. This is also the case, though in a larger scale, for the manuscript of Malaṭīyya edited by Arberry, which is dated some forty years later, around 691/1292, and reports a much larger number of variants. This fact shows that there was, from very early on, a great interest and care about Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* and the transmission of its text. However, the large number of variants arouses some doubts too on the possibility of reaching back to the original text as it was actually dictated by the poet himself. It seems that many variants had already slipped into the text at a very early date, i. e. some years after the poet's death and we have no other source for a thorough verification of it... unless by hitting upon a manuscript, autographed by the poet himself!!! A century later, around 733/1333, also 'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, in editing his grandfather's poems complained about the number of variants and discrepancies that had slipped into the text²².

5-7. **The contents of the manuscript.** The Konya manuscript contains fifteen *qaṣīda* (odes), sixteen *dūbayt* (couplets) and seven *alḡāz* (riddles) in the following order:

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. | <i>Sāiqa al-aẓ'āni</i> | <i>ṭay:</i> | pp. 277aW/554A |
| 2. | <i>Ṣaddun ḥamā</i> | <i>ḡuddādan:</i> | pp. 281bW/563A |
| 3. | <i>Na'm bi-l-ṣabā</i> | <i>habbati:</i> | pp. 283aW/566A |
| 4. | <i>Saqat-nī ḥumayya</i> | <i>ḡallati:</i> | pp. 286aW/572A |
| 5. | <i>Araḡu al-nasīmi</i> | <i>al-aḥyā'i:</i> | pp. 318bW/617A |
| 6. | <i>A wamiḍu barqin</i> | <i>miṣbāḥan:</i> | pp. 320aW/620A |
| 7. | <i>Hal nāru laylā</i> | <i>fa-l'alami:</i> | pp. 321aW/622A |

22. *Dibāḡa*, in *Dīwān*., ed. 'Abd al-Ḥāliq, pp.19-21.

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| 8. | <i>Ḥaffīfi-l-sayra..... bi-fu'ād-ī:</i> | pp. 321bW/623A |
| 9. | <i>Šaribnā 'alā dikri.. al-karmu:</i> | pp. 322bW/625A |
| 10. | <i>Mā bayna mu'taraki... ḥaraḡi:</i> | pp. 323bW/627A |
| 11. | <i>Iḥfaz fu'āda-ka... bi-mahāḡiri:</i> | pp. 325aW/630A |
| 12. | <i>Tih dalālan..... a'ṭā-ka:</i> | pp. 325bW/631A |
| 13. | <i>Adir dikra..... mudāmī:</i> | pp. 327aW/634A |
| 14. | <i>Qalbī yuhadditun-ī..... ta'rifi:</i> | pp. 328aW/636A |
| 15. | <i>Huwa l-ḥubbu..... 'aqlu:</i> | pp. 330aW/640A |

The collection of poems ends on pp. 331bW/643A

At the end of it there is a short colophon saying:

“The (collection of) poems is finished — Praise be to God”.

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 16. | Collection of 16 <i>dūbayt</i> (couplets): | pp. 331bW/643A |
| 17. | Collection of 7 <i>alḡāz</i> (riddles): | pp. 333aW/646A |

The collection of *alḡāz* (riddles) ends on pp. 333bW/647A

At the end of them there is a short colophon saying:

“[This is] the last of what has come to us of his verse — God's mercy [be] upon him”.

In the margin there is writing saying:

“The comparison has been completed and all possible effort has been made for it — Praise be to God alone — He suffices for us — He is the best of the trustees”

On the following page 334aW/648A the copyist concludes the script with the usual religious eulogy:

“Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds, and may God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family and all his companions — God suffices for us — He is the best of trustees”.

6. General Conclusion on the Konya manuscript.

From all the information collected through the present research one can reach some assessment on the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* contained in the volume No. 7838/1-15. The manuscript appears to have been very carefully written, corrected and collated with other contemporary texts, not mentioned. Surely, the present text is a very accurate recension of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* and, what matters most, it antedates all other known recensions.

Consequently, this manuscript is a very important witness of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* as it was known in Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Sufi circle, in Konya, around the middle of the 7thH/13th AD c., i. e. from 640/1242, the date of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's trip to Egypt, to 651/1253, the date of the latest manuscript of the volume. So, this manuscript of Konya is, without doubt, of greatest importance for our knowledge of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* since it is, with all probability, the text known to be nearest to its source, i. e. the poet himself.

7. A Comparative Survey with other Recensions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.

Leaving to a later date a more detailed study of the many and different editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, we present here a brief comparative survey of its most significant known manuscripts so as to have a general idea about its textual transmission in the first two centuries after the poet's death. The manuscripts here considered are: the manuscript of the Chester Beatty Collection, edited by Arberry (London, 1952) and dated around 691 H (1292 AD), a manuscript of Leiden, Or. 2693, dated before 757 H (1356 AD), a manuscript of Süleimaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul) Fatih 3766, dated in 786 H. (1384 AD), a manuscript of the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), *adab* 3964, dated in 804H (1402AD), edited by 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq Maḥmūd 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq (Cairo, 1984), and a manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek (Berlin) Sprenger 1120, dated in 813 H (1410 AD). These are the most ancient recensions, and therefore, the most ancient witnesses of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.

The Chester Beatty manuscript, edited by Arberry (London, 1952), is dated around 691 H (1292 AD), i. e. forty years after the Konya manuscript²³. It is a very careful edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. The number of variants noted on it is much larger than in that of Konya and this proves that the copyist has been very careful in collating the text with other copies of 'unparalleled accuracy', as he says in the colophon. Arberry also remarks: "It will not escape notice that in this manuscript the odes are arranged in alphabetical order of their rhymes (excepting the lesser and greater odes rhyming in -i); which suggests that the editor was confident of having included everything that was known to be of Ibn al-Fāriḍ; and indeed he states in his colophon that he had been diligent in searching for the poems"²⁴. The number of the odes of the Chester Beatty manuscript is fifteen, the same as in Konya manuscript,

23. Arthur John Arberry, *The mystical poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, edited in transcription from the oldest extant manuscript in the Chester Beatty Collection, Chester Beatty Monographs No. 4, London, Emery Walker 1952.

24. Arberry, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, translated and annotated, in Chester Beatty Monographs No. 6, Dublin, Emery Walker, p. 6.

and there is no 'biographical introduction' (*dībāḡa*), a proof that this recension is independent of that of 'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, worked out later, ca. 733/1333. There are no *dūbayt* (couplets) nor *alḡāz* (riddles). The reason for this may be because the copyist wanted to arrange Ibn al-Fāriḍ's odes so as to have the great *Tā'īyyat* at the end, as the apex of them all.

The Leiden manuscript, Or. 2693, has no date and no place of its writing, but it has a note at the end, written in a different handwriting and ink, dated in 757 H (1356 AD). Therefore, the text must have been written before this date. This manuscript too has no 'biographical introduction' (*dībāḡa*), a proof that this edition also is independent of that of 'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. The number of odes recorded in it is also fifteen and they are arranged in the same order as in Konya manuscript. At the end, there are eighteen *dūbayt* (couplets) and thirteen *alḡāz* (riddles), while in the Konya manuscript there are sixteen *dūbayt* (couplets) and seven *alḡāz* (riddles).

From the evidence collected from these three manuscripts, namely that of Konya, of the Chester Beatty and of Leiden, which are the first witnesses of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, one has to conclude that the number of odes known in the first century after the poet's death was only fifteen. The original order of the odes must have been the one witnessed by the Konya and Leiden manuscripts, since the Chester Beatty manuscript shows an evident rearrangement of them. The *dūbayt* (couplets) and *alḡāz* (riddles) material varies and it has been dropped altogether from the Chester Beatty manuscript.

Another important witness on the same line is the manuscript of Sprenger 1120 of Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), dated in 813 H (1410 AD). In it the number of odes is the same as in the Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden manuscripts. The odes are ordered like those of Konya and Leiden, only that as in the Chester Beatty manuscript, the two *Tā'īyyas* are put at the end, and the great one as the conclusion of the text. This manuscript reports twenty one *dūbayt* (couplets) and seventeen *alḡāz* (riddles).

The first known witness of 'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension is the manuscript of Süleimaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul) Fatih 3766, dated in 786 H. (1384 AD). Then, comes the manuscript of the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), *adab* 3964, dated 804 H (1402 AD) and edited by 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq Maḥmūd 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq (Cairo, 1984)²⁵. Both texts are very similar and report at the beginning, the famous biographical introduction (*dībāḡa*) written by the poet's grandson²⁶.

25. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, ed. by 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq Maḥmūd 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq, Cairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984. This edition is taken as the basic reference of 'Alī's recension.

26. For the text of this biographical introduction (*dībāḡa*) see *Dīwān*, ed. by 'Abd Al-Ḥāliq pp. 19-44. For a study of this biographical introduction see our article Giuseppe Scattolin, «More on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Biography» in MIDEO 22 (1995) 202-245.

It is important to remark that the first part of 'Alī's recension is similar in content to the mss of Konya, Chester Beatty, Leiden and Berlin. It contains the same number of odes, fifteen, though arranged in a slightly different order, as shown in the following comparative pattern

Konya and Leiden mss. Fatih and Dār al-Kutub mss²⁷.

1.	<i>Sāiqa</i>	<i>ṭayy</i> :	
2.	<i>Şaddun</i>	<i>ğuddādan</i> :	
3.	<i>Na'm</i>	<i>habbatī</i> :	
4.	<i>Saqat nī</i>	<i>ğallatī</i> :	
5.	<i>Arağū</i>	<i>al-aḫyā'i</i> :	
6.	<i>A wamiḏu</i> ...	<i>mişbāhan</i> :	
7.	<i>Hal nāru</i>	<i>fa-l'alami</i> :	
8.	<i>Ḥaffifi</i>	<i>bi-fu'ād-ī</i> :	
9.	<i>Şaribnā</i>	<i>al-karmu</i> :	9.	<i>Huwa l-ḥubbu. 'aqlu</i>
10.	<i>Mā bayna</i>	<i>ḥarağī</i> :	10.	<i>Şaribnā..al-karmu</i>
11.	<i>Iḥfaz</i>	<i>bi-mahāğiri</i> :	11.	<i>Mā bayna..ḥarağī</i>
12.	<i>Tih dalālan</i> ...	<i>a'tā-ka</i> :	12.	<i>Iḥfaz..bi-mahāğiri</i>
13.	<i>Adir dikra</i> .	<i>mudām-ī</i> :	13.	<i>Qalb-ī.....ta'rifī</i>
14.	<i>Qalb-ī</i>	<i>ta'rifī</i> :	14.	<i>Tih dalālan..a'tā-ka</i>
15.	<i>Huwa l-ḥubbu</i> ...	<i>'aqlu</i> :	15.	<i>Adir dikra...mudām ī</i>

On the contrary, the second part of 'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḏ's recension was apparently unknown to older editors, except for some *dūbayt* (couplets) and *alğāz* (riddles), and it can be classified as follows, continuing the numeration from No. 15.

16. *A barqun badā...al-barāqi'u*:

'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḏ says that this ode was composed by himself in the month of Rabī' I, 733 H (November 1332 AD) on the same meter as the first verse, the only verse he remembers of a lost ode of his grandfather. Later on, he says he has found the whole ode and edited it²⁸.

27. We indicate here Konya and Leiden mss.; as said, the same number of odes is found also in the Chester Beatty and Berlin mss., though arranged in a different order. For the order of 'Alī's recension see *Dīwān*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥāliq pp. 206-232.

28. *Dīwān*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥāliq p. 207.

17. *Ġilliqun ġannatun...wa-bāhā.*

This is a short ode of four verses.

18. 30 *dūbayt* (couplets).19. 19 *algāz* (riddles).

One can remark how the number of *dūbayt* (couplets) and *algāz* (riddles) has greatly increased compared with those of earlier manuscripts.

20. A number of verses, quoted from different sources, not found in any earlier editions of the *dīwān*.21. *A barqun badā...al-barāqī'u:*

This is his grandfather's lost ode which 'Alī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ says he has found, according to his own account: "...on Thursday, the 15th of Raġab, 733 H (1st April, 1333 AD)"²⁹.

22. *Mā bayna ḍāli...bi-ḍalāli-bi*23. *Zid-nī bi-farṭi...tasa'arā*24. *Arā al-bu'da...al-bālī*25. *Nasabtu bi-ḥubb-ī...al-kullī*26. *Antum furūd-ī...wa-šūġl-ī*27. *Qif bi-l-diyāri...asā*28. *Ušāhidu ma'nā...wa-tadallul-ī*29. *Našartu fī...a'lāmī*30. *Ġayr-ī 'alā...ġādir*

Overviewing more than thirty manuscripts in the Suleimanyie Library (Istanbul), I found that there is a certain variance in the number and order of the odes in this second part of the *dīwān*. Some odes may have been taken from other poets and attributed to Ibn al-Fāriḍ, as is the case of the ode *Ġayrī 'alā* which is also found in the *dīwān* of Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr (d. 656/1258)³⁰.

29. *Dīwān*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥālīq p. 225-226.

30. *Dīwān Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr*, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1980, pp. 156-157; the same remark has been made by Arberry, *The Mystical Poems*, translated and annotated, p. 6.

8. General Conclusions on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.

Leaving to future research a more thorough analysis of the manuscript transmission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* we present here some conclusions reached through the previous work of analysis and comparison.

1. **The Konya manuscript.** The manuscript of Yusufaga Kütüphanesi No. 7838-12(9) (Konya) appears to be the oldest known extant text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*. This manuscript witnesses the text of the *dīwān* as it was known in Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Sufi circle in Konya around the middle of the 7hH/13th AD, probably between 640/1242 and 651/1253.
2. **The core of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.** The original number of odes of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*, witnessed by the first three oldest manuscripts, namely those of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden, seems to have been only fifteen. The same number is witnessed by a slightly later manuscript, that of Berlin. These manuscripts witness a textual transmission of the poems older and independent of the recension done a century after the poet's death by his grandson, 'Alī *sibt* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. It has been remarked that the same number of odes, fifteen, constitutes the first part of 'Alī *sibt* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension. In conclusion, it appears that these fifteen odes constituted, with all probability, the original *corpus* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* that was known during the first century after his death. There was also a variable number of *dūbayt* (couplets) and *alḡāz* (riddles) attributed to the poet.
3. **Later additions to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān*.** The second part of of 'Alī *sibt* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension seems to be a later addition worked out by the poet's grandson around 733 H (1333 AD). The material of this section seems to be not as sure as that of the first part, and further research on it is needed. It must be noted here that 'Alī *sibt* Ibn al-Fāriḍ doesn't seem to be a trustworthy witness in any way. His biographical account of his grandfather (his famous *dībāḡa*) has been put into question by modern critical studies, full as it is of stories of largely hagiographical and popular type. His main aim seems to have been to exalt his grandfather's image as much as possible through all kinds of accounts he could find or invent without any critical verification³¹. In the same way, in editing his grandfather's *dīwān*, he may have collected a lot of material and attributed it to his grandfather as long as it contributed in exalting his grandfather's poetic image. For us, it is dif-

31. On this point see the bibliography given in note No.26.

difficult now to assess what is or not authentic in it, unless new documentary witness is discovered.

In conclusion, it seems that a new critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *dīwān* is now needed. The oldest known texts, namely the manuscripts of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden may constitute a solid base for it. This is the work that lies ahead and we hope to be able to carry it out in the near future.