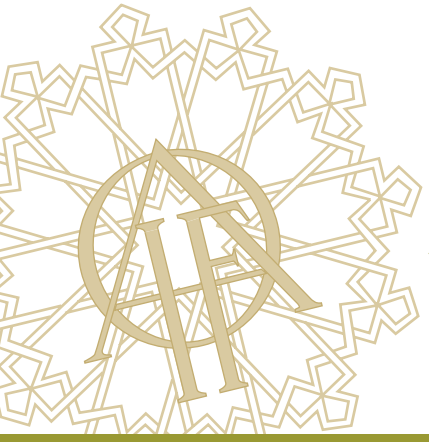
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Giuseppe Scattolin

Towards a Critical Edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān.

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Giuseppe SCATTOLIN

Towards a Critical Edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān

1. Introduction
The question of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān

The collection of poems (*dīwān*) of the Egyptian Sufi poet ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ (576-632/1181-1235) has always been very popular in the Sufi and literary milieus of the Islamic world.[1] A first, yet not complete, survey of the manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* (Appendix I) shows the extent of its diffusion in all places and times.

The absolute majority of these manuscripts, as well as all the current editions of the *Dīwān*, depend on the recension worked out a century after the poet's death, around 733/1333, by his grandson, ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. ca. 735/1335). ʿAlī also wrote a biographical introduction to the *Dīwān*, called *dībāğa* (lit. ornament, a name often given to the preface of a book), in which he presents his grandfather as the highest type of the holy person, endowed with all kinds of supernatural powers (*karāmāt*).[2] ʿAlī's recension has always been considered the *textus receptus* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. Although a lot of textual variants have been noticed in the past, they were accepted, as it were, as normal accidents in the

[1] Ibn al-Fāriḍ's full name is Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ (or Abū al-Qāsim) ʿUmar b. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Muršid b. ʿAlī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥamawī. His family was from Ḥamāt (Syria), but he was born in Cairo on the 4th Ḏū al-Qaʿda 576/22nd March 1181, where he also died on the 2nd of Ğumādā al-Ūlā 632/23rd January 1235. In Cairo, he passed most of his life, except for a period in which, following a common Sufi custom, he went to Mecca where he stayed for some years, probably between 613-628/1216-1231. After his return from Mecca, the poet lived in Cairo, near Al-Azhar mosque, away from public attention. It must have been during his last years that Ibn al-Fāriḍ dictated his collection of poems (*dīwān*). In the current editions, his *Dīwān* consists of about twenty-four odes and some epigrams, in all about 1785 vv. All known editions depend on the recension worked out by the poet's grandson, ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, a century after the poet's death, around 733/1333. (This date is given by ʿAlī himself in the account of his edition of his granfather's *Dīwān*, see *Dīwān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, p. 225). It is ʿAlī's textual tradition that it is now put into question by the find of Konya and other manuscripts. About Ibn al-Fāriḍ's life and work, see: R.A. Nicholson, J. Pedersen, "Ibn al-Fāriḍ", in EI^2 3, p. 763a-764b; Th.E. Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse and His Shrine*, Columbia 1994; G. Scattolin, "More on Ibn al-Fâriḍ's Biography", *MIDEO* 22, 1995, p. 202-245.

[2] For the text of the *dībāğa*, waiting the forthcoming critical edition we are working on, we refer to *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1984, p. 19-44. For more information about ʿAlī's *dībāğa*, see: G. Scattolin, *op. cit.*

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

historical transmission of an Arabic text. In fact, ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ himself complains in his *dībāğa* that the text had undergone a fair amount of alteration and confusion on the part of the copyists (*al-nussāḫ*).[3]

The first to put into question ʿAlī's recension was the British orientalist Arthur John Arberry (1905-1973). He happened to find in the Chester Beatty collection of Arabic manuscripts (Dublin) a manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* dated 691-705/1292-1302, which proved to be the oldest one known at the time. This manuscript witnessed to a different transmission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* consisting of only fifteen not of twenty-six odes, and without ʿAlī's *dībāğa*. This seems to be an earlier tradition of the *Dīwān* independent from ʿAlī's recension. Due to the importance of the find, Arberry published in 1952 the whole text in transliteration; later on he translated it into English.[4]

The Chester Beatty manuscript proved to be an excellent edition of the *Dīwān* as Arberry remarks: "... and indeed 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'iyyat kubrā*, published separately], as constituting the genuine and indisputable core of the corpus...", concluding 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 thirteenth century[5]". Arberry's warning, however, has not been taken into due consideration by later editors of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* such as ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, who, in 1984, published a 'critical' edition of it without even mentioning Arberry's work.

Arberry's hypothesis received an unexpected confirmation later, when in 1993 I happened to find in Konya (Turkey) an unknown manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* dated ca. 651/1253, i.e. some forty years older than that of Chester Beatty, and which also witnessed to only fifteen odes of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*.[6] Later on, I found two other manuscripts, one in the Oriental Manuscript Institute of Leiden (Or. 2693), dated before 757/1356, and the other in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin (Sprenger 1120), dated before 813/1410, witnessing a transmission of the text similar to that of Konya and Chester Beatty manuscripts.[7] In all these manuscripts Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* consists of only fifteen odes, without ʿAlī's *dībāğa*; thus, they show to be independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension.

[3] *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, p. 19.

[4] A.J. Arberry (1905-1970), *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, (Chester Beatty Monographs No. 4), London 1952; his translation of the "Great *Tā'iyya*" is, "*The Poem of the Way*", translated into English verse from the Arabic of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, (Chester Beatty Monographs No. 5), London l952; and the rest of the poems are translated in, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, (Chester Beatty Monographs No. 6), Dublin 1956.

[5] A.J. Arberry, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[6] See a report of it in my article, G. Scattolin, "The Oldest Text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*: A Manuscript of Yusufağa Kütüphanesi of Konya", *MIDEO* 24, 2000, p. 83-114.

[7] A detailed description of these manuscripts is given in the following.

At this point, with this accumulating evidence, the question of the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* had to be taken into more serious consideration and the need of a new critical edition became imperative. To start with, I carried out a general survey of the manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* found in some of the most important libraries in the East and the West, which amount to a quite large number (Appendix I). From it I made a basic selection of the most relevant manuscripts according to the dates of their writing, twenty-five in all (Appendix II). Out of these I chose eight manuscripts which represent the earliest tradition of the text, and on this basis I worked out a first critical edition of the text (chap. I: 'Description of the Eight Manuscripts Used in Our Edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*'). To complete my work I compared these first witnesses of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* with the most important modern editions of it, which are based on a number of manuscripts though not mentioned by their editors (chap. II: 'Description of the Modern Editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* Used in Our Edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*'). Then a comparative table is given (Appendix III) showing the order of the odes in the texts used for our critical edition of the *Dīwān*.

Thus, the reader can compare the first historical evidence of the text with its latest transmission. In this way, I think, the forthcoming edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is established on a fairly large and substantial historical witness. In future, myself or somebody else will be able to examine other manuscripts, completing the present work.

2. Description of the eight manuscripts used in the edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān

Out of a basic selection (Appendix II) we have chosen eight manuscripts representing the earlier transmission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. All of them are unedited manuscripts, except the Chester Beatty ms. Two of them, those of Konya and Chester Beatty, are from the 7th/13th c. and are up to the present the oldest known manuscripts of the *Dīwān*; three of them are from 8th/14th c., and three form the 9th/15th c. In this way, the transmission of the text during the first three centuries after Ibn al-Fāriḍ's death is well documented.

In the following a brief, essential description of them all is given highlighting the main characteristics of each: title, colophon and dates, handwriting and another important remarks. In the entries each manuscript is identified by the symbol used in our edition.

2.1. *K: Yusufağa Kütüphanesi No. 7838/12 (Konya), Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ; date: between 640-673H (1242-1274 A.D.)*

A full description of this manuscript has been given in a article published in *MIDEO* 24, 2000.[8] Here, only some of its most relevant features are given.

[8] G. Scattolin, 'The Oldest Text...', p. 83-114.

This manuscript of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is contained in a volume of manuscripts (*maǧmūʿ*) found in the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi (Yusufağa Library), located near the shrine of Ğalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Mevlana Müsesi) in Konya.[9] The codex is a thick volume of 741 pages, bound in brown leather (*muǧallad*), classified as number 7838/1-15: that means that the volume contains fifteen manuscripts. The dimensions of the codex are around 24.5 × 16.5 cm, but the written surface and the number of lines in its pages vary from one manuscript to the other, as they have been written by different hands at different dates. Most of the manuscripts of this codex are copies of the works of the Andalusian Sufi, Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638/1165-1240).

The codex has a double page numeration: an older one, in Arabic figures (referred by us as A), numbers each page counting on the whole 741 p., and a more recent one, in Western figures (referred by us as W), which counts the folios (double pages), on the whole 380 folios (= 760 p.). The difference between the two numerations is due to a counting mistake.

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ is classified as the No. 9 in the volume Yusufağa Kütüphanesi No. 7838, but actually it is No. 12, occupying p. 277a-334a (Western numeration) /554-648 (Arabic numeration). Each page contains 17 lines, and every line contains a verse of the poem. The two hemistichs of the verses are not clearly separated.

The opening of the text is:

«بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ – وَهْوَ حَسْبِي وَنِعْمَ الوَكِيلُ.
قَالَ الشَّيْخُ الإِمَامُ العَالِمُ الفَاضِلُ وَحِيدُ عَصْرِهِ وَفَرِيدُ دَهْرِهِ شَرَفُ الدِّينِ أَبُو حَفْصٍ
عُمَرُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ السَّعْدِيُّ المَعْرُوفُ بِابْنِ الفَارِضِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ وَنَوَّرَ ضَرِيحَهُ»

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate.

God suffices for us, He is the best of trustees.

Said the Master, the most Knowledgeable Guide, the Virtuous, the Unique of his time and the Incomparable of his epoch, Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Saʿdī known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ–may God sanctify his spirit and enlighten his tomb!"

[9] The 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. In it, quite a number of manuscripts, collected from many local libraries, are preserved. Ğalāl al-Dīn Rūmī is the most famous Sufi of Konya. His full name is Ğalāl al-Dīn b. Bahā' al-Dīn Sulṭān al-ʿUlamā' Walad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad Ḫaṭībī. He was born in Balḫ (Eastern Iran) on the 7th Rabīʿ I 604 / 30th September 1207. Under the pressure of the Mongol's onslaught he moved with his family westwards to Konya (ar. Qūnyā, the ancient Iconium), where he founded a famous Sufi school. There he met Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), Ibn ʿArabī's most prominent disciple and himself the head of another famous Sufi school of Konya. Ğalāl al-Dīn died in Konya, where he was buried, on the 5th Ğumādā II 672/ 17th December 1273 and his shrine attracts his numerous devotees from all over the world. After his death, his son Sulṭān Walad, a Sufi himself, continued his father's Sufi school organizing the disciples into a Sufi order which, because of its characteristic ritual dancing in spinning movements, 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 26,000 of which constitute his greatest composition, his *Maṯnawī* (*Mesnevi* in Persian). His verses contain almost every conceivable mystical theory and every interpreter has found in them whatever he sought, from extreme pantheism to personal mysticism, from enraptured love to law-bound orthodoxy; see A. Bausani, "Djalāl al-Dīn", in *EI*^{2} 2, p. 393b-397b.

After that the fifteen odes follow; the same number as in Chester Beatty ms. At the end of the collection a number of *dūbayt* (couplets) (16) and *alġāz* (riddles) (7) are found.

The colophon at the end of the *Dīwān* on p. 334aW/648A says:

«الحَمْدُ لِلَّه رَبِّ العَالَمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ – وَحَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الوَكِيلُ»

"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."

No date and place are mentioned in the colophon. These must be estimated from a careful comparison with the other manuscripts of the same volume and other manuscripts of the time.

In fact, the codex No. 7838/1-15 contains a number of very ancient manuscripts dating from 624/1227, the date of the oldest one, to 651/1253, the date of the more recent. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is clearly located among the oldest group of these manuscripts because mentioned in the index of the works found at the beginning of the codex.

Hence, one can reasonably infer that the date of its writing must be fixed around the same period of time of this group of manuscripts. All this evidence has lead us to the conclusion that the present text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* must have been copied in the circle of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's disciples in Konya, around the middle of the 7th/13th c. This could have happened between 640/1242, the date of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's trip to Egypt, from where he probably took a copy of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* which he used in his lessons in Konya, and 651/1253, date of the latest manuscript of that group. In any case, it should be surely before Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's death in 673/1274 since the frontispiece of the volume states that Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī left it as a donation (*waqf*) for his library built near his tomb. A comparison with other manuscripts of the same time coming from the same library of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī confirmed this hypothesis. In conclusion, this manuscript of the codex No. 7838/1-15 of the Yusufağa Kütüphanesi, Konya, appears in all evidence to be the oldest known text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

The handwriting of the text is a very clear, carefully written *nasḫī*. The text is vocalized to a great extent and this fact facilitates its reading. The conditions of the paper and script are excellent. After consultation, Dr Ayman Fu'ād, former director of the manuscript department of the National Library of Cairo, validated our estimation of the date of the manuscript stating that such handwriting is surely from the 7th/13th c.

After a comparison with the other manuscripts of the *Dīwān*, it appeared quite clearly that Konya manuscript is the best among them all from the point of view of textual, linguistic and grammatical correctness. Very few mistakes have been remarked in it. Only in some very few instances have we preferred another textual evidence as more consistent with the text,

marking it in our edition and always reporting in the footnote the original text of Konya, so that the reader can always read it in its original form. Thus, our edition is intended to be, first of all, a correct reading of the Konya manuscript compared with other textual evidences.

A limited number of variants and corrections are found in the margin and inside the text; this is a clear indication that the text has been compared with other contemporary transmissions of it. In fact, at the end of the poem *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, on p. 318bW/617A, a short colophon says:

«قُوبِلَ وَصُحِّحَ – وَالحَمْدُ لِلَّه»

"It has been compared and corrected–Praise be to God!"

At the end of the *Dīwān*, on p. 333b W/647A, another colophon says:

«بَلَغَتِ الْمُقَابَلَةُ إِلَى آخِرِهَا وَجُهِدَ بِهِ الإِمْكَانُ – وَالحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ وَهُوَ حَسْبُنَا وَنِعْمَ الوَكِيلُ»

"The comparison has been completed and all possible effort has been made for it–God suffices for us–He is the best of trustees."

This fact proves that already at that very early date (i.e., twenty or thirty years after Ibn al-Fāriḍ's death) there were some discrepancies in the transmission of the text. The same fact, though on a larger scale, is confirmed by the Chester Beatty manuscript dated some forty years later, around 691/1292, which reports a much larger number of variants. All this evidence witnesses that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* has been transmitted, probably from its very beginning, with a number of variants which increased in time, and that some textual research was going on at a very early date. As a matter of fact, most of these variants have been in time incorporated into the text of the *Dīwān* by later editions. This can be seen in our work of textual comparison.

2.2. *Cb: Manuscript of Chester Beatty Collection, Arabic MS. 3643 (Dublin), Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ; date: 691-701/1292-1302*

This manuscript has already been studied and edited in transcription by A.J. Arberry in 1952. We give here some complementary information of the manuscript.[10]

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

Arberry in his preface describes this manuscript as follows: "The Chester Beatty Arabic MS. 752 is a slim volume of 106 folios, bound in plain brown leather with a blind-tooled border, *bayāḍ* fashion.

The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ occupies folios 1-50. The pages measure 16.8 × 12.2 cm; the written surface is 14 × 8 cm; there are 16 lines to each page. The writing is a fine, clear, vocalized *nasḫī*. The transcription is careful though not free of faults, and has been corrected as described in the below.[11]"

[10] See above n. 4.

[11] A.J. Arberry, *The Mystical Poems*, (1952), p. 5.

I have found that the volume is now classified under the heading Arabic MS. 3643; the whole volume consists of 106 folios of which the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ occupies folios 1-50 (the rest is an incomplete copy of Ibn ʿArabī's *Kitāb al-ʿabādila*), in all 100 pages, without counting the first two covers. The volume is bound on the upper side of the pages which is, to my knowledge, a rather unique case among Arabic manuscripts; this seems to me to be a later binding.

The importance of Chester Beatty manuscript lies in the fact that its textual transmission is connected with some important Sufis of the 7th/13th c., as witnessed in some parts of the text.

The preface of the manuscript fol. 1a, p. 1, is dated 691/1292, so the text must have been written around this date, i.e. some forty years before the recension of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's grandson, ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, done in 733/1333, but surely after that of Konya. The preface says:

«دِيوَانُ الشَيْخِ الإِمَامِ العَالِمِ الفَاضِلِ وَحِيدِ عَصْرِهِ وَفَرِيدِ دَهْرِهِ تَاجِ العَارِفِينَ وَقُطْبِ المُكَاشِفِينَ (الصّحِيحُ: المُكَاشَفِينَ) شَرَفِ الدِّينِ أَبِي حَفْصٍ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ السَعَدِيِّ المَعْرُوفِ بِابْنِ الفَارِضِ – قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ وَنَوَّرَ ضَرِيحَهُ.

الحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مُمْطِرِ السَّحَابِ العَارِضِ * رَازِقِ كُلِّ قَاعِدٍ وَنَاهِضٍ * مُؤَلِّفِ كُلِّ قَلْبٍ مُتَبَاغِضٍ * وَصَلَوَاتُهُ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ مُعْجِزِ كُلِّ مُتَّحَدٍّ مُنَاقِضٍ * وَعَلَى آلِهِ مِنْ كُلِّ مُتَوَكِّلٍ مُتَفَاوِضٍ * وَبَعْدُ ، فَإِنَّ دِيوَانَ ابْنِ الفَارِضِ * قَرَأَهُ عَلَيَّ وَلَدِي السَّيِّدُ الحَافِظُ الصَّالِحُ المُفْلِحُ الطَّالِبُ الرَّاغِبُ * إِمَامُ الدِّينِ صِدِّيقُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ * أَلْهَمَهُ اللَّهُ الرُّشْدَ وَالصَّوَابَ * وَحَمَاهُ عَنْ صُحْبَةِ مَنْ حَقَّتْ عَلَيْهِ كَلِمَةُ العَذَابِ * غَيْرَ قَصِيدَةٍ وَحِيدَةٍ وَهِيَ قَوْلُه: «سَائِقَ الأَظْعَانِ تَطْوِي (الصّحِيحُ: يَطْوِي) البِيدَ طَيْ» فَأَجَزْتُهُ أَنْ يَرْوِيَهُ عَنِّي بِحَقِّ رِوَايَتِي عَنِ الشَّيْخِ الجَلِيلِ الحَافِظِ فَخْرِ الدِّينِ العِرَاقِيِّ – رَحِمَهُ اللَّه * كَتَبَهُ وَالِدُهُ عَلِيٌّ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَحْفُوظٍ العَلَوِيُّ – عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَغَفَرَ لَهُ وَلِلْمُسْلِمِينَ كَافَّةً * سَنَةَ ٦٩١ هِجْرِيَّةً.»

"The *Dīwān* of the Master, the most Knowledgeable Guide, the Virtuous, the Unique of his time and the Incomparable of his epoch, the Crown of the Gnostics and the Pole of those who received the (divine) revelation, Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Saʿdī known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ—may God sanctify his spirit and enlighten his tomb!"

"Praise to God, who makes the passing cloud drop its rain, who gives sustenance to everything that is sitting and raising, who unites (in friendship) every hostile heart, and may his blessings rest upon his Prophet who reduces to silence all opposing challenger and upon his family, everyone who puts his complete trust in God!

(I declare) that the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ has been read with me by my son, the *sayyid* and *ḥāfiẓ*, the righteous, the successful, the earnest student Imām al-Dīn Ṣiddīq Ibn ʿAlī– may God inspire him to follow the good and righteous path and protect him from the

company of those who deserve the just punishment in the hereafter!–all save one poem which begins with < *sā'iqa al-aẓʿānī taṭwī* (corr.: *yaṭwī*) *al-bīda ṭay* >. And I have given him the licence to transmit it as from me, by virtue of my transmission from the illustrious *šayḫ* and *ḥāfiẓ* Faḫr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī–may God's mercy rest upon him! Written by his father ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ al-ʿAlawī–may God forgive him and grant his pardon to all Muslims!–in the year 691 of the Hegira."

The writer of the note calls himself ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ al-ʿAlawī, and says that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* was transmitted (*riwāya*) to him by Faḫr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī. This is, with all probability, the celebrated Persian Sufi poet, a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. On his visit to Cairo, Faḫr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī was honoured by the title of "the Great Master of Sufis" (*šayḫ al-šuyūḫ*), a title introduced there by the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (the Saladin of European chronicles). From Cairo Faḫr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī moved to Damascus where he died in 688/1289.[12]

At the end of the "Great *Tā'iyya*" (*al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*) on fol. 48b, p. 96, there is another important colophon:

«بَلغَتِ الْمُقَابَلَةُ مَعَ جَاهِي (؟) وَسَيِّدِي قُرَّةِ عُيُونِ العَالَمِينَ تَاجِ آلِ طَهَ وَيَسٍ صَفِيِّ الدِّينِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ العَلَوِيِّ الحُسَيْنِيِّ الرِضَوِيِّ فِي سَلْخِ ذِي القَعْدَةِ سَنَةَ إِحْدَى وَسَبْعِمَائَةٍ بِمَلَطِيَّةَ المَحْرُوسَةِ مَعَ نُسْخَتَيْنِ عَظِيمَتَيْنِ لاَ يُلْتَقَى مِثْلُهُمَا فِي الصِّحَّةِ وَالفَوَائِدِ فِي الحَاشِيَةِ وَالضَّبْطِ وَالرُّقُومِ وَالشَّرْحِ وَغَيْرِهَا وَأَنَا الصِّدِّيقُ العَلَوِيُّ الحُسَيْنِيُّ».

"The collation has been achieved with my honour (Arberry reads 'brother', which seems improbable to us) and lord, the delight of all the worlds, the crown of Ṭāhā and Yāsīn (i.e. the community of Islam), Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿAlī ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Riḍawī, at the end of Ḏū al-Qaʿda of the year 701 in the town of Malaṭiyya, with two magnificent copies, the like of which are not to be met with for correctness, value of marginal glosses, accuracy of writing, numbering, commentary and so forth. And I am Al-Ṣiddīq al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī."

Al-Ṣiddīq declares here that the copy of this poem has been completed with the help of his brother (?), Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, at the end of Ḏū al-Qaʿda 701/July, 1302, in the town of Malaṭiyya (Eastern Turkey).

He points to the fact that his work of collection was done on the basis of "two magnificent copies, the like of which are not to be met with for correctness, value of marginal glosses, accuracy, numbering, commentary and so forth." However, no further information is given about these two "unparalleled, magnificent copies" of the *Dīwān*. In any case this is a proof of the accuracy of the copyist in collating different transmissions of the text. The date is Ḏū al-Qaʿda 701/July, 1302, this means that it took over ten years to complete the work of editing, from 691 to 701; quite a long time.

[12] For further information about Faḫr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, see: W.C. Chittick, P. Lomborn Wilson, *Fakhruddin ʿIraqui-Divine Flashes*, New York, 1982: Introduction, p. 33-66.

The colophon is signed by Ṣiddīq al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, the son of the mentioned ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ al-ʿAlawī. It would be of interest to know something more about this Sufi family of Malaṭiyya so involved in the transmission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. The entry is in red ink, and the same hand has annotated and corrected with the same red ink the whole manuscript.

In the right-hand margin of the same page another earlier hand wrote a note saying:

«قُوبِلَتْ بِنُسْخَةٍ قُرِئَتْ عَلَى الشَّيْخِ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ الإِيكِي وَالحَوَاشِي لَهُ وَإِنَّهَا صُحِّحَتْ عَلَى نُسْخَةِ الْمُصَنِّفِ – رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ»

"It has been collated with a copy which has been read before the *šayḫ* Šams al-Dīn al-Īkī, and the glosses are his, and this (latter copy) has been corrected against the copy of the author (Ibn al-Fāriḍ)–may God have mercy on him!"

The same handwriting in very dark black ink is found in many corrections and notes throughout the text. This Šams al-Dīn al-Īkī, mentioned in the colophon, is another famous Sufi of the time and an admirer of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. He too was a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and for a time "the Great Master of Sufis" (*šayḫ al-šuyūḫ*) in Cairo. He died in Damascus in 697/1298. Moreover, the absence of the formula (God's mercy upon him!) after his name suggests, as Arberry already remarked, that Šams al-Dīn al-Īkī was still living at the time of the collation, which is in agreement with the date of the collation. The colophon states that al-Īkī's copy had been collated with a copy of the composer himself (i.e. Ibn al-Fāriḍ). About this last remark some doubts arise since it seems that Ibn al-Fāriḍ has not written himself his poems, but has only dictated them, and probably, had them read back to him by his reporter (*rāwiya*), as was customary among Arab poets. At the end of the whole collection on fol. 50b, p. 100 a final colophon states:

«هَذَا آخِرُ مَا وُجِدَ مِنْ نَظْمِهِ بَعْدَ اسْتِقْصَاءٍ فِي الطَّلَبِ – رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَأَرْضَاهُ – الحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ العَالَمِينَ وَصَلَوَاتُهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ»

"This is the end of what was found of his composition, after careful searching and investigation–may God be pleased with him and make him be pleasant (to Him)! Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds and may His blessings rest upon our lord Muḥammad and his family, the excellent and pure!"

Arberry has already pointed to the 'exceptional importance' of the Chester Beatty manuscript. In fact, the copyist could collate the text with the tradition of two important Sufis of the time: Faḫr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī and Šams al-Dīn al-Īkī, both disciples of the great Sufi master of Konya, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), and they both lived for a time in Egypt. This fact suggests that this textual tradition has a direct connection with Egypt and with Ṣadr al-Dīn's Sufi school in Konya. In fact, Malaṭiyya too was at that time an important Sufi centre, not far from Konya. Ibn ʿArabī himself stayed there for a while; actually, a number of his works have been transmitted there, as the codex of Konya witnesses.[13] All this information proves that the two Sufi centres of Konya and Malaṭiyya

[13] See our article 'The Oldest Text...'.

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

were closely related, and this fact may account for the large number of affinities existing between the two texts of Konya and Malaṭiyya (Chester Beatty), as well as with other texts related to Ṣadr al-Dīn's Sufi school of Konya, such as those transmitted by Al-Farġānī, Al-Qayṣarī and Al-Kāšānī. This is shown in our work of comparison.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

Arberry has already highlighted that the copyist of Malaṭiyya was "very diligent" in collecting Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems. He reported all the variants (a quite large number, most of them written in the margin) found in the other manuscripts he could collect without trying any harmonization among them: one can say that it was for that time quite a critical edition of the *Dīwān*! Moreover, as Arberry pointed out, the alphabetical arrangement of the odes in Cb is a sign that the copyist considered to be in possession of the whole *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ so that, as customary in Arabic literary tradition, he could arrange it according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes, except for the two *Tā'iyya* which are located at the end of the *Dīwān* as its apex.

On the basis of such evidence, one can say that Konya and Malaṭiyya mss are not only the earliest but also the surest witnesses of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* as it was known in the Sufi circles during the first century after the poet's death. These two early codices witness that the *Dīwān* consisted of only fifteen odes. This fact is of the highest relevance as to the question of the authenticity of the text. Moreover, Konya and Malaṭiyya mss prove to be not only the oldest but also the most accurate copies of the *Dīwān* from the point of view of correctness of handwriting, language and grammar.

The handwriting of Cb is a quite clear (though not as clear as that of K) *nasḫī*, strikingly similar to (but not as nice as) that of K. They are not from the same hand, but probably from a similiar handwriting tradition. Cb text is almost entirely vocalized, though it contains a number of errors and a lot of later corrections. Most of the corrections and variants are written by the hands that wrote the black and red colophons at the end.

For our editing, we had access to the microfilm of the Cb and could compare it with Arberry's transcription of it. On the whole, we have agreed with Arberry's work, departing from him however on the evidence of the text, especially in the second part of the 'Great *Tā'iyya*' in which Arberry left out a lot of variants as if tired by the job.

At the end, a number (15) of *dūbayt* (called in the text *rubāʿiyyāt*), and (7) of *alġāz* are found. Arberry in his transcription has neglected this part of the *Dīwān*, in spite of the fact that this kind of compositions are witnessed by all the other manuscripts, (though their number differ from one to the other) and they are well in tune with Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetical activity and style. We have reported them comparing with what is found in other manuscripts.

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

2.3. *Sl: Süleimaniye Lâleli 1340 (Istanbul), al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā; date: 752H (1351 A.D.)*

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

The title قَصِيدَه تَائِيَّه 'The ode *al-Tā'iyya*' is written on the frontispiece in Persian characters.

The manuscript consists of 30 folios, in all 60 written pages including the title; on each page there are 13 lines. The partition of the verses in two hemistichs is not clearly indicated. In the end, on folio 30b, p. 60, a very short colophon says: (تَمَّ إِيَّانَ سَنَة ٧٥٢): "It has been finished during the year 752 H (i.e. 1351 A.D.)". No other information about the place and the copyist is given. In any case, this is one of the oldest manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, and so an important witness of the early transmission of the text.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

The text is written in a very clear and beautiful *nasḫī*, intended to be completely vocalized; for this reason we registered the omitted vowels as intentionally omitted. Some verses are omitted, others repeated in the text, apparently because of the copyist's inattention, and some spurious verses have been incorporated into the text. This is another proof of how Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems have been exposed to manipulation since a very early date. At the beginning for some 48 verses, there is an interlinear translation into Persian. This may well indicate that the owner of the manuscript was of Persian language; in fact, a number of names of different owners are written on the frontispiece. Very few variants are recorded in the margin, a sign that the copyist did not take much pain in searching for other copies of the *Dīwān*.

There are quite a number of grammatical and linguistic mistakes. On the whole, Sl is a quite good edition of the text, but not at the level of those of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden.

2.4. *L: Leiden Or. 2693 (Holland): Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ; date: before the middle of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 757H (March, 1356 A.D.)*

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

Under a short title دِيوَانُ الشَّيْخِ عُمَرَ بْنِ الفَارِض written on the frontispiece there is a longer one which says:

«دِيوَانُ الشَّيْخِ الإِمَامِ العَالِمِ العَارِفِ المُكَاشَفِ شَرَفِ الدِينِ أَبِي حَفْصٍ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ الشَعَدِيِّ (الصَّحِيح: السَّعْدِيِّ) عُرِفَ بِابْنِ الفَارِضِ – رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَعَفَا عَنْهُ»

"The *Dīwān* of the Master, the most Knowledgeable Guide, who received the (divine) revelation, Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Saʿdī who was known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ– may God be satisfied with him and grant him forgiveness!"

Then the *Dīwān* is introduced on fol. 1b, p. 2 by the traditional formula:

«بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيم – صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا.

قَالَ الشَّيْخُ الإِمَامُ العَالِمُ العَارِفُ المُكَاشَفُ شَرَفُ الدِّينِ أَبُو حَفْصٍ عُمَرُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ السَّعْدِيُّ المَعْرُوفُ بِابْنِ الفَارِضِ – قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ وَبَرَّدَ ضَرِيحَهُ وَعَفَا عَنْهُ.»

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate–may God make his blessings rest upon our lord Muḥammad, his family and his companions and grant them perfect salvation!

Said the Master, the most Knowledgeable Guide, who received the (divine) revelation, Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Saʿdī known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ–may God sanctify his spirit and refresh his tomb and grant him forgiveness!"

A number of notes from different owners are written on the frontispiece. The manuscript is composed of 35 folios, in all 70 written pages including the title, and each page contains 25 lines. The date is recorded in the colophon at the end of the ms., on fol. 34a, p. 67:

«آخِرُ الدِّيوَانِ وَالصَلاَةَ ُالتَّامَّةُ والسّلاَمُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ والحَمْدُ للَّهِ رَبِّ العَالَمِينَ – ٧٥٧ مُنْتَصَفَ شَهْرِ رَبِيعٍ الأَوَّل.»

"This is the end of the *Dīwān*–praise to God and the perfect blessings upon our lord Muḥammad, the seal of prophets, praise to God, the Lord of the worlds–in the middle of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 757."

The handwriting and the ink are different from that of the text, which must, therefore, have been written at an earlier date. Thus, Leiden manuscript is one of the oldest texts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. No futher information is given about the place (probably in the Maghreb as the handwriting is *nasḫī maġribī*) and the copyist. On the last pages there is a number of notes from the different owners of the manuscript.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

Leiden manuscript does not report ʿAlī's *dibāğa* and record only fifteen poems in the same order as that of Konya. This is an additional confirmation of an early tradition of the text common to Konya and Chester Beatty mss and independent from that of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. The handwriting is *nasḫī maġribī* not easy to read, because scantily and not always clearly vocalized, and the diacritical dots of the letters are not always evident; only through some practice does one become acquainted with such handwriting. In many instances where the reading of the text is not clearly indicated we read it according to the corrected reading of it given by Konya and other manuscripts. Some parts of the manuscript have been badly damaged. There are very few marginal additions, a sign that the copyist could not have access to other copies of the text. On the whole Leiden manuscript proves to be a quite accurate edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* from the point of view of language, grammar and meter, and, in our view, is one of the most trustworthy traditions of it, but after that of Konya and Chester Beatty mss. In the end, eighteen *dūbayt* and eighteen *alġāz* are reported, and between the two the short poem on Egypt: *Ğillāqᵘ ğannatᵘ*...

2.5. *Sf: Süleimaniye Fâtih 3766 (Istanbul), Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ: date: 19 Ramaḍān, 786H (4 November, 1384 A.D.)*

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

The title on the frontispiece is: كِتَابُ تَصْحِيحِ ديوَان ابْنِ الفَارِضِ فِي التّصَوُّف
'*Book of the corrected (reading) of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān on mysticism (taṣawwuf)*'.

Beside the title, the frontispiece is embellished with a number of figures; among them there are special circular patterns inside which the name ʿAlī is written in *taʿlīq* characters. The same type of patterns together with some writings always in *taʿlīq* character are repeated at the end. The *Dīwān* is introduced by the *dībāǧa* of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. This is, to our knowledge, the first written witness of it. The text is a volume of 79 folios, in all 158 pages, of which 152 are written including the internal title. Each page contains 17 lines and the entries of the odes are written in red ink.

In the end on fol. 76b, p. 152 the colophon says:

« تَمَّ الكِتَابُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَعَوْنِهِ وَتَوْفِيقِهِ فِي يَوْمِ الجُمُعَةِ تَاسِعَ عَشَرَ رَمَضَانَ الْمُعَظَّمِ سَنَةَ سِتٍّ وَتَمَانِينَ (الصَحِيح: ثَمَانِينَ) وَسَبْعِمَائَةٍ. »

"The book (of the *Dīwān*) has been finished–praise to God–by his help and his favour, on Friday the 19th of the glorious Ramaḍān, the year 786 (4th November, 1384 A.D.)".

No further information about the place and the copyist is given. Thus, the Fātiḥ 3766 ms. is the oldest witness we know of the recension of the *Dīwān* done around 733/1333 by Ibn al-Fāriḍ's grandson, ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. In fact, the number and order of the odes of Fâtiḥ 3766 ms. is the same as that of ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq's edition (Cairo, 1984), which is based on six manuscripts from the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), the oldest one (*Adab* 3964) dated 804H (1402 A.D.), i.e., twenty years later than the Fâtih 3766 ms., dated 786H (1384 A.D.). In the first part of the text the fifteen odes (common to the earlier recensions) are reported in the same order as that of ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq's edition. The last part of the *Dīwān* too, the one added by ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, corresponds to that of ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq's edition, with minor variations.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

The handwriting of Fâtih 3766 (Sf) manuscript is a clear, almost fully vocalized *nasḫī*. The partition of the verses in two hemistichs is not clearly indicated.

The text is full of grammatical and linguistic mistakes, with many colloquial (probably Egyptian) influences (e.g., the letters *ḏāl* and *ṭā'* are often reduced to *dāl* and *tā'*). In Sf, as well as in the later Sk ms., there is the clear tendency, especially in *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, of changing the feminine pronouns of the second person (*anti-ki*) into the correspondent masculine (*anta-ka*). This seems due to religious reasons, probably to avoid addressing God with the feminine pronoun. Very few variants are reported in the margin, a sign that the copyist did not compare the text with other copies of the *Dīwān*. In all, Fâtih 3766 ms

transmission of the text is quite faithful, but with such shortcomings cannot be considered an authoritative witness of the text as those of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden. However, being one of the oldest witnesses of it, we thought it right to report its variants (most of them consisting of linguistic mistakes of different kinds), as a witness of how Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* has been transmitted and read at a very early date, in some part of the Islamic world (probably in Egypt). As said, Sf is up to now the first witness we have of ʿAlī's of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*.

2.6. *Bs: Staatsbibliotek Sprenger 1120 (Berlin): Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ; date: before 20 Rabīʿ al-Āḫar, 813H (21st August, 1410 A.D.)*

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

The title دِيوَانُ إِبْنِ الفَارِضِ is in splendid, illuminated *kūfī* characters. The *Dīwān* is introduced on fol. 2a, p. 3 by the following words:

«بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ.
قَالَ الشَّيْخُ الإِمَامُ العَالِمُ الزَاهِدُ العَابِدُ الوَرِعُ الأَدِيبُ البَارِعُ الفَاضِلُ المُحَقِّقُ فَرِيدُ دَهْرِهِ وَوَحِيدُ عَصْرِهِ شَرَفُ الدِّينِ أَبُو حَفْصٍ عُمَرُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ السَّعْدِيُّ المَعْرُوفُ بِابْنِ الفَارِضِ – قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ.»

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate.

Said the Master, the most Knowledgeable Guide, the Ascetic, Devout, Pious, eminent Literate, the Virtuous, who received of divine revelation and has realized the truth, the Incomparable of his epoch and the Unique of his time, Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. al-Saʿdī, known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ–may God sanctify his spirit!"

Then come the fifteen odes starting with the *Yā'iyya* as in Konya ms. except for the two *Tā'iyya*, which are put at the end of the manuscript. Before the two *Tā'iyya*, 17 *alġāz* and 21 *dūbayt* are reported, and between the two the short poem "*Ğillaqᵘ ğannatᵘ*..." in praise of Egypt. The two *Tā'iyya*, the lesser and the greater, are placed at the end of all. The copyist's intention seems to have been to single them out as the apex of the whole *Dīwān*, as the copyist of Chester Beatty did. The text consists of 78 folios, in all 146 written pages, on each page there are 11 lines.

The 'Great *Tā'iyya*' is introduced by these words on fol. 42a, p. 84:

«وَقَالَ قَصِيدَتَهُ المَوْسُومَةُ (الصَّحِيحُ: المَوْسُومَةَ) بِنَظْمِ السُّلُوكِ عَلَى لِسَانِ أَهْلِ المَعْرِفَةِ وَالمُكَاشِفِينَ (الصَّحِيحُ: وَالمُكَاشَفِينَ) المُحَقِّقِينَ وَهِيَ التَّائِيَّةُ العُظْمَى، وَهِيَ هَذِهِ...»

"He recited his ode designated as 'The Order of the Way', (composed) in the tongue of the people of the gnosis (*ahl al-maʿrifa*), those who received the revelation and reached the truth, and this is the 'Great *Tā'iyya*', which is the following ..."

At the end of it there is a short colophon of praise without date; then a brief ode in praise of the 'Great *Tā'iyya*' is added, followed by a short biography of Ibn al-Fāriḍ taken

from Ibn Ḫallikān.[14] The date is inferred by another colophon written on fol. 78b, p. 146 by a later owner of the manuscript in a very hasty and non-clear handwriting. This colophon appears to have been written in Egypt on the 20th of Rabīʿ al-Āḫar, 813H (21st August, 1410 A.D.)–the date can be read quite clearly–consequently the text of the *Dīwān* was surely written before this date.

The text of the *Dīwān* is not introduced by ʿAlī's *dībāǧa* and does not contain the second part of the latter's recension. Thus, Sprenger 1120 ms too, written around a century after ʿAlī's recension, is a further witness confirming the transmission of the text of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden mss, which is independent from that of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. No other information is given about the place and the copyist.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

The handwriting is a very clear and beautiful *nasḫī*, completely vocalized, but the way of writing the vowels and dots is many times confusing, making its reading difficult, sometimes even impossible. There are groups of letters without any possible meaning. Some of them have been read according to the nearest possible reading, some others have been reported as they are with a question mark. This text also is full of grammatical and linguistical mistakes.

The verses are not clearly divided into the two hemistichs. From some sparse notes it appears that the text has been compared and corrected against some other copies of the *Dīwān*, in fact on p. 40 it says: "The comparison has been completed to this point." Corrections from a different hand are evident in the text. On the whole, in spite of being a nice copy of the *Dīwān*, this manuscript is not at the level of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden mss. Nevertheless, Bs is a quite early witness confirming the existence of a transmission of the *Dīwān* independent from ʿAlī's recension a century after the latter's edition.

2.7. *Sa: Süleimaniye Ayasofya 1994 Mükdrel (Istanbul): al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā; date: 11th Šaʿbān, 875H (2nd February, 1471 A.D.)*

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

The title is كِتَابُ قَصِيدَةِ ابْنِ الفَارِضِ التَّائِيَّةِ فِي التَّصَوُّف "*The Book of the ode 'the Tā'iyya' of Ibn al-Fāriḍ on Sufism*". The number of its verses is calculated as 749, corrected in 760. Another note written on the first page says that the manuscript contains 36 folios; i.e. 72 p., including the title. Each page contains 11 lines, the verses are well encolumned and clearly divided into two hemistichs. The text begins on fol. 2a, p. 3 with:

«اللَّهُ وَلاَ مَطْلُوبَ سِوَاهُ. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَحْمَنِ الرَحِيمِ وَبِهِ ثَقَتِي.
قَالَ الشَّيْخُ الإِمَامُ العَارِفُ الزَّاهِدُ شَرَفُ الدِّينِ أَبِي (الصَّحِيحُ: أَبُو) حَفْصٍ عُمَرُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ السَّعْدِيُّ عُرِفَ بِابْنِ الفَارِضِ – قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ – فِي قَصِيدَتِهِ المَعْرُوفَةِ بِنَظْمِ السُّلُوك.»

[14] For more information about it, see G. Scattolin, "More on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Biography".

"Allāh: nothing but He is sought after. In the name of God the most merciful and compassionate. Said the Master, the Guide, the Gnostic and Ascetic, Šaraf al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ ʿAlī al-Saʿdī, who was known as Ibn al-Fāriḍ–may God sanctify his spirit!– the ode known as 'The Order of the Way' (*Naẓm al-sulūk*)." Then the ode follows.

At the end on fol. 36b, p. 71 there is a colophon in which after the usual religious eulogies the copyist, who names himself as Šams al-Dīn al-Qudsī, says that the copying of the ode was completed on the 11th of the month of Šaʿbān, the year 875H (2nd February, 1471 A.D.). But no information about the place is given.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

This is a very accurate edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*. The verses are written in a very clear *nasḫī*, full of very beautifully and accurately written annotations and explanations of the linguistic and Sufi meanings of the text. The writer shows to have been a very knowledgeable person, interested in the Sufi contents of the ode. Few linguistic mistakes and some strange variants of the text are found in it; some verses are missing. Sometimes, but not as much as in Sl and Sk mss, the copyist has the tendency of changing the feminine pronouns of the second person (*anti-ki*) into the corresponding masculine (*anta-ka*) when they may be referred to God. On the whole, the Sa can be considered a quite good and reliable transmission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, though not at the level of Konya, Chester Beatty and Leiden mss.

2.8. *Sk: Süleimaniye Kadizade Mehmed Ef. 387 (Istanbul), Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ; date: 20th Ḏū al-Qaʿda, 883H (13 February, 1479 A.D.)*

a. *Title, colophon, dates*

This manuscript is another edition of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension of the *Dīwān*, later than Sf and Aq. It consists of 79 folios, in all 158 written pages including the title; each page contains 17 lines. The title on the frontispiece, in elegant ornament, says: '*Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ', and underneath in a beautiful frame: 'Collection (*ta'līf*) of the *šayḫ* ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ'. This is the first time that the name of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ appears on a text of the *Dīwān*, and he is clearly indicated as the one who has put together the *Dīwān* (*ta'līf*).

The *Dīwān* is introduced by his biographical preface (*dībāǧa*). The partition of the verses in two hemistichs is not clearly indicated, but the whole text is well encolumned. The first part consists of fifteen odes, in the same number and order as in Sf and Aq, and the second part too corresponds to Sf and Aq. In the end, on fol. 79 a, p. 157 the colophon after the usual religious eulogies says:

« تَمَّ الدِّيوَانُ الْمُبَارَكُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَعَوْنِهِ وَتَوْفِيقِهِ ❊ الحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ ❊ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا ❊ وَكَانَ الفَرَاغُ مِنْ كِتَابَتِهِ فِي اليَوْمِ الْمُبَارَكِ، يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ العِشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ ذِي القَعْدَةِ الحَرَامِ ٨٨٣. »

"The blessed *Dīwān* has been finished–praise to God!–with his help and favour * only to God be the praise * and may God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family and his Companions and give them perfect salvation! * And the end of its writing happened on the blessed day, Saturday, the 20th of the sacred month of Ḏū al-Qaʿda, the year 883 (13th February, 1479 A.D.)."

No other information is given about the place (probably Egypt) and the copyist.

b. *Handwriting and other remarks*

The handwriting of Süleimaniye Kadizade (Sk) ms. is a clear *nasḫī*, fully vocalized. The text shows strong affinities (including grammatical and linguistic mistakes) with Sf. In many instances Sk appears to be a corrected version of Sf, though Sk too is full of grammatical and linguistic mistakes of its own, especially in the 'Great *Tā'iyya*' in which Sf seems to be on the whole more correct. Sf and Sk mss seem to represent a common early tradition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* worked out probably in Egypt, since a number of Egyptian colloquial influences are found in both. For this reason in our edition, when the reading of their texts was not clear, we have corrected them through each other before resorting to other readings. Further, the variants found in these two early witnesses of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension is an evidence that, in spite of ʿAlī's efforts, also in Egypt the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* was not completely fixed by the end of the 9th/15th c.

Other later manuscripts depending on ʿAlī's recension, a lot of which I could check in Süleimaniye Library (see Appendix I), show that differences concerning the number and order of the odes continued to exist, especially in the second part of the *Dīwān* worked out by ʿAlī.

3. Description of Some Relevant Modern Editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān

For a fuller picture of the transmission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* it is in our view important to take also into consideration some of the most authoritative modern editions of it as witnesses of its reading in different areas, particularly in the East. Unfortunately, those editors have not mentioned the manuscripts from which they took the text (expect for some recent editions, such as those of ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq and Sayyid Ǧalāl al-Dīn Aštiyānī). Nonetheless, one can reasonably presume, as *šayḫ* Al-Zuwaytīnī makes it clear, that they had a pretty good acquaintance with a number of texts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* present in their areas. Thus, through these modern editions one can reach out to a quite large range of manuscript witnesses of the transmission and understanding of the text in the East. It is too of great interest to compare these modern editions of the text with its first witnesses, knowing that in between lies a massive number of manuscripts from all times and places. In this way one can get a fuller overall view of the way Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* has been transmitted down through history to the present day. The texts described here are indicated with the symbols used in our critical edition; then the title, the editor, the place and the date of their edition with other remarks are mentioned.

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

3.1. *Z: Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by šayḫ ʿUqayl al-Zuwaytīnī, Alep 1257/1841*

This is probably the first lithography of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, printed in Aleppo in 1257/1841 by "*šayḫ* ʿUqayl al-Zuwaytīnī" who calls himself "*al-mudarris* bi-Umawī Ḥalab", i.e. a teacher in the Umayyad mosque of Aleppo.[15] In his introduction, the *šayḫ* says that he did this edition on request of a certain "*ḫawāǧa* Bilfanṭī *al-ifranǧī al-sardīnī*", i.e. "the Westerner Sardinian mister Belfanti", apparently an Italian from the island of Sardinia, belonging at that time to the Savoy kingdom.

The *šayḫ* explains that in his time Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* was very popular and that he himself was quite acquainted with some important commentaries on it, especially those of Al-Būrīnī and Al-Nābulusī. He stresses that he took care to have the text fully vocalized according to the rules of Arabic grammar in order to give a correct reading of it.

The vocalisation, however, is not complete, and there is a number of linguistic and grammatical mistakes in it, some of them surely due to printing errors. This edition has been considered by Alfonso Nallino as the *editio princeps* on which later Beirutine editions like that of Amīn al-Ḫūrī (Beirut 1910) depended.[16] On the basis of the many discrepancies found in them, it seems to me that, on the contrary, they are two independent editions based on a common family of manuscripts found in the same region between Syria and Lebanon.

The *šayḫ* Al-Zuwaytīnī does not mention the manuscript sources of his edition, he only says that he had the text from the library of Zakī al-Qarīḥa. His edition is clearly in line with the tradition of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension as to the number and the order of the odes. Al-Zuwaytīnī's work, though a good edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, cannot be considered a critical one, but only an important witness of its reading in the Syrian region. It shows many affinities with other later editions coming from the same area, especially with that of Ṣābūnǧī (see below) to the point that the two can be considered representatives of the same text transmission; and both show many traits in common with Al-Amīn al-Ḫūrī's edition.

3.2. *D = Šarḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by Rušayd b. Ġālib al-Daḥdāḥ, Marseille, 1853; Nb = corrected Daḥdāḥ's edition, Cairo 1289/1872, checked by us; N = corrected Daḥdāḥ's edition, Cairo, 1319/1901, quoted by Arberry*

This printed edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* worked out in Marseilles, on the 25th of April, 1853, is probably the first European edition of it.[17] In his preface the editor, Rušayd b. Ġālib al-Daḥdāḥ al-Lubnānī, as he calls himself, declares that his purpose was to make

[15] *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ed. *al-šayḫ* ʿUqayl al-Zawaytīnī, lithography, Aleppo 1257/1841, 137 p., each page contains 19 lines.

[16] C.A. Nallino (1872-1938), "Il poema mistico di Ibn al-Fāriḍ in una recente traduzione italiana", *RSO* 8, 1919-1920, p. 198.

[17] *Šarḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, li-l-šayḫ Ḥasan al-Būrīnī wa-li al-šayḫ ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī*, bi-Maṭbaʿat Arnūd wa-Šurakā-hu, fi Marsīliyā, 1853, 601 p.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ's famous *Dīwān* available and understandable to all sorts of people. To this purpose he chose the whole of Ḥasan al-Būrīnī's (d. 1024/1615) commentary, being the most clear linguistic explanation of it, and added to it some excerpta from ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī's (d. 1143/1730) commentary (indicated in the text with the letter *nūn*) to provide some Sufi insight of the text. The colophon specifies that the text of al-Nābulusī has been taken from a manuscript dated the 29 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1123/18 May 1711.

The Daḥdāḥ's edition (D) is introduced by the *dībāǧa* of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Farīd and offers only the minor odes. It is worthwhile noticing that the order of the odes is completely (to our view quite arbitrarily) different from all other editions depending on ʿAlī's recension (see the comparative tables, Appendix III). The edition is completely vocalized but full of printing mistakes shown in a list of fifteen pages at the end; in fact, in time 'corrected editions' of it appeared. In spite of this, following Arberry's method, in our critical edition we have signed all the variants found in D. Daḥdāḥ does not mention the manuscript of Al-Būrīnī's commentary on which his edition is based.

In conclusion, with all these shortcomings, Al-Daḥdāḥ's edition cannot be considered a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, but only an important witness of its transmission in the Beirutine area.

In time, corrected editions of D have been worked out. One was printed in Cairo, probably in Maṭbaʿat Būlāq, 15th Rağab, 1289/19th September, 1872 in two volumes: vol. I of 240 p., vol. II of 265 p. This is the edition checked by us and indicated in our text by the letters Nb. Another edition was printed in Cairo in 1319/1901. This is the one quoted by Arberry with letter N. For a complete survey of the texts we report in our edition all the variants found in D, N and Nb. There is another corrected edition printed in Cairo too, in the Maṭbaʿat al-Ḫayriyya, in the middle of the month of Rabīʿ al-Ṯānī 1310/ beginning of November 1892. The editor has reported in the margin of it Al-Kāšānī's commentary on the *Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*. From this edition we have taken only Al-Kāšānī's commentary (as shown below).

3.3. *H: Das arabische hohe Lied der Liebe (al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā), edited by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Wien, 1854*

The Austrian orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), was the first to edit and translate into an European language Ibn al-Fāriḍ's great mystical poem, *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, in 1854.[18]

In note no. 1, p. XXIV Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall shows a large acquaintance with a number of manuscripts and commentaries of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* existing in some important libraries: Oxford, Leiden, Paris, Gotha, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Upsala, Petersburg, Naples, Escurial, the K.K. Akademie of Wien, and in the Asian Society of Calcutta.

[18] J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Das arabische hohe Lied der Liebe, das ist Ibnol Fáridh's Táijet*, in Text und Übersetzung zum ersten Male, Wien, 1854: Introduction XXIV p., German translation 70 p., Arabic text 53 p.; each page contains 15 lines.

He states that he also had access to some commentaries of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems. From Ḥāğğī Ḫalīfa's (called by him Hadchí Chalfa) biblio-biographical dictionary he quotes the list of twelve commentators of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems, among them ʿAfīfī al-Dīn al-Tilmisānī (d. 690/1291), Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farġānī (d. 699/1300), ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī (d. 730/1330), ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kāšānī (d. 735/1334), Sirāğ al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 773/1371), Šaraf al-Dīn Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350), ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1527). Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall also says that he knew a lithography of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* edited a few years earlier in Aleppo, in 1257/1841; this may be identified with Al-Zuwaytīnī's edition, already mentioned.

With such a vast acquaintance with Ibn al-Fāriḍ's literature it becomes all the more puzzling the way Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall could so badly understand and translate Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya* that Nicholson remarked: "To transcribe is one thing, to translate is another; and as 'translation' of a literary work usually implies that some attempt has been made to understand it...", continuing criticizing von Hammer-Purgstall's fancy translation.[19] A. J. Arberry, Nicholson's disciple, approving his master's remarks, laconically concluded: "...a fair verdict on a brave failure".[20]

In his introduction Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall briefly explains the mystic character of the 'Great *Tā'iyya*', which is in his view about the 'Divine love', in the sense of the 'love of the creature for its Creator'. He remarks that such an idea of love was foreign to Greek and Roman literatures, but very much present in the oriental ones, from the Biblical 'Song of Songs' to the post-Biblical Hebrew and Christian religious literatures. For this reason von Hammer-Purgstall calls Ibn al-Fāriḍ's 'Great *Tā'iyya*' 'the sublime poem of the mystical love of the Arabs'.

Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall tells us that his edition of the poem has been taken from the commentary of 'Sheikh Dāwūd al-Qaiṣarī', i.e. Šaraf al-Dīn Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350), but unfortunately without supplying any information about the manuscript he used. He liked to reproduce the text in full vocalisation and in its original character, the beautiful *taʿlik* (i.e. *taʿlīq*, which Arberry calls *nastaʿlīq*), to the delight, as he says, 'of the European eyes'. It is worthwhile noticing that its vocalisation takes care more of the grammatical than of the metrical rules. A number of linguistical and printing mistakes are found in it. With all these shortcomings, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's cannot be considered a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem, though he did surely deploy every effort to offer a beautiful edition of it.

Hammer-Purgstall's edition remains up to now the most important witness of the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya* transmitted by an important Sufi authority such as Al-Qayṣarī was. It is worthwhile noticing that Al-Qayṣarī's commentary is in the line of other commentaries of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems produced by Ibn al-ʿArabī's school, going from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, through Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farġānī (d. 699/1300), ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī (d. 730/1330), Šaraf

[19] R. Alleyne Nicholson, "The Odes of Ibnu'l-Fariḍ", in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, London 1921, p. 188-189.

[20] A.J. Arberry, '*The Poem of the Way*', London 1952, p. 7.

al-Dīn Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d.751/1350), Badr al-Dīn al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615) and, eventually, to ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731). Though his translation has been sharply criticized by later scholars, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's enterprise gave a thrust to the study of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Sufi poetry in the West. After him, in fact, there was more interest in the Egyptian Sufi poet and the mystical character of his poems became more evident.

3.4. *S: Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by Louis Ṣābūnǧī, Beirut, 1285/1868*

This edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is the work of Louis Ṣābūnǧī, who calls himself 'priest' (*qiss*) and a student (*tilmīḏ*) of 'Propaganda', i.e. the Propaganda Fide College, in Rome, where Catholic priests from the East used to go for philosophical and theological studies. He says that he undertook the edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* at his own expense (*nafaqāt*); the text was printed by al-Maṭbaʿat al-Waṭaniyya, Beirut, in 1285/1868. It is a clear edition, with full (though not complete) vocalisation, but with a number of linguistic and grammatical mistakes shown at the end in a list of five pages (taken into account in our edition), and many printing errors.[21]

No mention of the manuscripts on which this edition was based is given, but the text is clearly in the line with ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension as to the number and the order of the odes. Ṣābūnǧī's work too cannot be considered a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, but only another important witness of an early reading of it in the Lebanese region. Moreover, Ṣābūnǧī's text (S) shows strong affinities with that of al-Zuwaytīnī's (Z), to the point that Z and S can be considered representatives of the same tradition of the text. For this reason, in cases of doubt we have corrected one through the other first, before resorting to other readings.

3.5. *Fa: Muntahā al-madārik, al-Farġānī's Commentary of al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā, in Arabic, Istanbul, 1293/1876*

Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farġānī (d. 699/1300) was born around 629/1231 in the town of Kāšān in the valley of Farġāna, from which came his nickname, Al-Farġānī. He joined Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's school in Konya becoming one of his prominent disciples. On his master's advice and following his explanations, he wrote one of the first and most important commentaries of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya*, firstly in Persian, then in Arabic (see below n. 10).[22] The original title of Al-Farġānī's Arabic commentary is "*Muntahā al-madārik wa-muntahā*

[21] *Kitāb Dīwān al-imām al-šayḫ Abī Ḥafṣ Šaraf al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, ed. by Louis Ṣābūnǧī, Beirut, al-Maṭbaʿat al-Waṭaniyya, 1285/1868, 103 p., each page contains 20 lines. At the end there is the beginning of ʿAlī's *dībāǧa* of an unfinished edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*.

[22] For more information on Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farġānī, see my article "Al-Farġānī's Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Mystical Poem *al-Tāiyyat al-kubrā*", *MIDEO* 21, 1993, p. 331-383. For general information on Ibn ʿArabī's school, W. Chittick, "Ibn ʿArabī and his School", in *Islamic Spirituality, (Manifestations)*, World Spirituality, n. 20, New York, 1981: vol. II, p. 49-79. For the story of his commentaty see below n. 30, and G. Scattolin, "The Oldest Text", p. 81-111.

lubb-i kull-i kāmil-in wa-ʿārif-in wa-sālik-in", which translates: "The Utmost Realities Accessible to the Intellects and the Understandings of anyone (who is) a Perfect, Knowing and Ascetic Sufi". The only printed edition of the Arabic commentary is this one published in Istanbul in 1293/1876.[23]

In the colophon of the published manuscript it is said that the writing is the work of a certain *šayḫ* Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Yaʿqūb al-Ẓabī, who with the help of a copyist named Aḥmad ʿUmar ʿAlī al-Māzandarānī copied the text (actually a second copy of it) from the manuscript of the author himself, i.e. Al-Farġānī. The writing of the text was ended on Thursday, at the time of afternoon prayer, in the middle of Ramaḍān 730/July 1330 (i.e. around thirty years after al-Farġānī's death) in Egypt, in a place named Sariyāqūs, in the *ḫānqāh* (Sufi convent) of the *sulṭān*. In the end, another colophon says that the present printed edition was carried out by a certain Muḥammad Šukrī al-ʿŪfī, disciple of a Sufi master called *al-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Kamašḫānawī, in 1293/1876, in the Maktab al-Ṣanā'iʿ.[24] The place is not evident from the text, but it has always been held to be Istanbul, as I could confirm from information taken in place.

This is the only existing printed edition of al-Farġānī's famous Arabic commentary. It is divided into two volumes: vol. I of 358 p., vol. II of 238 p., a total of 596 p. Al-Farġānī's 'Introduction' (*Muqaddima*) (vol. I, p. 1-107) is a summary of his mystical philosophy and has become quite appreciated by scholars as one of the best summaries of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical vision. The printed text is not of high quality: there is no vocalisation, it contains a number of evident printing mistakes, and the numeration of the verses is not consistent.

For this reason, one has to resort in many instances to the commentary in order to understand how the verses of the poem should be read, correcting many printing mistakes. On the whole, I followed Arberry's reading of the text with some corrections of my own. A critical edition of such an important commentary is desirable, since it is a witness of the way Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem was read and understood in Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's circles in the second half of the 7th/13th c., before ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension.

3.6. *Ka: Kašf al-wuǧūh al-ġurr, Al-Kāšānī's Commentary of al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā, Cairo, 1310/1892*

ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī (d. 730/1330) was a disciple of Al-Ǧandī (d. ca.700/1300), himself a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī is a well-known Sufi author who produced one of the most important commentaries of Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*.[25] He commented also on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's great poem, *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā* under the title "*Kašf al-wuǧūh al-ġurr li-maʿānī naẓm al-durr*", i.e. "The Unveiling of the Brilliant Faces of the Meanings of the 'String of Pearls' (*Naẓm al-durr*)", one of the names of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's

[23] Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farġānī, *Muntahā al-madārik*, Maktab al-Ṣanāiʿ, [Istanbul], 1293/1876, 2 vols.

[24] *Muntahā al-madārik*, vol. II, p. 237-238.

[25] For more information D.B. MacDonald, "'Abd al-Razzāq, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāshānī (or Kāshānī or Kāshī or Kāsānī)", in *EI*[2] 3, p. 88b-90b.

al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā, called also "*Naẓm al-sulūk*", i.e. "The Order of the Way". The only printed edition of Al-Kāšānī's commentary is found in the margin of this corrected Cairene reprint of Al-Daḥdāḥ's edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's minor poems, edited first in Marseilles in 1853. In the colophon of the Cairene edition it is said that this edition has been completed in Cairo, at the Maṭbaʿat al-Ḫayriyya, under the supervision of ʿUmar Ḥusayn al-Ḫaššāb and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ṭūbī, in the middle of the month Rabīʿ al-Ṯānī 1310/ beginning of November 1892. It consists of two volumes: vol. I of 196 p., vol. II of 320 p., in all 516 p.

The editor, Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, says in the colophon (vol. II, p. 320) that for the utility of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's readers he added to Al-Daḥdāḥ's edition, which contains only the commentary of the minor odes taken from Al-Būrīnī and Al-Nābulusī, the 'best of the commentaries of the *Tā'iyya* in absolute, done by the most knowledgeable *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī'. In fact, Al-Kāšānī's commentary includes both linguistical and mystical explanations of the text. This is the edition we could check, while the one used by Arberry is a later one, printed also in Cairo, but in 1318/1901.

No further information about the manuscript sources is given. This Cairene edition of al-Kāšānī's commentary is surely one of the best editions of the text of the poem, though it cannot be considered a critical one. The text, as that of Al-Farġānī's, has no vocalisation, with a number of evident printing mistakes, and, for this reason one has to resort to the commentary in order to understand how the text should be read. I have followed on the whole Arberry's reading with some corrections of my own. A critical edition of such an important commentary would be very useful too, since it represents another important recension of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem connected with Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's circles, independent from that of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ.

3.7. *Kh: Ǧalā' al-ġāmiḍ fī šarḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by Amīn al-Ḫūrī, Beirut, 1910*

The text I have used is the fifth edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* edited by Amīn al-Ḫūrī in Beirut, al-Maktabat al-Adabiyya, in 1910 (the first edition was done in 1886).[26] Arberry refers to the same text as edited in Cairo in 1910. I have followed the Beirut edition, which agrees on the whole with that quoted by Arberry with some minor variations. Its title sounds "*Ǧalā' al-ġāmiḍ fī šarḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*" which translates "The Clearing of what is obscure in the explanation of the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ".

Amīn al-Ḫūrī says that he has based his edition and commentary of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* on that of al-Būrīnī, but he does not mention his manuscript sources. Amīn al-Ḫūrī's work has been always held as one of the most authoritative modern editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* and has been a reference of many later editions of it in the East, for instance that

[26] Amīn al-Ḫūrī, *Ǧalā al-ġāmid fī šarḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Beirut, Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1910, 204 p. This is the fifth and more complete edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* edited by Amīn al-Ḫūrī; he edited Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* several times before, the first time in 1886.

of Karam Bustānī (Beirut 1963).[27] Al-Ḫūrī's edition is on the line of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension with the same number and order of odes found in other common Eastern editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. On the whole, Al-Ḫūrī's is a quite accurate edition, almost fully vocalized, with very few printing and linguistical mistakes. Nonetheless, it cannot be considered a true critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, but just an important witness of a Beirutine transmission of it.

3.8. *B: Dīwān Ibn al-Farīḍ, Beirut, 1899*

Arberry refers to this edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* without mentioning its editor. We have recorded its variants as reported by Arberry in order to complete our survey. This edition does not seem to be an important one and its text proves to be very close to that of Amīn al-Ḫūrī.

3.9. *T: Dīwān Ibn al-Farīḍ, edited by Maḥmūd Ṭawfīq, Cairo, n. d. (probably the beginning of the 20th c.)*

Arberry refers also to this edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* which apparently is without date (probably the beginning of the 20th c.). We have recorded its variants as reported by Arberry in order to complete our survey. This edition too does not seem to be an important one, its text too proves to be very close to that of Amīn al-Ḫūrī to the point that Kh B T editions can be considered as variants of the same Beirutine transmission of the text.

3.10. *Fp: Mašāriq al-darārī, al-Farġānī's Commentary of al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā, in Persian, edited by Ǧalāl al-Dīn Aštiyānī, Mašhad (Iran), 1398/1978*

This is the edition of al-Farġānī's Persian commentary of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya*, whose full title is: "*Mašāriq al-darārī al-ẓuhar fī kašf ḥaqā'iq naẓm al-durar*", which translates: "The Rising Places of the Brilliant Stars in the Unveiling of the Realities of the String of Pearls' (*Naẓm al-durar* / plural of *al-durr*, a name of the 'Great *Tā'iyya*')". This is the first work of Al-Farġānī who later on reworked it in Arabic under the title "*Muntahā al-madārik*" (see above n. 5).[28]

These two commentaries are among the most important witnesses of the way Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya* was read and understood in the Sufi circles of Konya, gathered around Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. It was known that Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī used to quote Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem in his lectures.[29] In two passages of his commentary, *Mašāriq al-darārī*, Al-Farġānī himself explains the story of his commentary referring to the way Al-Qūnawī

[27] *Dīwān Ibn al-Farīḍ*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir 1957.

[28] *Mašāriq al-darārī. Šarḥ Tā'iyya Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Ta'līf Saʿid al-Dīn Ṣaʿid Farġānī*, translated and commented upon by Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Ashtiyānī, Anǧuman-i Islāmī-yi Ḥikmat wa-Falsafa-yi Irān, Rašīd ed., Mašhad, 1398/1978, 811 p.; for the Arabic text, see above n. 23.

[29] This information is reported by ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. around 735/1335) in his biographical introduction to the *Dīwān* called *dībāǧa*: see *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, p. 27-28. ʿAlī had this story from Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Īkī al-Fārisī (d. 697/1298), a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.

had the idea of commenting upon Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem.[30] Al-Qūnawī says that he went to Egypt a first time in 630/1233, when Ibn al-Fāriḍ was still alive, without meeting him. Then he returned to Egypt another time in 640/1243. This time he met a number of Sufis and agreed with them to write a commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya*, which was highly praised by everybody. On Al-Qūnawī's advise, Al-Farġānī wrote his commentary in Persian, with the title *Mašāriq al-darārī* and presented it to his master who approved and blessed the work. From this account one can gather that Al-Farġānī's Persian commentary represents a close version of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's own explanations.

Later on, Al-Farġānī reworked and enlarged his commentary in Arabic. The present printed edition of Al-Farġānī's Persian commentary is the work of the Iranian scholar, Ǧalāl al-Dīn Aštiyānī. On the whole, Fp is a good edition, though it lacks some important features for a true critical edition.

Aštiyānī's edition is based on a manuscript dated Raǧab 703H (February 1302 A.D.), as said in the colophon at the end of it. At the beginning there is a photocopied page of another manuscript used by Aštiyānī in which it is written that the copying of it "... was completed in the town of Tabrīz on Wednesday the 27th of the blessed month of Ḏū al-Qaʿda, in the year 714H (i.e. the 5th of March, 1315 A.D.)". Thus, Aštiyānī's work is based on fairly early witnesses of the text. Besides, in the footnotes he records some variants taken, as he says, from "other manuscripts", without naming them. I thought it useful to record all these variants reported by Aštiyānī, as witnesses of different readings of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's text. However, it is worthy noticing that Aštiyānī's edition is not fully vocalized so that its reading is not always evident, and it too contains a number of printing mistakes.

However, in spite of such shortcomings Aštiyānī's edition is a very valuable work, because it has made available to the public, for the first time Al-Farġānī's Persian commentary, which is a very important witness of the transmission and understanding of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya* independently from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension.

3.11. *Aq: Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, Cairo, 1984*

The contemporary Egyptian scholar, ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, produced what can be considered the first critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* (Cairo 1984). He has reedited it (Cairo 1995) merging his edition of the *Dīwān* with a study he produced on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Sufi poetry published with the title, *Šiʿr Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī ḍawq al-adabī al-ḥadīṯ*, (Cairo 1984), but without any change (printing mistakes included!).[31] ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq's declared purpose was to produce the first true critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* based on a number of ancient manuscripts. In the introduction he presents a list of thirty-one manuscripts he found in the libraries of the Middle East: Egypt, Syria and Iraq.

[30] *Mašāriq al-darārī*, p. 6-7 and p. 77-78.

[31] *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1984, 209 p.; *id.*, *Šiʿr Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi ḍawq al-adab al-ḥadīṯ*, Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif, 1984, 109 p.; the last edition is *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, Cairo, ʿAyn li al-dirāsāt wa al-buḥūṯ al-Iǧtimāʿiyya wa al-Insāniyya, 1995, 401 p.

From these manuscripts he chose the six oldest ones ranging from 804/1402 to 1097/1686. The manuscript dated 804/1402 has been taken as the basis for his edition, while in footnotes he reports the variants found in the other five manuscripts.

ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq's is without doubt up to now the best printed edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. However, there are a number of critical remarks to be addressed to it. Firstly, one can easily detect that all the manuscripts used by ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq depend on ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; he ignores the evidence of Arberry's edition of the Chester Beatty manuscript and the problem it poses for a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. Secondly, ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq does not give a full vocalization of the text and of the variants he reports, leaving in too many instances doubt as to the way the text should be read. Besides, there are a lot of printing mistakes in it, not corrected in his last reedition of it. In the end, one has to point to the fact that ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq's commentary is just a summary, but many times a *verbatim* quotation, of Al-Kāšānī's commentary without explicitly mentioning his source.

In spite of such grave shortcomings, ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq's edition remains one of the best editions of Ibn Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* as an important witness of its textual tradition in some of the most ancient and still unedited manuscripts found in the Middle East. The manuscript on which is based his edition prove to be a good transmission of the text of Ibn Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* in the line with ʿAlī's recension.

In the end, it is worthwhile noticing that besides the mentioned and in our view the most important modern editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, there is a large number of popular editions of it, since Ibn Fāriḍ has always been a very much beloved Sufi poet and his poems have always been chanted in Sufi sessions up to the present day. However, these popular editions cannot be taken into consideration in a critical edition of the *Dīwān*.

4. Conclusion: an assessment

4.1. *The material for a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān*

A summary of the essential data of the material used in our critical edition of Ibn Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is given in the following. Manuscripts and modern editions are listed in chronological order and indicated by their symbols.

a. *The manuscripts*

1. K (Konya): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, date: between 640-673H (1242-1274 A.D.)
2. Cb (Chester Beatty): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, date: 691-705H (1292-1302 A.D.)
3. Sl (Süleimaniye Lâleli): *Al-Tāʾiyyat al-kubrā*, date: 752H (1351 A.D.)
4. L (Leiden): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, date: 757H (1356 A.D.)
5. Sf (Süleimaniye Fâtih): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, date: 786H (1384 A.D.)
6. Bs (Berlin, Sprenger): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, date: 813H (1420 A.D.)
7. Sa (Süleimaniye Ayasofya): *al-Tāʾiyyat al-kubrā*, date: 875 H (1471 A.D.)
8. Sk (Süleimaniye Kadizade): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, date: 883H (1479 A.D.)

b. *The printed editions*

1. Z (Al-Zuwaytīnī's edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Aleppo 1257/1841.
2. D (Al-Daḥdāḥ's edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Marseille 1853.
3. H (Hammer-Purgstall's edition): *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, Wien 1854.
4. S (Ṣābunǧī's edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Beirut 1285/1868.
5. Nb (Al-Daḥdāḥ's corrected edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Cairo 1289/1872.
6. Fa (Farġānī's Arabic Commentary): *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, Istanbul 1293/1876.
7. Ka (Al-Kāšānī's Commentary): *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, Cairo 1310/1892.
8. B (Beirut edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Beirut 1899.
9. T (Tawfīq's edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Cairo, n. d. (probably beginning of 20th c.).
10. N (Al-Daḥdāḥ's corrected edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Cairo 1319/1901.
11. Kh (Al-Ḫūrī's edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Beirut 1910.
12. Fp (Al-Farġānī's Persian Commentary): *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*, Mašhad (Iran) 1398/1978.
13. Aq (ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq's edition): *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Cairo 1984.

c. *Grouping according to the textual affinities*

At present it seems difficult to draw the stem family of the manuscripts of the *Dīwān*. We list them only according their textual affinities found in our comparative work of editing. The texts are indicated by their symbols.

a. Those which are independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension are:
K Cb Sl L Bs (mss)–H Fa Fp Ka (printed);
b. Those which are dependent on ʿAlī *sibṭ* ībn al-Fāriḍ's recension are:
Sf Sa Sk (mss)–D N Nb Z S Kh N T Aq (printed).

In our edition, however, we have preferred the chronological order marking their affinities too, in the following way:

a. For the whole *Dīwān*: K Cb–L Sf Bs Sk–D N Nb–Z S–Kh N T–Aq;
b. For *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*: K Cb–Sl L Sf Bs Sa Sk–H Fa Fp Ka–Z S–Kh N T–Aq.

4.2. *An evaluation of the material*

On the basis of the material found, we think that a more reliable approach to the original text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is now possible. In fact, our work of editing is based on a quite solid historical evidence of its text.

1. There are the two earliest witnesses of it (K, Cb) from the 7th/13th c., quite near in time to the poet and his environment.

2. There are three witnesses (Sl, L, Sf) from 8th/14th c., covering in this way the first two centuries of the textual transmission after the poet's death.

3. There are three witnesses (Bs, Sa, Sk) from 9th/15th c., witnessing a later stage of the transmission of the text.

4. Six of these witnesses–K Cb Fp (Farġānī Persian) Fa (Farġānī Arabic) Ka (Kāšānī) H (Qayṣarī)–are strictly connected with Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Sufi school. In fact, a certain

amount of affinities are found among them. These texts deserve a special attention since they witness the interest such an important school of Sufi scholars, going back to the 'Greatest Sufi Master', Ibn al-ʿArabī, had for Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Sufi poetry. They are on the whole independent from the later recension of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. A critical edition of those texts is more than desirable.

5. ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension too is represented by a number of quite early witnesses (Sf, Aq, Sk), and by the editions in the East: Syria, Lebanon and Egypt (Z-S, D-N-NB, Kh-B-T) witnessing the transmission of the text in this area.

On the basis of such a textual evidence we are confident of editing a fairly critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. As can be seen, there is no 'autograph' from Ibn al-Fāriḍ himself (unless some unforeseeable coup de fortune would solve the problem at its roots). For the time being, we have to only rely on the historical witnesses of its textual transmission. Thus, our purpose has been, first of all, to collect the historical material of it, or, in other words, to carry out a sort of archaeology of the text.

We present in the first place a thorough and attentive reading of Konya manuscript (K), which is in our view the best, the more correct and reliable witness of the text that has come to us. Then we list all the variants found in later manuscripts and modern editions. In this way, the reader can have a quite complete view of the way the text has been read and interpreted in time. It will be on such a historical basis, or on such archaeological excavation, that a new reading of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, will be possible, based on a careful and intelligent choice among those readings.

Surely, on the basis of such a critical work of the text in future a more scientific approach to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, as to its studies and translations, will be possible.

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

Appendix I

A general survey of the manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* in some important libraries in the East and in the West

We report here the list of manuscripts found in the card catalogues of some important libraries in the East and in the West, keeping their way of writing Arabic names. Dates found in them are mentioned ; empty space means that there is no record in them. I could personally survey a lot of these manuscripts completing in many cases the information of the card files ; for other manuscripts the information needs to be completed. The present list is intended to situate our critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* in the context of its textual transmission and to help researchers on the field.

1. *Manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān in some Turkish libraries*

1.1. *The Süleimaniye Kütüphanesi–Istanbul*

NB : yk (yaprak) means folios (fols) and str. (satir) means lines per page (ls).

1. The whole *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (all mss have the *dībāğa* of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ)

1. Antalya-Tekelioğly 709	80 yk./12 str.	Nesih	1006 H
2. Ayasofya K. 1787	86 yk./13 str.	Nesih	
3. Ayasofya K. 1788	105 yk./13 str.	Nesih	
4. Ayasofya Q. 3877	80 yk./17 str.	Nesih	
5. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3660/1	98 yk./17 str.	Nesih	
6. Ayasofya K. 3879	73 yk./11 str.	Nesih	
7. Ayasofya K. 4302	91 yk./13 str.	Nesih	
8. Bağdatli Vehli Ef. 1564	76 yk./17 str.	Nesih	
9. Bağdatli Vehli Ef. 1600	105 yk./13 str.	Nesih	
10. Crh : 1669	90 yk.	Nesih	
11. Denizli 374	73 yk./15 str.	Nesih	Miṣr 17 Ramaḍān 829 H
12. Darülmesnevi 379	82 yk./12 str.	Nesih	
13. Fātiḥ 3767/1	124 (83) yk./ 15 str.	Nesih	
14. Fātiḥ 3768	94 yk./13 str.	Nesih	
15. Fātiḥ 3769			1009 H
16. Fātiḥ 3766	76 yk./17 str.	Nesih	786 H
17. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3403	112 yk./12 str.	Nesih	1262 H
18. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3569	101 s.		Beirut 1882 A.D.
19. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3660/1			
20. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3499	92 yk./15 str	Nesih	Mecca 995 H
21. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3507	77 yk./17 str.	Nesih	
22. HKM 615-616	106 yk.	Nesih	
23. Kadizade Mehmed Ef.387	78 yk./17 str.	Nesih	883 H
24. Lala Ismail 468	85 yk./b.b.str.	Nesih	
25. Asir Ef. 282/2	22-97 yk./17 str.	Nesih	973 H

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

26. Bağdatli Vehli Ef. 1589	108 yk./13 str.		
27. H. Besirağa (Eyüb) 131	109 yk./11 str.	Nesih	
28. Hasib Ef. 276	4-96 yk./21 str.		
29. Hidiv Ibrahim Paşa 63	93 s.		Misr 1280 H
30. H. Hüsnü Paşa 1022	183 yk./7 str.		
31. Izmirli I. Hakki 3507	107 s.		Beirut 1891
32. Lālelī 3673/3	43-128 yk./15 str.	Nesih	1015 H
33. Lālelī 3672/2	29-131 yk./13 str.	Nesih	before 1014 H
34. M. Arif-M. Murad 22	92 yk./15 str.	Nesih	
35. Pertev Paşa 242	160 yk./13 str.		Mecca 877 H
36. Pertev Paşa 241/1			1060 H
37. Tahir Aga 42/1	96 s.		1311 H
38. Tahir Aga 191	96 s.	printed	Misr 1302 H
39. Köprülü Kütüphansesi		Nesih	
bi-ḫaṭṭ ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Furqān	121 yk./11 str.	maškūl	Rabīʿ al-Awwal 904 H

2. Particular odes–Qaṣā'id

1. Kasidet al-hayye (*al-Ḥā'iyya*)

1.1. Ayasofya K. 3819–3819/16	1 yk.–/12 str.	Nesih	

2. Kasidet al-ḫamrīya (*al-Ḫamriyya*)

2.1. Esad Ef. 3336/5	102-103 yk./11str.	Talik	
2.2. Esad Ef. 3674/11	37-38 yk. /19 str.	Nesih	
2.3. Esad Ef. 3460/2	1-2 yk–b.b.str.	Talik	
2.4. Esad Ef. 3796/21	81-82 yk./9 str.	Talik	
2.5. Esad Ef. 3658/2	7-8 yk./ 15 str.	Nesih	
2.6. Esad Ef. 3809/9	166-168 yk./b.b.str.	Talik	
2.7. Esad Ef. 3790/25	75-80 yk./	Nesih	Rakka 995 H
2.8. Haci Mahmud Ef.3768/3	44-46 yk./11 str.	Nesih	
2.9. H. Hüsnü Pasha 1003/2	28b-34a yk./6 str.	Nesih	
2.10. H. Hüsnü Pasha 1026/3			
2.11. Halet Ef. 814/13	290-291 yk./25 str.	Nesih	
2.11. Halet Ef. ilavesi 36/2	7-8 yk./21 str.	Talik	
2.12. Izmirli I. Hakki 3714/3 printed in Yahya Ef. Matbaat	30-31 yk./		Istanbul 1289 H
2.13. Lālelī 1936/6	94-95 yk./b.b.str.	Talik	
2.14. Pertev Paşa 615/6	20a-20b yk./16 str.	Talik	
2.15. Shazāli 109/5	78-85 yk./5 str.	Nesih	1154 H
2.16. Lala Ismail 706/72	458-460 yk./b.b.str.	Talik	
2.17. Tahir Aga 545 Shems Matbaat			1328
2.18. R, d. 1029/8 *Muḫtasar-ü sherhi' il Kasidet' il ḫamriyya*	97-99 yk.	Nesih	

3. Kasidet al-Lāmīya (*al-Lāmiyya*)

3.1. Lāleli 1390/5	233-242 yk./22 str.		

4. Kasidet al-Tāyīya (*al-ṣuġrā*)

4.1. Haci Mahmud 3436/2	14-17 yk./ 21 str.	Rika	
4.2. Halet Ef. 339/2	42-64 yk./17 str.	Nesih	

5. Kasidet al-Tāyīat al-kübrā (*al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā)*

5.1. Lāleli 1400/1	1-31 yk./15 str.	Nesih	1160 H
5.2. Ayasofya K. 1994 mü	36 yk./11 str.	Nesih	875 H
copyist: Shems al-Din al-Kudsi			
5.3. Halet Ef. 304/1	1-46 yk. /16 str.	Nesih	
5.4. Lāleli 1340	30 yk./ 13 str.	Nesih	752 H
5.5. Haci Mahmud Ef. 3768/2	9-44 yk./11 str.	Nesih	
(*Nazm al-sulūk*)			
5.6. Ayasofya K.1902	55 yk. /str.	Nesih	
Kasidet-i Taiyye maa Tarcemetihi		we Talik	

6. Kasidet al-Yā'yia (*al-yā'iyya*)

6.1. H. Hüsnü Pasha 599/4	235-238 yk./19 str.		
6.1. Halet Ef. 799/23	321-322 yk. /25 str.	Talik	
ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriz, al-Kasīdat			

7. *Šarḥ al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*

7.1. Cami, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbdal-Rahmān (817-898H)			
Sharh-i Tā'īya Fātih 4044/13	295-301 yk./ 25 str.	Nesih	
7.2. Qaysarī, Dāwūd b. Mahmūd (d. 751/1350) *Sharh al-Tā'īya*			
a. Hamidiya 652	161 yk./25 str.	Nesih	979 H
b. Crh 2054/13	103-144 yk./	Talik	
c. Serer 2602	108 yk./27 str.	Nesih	858 H
d. Halet Ef. 304/3	105-150 yk./19 str.	Talik	
e. Bağdatli Vehli Ef. 702/1	190 yk./ 27 str.	Nesih	
f. Halet Ef. 762/20	355-367 yk./ 21 str.	Talik	
g. Lāleli 1395/2	11-88+3yk./25 str.	Talik	974 H
a. Aya Sofya K.4075	124 yk./31 str.	Nesih	747 H
copyist: Hizir b. Muhammad			
7.3. Tilmisānī: *Şerh üt-Tā'īye fī Tasavvuf*			
Crh 1743	274 yk.	Nesih	
7.4. Alvān al-Hamevi			
ʿAlī b. ʿAtiyya (d. 936/1530):			
Sherhü Tā'īyeti Ibn al-Fāriz			
Aya Sofya K.1906	237 yk./21 str.	Talik	976 H

7.5. *Şarh al-Tāiyyat al-kubrā li-Ibn al-Fāriz*
Hamidiye 1454/2 26-52 yk./15 str. Nesih 881 H
7.6. Ankaravī, Ismaʿil b. Ahmed (d. 1042/1615) *Sharh al-Tāiyyat li-Ibn al-Fāriz*
a. Halet Ef. 221/1 179 yk. /b.b.str.
b. Bağdatli Vehli Ef.702/2 Talik 1033 H
c. Lala Ismail 159 233 yk./25 str.
7.7. Būrīnī, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 1024/1615)
Sharḥ Tāiyyat Ibn al-Fāriz… 32 yk./27 str. Nesih
7.8. Farghānī, Saʿid al-Dīn Muḥammad Aḥmad (d. 699/1300)
Sharḥ Tāiyyat Ibn al-Fāriz… 251 yk. /21 str. Nesih 921 H
7.9. Marvazī, Alī b. ʿĀlim b. Muḥammad (d. 836/1433H)
Sharḥ Tāiyyat Ibn al-Fāriz
Lala Ismail 160 329 yk./17 str. Nesih 808 H
7.11. Ibn ʿArabī, Muhyī al-Dīn (d. 638/1240) *Sharḥ Tāiyyat*
(of Ibn ʿArabī not of Ibn al-Fāriḍ)
Yeni Cami 708 168 yk./17 str. Nesih 1058 H

8. Risāla fī aḥwāl ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa-Dīvāni-hi
Yeni Cami 1194/5 92-125 yk./29 str. Nesih

1.2. *The Yusufağa Kütüphanesi–Konya*
1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (without *dībāğa*)
Yusufağa Kütüphanesi No. 7838/12 277a-334a fols/17 str. Nesih ca. 640-673H

3. *Manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān in some European libraries*

3.1. *Leiden (Holland)–Oriental Institute*

1. *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ nasḫī before 757H
(*without dībāğa*) Or. 2693 35 fols/25 ls maghribī

2. Commentaries

a. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (al-Kāshānī) (d. 730/1330) or ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kāshī, (d. 735/1334) (so in the introduction)
copyist: Shamsh al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Mu'adhdhin bi-l-Ḫasrūīn

Kashf wujūh al-ghurr li-maʿānī naẓm al-durr	Or. 732	fols/19 ls	nasḫī	yawm ʿāshūrā 987H
idem	Or. 207	–	–	–

b. Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350)

Sharḥ al-Tā'iyya...	Or. 861	–	–	1021H

c. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭiyya ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1530)

Al-madad al-fā'id wa-kashf al-ʿārid…	Or. 152b	–	–	969H

3.2. *Hamburg*[32]

1. *Dīwān Abū al-Qāsim ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāğa*) 3 Rabīʿ I 996H/
copyist: Ḥusayn b. Fatḥallāh al-Samarqandī 124 fols/11 ls nasḫī 2 Feb. 1588A.D.

3.3. *Berlin*[33]

A. The whole *Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*

1. *Dīwān...*(without *dībāğa*)	N. 7713/Sprenger 1120	78 fols/11 ls	nasḫī	Egypt ? 20 Rabīʿ II 813H/ (21st August, 1410A.D.)
2. *Dīwān...*(+ *dībāğa*)	N. 7714/WE 35	84 fols/17 ls	–	21 Rabīʿ II 867H/ 12 January 1463A.D.
3. *Dīwān...*(+ *dībāğa*)	N. 7714/WE 36	–/17 ls	–	910H/1504A.D.
4. *Dīwān...*(+ *dībāğa*)	N. 7714/Lbg 84	–	–	Jumādā II 969H/ 1562A.D.
5. *Dīwān...*(+ *dībāğa*)	N. 7714/Pm 437	–	–	Damask Muḥarram 1082H / 1671A.D.
6. *Dīwān...*(+ *dībāğa*)	N. 7714/WE 187	–/15 ls	nasḫī	1205H/1790A.D.
7. *Dīwān...*(+ *dībāğa*)	N. 7714/WE 188	–/23 ls	nasḫī	Rabi' I 1199H/ Feb. 1785A.D.

B. Commentaries

1. Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī (963-1024/1556-1615) *Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (minor odes),	N. 7718/WE 257	–	–	ca. 1750A.D.
	– *idem,* N. 7719/WE 258	–	–	ca. 1800A.D.
	– *idem,* N. 7723/Pet 98	–	–	ca. 1700A.D.
2. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1730), *Kashf al-sirr al-ghāmiḍ fi sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (incomplete)	N. 7720/WE 37	–	–	ca. 1750A.D.
3. Zayn al-Dīn al-Marṣafī (d. 963/1688), *Al-Fatḥ al-makkī al-fā'id fi sharḥ Tāyā'iyyat Ibn al-Fāriḍ*	N. 7721/Lbg 429	–	–	ca. 1100H/1688A.D.
	– *idem,* N. 7722/WE 63	–	–	ca. 1007H/1599A.D.

[32] Cf. *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* von Hans Wehr - Kommissonverlag F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1940; for Hamburg, cf. *Katalog der Orientalischen Handschriften des Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg,* beschrieben von Carl Brockelmann, Hamburg, Otto Meisners Verlag, 1908.

[33] Cf. *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (= Staatsbibliothek),* von W. Ahlwart, Berlin, 1887ss.: 7er Band, 1895; numbers (N.) refer to this index.

4. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330)
Kashf wujūh al-ghurr li-maʿānī naẓm al-durr, (*al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*)
N. 7727/WE 38 – – ca. 1100H/1688A.D.
– *idem*, N. 7728/WE 269 ca. 1750A.D.
– *idem*, N. 7728/Lbg 983 – – ca. 1150H/1737A.D.
5. Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350)
Sharḥ Tā'iyyat Ibn al-Fāriḍ al-kubrā
N. 7729/Pet 99 – – ca. 997H/1589A.D.

3.4. *Leipzig*[34]

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāğa*) N. 534 – – ca. XI c.
2. Kommentar des ʿOlwān (ʿAlwān) el-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1530): N. 535 – –
3. Kommentar des al-Jāmī (d. 898/1493) *Sharḥ al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā* N. 539 – –

3.5. *München*[35]

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāğa*) N. 519 – – 1128H/1853A.D.

2. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* – quite modern,
(*without dībāğa*) N. 520 – clearly written
3. *Sharḥ* al-Būrīnī (d.1024/1615) N. 521 – – ca. Rabīʿ 1000H
– *idem,* N. 522 – –
4. *Sharḥ* al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330)
Kashf wujūh al-ghurr li maʿānī naẓm al-durr, Egypt bi-Ḫānqāh
(*al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*) al-Mawāṣila
copyist: Abul-Faraj al-Sūfī N. 523 152 fols/26 ls – 732H/1332A.D.

3.6. *Gotha*[36]

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāğa*)
copyist: Shaʿbān al-Fayyūmī N. 2262 84 fols/– nasḫī 7 Ramaḍān 1170H/–
2. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāğa*) beginning of Muḥarram
N. 2263 66 fols/ 21 ls nasḫī 1088H/–
3. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (*without dībāğa*) 39 fols/13 ls nasḫī modern copy
N. 2264

[34] Cf. *Katalog der islamischen, christlichen orientalischen, jüdischen und samariten Handschriften der Universität - Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, von K. Vollers und J. Leipoldt, (Neudruck der Ausgabe 1906), BiblioVerlag, Osnabrück, 1905.

[35] Cf. *Die arabischen Handschriften del K.Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, von Joseph Aumer, München, 1866.

[36] Cf. *Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, von Wilhem Pertsch, Gotha, Perthas, 1883, vol. 4, p. 273.

4. Sharḥ al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350)				
al-Ḥamriyya N. 2266	17 fols/ –	Nastaʿliq	–	
5. Sharḥ al-Farghānī				
Muntahā al-madārik... N. 2267	87 fols/ –	–		incomplete

3.7. *Oxford–Bodleian Library*

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāǧa*)			
MS. Sale 8	89 fols/ –	nasḫī	1019H
2. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāǧa*)			
MS. Bodl. Or. 616	86 fols/ –	–	1845A.D.
3. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāǧa*)			
MS. Marsh 66	83 fols/ –	nasḫī	1040H
4. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
(without *dībāǧa* with 17 new odes)			
MS. Pococke 174	50 fols/ –	nasḫī	before 1038H
5. *Sharḥ* al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615)			
MS. Pococke 81	307 fols/ –	nasḫī	ca. 1039H
6. *Sharḥ* al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615)			
MS. Sale 9	344 fols/ –	nasḫī	ca. 1116H
7. *Sharḥ* al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350)			
al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā MS. Pococke 224	141 fols/ –	nasḫī	ca. 1411A.D.
8. *Sharḥ* al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350)			
al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā	156 fols/ –	nasḫī	16 Muḥarram 736H/
copyist: Sulaiman b. Hasan al-Quairashirī			5 September/
madrasat al-sulṭān Dāwūd MS. Pococke 244			1335A.D.
9. *Sharḥ* ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī			
(d. 936/1530): MS. Pococke 75	135 fols/ –	nasḫī	ca 1335H/1623A.D.

3.8. *Dublin–Chester Beatty*[37]

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (without *dībāǧa*)			
(edited by Arberry) (vol. III) MS. 3643	50 fols/ –	nasḫī	691-701H
2. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (+ *dībāǧa*)			
copyist: ʿAlī Maḥmūd b. Qaramān	65 fols/ –	excellent	Rajab 896H/
(vol. VII) MS. 5473		nasḫī	May 1491A.D.

[37] Cf. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Collection*, vol III-VII.

4. *ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd's Survey*

To complete the present survey of manuscripts of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, we report the survey done by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Mamḥūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq of mss of the Middle East, especially Egypt, Syria and Iraq.[38] For those in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya I completed his information by my personal survey.

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 3968	98 fols/ –	–	Cairo 804H
2. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Ḫazā'in Kutub al-Awqāf 443	–	–	Baghdad 868H
3. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya,				
Adab Ṭalʿat 4574	103 fols/ –	–	Cairo 901H
4. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 1695	93 fols/ –	–	Cairo 908H
5. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 7616	–	–	Damascus 915H
6. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 319	76 fols/ –	–	Cairo 967H
7. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 1416	68 fols/ –	–	Cairo 990H
8. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 80	202 fols/ –	–	Cairo 992H
9. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 5100	91 fols/ –	–	Cairo 998H
10. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 3355				
(*šiʿr* 159)	–	–	Damascus 1005H
11. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 7596	–	–	Damascus 1006H
12. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 6298	47 fols/ –	–	Cairo 1016H
13. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 9272	–	–	Damascus 1021H
14. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 66	–	–	Damascus 1031H
15. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*				
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 9171	–	–	Damascus 1043H

[38] Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, edited by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1984, p. 11-16.

16. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 8030	–	–	Damascus 1059H
17. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 5425	–	–	Damascus 1062H
18. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 4051	100 fols/	–	Cairo 1097H
19. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 6169	–	–	Damascus 1125H
20. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 7189	–	–	Damascus 1138H
21. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub, *Adab* 715	–	–	Manṣūra 1165H
22. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya,			
Adab (3753) Ṣaʿāida 39856	–	–	Cairo 1211H
23. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Maktabat al-Matḥaf al-ʿIrāqī 1214	–	–	Baghdad 1230H
24. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya,			
Adab (1169) 10138	–	–	Cairo 1259H
25. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya,			
Adab (783 majāmīʿ) Ḥalīm 34870	–	–	Cairo 1260H
26. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya,	–	–	Cairo 1266H
Adab 4052 Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 7999			Damascus 1266H
27. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya,			
Adab (3965) Baḫīt 45239	69 fols/	–	Cairo 1267H
28. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya,			
Adab (4742) 53527	–	–	Cairo 1268H
29. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya 5838	–	–	Damascus 1271H
30. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			Baghdad
Ḫazā'in Kutub al-Awqāf 484			1272H
Al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya,	–	–	Cairo
Adab (180) 5045			1272H
31. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*			
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya,			
Adab 2148	80 fols/	–	Cairo 1273H

5. *Mss of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Dīwān in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Cairo) not mentioned in ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq Maḥmūd's survey*

32. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* 6376	118 fols/ –	–	–
33. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* Z 3398	115 fols/ –	–	–
34. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* Z 25960	87 fols/ –	–	–
35. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, šiʿr* Taymūr 1004	79 fols/ –	–	–
36. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* al-Zakiyya 551	165 p./ –	–	–
37. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* Ṭalʿat 4389	89 fols/ –	–	–
38. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* Ṭalʿat 4398	90 fols/ –	–	1273H
39. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* Ṭalʿat 4573	93 fols/ –	–	1235H
40. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* Ṭalʿat 4729	96 fols/ –	–	–
41. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* Ṭalʿat 4743	129 fols/ –	–	1267H
42. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Adab* Qūla 27	90 fols/ –	–	1146H
43. *Naẓm al-durr (al-Tāʾiyyat al-kubrā), šiʿr* Taymūr 790	60 p./ –	–	–
44. *Naẓm al-sulūk (al-Tāʾiyyat al-kubrā), maǧāmīʿ* 13/2	from 66 to 112 p./ –	–	–

Out of these manuscripts, all depending on ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension with his biographical introduction (*al-dībāǧa*), ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq has chosen six manuscripts on which he has done his critical edition of the *Dīwān*:

nn. 1 (804H)–3 (901H)–6 (967H)–7 (990H)–8 (992H)–18 (1097H).

On the whole, the manuscripts listed and chosen by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq, though quite valuable, are later than those we have found in other libraries and on which our critical edition of the *Dīwān* is based, and they all are dependent on ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension. In any case, ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq's remains a very important reference of a tradition of the text of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*.

One can remark from the present general survey of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* the impressive number of its mss found in all places and times; and the present list is far from being complete. This fact is a quite clear evidence of the popularity of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Sufi poetry in the Islamic world, East and West. But this fact poses also an arduous problem as to the authenticity of the transmitted text. A comprehensive browsing of all these mss seems to

be for the time being an almost impossible task. Our critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* has been based on a selection of these mss, chosing the most ancient and most authoritative ones, as shown in the following. Our work is completed by the survey of some of the most important modern editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. These too are based on a number of mss available to their editors, even if not mentioned by them. In this way one can reach to a quite large basis of its textual transmission. However, after all, we don't pretend to have exhausted the search, and still a lot of work lies ahead. Nonetheless, we can be sure that our present critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is based on a substantial historical evidence of the text.

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

Appendix II
A basic selection of Manuscripts for a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*

We give here a basic selection of manuscripts which seem to us relevant for a critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. The manuscripts are listed in chronological order; the symbols used in our critical edition are indicated at the end of the description of each ms. Out of this basic selection a choice of eight mss has been made on which our actual work of editing has been carried out. The numbers with (/) mean that the microfilm of the manuscript is available but for some reason we could not work on it. The numbers with (*) mean that the microfilm is not yet available to us, but that it is desirable to integrate it in a future rework of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*. The numbers without signs are those of the manuscripts actually used for the present critical edition of the *Dīwān*.

1. *The 7th/13th century*

1. Konya manuscript, *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*: Yusufağa Kütüphanesi No. 7838/12 (Konya), 277a-334a fols/17 ls, *nasḫī*; without *dībāğa*, independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; date: between 640-673H (1242-1274A.D.);
   symbol: K (= Konya)
2. Chester Beatty manuscript, *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*: Chester Beatty MS. 3643 (Dublin), 50 fols/16 ls, *nasḫī*; without *dībāğa*, independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; edited by Arberry, 1952 ; date: 691-705H (1292-1302A.D.);
   symbol: Cb (= Chester Beatty)

2. *The 8th/14th century*

3*. al-Kāšānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 730/1330), *Kašf wuğūh al-ġurr li maʿānī nazm al-durr, (Šarḥ al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā)*, München N. 523; *nasḫī*, copyist: Abū al-Faraj al-Ṣūfī, 152 yk./26 str., Egypt bi-ḫānqah al-Mawāṣila; date: 732H (1332A.D.).

4/. al-Qayṣarī, Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 751/1350), *Sherhü Tā'iyeti Ibn al-Fāriz* (*Šarḥ Tā'iyyat Ibn al-Fāriḍ*), Aya Sofya K.4075 (Istanbul); copyist Hizir b. Muhammad; 124 fols/31 ls, *nasḫī*; date: al-Sabt, 1st Rabīʿ al-Āḫar, 747H (Saturday, 26th July 1346 A.D.). In the same volume al-Qayṣarī's *Šarḥ al-Ḫamrīyya*; the same date, the same copyist. (The quality of the microfilm makes the reading of the poem impossible because the original text must have been written in read ink).

5. *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, Süleimaniye Lāleli 1340 (Istanbul), 30 fols/13 ls, *nasḫī*; date: 752H (1351 A.D.);
   symbol: Sl (= Süleimaniye Lāleli)
6. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Leiden Or. 2693 (Holland), *nasḫī maġribī,* 35 fols/25 ls; without *dībāğa*, independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; date: before the middle of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 757H (March 1356A.D.);
   symbol: L (= Leiden).

7. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Süleimaniye Fātih 3766 (Istanbul), 76 fols/17 ls, *nasḫī*; with *dībāğa*, dependent on ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; date: 19th Ramaḍān 786H (4th November, 1384A.D.); symbol: Sf (= Süleimaniye Fātih*)*.

3. *The 9th/15th century*

8*. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Adab* 3968, 98 fols/., *nasḫī*; with *dībāğa*, dependent on ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; date: 804H (edited by ʿAbd Ḫāliq).

9/. Marvazī, Alī b. ʿĀlim b. Muḥammad, (d. 836H/1433A.D.), *Sharḥ Tāiyyat li-Ibn al-Fāriz*, Lala Ismail 160 (Istanbul), 329 fols/17 ls, *nasḫī*; date: *al-Ḫamīs*, 7th Rabīʿ al-Āḫar, 808H (1st October, 1405A.D.). Commentary in Persian.

10. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Staatsbibliotek Sprenger 1120 (Berlin), *nasḫī*; without *dībāğa*, independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; date: 20 Rabīʿ al-Āḫar, 813H (21st August, 1410A.D.); symbol: Bs (= Berlin Sprenger).

11/. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Süleimaniye Denizli 374 (Istanbul), 73 fols/15 ls, *nasḫī*; date: 17th Ramaḍān 829H (23th July 1426A.D.), Miṣr.

12/. Al-Qayṣarī, Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 751/1350), *Šarḥ al-Tā'iyya*, Serez 2602 (Istanbul), 108 fols/ 27 ls, *nasḫī*; date: Ṣafar 858H (February 1454A.D.). In the same volume al-Qayṣarī's *Šarḥ al-Ḫamrīyya*; the same date, but not the same copyist.

13. *Al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, Süleimaniye Ayasofya K. 1994 mükdrel (Istanbul), 36 fols/11 ls, *nasḫī*, copyist: Shems al-Din al-Kudsi; date: 875H (1471A.D.); symbol: Sa (= Süleimaniye Ayasofya).

14/. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Süleimaniye Pertev Paşa 242 (Istanbul), 160 fols/13 ls, *nasḫī*; date: 877H (1473A.D.) Mecca.

15* ???, *Sharḥ al-Tāiyyat al-kubrā li Ibn al-Fāriz*, Hamidiye 1454/2 (Istanbul), 26-52 yk./ 15 str., *Nesih*, 881H (1477A.D.).

16. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Süleimaniye Kadizade Mehmed Ef.387 (Istanbul), 78 fols/17 ls, *nasḫī*; with *dībāğa*, dependent on ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; date: 20th Ḏū al-Qaʿda, 883H (13th February, 1479); symbol: Sk (= Süleimaniye Kadizade).

17*. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Chester Beatty MS. 5473 (Dublin), 65 fols/, excellent *nasḫī*, copyist: ʿAlī Maḥmūd b. Qaramān, date: Rajab 896H/ May 1491A.D.

4. *Of the 10th/16th century*

18*. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Köprülü Kütüphansesi n... (Istanbul), 121 yk./11 str., *Nesih mashkūl, bi-khatt* ʿAlī b. Furqān Muḥammad; date: Rabīʿ al-Awwal 904H (1498A.D.).

19*. Farghānī, Saʿīd al-Dīn Muḥammad Aḥmad (d. 699H/1300A.D.), *Sharḥ Tâiyyet Ibn al-Fāriz*, 251 yk. /21 str., *Nesih*; date: 921H (1515A.D.).

20/. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Asir Ef. 282/2 (Istanbul), 22-97 yk./17 str., *Nesih*; date: 973H (1566A.D.).

21*. Al-Qayṣarī, Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 751/1350), *Sharḥ al-Tā'īya*, Lâlelī 1395/2, 11-88+33yk./25 str., *Ta'lik*; date: 974H (1567A.D.).

22*. ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī, ʿAlī b. ʿAṭiyya (d. 937H/1570A.D.), *Sherhü Tā'īyeti Ibn al-Fāriz*, Aya Sofya K.1906 (Istanbul), 237 yk./21 str., *Talik*; date: 976H (1569A.D.).

23*. Al-Qayṣarī, Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 751/1350), *Sharḥ al-Tā'īya*, Hamidiya 652 (Istanbul), 161 yk./25 str., *Nesih*; date: 979 H (1572A.D.).

24/. Al-Kāšānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 730/1330) or ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kāshī, (d. 735/1334) (so in the introduction) Leiden Or. 732; copyist: Shamsh al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al- Mu'adhdhin bi-l-Ḫasrūwīn: *Kashf wujūh al-ghurr li-maʿānī nazm al-durr;* date: *yawm ʿāshūrā* 987H (8 March, 1579A.D.).

25/. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Haci Mahmud Ef. 3499 (Istanbul), 92 yk./15 str., *Nesih*; date: (before) 995H (1587A.D.), Mecca.

From these manuscripts we have chosen eight of them which are the most representative of the earlier transmission of the text, i.e., during the first three centuries after the poet's death. All of them are inedited, except for that of the Chester Beatty collection. Two of them, those of Konya and Chester Beatty, are the oldest ones, from the 7th/13thc., three from 8th/14thc., and three from the 9th/15thc. in the following order. The numbers are those of the list given above.

1. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Konya, Yusufağa Kütüphanesi No. 7838/12 (Konya), date: ca. 640-673H (1242-1274A.D.); without *dībāğa*; independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; symbol: K (= Konya)
2. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Chester Beatty MS. 3643 (Dublin), date: 691-705H (/1292-1302A.D.); without *dībāğa*; independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; symbol: Cb (= Chester Beatty)
5. *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, Süleimaniye Lāleli 1340 (Istanbul), date: 752H (1351A.D.); symbol: Sl (= Süleimaniye Lāleli)
6. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Leiden Or. 2693 (Holland), date: 757H (March 1356A.D.); without *dībāğa*, independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; symbol: L (= Leiden).
7. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Süleimaniye Fâtih 3766 (Istanbul), date: 786H (1384A.D.); with *dībāğa*, dependent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; symbol: Sf (= Süleimaniye Fâtih).
9. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin, Sprenger 1120, date: 813H (1420A.D.); without *dībāğa*, independent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; symbol: Bs (= Berlin Sprenger).
12. *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, Süleimaniye Ayasofya K. 1994, date: 875H (1471A.D.); symbol: Sa (= Süleimaniye Ayasofya).
15. *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Süleimaniye Kadizade Mehmed Ef.387, date: 883H (1479); with *dībāğa*, dependent from ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ's recension; symbol: Sk (= Süleimaniye Kadizade).

These manuscripts are in our view the most autoritative representatives of the first transmission of the text, and on these our critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* has been carried out. A detailed description of these eight manuscripts has been given in the article above.

APPENDIX III
The order of the odes in the different texts

A. *The first part of the Dīwān*

1 - K - L	2 - Sf - Sk - Aq *Dībāğā*	3 - Kh-B-T-Z-S *Dībāğa* (only in Z)
1. *Sā'iqa*	1. *Sā'iqa*	1. *Sā'iqa*
2. *Ṣaddun*	2. *Ṣaddun*	2. *Ṣaddun*
3. *Naʿm*	3. *Naʿm*	3. *Naʿm*
4. *Saqat-nī*	4. *Saqat-nī*	4. *Saqat-nī*
5. *Arağu*	5. *Arağu*	5. *Arağu*
6. *A wamīḍu*	6. *A wamīḍu*	6. *A wamīḍu*
7. *Hal nāru*	7. *Hal nāru*	7. ***Mā bayna ḍāli***
8. *Ḫaffifi*	8. *Ḫaffifi*	8. *Hal nāru*
9. *Šaribnā*	9. *Huwa*	9. *Ḫaffifi*
10. *Mā bayna muʿtaraki*	10. *Šaribnā*	10. *Huwa*
11. *Iḫfaẓ*	11. *Mā bayna muɔtaraki*	11. *Šaribnā*
12. *Tih*	12. *Iḫfaẓ*	12. *Mā bayna muʿtaraki*
13. *Adir*	13. *Qalb-ī*	13. *Iḫfaẓ*
14. *Qalb-ī*	14. *Tih*	14. *Qalb-ī*
15. *Huwa*	15. *Adir*	15. *Tih*
– *Al-dūbayt*		16. *Adir*
– *Ğullaq^{un} ğannat^{u}* (only in L)		
– *Al-alġāz*		

4 - Bs	5 - Cb	6 - D - N - Nb *Dībāğa*
1. *Sā'iqa*	1. *Arağu*	1. *Sā'iqa*
2. *Ṣaddun*	2. *Mā bayna muʿtaraki*	2. *Ṣaddun*
3. *Arağu*	3. *A wamīḍu*	3. *Naʿm*
4. *A wamīḍu*	4. *Ḫaffifi*	4. *Qalb-ī*
5. *Hal nāru*	5. *Ṣaddun*	5. *Tih*
6. *Ḫaffifi*	6. *Iḫfaẓ*	6. ***Zid-nī***
7. *Šaribnā*	7. *Qalb-ī*	7. ***Mā bayna ḍāli***
8. *Mā bayna muʿtaraki*	8. *Tih*	8. *Iḫfaẓ*
9. *Iḫfaẓ*	9. *Huwa*	9. *Arağu*
10. *Adir*	10. *Šaribnā*	10. *A wamīḍu*
11. *Qalb-ī*	11. *Adir*	11. *Hal nāru*
12. *Huwa*	12. *Hal nāru*	12. *Mā bayna muʿtaraki*

AnIsl 35 (2001), p. 503-547 Giuseppe Scattolin

13. *Tih*
– *Al-alġāz*
– *Ğillaqᵘ ğannatᵘ*
– *Al-dūbayt*
14. *Naʿm*
15. *Saqat-nī*

13. *Sā'iqa*
14. *Naʿm*
15. *Saqat-nī*
– *Al-dūbayt*
– *Al-alġāz*

13. *Ḫaffifi*
14. ***Arā l-buʿda***
15. *Huwa*
16. ***A barqun badā***
17. *Adir*
18. ***Qif bi-l-diyāri***
19. *Šaribnā*

Nb. The odes written in bold are taken from the second part of the *Dīwān* worked out by ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. The complete *dībāğa* is found only in Sf - Sk - Z - D - N - Nb - Aq.

B. *The second part of the Dīwān*

1 - Sf - Sk - Z - Aq
16. *A barqun badā* *
(of ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ)
17. *Ġayr-ī*

Various compositions:

– *Ğillaqᵘ ğannatᵘ*
– *Al-dūbayt*
– *Al-alġāz*
– Miscellanea

18. *A barqun badā*
(the original of Ibn al-Fāriḍ)
19. *Mā bayna ḍāli*
20. *Zid-nī*
21. *Arā l-buʿda*
22. *Nasaḥtu*
23. *Antum furūḍ-ī*
24. *Qif bi-l-diyāri*
25. *Ušāhidu*
26. *Našartu*

2 - S - Kh
1. *A barqun badā*

2. *Zid-nī*
3. *Arā l-buʿda*
4. *Nasaḥtu*
5. *Antum furūḍ-ī*
6. *Qif bi-l-diyāri*
7. *Ušāhidu*
8. *Ġayr-ī*

Various compositions:

– *Ğillaqᵘ ğannatᵘ*
– *Al-dūbayt*
– *Al-alġāz*
– Miscellanea (not in S)

9. *Našartu*
10. *A barqun badā**

3 - D - N - Nb
Various compositions:

– *Al-alġāz*
– *Al-dūbayt*
– *Ğillaqᵘ ğannatᵘ*

20. *Nasaḥtu*
21. *Antum furūḍ-ī*
22. *Ušāhidu*
23. *A barqun badā**
24. *Našartu*

NB.

a. The reports of Sf - Sk - Z - Aq seem to be the most trustworthy witnesses of the original transmission of this second part of the *Dīwān*. In many modern printed editions of it, such as S and Kh, the order has been changed without apparent reason; in D - N - Nb the two parts are mixed together.

b. In Z S Kh the ode *Mā bayna ḍāli* is reported in the first part of the *Dīwān* after *A wamīḍu.*

c. The ode *Ġayrī* is found after *Ušāhidu* in Z, and after *Našartu* in ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq's edition. ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq says that this ode is not found in his basic manuscript (dated 804/1402) but in the other ones he used; for this reason he put it at the end of the *Dīwān*. It is known that the same ode *Ġayrī* is attributed also to a younger contemporary of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, the poet Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr (581-656/1158-1285). This ode is missing in D - N - Nb.

d. S does not report the odes *Našartu and A barqun badā* * and Miscellanea (missing also in D - N - Nb) and he concludes the *Dīwān* with a composition of his own in praise of a niece of his.

In conclusion, one can remark that this second part of the *Dīwān* has not a transmission as sure as the first one. It looks rather like a heap of different pieces of poetry put together (*ta'līf*) by the poet's grandson, ʿAlī *sibṭ* Ibn al-Fāriḍ. The style and the contents of this part are largely inferior to the first one (the fifteen odes), and on the whole it appears to be an imitation of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems done by somebody, perhaps his grandson ʿAlī or some of his admirers, who indeed had no great talent for poetry. Most of this second part (except perhaps for some verses) is surely spurious.