

5 Corpus of Didactic Poems: Ibn Zurayq, al-Ūshī, Ibn al-Wardī, al-Laḡānī

5.1 Ibn Zurayq, al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya

5.1.1 Author

The author, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Zurayq al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, had lived in the Abbasid capital of Baghdad as a secretary but left his hometown for distant al-Andalus where he died as an emigré about 420/1029. Apart from the legendary accounts reproduced below, no further biographical details about Ibn Zurayq are known.

The bibliographical sources are: Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād* 336, *raqm* 143; -Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21,111-17 (al-Ḥujayrī, editor of vol. 21, mentions further sources); Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf* 4,519; GAL 1,82,²¹ S 1,133; GAS 2,700-1; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam* 7,95.

5.1.2 al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya

This poetical text was composed in the Basīṭ-metre and written in praise of al-‘Amīd Abū Naṣr Wazīr Tughrulbik (-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21,111) although the Ḥanbalī author al-Sarrāj al-Qārī’ (*infra*) gives the person eulogized a different name (*infra*). In a saying addressed to Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥumaydī, this Qaṣīda was extolled by the famous poet and jurisconsult Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064; GAL 1,505-6 S 1,692-5) as a means of achieving perfect elegance if memorized (... *man ḥafīza Qaṣīdat b. Z. ... istakmala l-zarf wa-l-adab*; loc. cit.).

Despite Ibn Ḥazm’s encouragement to memorize the poem, I have not found any testimony in the wider literature indicating that the Qaṣīda was included in any madrasa curriculum; nor does any scholar’s vita I have seen indicate that the poem was studied or memorized as part of anyone’s intellectual training.

However, the poem has been incorporated in a few literary works such as -Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1,163ff. and -Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21,112-15.¹⁴⁵

145 See also, as indicated in GAL S 1,133, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Jazā’irī, *Majmū‘ al-muzdawijāt*, Alexandria 1278, Kairo 1283, 1299. A version of the poem can also be found in Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Ḥanafī (d. 837/1434; GAL 2,18-19), *Thamarāt al-awrāq* (cf. Ḥujayrī).

5.1.2.1 Work title

The poem is generally known as *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya* but the title *al-Qaṣīda al-ʿayniyya* (due to its rhyme consonant) has also been used (-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 6,285 refers to it as *ʿAyniyyat Ibn Zurayq*). Mostly however - and in the present group of manuscripts to the exclusion of any alternative title - the generic title *Qaṣīda*, in conjunction with the author's name (*Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq* or *Q. li-Ibn Z.*), is mentioned as a heading, e.g. in We. 1547, Spr. 1228, Spr. 1239, Mq. 117.

5.1.2.2 Commentaries

The *Qaṣīda* is the subject of a commentary by ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAlawī (d. 1199/1785; cf. Ahlwardt 6,585, no. 7607,3; GAL 1,82; GAS 2,701) and was expanded into a *Takhmīs* by Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Bāʿūnī (d. 816/1413; Ibn Taghribirdī 6,439; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* 7,118; Ahlwardt no. 7607,2; GAL 1,82 S 1,133 S 3,1250, ad p. 38; GAS 2,701,1,c). Translations of the *Qaṣīda* into any Western language do not seem to exist.

A poem of 31 verses in the same metre and rhyme as the *Andalusiyya* was composed by Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Bayyīʿ Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dubaythī al-Wāsiṭī al-Adīb (d. 621; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* 1,183) which, in the opinion of al-Ṣafadī, was written in answer to Ibn Zurayq's *Qaṣīda* (*aẓunnuhū ʿāraḍa bi-hādhihī l-qaṣīda ʿAyniyyata b. Z.; Wāfi* 6,285). Al-Ṣafadī, after quoting 31 verses of al-Dubaythī's text, then quotes the first verse of Ibn Zurayq's poem and judges that al-Dubaythī's *Qaṣīda* is superior in quality to that of Ibn Zurayq (*wa-jayyidu hādhihī akthar min jayyid tilka*). The *maṭlaʿ* of al-Dubaythī's poem runs:

Yarūmu ṣabran wa-farṭu l-wajdi yamna'uhū
suluwwahū wa-dawā'i l-shawqī tardu'uhū.

A copy of the *mu'āraḍa* can be found in Ms. Spr. 1228, following Ibn Zurayq's *Qaṣīda*, on fo. 10r.

5.1.2.3 Manuscripts

The following 11 manuscripts, all of which are in the possession of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz -, have been examined for the present study:

1. Ahlwardt no. 5229,7 (= Glas. 168,4), fo. 251; 2. Ahlwardt no. 7606 (= Mq. [= Ms. or. quart] 117), fo. 96r; 3. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Mq. 674), fo. 166v; 4. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Spr. 1228,1), fo. 9v; 5. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Spr. 1239), fo. 158r; 6. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Pm. 193,1), fo. 28v; 7. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Pm. 193,2), fo. 53v; 8. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Pm.

542), fo. 172v; 9. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= We. 1547,5), fo. 89v; 10. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Lb. 243), fo. 120r; 11. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Glas. 37), fo. 165r.

Some other copies of the poem have not been included in this study for reasons such as the incompleteness of the copy in a given manuscript, e.g.:

Berlin, Hs. or. 4983 (= VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 320), fo. 237v-39r; Ahlwardt no. 8252 (= Lb. 455), fo. 20v; Ahlwardt no. 8255,53 (= Pm. 542), fo. 172v-173v; Ahlwardt no. 8521 (= Pm. 497), fo. 31r.

I have not been able to discover any copies of Ibn Zurayq's poem in the (digital) catalogue of the Süleymaniye library of Istanbul. However, a copy of the Qaṣīda can be found in the multiple-text volume Cairo (Dār) 2,185 where it is bound together with a poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad entitled *al-Jawāhir al-lāmi'a* by Ibn al-Muqri' al-Shāfi'ī (d. 837/1433-34). For further manuscripts, including some Turkish codexes, see Sezgin, GAS 2,700-701.

The reference copy for the examination of the manuscript copies of Ibn Zurayq (arrangement of verses and synopsis of textual variants) is the version included in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21,111-17 which Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī's critical edition has made easily accessible.

5.1.2.4 Number of verses

Ḥājji Khalifa gives the number of verses in the poem as 41; this is the number of verses found in Mq. 674. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, in the printed version of the poet's biography, has 40 verses, as do the majority of copies. On the other hand, one of the manuscripts consulted offers as few as 30 verses.

30 verses: Hs. or. 4983 (=VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 320);

33 verses: Spr. 1228;

38 verses: Ahlw. no. 8255,53 (= Pm. 542); Ahlw. no. 8265,6b (= We. 1547), Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Glas. 37);

39 verses: Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Spr. 1239);

40 verses: Ahlw. no. 7606 (= Mq. 117); Ahlw. no. 8482 (= Pm. 193); Ahlw. no. 7607,1 = Lb. 243^a; Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Pm. 542); Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (=Pm. 193,1), Pm. 193,2;

41 verses : Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Mq. 674).

5.1.2.5 Variance relating to context: traditions concerning *ẓarf* and the circumstances of composition in the introduction

Apart from differences in the number and order of verses as well as textual variations, variance in this poem may be discerned in the contents of the introduction which is added to the *Qaṣīda* in a number of manuscripts.

In some manuscripts the claim that memorizing the poem or transmitting it forms part of the ideal of refinement of the cultured person is found in the introduction, whilst in others, traditions concerning the circumstances of its composition are contained in the preface or in an epilogue.

In many manuscript copies the poem is accompanied by a word on elegance or refinement (*ẓarf* / *ẓurf*) which may be achieved (*istakmala*), among other things, by memorizing Ibn Zurayq's ode (*man ḥafīza ilkh.*). In the poet's biography integrated in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21,111-15, this information is adduced as a quotation from Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, the Andalusian jurist and author of *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* on doves and love, who in his turn transmits it from an anonymous source (*yuqāl*). Al-Ṣafadī mentions that the information was passed on from Ibn Ḥazm to one Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥumaydī. The same information, mentioned by a certain -Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Sa'īd and taken from al-Subkī's -*Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, introduces Ibn Zurayq's poem in Ms. Glas. 37 (*infra*).

The information that, in order to achieve elegance, one should, i.e. memorize the poem of Ibn Zurayq is also mentioned in the introduction to Ms. Lb. 243a (*man labisa, etc. wa-ḥafīza Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq al-Kātib fa-qad ḥāza al-ẓarf kullahū*). In this context, the poem is also credited with being something with which a rider travels through the night (*sārat bi-hā al-rukbān*), i.e. it has become known even in the most distant lands.

In Hs. or. 4983 (VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 320) which includes another copy of the poem, the quotation has been excerpted from a *Dhayl* of one Abū Sa'īd. A further variant is given by Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,519 (quoted in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21,112, fn. 2).

Similar reports on the conditions for achieving perfect elegance have also been transmitted by other philologists, e.g. Abū 'Umar Ghulām Tha'lab [Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid] (d. 345/957; GAS 8,154-8), the recluse (al-Zāhid) [al-Lughawī], whose advice on achieving elegance differs from the above. Abū 'Umar is also known for having transmitted a poem on worldly renunciation with the incipit *Qad nādat* (-Hamadhānī, *Takmila* 1,171) ascribed to the illustrious Muslim mystic of Baghdad, Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jahdar al-Shiblī (d. 334/945; e.g. Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 337-48). Abū 'Umar includes, like al-Ṣafadī, the Koran readings of Abū 'Amr as well as the study of the law of al-Shāfi'ī, but he replaces the "memorizing of Ibn Zurayq's poem" with "transmitting the poetry of Ibn al-Mu'tazz" and, rather than the superstitious wearing of a carnelian, Abū 'Umar mentions

proficiency in the game of chess as one of the prerequisites of *ẓarf* (cf. Ms. Pm. 193,2, fo. 53v, l. 13; *infra*).

The scribe of Mq. 674 describes the Qaṣīda as something which can intoxicate a man without wine and make him merry without music. Thus he says that he reproduces the whole poem - despite its length - so that the present collection (*majmūʿ*) is not deprived of it. At the end of the poem he refers to the achievement of *ẓarf*, maintaining that transmitting (*rawā*) [not: memorizing] the Qaṣīda, studying the *fiqh* of al-Shāfiʿī, putting on white clothes and wearing 'aqīq, the carnelian stone, as a seal-ring (*takhattum bi-l-ʿaqīq*) are all part of this achievement.¹⁴⁶ He compares the Qaṣīda with a poem of Ṭawīl-verses rhyming with -l, ascribed to [Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn] al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965; GAS 2,485-97), said to be of the same genre (*mimmā yuʿadd min ḥādhā l-bāb*), and he adduces it subsequently (fo. 167v): *Incipit: ʿAzīzu asan man dāʿuhū l-ḥadaqu l-nujlū / ʿayāʿun bihī māta l-muḥibbūna min qablū*.

In early Muslim superstition the carnelian was believed to have the power to avert evil. In a tract on the properties of the stone entitled *Nūr al-shaḥīq fī l-ʿaqīq* (one manuscript copy is the sixth part of the multiple-text-volume BSB Cod.arab. 1906), fo. 47v, passage *al-ḥadīth al-ʿāshir*, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) quotes the Naysābūrian Sufi author and Koran exegete, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) who, in his “Dictations” (*fī amālīhi*), included a related tradition transmitted to him by a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Rāzī. According to this *khavar*, the formidable “rightly guided” caliph, ʿAlī, owned four seal-rings (*khawātīm*) which he would wear for different purposes: the ring containing a *yāqūt* (ruby), for his “heart” (*li-qalbihi*); the *firūzaj* (turquoise), for his eyesight; the “Chinese iron” (*ḥadīd šīnī*),¹⁴⁷ for his strength (*li-quwwatihi*, i.e. to strengthen his sexual potency?); and the carnelian, for his safety (*li-ḥirzihi*). The seal-rings containing the gems carried different calligraphic designs (*naqsh*), as follows: the inscription for the *yāqūt* was *lā ilāha illā llāh*, etc.; for the *firūzaj*: *Allāh al-malik*; for the “Chinese iron”: *al-ʿizzatu lillāhi jamīʿan*; the design for the carnelian consisted of three lines, viz. 1. *Mā shāʾ Allāh*, 2. *lā quwwata illā billāh*, 3. *astaghfiru llāh*. Another tradition confirming belief in the supernatural qualities of the carnelian was taken by al-Suyūṭī from the *Ḥilya* [*t al-awliyyāʾ*] of Abū Nuʿaym [Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iṣfahānī] (d. 430/1038; cf. Sobieroj, in *I. B. Tauris Biographical Dictionary*). According to this tradition, the carnelian is the stone most often pierced by those in paradise [to be threaded and

¹⁴⁶ Cf. fig. 14.

¹⁴⁷ Possibly a misspelling for *ḥarīr* (“silk”) which may have been worn, woven into some of his garments, by the caliph.

worn, e.g. on a necklace] (*akthar kharz ahl al-janna al-‘aqīq; Nūr al-shaḡīq*, fo. 47r, l. 6). In accordance with the above saying transmitted by al-Sulamī, in which the property of protecting a person has been ascribed to the carnelian, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (d. 1832, in the duchy of Saxony-Weimar) composed a poem praising this gem, in his celebrated *West-östlicher Diwan* with the heading *Segenspfänder* which ends with the claim that the talismanic usage was most popular among womenfolk:

Talisman in Karneol,
Gläubgen bringt er Glück und Wohl;
Steht er gar auf Onyx’ Grunde,
Küß ihn mit geweihtem Munde!
Alles Übel treibt er fort,
Schützet dich und schützt den Ort,
Wenn das eingegrabne Wort
Allahs Namen rein verkündet,
Dich zu Lieb und Tat entzündet.
Und besonders werden Frauen
Sich am Talisman erbauen.

The lengthy introductory passage of Ms. Lb. 243a includes remarks about the circumstances which prompted the author Ibn Zurayq to compose his poem as well as an indication of their literary source, i.e. the collection of stories and poems about love and lovers, entitled *Maṣārī‘ al-‘ushshāq* of the Ḥanbalī author Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (*ḥukiya anna Ja‘far ilkh.*) [al-Sarrāj al-Qārī’ al-Baghdādī, d. 500/1106, or 501 or 502; GAL 1,431, S 1,594; EAL]. In the preface the scribe / compiler of this collection of poems informs the reader that the poet, in financial straits, left Baghdād for al-Andalus, with the intention of offering an encomium to the ruler of Andalusia, Abū l-Khayr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Andalusī, and in the hope of being generously rewarded; here, the scribe / compiler is quoting al-Sarrāj, who based himself on the authority of one Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Shā‘ir al-Adīb whom he met in Kufa. In Mesopotamia, the poet had left behind a cousin whom he dearly loved and who loved him. Having completed his arduous trip to the West, Ibn Zurayq offered his poetical tribute to the Sultan of Andalus but received only a very small remuneration in return, one which he understandably deemed disproportionate. Remembering his beloved whom he had forsaken, his heart broke and he was found dead in the room of his dwelling-place by the servants whom the sultan had despatched to search for him; in his hand – or placed next to his head – was a parchment (*ruq‘a*) on which the famous Qaṣīda was written. The narrative is continued in this manuscript at the end of the poem (fo. 120v), again based on “Ja‘far” [al-Sarrāj]: On

reading the parchment and on learning that the deceased poet had originated from Karkh in Baghdad and that he belonged to such-and-such a clan, the potentate repented of his miserliness (“if he was still alive I would share half of my kingdom with him”) and arranged for a gift of 5000 Dinars to be sent to the bereaved family, thus assuaging his remorse-stricken conscience.

In Ms. Pm. 193,1, the poem is preceded on fo. 28v, l. 4ff. by a long preface which contains the words *man takhattama bi-l-‘aqīq wa-qara’a li-Abī ‘Amr ... fa-qad istakmala l-ẓarf* as well as an *isnād* for the transmission of the Qaṣīda. The *isnād* starts with the name of the compiler’s teacher, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ghanā’im b. Wāqid b. al-Muhandis, and is traced back to the poet, Ibn Zurayq (cf. also Pm. 193,2!).

5.1.2.6 Edition of Text according to al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi l-wafayāt*¹⁴⁸

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|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | لا تعذليه فإنَّ العذل يولعه | قد قلت حقاً ولكن ليس يسمعه |
| 2 | جاوزت في لومه حدَّ المضيرِّ به | من حيث قدَّرت ان اللوم ينفعه |
| 3 | فاستعملي الرفق في تأنيبه بدلا | من عسفه فهو مضنى القلب موجهه |
| 4 | قد كان مضطلعا بالخطب يحمله | فضلعت بخطوب البين اضلعه |
| 5 | يكفيك من روعة التقنيد انَّ له | من النوى كلَّ يوم ما يروِّعه |
| 6 | ما أب من سفر إلا وازعجه | رأي الى سفر بالرغم يجمعه |
| 7 | تأبى المطالب إلا أن تجشَّمه | للرزق كدحاً وكم ممَّن يودَّعه |
| 8 | كأنَّما هو من حلٍّ ومرتحلٍ | موكَّل بفضاء الارض يذره |
| 9 | إذا الزماع أراه في الرحيل غنى | ولو إلى السند أضحى وهو مربَّعه |
| 10 | وما مجاهدة الانسان واصلةً | رزقاً ولا دعة الانسان تقطعه |

¹⁴⁸ As the text of the poem can easily be accessed in -Ṣafadī’s biographical lexicon it has not been considered necessary to give a full edition of the *qaṣīda*. The first ten verses reproduced below may suffice as a sample.

Apocryphal verses

In the manuscripts of Ibn Zurayq's poem surveyed here, only very few verses have been detected which - due to their scarcity - may be called apocryphal:

Ms. Pm. 193,2 has, in v. 7b, an apocryphal hemistich which runs:

اشياء تخفضه طورا وترفعه

In Lb. 243 there follows, after v. 25, a rare verse which however is also included in identical form in Mq. 117. The verse added fits metrically and semantically:

والله لو لم تقع عيني على بلد في سفرتي هذه الا واقطعه

5.1.2.7 Description of manuscripts

1. We. 1547 (= Ahlwardt no. 8265,^{6b})

Codicological description: Fo. 89v-90v. 38 verses written in 2 columns. 16 lines per page.

Catchwords. No verse markers or frame. Colours are not used for highlighting. The margins are left blank.

Heading: The author's name has been written above the first line (Ibn Zurayq al-Kātib al-Baghdādī), without the work title.

Context: Multiple-text volume. On the last page (fo. 90v) there follows another poem by an anonymous author, written by the same hand, with a similar page layout.

Arrangement of verses: 1-3, 5, 4, 6-8, 10-28, 30-40.

2. Spr. 1228

Codicological description: Fo. 9v-10r. 33 verses, written in 2 narrow columns. 27 lines per page.

Catchwords. Some irregular ligatures, e.g. final *hā'* in v. 16a (*wadda'tuhū*). The broad margins are left blank. Red colour has been used for highlighting the heading (fo. 9v), the name of the transmitter of the prose word (*dhakara al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī*) as well as the words introducing the *mu'āraḍa* (*wa-qad 'āraḍahā*, etc.), both on fo. 10r.

Heading: The heading on fo. 9v includes the author's name and title as follows:

Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq al-Baghdādī al-mash-hūra.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8, 11-18, 20-24, 19, 27-33, 35-39.

Context: On fo. 10r there follows a poem by Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū l-'Abbās al-Wāsiṭī [al-Dubaythī], written in the same page

layout, and composed in answer to Ibn Zurayq (*wa-qad 'āraḍahā Aḥmad*, etc.).

The quotation from al-Ṣafadī (*dhakara al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣ.*) on how elegance (*ẓarf*) might be achieved by memorizing Ibn Zurayq's ode (*man ḥafīẓa ilkh.*) is inserted between the two poems. Since the same saying is also found in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī*, immediately preceding the *Qaṣīda*, the impression is given that the present copy has been made on the basis of a manuscript of *al-Wāfī*. In al-Ṣafadī the saying is adduced as a quotation from Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm.

Ibn Zurayq's ode is preceded by a poem of Ibn Kumayl (beginning on fo. 9r) and, before that, by two poems of al-Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, *quddisa sirruhū*, obviously a Sufi.

3. Mq. [= Ms. or. quart] 117 (= Ahlwardt no. 8507)

Codicological description: Fo. 96r. 21 lines. Middle size, energetic, vocalized Naskh hand with diacritical dots. Four (!) hemistichs are written in one line without any verse markers. However, at some places a blank space is left between the poetical units. The lines are written so densely that there is hardly any space left in between. The margins offer little space for glosses. Ad v. 10b is the only marginal gloss found in this copy and consists of a lexical gloss in the outer margin commenting upon the expression *da'a* (*al-murād min al-da'a ilkh.*). At some places on the page, words have been deleted in a very unaesthetical way by means of large black strokes which resemble ink stains. The text ends with the expression *tammāt bi-ḥamd Allāh*, apparently written by the scribe.

Heading: The heading above the first line includes the title and a characterization of the poem which is a variant of the saying transmitted in al-Ṣafadī (*hādhihī Qaṣīdat b. Z. allatī man lam yaḥfīẓhā lam yaẓrif*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-19, 21-22, 20, 24-25 + 1 apocryphal (?) verse, 23, 29-40. The verse added to v. 25 runs:

والله لو لم تقع عيني على بلد * في سفرتي هذه الا واقطعه

Context: The *Qaṣīda* is preceded on fo. 95v by a collocation of poetical lines written in three real(!) columns by various authors such as Ibn Qalāqisi; Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī; [Muḥyī al-Dīn] Ibn al-'Arabī (including the famous poem highly popular among the Sufis, *kullu baytin anta sākinuhū / laysa muḥtājan ilā l-suruji*, "every house in which you dwell / is not in need of any lamp"), etc.

4. Mq. 674 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,.)

Codicological description: Fo. 166v-167v. 41 verses. 26 lines to the page. Catchwords. Middle size, delicate Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. The verses are written in two columns, the hemistichs are separated from one another by a vertical bar. The text is framed by a double line separating it from a broad margin which is completely blank (though there are glosses in the margins further on in this manuscript). Several places in this copy have been *highlighted by the use of red colour*: the author's name in the heading, some words at the beginning and end of the subsequent line; the expression *qīla* at the end of the poem which introduces the words *man tafaqqah li-l-Shāfi'ī*, etc. (fo. 167v); the vertical lines of the frame.

In an introductory remark written above the poem (fo. 166v) the scribe describes the Qaṣīda as something which can intoxicate a person without wine and make him merry without music. He says that he adduces the whole poem despite its length so that the present manuscript collection (*majmū'*) does not lack it. At the end of the poem he quotes the well-known word on the completion of refinement (*ẓarf*) and juxtaposes the Qaṣīda with a poem ascribed to al-Mutanabbī.

Arrangement of verses: 1-9, 7, 10-30, 32-40. Verse 7 has been written twice (fo. 167r, after v. 6 and again after v. 9), with a variant in the first word (different genders) of the first hemistich and a "real variant" in the second word thereof: *maṭālib* and *maṭāmi'*, respectively (the version of al-Ṣafadī has *ta'bā al-maṭālib*) (see fig. 14).



Fig. 14: Ibn Zurayq: *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusīyya*; end of poem followed in l. 12 by a quotation of the saying on the completion of refinement, written across the vertical bar; catchword at bottom of the page (SBB-PK, Mq. 674, fo. 167v).

5. Lbg./Lb. 243 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,.)

Codicological description: Fo. 120r-v. 25 lines per page. 40 verses. Catchwords. Small Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and very few vocalizations. The verses are written in 2 columns, the hemistichs are separated by a single drop-verse marker which is also found both at the beginning and at the end of each line. In v. 35 (fo. 120v, l. 16) the verse marker seems to have been put at the wrong place (after *kamā* which is followed by the word ‘*indī*, missing in most Mss.). Red colour has been used to highlight the expressions *fa-qāl* and *qāl* which introduce Ibn Zurayq’s poem (fo. 120r) and the epilogue (fo. 120v) as well as the verse markers.

A lengthy introduction, including remarks about the circumstances which prompted the author to compose his poem, precedes the text.

Arrangement of verses: 1-19, 21-22, 20, 24-25, after v. 25 there follows a rare verse which however is also included in Ms. Mq. 117, 23, 26a, 27b, 28-40.

6. Pm. 542 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,.)

Codicological description: Fo. 172v-73v. 40 verses. The volume is in the *safīna* format. Accordingly, the text has been written parallel to the short side of the book or, to put it differently, at a right angle to the upper and lower edges of the page. The number of lines per page is irregular and varies between 12 and 14 lines. The hand is a middle size, fluent Naskhī with full diacritical dots and some vocalizations. The verses have been written in two columns separated by a single drop (heart-shaped) verse marker, in red colour, which, with a few exceptions, may also be found at the beginning and end of each line. Some expressions at the end of the hemistichs, including the first half-verses, have been written above the line in order to keep the frame straight (e.g. v. 3a, 10b, 12b). The hemistichs of the end verse (v. 40), by way of concluding the poem, have been written above each other in two lines.

Heading: Two components of the poet’s name have been written as a heading at the beginning (the *ism* and father’s name) and the end (the *nisba*) of the third line: *li-Muḥammad ibn Zurayq al-Baghdādī*. In the middle of this line the final hemistich of a previous poem has been inserted. The name of the author of the present poem has been emphasized by overlining.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-12, 14-30, 32-40.

Context: The text is followed by another poem ascribed to one Ibn al-Naḥḥās. The endowment note *waqf ‘āmm* has been inscribed in the upper lefthand corner of fo. 173v.

Means of stabilizing the text: In v. 8a (fo. 172v, l. 7) an erroneously written expression has been crossed out and corrected (*ka-anna*). In v. 33a (fo. 173v, l. 6) the initial expression had been misspelt and was then corrected. In v. 39a (fo. 173v, ppu.) an erroneously written expression has been crossed out and the correct word written above. Ad v. 29b (fo. 173v, l. 3) one word which had been omitted has been written above the line and, at the place of insertion, a

marker has been added which cannot clearly be identified as such on the paper copy.

7. Pm. 193,₁ (=Ahlwardt no. 7607,₁)

Codicological description: Fo. 28v-29v. 40 verses. 27 lines (fo. 29a) per page. Middle size flat Naskh hand with some diacritical dots.

At the beginning, the verses have been written in two lines, however in an unusual format: The first hemistich is followed, separated by a single dot verse marker, by the second hemistich of which only the first two or three words are written in the first line. The end of the second hemistich, again only two or three words, is written in the line underneath, and situated right in the middle of the line. Verse markers in the form of three dot clusters have been placed at the right and left ends of the second line. After v. 21 the layout changes, with each verse (fo. 29v, l. 9) written on one line only, both hemistichs having been written in continuation without any verse markers separating them. The text has been framed with a double line separating the poem from the broad margin which, apart from one gloss on fo. 29v (see *infra*), has been left wholly blank. A final letter on fo. 29b, l. 1 (v. 18) has been written beyond (above) the double line of the frame in order to keep the left edge straight.

Context: The poem is preceded on fo. 28v, l. 4ff. by a long preface which contains a line of transmission (*isnād*), traced back to the author across several generations (the name of the most recent transmitter is Shihāb al-Dīn), and the word *man takhattam bi-l-‘aqīq* (“he who wears a carnelian seal-ring, etc.”). The Qaṣida is introduced with the expression *wa-awwaluhum* “its beginning”, written immediately after the word about how to achieve elegance; it ends with the expression *Ākhir Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq*. On fo. 30r, the compiler or copyist transcribes a *samā’*-note which he copied, verbatim, from the Ms. from which he had taken the text of the poem: *wajadtū ‘alā l-aṣl al-manqūl minhū mā ṣūratuhū: sumi‘a jamī‘ hādhihī l-qaṣīda ma‘a l-ḥikāya fī awwalihā ‘alā l-Shaykh ... Jamāl al-Dīn ... Yūsuf b. al-Dhakī (?) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Mizzī... bi-ḥaqq samā’ihī min Abī l-Ḥasan b. al-Bukhārī, etc.* The hearer’s note also includes an *isnād* as well as a reference to a *samā’*-session which took place in the Umayyad cathedral-mosque of Damascus on Friday, 3. Jumādā II 741/24. November 1340.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-40.

Means of stabilizing the text: On fo. 29v, ad v. 32a, a correction or variant (the word *al-qaṣf*) has been entered in the margin, marked with the letter *khā’* for *khaṭṭ* (i.e. the correction / addition has been made probably on the basis of the exemplar); there is also a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 2 which has been placed above the word referred to (*al-ḡayf*), in the text, thus serving as an insertion marker.

8. Pm. 193₂ (= Ahlwardt no. 7607₁)

Codicological description: Fo. 53v-54r. 25 lines per page. 40 verses written in two columns. There is one catchword at the bottom of fo. 53v. The hemistichs are separated by single dot or “heart”-shaped verse markers, written in red, which are also inserted at the beginning and end of each line. On fo. 53v a number of expressions such as *ḥakā, qāl, kān, aqūl, wa-l-qaṣīda ḥādhihi*, have been highlighted by use of red colour. Verse 9 has been written in the inner margin of fo. 53v, from the bottom to the top at a right angle to the columns. The last 5 verses (vv. 36-40) have been written vertically in the outer margin of fo. 54r. In this margin, two verses have been written in the first two of a total of three lines, one verse only in the third and last line. The poem is concluded with the expression *tammāt* (margin of fo. 54r).

Arrangement of verses: 1-9, 11, 10, 12-40.

The Ms. has an apocryphal hemistich in v. 7b which runs as follows:

اشياء تخفضه طورا وترفعه .

Context: The Qaṣīda is embedded in a collection of poems and reports; the poems are written by various writers such as al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (fo. 55r) or Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (fo. 52r), the reports are mostly adduced with *isnād*, and relate to sayings of philologists such as Abū ‘Umar Ghulām Tha‘lab, who is quoted (fo. 53v, l. 13) with a word on the perfection of elegance which the copyist or compiler seems to have taken from Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Tha‘alibī al-Naysābūrī (d. 429/1038, GAL 1,337), *Ṣāḥib Simat al-dahr*: “Abū ‘Umar (the manuscript spells wrongly: Abū ‘Amr) Ghulām Tha‘lab said: ‘The elegance of man is not perfect until he recites the Koran according to the way of Abū ‘Amr and studies the law of the school of al-Shāfi‘ī and transmits the poetry of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz and plays chess (*lā yakmulu ṣarf al-mar‘i ḥattā yaqra’a ḥarfa Abī ‘Amr wa-yatafaqqaha ‘alā madh-hab al-Shāfi‘ī wa-yarwiya shi‘r Ibn al-Mu‘tazz wa-yal‘aba bi-l-shaṭranj*).’” Without any comment, the compiler contrasts this quote with the famous saying in which Ibn Zurayq’s poem is mentioned, on the authority of “al-‘Allāma al-Ṣafādī”, in *Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn: man takhattama bi-l-‘aḳīq wa-tafaqqaha li-l-Shāfi‘ī wa-ḥafiẓa Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq wa-qara’a li-Abī ‘Amr fa-qad istakmala l-ṣarf wa-l-adab*, following which he, the compiler, quotes the Qaṣīda (fo. 53v-54r). The anthology of poems continues on fo. 54v with verses ascribed to one al-Adīb Ibn al-KhLWN.

Means of stabilizing the text: In v. 38b (= fo. 54r, written in the outer margin at a right angle to the columns) an erroneously written word was crossed out by the scribe and the correct word written after it. In the right, i.e. outer, margin of fo. 53v there is a correction (the word *‘unfuhū* in v. 3b had been misspelt) headed by letter ط and a sign resembling the Arabic numeral two which has also been written in the text above the place of insertion. Another gloss can

be found on fo. 54r, in the inner margin, a variant headed by the same sign (*al-raḥīl* for *al-firāq*).

9. Glas. 168 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,.)

Codicological description: Fo. 251r-v. 26-27 lines per page. The poem has been written in two columns. In many lines the verses have been divided into halves at the wrong place (e.g. vv. 6, 19, 22, 23, 29, 32, 37, 38; in v. 21 the last word of the first hemistich has been written apart, the last few letters being written in the second hemistich). There is a space between the hemistichs in every line but no verse markers have been used nor are there any lines framing the text of the poem. On the whole, the page layout leaves the reader with the impression that the copyist was extremely careless and that he lacked any aesthetic feeling. By contrast to some other texts preceding the poem in this Ms., which have been written by various hands, no colours have been used for highlighting. The script is a small round Naskhī hand almost devoid of diacritical dots and only rarely displays vocalization.

In the present Ms. which was brought to Central Europe from the Yemen, and sold to the former Royal Prussian Library of Berlin by the Bohemian Jewish traveller-researcher Eduard Glaser (d. 1908), the poem is embedded in an anthology of poems and prose sayings. The *Qaṣīda* is preceded by a report (*riwāya*) on fo. 251r which is introduced with the basmala and is adduced on the authority of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Saʿīd, *fi Kitāb al-Ramal* (?). From this source the compiler has taken the famous saying on the perfection of elegance (*man takhattama bi-l-ʿaḳīq*, etc.) ascribed to Abū Muḥammad [Ibn] Ḥazm. Thereafter the anthologist refers to a second written source, namely Ibn al-Samʿānī, who is mentioned as offering a “curious story” (*qiṣṣa ʿajība*) with regard to Ibn Zurayq’s poem. This (second) *riwāya* is a narrative of the poet’s ill-fated performance of his skill before the ruler of al-Andalus and of his untimely death as result of his disappointment over the miserly reward he obtained. The poem is said to have been found next to the corps of Ibn Zurayq written on a scrap of paper (*riqʿa*).

The introductory passage is nearly devoid of diacritical dots as is often the case with certain manuscripts of Yemeni provenance. The difficulty of deciphering the text is further aggravated by the bad quality of the microfilm copy (e.g. some of the text is missing along the right edge of fo. 251r).

In the outer (left) margin of fo. 251r there is a para-text which is apparently not related to the poem. The text contains a gloss, entitled *Tārīkh al-dahr min Ādam [...]* *ilā hijrat al-nabī*, on the time-span which elapsed between the life of Adam and the flight of Muḥammad. The poem is immediately followed (fo. 251v) by an anecdote exemplifying the vice of avarice (*bukhl*) which, given the circumstances of its composition, has a certain relevance in the context of the *Qaṣīda*. An excerpt copied (*nuḳila min khaṭṭ al-Sayyid [...]* *mā lafẓuhū*) from a manuscript

of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥūthī al-‘Ashīsh and a poem ascribed to Abū al-‘Atāhiyya cover the first half of the opposite page (fo. 252r). Other verses found on this page have been inscribed under the names of al-‘Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf and al-Shāfi‘ī. Extracts from the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī have been copied on fo. 249v.

Arrangement of verses: 1-7, 10-24, 26-30, 32-40.

Means of stabilizing the text: In v. 15a the word (or, as Muslims would say: the name) Allāh had been omitted and was added by the scribe above the line.

10. Glas. 37 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,₁ = no. 8231,_e)

Codicological description: Fo. 165r. 38 verses. The layout of this page is highly unusual: The first 24 verses of the poem are written in 2 columns, the following 12 verses have been written in four columns in the outer margin of the page: the hemistichs have to be read from right to left, viz. v. 26a-b, 27a-b, in the first line. With the last two verses which conclude the Qaṣīda the arrangement changes again. These are also written in the outer margin, but not at a right angle to the two long columns (the main text). They constitute an additional column which however is written upside down. Another irregularity is that the final 4 hemistichs are written above one another, thus constituting a real column. Neither verse markers nor any lines framing the text of the poem have been employed.

The style of writing is a partly vocalized Naskhī hand with incomplete diacritical dots. The orthography shows some archaic features such as the defective spelling of al-ḥayāt as الحيوّة (in v. 16b). The heading (first line) which includes the author's name is almost wholly written unpainted.

Context: The manuscript is a multiple-text-volume written by different hands. By way of introduction to the poem the scribe quotes the famous saying on the perfection of elegance as having been uttered by al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Sa‘īd and taken from al-Subkī's collection of biographies of illustrious men whom al-Subkī presented as members of the Shāfi‘ī school of law, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. The poem is found in an anthology which includes anecdotes as well as verses by such authors as Ibn Mālik, al-Ma‘arrī, al-Ṣāḥib, and Badī‘ al-zamān, *fī dhamm Hamadhān* (fo. 164v). One qaṣīda, by al-Makkī, has been composed in praise of the - presumably Zaydī - Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Mu‘izz al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Amīr al-mu‘minīn.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8, 9, 7, 10-24, 26-30, 32-40.

Means of stabilizing the text:

1. *Variants:* The var. *al-‘adl* العدل (for *al-‘adhīl* العذّل in the text) has been added at the end of the first line, and written together with v. 2, a block is formed which is of shorter length than the subsequent verses. In v. 2a, above the expression *fī lawmihī*, the word ‘*adluhū* is written, possibly intended to be read as ‘*adluhū*, and thus constituting a (genuine) variant. In v. 20b, the var. عذري لا *‘adluhū* has been added above the line, but the expression referred to within the

text has been left unaffected. In v. 6b *bi-l-‘azm yajma‘uhū* بالعزم يجمعه has been provided with a variant written above the last words of the line: بالرغم يهرعه.

2. *Corrections*: In v. 14a the initial *al-dahr* has been crossed out and substituted by the superimposed word *Allāh*, a semantically possible variant. In v. 15b the erroneously written initial *fī l-falak* has been crossed out. In v. 3a the scribe originally, and erroneously, wrote *abadan* which he then changed to *badalan*.

In the first hemistich of v. 6, the final word *ra’y* was crossed out and re-written, correctly, as the first word of the second hemistich.

In v. 9a final *ghinan* has been written both as غنا and غنى. It is not clear which of the two spellings constitutes the final edition.

3. *Syntax explanation markers*: In v. 40a a grammatical term (*maf’ūl*) has been written above the word referred to in order to clarify the syntax of the sentence.

11. Spr. 1239 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,¹)

Codicological description: Fo. 158r-159r. 39 verses. 17 lines per page. A catchword on fo. 158v. Middle size, flat Naskhī hand bent leftward with diacritical dots.

The poem has been written in 2 columns framed by a single line. The same frame-line has also been used to mark off the columns against each other, thus producing a band which in every line is filled with a dot – the verse marker separating the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading and the frame-line as well as the dots in the band between the columns.

Heading: The poet’s name (*li-Ibn Zurayq al-Baghdādī*) has been entered in a cartouche above the first verse, thus serving as a heading. Both the poems preceding and following the Qaṣīda are headed with a similar title-cartouche which contains either an author’s name (*al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu*; fo. 159r) or a reference to a previously mentioned author (*wa-lahū*, i.e. and he has also composed the following; fo. 157v).

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-30, 32-40.

5.1.2.8 Synopsis of verse sequences

In the following charts the manuscript copies have been arranged according to the frequency of deviations from the reference manuscript in each copy.

Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, A+B = apocryphal verses

as-Ṣafadī	Pm. 193,1	Pm. 193,2	Mq. 674	Spr. 1239	Glas. 37	Pm. 542
1-6						
7	(7↓)		(7↓)	(7↓)	(7↓)	(7↓)
8						
9	7 a 9		7 a 9	7 a 9	7 a 9	7 a 9
10		(10↓)				
11		10 a 11				
12-20						13 m
21-25					25 m	
26-30						
31			31 m	31 m	31 m	31 m
32						
33						
34						
35-40						
Deviations:						
0	1	1	2	2	3	3

as-Ṣafadī	We. 1547	Glas. 168,6	Lb. 243	Mq. 117	Spr. 1128
1-6	4 a 5				
7					7 m
8		8 m			
9	9 m	9 m			9 m
10					
11					
12-20			(20↓)	(20↓)	(19↓)
21-25		25 m	20 a 22, B a 25, 23 a A	20 a 22, B a 25, 23 a A	19 a 24, 25 m
26-30	29 m		26b m? 27b m?	26-28 m	26 m
31		31 m			
32					
33					
34					34 m
35-40					40 m
Deviations:					
0	3	4	5	6	7

5.1.2.9 Evaluation

In the 11 manuscript copies of Ibn Zurayq's poem a relatively small number of deviations (1-7 instances) from the standard text have been discerned, viz., the version included in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfi*. There is but one transposition of verses (7 after 9) found in a small majority of copies. All of these manuscripts, except for Pm. 193,1, also lack verse 31, thus it seems justifiable to speak of two major groups or families of manuscripts, abbreviated by the sigla G I (the version integrated in al-Ṣafadī) and G II. Within the latter family, marked by one transposition and one

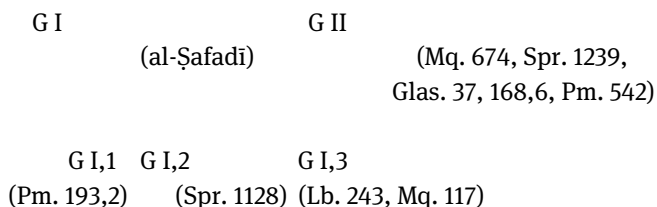
omission (G II), there are minor variations relating to two verses (v. 13, 25), which are missing in some copies.

Three copies (Spr. 1128, Lb. 243, Mq. 117) show a higher number of deviations (5-7 instances) and belong to a further two different groups, despite the fact that they are all nearer to the reference Ms., al-Ṣafadī, than to the G II copies (they do not show the typical pattern of transposition and omission characteristic of the latter). Spr. 1128 deviates from all other copies through one additional transposition of verses (19 and 24) and through a high number of verse omissions (6 verses). In two manuscripts, forming a second group within the G I family (Lb. 243, Mq. 117), there is some disorder in the middle of the poem and a further salient feature is the inclusion of two, or to be more precise, one and a half apocryphal verses.

It may be argued that those copies with numerous deviations from al-Ṣafadī's version (see the tables below) bear witness to an oral transmission of the poem. This certainly applies to Spr. 1128 with its six omissions and one transposition, and the odds are that it was written from memory or from manuscripts which were not copied directly from a model. Furthermore, in the two G I Mss., Lb. 243 and Mq. 117, orality seems to have played a greater rôle than in most other copies. Likewise, We. 1547, with three instances of deviation, may have been copied from memory. The other copies (Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Mq. 674, Spr. 1239, Glas. 37) are more likely to have been copied from a manuscript model than from memory, since they can be classified in one of the two families which show only one deviation from either of the two model versions.

An attempt to reconstruct the stemma of the manuscripts of the Qaṣīda yields the following picture:

Archetype



5.2 Al-Ūshī, Qaṣīdat Bad' al-amālī

5.2.1 Author

Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad *al-Ūshī* al-Farghānī al-Ḥanafī, Imām al-ḥaramayn, a scholar and poet originating from the Farghāna valley in Central Asia, lived in the sixth/twelfth century and may have died in 575/1179 (GAL 1,552-3 S 1,764; Özverli, in TDVİA 11,73; Kaḥḥāla 7,149; Ziriklī 4,310: “after 569”). Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known about the author's life. However, on the basis of his names and the titles associated with the *shuhra*, it can be inferred that al-Ūshī, the name by which he is generally known, performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and thus left Ūsh or Osh, the town of his ancestors. (This is now a predominantly Uzbek town in the republic of Kyrgyzstan bordering on the Chinese region officially called Xinjiang, i.e. “New Frontier”, and which some Uyghurs also call “Eastern Turkistan”). On the Central Arabian peninsula, in the Ḥijāz, al-Ūshī acquired the honorific title “Imām of the two holy sites”, i.e. of Mecca and Medina, and he obtained lasting fame as the author of a poem on *kalām* which he had already written before he set out on the *ḥajj*, whence he was referred to as the *Ṣāḥib Yaḡūlu al-'abd*. However, he also composed other works whose titles are listed in the bibliographical works of Ḥājji Khalifa, in GAL and elsewhere, as follows:

1. *K. Ghurar al-akhbār wa-durar al-ash'ār*, a thousand short traditions of which an abridgment (*mukhtaṣar*) in one hundred chapters has been made by the author himself entitled *Niṣāb al-akhbār li-tafakkur al-akhyār* (ḤKh no. 13797) or *Niṣāb al-akhbār wa-tadhkirat al-akhyār* (Mss. of the *Niṣāb* are Munich [Aumer] no. 126; Ahlwardt no. 1300-1301; Rosen no. 57 = St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, B 963; Chalidov, *Rukopisi*, a Ms. acquired 1812 in Kazan, capital of modern Tatarstan) or *Mashāriq al-anwār fī Sharḥ niṣāb al-akhbār li-tadhkirat al-akhyār* (Kaḥḥāla 7,149). ḤKh lists the sources from which al-Ūshī derived the material for his work and gives a number of sigla (abbreviations) employed by the author, e.g. *alif* for a text entitled *al-Iqnā'*, *tā'* for *al-Tanbih*, etc.
2. *Nūr al-Sirāj* (GAL S 1,765,ii).
3. *al-Fatāwā al-Sirājiyya*, a collection of legal rejoinders, the title of which includes a reference to the author's name, Sirāj al-Dīn. The fatwās issued according to the Ḥanafī school of law were completed in 569/1173, thus providing us with a date, placing the author in the sixth/twelfth century. ḤKh 4,358 gives this date on the authority of al-Mawlā Ibn al-Jawī who claims to have

read, in the author's colophon at the end of a copy of the *Fatāwā*, that 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Taymī (sic!) completed the composition of the *responsa* in Ūsh, on a Monday in the month of Muḥarram in 569/August-September 1173. ḤKh derived this information from a biographical notice by a certain Taqī al-Dīn devoted to the *Ṣāhib yaqūlu l-'abd*. In his *Kashf*, 6,229, ḤKh left a blank space after the word *al-mutawaffā* (he died [in]), under the lemma *Niṣāb al-akhbār*. ḤKh also mentions that Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī who, in his own *Munyat al-muftī fī furū'* *al-Ḥanafīyya* (loc. cit.; also *Kashf* 4,358), used the *Fatāwā* of al-Ūshī as one of his sources; he appreciated the latter because of the rare cases (*nawādir waqā'i'*) it is said to have contained by contradistinction to other similar works.

4. *Qaṣīdat Bad' al-amālī*, the best-known of his works (see below).
5. Kaḥḥāla additionally ascribes a commentary to al-Ūshī which he is said to have written in explanation of a poetical work written by the theologian Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; GAL 1,548-50), *Sharḥ Manẓūmat 'Umar al-Nasafī fī al-khilāf*, entitled *Mukhtalif al-riwāya*.

5.2.2 Qaṣīdat Bad' al-amālī

The *Qaṣīdat Bad' al-amālī* or *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fī l-kalām*, to mention but two variant titles, is a didactic poem ending with the letter *lām* in the Wāfir metre, and is a profession of God's unity in accordance with the Māturidī madh-hab of Sunnī Islam. Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,558-9, who reproduces both the first and final lines of the *Qaṣīda*, mentions that the poem has 66 verses and states that it had been widely received (*maqbulā mutadāwala*), a fact confirmed by the presence of manuscript copies even in West Africa (*infra*). On the authority of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya* by a certain al-Tamīmī, Ḥājji Khalīfa, loc. cit., reports that the poem was completed in 569/1173, i.e. the same year in which al-Ūshī wrote his *Fatāwā*. Ḥājji Khalīfa ends his entry on the *Qaṣīda* by listing a number of commentaries written in explanation of it (*Kashf* 4,559-561).

The text has been ascribed to various authors but the alternative *ascriptions* have been rejected,¹⁴⁹ with most scholars agreeing that the poem was authored

¹⁴⁹ The poem had been attributed to the Zangid ruler al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn b. 'Imād al-Dīn (reg. 1146-74), according to an account given in Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bughayogho (Busse vocalizes: Bughaybagh; cf. Nābulusī 1971, 53) al-Wangarī's commentary on al-Ūshī. - It may be surmised that the attribution of the *Qaṣīda* to Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, who restored the rule of Sunnī Islam over hitherto Shiite Egypt, may have been one of the reasons for its enormous popularity,

by al-Üshî. In support of this claim, Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b, refers to a related discussion reported in the *-Riḥla al-Ṭarābulusiyya* of the Sufi poet, ‘Abd al-Ghanî al-Nābulusî (d. 1143/1731; GAL 2,454-8).

As for its *contents*, the poem proceeds along conventional lines, treating the main theological themes of divinity, prophecy and traditional knowledge (*sam‘iyyāt*). It begins with an affirmation of God’s unity and continues to discuss God’s essence and qualities. In this context, the author discusses themes such as the creation of the Koran, the vision of God, the qualities ascribed to him in the Islamic tradition, man’s acts as well as criticism of views which contradict Sunni beliefs. There follows the section on prophecy where the saints’ miracles are affirmed (*karāmātu l-waliyyi [...] laḥā kawnun*; v. 33) although the *awliyā’* are said to be inferior to “any of the prophets and messengers” (*wa-lam yafḍul waliyyun qaṭṭu dahran / nabiyyan aw rasūlan fî intihālî*; v. 34). The caliphs and the order of their excellence is discussed and the prohibition on criticizing the prophet’s companions is voiced (this attitude had already been recommended by the Sufi author, Ibn Khafif al-Shirāzî, in the fourth/tenth century; cf. Daylamî’s biography, *Sîrat*, ed. A. Schimmel, 65). An important point of doctrine discussed in the poem is belief and what makes a person a disbeliever (*takfîr*). A few subjects pertaining to *kalām* are also covered such as the relationship between *takwîn* and *mukawwan* (the pertinent verse [no. 9] however is omitted in many copies), or *ma’dûm* (Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b-c). Some themes relating to eschatology are treated and the poem ends with the author’s wish that prayers be offered for him by the reader or hearer of his text.

This poem was studied as one of the texts on ‘*aqā’id* and *kalām* in the first year of madrasa education in the Ottoman Empire (“medrese başlangıç sınıflarında”; Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b).

or – on the other hand – the poem may have been ascribed to him precisely because of its popularity. In commenting v. 1 of the poem, al-Wangarî refers to al-Suyûtî (d. 911/1505; GAL 2,180-204), *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-sāṭi’*, concerning the controversy over the authorship of the poem. The *-Kawkab al-sāṭi’* is a versification by al-Suyûtî of al-Subkî’s *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘ fî l-uṣūl* on the principles of law (GAL 2,109,i). Whereas al-Wangarî seems to have left the issue of the authorship open (*wa-Allāh a‘lam bi-man hiya laḥ*), the Muftî of Ṭarābulus, al-Sayyid Hibatallāh, in a discussion with al-Nābulusî on the subject of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dîn, referred to al-Firūzābādî (d. 817/1415; GAL 2,231-4) who attributes the poem to al-Üshî. Al-Firūzābādî in his *-Mirqāt al-wafiyya fî ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanaḥiyya* (GAL S 2,236,18) provides a biography of al-Üshî, quoting both the first and last verses of the poem and stating the number of verses (cf. Nābulusî, *Riḥla* 53-4). The fact that al-Nābulusî wrote a commentary on a versification of the West African scholar indicates that he was very familiar with al-Wangarî’s dogmatic work (cf. p. 238).

With its poetical form (metre and rhyme) and because of the succinctness of the formulation of the knowledge it imparts (“özlü bilgi vermesi sebebiyle”; Özverli, TDVİA, loc. cit.), the Qaṣīda could easily be memorized. In v. 67a the reader is explicitly asked by the author to store this versified dogma in his memory (*fa-khūdū fihî ḥifẓan wa-tiqādan*) and the expression *amālî* included in the title and in v. 1a has been understood, according to some commentators, to refer to the activity of memorizing (*al-implā' wa-huwa al-katb 'an ẓahr al-qalb min ghayr naẓar ilā l-maktūb*; Ms. Princeton no. 4392, fo. 134v) or of writing something without relying on a book, i.e. by heart (*ism hādḥā l-kitāb min ghayr isti'āna bi-kitāb*; also Ms. Denizli 1468; *infra*).

As the poem reproduces the dogma of Sunnī Islam according to the Māturīdī madh-hab, and since the author almost certainly belonged to the Ḥanafī school of law, it is no surprise that the Qaṣīda circulated mainly in the Ottoman Empire and in other countries where the Turkish language was spoken. However, as appears from the discussions reported by al-Nābulusī, concerning the authorship of the poem, the Qaṣīda was also studied in West Africa, even if only in the derivative literature. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Bughayogho (Baghyu'u) al-Wangarī (d. 1066/1655; Hunwick, *ALA* 4,32-33), who wrote a commentary on it entitled *Nayl al-ma'ālī sharḥ 'Aqīdat Bad' al-amālî*¹⁵⁰, came from a famous family of scholars from Timbuktu in Mali.¹⁵¹ Although Hall, *Core Curriculum*, does not include the poem among the works forming part of the “Core Curriculum” of traditional learning in West Africa, Stefan Reichmuth, in his field-research conducted in Ilorin, Northern Nigeria, in 1987, discovered a manuscript copy of al-Üshî's poem, in a distinctively Sudānī style (?) in the collection of a Koranic school called Ile Tapa Gbodofu.¹⁵² Although the reception in West Africa of a poem written in the Māturīdī tradition is a remarkable phenomenon which needs to be further explored, it is not wholly exceptional.¹⁵³ Another literary work which shares the same (Central Asian) doctrinal background as al-Üshî's Qaṣīda and which has also been widely circulated in West Africa is the versification of the '*Aqā'id al-Nasafiyya* by the Moroccan author Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Nābulusī 1971, 53; GAL S 1,764,1,3 (*Dar(a)j al-ma'ālī ilkh.* [attributed to Muḥammad ibn Jamā'a]); Rebstock, *ML* 1,44, no. 141,2; Hunwick, *ALA* 4,33,5.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Saad 1983,51-57 (this bibliographical hint is owed to Stefan Reichmuth); Hunwick, *ALA* 4,31-35.

¹⁵² Cf. Reichmuth 1998, 359.

¹⁵³ E-mail communication of 24. April 2011 by Stefan Reichmuth.

(d. 1041/1631; GAL 2,383,¹⁰, TDVĪA 27,445-6) and is known by the title *Idāʾat al-dujunna*.¹⁵⁴

5.2.2.1 Commentaries on al-Üshī

The text has been object of various commentaries which include, i.a. the following works:

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Jamāʾa al-Maqdisī (d. 819/1416), *Sharḥ Badʾ al-amālī* (quoted in BSB Cod.arab. 1644=VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 310, a manuscript of al-Nābulusī's commentary on *K. al-Farāʾid al-saniyya* on Sunnī dogma).

An anonymous commentary can be found in BSB Cod.arab. 1610 (=VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 276/1).

Özverli, TDVĪA 11,73b mentions the following commentaries and lists some Mss. located in Turkish libraries: Khalīl b. ʿAṭāʾ, a short commentary (two manuscripts in the Süleymaniye; Özverli, comm. 1); Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 666/1268?), an extensive comm., entitled *Hidāya min al-iʿtiqād li-kathrat nafʿ bayn al-ʾibād*, of which four manuscripts are extant in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 2; also: Tokyo 2,222,^{fo. 83v-118r}, “still unedited” [idem, loc. cit.]); ʿAlī al-Qārī, *Ḍawʾ*, one of the best known commentaries (printed several times; Özverli, op. cit., comm. 4; *infra*); Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Sandūbī [al-Azhārī] (d. 1686), one manuscript in Kayseri (Özverli, comm. 5); Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Ḥalabī (d. 1871), one manuscript in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 6); anon., *al-Manhaj al-ʿālī*, one manuscript in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 7); Muḥannifak al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 1470), comm. without title, one manuscript in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 8). Özverli mentions the names of four further commentators, manuscripts of whose works can be found in the Süleymaniye, i.e. al-Niksārī, al-Anṭākī, al-Bakrī, al-Abakandī.

For further commentaries cf. ḤKh, *Kashf* 4,559-61, with some incipits, and GAL; for the commentaries included in some Princeton Mss. see *infra*.

A number of commentaries have been written in Turkish: Özverli mentions four such works (TDVĪA 11,74b-c). Of these the *Marāḥ al-maʿālī* written under Selim III by an author called ʿĀṣim Efendi who died in 1819 is said to have been

¹⁵⁴ Hall (2012, 138) mentions that numerous copies of al-Maqqarī's poem, “a versification of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's (d. 1142) *ʿAqida*” are extant in the manuscript libraries of West Africa. Rebstock, ML 1,174,^{Anm.}, on the other hand, maintains that al-Maqqarī's “Qaṣida of 500 verses” is based not on al-Nasafī but on the *ʿAqāʾid* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sanūsī. I have not been able to ascertain whether or not the author of the poem adopted the dogmatic position of the Māturīdiyya in versifying the *ʿAqida*.

the most popular (Özverli, loc. cit.). An anonymous Turkish commentary is also included in BSB Cod.arab. 1523 (= VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 189/6).

Not only commentaries but also *translations of the poem* were made into Turkish. The *Lāmiyya-i kalāmiyya* was composed by order of Murad III by Hoja Sa'd al-Din Efendi, the author of the Turkish language history of the Ottoman empire, *Tāj al-tawārīkh* (d. 1008/1599-1600; HKh 2,92), in the same metre and same rhyme as the Arabic original (Özverli 11,74c). Another translator kept the metre but chose the form of the *mathnawī*, i.e. the two hemistichs of each line rhyme with one another (Özverli, tercüme 2). Another manuscript copy of a Turkish translation, by one Muḥammad b. Malqūcha, is Manchester (Mingana) no. 83 whilst the authorship of the translation accompanying Ms. Princeton no. 5729 (= Mach no. 2260/9) still needs to be determined. Özverli also mentions an anonymous Persian translation entitled *Najm-i Zabarqān* which has been published in print. This translation kept the original metre but changed the rhyme consonant from lām to hamza. A Persian translation, a poem rhyming in -ā, has been integrated into the original text in the Süleymaniye Ms. Karaçelebizade 347. Through the adoption of a format identical to that of the Arabic text, the Persian translation can only be recognized as such at second glance (*infra*). Finally, a translation into the Latin and German languages has been made by Peter v. Bohlen (Königsberg 1825); the latter also includes a Persian translation (Wāfir verses rhyming in -ān) added between the lines of the Arabic text and beginning (first hemistich) with: *dar āghāz-i sukhan čun durr-i marjān*.

5.2.2.2 Manuscripts of the text

The following manuscripts – all of which include al-Ūshī's text – were examined for the present study:

Manuscripts in the possession of the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (SBB-PK): Ahlwardt no. 2407 (=Wetzstein [= We.] 1721), 2408/1 (= We. 1718), 2408/2 (= Landberg [= Lb.] 28), 2408/3 (= We. 1754), 2408/4 (= Sprenger [=Spr.] 1956), 2408/5 (= Diez oct. 50), 2408/6 (= We. 1804), VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 112 (= Hs. or. 4496), no. 113 (= Hs. or. 4505), B5 no. 104 (= Hs. or. 4950), 105 (= Hs. or. 4944); manuscripts of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München*: VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 276/2 (= Cod.arab. 1610), BSB Cod.arab. 1735; one manuscript of the *Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*: VOHD XVIIIB4 no. 176/6; manuscripts of the *University Library of Princeton*: vol. no. 3174, 3563, 4392, 5014, 5043, 5130, 5310, 5729,

5807;¹⁵⁵ manuscripts of the *Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul*: Hacı Selim Aga 657,¹⁵⁶ Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027, Aya Sofya 1446.

Further copies of al-Ūshī's poem, not included in this study, are VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 106 (= SBB-PK, Hs. or. 4831; excluded because of its incompleteness);¹⁵⁷ Basel no. 161/5; Vienna no. 2091; Manchester no. 82 ("in thick Indian capitals"); Tokyo 1,20,^{fo. 129r}, 2,222,^{fo. 83f.}¹⁵⁸

The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts containing the text of the *Bad' al-amālī* were copied in order to be studied in the madrasas or in other institutions of learning. This observation is supported by the layout of the pages which generally have wide margins and large spaces between the lines. The fact that the manuscripts were indeed used to this end can often, if not always, be seen in the glosses entered at the places reserved for this purpose and elsewhere. Many of these notes were designed to stabilize the text, i.e. to protect it against deviations from the author's original work.

The exception to this practice-oriented usage of manuscripts is Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446, a highly prestigious piece of craftsmanship which has been produced by at least two calligraphers commissioned by the sultans of the Mamluk dynasty in the sixteenth century. Although they did not copy the texts for their own use,¹⁵⁹ the scribes' confidence in their own workmanship meant that they did not forget to inscribe their names in the manuscript. One of the two scribes, the Mamluk Birdik was a slave in the palace of Sultan Qānṣūh; he copied al-Ūshī's poem as well as another text preceding it (*Muqaddima fī l-fiqh*). The other scribe, Sharaf ibn al-Amīr, who copied the third text in the volume, a poem rhyming in the letter *lām*, wrote in Syria, possibly in Damascus.

This volume which, besides al-Ūshī's text, includes the elegy generally known as the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam* of al-Ṭughrāʾī, as well as a tract on Ḥanafī jurisprudence, was produced for the Sultans, and not for the use of students. Accordingly, the manuscript has been lavishly decorated, with golden medallions inserted before and after the texts, and with a splendid multi-coloured frontispiece.

¹⁵⁵ The Princeton Mss. no. 5130, 5310, 5729, 5807 were also consulted in order to examine some of the commentaries on al-Ūshī's poem which are included in these volumes as well.

¹⁵⁶ Examined only with regard to the page-layout and to the context of a copy of al-Laqānī's poem (cf. p. 34, 232).

¹⁵⁷ The copy in Hs. or. 4831 immediately following al-Laqānī's poem ends at v. 69. The fact that a final page has been lost is indicated by the catchword *wa-innī* entered at the bottom of fo. 9v.

¹⁵⁸ Lists of such manuscripts may also be found in GAL 1,552, S 1,764 and Basel no. 161/5.

¹⁵⁹ Formulas used by scribes to indicate that they copied the manuscripts for their own use include phrases such as *katabah li-nafsih*; *katab dhālik li-nafsih wa-li-man shāʾ Allāh min baʿdih* etc.

Furthermore, the layout of the pages of al-Ūshī's poem is quite extraordinary (for a more detailed description see *infra*). On the evidence of a stamp bearing the monogram of the Ottoman sultan's name (Maḥmūd Khān) entered above the incipit of the first text (fo. 1v), the manuscript was transferred from the Mamluk sultans' palace to that of the Ottoman rulers in Constantinople; obviously this transfer followed the conquest of the Egyptian sultanate by Selim the Grim (or, more accurately: the Steadfast [Yavuz]) which took place in 1517.

There is an edition of the *Bad' al-amālī* with explanatory notes by Peter von Bohlen, published in Königsberg (modern Kaliningrad, a Russian exclave) in 1825. A printed version of 68 verses was published in Indian al-Bandar Bumbay, in Rajab 1274/February-March 1858 (a copy of this print is Süleymaniye, İzmirli I. Hakki 4053).

5.2.2.2.1 Dated manuscripts

The oldest dated copy of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda seen by the present researcher is Süleymaniye, Denizli 404 which includes a colophon with the dating 1001/1593. Nevertheless, the oldest manuscript seems to be Wetzstein 1721. Although this copy is not dated, there is a colophon relating to some other text in this manuscript written by the same scribe, with the date Dhū l-Qa'da 738/May-June 1338. Another copy of al-Ūshī which can be dated by inference is Wetzstein 1804 which was produced in 1131/1719. The highly prestigious manuscript Aya Sofya 1446 was produced by order of the Mamluk sultan *Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī* who ruled from 1501 to 1516/906-922; accordingly the volume is the second oldest in this group after Denizli 404. Some rare colophons also include a record of the place where the copying was carried out. The following are the dated manuscripts in chronological order:

1001/1593 (Süleymaniye, Denizli 404)

1051/1641 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/1)

1080/1669 (BSB Cod.arab. 1610)

1088/1677 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/5)

1088/1677-78, *Islāmbul fī sūq al-khayl fī qurb Jāmi' al-sulṭān Muḥammad Fātiḥ* (Hekimoglu 272)

1103/1692, in the Azhar mosque of Cairo (Mach no. 2260/9)

1136/1723-24 (Mach no. 2260/7)

1139/1727 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/3)

1187/1773 (BSB Cod.arab. 2615/3)

1202/1787-88 (Mach no. 2264/4); a commentary (Mach no. 2264/4) which precedes (!) the poem in this volume is dated 1203/1789

1207/1792-93 (Hs. or. 4496 = VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 112)

1235/1819 (Mach no. 2260/11)

1235/1820 (Kasidecizade 116)

1261/1845 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/4)

5.2.2.2 Number of verses

There is considerable discrepancy in the length of the poem throughout the copies where the number of verses varies from 44 to 75. Whereas the standard version comprises exactly 70 verses, the longest text-witness (BSB Cod.arab. 1735) includes 5 extra apocryphal verses.

64 verses: Hs. or. 4496 (VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 112)

65 v.: Hs. or. 4505 (VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 113)

68 v.: Ms. Göttingen (VOHD XVIIIB4 no. 176/6)

68 v.: Basel no. 161/5

70 v. (plus two apocryphal ones): Ms. Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027

75 v.: BSB Cod.arab. 1735

123 (!) verses (includes a poetical Persian translation): Karaçelebizade 347.

5.2.2.3 Concordance of work titles

The manuscript SBB, Ahlwardt no. 2411 (= Wetzstein 1842), a commentary on al-Ūshī's poem, has the title *al-Uṣūl al-Lāmiyya*. The original version however is *Bad' al-amālī* (as in Ms. Ahlwardt 2408/3, in the heading; Basel no. 161/5, VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 112 [*hādhā fī Bad' al-amālī*, in the heading]) or *Qaṣīdat yaqūlu l-'abdu* (e.g. Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2408/2 [*al-Jawhar al-fard wa-hiya Qaṣīdat yaqūlu*, etc.]; Ms. Aya Sofya 1446: *kitāb Yaqūlu l-'abdu fī 'ilm al-tawhīd*). This version of the title is derived from the first hemistich of the poem (*yaqūlu l-'abdu fī bad' al-amālī*). On the title page of Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 we find *K. al-Amālī fī 'ilm al-tawhīd*, in Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 we find the title *'Aqīdat Bad' al-amālī fī l-tawhīd* (in the heading). In BSB Cod.arab. 1610, which contains both the poem and a commentary preceding it, the title runs: *Qaṣīdat al-Amālī*.¹⁶⁰

A free rendition of the title may be found in Hs. or. 4950 (VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 104): *hādā Kitāb Amālī 'ā (= 'alā) madh-hab Imām Māturidī al-Ḥanafī mawḍū'āt*

¹⁶⁰ A grammatically incorrect variant of this title is *al-Qaṣīda al-Amālī* that was written in the interspace between explicit and colophon in the rather carelessly executed copy BSB Cod.arab. 2615 (fo. 39r-40r).

al-‘ulūm. This heading also seems to include an attempt to classify the work which is designated as treating the “subjects of sciences”. In BSB Cod.arab. 1735 the text simply has a title indicating that it is the poem of so-and-so: *hādhihi manẓūmat al-Shaykh al-Uwaysi (!)*.

Often however the Mss. are devoid of a title (e.g. Ahlwardt no. 2408/4, VOHD XVIIB3 no. 113, B5 no. 105). Özverli mentions (TDVİA 11,73-75) that the poem was also called *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥanafīyya* (GAL S 1,764) and, since the sixteenth century, in the Ottoman Empire, *Lāmiyya-i kalāmiyya*. One commentator who wrote under Sultan Murad III (reg. 1574-95) used the same term in his Turkish language *Sherḥ*, and this term has since been used by other scholars (TDVİA 11,73b).

5.2.2.4 Edition of al-Ūshī

First edition, based on SBB Hs. or. 4496 = VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112 (version of the majority of manuscripts and reference copy in the tables p. 177-81).

لتوحيد بنظم كالآلي	1 يقول العبد في بدء الأمالي
وموصوف بأوصاف الكمال	2 إله الخلق مولانا قديم
هو الحقّ المقدر ذو الجلال	3 هو الحيّ المدبر كلّ أمر
ولكن ليس يرضى بالمحال	4 مرید الخير والشرّ القبيح
ولا غيرا سواه ذا انفصال	5 صفات الله ليست عين ذات
قديمات مصنونات الزوال	6 صفات الذات والأفعال طرّا
وذاتاً عن جهات الستّ خال	7 نسّمى الله شيئاً لا كالأشياء
لدى أهل البصيرة خير آل	8 وليس الاسم غيراً للمسّمى
ولا كلّ وبعض ذو اشتمال	9 وما إن جوهر ربّي وجسم
بلا وصف التجزّي يابن خال	10 وفي الأذهان حقّ كون جزء
كلام الربّ عن جنس المقال	11 وما القرآن مخلوقاً تعالى
بلا وصف التمكن واتصال	12 وربّ العرش فوق العرش لكن
فصن عن ذاك أصناف الأهل	13 وما التشبيه للرحمن وجهاً
وأحوال وأزمان بحال	14 ولا يمضي على الديان وقت
وأولاد إناث أو رجال	15 ومستغن إلهي عن نساء
تفرّد ذو الجلال وذو المعال	16 كذا عن كلّ ذي عون ونصر
فيجزّهم على وفق الخصال	17 يميّت الخلق قهراً ثمّ يحيي
وللكفّار أدراك النكال	18 لأهل الخير جنّات ونعمى
وما أهلوها أهل انتقال	19 ولا يفنى الجحيم ولا الجنان
وإدراك وضرب من مثال	20 يراه المؤمنون بغير كيف

- 21 فينسون النعيم إذا رأو
22 وما إن فعل أصلح ذو افتراض
23 وفرض لازم تصديق رسل
24 وختم الرسل بالصدر المعلّ
25 إمام الأنبياء بلا اختلاف
26 وبق شرعه في كل وقت
27 وحقّ أمر معراج وصدق
28 وإنّ الأنبياء لفي أمان
29 وما كانت نبياً قطّ أنثى
30 وذو القرنين لم يعرف نبياً
31 وعيسى سوف يأتي ثم يتوى
32 كرامات الولي بدار دنيا
33 ولم يفضل ولي قطّ دهرًا
34 وللصديق رجحان جلّي
35 وللفاروق رجحان وفص
36 وذو النورين حقًا كان خيرا
37 وللكرار فضل بعد هذا
38 وللصديقة الرجحان فاعلم
39 ولم يلعن يزيدا بعد موت
40 وإيمان المقلّد ذو اعتبار
41 وما عذر لذي عقل بجهل
42 وما إيمان شخص حال بأس
43 وما أفعال خير في حساب
44 ولا يقضى بكفر وارتداد
45 ومن ينوي ارتدادا بعد دهر
46 ولفظ الكفر من غير اعتقاد
47 ولا يحكم بكفر حال سكر
48 وما المعدوم مرثيا وشيئا
49 ودنيانا حديث والهوى
50 وإنّ السحت رزق مثل حلّ
51 وللدعوات تأثير بليغ
52 وفي الأحداث عن توحيد ربّي
53 وللکفر والفساق بغضا
54 حساب الناس بعد البعث حقّ
- فيا خسران أهل الإعتزال
على الهادي المقدّس ذي التعال
وأملأك كرام بالتوال
نبيّ هاشميّ ذي جمال
وتاج الأصفياء بلا اختلال
إلى يوم القيامة وارتحال
ففيه نصّ أخبار عوالي
عن العصيان عمداً وانعزال
ولا عبد وشخص ذو افتعال
كذا اللقمان فاحذر عن جدال
لدجّال شقيّ ذي خبال
لها كون فهم أهل النوال
نبياً أو رسولا في انتحال
على الأصحاب من غير احتمال
على عثمان ذي النورين عال
من الكرّار في صفّ القتال
على الأغيار طرّا لا تبال
على الزهراء في بعض الخصال
سوى المكثار في اللّاغراء غال
بأنواع الدلائل كالنصال
بخلّاق الأسافل والأعال
بمقبول لفقد الامتثال
من الإيمان مفروض الوصال
يعهر أو يقتل واختزال
يصر عن دين حقّ ذا انسلال
بطوع ردّ دين باغتفال
بما يهزي ويلغو بارتجال
لفقه لاح في يمن الهلال
عديم الكون فاسمع باجتذال (!)
وإن يكره مقالي كلّ قال
وقد ينفيه أصحاب الضلال
سبيلي كلّ شخص بالسؤال
عذاب القبر من سوء الفعل
فكونوا بالتحرز عن وبال

وبعضا نحو ظهر والشمال	ويعطى الكتب بعضا نحو يمنى	55
عل متن الصراط بلا اهتيال	وحق وزن أعمال وجري	56
لأصحاب الكبائر كالجبال	ومرجو شفاعه أهل خير	57
بشؤم الذنب في دار اشتغال	وذو الإيمان لا يبقى مقيما	58
بديع الشكل كالسحر الحلال	لقد ألبست للتوحيد وشيا	59
ويحيي الروح كالماء الزلال	فيسلي القلب كالبشرى بروح	60
تنالوا جنس أصناف المنال	فخوضوا فيه حفظا واعتقادا	61
بذكر الخير في حال ابتغال	وكونوا عون هذا العبد دهرأ	62
ويعطيه السعادة في المال	لعل الله يعفوه بفضل	63
لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي	وانت الدهر ادعو كنه وسعي	64

Second edition, based on SBB We. 1718 = Ahlwardt Nr. 2408/1 (reference manuscript for verse sequences and textual variants)

لتوحيد بنظم كاللآلي	يقول العبد في بدء الأمالي	1
وموصوف بأوصاف الكمال	إله الخلق مولانا قديم	2
له وصف التكبر والتعالي	ملك مالك مولى الموالى	3
هو الحق المقدر ذو الجلال	هو الحي المدبر كل أمر	4
ولكن ليس يرضى بالمحال	مرید الخير والشر القبيح	5
ولا غيرا سواه ذا الغضال	صفات الله ليست عين ذات	6
قديمات مصونات الزوال	صفات الذات والأفعال طرا	7
وذاتا عن جهات الست خالي	نسمة الله شيئا لا كاشيا	8
لدى أهل البصيرة خير آل	وليس الاسم غيرا للمسمى	9
ولا كل وبعض ذو اشتغال	وما إن جوهر ربّي وجسم	10
تعالى الله عما في الخيال	ولا عرض ولا ذو صورة ما	11
كلام الرب عن جنس المقال	وما القرآن مخلوقا تعالى	12
بلا وصف التمكن واتصال	ورب العرش فوق العرش لكن	13
فصف عن ذاك أضعاف الأهل	وما التشبيه للرحمن وجها	14
وأحوال وأزمان بحال	ولا يمضي على الديان وقت	15
وأولاد إناث أو رجال	ومستغن إلهي عن نساء	16
تقرّد ذو الجلالة والمعال	كذا عن كل ذي عون ونصر	17
فيجزّيهم على وفق الخصال	يميت الخلق طرا ثم يحيي	18
وللكفار أدراك النكال	لأهل الخير جنات ونعمى	19
وإدراك وضرب من مثال	يراه المؤمنون بغير كيف	20
فيا خسران أهل الاعتزال	وينسون النعيم إذا رأوه	21

- 22 وما إن فعل أصلح ذو افتراض
على الهادي المقدّس ذي التعالي
- 23 وفرض لازم تصديق رسل
وأملك كرام بالتوالي
- 24 وختم الرسل بالصدر المعلى
نبيّ هاشميّ ذي جمال
- 25 وحقّ أمر معراج وصدق
وفيه نصّ أخبار عوالي
- 26 إمام الأنبياء بلا خلاف
وتاج الأصفاء بلا اختلال
- 27 وباق شرعه في كلّ وقت
إلى يوم القيامة وارتحال
- 28 وإنّ الأنبياء لفي أمان
عن العصيان عمدا وانعزال
- 29 وما كانت نبيّ قطّ أنثى
ولا عبد وشخص ذو افتعال
- 30 وذو القرنين لم يعرف نبيا
كذا لقمان فاحذر عن جدال
- 31 وعيسى سوف يأتي ثمّ يتوي
لدجّال شقيّ ذي خيال
- 32 كرامات الوليّ بدار دنيا
لها كون وهم أهل النوال
- 33 ولم يبلغ وليّ قطّ دهرا
نبياّ أو رسولا في انتحال
- 34 وللصديق رجحان جليّ
على الأصحاب من غير احتمال
- 35 وللفاروق رجحان وفضل
على عثمان ذي النورين عال
- 36 وذو النورين حقّا كان خيرا
من الكرّار في صفّ القتال
- 37 وللكرّار فضل بعد هذا
على الأغيار طرا لا تبالي
- 38 وللصديقة الرجحان فاسم
على الزهراء في بعض الخصال
- 39 ولم يلعن يزيدا بعد موت
سوى المكثار في الإغراء غالي
- 40 وما المقتول مقطوع الأجلّ
سوى من عند أصحاب الضلال
- 41 وإيمان المقلّد اعتبار
لأنواع الدلائل كالنصال
- 42 وما عذر لذي عقل بجهل
بخلق الأسافل والأعالي
- 43 وما إيمان شخص حال بأس
بمقبول لفقه الامتثال
- 44 وما أفعال خير في حساب
من الإيمان مفروض الوصال
- 45 ولا يقضي بكفر وارتداد
بعهر أو يقتل واختزال
- 46 ومن ينوي ارتدادا بعد دهر
يصر عن دين حقّ ذا انسلال
- 47 ولفظ الكفر من غير اعتقاد
بطوع ردّ دين باغتفال
- 48 ولم يحكم بكفر حال سكر
بما يهدي ويلغوا بارتجال
- 49 وما المعدوم مرئيا وشيئا
لفقه لاح في يمن الهلال
- 50 وغير أنّ المكوّن لا كشيء
مع التكوين خذه كاحتفال
- 51 وفي الأذهان حقّ لون جزء
بلا وصف التجزّي يابن خالي
- 52 وإنّ السحت رزق مثل حلّ
وإن يكره مقالي كلّ قالي
- 53 وفي الأحداث عن توحيد ربّي
سبيلي كلّ شخص بالسؤال
- 54 وللکفار والفساق بعضا
عذاب القبر من سوء الفعل
- 55 حساب الناس بعد البعث حقّ
وكونوا بالتحرزّ عن وبال
- 56 فيعطى الكتب بعضا نحو يمني
وبعضا نحو ظهر والشمال
- 57 وحقّ وزن أعمال وجري
عل متن الصراط بلاحتمال
- 58 ومرجوّ شفاعه أهل خير
لأصحاب الكبائر كالجبال

وقد ينفيه أصحاب الضلال	59	واللدعوات تأثير بليغ
عديم الكون فاسمع باجتماع	60	ودنيانا حديث والهيولى
عليها مرّ أحوال خوالي	61	وللجنّات والنيران كون
من الرحمن يا أهل الأمالي	62	دخول الناس في الجنّات فضل
ولا أهلوهما أهل انتقال	63	ولا يفتنى الجحيم ولا الجنان
بشؤم الذنب في دار اشتعال	64	وذو الإيمان لا يبقى مقيما
بديع الشكل كالسحر الحلال	65	لقد أليست للتوحيد نظما
ويحيي الروح كالماء الزلال	66	يسلّي القلب كالبشرى بروح
تنالوا خير أصناف المثال	67	فخوضوا فيه حفظا واعتقادا
بذكر الخير في حال ابتهاج	68	وكونوا عون هذا العبد دهرا
ويعطيه السعادة في المآل	69	لعلّ الله يعفوه بفضل
لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي	70	وإنّ الله يجزي كلّ وقت
ويخلق ما يشاء بلا امتثال	71	إله لا ينازع شريك
عزيز عزّ عن عمّ وخال	72	جليل جلّ عن شبه ومثل
لمن يقرأ ويحفظ للأمالي	73	وإنّ الله يغفر كلّ يوم
على ختم الرسالة والكمال	A	وصلّى ربّنا في كلّ وقت
ومن كلّ الصحابة والموالي	B	ويرضى بالرضا عن صاحبيه
وخلقهما لإظهار الكمال	C	فإنّ العرش والكرسيّ حقّ

v. 35, in front of عثمان, the expression الفاروق has been crossed out

بلا اهتبال in the margin

A, B, C: apocryphal verses

5.2.2.5 Description of manuscripts

5.2.2.5.1 Manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB) – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (PK)

1. Wetzstein 1718 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/1)

Codicological description: Fo. 77r-79r. 73 verses. Format: 14,5x19,5 cm. Face of text: 9,5x15 cm. 18-19 lines to the page written in two columns. Clusters of three dots separate the hemistichs in each line. The catchwords are written at a right angle against the last line. Middle size, carefully executed Naskh hand with diacritical points and many vocalizations. In some places, in order to fill the line, single letters have been extended (*mashq*), e.g. fo. 79r, v. 69a (*bi-faḍlin*), or they may

have been pulled far apart (last verse: *kulla yawmin*), or a heart-shaped marker may have been placed at the end of a hemistich (fo. 79r, several instances). Red colour has been used to highlight the verse markers, the first words of the title in the vignette on fo. 77r, as well as letter *nūn* entered in the margin of fo. 79r. as an insertion marker. The date of copying, Monday night, 10th Muḥarram 1051/21st April 1641, is included in a colophon beginning with the words *tammāt al-manẓūma bi-‘awn Allāh, etc.*

Among the Mss. of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the present copy offers the greatest number of verses; for this reason the decision was made to use Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 as the reference text, “Leithandschrift”, with regard to the order in which the verses are arranged and with regard to the textual variants.

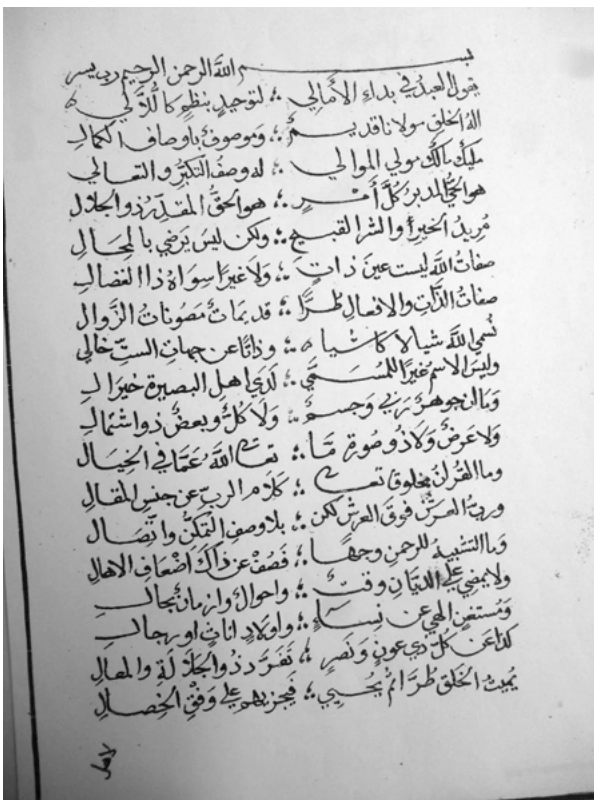


Fig. 15: Al-Ūshī: *Bad' al-amālī*, 1051/1641; the copy with the highest number of verses, hence used as reference text (SBB-PK, We. 1718, fo. 77v).

Heading: On a separate title page (fo. 77r) the work title is given as *Kitāb al-Amālī fī 'ilm al-tawhīd*, written in triangular form together with the note inscribed underneath informing the reader that the poem has 73 verses ('*adad abyātih* 73).

Context: The text preceding al-Ūshī's poem, written by a scribe who called himself 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-'Imādī is dated 2. Ṣafar 1051/13. May 1641 (fo. 76r).

Means of stabilizing the text: In the margin of fo. 79r, ad verse 57b, a variant has been entered, i.e. *ihtibāl* for *iḥtimāl*. The gloss is marked with the letter *nūn* and is written both above the variant and above the word *iḥtimāl*, at the end of the line.

Deletions of letters or words within the text also have a stabilizing function: In v. 5a (fo. 77v, fig. 15) the scribe has crossed out final *alif* in the expression *murīd al-khayr*^a which had been written erroneously. Besides, in verse 35b (fo. 78r) the scribe corrected himself, crossing out the incorrect name "al-Fārūq", and replacing it with „'Uthmān". The former name had already been mentioned in v. 35a and was carelessly repeated by the scribe, in the second hemistich.

2. Lbg. 428 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/2)

Codicological description: Fo. 71v-73r. Format: 19x28 cm. Face of text: 13,5x21 cm. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns. Catchwords (*ta'qība*). Carefully executed large Naskhī hand with full diacritical points and vocalizations. The hemistichs are separated by single drop verse markers which are also placed at the end of each line.

Heading: The text copy is headed by the title *al-Jawhar al-fard wa-hiya Qaṣīdat yaqūlu l-'abd*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-9, 50, 10, 12-19, 61, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 58, 28-39, 41-45, 64, 46-49, 60, 59, 53-54, 62, 55, 57, 56, 65-69, 70

Context: The poem is immediately preceded by an apparently parenetical prose text of which the two last lines were inscribed on fo. 71v. The explicit includes an enumeration of six things (to be avoided?) such as too little sleep at night, too much food (more than one needs) and too much sexual activity.

Means of stabilizing the text: Fo. 71v, l. 1 from below, in the margin, a variant has been superimposed with a *sign of reference resembling the Arabic numeral two* (unclear on the photocopy).

Fo. 73r, l. 6 from below, a variant *naẓman* (for *washyan*), marked *nuskha* (or *biḥī nuskha*), i.e. supported by a different manuscript, has been entered in the margin.

Fo. 72b, ad line 9, *wa-lam yal'an* (v. 39a), there is an extensive *explanatory gloss*, written by an alien hand (difficult to read on the copy), which is introduced as follows: *qawluhū wa-lam yal'an Yazīda ilkh*. Here, the founder of the school, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) referred to as *Sayyidunā*, i.e. decisive authority, is quoted as having cursed the controversial Omayyad caliph Yazīd, contradicting the statement contained in the verse, while appealing to the Koran for justification.

3. We. 1754 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/3)

Codicological description: Fo. 148r-149v. 67 verses. Format: 14x20 cm. Face of text: 9,5x15,5 cm. 22 lines per page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Carefully and forcefully written, partly vocalized Naskhī, with full diacritical points. Heart-shaped verse markers or filled-in drops are placed between the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading and the verse markers.

Heading: The text is headed, above the *basmala*, possibly written with coloured ink, with the title *Bad' al-amālī*.

Context: The text is preceded by an anonymous commentary on al-Ūshī's *Qaṣīda*, written by the scribe, who, in the colophon on fo. 148r (the last three lines of the *sharḥ*), mentions both his name ('Abdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-QḤF) and the date of copying (Shawwāl 1139/May-June 1727). The verses quoted within the commentary seem to have been written with a larger reed-pen and are possibly coloured.

Following the expression *tammāt* which closes the poem and is written at a certain distance from the last verse there is a note of two lines starting with the word *fā'ida* (i.e. something useful) and continuing as follows: *min kutub al-fiqh al-mu'tamada ilkh*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-54, 62, 55-61, 64-70.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 149v, l. 7 (verse 57), second hemistich, the expression *ṣirāṭ*, written in the wrong place, has been deleted (crossed out): instead of *'alā ṣirāṭi* it should read: *'alā matni ṣirāṭi*, etc.

4. Spr. 1956 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/4)

Codicological description: Fo. 11v-13r. Format: 19x27 cm. Face of text: 12x22 cm. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Medium size, carefully and forcefully executed, rounded, largely vocalized Naskh hand with full diacritical points.

Flower-shaped verse markers have been used to separate the hemistichs. The hemistichs of v. 62 have been separated at the wrong place. The last word of the first hemistich of v. 68 has

been split by the insertion of verse markers. A line of these floral devices has also been placed on the *sīn* of the Basmala which has been both extended and reinforced with black ink. Also the final letter *nūn* of the formula *wa-bihī nasta'in* written after the Basmala to fill the line has been embellished with the floral device. Some of the decorative devices have also been placed on the last letter of the second hemistich of the last three lines on fo. 11v. The verse markers change their shape in the manuscript copy. From 12b onwards the floral devices take the form of (clusters of) “drops” which, on fo. 12v, separate the hemistichs into rows of three units.

The last two lines of fo. 13r contain a colophon with the date of copying, viz. Thursday, 20. Dhū al-Qa'da 1261/20. November 1845 „after the prophet's flight”, as well as a formula of blessing for the latter: *'alā ṣāhibihā (= al-hijra) aḫḍal al-ṣalāh wa-l-salām*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52, 60-61, 59, 53-55, 57-58, 64, 62, 65-70.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 13a, l. 12 (v. 66b) the omitted expression *ka-mā'* has been entered above the line.

5. Diez A oct. (Do.) 50 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/5)

Codicological description: Fo. 52v-54r. Format: 13,5x19,5 cm. Face of text: ca. 7,5x13 cm. 67 verses. 19 lines per page, written in 2 columns, without any verse markers. Catchwords. Medium size forcefully written partly vocalized Naskh hand tending to Ruq'a with full diacritical points. Broad margins and interspace between the columns. No colours have been used with the exception of one gloss in the margin of fo. 52v which has been written in red.

Context: The text is followed on fo. 54r by a colophon with the date, expressed in words, middle of Muḥarram 1088/March-April 1677. Underneath, 7 verses on love in Turkish, some of whose hemistichs rhyme in pairs, are written at an angle to the text. There is no discernible relation to the didactic poem.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 12-23, 51-52, 25, 28, 24, 26-27, 29-39, 41-50, 53-61, 63-70.

Means of text stabilization: In the margins, between the columns and between the lines there are numerous explanatory glosses, some of which are in Turkish. The annotations are both grammatical and content related (semantic) explanations, e.g. *bi-'jtīdhāl* in v. 60b (fo. 54r, l. 1), indicated by the expression *bi-l-faraḥ* in the margin. At times the glosses contain notes on the *correct vocalization* of an expression in the poem (e.g. fo. 53v., l. 12, 14 = v. 50a, 54b, relating to the expression *al-mukawwin*).

In the margins, certain expressions occurring in the text, such as *aṣḥāb al-ḍalāl*, are shown to be code words denoting the Mu'tazila sect which was considered heretical (e.g. fo. 53v, u., ad v. 59b).

Explanations are often – sometimes very often – introduced with expressions such as *ay* or *al-murād*, or *arāda bihī*, *muta'alliq bi-qawlihī* (e.g. ad v. 65a: *m*.

bi-q. naẓman). Several, mostly content related glosses end with the expression *sharḥ*, “commentary”, and are marked with a line drawn above. However, as a rule, the name of the author quoted is not mentioned. The one exception, on fo. 52r, is taken from a work by Shaykhzāda called *taqrīr* with a view to explaining the expression *al-shay’* in v. 8a. The quotation is said to have been taken from a passage on Sūrat al-mulk which means that the literary source quoted is probably a Koran commentary. There is also a lexical gloss on fo. 53v based on al-Akhtarī.

Sometimes, in the explanation of words, expressions are included which, in other Mss., are given as a variant of the word commented on (e.g. ad v. 57b, fo. 53v, l. 3 from below, in the margin, the expression *bi-lā ḥtimālī* for *bi-lā ḥtibālī*).

6. We. 1804 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 [= B 2408/6])

Codicological description: Fo. 3v-4v. Format: 11x16 cm. Face of text: 8x13 cm. 71 verses. 33 lines written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Medium size round and flat, regularly written Naskhī hand with diacritical points and a slight bent towards the left.

A text preceding al-Ūshī’s poem which has been written by the same scribe is dated, on fo. 3r, 20. Jumādā II. 1131/10. May 1719.

The narrow space between the columns is filled with verse-markers in the shape of a single dot. The broad margins are left blank. The isolated letters have been pulled apart and the joined letters have been extended in order to fill the line.

Heading: The text is headed, in a separate line above the Basmala, by the title ‘*Aqīdat Bad’ al-Amālī fi l-tawḥīd*’.

Arrangement of verses: 3, 71-72, 1-2, 4-10, 12 + 1 additional (apocryphal) verse: *wa-inna l-‘arsha wa-l-kursiyya ḥaqqun / wa-khalquhumā li-izhāri l-kamālī*, 13-14, 51, 15-21, 31-39, 50, 53-55, 52, 56-59, 22-24, 26-27, 25, 28-30, 41-49, 60-61, 63-70, 62.

Means of text stabilization: No special means of text stabilization have been applied in this manuscript copy. Neither in the margins nor in the narrow inter-space between the lines or the columns can glosses of any kind be found. In the copy there are a number of misspellings which have been left unaltered and give rise to the impression that there was a lack of text comprehension on the part of the scribe.

Context: Immediately following the last verse + *tamma*-formula and prayer on the prophet, several magical recipes introduced by the heading *li-l-ḥiyal* and enriched with occult signs have been written by the scribe, down to the end of the page. The recipes include love charms and certain means of inducing one’s married wife to conceive.

7. We. 1721 (= Ahlwardt no. 2407 [= B 2407])

Codicological description: Fo. 88v-90r. 68 verses. Format: 11,5 x 21,5 cm. Face of text: 6x13 cm. 17 lines written in 2 columns. Middle-size, unseemly, but easily readable, largely vocalized Naskh hand with diacritical points. The vocalization is occasionally incorrect (cf. v. 19b: أدراك for إدراك). Neither catchwords nor colours. Narrow interspace between the columns, devoid of verse markers. Broad margins.

The last verse of the poem is followed by the *tamma*-formula and prayers on Muḥammad written in an unpointed, nearly illegible style.

In a colophon relating to some other text written by the same scribe, the date Dhū al-Qa'da 738/May-June 1338 has been entered on fo. 88r.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-30, 52, 31-39, 41-48, 51, 49-50, 53-61, 63-64, 62, 65 (supplemented in the margin), 66-70.

Means of text stabilization: In the margin of fo. 89v, l. 2, one hemistich (v. 37a) has been supplemented as a variant marked by the letter *khā'* for *khaff*. It offers the advantage of avoiding a repetition of the expression *faḍlun ba'da hādhā* in the first hemistich of lines 2 and 3. However, the "variant", possibly constituting a dittograph which occurred under the influence of the first hemistich of the line below, contains a grammatical mistake: the expression *wa-Dhī l-nūrayni* should not be in the genitive case, but in the nominative. Above the first hemistich of the penultimate line of fo. 88v (= v. 17a) the omitted expression *kull* has been entered.

On fo. 88v, verse 51 has been written, apparently by an alien hand, on the outer margin to be inserted between verses 10 and 11 as indicated by an interrupted line.

On fo. 89v, the note *mukarrar* (v. 51), "repeated", in the margin next to line 4 from below, was meant to indicate that the related verse had been written twice (it had also been entered in the margin of fo. 88v). Also on fo. 89v, the verse written at a place considered to be wrong had been crossed out, as well as the expression *mukarrar*, by a thin interrupted line. The hand is the same as the one which had inserted the verse on fo. 88v.

Fo. 90r, in the margin, v. 65 has been supplemented to be inserted between lines 11 and 12.

A variant has been entered in the margin of the last line of the manuscript, viz. *kulla waqtin*, words which could be read as a substitution of *kunha wus'in*. The gloss has been marked with the letter *khā'* which signifies that the variant has been taken from a different manuscript.

On fo. 89v, in the inner margin of the text, there are a few *lexical glosses* starting with *ya'nī*, „i.e.“, some of which however have been lost through trimming the paper. A lexical explanation may be also found on fo. 90r, in the left

margin of l. 11 (= v. 62b). The gloss includes a Turkish / Persian translation of the Arabic expression (*al-amālī*) contained in the verse, *hādhihī jam‘ amal: umīd*.

A lexical gloss has been entered in the outer margin, e.g. ad *iḥtiyālī* in verse 57b (fo. 90r) which is explained by the term *khawf*. The expression commented upon, seems, in its turn, to have been changed from a different word, perhaps originally: *iḥtimālī*.

Lexical explanations are also found written between the lines, e.g. *al-taḍarru‘* for *ibtihālī* (v. 68b = fol. 90r, l. 3 from below) or underneath the related expression: the last word in the second hemistich of v. 60, *bi-’jtīdhālī*, is explained by the word *faraḥ* written below (fol. 90r, l. 7); underneath the expression *al-mā’ al-zilālī*; at the end of v. 66b the explanatory *mā’ ‘udhb(?)* is also found; likewise, the variant or explanation *jazā’ (?)* has been added to the expression in *‘izālī* in v. 28b (fo. 89a, l. 10), and the expression *dhū-’fti’zālī* in v. 29b is explained by the term *ka-l-sāḥir* written under the line; under the expression *ikhtizālī*, at the end of v. 45, we find the explanation *ghaṣb*.

Some explanatory glosses written in the outer margins of fo. 89v could not be deciphered due to trimming of the paper.

8. Hs. or. 4496 (= VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 112)

Codicological description: Fo. 7v-18r. 64 verses. Face of text: ca. 9x17 cm. 11 lines per page. Catch-words. The second hemistich of each verse has been written with an indentation. Large Naskhī hand with full vocalizations and diacritical points tending to Ruq‘a.

Heading: written unevenly above the Basmala, the heading runs: *hādhā fī bad’ al-amālī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 50 (supplemented in the margin), 52, 62 (supplemented in the margin), 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: Beneath the upper edge of fo. 7v the poem’s metre is identified as follows: *min al-baḥr al-wāfir*. The poem is followed by a *tamma*-formula and a note containing the date of copying: 1207/1792-93.

Means of text stabilization: Written between the lines or inscribed in the inner and outer margins obliquely to the main text or upside down (rarely) there are numerous lexical or semantic glosses which in some cases are introduced by the expression *ay*.

Some of the glosses have a theological motivation: the expression *aṣḥāb al-ḍalāl* in v. 59b (fo. 12r) has been interpreted, as in the manuscript Ahlwardt no. 2408/5, as a synonym for the *Mu'tazilī* school of theology.

Several words are explained in Turkish, e.g. the expression *qitāl* = *öldürüşmek* (v. 36b; fo. 10v), or some other words relating to v. 37b (fo. 10v) and v. 44b (fo. 11r).

The gloss relating to v. 54b (fo. 10r) treats the vocalization of the expression *فعال* which, if read as *fi'āl*, denotes „bad deeds“, whereas, if vocalized with *fathā*, i.e. as *fa'āl*, it denotes “good works”.

A few verses or words have been supplemented, apparently by the scribe, in the margins (v. 8=fo. 8r, v. 50=fo. 11v, v. 62=fo. 12r) while others are found above the line (the expression *fa-'hdhar*, v. 30b=fo. 10r).

9. Hs. or. 4505 (= VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 113)

Codicological description: Fo. 31v-35r. 65 verses. 9 lines to the page. Face of text: 12x17,5 cm. Medium size, fair, regularly written unvocalized Eastern Naskhī hand with diacritical points (sometimes defective pointing). Catchwords. Broad interspace between the lines and columns (no verse markers) and broad margins without any notes or glosses.

Heading: The title of the work is lacking, the Basmala figures as a heading somewhere above the centre of the first page.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 61, 64-70.

Context: The copy gives the impression of a lack of text comprehension on the part of the scribe (e.g. verse 52b=fo. 34r). No date of copying is given. Three lines of decreasing length terminate the copy as follows: *tammāt al-kitāb bi-'awn al-malik al-wahhāb*. Three letters *mīm* are placed underneath in triangular shape.

Means of text stabilization: No special means of stabilizing the text discernible in this copy.

10. Hs. or. 4950 (= VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 104)

Codicological description: Fo. 50v-52r. 66 verses. 18 lines to the page. Face of text: 10x19,5 cm. Fair and regular, middle size, sparsely vocalized cursive Naskhī hand, tending to Ruq'a, slightly inclined to the left, with full diacritical points.

The verses, apart from verses 1-4 which are written as one block, are arranged in pairs. Of these, every alternate pair is written with an indentation. Clusters of three dots mark the spaces between the hemistichs, as well as the beginning (the lines with indentations) and the end of the verses (the lines without indentations), respectively.

There are some stains, presumably of ink, in a few places (v. 13a=fo. 50r; v. 28b, 29b=fo. 51r), with concomitant illegibility of some words. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading as well as the verse markers.

Heading: The title, above the Basmala, runs: *Kitāb Amālī ‘ā* (=‘*alā*) *madh-hab Imām Māturīdī li-l-Khafī* (= *al-Ḥanafī*) *mawḍū‘āt al-‘ulūm*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-61, 64-70.

Means of text stabilization: Some omitted letters have been supplemented between the lines (in v. 42a=fo. 51v, l. 7 the letter *rā*’ of the word ‘*udhr*’); on the other hand, the final letter of the expression *kalām* in v. 12b (fo. 50v, l. 6 from below) has not been supplemented (it is probably not to be treated as a variant but as a scribal error); occasionally, a whole word is supplemented and followed by the letter *šād*, for *ṣaḥḥ*, i.e. correction (cf. the word *al-qabr*, in v. 54b=fo. 51v.); also supplemented above the line, in v. 59a (fo. 52r, l. 5), is the word *ta’tḥīr*; in v. 61 the last two words of the second hemistich are wanting and have not been supplemented anywhere.

Some misspellings, e.g. شفاعت for شفاعه, betray the scribe’s Turkish or Persian linguistic background (*tā’ marbūṭa* is written as *tā’ ṭawīla*, in fo. 52r, l. 4).

11. Hs. or. 4944 (= VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 105)

Codicological description: Fol. 71v-74r. 63 verses. Face of text: ca. 11x19 cm. 11 lines written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Large and stiff, sparsely vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. No verse markers between the hemistichs, no colours. Broad margins.

Heading: Replacing the missing title-heading, the Basmala has been extended over the whole length of the first line. Underneath the last verse (fo. 74r), in place of a colophon, the poem has been given the title *risāla (tammāt al-risāla)*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4, 5-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 64-69.

Means of text stabilization: The expression *ḥaqqun* (v. 51a=fo. 71v, u.) had been omitted and was supplemented, underneath the line, marked by the sign *ṣaḥḥ*.

In v. 31b (= fo. 72v, pu.) the scribe corrected himself by crossing out the meaningless word *thumma* and writing, after it, the correct expression *dḥī khayālīn*. An analogous self-correction is to be found in v. 42a (= fo. 73r, ppu.): the word *jahl*, erroneously written in the middle of the first hemistich, is crossed out and written, correctly, at the end of the half verse.

Lexical explanations: The word *jidāl* in v. 30b (= fo. 72v, ppu.) has been explained by the synonymous expression *mujādala*, written underneath the line, at the very end.

A number of variants seem to be meaningless (e.g. v. 36b=fo. 73r, l. 4) and betray the scribe's poor command of Arabic. The orthography shows some irregularities: in v. 65b = fo. 74r, l. 5, the scribe writes *كا السحر* instead of *كالسحر*.

5.2.2.5.2 Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

12. Ms. Göttingen, 8° Cod. Ms. arab. 176 (=VOHD XVIIIB4 no. 176/6)

Codicological description: Fo. 114v-115v. 68 verses of which two have been crossed out. 17-18 lines. Middle size, trained, mostly vocalized Naskhī hand with full diacritical points.

The verses have mostly, but not always, been written continuously as a single line, comprising three hemistichs. Sometimes the last (third) hemistich is carried over into the next line (an instance of *enjambement*). On the first page (fo. 114v) small circles or drops are placed both between the hemistichs and at the end of the lines where, on fo. 115r, they may be compounded as clusters. In verse 35a= fo. 115r, l. 1, the marker is missing and has been placed erroneously after *Uthmānī*, in the subsequent hemistich. Elsewhere in this copy verses have also been divided into hemistichs at the wrong places (e.g. v. 13=fo. 114v, l. 8).

On fo. 114v, line 8 (= v. 13b), the last word, *ittiṣāli*, was written in the margin, in order to keep the frame straight.

Heading: The Basmala has been written as a heading above the first line.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-22, 32-39, 41, 23-24, 26-27, 25, 28-31, 42-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 61, 64, 62, 65-70. Verses 3, 11, 40, 50, 71-73 are missing, verses 59-60 have been crossed out.

Context: The Qaṣīda is the sixth within a multiple-text volume of 16 parts. These comprise texts not only on dogma or doctrine but also on astronomy, physics and philosophy (logic). Ten, i.e. the majority of the texts, deal with doctrine, dogma and questions of belief and non-belief, while five are devoted to the natural sciences. The texts in this copy are divided into sections, as it were, the first block treating the Sunni doctrine, the second the natural sciences and philosophy. It is worth noting that two texts on dogma authored by Abū Ḥanīfa (*Waṣīyya*) and al-Sanūsī (*Umm al-barāhīn*) respectively have been copied twice and that al-Üshī's poem is preceded by the well-known commentary of al-Qārī' (*Ḍaw' al-ma'ālī*). Underneath the last verse of the poem two verses in Turkish have been written upside down.

Means of text stabilization: The expression *wa-li-l-Fārūqī* (v. 35a= fo. 115r, l. 1) has been written above the line, marked with the sign *ṣaḥḥ*, and connected,

through an interrupted line, with the place where it should be inserted. Verses have been deleted by being crossed out, e.g. v. 59-60 (= fo. 115v, l. 7-9).

5.2.2.5.3 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

13. BSB Cod.arab. 1735

Codicological description: Fo. 93r-95r. 75 verses written in 2 columns. Face of text: 10x16 cm. 20 lines to the page. The hemistichs are decorated by red dots (single dots at the end of each verse, clusters in the middle as verse markers). Catchwords. Owner's marks (cf. the description in my third Munich catalogue).

Heading: written in red ink. Author's name is misspelt as [*hādhihi manẓūmat*] *al-Shaykh al-Uwaysī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1, 3, 71-72, 2, 4-10, 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 53-54, 52, 55-61, 63-64, 62, 65-70. Verse 70 is followed by 5 *apocryphal verses* the first two of which are also found in Ms. Princeton 3174 (= Mach no. 2260/13). The three subsequent verses seem to be unique (on these verses see *infra*).

Context: The poem is found at the end of a manuscript which contains, i.a. texts on Sufism and prayer. The text preceding the poem, an anonymous collection of questions and answers on the dead and their respective states, written by the same scribe, is dated (date of composition?) Sunday, 8. Rajab 974/19. January 1567. Beneath the colophon there is a passage (92v-93r) on the means of inducing a vision of the Prophet in a dream. The text of the poem is concluded with a note written in triangular form in which the scribe asks God for forgiveness for himself, for the reader and for all Muslims. In the lower half of fo. 95r there is a tradition passed down on the authority of Ibn 'Umar on prayers believed to be capable of saving a person from "the 600 terrors of resurrection" (*li-l-qiyāma sittmi'a hawl*).

Means of achieving textual stability: Erroneous *lā* before *shakhṣ* in v. 29b (= fo. 94r, l. 1) has been scratched out. However, the scribe did not seem to understand the text in a number of places. The high number of mistakes betrays a lack of text comprehension (e.g. v. 22a=fo. 93v, l. 14, v. 52b=fo. 94v, l. 4, v. 57a=fo. 94v, l. 7, v. 61b=fo. 94v, l. 11). و ّ is misspelt regularly as ا و ّ. In v. 2b an erroneous word has been crossed out by the scribe. In v. 52a the superfluous word *al-rizq* which also occurs later on in the same hemistich has been crossed out. In v. 15b (fo. 93v, l. 6) the word '*alā*, has been written above the line, after *wa-aḥwāl*, unnecessarily. Ad v. 71a (apocryphal) the expression *waqt* has been provided with the variant *yawm* written above the line.

14. BSB Cod.arab. 1610 (= VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 276)

Codicological description: In this multiple-text volume the commentary anonymously precedes the text of the poem (fo. 38v-39v) which is written in 2 columns, fully vocalized and framed by a single red line. The hemistichs are separated from each other by a single red dot. The same verse marker is found at the end of each line.

The poem, copied by one Ḥasan ibn Qāsim, ends with a colophon dated Friday, month of Ṣafar 1080/July 1669. It is also said at this place that the number of verses is 64. For a full codicological description of this copy cf. VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 276.

The *majmū'a* contains among its 16 texts, besides the *Bad' al-amālī*, a number of other poems and commentaries related to these as well as to further poems, on various subjects such as doctrine, prophetology, Sufism, etc. The poems or commentaries, in the order of their placement in the manuscript: *al-Istighfāra* of Abū Madyan; *Sharḥ al-Burda*; *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭaṭṭarāniyya*, composed in praise of the wazīr Nizām al-mulk; *al-Qaṣīda al-Khamriyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ; *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya* of [Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Alī] al-Bustī (d. 401/1010; e.g. Princeton no. 4052); *al-Qaṣīda al-Rūḥiyya*, on a philosophical poem ascribed to Ibn Sīnā; *al-Qaṣīda al-Rūḥāniyya*, in praise of a worldly ruler; *Qaṣīdat Abī al-Su'ūd*, on parenetics; *al-Qaṣīda al-Munfarija*; *al-Qaṣīda al-Jafriyya*, on cosmology and eschatology.

Another feature of this copy is that the commentary on al-Ūshī is *preceded*, above the Basmala (fo. 2v), by three *apocryphal verses* which are introduced by the heading *Dībājat hādhā l-kitāb al-musammā bi-Qaṣīdat al-Amālī*, “preface of this writing entitled Q. al-A.” (see *infra*).¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ This study had almost been completed when I came across a further, dated manuscript of the BSB Munich, Cod.arab. 2615, containing al-Ūshī's poem of which a full description can no longer be given. It is the last of three texts in the Ms., one of which is the propaedeutic *Ta līm al-muta'allim* of Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (fl. ca. 600/1203; GAL 1,606 S 1,837) and the other an anonymous Arabic-Turkish glossary. The text, in which two verses have been omitted and supplemented in the margins (fo. 39v, 40r), encompasses 66 verses. An outstanding feature of this copy which has been enriched by numerous notes and glosses, partly in Turkish, is its layout with three hemistichs written in one line, i.e. the poem is written in three pseudo-columns. The colophon gives the date of copying (16. [Sha'bān] 1187/2. Nov. 1773) but not the name of the scribe. For a more complete description of the manuscript see my catalogue VOHD XVIIIB12.

5.2.2.5.4 Princeton University Library

15. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5310 (= Mach no. 2260/11)

Codicological description: Fo. 68v-74r. 66 verses. The poem is written in 6 verses to the page (on fo. 68r four verses only) in two columns. Two verses are written as one pair each. A *broad vertical bar running down the page separates the hemistichs*. Plenty of space is left between the pairs which is designed to be filled with commentary. However, only the first two pages, as well as the beginning of the third page, has been used to this end. The text is framed with double lines. Middle size, flat Naskh hand with diacritical points and a tendency to Ruq'a. Catchwords.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28, 58, 29-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-54, 62, 55-58, 64-70.

Context: The text is concluded with a colophon which contains the name of the scribe (Ibrāhīm b. ...) and date of copying (Muḥarram 1235/October-November 1819). However both are illegible because of the poor quality of the paper copy. There follow two lines of poetry in the Turkish language (beginning *her kim?*).

Means of achieving textual stability: On pages 68v-69r numerous notes have been entered not only inside the text frame between the lines but also in the broad margins. Often the commentaries are concluded with the expression *sharḥ* written underneath. One explanatory gloss entered beneath the line (fo. 68v, u.) quotes 'Abd al-Raḥīm as source. Other names of sources quoted in the comments are illegible (one name can be read as 'Alī al-Qārī). Often the explanatory glosses are introduced with the expression *wa-l-ma'nā* ("the meaning is", etc.).

16. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 3174 (= Mach no. 2260/13)

Codicological description: Fo. 102v-105r. 73 verses. 13 verses, to the page, written in 2 columns. Neat, middle size flat and mostly vocalized (often the vocalization is grammatically incorrect) Naskhi hand with diacritical points. Catchwords. The date of the completion of the copy, included in a rudimentary colophon on fo. 105r, has been lost, due to a trimming of the paper. On a page preceding the poem there has been entered an owner's mark (al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jund).

Heading: The poem is headed by the Basmalah written over the whole length of the line and including the pious formula *wa-bihī nasta'in* (we beseech him for help).

Arrangement of verses: 3 + 2 apocryphal verses, 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 58, 28-39, 41-50, 52-54, 62, 55-61, 64-70, 70 is followed by 2 apocryphal verses.

Context: On the left margin of fo. 105r, two pairs of verses have been written, in Turkish, from the scribe's hand. The first of these verses includes the scribe's request to the reader to pray for him.

Means of achieving textual stability: In the outer margins and (fo. 102v) above the text, there are *extensive explanatory notes*, with *indications of the literary source*, i.e. *Sharḥ 'Alī al-Qārī*. The marginal gloss on fo. 102v has been written upside down. Two of the glosses are headed by letter *ṭā'* which on fo. 103v is written 3 times in a line. The letter serves as a *sign of reference* and is also written above the last word in v. 21b (fo. 103v) which is commented upon in the margin, as also ad v. 2b (fo. 102v, line 6). In v. 10a the *scribe corrected a mistake* which he had made by crossing out the superfluous initial letter *alif* in the expression *jism*. *Omitted words have been supplemented*, by the scribe, in the margins, marked with the expression *ṣaḥḥ* and linked with the place of insertion through an interrupted line (e.g. v. 33a=fo. 104r, *yafḍulu*).

The text is stained in a number of places with black ink, as though it was somebody's intention to render the poem illegible (e.g. fo. 104v). As a result, v. 62b (= fo. 104v) has become partly illegible.

17. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5043 (=Mach no. 2260/8)

Codicological description: Fo. 13r-15v. 65 verses. 19 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Catch-words. Middle size, regular and flat Naskhī hand with diacritical points and vocalizations at many places. No verse markers. Broad margins.

On the title-page (*ṣaḥīḥ*), below the title, there is an owner's mark from the hand of the copyist, Muṣṭafā ibn Ḥasan al-Turkumānī. The scribe has written his own name also below the end verse on fo. 15v (*tamma 'alā yad al-ḥaqīr al-fānī Muṣṭafā, etc.*).

Heading: On fo. 13r the title is given as *Naẓm Bad' al-amālī* and accompanied by author's name, honorific titles and eulogies (*hādhihī 'aqīdat al-Imām al-Zāhid al-Ḥanafī ... 'afā Allāh ta'ālā 'anhū wa-'an al-muslimīn ajma'in amīn*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 64-70. Jumping from v. 19 to v. 63 seems logical as the latter verse may be seen as an amplification of the former, i.e. both verses treat the final abode of man, be it heaven or hell.

Means of achieving textual stability: Some explanatory glosses have been written between the lines (e.g. fo. 13v, l. 10-11), some of them being taken from some unspecified *Sharḥ* (fo. 14v); in another gloss the rare word *'ihr* has been explained by the more common expression *zinā* (i.e. adultery, v. 45b) written underneath; glosses may also be found in the inner margin, relating to the expression *wa-yalghū bi-'rtihālī* (v. 48b, fo. 14v). In v. 69b (fo. 15r, pu.) there

is a correction by the scribe who has crossed out the word *fī* which he had written erroneously.

18. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5729 (= Mach no. 2260/9)

Codicological description: Fo. 193v-94v. 63 verses. 25 lines to the page, written in 2 columns. The text of the poem is framed by a single line, bordered by a margin which again is framed by a line. The margins of the poem are left blank. Small Naskhi hand with full diacritical points and a number of vocalizations. The hand is identical to that of the commentary (fo. 177v-193r) which precedes the *Qaṣida*. Catchwords.

A full translation of the poem, in Turkish, has been written in two further columns which fill the left half of each page. The Arabic verses have been overlined to contrast them with the Turkish lines all of which end – analogously to the original Arabic text – with the rhyme consonant *lām*. All the columns are separated from each other by a vertical line.

The date of copying of the text is given as Rajab 1103/March-April 1692 (the year is written in numerals). The commentary entitled *Ḍaw' al-ma'ālī li-Bad' al-amālī* by 'Alī ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605; GAL 2,517-23 S 2,539-40), precedes the poem (Mach no. 2267/4), is written without author's name, and ends with a colophon which includes a more detailed dating written in words. Thus, the copy of the commentary was completed in the afternoon of 10. Rajab 1103/9. April 1692 in the Azhar mosque of Cairo (al-Miṣr). The copyist's colophon is followed by the famous scribal verses *amūtu wa-yabqā kullu mā katabtuhū*, etc. ("I die and whatever I wrote will stay behind"). The author's colophon, i.e. the explicit, is written on the left margin and specifies "middle of Shawwāl 1010"/April 1602 as the date when the text of the *Sharḥ* was completed, and "Mecca" as the place where it was accomplished.

Heading: The poem is headed by the Basmala.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: Beneath the end verse and dating (fo. 194v), is a recipe used for combatting forgetfulness (see *infra*).

19. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5014 (= Mach no. 2260/7)

Codicological description: Fo. 12v-17r. 66 verses. 7 lines to the page. Middle size, carefully written, fully vocalized Naskhi hand with diacritical points. No verse markers. Catchwords. Broad margins and spaces between the lines. Date of copying: 1136/1723-24. Scribe: 'Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Amāsi (colophon fo. 17r).

Heading: The Basmala, written over the whole length of the line, replaces the title of the poem.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-54, 62, 55-61, 64-70.

Context: Pages fo. 12r and 17v-18r are filled with excerpts from various literary works. The poem is preceded on fo. 12r by excerpts from *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* and from the *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, ad Sūrat al-anbiyā' and Sūrat Yūnus, with discussions such as how long Jonas stayed in the belly of the whale; on fo. 12v the poem is immediately preceded by an excerpt from al-Khulūṣī, *Dhukhrat al-sālikin*, on prayer, in Turkish.

Means of text stabilization: Verse 51 has been supplemented by the scribe, in the left margin of fo. 13r, marked with the letter *ṣād*, for correction. However, it is not discernible where the verse was meant to be inserted. In the margins of fo. 16v and 17r there are a few glosses including Turkish explanations of some Arabic expressions, without however any apparent relation to the text.

20. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 3563 (=Mach no. 2260/2).

Codicological description: Fo. 48r-54r. 64 verses. 5 lines to the page, with wide spaces between the lines which have been left blank. The ink has penetrated the paper and has made the text at many places, especially on fo. 49v, wholly illegible. The hemistichs are written continuously, without any visible interruption, in one line each. The text has been framed with double lines. Occasionally a final letter, e.g. *lām*, is written above the last word of the line, to avoid touching the text frame. Middle size, carefully written, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. The script is defective (e.g. *علي* for *علي*).

On fo. 54v there is an owner's note, dated Muḥarram 1270/October-November 1853, written by the scribe, Najl al-Muqarr al-Ashraf al-'ālī al-Mawlawī al-Amirī al-Kabīrī al-Mālīkī al-Mu'ayyadi Jā.. Kūhiyā li-l-Ismā'il (?) b. 'Abdallāh Sidi Aḥmad. This owner's note, in which name and date of acquisition of the Ms. are mentioned, is written 5 lines to the page following the format of the poem.

On the left margin of fo. 54r, there is a handwritten exlibris which however is nearly impossible to decipher. Between the last two lines there is an owner's stamp which is likewise almost illegible.

Heading: The title, on fo. 48a, has been written above the first line of the poem in bold letters, contoured with a fine line, probably also coloured, as follows: - *'Aqīdat naẓm al-la'ālī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 30-39, 41-49, 60, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-29, 52, 61 (the verse has been added by another hand), 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: The poem, on fo. 47v, is preceded by a text on theological issues, written by the same hand and in the same format.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 50r, in the outer margin, between the hemistichs of v. 29, there is a correction (addition of the expression *أو رسولاً*), marked *naskh*. On the inner margin of fo. 50v, ad v. 38b, the erroneously written expression *al-khilāl* has been changed to *al-khiṣāl* and is followed by the word *naskh*, referring to the manuscript which was checked for the correct reading. On fo. 53v there is a correction in the inner margin, ad v. 57b, marked *nuskha*, the variant supplemented is *bi-lā 'mtihāli*. A sign of reference resembling the Arabic numeral seven (*v*) has been written both above the variant in the margin and above the word to which it refers, in the text. On fo. 53r, below the first line, v. 61 has been inserted, between v. 52 and 59, in a smaller script, apparently by another hand. On fo. 50r some verses have been entered in the margins, perhaps by the same scribe, albeit in a bolder script: v. 20-24, 26, 28-29.

21. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 4392 (=Mach no. 2260/5)

Codicological description: Fo. 134v-136v. 44 verses only (this copy, being *incomplete at the end*, has not been considered for the synopses of variants). 9 lines to the page. Middle size, fair, fully vocalized (defective) Naskhī hand with diacritical points.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51 (insertion), 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-47.

V. 51 has been supplemented on the left margin, by the hand of the scribe, marked with *ṣahḥ*; an interrupted line linking the addition with the end of v. 10 serves to indicate the intended place of insertion.

Context: A poem, written by the scribe with the rhyme consonants *bā'* and *fā'* respectively, can be found on the page facing the end of the *Bad' al-amālī*.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 135v, l. 6, beneath v. 26a, the expression *bi-lā khilāf* has been corrected by the scribe who wrote the var. *bi-lā 'khtilāf* underneath the line. The last word of v. 45b (fo. 136v, l. 7) (*wa-'rtidādī*) has been crossed out and replaced by *wa-'n'izālī* (marked *ṣād*) written above and by *wa-'khtizālī* (marked *nuskha*) written on the left margin, a rare instance of double correction.

There are many glosses in the margins. In the margins of the two subsequent verses, 39 and v. 41 (fo. 136v, l. 2-3), there are explanatory glosses without however any visible reference markers in the text of the poem. The scribe of the glosses may have felt that *the content made the reference sufficiently clear*. Also on the left margin of v. 46 (fo. 136v, pu.) there are some explanatory glosses *whithout any indication of its reference*.

On the recto of the first page (fo. 134v) there are a number of explanatory glosses on both the right and left (inner) margins, introduced by the word

arād (= he meant) or, more frequently, by *ay* (= i.e.). A ligature of letters *sīn* and *ḥā'* (or 'ayn?) which consistently concludes the glosses may be construed as an abbreviation of the expression *sharḥ* (= commentary). One of these glosses explains the expression *amālī* (in v. 1a) as signifying "to memorize" (*al-implā' wa-huwa al-katb 'an ṣāḥr al-qalb min ḡayr naẓar ilā l-maktūb*). Underneath v. 45b (fo. 136v, l. 7) a note has been added explaining the term *bi-ihrin*, *ay: bi-l-zinā'*. The last verses are surrounded by explanatory glosses, one of which has been written upside down above the line, and another, underneath it, with a length of three lines. This relatively long gloss includes an identification of its source, the *Fatāwā Qāḍikhān*, on the subject of *alfāz al-kufr*, i.e. words the pronouncement of which turns a Muslim into a disbeliever, automatically, as it were.

22. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5130 (= Mach no. 2260/4)

Codicological description: Fo. 2v-5v. 64 verses (including v. 52, added in the margin). 15 lines per page written in two columns which are framed by a single line. Medium size, carefully written, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. Catchwords. There is an owner's mark (fo. 6a) consisting of the handwritten ex libris and stamp of al-Sayyid Meḥmed Tevfiqī al-Islāmbūlī.

Heading: The text is headed by the Basmala written in a rectangular field.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: The text of the poem is followed by an anonymous commentary on the Qaṣīda (fo. 5v-44v = Mach no. 2272/4); cf. *infra*.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 3v, l. 3, ad v. 32, *mulk* has been written above the expression *dunyā*, as a variant (?). On fo. 4r, pu., referring to the expression *washyan* in v. 65a, *naẓman*, as a variant, marked *nuskha* (not clearly readable), has been supplemented in the margin; *washyan*, in the main text, has not been crossed out. Verse 52, omitted in the text, has been supplemented in the margin, presumably by an alien hand, apparently to be inserted after v. 60 (fo. 4r, l. 5). There is a line connecting the addition with the end of v. 60b. The first hemistich of v. 70 (fo. 5r) has been crossed out and replaced, on the righthand margin, by an alien hand, through the variant *wa-innī l-dahra ad'ū kunha wus'ī*.

5.2.2.5.5 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

The following manuscripts of al-Ūshī's poem, mainly multiple-text volumes, have only been described superficially (partially) and therefore (with a few exceptions) they could not be taken into consideration for the synopses of verse sequence and textual variants.

23. Denizli 1468

Codicological description: Fo. 3v-8v. Format: 13x19,5 cm. Face of text: 7x14 cm. 53 verses. 5 lines to the page, written in 2 columns. The verses have been separated into hemistichs by single red dots which are also placed at the end of each verse. The text has been written with full diacritical points and vocalizations. Catchwords. The colophon, on fo. 8v, written in two lines and separated from the poem by three red dots, includes the dating 1. Dhū l-Ḥijja 1001/29. August 1593. There are wide spaces between the lines, most of which have been filled with glosses.

Heading: The heading, written above the Basmala, on fo. 3v, includes a characterization of the text as follows: *hādhihī risāla fī ithbāt waḥdāniyyat Allāh ta'ālā wa-dhātihī wa-ṣifātih*. In a gloss near the beginning of the poem, and referring to al-Ūshī, the title of work is explained, viz., that it means writing something without relying on a book, i.e. from memory, having learned it by heart (*ism hādha l-kitāb min ghayr isti'āna bi-kitāb wa-qīl, al-amālī al-imlā' huwa l-kitāba 'alā ṣahr al-qalb*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4, 6-10, 51, 12-16, 27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-70. Verse 52 has been added, by a later hand, between verses 60 and 59. Verse 70a has *wa-innī l-ḥaqqā ad'ū kunha wus'ī*.

Means of text stabilization: There are extensive glosses between the lines and in the margins. Some explanations are related to grammar. The expression *sharḥ*, “commentary”, has been affixed (signed) to several explanatory glosses by way of conclusion.

24. Denizli 404

Codicological description: Date of copying: Dhū al-Ḥijja 1001/August-September 1593. Al-Ūshī's text is preceded and followed by glosses of miscellaneous content and, on fo. 10v, by a prose text of which only the beginning pages (fo. 10v-12r) are extant. Also the text copy itself is provided with extensive notes in the margins. There again follow various notes, and on fo. 19v there is a *Risāla* on disputation starting: *yā man waffaqānā li-waḥā'if al-baḥṭh* (on the evidence of the incipit the text is identical with the *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Ḥusayniyya fī adab al-baḥṭh* of Shāh Ḥusayn Efendi; d. 1130/1718; cf. VOHD XVIIIB6 no. 478-79). However, the date of death of this author contradicts the identification proposed.

25. Fatih 1664

Codicological description: Fo. 85v-87v. 17 lines to the page. Red overlinings. Catchwords. Al-Üshī's poem is laid out elegantly, with clusters of (three) red dots between the hemistichs which however lack any framing. The copy is provided with explanatory notes written in the margins.

Heading and title: The copy gives the title, on the first page, above v. 1, as follows:

Muqaddima fī 'ilm al-tawhīd wa-l-qā'id (!, = 'aqā'id). The title has been written in red ink and has been separated from the basmala by verse markers, creating the illusion that title and basmala form the first verse. On the page preceding the incipit (fo. 85r) the title *al-Qaṣīda al-Kalāmiyya al-Lāmiyya* can be found written in red. This alternative title is surrounded by various glosses defining the sciences of *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-dīn*, etc.

Context: The manuscript is a multiple-text volume mainly treating the subjects of doctrine (no. 3, 4) and rhetoric (no. 2, 5). Al-Üshī's text is followed immediately (fo. 87v), written from the same hand, by the minor credo of al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn*. The manuscript volume begins with Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbātī (d. 990/1582; GAL 2,200,²⁶⁸), *Rawḍat al-fuhūm fī naẓm nuqāyat al-'ulūm* (fo. 1-52), and continues (the second text) with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī, *'Uqūd al-jumān fī l-ma'ānī wa-l-bayān* (fo. 55-87); texts 3-5 are al-Üshī (fo. 85-87), al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn* (fo. 87-91) and Millī Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Ta'liqa 'alā qism al-ma'ānī wa-l-bayān wa-l-badī' min Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, on rhetoric.

26. Hekimoglu 272

Codicological description: Brown partial leather volume with flap. Fo. 70v-72r. 98 pages. 66 verses. Neither colours nor verse markers have been used in this copy. Multiple-text volume. 16-19 lines per page, written in 2 columns. The scribe's name is given as al-Ḥājji Muṣṭafā al-Munzawī, and the place of copying as well as its date is specified as follows: *Zāwīyat al-Sayyid 'Uthmān Efendi in Islāmbūl, fī sūq al-khayl fī qurb Jāmi' al-sultān Muḥammad Fātiḥ, Qusṭanīniyya*, Monday noon time in Dhū al-Qa'da 1088/December 1677-January 1678. The colophon, including the prayer *yassara llāh laḥū 'ilmahū wa-idrākahū bi-kunhihi wa-ghawrih*, has been written in the left corner of fo. 72r whilst in the opposite corner there is a gloss explaining the last verse of the poem, according to one unspecified *sharḥ*.

Means of text stabilization: In the margins various explanatory glosses can be found. A variant (*maḥfūẓāt*) has been written below the word which it refers to (*maṣūnāt*, fo. 70v, l. 6 = v. 7b). A word omitted on fo. 71r, l. 12 (*naṣṣ*, in v. 25b) has been written above the line and connected with the place of its insertion through a line made up of single dots. On fo. 72r, some explanatory notes or variants have been written in the cavity of final letters *yā'* of the second

hemistichs: *ihtibāli: ikhtiyāri* (v. 57); *dāri 'shtighāli: jahannam* (v. 64); *al-zilālī: al-murād bihī al-shar'* (v. 66); *al-manālī: 'aṭā'* (v. 67). A lexical gloss has been written in the interspace between the columns on fo. 72r, ad *washyan: huwa al-thawb alladhī ilkh.* (v. 65). On fo. 71v, a gloss inscribed in the right corner, written upside down and commenting on the epithet *al-ṣiddīq* attributed to Abū Bakr, in the verse *wa-li-l-ṣiddīqi* (v. 34), explains why the "rightly guided" caliph was conferred this title, by Muḥammad.

Context: The majority of the texts in this volume treat the subject of the theory of the abrogation of Koranic verses (part 1, 2, 8; some texts of this genre can be found in Schoeler's catalogue VOHD XVIIIB2); there are also texts on ḥadīth/Sufism, divine names/Sufism and on the law of inheritance: 1. Mar'ī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī, *Fawā'id qalā'id al-marjān wa-mawārid maqāṣid al-nāsikh*, etc.; 2. Hibatallāh b. Salama b. Naṣr, *Nāsikh al-Qur'ān wa-mansūkhuḥū*; 3. Muḥammad b. Mustanṣir Quṭrub, *K. al-Muthallath*; 4. al-Ūshī; 5. Jilānī, *Risāla fī ma'ānī asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*; 6. Bali Efendi al-Ṣofyawī, *Sharḥ ḥadīth kuntu kanzan makhfiyan*; 7. *Farā'id qasīdesine 'ā'id Risāle*; 8. *K. Nāsikh al-Q. wa-mansūkhihi*.

27. Aya Sofya 1446

Codicological description: A multiple-text volume bound in whole leather. The flap is wanting. The front and back covers are decorated with geometrical patterns of lines and dots in gold blocking. Format: 18x27 cm. The benchmark of the Aya Sofya collection, 1446, has been inscribed, instead of a title, in Arabic numerals, on the edge of the book.

Al-Ūshī's text, the second in this volume (fo. 50v-60r), is written in 7 lines to the page. The lines are set in panels. Foliation. Face of text: 12,5x20 cm. Catchwords (from fo. 53v on). The scribe's name has been inscribed in a cartouche on blue ground framed with black and blue lines and a golden border (fo. 60r). The name is written, without diacritical points, with white ink and golden contours, as follows, *katabahū l-mamlūk Birdik(?) min thānī(?)... min ṭabaqat al-Qaṣr al-Malakī al-Ashrafī*.

This copy of al-Ūshī's poem was made for representational purposes only, and not for study. Accordingly, the margins and spaces between the lines have been left clear of any notes. The *layout of the poem* is exceptional: Whereas the first and the subsequent odd-numbered lines have been written conventionally, every second line is divided into three sections framed with double lines, but only the central panel is filled with text. The first and last sections, on the other hand, contain a rosette of gold and blue dots. The words inscribed in each of the central panels do not cover the whole of the second hemistich but only a part thereof. The final words of the second hemistich, written in the central panel, are written in red. There are no verse markers separating the hemistichs.

The *title-page* (fo. 50r) is lavishly decorated with gold. The work-title (*Kitāb Yaqūlu al-'abdu fī 'ilm al-tawhīd*) has been written with white ink contoured with gold on a blue background within a golden rectangle. Under the work title, the dedication has also been inscribed inside a medallion in white with gold on a blue background: *bi-rasm al-maqām al-sharīf Mawlānā al-Sultān al-Mālik al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qānṣūh/Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī* [= the second last of the Mamluk sultans, reg. 1501-16/906-922; TDVİA 24,314-16] *khallada Allāh mulkahū amīn*. The same *waqf*-note as found before the first text, i.e. that of Maḥmūd Khān, written by Aḥmad Shaykhzāda, is found again and, beneath this, on the lower margin, there is a stamp with the Persian inscription, *yā rabb zi-tū tawqīf tamannā kunad Aḥmad*.

Context: The first text in the volume is the *Kitāb Muqaddima fī l-fiqh al-Ḥanafīyya* (fo. 1v-49r) on Hanafi law by 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Sayf al-Dīn Balabān [al-Numayrī] al-Fārisī (d. 739/1339; Kaḥḥāla 7,48; GAL S 2,80). The incipit on fo. 1v includes the author's name: قال الشيخ الامام ... علاء الدين ابو الحسن علي بن سيف الدين بلبان ابن عبد الله الفارسي تغمده الله... > اعلم < ايدك الله ان اول ما يجب على العبد المكلف ان يعرف ربه. The copy ends, on fo. 49r, with a golden medallion containing the inscription: *khidmat al-Mamlūk Ḥamza al-Malaki al-Zāhirī*.

On the title page (fo. 1r), beneath the title (*kitāb fihi muqaddima fī l-fiqh 'alā l-madh-hab*), the name of the commissioner of the copy has been inscribed in an illuminated frontispiece: *bi-rasm al-maqām al-sharīf Mawlānā al-Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir Abī Sa'id Chaqmaq* [reg. 842-57/1438-52] *khallada Allāh mulkahū, al-Atāman al-a'zam Abī Ḥusayn raḍīya llāhu 'anhu*.

On fo. 1v, above the golden basmala and the incipit, there is a stamp with the Ottoman sultan's monogram (ṭughrā) and the inscribed Koranic verse *al-ḥamdu lillāhi alladhī hadānā li-hādihā wa-mā kunnā li-nahtadiya*, etc. (Sura 7/43). In the right margin there is a *waqf*-note issued in the name of the Ottoman sultan: ... *waqqafa hādhihi l-nuskha al-jalīla Sultān ... Maḥmūd Khān waqfan ṣaḥīḥan shar'iyyan li-man ṭāla'a wa-ajāda wa-ta'allama wa-'stafāda*, written by the inspector of the pious foundations of the Ḥijāz, Aḥmad Shaykhzāda, *al-mufattish bi-awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* (the note has been written without diacritical points).

Following Al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, the third text in the volume is the *al-Lāmiyya*, i.e. *Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam*, of [Mu'ayyad al-Dīn] al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286-88), which again includes a dedication, written in bold script: *bi-rasm al-maqarr al-sharīf al-'ālī al-Amīrī ... al-murābiṭ al-mujāhidī al-Zayn naṣarahū, etc.*; this indicates that the text had been commissioned by al-Amīr al-Kabīr al-Zaynī (the name is accompanied by the eulogy *'azza naṣruhū wa-mudda*

‘*aşruhū*). The script differs from that of the first and second texts, and originates from the hand of one Sharaf b. al-Amīr. The *Lāmiyya* ends with a colophon which includes the name of Damascus or Syria to indicate the place of copying as well as the scribe’s personal name as follows: *katabahū ‘Abd dawlatihi al-qarīr ... Sharaf b. al-Amīr, etc. ... bi-l-Shām al-mahrūsa*, Dhū al-Ḥijja 835/July-August 1432 or 853/January-February 1450 (fo. 61r).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 52, 60-61, 59, 53-58, 64, 62, 65-70. There follow, after v. 70, two additional verses which cannot be found in any of the other copies of al-Ūshī examined. The motive contained in the verse however has also been treated in other (apocryphal) verses, e.g. in BSB Cod.arab. 1735 and Princeton no. 3174:

وصلى الله وسلم ذو التعالى || على خير البرية ذي جمال
وعثرته واصحاب كرام || على مر الزمان كذا التوال

28. Harput 227

A multiple-text volume of at least five works on the subjects of prosody in verse and prose as well as on rhetoric. The first of these texts is al-Ūshī’s *Qaṣīda*, to be followed, immediately, on fo. 3r by a prose text on *isti‘āra*, i.e. metaphors. On Fo. 10v is the beginning of a poem with the title *al-Rāmiza fī ‘ilmay al-‘arūd wa-l-kāfiya*, ascribed to Abū l-Jaysh al-Andalusī (d. 626/1229; GAL 1,378), and beginning *wa-li-l-shi‘ri mizānun, etc.* (Ṭawīl); this poem seems to have been copied twice in this manuscript. The *Rāmiza* is followed by an anonymous commentary (*al-Rāmiza Şerhi*), and the two subsequent texts are a tract on prosody (*Risāla fī ‘arūd*) and a commentary on this text. A colophon on fo. 41r, at the end of the commentary, includes the copyist’s name, viz., Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Kharbūtī; another colophon, on fo. 63v, is dated 19. Jumādā I. 1162/6. June 1749.

29. Hasib Efendi 527

This collective manuscript contains an as yet indeterminate number of texts which include some didactic poems such as that of al-Ūshī and al-Laḡānī, various poems in praise of prophet Muḥammad and a number of prose texts on Sunni dogma, the first of which is the minor credo of al-Sanūsī. The texts in the order of their placement in the manuscript:

1. al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn*; 2. al-Laḡānī, *Jawhara*; 3. *Qaṣīda*; 4. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Dardīr (d. 1201/1786; GAL 2,464-65), *al-Kharīda [al-bahiyya fī l-‘aqā’id al-tawḥīdiyya* (a copy of the author’s own commentary on this *Urjūza* is

Ahlwardt no. 2454)]; 5. [Najm al-Dīn] al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; VOHD XVIIIB6 no. 108), 'Aqā'id; 6. Ka'b, *Bānat Su'ād*; 7. al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294), *Burda*; 8. al-Būṣīrī, [*al-Qaṣīda al-*]Hamziyya [*fi l-madā'iḥ al-nabawiyya*; GAL 1,313,II; Ahlwardt no. 7826-7], etc.

30. Hüsnü Paşa 231

This *majmū'a*, bound in whole leather, with golden decoration and flap, contains 19 texts, in both poetry and prose, on various "sciences".

Beneath the explicit of part 17 (al-Abharī, *Risāla fi l-manṭiq*), fo. 251r, the date of copying is given by the scribe as follows: "I completed the *majmū'a* in the year 1180/1766-67".

The volume includes, i. a., al-Būṣīrī, *Burda* (part 6 of the manuscript); al-Jazarī (part 4); *al-Kāfiya* (part 7); Khizir Bey, *Nūniyya*.

Al-Üshī is the 3rd text in the volume (fo. 47v-49r):

57 verses. 19 lines to the page. Above the basmala, on fo. 47v, there is a multi-coloured headpiece ('*unwān*') within a white cartouche on a golden base. The poem is framed with a golden band and black lines (analogous framing of the columns). The style of writing is a fully vocalized Naskhi hand with diacritical points.

The last verse of the Qaṣīda is *wa-innī l-dahra ad'ū kunha wus'ī*, etc. The concluding formula, *tammāt al-kitāb*, is followed by an apophthegmaton on agnosticism: *Al-'ajzu 'an dark al-idrāk idrāk, wa-l-baḥṭh 'an sirr dhāt Allāh ishrāk*.

On fo. 48v, in the margin, there is an extensive explanatory gloss on the subject of apostasy, relating to v. 44 (*wa-la yuqḍā*, etc.), starting with the words *wamīn aḥkām al-ridda*, and signed by one Muḥammad al-Madanī.

On fo. 18v to 46r, Al-Üshī is preceded by a poem in praise of Muḥammad, rhyming in pairs, and written in the same page layout, yet lacking the title. The Qaṣīda extolling the prophet of Islam includes multiple headings the first of which are: *asmā'uhū al-sharīfa*, *dhikr nasabihī*, *dhikr mawlidihī l-sharīf*, the last is *dhikr maraḍihī [wa-]wafātih*. The poem's incipit is as follows: *yaqūlu rājī man ilayhi l-mahrabū / 'Abdu l-Raḥīmī 'bnu l-Ḥusayni l-mudhniḥū* and includes the author's name, i.e. Abū l-Faḍl al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1404; GAL 2,77-78); the parallel Ms. SBB, Pm. 703 (= Ahlwardt no. 9584) supplies *Alfiyyat al-sīra / as-siyar* as the title of the work.

The Qaṣīda is followed, fo. 49v, by the *-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya*, of M. b. al-Jazarī al-Shirāzī, again written in the same layout, i.e. in two columns. The headings have been inscribed in golden rectangles using red colour.

The first text included in the manuscript is a collection of prophetic traditions, “Hadisten bir parça”, starting on fo. 1v as follows: اتى باب الجنة فاستفتح فيقول الخازن من انت فاقول محمد فيقول بك امرت ان لا افتح لاحد قبلك.

The remaining texts:

- 5) fo. 53-56v, Abū al-Jaysh al-Andalusî, *al-Rāmiza fî ilmay al-‘arūḍ wa-l-qāfiya*;
- 6) fo. 57v-61v, al-Būṣīrî, *al-Burda*; in one of the margins there is a note about the number of verses (*‘adad abyāt al-qaṣīda* 161). The headings are written in the margins, in red colour, from the bottom to the top, e.g. *al-faṣl al-awwal fî dhikr al-tagħazzul*; in the margins there are also some explanations relating to vocalization (e.g. *al-salamî, bi-fatḥatayni*) and meanings (e.g. *arāda bi-al-jīrān ilkh.*) as well as some correction marks (*nashkh*);
- 7) fo. 62v-65r, Khizir Bey (Khidrbeg) b. Jalāl al-Dīn b. Aḥmad Pasha, *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya (Jawāhir al-‘aqā’id*; cf. Princeton no. 2309); incipit: الحمد لله عالي الوصف والشان ;
- 8) fo. 65v-66v, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*;
- 9) fo. 67v-97v, Abū al-Ikhlāṣ Ḥasan al-Wafā’î al-Shurunbulālî, *Nūr al-īdāḥ wa-najāt al-arwāḥ*, a prose text on Ḥanafî law, etc.

31. İ. Ismail Hakki 4053

Al-Üshî’s text is the third literary work in this multiple-text volume, mainly treating Sunnî dogma, prophetology and ḥadīth, and it is preceded by *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* of al-Laḡānî. The texts in the order of their arrangement in the manuscript:

1. al-Sanūsî, *Risāla fî l-‘aqā’id*, 2. al-Laḡānî; 3. al-Üshî; 4. Ibrāhīm b. M. al-Bājūrî (Shaykh al-jāmi‘ al-Azhar; d. 1277/1860; Kaḥḥāla 1,84), *Risāla fî l-‘aqā’id*;
5. Ka‘b, *Qaṣīdat Bānat Su‘ād*; 6. al-Būṣīrî, *Burda*; 7. al-Būṣīrî, *al-Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya*; 8. Aḥmad ibn Farah al-Ishbīlî, *Qaṣīdat gharām ṣaḥīḥ fî muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*;
9. ‘Umar al-Baykunî, *Manẓūmat al-Baykunî*.

32. İ. Ismail Hakki 3385

Al-Üshî’s text is the sixth, Ibn al-Wardî’s the third in this multiple-text volume of nine parts. The texts include: 1. Maḥmūd b. ‘Uthmān al-Bursawî Lāmi’î Čelebi, *‘Ibretnāme*; 2. Ka‘b, *Majmū‘at qaṣā’id, Bānat Su‘ād*; 3. Ibn al-Wardî, *Naṣiḥa*; 4. Ṭughrā’î, *Lāmiyyat al-‘ajam*; 5. Shanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab*; 6. al-Üshî; 7. Bustî, *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya al-Bustīyya*; 8. ‘Abdalqādir al-Balkhî, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*; 9. Anon., *Hazaliyyāt*.

33. İzmir 780

This *majmū'a* includes seven identified texts, of which al-Üshî's poem is the second. The texts deal with parenetics (no. 1, 4), prayer (no. 6), eschatology (no. 5) and Sunnî dogma (no. 2, 3, 7): 1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥijjî, *al-Munabbihāt* 'alā l-isti'dād; 2. al-Üshî, *Qaṣīda*; 3. Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 4. idem, *Waṣīyya*; 5. Anon., *Aḥwāl-i qiyāmat*; 6. [Sadīd al-Dīn al-]Kashgharī, *Munyat al-muṣallî*; 7. Anon., *Risāla-i imān ve islām*.

Al-Üshî's poem extends from fo. 27r-28v and its 65 (59+6) verses are arranged in the following order: 1-9, 50, 10, 12-19, 61, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 58, 28-39, 41-45, 64, 46-49, 60, 59, 53-54, 62, 55, 57, 56. Six more verses of this poem, viz., 65-70, are written at the bottom of the next page. The added verses are separated from the above by various notes which have no apparent relation to the poem.

34. İzmirli I. Hakki 3673

Al-Üshî's poem is the third text in a collective manuscript containing at least four texts which mostly *deal with dogmatics*. Three of these are in verse, one – the first in the manuscript – has been composed in prose: 1. al-Sanūsî, *Aqīdat al-Sanūsî*; 2. al-Laḡānî, *Jawhara*; 3. al-Üshî, *Bad' al-amālî*; 4. al-Dardîr, *al-Kharīda al-bahiyya* [fî l-'aqā'id al-tawḥīdiyya].

35. Kadizade Mehmed 553

Al-Üshî's is the second in a volume of at least five texts on dogma (no. 1, 2), grammar (no. 3), poetry (no. 4) and logic (no. 5): 1. Ṭaḥāwî, *Risāla-i 'aqā'id*; 2. al-Üshî; 3. 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām, *al-I'rāb 'an qawā'id al-i'rāb*; 4. Nukrakār, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Bustî*; 5. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kātî (d. 760/1350), *Sharḥ al-İsāghūjî* (e.g. Princeton (Mach) no. 3160). On fo. 12v there is an anonymous "mixed" commentary on al-Üshî's text, i.e. one which includes the poem.

36. Karaçelebizade 347

A *majmū'a* of at least six texts on dogma in prose and verse, the third of which is al-Üshî's *Qaṣīda*. The texts in the order of their placement in the manuscript:

1. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Şābūnî (d. 508/1114; Kaḥḥāla 2,111), *Kifāya fî l-hidāya* (on kalām); 2. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Usmānī (d. 563/1168; Kaḥḥāla 10,130), *Lubāb al-kalām*; 3. al-Üshî; 4. *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*; 5. Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafî, *al-Tamhīd li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd*; 6. *Burhān al-'aqā'id*.

123 (!) verses. 29 lines to the page. The last verse is: *Wa-inna l-dahra ad'ū qadra wus'ī / li-man bi-l-khayri yawman qad da'ā lī*. In place of a colophon there is a note about a collation made (*qūbilat bi-nuskha wa-ṣuḥḥiḥat*).

The Qaṣīda is accompanied by a *Persian translation* (fo. 153-56, fig. 16). Each Arabic verse is followed by a poetical rendition written in the same format as the original text albeit rhyming with *-ā*. Visually, the Persian verses do not stand out from the Arabic text in any way.



Fig. 16: Al-Ūshī: *Bad' al-amālī*; last 7 verses with a Persian trans. written in the same format as the Arabic poem; beginning of *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya* on the opposite page (Süleymaniye, Karaçelebizade 347, fo. 156v-57r).

37. Kasidecizade 116

In this collective volume, al-Ūshī's text finds itself in the company of works on Ḥanafī law/dogma (no. 1-2) and is preceded by two commentaries related to the Qaṣīda of which the second has been composed by an anonymous author. The texts in the order of their placement:

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghniṣawī, *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 2. Abū Ḥanīfa, *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 3. al-Harawī, *Ḍaw' al-ma'ālī*; 4. Anonymous, *Sharḥ Bad' al-amālī*; 5. al-Ūshī, *al-Bad'*. The copying of al-Ūshī's text is dated Jumādā I 1235/February-March 1820 and the name of the scribe is given as Aḥmad

b. Muḥammad al-Ḥājji who also copied the commentary, in Rabi' I. of the same year/December 1819-January 1820.

38. Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027

Al-Üshī's Qaṣīda is the sixth in a multiple-text volume on the subjects of dogma, philosophy and law, mainly in the form of poems with their commentaries (fig. 17). The *Bad' al-amālī* comprises 70 verses; there are also two apocryphal verses and many glosses. The text of the two apocryphal verses is as follows:

لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي // تم هذا النظم في الاعتقاد / ينجو من يحفظ حكمه من
الخبال // اللهم ارزق بنظمها الراجي / شفاعة نبيك يا ذا الجلال //

In the margin, next to the penultimate verse, *al-khabālī* is explained as *al-nār*.

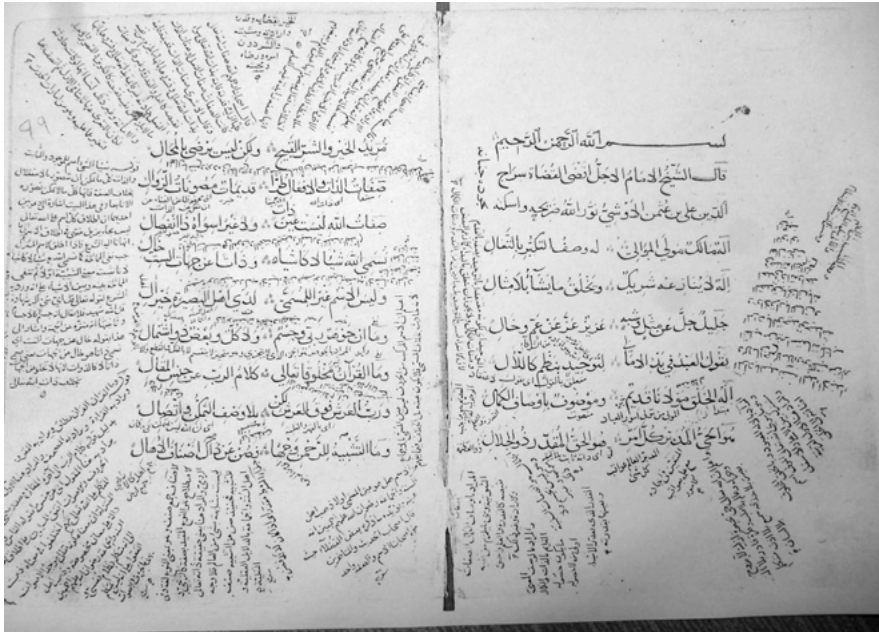


Fig. 17: Al-Üshī: *Bad' al-amālī*, first two pages of the poem with copious explanatory glosses, mainly in the margins (Süleymaniye, Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027, fo. 98v-99r).

The remaining texts: 1. Isfarā'īnī M. Bihishtī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*; 2. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad Nukrakār, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Bustī*; 3. Ḥasan b. 'Ammār

Shurunbulālī (d. 1069/1659; Kaḥḥāla 3,265) or Khalīl b. ‘Alā’ al-Bukhārī (?), *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat yaqūlu l-‘abd* (fo. 40v-64r); 4. Muṣannifak, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-‘Ayniyya* or *Sharḥ al-Q. al-Rūḥāniyya* of Ibn Sinā (fo. 70v-73v; dated Muḥarrām 876/June-July 1471); 5. al-Ṭughrā’ī, *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-‘Ajam*; 6. al-Ūshī (fo. 98v-100r); 7. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Mu‘ayyad al-Nasafī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Rā’iyya fī l-‘aqā’id* (fo. 104v); incipit: الحمد لله القديم الباري / رب الانام مقدر الاعمار; 8. Anonymous, *al-Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya* (fo. 107v-110v); this poem rhyming in *lām* looks like an imitation of al-Ūshī. Incipit:

ببسم الله ابتدي في مقالي / فأبتر ما من اسم الله خالي
صلوة ضوءها تعلقو شموسا / اثنيها لال كاللآلي

9. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Turkistānī, *Qaṣīda*; 10. Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī (fo. 148v), [*Naẓm fī farā’id*], incipit: باسم من منّ لطفه منّا / ان رزقنا الهدى فامنا; 11. Anonymous, *Sharḥ Farā’id al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī* (fo. 158ff.).

39. Laleli 689

A *majmū‘a* of 10 texts in which al-Ūshī’s poem occupies the third place. Most of these works treat the dogma of Sunnī Islam. Three of these tracts and poetical compositions are accompanied by a commentary. As is often the case, al-Ūshī is collocated here with the *Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya* which also deals with dogma as is indicated by its alternative title, *Jawāhir al-‘aqā’id*. - The texts in the order of their arrangement:

1. al-Ṭaḥāwī, *‘Aqā’id*; 2. Muḥammad al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384; GAL 2,97 S 2,89-90), *Sharḥ ‘Aqā’id al-Ṭaḥāwī*; 3. al-Ūshī, *Qaṣīda*; 4. al-Harawī, *Ḍaw’ al-ma‘ālī li-Bad’ al-amālī*; 5. *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*; 6. Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Khayālī, *Sharḥ Q. al-Nūniyya*; 7. Ḥusayn b. Iskandar, *al-Jawhara al-munifa fī sharḥ wasīlat Abī Ḥanīfa*; 8. Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 9. al-Harawī, *Risāla fī ḥaqq abawayn al-nabī*; 10. Mukhtaṣar *Sharḥ al-Dawānī li-‘aqā’id al-‘Aḍudiyya*.

40. Laleli 1591

This volume includes five texts of which al-Ūshī’s *Qaṣīda* is the fourth. The other texts are Sufi prayers, two poems and a tract (?) on the properties of the divine names, viz: 1. al-Jīlānī, *al-Awrād*; 2. al-Būṣīrī, *al-Burda*; 3. al-Ūshī, *Qaṣīda*; 4. *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*; 5. Ilyās b. ‘Īsā al-Sarukhānī al-Akḥiṣārī, *Khawāṣṣ al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*.

41. Laleli 1888

This is a *majmū'a* which includes, besides al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, al-Būṣīrī's poem entitled *al-Kawākib al-Durriyya* or more commonly, *al-Burda*. The copy of the latter text is dated 1148/1735-36 and mentions the name of the scribe as al-Sayyid Abū Bakr, *kātib maṭbakh (!) al-sulṭānī*.

5.2.2.5.6 Commentaries in some manuscripts of Princeton University Library

Quite a number of the manuscripts of Princeton university library that have been looked at in this study include both al-Ūshī's poem and a commentary on it (e.g. Princeton, vol. no. [henceforth: Pri] 5807: Mach no. 2264/4; Pri 5130: Mach no. 2272/4; Pri 5729: Mach no. 2267/4). The eight works of the multiple-text volume Pri 5310 actually include two commentaries on the poem, viz., Mach no. 2272/8 and 2273.

Whereas the overwhelming majority of these commentaries are anonymous, Mach no. 2267/4 has been ascribed to the well-known author 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605; GAL 2,517-23 S 2,539-40).

There is not always complete congruency between the commentary and the poem commented upon, as regards the order of verses and the extent of the explanation. In al-Harawī's commentary, the verse order is identical with that of the copy of the poem preceding the *sharḥ* (Mach no. 2260/9) only up to v. 49, but thereafter it diverges somewhat. The commentary Mach no. 2273 ends already at verse 39, in a manuscript which does not appear to be defective at the end. In Pri 5807, the poem ends with v. 70, a line which is not included in the commentary.

As is the case in manuscripts of other comparable texts, the verses commented upon are, in some copies (e.g. Mach no. 2267/4, 2272/8, 2273), made more prominent by overlining. In Mach no. 2264/4 the verses are not only overlined but also, on the first pages, have been put in brackets for additional emphasis. In Mach no. 2272/4, the verses interpreted have been vocalized thereby setting them off against the commentary visually.

In the commentary Mach no. 2272/4, the discussion revolves mainly around theological issues, with questions of text transmission or variant readings only very rarely touched upon. In Mach no. 2264/4 the anonymous author of the *Sharḥ* deals with readings of verses on which he comments but he does not seem to quote any authority. Also within the text of the commentary Mach no. 2273 explanations are often given anonymously, e.g. introduced with the words "according to some tradition". In Mach no. 2267/4, i.e. al-Harawī's commentary, some vari-

ants are mentioned in the margins, based on some unidentified super-commentary (e.g. fo. 179v.). Also in the extensive commentary Mach no. 2273 some pertinent remarks are included, e.g. the reader is instructed on how to read the individual words of a verse discussed. The verses quoted by the commentator (e. g., in Mach no. 2264/4) are often introduced by phrases such as “[the author] said, God have mercy upon him”, “God forgive him”, “God cast his light upon his resting place, etc.”

42. Ms. Princeton, vol. 5310 (= Mach no. 2272/8)

Anonymus, *Sharḥ Bad’ al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-24v. 20-21 lines to the page. Middle size Naskhī hand with diacritical dots and some Ruq’a elements. The verses commented upon by the anonymous author are highlighted by overlining. The last word on the verso is repeated on the opposite page as a catchword, the so-called system of “repeated words”. Large parts of the text on the paper copy made from a microfilm are hardly legible due to the poor technical equipment employed. On some pages it is sometimes impossible even to recognize which verses are included in the commentary and in which order they have been arranged.

The date of copying is legible as 1228/1813, the name of the scribe however has been deleted.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-40, 43-48..(?), 60, 52-58, 64-70.

Context: The commentary is included in a multiple-text volume (no. 5310) as the first of 8 works. The manuscript in which a large number of scholarly disciplines are treated, closes with another anonymous commentary on al-Ūshī’s text. In between there is a copy of the *Alfiyya*, i.e. Ibn Mālik’s didactic poem on grammar (no. 2), a text of Birgili on dogma (*Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-i’tiqādāt*; no. 7), one on logic by al-Khādimī entitled ‘*Arā’is al-mantiq*’ (no. 6), one text on Muḥammad’s biography (*Risāla fī ḥaqq abaway al-nabī*; no. 3), one on prophetology (*Risāla fī aqḍiyat nabiyyinā*; no. 4) and one on Sufism and parenetics (*Risāla fī ādāb al-dhikr wa-l-wa’z*; no. 5).

Means of achieving textual stability: One expression made up of two words (‘*ālā l-Zahrā’*’) has been written twice by mistake (fo. 15r, verse 38v). A line of short strokes has been drawn around the first pair, to form a circle, and an overline which is used to highlight the verses within the commentary has been interrupted above the first of the two pairs.

Within this extensive commentary on al-Ūshī’s poem indications are given as to how to read individual words of a verse discussed. Ad verse 64v (fo. 23r, l. 5 from below) the commentary says explicitly that the expression *ishti’āl* should be read with ‘*ayn* and no diacritical points. Notwithstanding the instruction the word in

the verse quoted is written with (!) a diacritical dot (*ishtighāl*), thus altering the meaning of the expression preferred by the commentator.

43. Ms. Princeton, vol. 5310 (Mach no. 2273)

Anonymous, *Sharḥ Bad' al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 175v-191v. 25 lines to the page. Catchwords. The commentary *ends with verse 39* on fo. 191v. The fact that the subsequent page (fo. 192r) has been left blank seems to indicate that pages are not missing in the manuscript. Also, the last word on fo. 191v seems to read *tamma*, i.e. “it is completed” and is preceded by the formula *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh*, etc. which is often found at the end of a text copy.

The verses commented on are overlined; the overlines cannot always be clearly recognized. Nor, in many cases, can the variants be clearly recognized; this is due to the poor quality of the microfilm copies. However, the arrangement of verses can be ascertained.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-39.

Means of text stabilization within the commentary: On fo. 176v, in the inner margin, there is a correction, marked with the letter *khā'*, i.e. the text of the commentary has been *checked, collated*, with a manuscript, probably with its exemplar. The gloss is also provided with a sign of reference resembling the letter *hamza* ʾ written both above the gloss and above the place of reference. On fo. 181r, ad verse 12, three explanatory marginal glosses have been signed with the name Niksārī, indicating the *source quoted* or the *authority* from which the passage has been taken. On fo. 181v there are extensive glosses commenting upon the same verse (no. 12), a verse which treats the Koran as God's speech. Within the text of the commentary, various authorities are ad-duced by name, together with their respective comments (see fig. 18). Often, an *explanation is given anonymously* within the text of the commentary, e.g. introduced with the expression '*alā riwāya*, i.e. “according to some tradition”, viz., relating to the pronunciation of the term *nakāl* or *nikāl* in verse no. 19 (fo. 183v), both readings are declared acceptable.



Fig.18: Anon.: *Sharḥ Bad' al-Amālī*, a comm. on the *Qaṣīda*; verses commented upon made prominent by overlining; ad v. 12, three explanatory marginal glosses signed Niksāri, the source (Princeton, no. 5310, fo. 181r).

44. Ms. Princeton, vol. 5807 (=Mach no. 2264/4)

Anonymous, *Sharḥ Bad' al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 66v-79r. 25 lines to the page. Catchwords. The verses commented upon are overlined, on the first two pages they are also put in brackets. Date of copy: End of Jumādā I 1203/end of February 1789, Tuesday afternoon. The text of the poem which follows fo. 79v-81r (fig. 19), and which has apparently been written by the same hand, is dated 1202(!)/1787-88. The colophon of the commentary includes words to which Turkish endings are added (*Jumādā al-ūlānūn ākhirinde*) and makes it clear that the copyist was of Turkish origin. The broad margins are left blank except for a small number of glosses.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-69.

Means of text stabilization: The verses commented upon are often introduced by phrases such as “he [i.e. the author] said, etc.” (*qāl, raḥimahū Allāh or ḡafarahū Allāh or nawwara Allāh maḍja‘ahū*).

Occasionally, the commentator refers the reader to a text he himself wrote entitled *Sharḥ al-‘Umda*, e.g. in commenting verse no. 4 (fo. 67r: *wa-qad*

dhakarnā ma'nāal-hayāt fī Sharḥ al-'U.). Also on fo. 67v he advises the reader who desires more information on a point of doctrine to consult a work he wrote himself (*wa-qad takallamnā fī hādhā l-maqām fī Sharḥ al-'U.*; also fo. 70r).

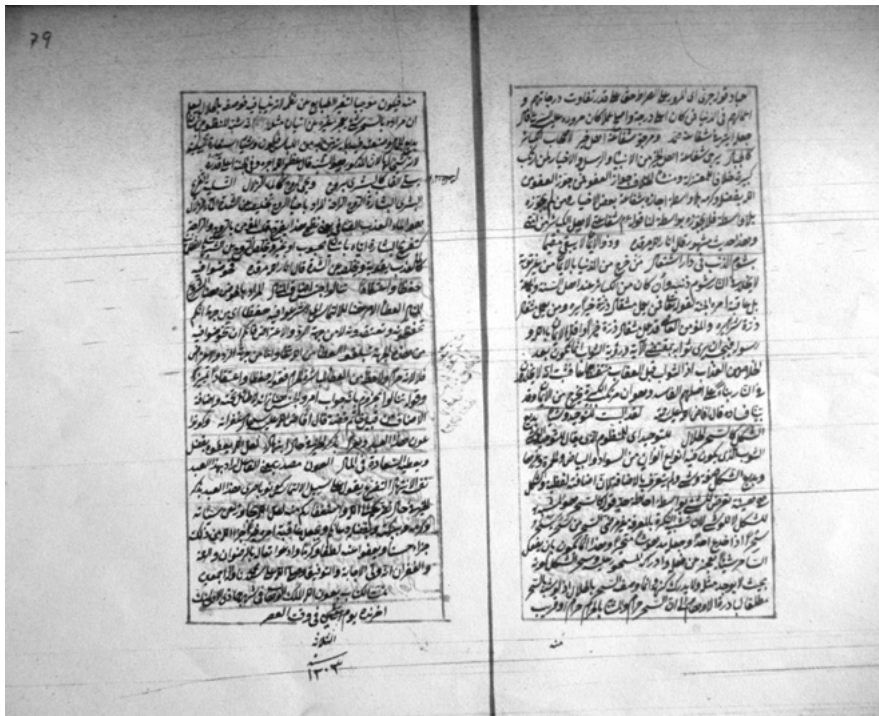


Fig. 19: Anon.: *Sharḥ Bad' al-Amālī*, comm. on the *Qaṣīda*, 1203/1789; overlining of verses commented upon; the colophon includes hybrid Arabic-Turkish words (Princeton, no. 5807, fo. 79r).

Elsewhere the commentator *refers the reader to some anonymous work* which he mentions by its title: Ad verse 5 he mentions a *Ṣāḥib al-Ṣaḥā'if (qāl Ṣāḥib al-Ṣaḥā'if: ma'nā l-irāda wāḍiḥ 'inda l-'aql*, etc.; also fo. 69r). On fo. 67v he invokes the authority of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as the standard bearer of Sunnī Islam against that of the theologian al-Ka'bī whom he quotes as a representative of the Mu'tazila, dubbed as heretical. He also quotes, on theological issues, the famous *mufasssīr* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (fo. 69r) as well as al-Ash'arī, Abū Ḥanīfa, etc. Nowhere however does the anonymous author of the *Sharḥ* seem

to quote any authority for a specific reading of (the variants of) any of the verses he comments upon.

In the margins: In the inner margin of fo. 69v, there is an explanatory gloss, beginning with *ay*, on fo. 70v, an analogous gloss, upside down.

On fo. 71r, 3 there are glosses in the margins, one of them ending with an unspecific mention of its source, *Sharḥ* (also on fo. 76r); on fo.s 76v and 77v, in the margins, there are some lexical glosses of which the first-mentioned has been written upside down.

On fo. 75r, outer margin, an explanatory gloss, on the authority of ‘Ā’isha, excerpted from *Sharḥ*, gives the reason why Fāṭima was called *al-Zahrā’*, viz., because her face was allegedly resplendent in the darkness of night. On fo. 72r, in the outer margin, there is a correction, marked with the letter *ṣād*.

In the outer margin of fo. 71v, probably written by a later hand, the heading *maṭlab al-ru’ya*, i.e. the “subject of seeing God”, serves as a means of structuring the text copy.

There are also some explanations of words between the lines (e.g. fo. 77r).

The Poem following the commentary (= Mach no. 2260/10)

63 verses. The didactic poem which immediately follows the commentary, on fo. 79v-81r, has been written (apparently by the same hand) in 17 lines to the page, in 2 columns, and ends with a dated colophon (*supra*). Catchwords. In contrast to the commentary, the poem ends with v. 70 which is not included in the *Sharḥ*.

Means of text stabilization (regarding the poem): The poem starts, wholly exceptionally, with verse 2 of the reference manuscript, which is written before, i.e. above, the Basmala. However, the disorder has been corrected, or brought back to the standard format through a line which connects this verse with the end of the verse that contains the poem’s title, i.e. v. 2 should be read after the first verse.

Likewise, the line which is v. 7 in the *reference* manuscript has been written after v. 8, again departing from the standard order. Also here, the irregularity has been recognized and rectified by a line drawn above and below the verse extending to the end of verse 6, i.e. the verse is now meant to be read before v. 8.

An explanatory gloss in the inner margin of fo. 79v is shown to refer to the expression *jism* in v. 10b through an *interrupted circular line drawn around the word*. Also the expression *lākin* in v. 13a has been *marked with a circle* in order to indicate that the word had been written a second time, at the beginning of the second hemistich, mistakenly.

Finally, on fo. 81r, in the margin, there are a few explanatory glosses, written by a younger hand. Ad v. 56a (fo. 81r, l. 5) the omitted word *al-katbu* has been added underneath the line.

45. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5130 (= Mach no. 2272/4)

Anonymous, *Sharḥ Bad' al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 5v-44v. 21 lines to the page. Catchwords. The verses commented upon have been vocalized thereby setting them off against the text of the commentary. There has been added, apparently by a later hand, at the beginning of each verse, an Arabic numeral (the last being “64”). A “drop”, perhaps in colour, has been placed between the hemistichs. The commentary is preceded by the text of the poem (Ms. Mach no. 2260/4) which is written with full vocalization (see *supra*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-3, 5-8, 10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 64-66, 68, 70.

Authorities mentioned in the text of the commentary and in the margins: The commentator quotes the well-known old scholastic authorities like al-Ash‘arī or Shaykh Abū Maṣṣūr [= al-Māturīdī?] and, often, a further anonymous authority (*qāl al-Shaykh raḥimahū Allāh*), probably the poem’s author, al-Ūshī. Mostly, the discussion revolves around theological issues and references to questions of text transmission and variant readings are exceptional. One such exception may be found on fo. 43r where the commentator mentions that, in place of the expression *naẓman* (verse 65a: *la-qad albastu li-l-tawḥīdī naẓman*), the variant *washyan* has been transmitted in some other manuscript.

Numerous glosses have been written *in the margins*: some include headings (written by the scribe’s hand) which mention the subject matter discussed in the respective section of the text. These headings often start with words such as *maṭlab* or *ta‘rīf* (definition of terms); occasionally the reader is asked to pause and pay attention to issues deemed important by the glossator (e.g. *qif ‘alā mā hunā fa-innahū muḥimm; mas’alatān muḥimmatān*). There are some marginal glosses inscribed by a hand other than that of the scribe. A Turkish verse written in the margin of fo. 25v originates from the same younger hand. On fo. 30r, again in the margin, an explanatory gloss in Turkish ends with the name of the source, *Muḥammadiyye*, written underneath (also fo. 35v: *li-muḥarririhī ... Efendi*).

46. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5729 (= Mach no. 2267/4)

‘Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī, *Ḍaw’ al-ma‘ālī li-Bad’ al-amālī*
Codicological description: Fo. 177v-193r. 25 lines per page. The pages are framed with a single line.

The commentary in this manuscript directly precedes the text of the poem (Mach no. 2260/9, fo. 193v-194v). The verses commented upon, in the *Sharḥ*, are overlined. The commentary was completed by the illustrious author in the middle of Shawwāl 1010/March-April 1602 in Mecca (fo. 193r) and the manuscript copy was made 10. Rajab 1103/28. March 1692 (fo. 193r), in the Jāmi‘ al-Azhar (for an analysis of the colophon see *supra*).

Both the title and author’s name are mentioned in the preface.

There are explanatory glosses in the broad margins, often following *Baḥr al-kalām*, mostly however they are based on an anonymous *Sharḥ*,¹⁶² and there are notes between the lines. Some glosses in the margins are written in Turkish.

Some variants are mentioned in the margins, e.g. ad v. 13 (fo. 179v), following some unidentified super-commentary (*wa-‘alā ḥāshiya fī nuskha: wa-rabbu l-‘arshi fawqa l-‘arshi ḥāshā / khuṣūṣan bi-l-tamakkuni wa-ittiṣālī*).

The commentator shows an awareness of the variability of the order of verses in the manuscript. In the commentary ad v. 25, preceding v. 28 (fo. 184r, l. 8), al-Harawī says that in some Mss. the verse *wa-marjuwwun shafā’atu ahli khayrin*, i.e. v. 58 is added at this place. Ad v. 52 al-Harawī mentions that the verse is included in some manuscripts but not in others (fo. 189v, l. 11). Before verse 55 he adduces v. 62 which he says is added in some commentaries at this place (*zīda hunā fī ba‘ḍ al-shurūḥ*): *dukhūlu l-nāsi fī l-jannāti faḍlun / min al-raḥmāni yā ahla l-amālī* (fo. 190r, l. 15). Another remark on the order of verses is found fo. 192r, ad v. 61: Here he mentions that in some Mss. v. 63 follows v. 61 (as is the case in the *reference manuscript*) whereas in his own commentary it comes before (after v. 19=fo. 181v, l. 5: *wa-fī ba‘ḍ nusakh al-mutūn hunā bayt zā’id*, “an additional verse”).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-61, 64-70. Until v. 49 the verse order in the commentary is identical with that of the copy of the poem preceding the *sharḥ* (Mach no. 2260/9), thereafter it deviates somewhat.

¹⁶² Authorities mentioned in the main text of al-Harawī include i.a. Ibn Mulaqqin, whose commentary on *‘Umdat al-aḥkām* is quoted ad v. 29, on whether male gender is a condition for prophecy (fo. 184v).

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 5130 = Mach 2272/4	Pri 5310 = Mach 2272/8	Pri 5043 = Mach 2260/8	Pri 5729 = Mach 2260/9	Pri 5807/a = Mach 2260/10	Pri 5130 = Mach 2260/4	SBB Hs.or. 4944	SBB Hs.or. 4505	Pri 5310 = Mach 2260/11	Pri 5807/b = Mach 2264	Süleymaniye, Denizli 1468
52–57								A a 57	B a 53		
58–64							64 m			64 m	
Deviations:											
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2

SBB Hs. or. 4496	SBB Hs. or. 4950	SBB Spr. 1956 = Ahlw. 2408/4	SBB We. 1754 = Ahlw. 2408/3	Pri 5729 = Mach 2267/4	Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446	Pri 5014 = Mach 2260/7	SBB Lb. 428 = 2408/2	SBB We. 1721 = Ahlwardt 2407
1–9					9 a 8		Ca 8	
10–18						10 m	10 m	(10↓)
19						19 m	A a 18	(19↓)
20–27								
28–39							57 a 27	50 a 30
40–48	Ca 48	Ca 48	Ca 48	Ca 48	50 a 48	Ca 48	58 a 44	10 a 47, Ca 48
49	(49↓)	(49↓)	(49↓)	(49↓)	A a 49	(49↓)		

SBB Hs. or. 4496	SBB Hs. or. 4950	SBB Spr. 1956 = Ahlw. 2408/4	SBB We. 1754 = Ahlw. 2408/3	Pri 5729 = Mach 2267/4	Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446	Pri 5014 = Mach 2260/7	SBB Lb. 428 = 2408/2	SBB We. 1721 = Ahlwardt 2407
50					(50↑)			(50↑)
51	(51↓)	49 a 50, A a 49		52 a 50 (51↓)		(51↓)	50 m	(51↓)
52–57		55 m	(51↓) B a 53	(52↑) B a 53		B a 53,	B a 53, 55 a 56	(52↓)
58–64	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	B a 58	54 a B, 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 58 a A	B a 58; O+Pa 64	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	(57, 58↑)	52 a C, 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 19 a A, B a 58
Deviations:								
0	4	5	6	7	7	7	8	9

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 3174 = Mach 2260/13	SUB Gött. 176/6	SBB Di. 50 = 2408/5	SBB We. 1718 = 2408/1	BSB Cod. arab. 1735	Süleymaniye, Izmir 780	SBB We. 1804 = 2408/6	Pri 3563 = Mach 2260/2
	E+J+K						E+J+K	
1-2			E a 2	E a 2	E+J+K a 1	E a 2		
3-9			Ma 9	Ma 9		Ca 8, 9 a C		
10			(10↓)	(10↓)	(10↓)	10 m	(10↓)	
11-18					10 a 14	A a 18	La 11, 10 a 13	
19			(19↓)	(19↓)	(19↓)		(19↓)	30-49 a 19
20-24		32-40 a 22	10 a 23, 50 a 10, 27 a 50	27 a 24			31-39 a 21, Ca 39, 52-54 a C, 50 a 54 (22-30↓)	
25-26	57 a 27 (v. 57 written twice)							
27				(27↑)		57 a 27		
28-39		(32-39↑)	24-26 a 28	Da 39			(31-39↑)	50-64 a 29 (30-49↑)
40-48	Ca 48	(40↑)	Ca 48, 52 a C	Ca 48, 10 a C	Ca 48	58 a 44		
49	(49↓)			(49↓)	(49↓)	51 a 49	A a 49, 19 a A, 58 a 19	

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 3174 = Mach 2260/13	SUB Gött. 176/6	SBB Di. 50 = 2408/5	SBB We. 1718 = 2408/1	BSB Cod. arab. 1735	Süleymaniye, Izmir 780	SBB We. 1804 = 2408/6	Pri 3563 = Mach 2260/2
50			(50↑)		(50↓)			(50–64↑)
51	(51↓)		(51↓)	(51↓)	(51↓)	(51↑)	(51↓)	
52–57	B a 53 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	A a 57	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 19 a A	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, B a A, 19 a B	50 a 53, 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 19 a A	B a 53, 55 a 56 (57↑)	51 a 57, 22–30 a 51 (52–57↑)	
58–64		B a 58			B a 58	(58↑) 59–64 m	(58↑)	
	H+I a 64			J+K+N a 64	H+I, F+G+ G ^a a 64		B a 64	
Deviations:								
0	11	11	12	14	16	16	33	35

5.2.2.7 Apocryphal verses¹⁶³

A number of verses are apocryphal,¹⁶⁴ i.e. not included in the “democratic” version of the poem whose order of verses is shared by the majority of copies.

In Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 (= We. 1804) there is one additional verse following v. 12 (marked “L” in the tables). Pointing out that throne and foot-stool were created to manifest [God’s] perfection, the apocryphal verse leads into v. 13 where it is stated that God is above (*fawq*) the throne, without being seated on it or otherwise connected with it. The apocryphal verse runs:

wa-inna l-‘arsha wa-l-kursiyya ḥaqqun / wa-khalqumā li-iḡhārī l-kamālī
وان العرش والكرسي حق * وخلقهما لاظهار الكمال

In BSB Cod.arab. 1735, v. 70 is followed by 5 apocryphal verses the first two of which (“H”, “I”) are also found in Ms. Princeton 3174 (= Mach no. 2260/13). The three subsequent verses (“F”, “G”, “G^a”) seem to be unique. They all include the prayer that God bless Muḥammad, his family, companions and followers.

V. 1 (71 = “H”):

وصلى ربنا في كل وقت * على ختم الرسالة والكمال

V. 2 (72 = „I“):

ويرضى بالرضى عن صاحبه (!، = صاحبيه) * وعن كل الصحابة والموال

The manuscript BSB seems to have the incorrect reading *ṣāḥibihi* instead of the metrically correct *ṣāḥibihi* as in the Princeton manuscript and in Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 = We. 1718.

V. 3 (73 = “F”):

وعن اولاده يا رب فارضى * وعن ازواجه وعن الاهال

The expression *azwājihī* is spelt as ا ز و ح ه (defective orthography and a mistake in the diacritical marking)

V. 4 (74 = “G”):

كذا والتابعين وتابعيهم * باحسان على طول الليل

¹⁶³ The reference manuscript in this passage is SBB We. 1718.

¹⁶⁴ The term is explained as “of doubtful authenticity”, in *Webster’s Encyclopedic Dictionary*.

V. 5 (75 = "G^a"):

عليهم كلهم رضوان رب * الى يوم القيامة والسؤال

In BSB Cod.arab. 1735, ad v. 71a (the first apocryphal verse), the expression *yawm*, written above the line, has been added as a variant of *waqt*.

Verse 3 of Ms. Princeton (Mach) no. 2260/13 (fo. 102v) is followed by two apocryphal verses ("J", "K"; these are also found in BSB Cod.arab. 1610):

اله لا ينازع شريك * ويخلق ما يشاء بلا مثال
جليل جل عن شبه ومثل * عزيز عز عن عم وخال

Ms. Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446 includes, after v. 70, two verses ("O", "P") which cannot be found in any other of the copies examined. The content however - praising Muḥammad, his family and companions - is wholly conventional:

وصلى الله وسلم ذو التعالٰى * على خير البرية ذي جمال
وعثرته واصحاب كرام * على مر الزمان كذا التوال

In the multiple-text volume BSB Cod.arab. 1610, dated 1080/1669, including the poem and a commentary on it, the latter is preceded by three apocryphal verses which are introduced by the heading *Dibājat hādhā l-kitāb al-musammā bi-Qaṣīdat al-Amālī*, i.e. they are set apart in the page-layout from the rest of the poem. These verses ("E", "J", "K"), treating the majesty of God (the second and third are also included in Ms. Princeton 3174), run as follows:

اله مالك مولى الموالى * له وصف التكبر والتعال
اله لا ينازع شريك * ويخلق ما يشاء بلا مثال
جليل جل عن شبه ومثل * عزيز عز عن عم وخال

In Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027 al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda encompasses 70 verses plus two apocryphal ones:

لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي
تم هذا النظم في الاعتقاد * ينجو من يحفظ حكمه من الخبال
اللهم ارزق بنظمها الراجي * شفاعة نبيك يا ذا الجلال

In the margin, next to the penultimate verse, *al-khabālī* is explained as *al-nāri*.

5.3 Ibn al-Wardī, al-Lāmiyya al-Wardiyya

5.3.1 Author

The author's full name runs Abū Ḥafṣ Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Umar al-Qurashī al-Bakrī al-Ma'arrī, Ibn al-Wardī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 749/1349; GAL 2,175-77 S 2,174; MAL 1,185, fn. 7; Kaḥḥāla 8,3-4; EI² 3,966b-977a; TDVĪA 21,239-240). The scholar, known by his *shuhra* Ibn al-Wardī, was a productive author, a poet and a Sufi mystic.

Ibn al-Wardī was born in 691/1292 in a place called Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in northern Syria whence he has been called al-Ma'arrī. He claimed descent from the caliph Abū Bakr and was therefore also known as al-Bakrī and al-Qurashī. He alludes to the nobility of his descent in verse 45 of his *Lāmiyya*.

He studied law, tafsīr and philology in Ḥamāt, Damascus and Ḥalab, under various renowned teachers such as the theologian and jurist Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya and he became the disciple of a number of Sufi Shaykhs who included, i.a. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Bārizī and Abs ibn 'Isā al-Sarjāwī (TDVĪA 21,239). For some time he worked as a judge in Aleppo, Manbij and Shayzar, the latter famous for its castle, in which function he attained such esteem that, while he served in Aleppo, he was dubbed the *Faqīh Ḥalab*. However, he eventually abandoned his duties as a qadi in order to pursue a career in *taṣawwuf*, to train novices and to write books. He died in Ḥalab from an epidemic of the plague which in 749/1349 caused the death of thousands of people.

5.3.2 Al-Lāmiyya

Among his works¹⁶⁵ the *Lāmiyya*, written in the Ramal-metre, with rhyme in -l, is one of the best-known. The poem was composed as an admonition directed to his

¹⁶⁵ Brockelmann lists as many as 15 (GAL 2,176-77 S 2,174-75) titles of works authored by Ibn al-Wardī which include a diwan of his poetry, two more didactic poems, tracts on grammar, law, mysticism and history as well as dream interpretation.

The second didactic poem which Ibn al-Wardī composed is entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* or *al-Urjūza (al-Manzūma) al-Wardiyya* and it treats grammar in 152 or 153 verses (in the two manuscripts listed in Ahlwardt's catalogue, no. 6703, 6704, resp.). The text of the *Urjūza* (pp. 29-40) was published as a (hand-written) doctoral dissertation by Rudolf Habicht (Abich) of Namislovica (then Namslau in Lower Silesia near Oppeln/Opole, today: Namysłów), Breslau: Grass, in 1891 (*Donum Wardianum: Carmen didacticum de Linguae Arabicae Grammatica etc. Lapide pictum a M. Doeringio Vratislaviae a.D. 1891*); the text is preceded by an introduction and description of 9

son, and, indicating its function, it carries the alternative title *Naṣīḥat* or *Waṣīyat al-ikhwān wa-murshidat al-khillān*. The text of the *Lāmiyya* has been printed several times and translated into French, German, Turkish and Hindustani (cf. GAL 2,17,^{1,3} S 2,174f.). The French translations are: 1. Ishaq Cattān, *Lamiat el Ouardi*. In: *Revue Tunisienne de l'Institut de Carthage*, 1900, and 2. Albert Raux, *La Moallaka de Zohair suivie de la Lamiyya d'Ibn al-Wardī*, Alger 1905 (cf. GAL S 2,174); the German: Joel Schleifer, *Die Lamija des Ibn al-Wardī. Ein arabisches Lehrgedicht*, Wien 1902. On the text see also TDVĀ 21,239,².

5.3.2.1 Commentaries

The *Lāmiyya* has become the object of commentaries as well as of versifications of various types such as *takhmīs* and *tashṭīr* (cf. TDVĀ 21,239,c). An amplification of the poem into stanzas of five verses each was made by one Yūsuf al-Maghribī (d. 1019/1609; GAL 2,285 S 2,394-95) of which VOHD XXXVII4 no. 168 is one manuscript, dated 1082/1672 and copied by one ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fayyūmī.

Al-Wardī's commentators include Abū al-Makārim Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī al-‘Āmirī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1061/1651; GAL 2,176,I,3,b S 2,174; Kaḥḥāla 11,288) whose commentary is entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-nadiyya* (manuscripts are BSB Cod.arab. 1635 = VOHD XVIIB9 no. 301, with 24 folio pages; GAL 2,176,I,3,b S 2,174; Princeton (Mach) no. 4170).

manuscripts (pp. 1-28) and followed by “lectiones variantes” of the said Mss. (pp. 41ff.) and by a vita of Ibn al-Wardī taken from the Rifā‘iyya Ms. no. 74 of Leipzig (p. 27). The poem on grammar had been commented upon by the author himself, in 741/1341 (cf. Ahlwardt, no. 6703), who entitled it *al-Nafḥa al-Wardiyya fī l-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* or *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya*. Ibn al-Wardī apologizes for the brevity of his *Sharḥ* by comparing it with a star which the eyes wrongly consider to be small. This however - he explains - is due to the limitations of the human eye rather than being the fault of the star. A copy of the commentary is included in BSB Cod.arab. 2579, a manuscript of two parts made in Egypt, namely Cairo, and in Ṣa‘īd, i.e. Upper Egypt, resp. The *Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* was widely disseminated and studied even in West Africa (cf. Hall 2011, 122). As for the second grammatical work included in Cod.arab. 2579 and the dating thereof (11/17th c.), see the description in my third Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the BSB Munich.

A third didactic poem authored by Ibn al-Wardī, dedicated to the study of (Shāfi‘ī) law, is a versification entitled *Bahjat al-Ḥawī* made of *al-Ḥawī l-ṣaghīr fī l-fatāwī* of the Sufi ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī (d. 665/1266; GAL 1,494-5). The poem, also known as *al-Bahja al-Wardiyya* (GAL 2,176,¹⁰), which includes additions to the versified tract (*wa-hiya naẓmuh ma‘a ziyādāt ‘alayh*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Mu‘jam*, no. 1821) is mentioned among the works studied by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī in his *Mu‘jam* (loc. cit).

Another commentator is ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-Ghumrī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Azharī (wrote about 1031/1622; GAL 2,176,^{3,a} S 2,174; Kaḥḥāla 6,228); his commentary is entitled *al-‘Arf al-nadī fī sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*. In a final note (*tatimma*) in BSB Cod.arab. 1493 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 159), fo. 47v, he mentions that, after having completed his work, he came across three verses which are not part of the author’s poem (for these verses see *infra*). Other manuscripts of the *‘Arf al-nadī* are Leipzig no. 556 (= GAL S 2,174,^{1,3,a}) and Princeton (Mach) no. 4169.

A manuscript of another commentary on the *Lāmiyya*, authored by Mas‘ūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Qināwī (d. about 1205/1791), is BSB Cod.arab. 1486 (=VOHD XVIIB9 no. 152; 130 folio pages).

5.3.2.2 Manuscripts

Manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Ahlwardt no. 3998 = Sprenger 1930, fo. 27r-28r	76 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/1 = Wetzstein 702, fo. 16r-19r	76 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/2 = Wetzstein 1793, fo. 39r-41v	77 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 = Petermann 8, pages 14-15	80 + 2 apocryphal verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/4 = Wetzstein 1748, fo. 48r-49v	79 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/5 = Petermann 241, fo. 69v-70v	79 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/6 = Petermann 696, fo. 151v-154r	68 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/7 = Wetzstein 183, fo. 58r-59v	77 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/8 = Wetzstein 409, fo. 75v-76v	75 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/9 = Wetzstein 705, fo. 15v-17r	76 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/10 = Petermann 654, fo. 93v-95v	80 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/11 = Sprenger 1966, fo. 27v-30r, in marg.	67 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/12 = Wetzstein 1747, fo. 82v, fo. 83, a fragment of 48 verses (end of text missing; therefore excluded)	
VOHD XVIIB3 no. 192 = Hs. or. 4438, fo. 168r-169v	79 verses.

Among the manuscripts of SBB the longest versions of the poem are Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 and no. 3999/10 with 80 verses each. The former also includes 2 “apocryphal” verses.

Only one of the Mss. SBB-PK, Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 is dated, viz. 1132/1720.

Other manuscripts

Munich (Aumer) no. 587, fo. 19ff.; BSB Cod.arab. 1235 (= VOHD XVIIIB8 no. 176), fo. 107v.; Gotha 26/1; Heidelberg, ZDMG 9, 389; Tübingen 139,2; Leipzig 555/6, 845, ii, 891, 23; GAL 2,175-7,3 S 2,174,3; Princeton (Mach) no. 4168 (1 copy); Süleymaniye, Baghdadlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507/7, Esad Efendi 3690. The five manuscripts, highlighted through the use of *italics*, have been included in this study, in addition to the above Mss. of the SBB.¹⁶⁶

166 Another copy which I chanced to see when I had all but completed my work on this project is included in a manuscript of Yemeni origin, viz., SBB Hs. or. 13886, fo. 189r-190r (for a full description cf. R. Quiring-Zoche's catalogue VOHD XVIIIBx [in press]). The multiple text volume of 5 parts contains texts mainly on Zaydī theology and law, and, according to the dating added to parts 1, 3 and 4, the texts were copied in 1105/1693.

The poem consists of 73 verses and is written in two columns of as many as 31 lines (fo. 189r-v). The hemistichs are separated by a verse marker in the form of a dotted circle. The layout unexpectedly changes on the last page of the poem (fo. 190r) where the verse markers are replaced by vertical lines which also frame the text panel. The *qaṣīda* has been written in a smaller script than the preceding texts in the manuscript which have been copied with a thicker *qalam* by a scribe called Ṣalāḥ ibn Ḥifẓallāh. There is a stark contrast between the layout of the densely written pages of the poem and that of the longer prose texts written with only 16 lines to the page whose panels are framed by borders of coloured lines.

The poem in the manuscript is preceded by a tract on the law of inheritance and is followed immediately by a text on auspicious days titled *al-faṣl al-sādis fī ikhtilāf al-ayyām* 'an al-Ṣādiq written in the same small script as the *Lāmiyya* beneath the columns and in the margins (fo. 190r). Worthy of note are also the glosses inscribed in the margins of fo. 189r-v on the piety of two founding fathers of the Zaydiyya, seemingly prompted by the admonition contained in the first hemistich of Ibn al-Wardī's poem, viz., to abstain from preoccupying oneself with poems and songs on love, and with singers (*i'tazil dhikra l-ghawānī* [here: *aghānī*] *wa-l-ghazal*). In the margin of the recto page there is an extensive gloss on al-Imām al-Hādī Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 298/910; GAL 1,198 S 1,315-6), founder of the sect, with a report (excerpted from *al-Asānīd* [sic?] *al-Yaḥyawiyya*) on his habit of secluding himself for worship. In the margins of the verso page there follows an equally extensive gloss relating to the *karāmāt* of the Imām al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917; GAS 1,567) who is remembered as founder of an independent branch within the Zaydiyya sect.

5.3.2.3 Concordance of work titles

a. Waṣiyya

In Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3998 the title has been transmitted in isolation, albeit supplemented by the information that the “admonition” or “testimony”, English translations for *Waṣiyya*, was directed to the author’s son (*Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. al-Wardī li-waladihī raḥimahumā llāh ta‘ālā*).

In Ahlwardt no. 3999/1 the title is also *Waṣiyya* but it includes the author’s name and an indication of the person to whom the text is addressed, *Kitāb Waṣiyyat Ibn al-Wardī al-Ma‘arrī thumma al-Ḥalabī li-bnihī*. Another instance of this variant is Ahlwardt no. 3999/9 (*Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh ‘Umar b. al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh, etc.*).

In Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/4, the title is only hinted at and given in the form of a present participle active of *auṣā* added to the author’s name, “... admonishing his son”. The name includes *ism*, *shuhra*, titles and a designation of the writer’s profession (*li-l-Shaykh al-Imām al-Qāḍī ‘Umar b. al-Wardī mūṣhiyan li’bnihi*).

b. al-Qaṣīda

The title in Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/5 is simply *Qaṣīda* thereby referring to the poetical form of the text (*Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*). In Ahlwardt no. 3999/7 the same variant may be found. Here however the title - *‘Allāma*, the highly learned, precedes the author’s name (*Qaṣīdat al-‘Allāma Ibn al-Wardī*) which is followed by a prayer.

c. al-Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya

This variant title given in Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/2 also offers the information that the poem ends in the consonant *lām*, i.e. *al-Qaṣīda Lāmiyya (!) li-Ibn al-Wardī* and is grammatically incorrect. The variant found in Ms. Esad Efendi 3690 is probably to be read with Persian (Turkish) *izāfa* linking the noun with its attribute: *Qaṣīda-i Lāmiyya li-Ibn al-Wardī*.

The title *Lāmiyya* can also be found, without the prefixed word *Qaṣīda*, joined with the author’s name and with an indication of the function intended by the composition: *Lāmiyyat al-‘Allāma al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. al-Wardī naṣamahā waṣiyyatan li’bnihi* (Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/8); the same variant is found in Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/10, with a misspelling of the title: *hādhihi alāmiyya(!) al-Adīb al-Fāḍil, etc.* Ms. Esad Efendi 3507/7 simply has the title:

Lāmiyyat Ibn al-Wardī. In SBB Hs. or. 13886, finally, the title is given in the heading as *Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh al-Akmal Jamāl al-Dīn (!) ‘Umar*, etc. and at the end of the poem as *Manzūmat Ibn al-Wardī*.

d. *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab*

Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/6 has the title var. *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab* thereby again indicating the rhyme consonant. However, a confusion seems to arise between Ibn al-Wardī’s poem and that of the pre-Islamic poet al-Shanfarā (GAS 2,133-37) entitled *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab*. The reason for this confusion seems to be the fact that in this manuscript – as in some other ones – Ibn al-Wardī’s text is followed by the famous poem entitled *Lāmiyyat al-‘ajam* of Mu’ayyad al-Dīn al-Ṭughrā’ī (d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286-88; Ahlwardt no. 7656), an elegy which is often copied in association with al-Shanfarā’s poem. The multiple-text volume I. Ismail Hakki 3385 includes all three afore-mentioned poems consecutively: Ibn al-Wardī, *Naṣiḥa*; al-Ṭughrā’ī, *Lāmiyyat al-‘ajam*; al-Shanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab*.

Cod.arab. BSB 1235 has the variant *al-Lāmiyya al-‘arabiyya (li-Ibn al-Wardī)*.

e. *al-Naṣiḥa*

The Istanbul manuscript I. Ismail Hakki 3385 offers the variant: *al-Naṣiḥa*, i.e. “counsel” or “advice”, which expression is also included in a description of the poem’s function, in BSB Cod.arab. 587: *Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. al-Wardī fī al-naṣiḥa*).

5.3.2.4 Edition

Manuscript of reference is Ahlwardt no. 3999/3

وقل الفضل وجانب من هزل	1 اعزل ذكر الغواني والغزل
فلأيام الصبا نجم أقل	2 ودع الذكري لأيام الصبا
ذهبت أيامها والاثم حل	3 ان أهني عيشة قضيتها
تسمي في عز وتُرفع وتُجل	4 فاترك العادة لا تحفل بها
وعن الامرد مرتج الكفل	5 والة عن الة لهو اطربت
واذا ما ماس يزري بالاسل	6 ان تبدا تنكسف شمس الضحى
وعدناه ببدر فاعتدل	7 زاد اذ قسناه بالنجم سنا

- 8 واقتكر في منتهى حسن الذي
9 واترك الخمرة ان كنت فتا
10 اتَّقِ اللهَ فتنقوى الله ما
11 ليس من يقطع طرْقاً بطلاً
12 صدّق الشرع ولا تركن الى
13 حارت الافكار في قدرة من
14 كتب الموت على الخلق فكهم
15 اين كنعان ونمرود ومن
16 اين عادل اين فرعون ومن
17 اين من سادوا وشادوا وبنوا
18 اين ارباب الحجا اهل النها
19 سيعيد الله كلاً منهم
20 اي بني اسمع وصايا جمعت
21 اطلب العلم ولا تكسل فما
22 واحتفل للفقهِ في الدين ولا
23 لا تقل قد ذهبت اربابه
24 واهجر النوم وحصله فمن
25 في ازدياد العلم ارغام العدى
26 جمل المنطق بالنحو فمن
27 انظم الشعر ولازم مذهبي
28 فهو عنوان على الفضل وما
29 مات اهل الجود لم يبق سوى
30 انا لا اختار تقبيل يد
31 ان جزتني عن مديحي صرت في
32 اعذب الافاظ قولي لك خذ
33 ملك كسرى تغني عنه كسرة
34 اعتبر نحن قسمنا بينهم
35 ليس من يحوي الفتى من عزمه
36 قاطع الدنيا فمن عاراتها
37 عيشة الراغب في تحصيلها
38 كم جهول وهو مُتَرِّفٌ مُكْثِرُ
39 كم شجاع لم ينل منها المنى
40 فاترك الحيلة فيها واتنِّدْ
41 اي كف لم تغد ممّا تُغْدِ
- انت تهواه تجد امراً جل
كيف يسعى في جنون من عقل
جاورت قلب امرء الا وصل
انما من يتقي الله البطل
رجل يرصد في الليل زحل
قد هدانا سبلنا عز وجل
فل من عرش وافنى من دول
ملك الارض وولى وعزل
رفع الاهرام من يسمع يخل
اهلك الكل ولم تغني القل
اين اهل العلم والقوم الاول
وسيجزي فاعلا ما قد فعل
حِكْماً خُصْتُ بها خير الملل
ابعد الخير على اهل الكسل
تشتغل عنه بمال وخول
كل من سار على الدرب وصل
يعرف المطلوب يحقر ما بذل
وجمال العلم اصلاح العمل
يحرم الاعراب بالنطق اختل
في اطراح الرفد فالدنيا اقل
احسن الشعر اذا لم يُبتذل
مقرف او من على الاصل اتكل
قطعها اجمل من تلك القبل
رقها والا فيكفيني الخجل
وامرّ النطق نطقي بلعل
وعن البحر اجزأ (!) بالوشل
تلّقه حقاً وبالحق نزل
لا ولا ما فات يوماً بالكسل
تخفض العالي وتعلّى من سفل
عيشة الجاهل بل هذا اذل
وعليّ مات منها بلعل
وجبان نال غايات الامل
انما الحيلة في ترك الحيل
فرماها الله منه بالشلل

- 42 لا تَقُلْ أصلي وفصلي أبدا
 43 قد يسود المرء من غير أب
 44 وكذا الورد من الشوك وما
 45 مع اني احمد الله على
 46 قيمة الانسان ما يحسنه
 47 اكتم الامرين فقر او غنى
 48 وادّع كدًا وجدًا واجتنب
 49 بين تذيير وبخل رتبة
 50 لا تخفض في سب سادات مضوا
 51 وتغافل عن امور انه
 52 ليس يخلو المرء من ضدّ وان
 53 مل عن النمام وازجره فما
 54 دار جار الدار ان جار وان
 55 جانب السلطان واحذر بطشه
 56 لا تلي الحكم وان هم عدلوا
 57 ان نصف الناس اعداء لمن
 58 وهو كالمحبوس عن لذاته
 59 ان للنقص والاستئقال في
 60 لا توازي لذة الحكم لما
 61 والولايات وإن طالّت لمن
 62 نصبُ المنصبِ أوهى جلدي
 63 قصر الآمال في الدنيا تُفَزْ
 64 انّ من يطلبه الموتُ على
 65 غب وزر غيًّا تزد حبًّا فمن
 66 خذ بنصل السيف واترك غمده
 67 لا يضِرّ النصل اقلالا كما
 68 حبك الاوطان عجز ظاهر
 69 فبمكث الماء يبقى آسنًا
 70 ايها العايب قل لي عبتا
 71 عدّ عن اسهم لفظي واستتر
 72 لا يغرنك لين من فتى
 73 انا مثل الماء سهّل سائِعْ
 74 انا كالخيروز صعبُ كسرُه
 75 غير اني في زمان من يكن
- انما اصل الفتى ما قد حصل
 وبحسن السبك قد ينفي الزغل
 يطلع النرجسُ الا من بصل
 نسبي اذ بابي بكر اتصل
 اكثر الانسان منه او أقل
 واكسب الفلس وحاسب من بطل
 صحبة الحمقا وارباب البخل
 وكلا هذين ان زاد قتل
 انهم ليسوا باهل للزلل
 لم يفز بالحمد الا من عقل
 حاول العزلة في راس جبل
 بلغ المكروه الا من نقل
 لم تجد صبرا فما احلى النقل
 لا تخاصم من اذا قال فعل
 رغبة فيك وخالف من عدل
 وليّ الاحكام هذا ان عدل
 وكلا كفيّه في الحشر تُغَلْ
 لفظة القاضي لوعظاً ومثل
 ذاقه الشخص اذا الشخص انعزل
 ذاقها فالسّم في ذاك العسل
 وعناي من مرارات السفّل
 فدلّيل العقل تفصير الامل
 غرّة منه جدير بالوجل
 اكثر الترداد اصماه (؟ اضناه) الملل
 واعتبر فضل الفتى دون الحل
 لا يضر الشمس اطباق الطّفّل
 فاغترب تلقى عن الاهل بدل
 وسرّى البدرُ به البدرُ اكتمل
 انّ طيب الورد مؤذٍ بالجعل
 لا يصيبنك سهمٌ من ثعل
 ان للحيات لين يُعنزَل
 وإذا سخن اذى وسبل
 وهو لينٌ كيفما شئت انفتل
 فيه ذا مالٍ هو المولى الاجل

وَقَلِيلَ الْمَالِ فِيهِمْ مُبْتَدَّلٌ	76	وَاجِبٌ عِنْدَ الْوَرَى أَكْرَامُهُ
مَنْهُمْ فَاتَرَكَ تَفَاصِيلَ الْجُمْلِ	77	كُلُّ أَهْلِ الْعَصْرِ غَمْرٌ وَأَنَا
رَغْمُهُ لَكِنْ خَلَقْنَا مِنْ عَجَلٍ	78	لَوْ صَبَرْنَا لَأَتَى الرِّزْقُ عَلَيَّ
لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ تَنْتَرَى لَمْ تَزَلْ	79	وَصَلَوَةُ اللَّهِ مَعَ تَسْلِيمِهِ
طَلَعَ الْفَجْرُ وَمَا نَجْمٌ أَفْلٌ	80	وَكَذَلِكَ الْأَلْ وَالْأَصْحَابُ مَا

5.3.2.5 Description of manuscripts

5.3.2.5.1 Manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

1. Pm. (Petermann) 8 (II 8) (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/3)

Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 is the manuscript selected here as the reference text for the study of verse order and textual variants and it forms the basis of the above edition. With 80 verses it is the longest of all the copies of Ibn al-Wardī which have been examined.

Codicological description and layout: Pages 14r-14v. Format: 15x20 cm. Face of text: 12x18 cm. 32 lines on the first, 8 lines on the second page. The most striking feature of the layout is the arrangement of the poem in 4 pseudo-columns with very little space between the lines. The script is a partly vocalized, rather untrained Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. The colophon includes the name of the scribe ([‘Abd] al-Raḥmān b. M. b. al-Shaykh ‘Uthmān) who designates himself *khādim al-‘ilm al-sharīf*, “servant of the noble knowledge”, expressing hope of God’s forgiveness. The manuscript is dated two days before the end (“two days remaining”) of Rabī‘ II. 1132 / February-March 1720, and a Sufi convent in Istanbul, called “Takkiyya ‘Alī Bāshā al-Shūrī/Shawrī”, is mentioned as the place where the copying was carried out. The poem lacks any work heading or title.

Context: Following the note on the apocryphal verses, a prayer ascribed by the copyist to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī al-Kailānī, to be recited in times of distress (*li-kull shidda*), has been copied in a larger script. Possibly, as indicated by the epithets added to the saint’s name (*sulṭān al-awliyā’ al-aṣfiyā’ shaykh al-kull*), the convent in which the manuscript was copied belonged to the Qādiriyya Sufi order. The poem is preceded by a sermon likewise written in the Takkiyya ‘Alī Bāshā convent two days before end of Rabī‘ II. 1132, by Muḥammad (!) ibn al-Shaykh ‘Uthmān.

Means of achieving textual stability: There are no glosses in the margins or between the lines or the columns. However, following the colophon, the scribe adds a note according to which, in some manuscript copies, he had found

one (!) additional (apocryphal) verse (see *infra*) which concludes the poem (*tatimmatan*). The verses quoted in the note are 5 hemistichs (!, two and a half full verses) in the Ramal-metre of which however only one, the fifth hemistich, ends, like the rest of the poem, with the letter *-lām*:

1. *Ibnu Wardiyyun lanā 'hwā/ahdā duraran*
2. *yatta 'iz minhā fatan yusmā bashar*
3. *wa-lahā minhāju māḍin ka-l-qamar*
4. *fa-hya ithnān wa-thamānūna khtaṣar*
5. *'iddatu l-abyāti 'iqdan lā tuḥall*

The penultimate hemistich includes the information that Ibn al-Wardī's poem is made up of 82 verses. (Perhaps the last half verse encapsulates the number, in abjad-letters.) (See fig. 20).

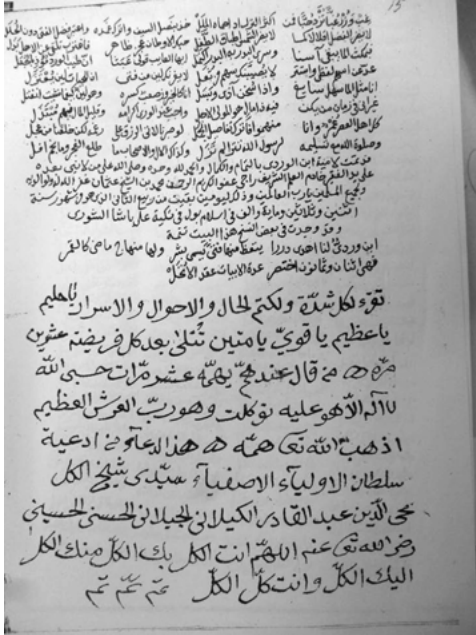


Fig. 20: Ibn al-Wardī: *al-Lāmiyya*, 1132 / 1720; reference text and basis of the above edition; end of poem written in 4 columns; colophon and para texts (SBB-PK, Pm. 8, fo. 14v).

2. Spr. (Sprenger) 1930 (= Ahlwardt no. 3998)

Codicological description: Fo. 27r-28v. Middle size, fair and clear, sparsely vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. Number of verses: 77. Face of text: 10x22 cm. 19 lines written in 2 pseudo-columns. The hemistichs in each line are separated by a “drop” which has been entered with a darkish red ink. Verses 19-22, 44-49, 70-77 have been written on the outer margins of all three pages, at a right angle to the columns, in three (fo. 27r, 27v) or four (fo. 28r) lines of two verses (i.e. 4 hemistichs) each. Red drops have been inserted in the caesuras between all the hemistichs in the margins.

Heading (title of work): The heading includes the title of the work (*Waṣiyya*), the author’s name as well as the information that the admonition represented by the poem was directed to the son of Ibn al-Wardī: *hādhihī Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn al-Wardī li-waladihī raḥimahumā llāh ta’ālā, wa-hiya min al-mufradāt.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-49, 50-57, 58-77.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī’s poem is preceded by a *Risāla fī ‘ilm al-firāsa*, on clairvoyance, written by a certain Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī who was allegedly known as *Shaykh Ḥaṭṭīn*. The *Waṣiyya* is the second of only two texts which make up this manuscript.

Means of achieving textual stability: Verse 57 had been omitted and was supplemented on the inner margin of fo. 28r, written vertically and marked with the sign *ṣaḥḥ* for “correction”. No device seems to have been used for indicating the place of insertion.

3. Wetzstein 702 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/1)

Codicological description: Fo. 16r-19r. 76 verses written in 2 columns. Number of lines varying between 12 and 14. Large Naskhī hand with full diacritical points. Paper damage (leaves are torn and stained) with resultant illegibility of text (verses 6a-b, 7, and some other places). Clusters of coloured dots (three drops) serve as verse markers between the hemistichs. The verse markers can also be found both at the beginning and end of the line on fo. 18v, giving rise to an impression of haphazardness in the design of the layout of the pages. Red colours have been used to highlight the heading and the hemistich markers. Some letters within individual verses have been reinforced by use of colour.

Heading (title of work): The poem is headed by a line that includes the title of the work and author’s name: *K. Waṣiyyat Ibn al-Wardī al-Ma’arrī thumma al-Ḥalabī li-’bnihi.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23-61, 63-77.

The scribe concludes his copy on fo. 19r using the expression *tammāt al-Waṣiyya ‘alā l-tamām*. He thereby indicates that he copied the text without

omitting anything. He juxtaposes, next to this statement, the variant title *al-Waṣīya*.

Context: A composite volume whose numerous texts were written by many different hands.

Again on fo. 19r, most of the page is filled with poetic verses in the Ṭawīl metre attributed to Majnūn, with amplifications, and headed by the words: *Min kalām al-Majnūn, mukhammas*. It seems that the quotation of the *takhmīs* has been prompted by mere association. In v. 2b of Ibn al-Wardī the “days of youth” are compared with a “descending star” (*fa-la-ayyāmu l-ṣabā najmun afa!*) and the image of the descending star is included in the first hemistich of the amplification adduced. The first and last verses run as follows:

لقد عاد نجمي أفل غير طالع // وسيف لخاص؟ الحب في القلب ساطع
يكاد فودي (!, = فوادي) بالغرام يطير

The first of the four verses (rhyme consonant *rā'*) commented upon:

على صفحات الليل ليس يغور

The text immediately preceding the poem, a version of the story of the people of the cave (*Qiṣṣat ahl al-kaḥf*), is incomplete at the end (the catchword entered on fo. 15v indicates that a subsequent page is wanting in the manuscript).

Means of achieving textual stability: The scribe occasionally corrects himself by changing a misspelt letter (e.g. the expression *asinan*, fo. 18v, v. 69a of the reference copy). Another instance of self-correction is found on fo. 19r, last verse (i.e. v. 77b of the reference), where the scribe has crossed out a whole word written by him erroneously (he wrote *فاترك* instead of *فاحذر*).

4. Wetzstein 1793 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/2)

Codicological description: Fo. 39r-41v. Format: 10,5x16 cm. Face of text: ca. 9,5x13,5 cm. Foliation numbers in the upper lefthand corner of the recto pages. The number of lines varies between 12 and 15. The verses are written in two columns which however are not always clearly delineated. Single drops, in red colour, are placed at the beginning, middle and end of the verses. Red colour has also been used to highlight the heading above verse 1. Middle size, fully vocalized, untrained Naskh hand with diacritical points. The vocalizations are not always correct (cf. v. 11a, *ṭuruqan*, for *ṭarqan*; v. 26b *yuhramu l-i'rābi*). The letter *sin* is written irregularly (with only one tooth). Catchwords.

Heading (title of work): The heading on fo. 39r includes the author's name and title - which has been written incorrectly: *al-Qaṣīda Lāmiyya (!) li-Ibn al-Wardī*.

Context: On fo. 41v, following the word *tammāt*, which ends the poem, we find a text written by the scribe. It is introduced by the expression *fā'id[a]* and represents a magical recipe with divine names and mysterious letters. It is recommended to write these on paper and attach them to the right arm. For the charm to be effective and protect the bearer, the letters may not be obliterated (*ma'a 'adam ṭams al-ḥurūf*). Among other texts following the poem in this manuscript is the *Umm al-barāhīn* of al-Sanūsī (fo. 49r-57r).

Arrangement of verses: 1-14, 18, 15-17, 19-22, 24-25, 23, 26-58, 60-61, 59, 62-70, 72, 71, 73-77.

Means of achieving textual stability: The primary means of safeguarding text stability are the vocalizations added by the scribe.

Some words have been corrected, possibly, but not necessarily, by the scribe. One original word has been erased and substituted by another expression: on fo. 40r, l. 1 *khayr* in *ahl al-khayr* has been written over some other word, presumably over the variant expression *jūd* which can be found in other Mss. (v. 29a of the reference copy). A few omitted words have been entered by the scribe underneath the line (fo. 40r, v. 35b; fo. 41b, v. 75a).

5. Wetzstein 1748 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/4)

Codicological description: Fo. 48r-49v. 77 verses. Format: 14,5x20 cm. Face of text: 9x16,5 cm. The number of lines, written in two columns, varies between 19 and 20. Medium size, fair and flat, somewhat angular Naskhī hand with diacritical points. In rare instances a vocalization has been added (as e.g. fo. 48r, v. 16a, 'ādīn). Quite often, and quite unnecessarily, we find *fatha*, written above some words such as *biḥā* (fo. 48v, l. 1, v. 20b). There is vocalization at the end of some nouns (e.g. *yadīn*, *ḥaqqan*, fo. 48v, v. 30a, 34b). Catchwords have been entered. Cluster of three dots are used as markers between the hemistichs throughout the copy with the exception of fo. 49r. In a number of verses (26, 31, 45, 64, 67, 77) the hemistich markers have been inserted at the wrong place. Red colour has been used for highlighting both the heading and the final word *tammāt* beneath the explicit; a darker red colour serves to highlight the markers between the hemistichs.

Heading: The heading, written above the fully vocalized Basmala, includes author's name and the title of the work: *li-l-Shaykh al-Imām al-Qāḍī 'Umar ibn al-Wardī muṣīyan li'bnihi, raḥimahum(!) Allāh ta'ālā*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23-53, 55-78.

Context: A composite volume. The *Lāmiyya* is preceded immediately by a poem beginning with the words *bada'tu bi-bismi llāhi fī awwali l-saṭrī*.

Means of achieving textual stability: One word (*man*) omitted in v. 11b (fo. 48r) has been supplemented on the inner margin, however without any indication of the exact place of insertion; another word omitted (*idhā*) has been written,

in v. 54b, above the line. The word *tu'li* in v. 36b has been crossed out and substituted, on the right margin, by the variant expression *wa-tarfa'u* which is both metrically and semantically possible. Both the marginal gloss (the variant) and the deleted word in the line have been marked by a superscribed sign resembling initial (and medial) *sīn*.

As to his *orthography* the scribe does not seem to distinguish between the letters *alif* and *alif maqṣūra* (e.g. v. 14b: *afnā*, v. 15b: *wallā*) which are both written with *alif mamdūda*.

6. Petermann II 241 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/5)

Codicological description: Fo. 69v-70v. Oriental foliation. Format: 15,5x21,5 cm. 79 verses written in 2 columns. Written space (face of the text): 9,5x18,5 cm. There is a catchword on fol. 69v. Fair and medium size rounded Naskh hand with diacritical points and, at some places, also with vocalizations. Final and/or penultimate letters of the last word of the second hemistich have, in many instances, been elongated, using a technique called *mashq*, to fill the line.

Heading: The title is given, above the first line, as *Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is the penultimate text in a composite volume which, on most of its pages, contains the *K. al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz min aḥādīth al-rasūl al-'azīz* on Prophetic traditions by al-Mīrghani (d. 1207/1792; GAL 2,506), fo. 1v-66v, and which has been written by a different hand.

After the *explicit* there follows a parenetic poem entitled *Qaṣīdat Murtaḍawī* with an exhortation to renounce the world; the poem rhymes with the letter *bā'*, and the first 6 lines are inscribed on the same page as the *explicit*. The *Qaṣīda* has been written in the same layout as Ibn al-Wardī's poem, by the same scribe. A gloss has been entered on the right margin, viz. a correction followed by letter *ṣād* for *ṣaḥḥa*. The *Qaṣīda* begins: صرمت خيالك بعد وصالك
زينب

The *Lāmiyya* is directly preceded by a text, again from the same hand, in rhymed prose, entitled *al-Tarākīb al-'arabiyya al-musajja'a*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-77, 79-80.

Means of achieving textual stability: Words omitted in the text have been added above the line (e.g. fo. 70r, v. 56a). However, obvious mistakes, like the thoughtless replication (dittography) of individual words (e.g. v. 56b or in v. 79a), have not been corrected.

Occasionally letters have been vocalized to facilitate correct reading (e.g. v. 57b).

In the margin of v. 34 (fol. 70r) the variant *bi-l-ṣidqi* relating to the expression *bi-l-ḥaqqi* in the second hemistich has been added. A short curved line, resembling the letter *lām* or *rā'*, has been written above the two variants

thereby marking the reference. A similar sign can also be found in the margin of the *Qaṣīdat Murtaḍawī*, both above the correction note and above the place of insertion (here the curvature points in the opposite direction).

7. Petermann I. 696 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/6)

Codicological description: Fo. 151v-154r (6 [!] pages). 67 verses. Format: 15x22 cm. Face of text: ca. 10,5x16,5 cm. 13 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Medium size, round and flat Naskh hand with full diacritical dots and some vocalizations. Small heart-shaped decorative devices serve as verse markers separating the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the verse markers as well as the heading of the text under discussion and of the subsequent text. Catchwords.

Heading: The title of work in the heading on fo. 151v is followed by the author's name: *hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-‘arab li-l-Shaykh ‘Umar b. al-Wardī al-Shāfi‘ī*. The title *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab* is generally understood to refer to the poem of al-Shanfara al-Azdī (d. ; GAL 1,16), hence its association with Ibn al-Wardī's poem is probably erroneous.

The heading and verse markers seem to have been written with coloured ink.

Context: The poem is preceded on fo. 151v by a poem of Ismā‘īl b. al-Muqri’, written by the same hand, in the Basīṭ-metre, rhyming with letter –l. The poem is part of an anthology of verses collected by Ibn Ḥijjat al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434; GAL 2,18-19).

The hemistichs of the last verse of Ibn al-Wardī's poem have not been written in one line, but underneath one other, thus forming one block. The second hemistich has been framed by the words of the title - probably coloured in red - of the next text: *wa-hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-‘Ajam*.

The poem following Ibn al-Wardī's text is another well-known *Qaṣīda* rhyming in –l, i.e. *Lāmiyyat al-‘Ajam* [by al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭughrā’ī; d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286 S 1,439].

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 8, 10-23, 25-49, 51-56, 58, 57, 60-71, 73-77.

Means of achieving textual stability: In v. 47a (fo. 153r) an expression written incorrectly (*al-faqraynī*), through a *lapsus oculi* (a similar expression, in the singular [*faqran*] occurs toward the end of the same hemistich), has been crossed out by the scribe. Other similar mistakes, probably likewise caused by *aberratio oculi* (e.g. v. 66b, the last word is identical to the last word of the previous line, a homoioarcton; the 2. hemistich of v. 72 has been written as v. 71b), have been left unchanged, maybe unnoticed by the scribe.

8. Wetzstein 183 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/7)

Codicological description: Fo. 58r-59v. 77 verses. 4 pages. Format: ca. 12x19,5 cm. Face of text: 9x15 cm. 23 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Middle size, fair and flat Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and a few vocalizations (e.g. verse 41a). Catchwords. Single and coloured dots (drops) separate the hemistichs. Red colour has also been used to highlight the heading.

Heading: The title given in the heading runs: *Hādhihi Qaṣīdat al-ʿAllāma Ibn al-Wardī*, and is followed by the prayer formula *taghammadahu llāh bi-rahmatihī āmin*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-37, 39, 38, 40-51, 54, 52-53, 55-77.

Context: A multiple-text volume. The end-verse of al-Wardī's text on fo. 59v is followed by three poems of 2 and 4 lines respectively, written by the same hand as the *Lāmiyya* and adopting the same layout. In the headings, written in colour, the poems are ascribed to the well-known jurist and expert in Prophetic traditions, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. The last poem inscribed on this page may be the beginning of a longer piece continued on the subsequent page/pages. All the poetical pieces end with monorhyme on -q (poems no. 1-2) and -r (poem no. 3).

On fo. 59v, in the outer margin, written from the bottom to the top, a date has been given, expressed in *abjad* letters: *فقلت مؤرخا بعوذ ذي الفضل عالم وردى*. If the numerical value of the four letters *bā*, *ʿayn*, *waw* and *dhāl* are added the sum of 778 is reached, which however is too late for the date of composition by the author and probably too early to designate the date of copying. Possibly further letters following upon the four just mentioned have to be included in the calculation.

In contrast to the poems preceding the *Lāmiyya*, many being of mystical content, Ibn al-Wardī's has been left free of vocalizations; the verse markers are also relatively simplified (in the previous poem there are clusters of red dots at the beginning and the end of some lines).

Means of achieving textual stability: In the fifth to last verse (v. 73b in the reference manuscript) of the poem words written erroneously, caused through an error of the eye (the words reoccur in the first hemistich of the subsequent line) have been crossed out by the scribe by means of short slanted strokes.

9. Wetzstein 409 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/8)

Codicological description: Fo. 75v-76v. A volume in the *safīna* format. The carefully executed text of the poem has been written at a right angle to the long side of the pages. Format: 20,5x14 cm. Face of text: 16x10 cm. Oriental foliation in the right upper corner of the recto pages. Number of verses: 77. 23-24 lines to the page written in 3(!) columns separated by a single drop. The words

of the lines are written densely and there is little space between the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading as well as the verse markers. A catchword on fo. 75v. Small and flat, fair Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and very few vocalizations (e.g. v. 65a).

Title of work: The title given in the heading (fo. 75v) runs: *Hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-‘Allāma al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar Ibn al-Wardī naẓamahā waṣīyyatan li-bnihī.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-38, 40-42, 44, 43, 45-77.

Context: The poem is included in a multiple-text volume written by many different hands. Ibn al-Wardī’s poem is preceded, on fo. 75v, by a text in verse, likewise written in 3 columns, which ends with a statement about the number of verses included in it (119). It is followed, on fo. 77r, by a 3-line (Basīṭ) poetical text in 3 columns, by the hand of the same scribe, headed by the author’s name: Shams al-ma‘ālī Qābūs [b. Abī Ṭāhir Washmagīr al-Jilī, Amīr of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, d. 403/1012; GAL 1,95 S 1,154]), and beginning *qul li-lladhī bi-ṣurūfī l-dahri ‘ayyaranā/ghayyaranā*. The very first text in the volume is a note, *fā’ida* (fo. 1v), on five things which strengthen one’s memory, twelve things which cause forgetfulness and ten things which result in poverty.

Means of achieving textual stability: Some omitted words or parts thereof have been supplemented above the line (e.g. fo. 76r, v. 24b). The second hemistich of v. 29 has been supplemented in the outer margin of fo. 76r, marked by the sign *ṣh*. Individual words missing (e.g. v. 35a: *al-fatā*) however were unnoticed and have been not been added.

The manuscript offers an *impressive number of interesting, rare, and partly unique, variants* (e.g. verses 10b, 14b, 15a, 33b, 40a, 41b, 53a, 60a, 68a-b). Also not found elsewhere are the transpositions of the 2nd hemistich in v. 15 and 16, i.e. v.15b corresponds to v. 16b in the reference copy and v. 16b corresponds to v. 15b therein.

10. Wetzstein 705 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/9)

Codicological description: Fo. 15v-17r. Format: 9x14,5 cm. Face of text: 7x12,5 cm. The text starts fo. 15v, l. 5 and ends with the expression *tammāt* written centrally beneath the last verse. Number of verses: 76. 19-21 lines written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Large, flat, firmly but somewhat clumsily written Naskhī with diacritical points and a few vocalizations (these are often not correct). The hemistichs are separated by single “drops” or by clusters of three dots. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading, the verse dividers as well as the expression *tammāt*.

Title of work: The title given in the heading (fo. 15v) runs: *Waṣīyyat al-Shaykh ‘Umar ibn al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh ta‘ālā li-bnihī.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-15, 17-22, 24, 23, 25-56, 58-60, 62, 61, 57, 63-77.

Context: The text is preceded by many literary excerpts and a collection of dicta ascribed to ‘Alī (fo. 1r-4v) beginning with a word on the belief of man, viz., *īmān al-rajul yu‘raf bi-aymānihi*, and on fo. 15v by a poem of two lines in the Ṭawīl-metre, on the theme of hunger and repletion, rhyming in the letter –r. Ibn al-Wardī’s Qaṣida is followed by an excerpt from the anthology [of Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434; GAL 2,18-19)] entitled *Thamarāt al-awrāq*.

Means of achieving textual stability: In v. 18a (fo. 16r, l. 1) a variant has been written by the scribe above the line, without however crossing out or otherwise deleting the corresponding expression within the text (*ahl al-tuqā*, *ahl al-nuhā*).

In v. 27b (fo. 16a, l. 10) the scribe has corrected a misspelt expression by crossing out the wrong letter (another example of such a correction is v. 30a).

In v. 38a (fo. 16b, l. 1), the word *mukthir* has been vocalized wrongly, probably under the influence of the preceding expression *muthrin* (the ending typical of certain *verba tertiae infirmae* has been misunderstood as an instance of a genitive case), as *mukthirin*. Wrong vocalization is also found in v. 59b (*li-wa‘ẓin*, instead of *la-wa‘ẓun*) where affirmative prefixed *lām* has been misinterpreted as the preposition *li*...

11. Petermann I 654 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/10)

Codicological description: Fo. 93v-95v. Number of verses: 80. Format: ca. 20x31 cm. Face of text: 9x22 cm. 20 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Medium size, regularly written flat Naskhi hand with full diacritical dots and a few vocalizations and high ascenders. The vocalizations are sometimes wrong (e.g. v. 38a: *mukthirin wa-‘alimin*). There are a number of further errors which indicate that the scribe had only an imperfect mastery of the Arabic language (cf. v. 5a). Catchwords. No colours. To keep the borders of the columns straight, final words of the second hemistichs have been written above the line (e.g. v. 55a). Space in the page-layout has been used very economically (fo. 95v.): The title of the following text comes immediately after Ibn al-Wardī’s poem without interspace. On the other hand, there are broad margins left wholly blank and wide spaces between the hemistichs which, on fo. 93v, are filled with poets’ names.

Title of work: The title given in the heading (fo. 93v, penultimate line) runs: *hādhihi alāmiyya (!) al-Adīb al-Fāḍil ‘Umar ibn al-Wardī rā’ ḥā’ (=raḥimahū llāh).*

Context: On fo. 93v, Ibn al-Wardī’s text is preceded by poems of various authors, written in the same order as the *Lāmiyya*. The poets include al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī, Abū Ishāq al-Qaranī (?) and the poems adduced rhyme in the consonants *bā’*, *mīm*, *kāf* and *nūn*, resp. There follows, in the last line of fo. 95v, a text concerning the rose and quicksilver of which only the heading is given on the page, as follows: *wa-li-ba‘ḍihim, fi l-ward wa-l-zaybaq(?)*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-15, 17, 16, 18-22, 24, 23, 25-77, 79 + 2 apocryphal verses (the 3 verses are not found in the reference manuscript).

Apocryphal verses: Like the reference manuscript the present copy includes in v. 79 a prayer on Muḥammad, the wording of which however differs from that of Ms. Ahlw. no. 3993/3:

وصلوة الله ربي كلما // طلع الشمس نهارا او اقل

The poetical line is followed by two more verses, again in praise of the Prophet, which likewise are apocryphal, i.e. not found in any of the other copies of the poem studied:

للذي حاز العلى من هاشم // احمد المختار من ساد الاول
وعلى ال وصحب سادة // ليس فيهم عاجز الا بطل

12. Sprenger 1966a (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/11)

Codicological description: Fo. 27v-30r. Format: 12,5x18 cm. Number of verses: 67. Large, regularly and firmly written Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. Due to a trimming(?) of the paper the last words or letters of a number of verses have been lost, e.g. no. 37, 38-42 (the last words of the first verses on fo. 29r; also the final letters written in the lower margin on the same folio page). Initial words and letters in the lower margins of fo. 29v (verses 70, 72, 73 of the reference manuscript) have also been lost. The text has been written obliquely against the central text framed by double lines, in the margins. With this layout the copy is unique among all the Mss. of Ibn al-Wardī so far studied. It appears to be a commentary on the text enclosed by the frame which however it is not. The manuscript copy is devoid of any heading at any place.

Arrangement of verses: 1-4, 9, 5-8, 10-22, 24, 23, 25, 27, 26, 28-31, 33-35, 37-40, 42-50, 52-53, 55-58, 60-62, 64, 67, 66, 65, 68, 70, 72-77.

Context: The text frame has been filled with a series of poems, written in two columns, praising various temporal rulers, such as al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb of Mayāfariqīn (fo. 28b) and al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (fo. 30r). The poem extending from fo. 28r to 28v is an elegy (*yarthī*) written in commemoration of al-Amīr al-kabīr ʿAlī and his son which is said to have been recited 613/1216-17 in Ḥarrān.

Although the texts written inside the frame as well as those in the margins are poetical in form, there does not seem to be any relationship between the encomia and the elegy (? *marthiya*) on the one hand and Ibn al-Wardī's text on the other.

13. Hs. or. 4438 (= VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 192)

Codicological description: Fo. 168r-169v. 79 verses. Format: 15x22 cm. Face of text: 8x14,5 cm. 21 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Neat, medium size, angular and flat Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and some very rare vocalizations (e.g. fo. 169v, l. 12). The broad margins have been left blank.

Heading: The text lacks a heading except for the Basmala which is written above the first verse in place of a title.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-64, 66-77, 79-80 + 1 apocryphal verse (Ramal-metre), as follows: ما نوى الركب بعشاق الى // ايمن الحي وما غنى
رمل

Context: The poem closes with the words *tammāt wa-kamīlat* and is followed by an anonymous poem rhyming with *rāʾ*. The latter poem, of which only two verses are written on this page, also lacks a heading.

Ibn al-Wardī's *Qaṣīda* forms the penultimate text of a multiple-text volume composed of 22 parts most of which have been written by the same hand. The manuscript includes other poems, some of which are magical in orientation (e.g. *al-Q. al-Julʿulūtiyya*, part 5-6; *al-Burda*, part 14; cf. VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 368).

Means of achieving textual stability: On fo. 168v, l. 4, v. 24b, there is a correction, apparently made by the scribe, where the two dots of the feminine imperfect have been changed to the masculine form (*taḥqiru* / *yaḥqiru*). The two dots have been blackened and enlarged to form a big circle. Another instance of text alteration may be found on fo. 168v, ultimate line (v. 39b), where a whole word, written mistakenly, has been crossed out.

5.3.2.5.2 BSB München**14. Cod.arab. 1235 (= VOHD XVIIIB8 no. 176)**

Codicological description: Fo. 107v-109v (fig. 21). 80 verses. 18 lines per page written in two columns. These are separated by means of clusters of drops which seem to have been coloured in the manuscript (colouring is not visible in the copy). Large and firm, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with deficient diacritical dots (some dots are lacking, as with *zay* and *dhāl* in v. 27a or *bāʾ* for *yāʾ* in v. 30a). *Alif maqṣūra* is often disregarded, as e.g. in v. 15b (ولا for ولي). No catchwords. A rudimentary colophon written in triangular form concludes the poem. It includes the title of the work (*tammāt al-Qaṣīda*), praise of God and prayers on Muḥammad. Any information on the scribe or date of copying is lacking.

Heading: The two words forming the title seem to have been written with a coloured ink and are followed by the author's name: *hādhihī al-Lāmiyya al-*

‘arabiyya(?) li-Ibn al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh ta‘ālā. The line is preceded by the Basmala and Hamdala formulas written with a larger *qalam* in a bold script.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-56, 58, 59, 57, 60-77. This copy of the poem includes, after v. 77, the following 3 apocryphal verses:

يا رسول الله ادرك عجلاً // قم بنصري طيب الاصل عجل
وعليك الله صلّى دائماً // يا رسول الله ما نجم سحب همل
وعلى الال مع الصحب فهم // نصروا الدين بسيف وأسئل

Context: This copy of the *Lāmiyya* is part of a collection of poems of various authors written by multiple hands of Yemeni origin, one of which is dated 1241/1826. The collection has been added to a *Dīwān* of the poetry of the Zaydī author Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaḥḥāfi (d. 1117/1705-6; GAL S 2,545; Kaḥḥāla 13,182; Wajih, no. 1160) which was copied only one year after the death of the poet, i.e. in 1118/1706.

Means of achieving textual stability: Numerous means have been employed to stabilize the text, between the lines and in the margins, also including the apocryphal verses at the end of the poem. In v. 11a an *omitted word* has been *written above the line*; above v. 42b there is another, illegible gloss. In v. 29b a correction has been written above the expression to be changed. In v. 23a the erroneously written *mimmā* has been crossed out and changed to the grammatically correct *fa-mā*; in v. 26b the expression *al-naḥw* has been corrected by adding the *variant al-nuṭq*, marked *ṣaḥḥ*, in the margin. The word replaced in this line has not been crossed out but it has been connected by a stroke with the expression in the margin. The first word of v. 64b, erroneously written as the last word of the first hemistich has been *deleted*, at the last-mentioned place, by *blackening*. In v. 68b the letter alif in *talqā* has been crossed out and changed to *alif maqṣūra*. In v. 72b *layn* has been crossed out and the variant *laynan* has been written above it.

A hemistich has been *added, by way of completion, in the margin*, part of which was omitted in the left column (v. 8b). The gloss, written from the bottom to the top, has been marked with a sign resembling the Arabic numeral ٧ (see fig. 21). Ad v. 78a, the first of three apocryphal verses, there is a correction in the margin (ادركني for ادرك) which is marked both above the line and in the margin by a reference sign again resembling the above Arabic numeral (or a bow). Ad v. 79b there is a marginal gloss, marked with the letter ṣād (?), i.e. نصر الدين for نصروا الدين, written in the second hemistich which, for metrical reasons, is unacceptable.

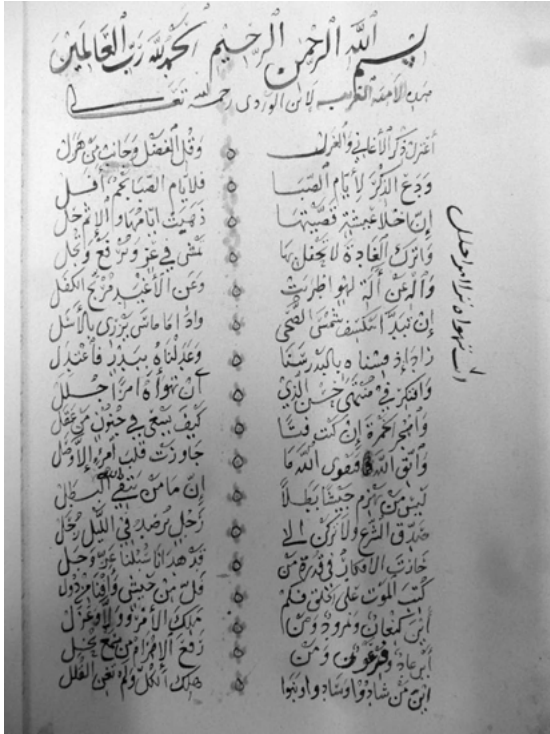


Fig. 21: Ibn al-Wardī: *al-Lāmiyya*, Yemen; uncommon title variant: *al-Lāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 1235 [= Sobieroj, VOHD XVIIIB8, no. 176; Daub 2012/13, fig. 26], fo. 107v).

15. Cod.arab. 587 (Aumer no. 587)

Codicological description: Fo. 19r-21r. 78 verses. 17 lines per page written in two columns. The latter are separated from each other by clusters of three – apparently coloured – dots. Middle size, fluent, carefully executed Naskhī with full diacritical dots and a few rare vowel signs. The extensions of some letters are highlighted by use of coloured strokes drawn above them. Catch-words. The margins have been left blank throughout the copy.

Title of work: Title and author's name (*hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī fī l-naṣiḥa*) are mentioned fo. 19a, line 3, preceding the first verse.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-77

Context: The text is preceded by two poetical lines written in the same layout rhyming in *lā*, in the Wāfir-metre (fo. 19r, l. 1-2). The *Lāmiyya* is followed by four lines of poetry in the Basīṭ-metre rhyming in *rāʾ*; the latter are headed by

the formula of praise *wa-la-qad aḥsana man qāl* (fo. 21r-v). A saying attributed to Plato, which however has not been completed (*idhā jāʿat al-naḥsu ṣḡarat al-aṣāmu*), follows on fo. 21v, l. 2, a. The copying process seems to have been interrupted suddenly and the page has been left blank except for the two lines written at the top of the page.

5.3.2.5.3 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

16. Baghdadlı Vehbi 1612

Codicological description: Fo. 14r-14v. The second of at least three texts in a volume with a partial brown leather cover. The flap is wanting. Format: 15x21,5 cm. Text panel: 9x15,5 (part 2 is written in 2 columns, part 1 has 8-9 lines per page). The copy of Ibn al-Wardī's poem is imperfect with only 38 verses. The catchword entered on fo. 14v seems to indicate however that the poem was continued on leaves which have fallen out from the manuscript. The lost page or pages will have contained verses 13-26.

Heading: The poem is introduced on fo. 14r, in place of a title, with the words *li-Ibn al-Wardī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-12, 27-52.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is preceded on fo. 2v-13v by -Būṣīrī, *Dhukhr al-maʿād* (GAL 1,313,^{III} S 1,472; Ahlwardt no. 7838-9) which is a poem in praise of Muḥammad with the rhyme consonant *-lām*, beginning:

الى متى انت بالذات // مشغول وانت عن كل ما قدمت مسؤل

In an end-note Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīda* is juxtaposed with the famous poem by Ka'b b. Zuhayr in imitation of which it was composed: *tammāt al-qaṣīda al-mubāraka al-musammātu bi-Dhukhr al-maʿād al-muʿāraḡa li-Bānat Suʿād li-l-Imām M. al-Būṣīrī*.

The third text (fo. 15v-32v), adduced anonymously and without a title, is the *Qaṣīda* rhyming in *-ā*, i.e. the *Hamziyya fī madḡ khayr al-bariyya* of al-Būṣīrī (= Ahlwardt no. 7826-27), again in praise of Muḥammad, with the incipit:

كيف ترقى رقيك الانبيا // يا سماء ما طاولتها سماء

Means of text stabilization: In the margin of fo. 14r there are a few explanatory glosses, e.g. ad v. 5b, *murtajj al-kafal, irtajja* = *taḡarraka*, or references to two words occurring in v. 33b, e.g. *iktifāʿ*, *ay: ijtizāʿ*, or a gloss above a word explained in v. 40 (وَأَتَيْتُ), last word of the first hemistich) by أَشْتَدُّ, written in the space between the hemistichs (fo. 14v).

Some textual variants have been included in the synopsis below.

17. Esad Efendi 3507/7 (Süleymaniyye)

Codicological description: A multiple-text volume partly bound in brown leather. Fo. 26v-28v. 80 verses. Foliation. Format: 12x19 cm. Face of text: 7,5x13,5 cm. 17 lines, written in two columns. No framing. Medium size, carefully written Naskhī hand with diacritical dots (occasionally unpointed, e.g. v. 32a, 70b) and some rare vocalizations (e.g. v. 77a). The last three lines, the apocryphal verses 78-80, have been written in a smaller script, possibly by an alien hand. The same verses 78-80 can also be found at the end of Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/3 (Pm. 8), with no variance. The copyist of the present text also copied the previous poem, i.e. that of al-Būṣīrī. Catchwords.

Red colours have been used to highlight the heading. The many headings entered in the margins which do not seem to be directly related to Ibn al-Wardī's text have also been written using red colour. The first heading, in the margin of fo. 26v, runs: *li-l-Marḥūm al-Shaykh Ḥasan al-Būrīnī raḍiya llāhu*, and relates to a poem inscribed underneath, rhyming in the letter *yā'* with the first word, *ilāhī*, written twice. The poems inscribed in the margins are mostly headed by the expression *wa-lahū*, i.e. the poet also composed the following [verses], or: *wa-li-ba'ḍihim*, or *li-ba'ḍ al-ḥuḍalā'*, or: *mimmā nasaba llāh li-l-Imām 'Alī karrama llāhu wajhahū*. As the verses are of a paranetic nature, their being placed in the margins seems appropriate.

Heading: The title of work runs Lāmiyyat Ibn al-Wardī.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-80.

Means of text stabilization: At a number of places letters have been wiped out and substituted thereafter: in v. 7a of fo. 26v *سنا* *bi-l-badri* seems to be a correction of a variant which may have originally been read as *bi-l-najmi*; in v. 8b; likewise the words *tajid amran* seem to be an alteration of an original variant. In v. 10b (fo. 27v, which is v. 37 in the Ms.), the expression *bal* in *هذا اذل* *bal* *عيشة الجاهل بل* seems to be an alteration. The expression *fī l-dunyā*, in v. 27b, is an alteration of an original variant which may be construed as *fa-l-dunyā*. Also the preposition *wa-'an* (*al-baḥri*) in v. 33b seems to be the result of a manipulation of the text in the manuscript. In the penultimate verse of the standard version (v. 76b) a correction marked *ṣaḥḥ* (*fī-him*) has been written between the lines, underneath the word corrected (*qalīlu al-māli fīhi*) which however has not been crossed out. The interlinear position of the gloss may be due to the fact that the margins have already been filled with notes, i.e. the poetical lines. In v. 65a redundant *alif* added erroneously to *wa-zur* has been crossed out (*غب وزرا*).

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is the third part in a multiple-text volume which has been designated erroneously, on the title page, as *majmū'at al-rasā'il* (the texts, with one exception, are poems, not scholarly tracts). Some of the poems copied on fo. 7r are signed with the dates 1143/1730-31, 1181/1767-68, 1184/1770-71.

Most of the texts constituting the volume are poems in Arabic but some Turkish and Persian verses have also been included, as e.g. in *Qaṣā'id wa-ghazaliyyāt* (fo. 1r), a selection which forms the first part of the volume; there follows 2) fo. 20v-26v, al-Būṣirī, *Qaṣīdat ilā matā anta bi-l-ladhdhāti mashghūlu* [= *Dhukhr al-ma'ād*; GAL 1,313,^{III}; Ahlwardt no. 7838-39]; 3) fo. 26v-28v, - *Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya* [of Ibn al-Wardī]; 4) fo. 29r-v, a *qaṣīda* on *lām* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-ʿImādī, Muftī Dimashq (d. 1051/1641; Kaḥḥāla 5,191); 5) [al-] *Manẓūma al-zakiyya*; 6) fo. 45v, *Qaṣīdat Ka'b b. Zuhayr, Bānat Su'ādu*; 7) *Qaṣā'id wa-ghazaliyyāt wa-l-tawārikh wa-ghayruhū*; 8), fo. 82v, *Risālat Raf' al-janāḥ wa-ḥifẓ al-janāḥ (?) bi-arba'ina ḥadīthan fī bāb al-nikāḥ*; 9) fo. 114v, *Qaṣā'id Nef'i Efendi*; 10) *Qaṣīdat al-Ḥulwānī*.

18. Esad Efendi 3690

Codicological description: A leather binding with golden decoration. No flap. Fo. 137v-139r. 77 verses. Format: 12,5x22 cm. Face of text: 6,5x17 cm. 23 lines per page written in two columns. Catchwords. Neat and carefully executed, small and partly vocalized Eastern Naskhi hand with full diacritical dots. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading, as well as the vocalizations and dots entered as hemistich markers. The red dots, only irregularly put between the hemistichs, have also been placed at the end of each verse. A note entered by one Muṣṭafā Nu'aym on fo. 86r is dated Rajab 1122/August-October 1710.

Heading: The heading (*Qaṣīda-i Lāmiyya li-Ibn al-Wardī*) on fo. 137v is hybrid, i.e. written partly in Turkish and partly in Arabic.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24-25, 23, 26-77.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is the last of about a dozen literary works or excerpts therefrom in a multiple-text volume. The content of the manuscript is miscellaneous, most texts however deal with politics (the manners and ethics of ministers; government). Several leaves between the individual texts have been left blank. The texts preceding Ibn al-Wardī's poem include the following works:

1. al-Māturidī, *K. Qawānīn al-wuzarā'*; 2. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *K. al-Ishāra ilā ādāb al-wuzarā'*; 3. id., *K. Ādāb al-salṭana, li-l-Imām al-madhkur*;
4. al-Jāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn (mā intakhabnāhu min K. ilkh, i.e. excerpts)*;
5. Muṣṭafā Nu'aym, *Kalimāt Aflāṭūniyya*; 6. Ibn Muqaffa', *Risāla fī akhlāq al-wuzarā'*;
7. al-Wazīr Köprülü, *Fawā'id laṭīfa, 'an khaṭṭ al-... Bāshā al-Wazīr Kübrilīniñ*;
8. al-Najāti, *Sharḥ Tārīkh al-'Utbī* (excerpts); 9. Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, *K. al-Sulūk wa-duwal al-mulūk* (excerpts); 10. Shams al-ma'ālī Qābūs, *Risāla maqbūla (?)*;
11. Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/789; GAL 1,177),

Waṣīyyat Imām-i A‘zam (cf. GAL 1,177,IXa); 12. *Fawā'id muta'alliqa bi-l-imāma, min Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya li-l-Māwardī*.

Means of text stabilization: The broad margins and spaces between the lines have been left clear of any notes or glosses.

5.3.2.6 Synopsis of verse sequences

Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, apo v = apocryphal verses

Aumer 587	Spr. 1930	Esad Ef. 3690	We. 702	We. 1748	Pm. 241	We. 409	We. 1793	Hs. or. 4438
1–16							18 a 14	
17								
18							(18↑)	
19								
20								
21								
22								
23		(23↓)						
24								
25–37		23 a 25						
38								
39						39 m		
40–43						(43↓)		
44						43 a 44		
45–49								
50–55				54 m				
56								
57								
58								
59							(59↓)	
60								

		54 a 51, 52 a 54, 55 a 53			50 m		51, 54 m	50–55
					58 a 56, 57 a 58, 60 a 57			56
	(57↓)			(57↓)	(57↑)			57
					(58↑)			58
	57 a 59						59 m	59
					(60↑)			60
				(61↓)				61
				61 a 62, 57 a 61				62
							63 m	63
								64
								65
							65 a 66, 66 a 67, 68 a 65; 69 m	66–70
					73 a 71		71 m	71
								72
					(73↑)			73–77
+3 apo v	+3 apo v		+78–80	+3 apo v (79+2)		+78– 80, +5 apo v		
Deviations:								
4	4	4	4	6	8	9	14	0

Two Mss. which have the sequence of 77 verses shared by most copies, viz. *Aumer 587* and *Sprenger 1930*, have been chosen as the reference in this synopsis. Pm. 241 also has the same order but it adds, at the poem's end, two extra, "apocryphal" verses – which it shares with Pm. 8. The copy with the highest number of verses which, for that reason, is treated as the reference in the synopsis of *textual* variants and as the basis of the edition, is *Petermann 8*. This manuscript has six and a half deviations – compared with Aumer – namely one transposition of verses, three full verses after v. 77 and 5 apocryphal hemistichs (!). In contrast to all copies of the "democratic version", verses 23 and 24 are inverted in Petermann

8 (and in Esad Ef. 3507) and, apart from the last-mentioned Süleymaniye-manuscript, it shares verse 78 with only one manuscript, i.e. We. 1748, and verse 79 with Pm. 654 (to be more precise: v. 79a starts with the same words as Pm. 654); furthermore verses 79-80 are also found in Pm. 241 and in Hs. or. 4438, albeit with variations.

Except for one transposition of verses (23 comes after 24) the standard order is also found in Pm. 8 which, with its additions of extra verses, becomes the longest copy of all Ibn al-Wardī-manuscripts. Two more copies (We. 702, 1748) have the same sequence of verses without any transpositions at all, but they are missing one verse each (62 and 54) and the second copy also adds, at the end, one extra verse. Esad Ef. 3507 is identical with Pm. 8 and includes three apocryphal verses at the end (with one transposition of verses, 23 comes after 24, and the three apocrypha, it has four deviations from the standard order). Esad Ef. 3690 is identical with the standard order except for one deviation (v. 23 comes after 25).

If one includes the apocryphal verses - which all occur at the end of the poem - the *number of verses* ranges from 68 (Sprenger 1966, with 9 verses missing) to 82 and a half (Pm. 8).

As regards the transposition of verses there is a *remarkable text stability*: of the 17 manuscripts examined (Süleymaniye, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612 has been excluded because, with only 38 extant verses, it is defective in the middle), 11 copies have at most one alteration in the verse order (the deviations mostly consist of verse omissions or additions after v. 77). The remaining six copies have deviations from the standard verse order ranging from 2 to 7 in Pm. 696. The last-mentioned copy, which shows the most deviations, also has the highest number of verse omissions, viz. 9 lines. If one ignores the addition of apocryphal verses, the overwhelming majority of copies shows minor deviations of only 1-3 verses omitted or changed in their order. Only in 3 copies is there a somewhat greater deviation, with 4 verse transpositions in We. 183 (from v. 38 on), with 1 missing and 7 misplaced verses in Pm. 696 (from v. 8 on), and with 5 verses misplaced and 9 verses missing in Sprenger 1966.

There is a small number of *verses at the end of the poem* which do not occur in the “democratic” version of Ibn al-Wardī and, following verse 77, there are considerable deviations in some manuscripts, which include greetings and blessings on Muḥammad the prophet and his beloved companions.

The majority of the copies, viz. 9 out of 17 manuscripts, end with verse 77 (including the Süleymaniye manuscript), two (Petermann 8, Wetzstein 1748) have an additional verse 78, and quite a number of manuscripts add further apocryphal verses. One manuscript, Pm. 8, adds extra verses after v. 78, namely 2 verses and five hemistichs. Four manuscripts have two or three apocryphal verses

after v. 77 (Pm. 241, We. 183, Pm. 654, Hs. or. 4438, BSB 1235), of which the last two verses, 79-80, are nearly identical in Pm. 8 and Pm. 241. One manuscript, We. 183, has a versified chronogram introduced by the words *fa-qultu mu'arrikhan*.

The three apocryphal verses in praise of Muḥammad, included in SBB Hs. or. 4438, are explicitly identified by a commentator called al-Ghumrī as not forming part of the author's text (*laisat min kalām al-nāẓim*), rather they are an accretion which somehow found its way into Ibn al-Wardī's *Lāmiyya*; al-Ghumrī (who wrote about 1031/1622) gives this information in a commentary he devoted to Ibn al-Wardī's poem, entitled *al-'Arf al-nadī fī sharḥ, etc.* (BSB Cod.arab. 1493). The three additional verses may be considered the result of an *exercise of piety*, on the part of the scribe, towards the prophet Muḥammad. By adopting the format of the poem, as regards rhyme-consonant and metre, the additions have come to be considered as part of the poem and were copied along with it. Al-Ghumrī's gloss, on the other hand, also shows that there was a full awareness, at least on the part of the commentators, of the phenomenon of an auctorial text and of an intrusion of verses into it which were not composed by the author.

It may be concluded, tentatively, that the overwhelming majority of manuscripts (i. e. the first 12 in the synopsis) were copied from a single exemplar whereas the last three (Petermann 696, Wetzstein 705, Sprenger 1966) may have been written down from memory.

There also seems to be greater stability in the structure of the transmitted text of Ibn al-Wardī as compared with al-Ūshī's poem.

5.3.2.7 Apocryphal verses

In the manuscripts of Ibn al-Wardī, a number of apocryphal verses, i.e. *abyāt*, are found, mostly at the end, which are neither in the reference manuscript nor in the "democratic version".

Moreover, in the first-mentioned manuscript, Petermann 8 (Ahlwardt no. 3999/3), three verses are included which are missing in other copies. The same three apocryphal verses – without any textual variants – may also be found in Ms. Esad Efendi 3507 whereas in the Berlin manuscript they are placed at the very end of the poem following v. 77.

Ms. Petermann 654 (Ahlwardt no. 3999/10) includes three apocryphal verses. Analogously to the reference manuscript this copy includes in v. 79 a prayer on the Prophet, the wording however differs from that of Ms. Petermann 8 (Ahlwardt no. 3993/3). The second hemistich may be considered a variant of v. 80b of Petermann 8 (طلع الفجر وما نجم افل):

وصلاة الله ربي كلما // طلع الشمس نهارة او اقل

The poetical line is followed by two more verses, again in praise of Muḥammad, which likewise are not found in any of the other copies of the poem studied:

للذي حاز العلى من هاشم // احمد المختار من ساد الاول
وعلى ال وصحب سادة // ليس فيهم عاجز الا بطل

BSB Cod.arab. 1235 includes, after v. 77, the following 3 apocryphal verses:

يا رسول الله ادرك عجلا // قم بنصري طيب الاصل عجل
وعليك الله صلى دائماً // يا رسول الله ما نجم سحُب هُمْل
وعلى الال مع الصحب فهم // نصروا الدين بسيف وأسْل

The first hemistich of the last verse may be related to v. 80a of the reference manuscript.

Ad v. 78a, the first of three apocryphal verses, there is a marginal correction (ادركني for ادرك), which is marked, both above the line and in the margin, by an arrow-shaped reference sign. Ad v. 79b there is a marginal gloss, marked with the letter *tā* (?), i.e. نصر الدين for نصروا الدين.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ghumrī al-Azhārī (wrote about 1031/1622), author of a commentary on Ibn al-Wardī’s poem, entitled *al-‘Arf al-nadī fī sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*, mentions in a final note (*tatimma*), that, having completed his commentary, he came across three verses which do not belong in the author’s poem (*laisat min kalām al-nāẓim*), i.e. which were wrongly attributed to him but which have nevertheless been inserted into the poem (e.g. BSB, Cod.arab. 1493, fo. 47v). The text of the three lines runs as follows:

وصلاة وسلاما ابدا // على النبي المصطفى خير الدول
وعلى اله الكرام الغر (?) // وعلى الاصحاب والقوم الاول
ما نوى الركب بعشاق الى // ايمن الحين (الحمى؟) وما غنى رمل

The three verses identified by al-Ghumrī as apocryphal are included in SBB, Hs. or. 4438 (v. 79-80 + 1 apocryphal verse), with minor variations in the 2nd, 3rd and 6th hemistichs:

وصلاة وسلاما ابدا // للنبي المصطفى خير الدول
وعلى الال الكرام السعدا // وعلى الاصحاب والقوم الاول
ما نوى الركب بعشاق الى // ايمن الحي وما غنى رمل

The manuscript used as the basis of the edition, Petermann 8 (Ahlw. no. 3999/3; in the synopsis: “B 3999/3”), includes five hemistichs added by the scribe in a note following the colophon.

The scribe says that, in some manuscript copy or other, he had found one additional verse which concludes the poem, or: by which he concludes the poem (*tatimmatan*). The verses quoted are five hemistichs in the Ramal-metre of which however only one, the last, ends in the letter *-lām*, like the *Lāmiyya*:

ابن وردى لنا اهدى دررا // يتعظ منها فتى يسمى بشر // ولها منهاج ماضى كالقمر // فهي
اثنان وثمانون اختصر //
عدة الابيات عقدا لا تُحل

The penultimate hemistich includes the information that the poem consists of 82 verses.

5.4 Al-Laqānī, Jawharat al-tawḥīd

5.4.1 Author

Abū l-Imdād Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Laqānī was born in a place called Laqāna - hence his *shuhra* - near Damanhūr in Egypt; his date of birth is not known. (Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar* 1,6-7; GAL 1,170,8 2,412 S 2,436; Zirikli 1,28; TDVĪA 27,130).

In his history called *Khulāṣat al-athar* 1,6-7 al-Muḥibbī mentions a few teachers under whom Burhān al-Dīn al-Laqānī had studied and gives the names of some of his Sufi shaykhs. He mentions, in this context, the Shāfi‘ī scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī as well as a few Mālikī jurists. According to an *ijāza* entitled *Thabt* included in BSB Cod.arab. 2020, Burhān al-Dīn studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ*-traditions of al-Bukhārī under the Muftī of the Mālikīyya in Cairo, Sālīm al-Sanhūrī al-Miṣrī (d. 1015/1606; GAL 2,393; Kahhala 4,204), who himself was associated with the East Iranian author via the celebrities Najm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī, Zakariyā’ al-Anṣārī, etc. The *ijāza* was granted by one Muḥammad al-Bābilī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Azharī to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Kāmili al-Dimashqī (d. 1131/1719; Kahhala 11,9) whose cre-

dentials the teacher had checked with a number of colleagues. As he was deprived of his eye-sight al-Bābili did not issue the certificate with his own hand but had someone else copy it (cf. Ms. BSB, fo. 11v-12r).

Al-Laḡānī belonged to a family of scholars who were highly sympathetic to Sufism (TDVİA 27,130). Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Abū Ḥabāja al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfi‘ī, the author of a commentary on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, entitled *Ḥilyat al-jīd* (one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 1363) tells us that Burhān al-Dīn himself was a follower of the very popular Egyptian Sufi Ibrāhīm b. Abī l-Majd b. Quraysh al-Dusūqī (d. 676/1277; Sha‘rānī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1,143-58; Ziriklī 1,59). According to this commentary, al-Laḡānī’s ancestor Muḥammad b. Hārūn used to stand up to honour the Sufi’s father, because he foresaw in his loins (literally: “his back”) the great saint who would rise up in the future (*inna fī ṣahriḥī walīyan*; fo. 11v).

Al-Laḡānī died in 1041/1632, at ‘Aqaba Aila, on his return from Mecca where he had performed the prescribed rituals of the Islamic pilgrimage, the *ḥajj*. He was buried there on top of a hill overlooking the waters of the Red Sea (Bājūrī, *Tuḥfa* 4).

5.4.2 *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*

Al-Laḡānī’s *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* or *al-Jawhara al-wāfiya*, his famous didactic poem of 144 Rajaz verses, an *urjūza muzdawija*, on theology, and thought to have been his most important work, also demonstrates the author’s strong inclination towards Sufism. In the poem (v. 81), Al-Junayd, the *shaykh al-ṭā’ifa* of the Sufis of Baghdad in the 3rd/9th c., is evoked as “Abū l-Qāsim”, a leader of the community on a par with Mālik [b. Anas]. Reminiscent of Sufi theory is the exhortation in v. 87 to ask one’s soul, i.e. oneself, to account for one’s deeds (*wa-ḥāsib an-nafs*). Fittingly, the poem has also been read and quoted by Sufis such as the famous eighteenth century Khalwatiyya shaykh and poet Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1162/1749). In one of the first verses of *al-Murshid al-mu‘īn fī l-ḍarūrī min ‘ulūm al-dīn*, a didactic poem on religious obligations (prayer, alms, fasting, etc.) and on *taṣawwuf*, al-Junayd is mentioned after the name of Mālik, and thus also evoked as an authority on mysticism; this poem was composed by the very learned Maghribi author ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn ‘Āshir in the eleventh/seventeenth century (cf. Aumer no. 216; also: *infra* [survey of didactic poems], p. 260).

It has been said that al-Laḡānī composed his poem in only one night (fo. 12r; Bājūrī, *Tuḥfa* 3) and that, by doing so, he was acting under the inspiration of his master, the Sufi Abū l-‘Abbās al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Sharnūbī (d.

994/1585; Kaḥḥāla 1,310; GAL 2,446 S 2,469) who himself wrote, inter alia, a mystical poem entitled *Tāʿīyyat al-sulūk ilā malik al-mulūk*.

His commentator, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, was also reckoned to have been a mystic: Brockelmann mentions in GAL S 2,459 that he was a disciple of the indefatigable Egyptian Sufi author al-Shaʿrānī and himself the author of some works on mysticism (GAL S 2,459; also *infra*).

Al-Laqānī's work entitled *Kashf al-kurūb li-mulāqāt al-ḥabīb wa-l-tawassul bi-l-maḥbūb* is a mystical Qaṣīda (cf. TDVĪA 27,131,¹¹). His *Nathr al-ma'āthir fī man adrakathum min 'ulamā' al-qarn al-āshir*, on the other hand, is pregnant with autobiographical traits (cf. TDVĪA, loc. cit.).

The *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* on the creed of Sunnī Islam is considered to be al-Laqānī's major work among a number of writings he composed.

The poem may be divided into three parts: 1. divinity (*ilāhiyyāt*), 2. prophecy (*nubuwwāt*), 3. eschatology and related matters (*sam'īyyāt*).

The author followed the school of Ashʿarī theology in treating his subject matters (cf. TDVĪA 7,458).

An excerpt from one of al-Laqānī's own commentaries, a shorter commentary (*sharḥuhū l-ṣaghīr*) on the *Jawhara*, is included in Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *K. al-Tawāṣī bi-l-ṣabr wa-l-ḥaqq*, etc., which the latter composed as an admonition to the Sufi novices. The text of the *Tawāṣī* is found only in a very small number of copies one of which is the dated manuscript (Shawwal 1273/June 1857) BSB Cod.arab. 1877 (cf. VOHD XVIIIB12) which contains, on its loose leaves without binding, two texts of this mystical author (the second text is *al-Mudām al-mudām al-bikr*, etc. on the remembrance of God). On fo. 9r of the Munich manuscript, al-Bakrī quotes a comment of al-Laqānī which he, al-Bakrī, sees as an interpretation of verse 137 of *al-Jawhara*: *wa-kullu khayrin fī ttibāʿi man salaf / wa-kullu sharrin fī btidāʿi man khallaf*, i.e. as literary proof of his teaching that the "innovations of the Sufis", i.e. their practices, prayers and technical language, just like the madrasas and ribats, are commendable innovations and exempted from the judgment implied in al-Laqānī's verse, i.e. that "everything bad is contained in the innovation of those who deviate".

The *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, as well as the commentary written by Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī on his own poem, have been disseminated widely, reaching as far as West Africa where Mss. of both texts, often bound together, have been found in the libraries of places such as Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Ségou (Hall, *Core Curriculum* 138).

Al-Laqānī's poem was printed for the first time in Bulak in 1241/1825-26 and thereafter several times again, accompanied by various commentaries related to it.

The prestigious encyclopedia of the Türk Diyanet Vakfı has a separate article on the text under “Cevheretü’t-Tevhîd” (vol. 7, p. 457) and the text is mentioned as no. 1 in the list of al-Laḳānī’s works in TDVİA 27,130.

5.4.2.1 Commentaries on *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*

The author himself, Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī, wrote a commentary entitled *Hidāyat al-murīd li-Jawharat al-tawḥīd* on his own *Jawhara* (manuscripts of this commentary are VOHD XVIIIB1 no. 45, XXXXVII4 no. 110) as well as two other commentaries of different length (cf. TDVİA 7,457). The article devoted to al-Laḳānī, in TDVİA 27,131, includes illustrations of the first and last page of the author’s commentary entitled ‘*Umdat al-murīd*.¹⁶⁷

Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī’s son, ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 1078/1668; GAL S 2,43; Zirikli 3,355, with a photograph of a colophon written by his hand; TDVİA 27,130), composed two commentaries on the didactic poem of his father. The longer of the two commentaries, *Ithāf al-murīd bi-Jawharat al-tawḥīd* is found in the following two manuscripts: BSB Cod.arab. 1631 (VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 297) and Cod. arab. 1659 (no. 325). The *Ithāf* is an elaboration of the commentary entitled *Irshād al-murīd* which was likewise written by ‘Abd al-Salām (cf. TDVİA 7,458). The majority of the commentaries and glosses written on the *Sharḥ* of ‘Abd al-Salām refer to the *Ithāf al-murīd*. The latter work has been used at Azhar university as a teaching manual at high school level (*lise kısmında; loc. cit.*).

BSB Cod.arab. 1659, i.e. the larger commentary of ‘Abd al-Salām, includes explanatory glosses in the margins derived from various works such as Şafidī, Mullawī and Shujā’ī (cf. the description in my catalogue VOHD XVIIIB9, no. 325).

An *ijāza*, i.e. a certificate of authorization, to transmit the *Sharḥ al-Jawhar[a]* of ‘Abd al-Salām, was granted in Shawwāl 1258/November-December 1842 by the Sufi Aḥmad al-Aşbaḥī al-Qādirī, *khādīm ni‘āl al-fuqarā’*, to one Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Bayṭār al-Qādirī al-Khalwatī who, in the following year, was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order by the Mufti of Damascus, Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Murādī (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 1994, fo. 3r-v). The person issuing the *ijāza* testifies that he had completed the reading of the commentary from beginning to end together with al-Bayṭār and had granted him the authorization to teach not only the *Sharḥ* but also everything else for which he himself had received an *ijāza* (fo. 3v; see also p. 84).

¹⁶⁷ This commentary appears to have been studied in West Africa (cf. Hall 2011, 171, fn. 306).

Another commentary on the base text is BSB Cod.arab. 1363 (Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Abū Ḥabāja al-Dumyāfī al-Shāfi'ī, *Ḥilyat al-jīd*); a supercommentary on the comm. of 'Abd al-Salām is BSB Cod.arab. 1350; one manuscript of 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Mukarramallāh al-'Adawī's glosses on 'Abd al-Salām's *Ithāf al-murīd* is VOHD XVIIB1 no. 46.

A commentary entitled *Tuḥfat al-murīd*, written by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shāfi'ī al-Bājūrī/Bayjūrī (d. 1277/1860; GAL 2,639 S 2,741; Kahhala 1,84; VOHD XVIIB9 no. 293/1), was published in 1971 in Beirut (ed. 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī). Al-Bājūrī was appointed head of the Azhar University in 1263h., and he kept himself busy teaching and writing. In his literary activity he seems to have had a special inclination for writing commentaries on (didactic) poetry such as the *Sullam* of al-Akhḍarī (logic), the *Fawā'id al-Shinshawriyya* (law of inheritance), the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī and the *Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b b. Zuhayr (both treating prophetology); he also wrote a gloss on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* (Bājūrī, *Tuḥfa* 5). According to a dating included in his commentary on the *Jawhara* he completed the *Sharḥ* at the beginning of Ṣafar 1234/December 1818 (op. cit. 238). A bibliographical notice in BSB Cod.arab. 2604 indicates that the *Jawhara* was studied in the nineteenth century in combination with the commentary of the author's son 'Abd al-Salām and/or that of Bayjūrī (*Ḥāshiyat al-B.*), in the Zāwīyat Hāmīl of the Raḥmāniyya Sufi order of Algeria.

For further commentaries on the base text, cf. GAL S 2,436.

5.4.2.1.1 Commentary of Aḥmad al-Jawharī

A commentary by the Sufi Aḥmad al-Jawharī al-Miṣrī (d. 1182/1768; GAL 2,435 S 2,459-60) entitled *Ḥawāshī 'alā sharḥ 'Abd al-Salām, etc.* is based on the commentary of 'Abd al-Salām on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*:

BSB Cod.arab. 1674 is dated 1178/1764, i.e. - if the ascription of the work to al-Jawharī, by an (anonymous) user of the manuscript, is correct - the copy was made only 23 years after the composition of the commentary and 4 years before the death of its author. In the manuscript, the acknowledgment of the work's provenance, found on the inside of the front cover as well as on the upper margin of fo. 1r, is formulated as follows: *yaqūl kātibuhū ba'd al-baḥṡ wa-l-taftīsh, tabayyana lī fī azmān ṭawīla anna hādhihī l-ḥāshiya al-mabtūra awwaluhā hiya li-l-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jawharī, hā'* (=intahā?) *Aḥmad al-Tilimsānī* (probably the name of the scribe?).

The manuscript is defective at the beginning but still comprises 220 pages.

On fo. 1r, in the margin, there is a note about a collation of the manuscript with the *Ḥāshiyat [Muḥammad] al-Amīr* (d. 1232/1816; GAL 2,412,1,b) ‘*alā l-Jawhara: yuqābal hunā min Ḥāshiyat al-Amīr ‘alā l-Jawhara ṣād 39.*

5.4.2.2 Manuscripts

Manuscripts of the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* are relatively numerous. Copies in German libraries include Ahlwardt (Berlin) no. 2044-45, GAL 2,412,1, S 2,436, VOHD XVIIIB2 no. 51c, XVIIIB5 no. 94, XXXXVII4 no. 109. Manuscript copies owned by libraries outside Germany are listed in VOHD XVIIIB2 and B5.

The text has been edited and translated by J. D. Luciani: *La Djaouhara. Traité de théologie par Ibrahim Laqani avec notes d’Abdesselam et d’el-Badjouri. Texte arabe et traduction française*. Alger 1907. The *Urjūza* is also included in the edition of al-Bājūrī’s *Tuḥfat al-murīd* made by ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Khalilī (Beirut 1971), on pages 239-45.

The following manuscripts, all in the possession of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, have been examined for the present study:

1. Ms. Berlin, Hs. or. 4831, fo. 1v-6v (=VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 94)
2. Ms. Berlin, Ms. or. Quart 618, fo. 1v-5v (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,³, Mq. 618)
3. Ms. Berlin, Sprenger 1956, fo. 4v-8v (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,²)
4. Ms. Berlin, Petermann 703, fo. 46v-51r (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,¹)
5. Ms. Berlin, Wetzstein 1732, fo. 27r-30v (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,⁴)
6. Ms. Berlin, Sprenger 1953, fo. 1v-14r (= Ahlwardt no. 2044)

A number of multiple-text volumes of the Süleymaniye library including copies of the *Jawhara* have also been consulted, e.g. Hacı Selim Aga 657, fo. 1v.¹⁶⁸

5.4.2.3 Concordance of work titles

Jawharat al-tawḥīd (Berlin, Hs. or. 4831, in a poetical preface to the text).

‘*Aqīdat matn al-Jawhara li-l-Shaykh al-Imām ilkh.* (Ms. or. Quart 618, title of work and author’s name are mentioned on the title page).

‘*Aqīdat al-jawhara fī ‘ilm al-tawḥīd li-l-Shaykh*, etc. (Sprenger 1956, Work title and author’s name are written in one line).

¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, due to a lack of time, the manuscripts kept in the mosque library of the Süleymaniyye could not be analyzed as thoroughly as the other copies.

5.4.2.4 Edition of text

The manuscript of reference is SBB-PK, Hs. or. 4831

1	الحمد لله على صلاته	ثم سلام الله مع صلاته
2	على نبيّ جاء بالتّوحيد	وقد عرى الدّين عن التّوحيد
3	بسيّفه وهديه للحقّ	فارشد الخلق لدين الحقّ
4	محّمّد العاقب لرسل ربّه	وآله وصحبه وحزبه
5	وبعد فالعلم باصل الدين	محتّم يحتاج للتّبيين
6	لكن من التّطويل كلّت الهمم	فصار فيه الاختصار ملتزم
7	وهذه أرجوزة لقّبتها	جوهرة التّوحيد قد هدّبتها
8	والله أرجو في القبول نافعا	بها مريداً في الثّواب طامعا
9	فكلّ من كلّف شرعا وجبا	عليه أن يوف ما قد وجبا
10	الله والجائز والممتنعا	ومثل ذا لرسله فاستمعا
11	اذ كلّ من قلّد في التّوحيد	إيمانه لم يخل من ترديد
12	ففيه بعض القوم يحكي الخلفا	وبعضهم حقّق فيه الكشف
13	فقال ان يجزم بقول الغير	كفى والا لم يزل في الضير
14	واجزم بأنّ أوّلا ممّا يجب	معرفة وفيه خلف منتصب
15	فانظر الى نفسك ثم انتقل	للعالم العلوى ثم السفلى
16	تجد به صنعا بديع الحكم	لكن به قام دليل العدم
17	وكلّ ما جاز عليه العدم	عليه قطعاً يستحيل القدم
18	وفسر الايمان بالتصديق	والنطق فيه الخلف بالتحقيق
19	فقل شرط كالعمل وقيل بل	شطر والاسلام اشرحّن بالعمل
20	مثال هذا الحج والصلاة	كذا الصيام فادر والزكاة
21	ورجحت زيادة الايمان	بما تزيد طاعة الانسان
22	ونقصه بنقصها وقيل لا	وقيل لا خلف كذا قد نقلا
23	فواجب له الوجود والقدم	كذا بقاء لا يشاب بالعدم
24	وانه لما ينال العدم	مخالف برهان هذا القدم
25	قيامه بالنفس وحدانية	منزّها اوصافه سنيّة
26	عن ضد او شبه شريك مطلقا	ووالد كذا الولد والاصدقاء
27	وقدرة ارادة وغايرت	امرا وعلما والرضا كما ثبت
28	وعلمه ولا يقال مكتسب	فاتبع سبيل الحق واطرح الريب
29	حياته كذا الكلام السمع	ثم البصر بذى اتانا السمع
30	فهل له ادراك او لا خلف	وعند قوم صحّ فيه الوقف
31	حي عليم قادر مريد	سمع بصير ما يشاء يريد

ليست بغير او بعين الذات	متكلم ثم صفات الذات	32
بلا تناهي ما به تعلقت	فقدرة بممكن تعلقت	33
ارادة والعلم عم ذي	ووحدة اوجب لها ومثل ذي	34
ومثل ذا كلامه فلنتبع	وعم ايضا واجبا والممتنعا	35
كذا البصر ادراكه ان قيل به	وكل موجود انط للسمع به	36
ثم الحيوه ما بشيء تعلقت	وغير علم هذه كما ثبت	37
كذا صفات ذاته قديمة	وعندنا اسماءه عظيمة	38
كذا الصفات فاحفظ السمعية	واختير ان اسماءه توقيفية	39
اوله او فوض ورم تنزيها	وكل نص اوهم التشبيها	40
عن الحدوث واحذر انتقامه	ونزّه القران اي كلامه	41
احمل على اللفظ الذي قد دلا	فكل نص للحدوث دلا	42
في حقه كالكون في الجهات	ويستحيل ضد ذي الصفات	43
ايجادا اعداما كرزقه الغنى	وجائز في حقه ما امكنا	44
موفق لمن اراد ان يصل	فخالق لعبده وما عمل	45
ومنجز لمن اراد وعده	وخاذل لمن اراد بعهده	46
كذا الشقي ثم لم ينتقل	فوز السعيد عنده في الازل	47
لكن لا مؤثر فلتعرفا	وعندنا للعبد كسب كلف	48
وليس كلا يفعل اختيارا	فليس مجبورا ولا اختيارا	49
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والخير كالا سلام وجهل الكفر	وجائر عليه خلق الشر	53
وبالقضا كما اتى في الخبر	وواجب ايماننا بالقدر	54
لكن بلا كيف ولا انحصار	ومنه ان ينظر بالابصار	55
هذا وللمختار دنيا ثبتت	للمؤمنين اذ بجائز علقت	56
بلا وجوب بل بمحض الفضل	ومنه ارسال جمع الرسل	57
فدع هوى قوم بهم قد لعبا	لكن بذا ايماننا قد وجبا	58
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ويستحيل ضدها كما رروا	ومثل ذا تبليغهم لما اتوا	60
وكالجماع للنساء في الحل	وجائز في حقهم كالاكل	61
شهادت الاسلام فاطرح المرا	وجامع معنى الذي تقررا	62
ولو رقى في الخير اعلا عقبة	ولم تكن نبوة مكتسبة	63
يشاء جل الله واهب المنن	بل ذاك بفضل الله يوتييه لمن	64
نبينا فمل عن الشقاق	وافضل الخلق على الاطلاق	65

وبعدهم ملائكة ذي الفضل	والانبياء يلونه في الفضل	66
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به الجميع ربنا وعمما	وخص خير الخلق أن قد تمما	69
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حتما اذل الله من له منع	ونسخه لشرع غيره وقع	71
اجز وما في ذا له من غض	ونسخ بعض شرعه بالبعض	72
منها كلام الله معجز البشر	ومعجزاته كثيرة غرر	73
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وكاتبون خيرة لن يهملوا	بكل عبد حافظون وكلوا	85
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فرب من جد لامر وصلا	فحاسب النفس وقلل الاملا	87
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نعيمة واجب كبعت الحشر	سوالنا ثم عذاب القبر	96
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بالانبياء ومن عليهم نصا	محضين لكن ذا الخلاف خصا	98
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حقّ فخفّف يا رحيم واسعف	واليوم الآخر ثم هول الموقف	103
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فتوزن الكتب والاعيان	ومثل هذا الوزن والميزان	105
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بهعدهم وقلّ يزداد من طغوا	ينال شرباً منه اقوام وفّوا	112
محمد مقدماً لا تمنع	وواجب شفاعة المشفق	113
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الفرد حادث عندنا لا ينكر	وجود شيء عينه والجوهر	123
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ولا انتقاض إنّ يعد للحال	منه المتاب واجب في الحال	125
وفي القبول رايهم قد اختلف	لكن بجدد توبة لما اقترف	126
ومثلها عقل وعرض قد وجب	وحفظ دين ثم نفس مال نصب	127
من ديننا يقتل كفرا ليس حد	ومن لمعلوم ضرورة جحد	128
او استباح كالزنى فلتسمع	ومثل هذا من نفى لمجمع	129
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وكل شر في ابتداء من خلف	فكل خير في اتباع من سلف	137
فما ابيح افعل ودع مل لم يبح	وكل هدي للنبي قد رجح	138
وجانب البدعة مما اخلفا	فتابع الصالح ممن سلفا	139
من الرياء ثم في الخلاص	هذا وارجو الله في الاخلاص	140
ومن يصل لهولاء قد غوى	من الرحيم ثم نفسي والهوى	141
عند السؤال مطلقا حجتنا	هذا وارجو الله ان يمنحنا	142
على نبي دابه المراحم	ثم الصلوة والسلام الدائم	143
وتابع لنهجه من امته	محمد وصحبه وعترته	144

5.4.2.5 Description of manuscripts

5.4.2.5.1 Mss. in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

1. Hs. or. 4831 (= VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 94)

This is the manuscript which has been chosen as reference for the present study (verse order; synopsis of variants) and it also serves as the basis for the edition.

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-6v. 144 verses. Format: 13,5x19,5 cm. Face of text: 8x13,5 cm. 13 lines written in 2 columns which are framed by a single line. Stains on the paper affect the legibility of the text at a number of places; mostly the first line of both columns on each page is blackened (e.g. v. 77, 90, 103, 115, 129). The first page may have been lost and has been supplied by a younger hand. Middle size eastern Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and a few vocalizations. Catchwords. Red colour has been used to highlight the expression *wa-ba'd* as well as the frame of the text and of the columns. For a detailed description of the manuscript see the catalogue VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 94.

The last three verses (v. 142-44) have been written underneath the text frame to be followed by the formula *tammāt al-urjūza bi-ḥamdillāh wa-ḥusn 'awnihī*, a rudimentary colophon.

Heading: The title of the work is given in verse 7 (fo. 1v, line 8): *wa-hādhihi ur-jūzatun laqqabtu-hā / jawharata l-tawḥīdi qad hadh-dhabtu-hā*.

Context: The first text of this composite manuscript – which also contains the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* - is a copy of al-Ūshī's *Bad' al-amālī*, fo. 7v-9v (cf. VOHD XVIIIB5 no. 106), incomplete at the end; there are seven other texts. The first

two texts are written by the same hand and the red text frame is largely identical in both parts. The other texts include works on Koran recitation (in Arabic and Turkish), e.g. the *-Shāṭibiyya* on *tajwīd*, on prosody, e.g. *K. al-'Arūḍ* of al-Andalusī, on Ḥanafī *fiqh* in general and on the law of inheritance in particular.

Means of controlling the text: On fo. 2r, l. 8, the two letters ك ل which were omitted in the first hemistich have been written underneath the base line and connected with the place of insertion through a line of three dots. Beneath the first hemistich of v. 24, i.e. last line of fo. 2a, the word نفع is written in small script, with unclear motivation, perhaps meant as an explanation. In the inner margin of fo. 2v, line 10, there is a gloss on the expression *'amma dhī* which ends the second hemistich. In the printed edition the word *lakin* precedes the expression but is missing in the manuscript copy. On fo. 3r, l. 7, the expression *fī ḥaqqihī*, written superfluously at the beginning of the second hemistich of v. 44, has been crossed out (by the scribe). On fo. 3a, l. 3 from below, v. 48, the expression *li-al-'abdi* had been omitted and was entered under the base line by means of a stroke of two dots; likewise, in the second hemistich of the same verse the expression *lā* was omitted and, once added, results in a metrically impossible reading inconsistent with the metrically correct variation of the print *wa-lam yakun*. The last word of the second hemistich of v. 62 (*al-mirā*, fo. 3v) has been written outside the text frame in the inner margin as no place was left within the frame.

2. Ms. or. Quart 618 (Mq. 618) (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,3)

Codicological description: Fo. 1r (title page), 1v-5v (text of poem). 144 verses. Format: 15,5x21,5 cm. Face of text: 9x15,5 cm. Middle size Naskhī hand with diacritical points and full vocalizations. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns. The hemistichs are separated from each other by a single drop. *Tā' marbūṭa* ۞ is written without dots when the expression is pronounced without endings (*i'rāb*), e.g. in v. 74b. Red colour has been used to highlight the verse markers and for the line drawn over the *sīn* of the basmala. Catchwords.



Fig. 22: Al-Laḡānī: *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*; explicit and marginal glosses; title page of Ibn Jamā'a's commentary on *Bad' al-Amālī* (SBB-PK, Ms. or. Quart 618, fo. 5v-6r).

Heading: The title of work and author's name are mentioned on the title page as follows: '*Aqīdat matn al-Jawhara lil-al-Shaykh al-Imām ilkh.*'

Arrangement of verses: v. 1-144.

Context: Underneath the vignette, written in eleven lines of decreasing length and ending with the letter *mīm* (fo. 1r), there are various notes and at least one literary excerpt, in poetical form, relating to the names of the 10 companions of Muḥammad who were promised entrance to paradise. On fo. 5v, there are some marginal glosses, i.a. in praise of sufficiency (*qanā'a*), the attainment of knowledge and on the birth date of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥā.. (Dhū al-Qa'da 1155/December 1742-January 1743).

Al-Laḡānī's poem, the first text in a composite manuscript, is followed by a commentary by Ibn Jamā'a on the poem of al-Üshī (fo. 6r, page opposite = the title page with vignette) entitled *Durj al-ma'ālī bi-sharḥ Bad' al-amālī* (fig. 22).

Means of text stabilization: In the inner margin of v. 17 (fo. 2r, l. 2) there is a correction note marked *ṣaḥḥ* relating to the first expression of the first hemistich written *وكل ما* (the gloss has *وكل ما*).

In v. 78b (fo. 3v, l. 12) the expression *fa-ahl* has been crossed out so that the hemistich begins *fa-Uḥudun* which is metrically impossible. In v. 109b (fo. 4v, l. 9) the superfluous final letter *yā'* added to *li-jāḥidīn* has been crossed out. Erroneous *fī* has been crossed out in v. 125b (fo. 5r, l. 8).

Underneath the words علم وغير (in v. 37a, fo. 2v, l. 5) the *grammatical terms* *mubtada'* and *khavar* have been added. The same grammatical expressions have also been inscribed underneath two words in v. 122b (fo. 5r, l. 5). Similar markings may be found in many places (e.g. *mas'ala* 130, 131) in the Amasya Ms. Bayezid II Halk Kütüphanesi no. 2931 of the mystical tract '*Uyūn al-ajwiba fī funūn al-as'ila* of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, copied in a Damascus madrasa in Dhū l-Qa'da 968/1561.

The expression لما in v. 24a (fo. 2r, l. 9) has been marked with a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 2 to which corresponds the explanatory expression تعالى which is marked likewise. Another *interlinear explanation*, in v. 25, has been written above the related expression. In v. 34, behind the last word of the first hemistich there is a *sign resembling the Arabic numeral 4*, underneath the end of the second hemistich there is another one resembling numeral 2. In the inner margin there is an explanatory gloss introduced by *ay* (=i.e.) without however any indication as to the place to which it refers. On fo. 3v, l. 1, the numeral 3 has been written beneath two words, and elsewhere on the same page (v. 69, 72), the numeral 8. The divine qualities *as-sam'* and *al-baṣar* discussed on fo. 2v in the pertaining gloss in the outer margin are marked within the poem (v. 36-37), as also the word *hādhihī*, with a sign resembling the numeral 3 (lines 5-6).

In the left (inner) margin of v. 37 (fo. 2v, l. 5) there is an explanation of the term تعلقت with which the verse ends. In the right margin there is an explanatory gloss relating to the expression هذه occurring in v. 37a. The expression has been marked within the line with a sign resembling the letter 'ayn in initial position with an extended horizontal stroke. The same sign has also been used in the outer margin, written *above the expression ay which introduces the gloss*. The expression كما ثبت included both in the text (v. 37a = fo. 2v, l. 5) and in the related gloss, has been overlined in the latter place. An explanatory gloss (*ay Allāh*) has been entered in v. 35b underneath the expression *kalāmuhū*. On fo. 3a, in the inner margin, an explanatory gloss is *connected by a stroke* with the expression *wa-minhu* (v. 55a) which it explains as *mimmā yajib imānunā*, i.e. it is part of the required belief-system. On the outer margin of fo. 2a is an excerpt from (*nuqila min*) *Majālis al-Rūmī*. In the outer margin of v. 98 (fo. 4r, l. 15) there is an explanatory gloss connected by a stroke with

the term to which it relates; explanatory glosses may also be found ad v. 72b, relating to the expression غَض. In the outer margin of fo. 5r, l. 2, ad verse 119b, there is an explanatory gloss which is introduced by *ay*.

3. Sprenger 1956 (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,2)

Codicological description: Fo. 4v-8v. Format: 15,5x22 cm. Face of text: 10,5x18 cm. 17 lines per page in 2 columns. Catchwords. Middle size vocalized Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. There are some conspicuous ligatures, final *hā'* (v. 4a-b) and *tā' marbūṭa* (v. 25), in particular. The base line of some letters has been extended and reinforced through blackening.

Various colours, viz. two shades of red and of green, have been used to highlight the heading (both in red and green), as well as selected expressions (*wa-ba'd, asmā'uhū*, etc.), whole verses and verse markers. Red colour has been employed to fill or reinforce the cavities of some letters, as well as the ligature *lā* at the end of the hemistichs – occasionally by use of a darker shade of red. Green colour has been used to reinforce the prongs/teeth of the letter *sīn* of the Basmala which precedes the heading.

A “drop” separates the hemistichs. In v. 129a the space left at the end of the first hemistich (fo. 8v, l. 2) has been filled by multiple clusters of drops. In some verses the last word of the first hemistich has been written erroneously as the first word of the second hemistich (e.g. v. 117 = fo. 8r, l. 7). In order to correct the wrong division a drop has been added after the first word of the second hemistich. In a small number of cases, words at the end of a first hemistich have been torn apart, with first and last letters written right and left of the verse marker, resp. (e.g. v. 109 = fo. 7v, pu.). Final letters of a word at the end of a verse may be written above the line in order not to encroach upon the margin (e.g. v. 59b = fo. 6r, u.). Some orthoepic signs are used which seem to have been derived from the subject of Koran recitation, e.g. the additional letter *mīm* written underneath the word *mā* in the expression زور ما عليه, i.e. *zūrummā 'alayh* (v. 51 = fo. 6r, l. 9). A colophon inscribed in fo. 75v includes the dating 1. Dhū l-Ḥijja 1261/1. December 1845.

Heading: Work title and author's name are written in one line ('*Aqīdat al-jawhara fī 'ilm al-tawhīd li-l-Shaykh*, etc.) preceding the Basmala. The latter is followed by the supplication “we ask succour from him who supports (*mumidd*) the world” ('*awn* and *kawn* are rhyme words).

Arrangement of verses: V. 1-144.

Apocryphal verses: Three additional *muzdawaj*-verses have been added by the scribe on fo. 9r, l. 1-3, concerning the number of verses of the poem (v. 1), the author's name (v. 2) and in praise of his poem (v. 3). For the text of these verses see *infra*.

Context: The beginning of the *Jawhara* (fo. 4v) is separated from a preceding poem on *tajwīd*, viz. Ibn al-Jazari's *al-Muqaddima* (Ahlwardt no. 505) by a band filled with floral decoration. The last six lines of the first poem fill the upper third of the page; both poems were written by the same hand. Al-Laqānī's poem is followed, on fo. 9r, by the lesser of the creeds of al-Sanūsī, entitled *Umm al-barāhīn*. Further texts included in this volume are *Ḥirz al-*

amānī (= *al-Shāṭibiyya*) (Ahlwardt no. 603, fo. 13v-50r) and '*Aqīlat al-atrāb* or *al-Rā'iyya* (Ahlwardt no. 494, fo. 50v-60r) both authored by al-Shāṭibī, as well as a tract on the Koran readings of Ḥafṣ by Abū l-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī (Ahlwardt no. 648, fo. 60v-75v).

4. Pm. 703 (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,1)

Codicological description: Fo. 46v-51r. Format: 15x21 cm. Face of text: 9x14 cm. 15 lines per page. 144 verses written in two columns, without frame. The verses have been numbered, in the margins, in tens, either by the scribe or by the commentator. Middle size and fair, vocalized Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. Catchwords. The last letters of some words at the end of a line have been written above the *rasm* in order not to encroach upon the margin (e.g. v. 21b, final letter *nūn* of *al-insān*). In some places, letters composing a word are written far apart to fill a hemistich (e.g. v. 42a).

Arrangement of verses: V. 1-144.

Means of controlling the text: The margins are filled with explanatory glosses; exceptionally there are some interlinear glosses, with others written between the columns.

Some superfluous expressions have been crossed out (e.g. fo. 47r, ppu., v. 26a, the preposition *min* in: *min sharīk*). In v. 64b (fo. 48v, l. 6) the first word of the second hemistich, the expression *li-man* which had been written erroneously, has been crossed out and written above the line at the end of the first hemistich.

V. 66a which had been omitted has been supplied in the margins; v. 67a, likewise omitted, has been written between the columns, vertically, from the bottom to the top (similar instances may be found on fo. 48r, 48v, 49r). Line 8 on fo. 48v, made up of v. 66b and 67b, has thus been corrected. The superfluous expression *dhī* after *kull* in v. 67b has also been corrected through deletion. Some individual letters omitted have been supplied above the line (e.g. fo. 49v, l. 2 = v. 91a, *dhanab*). Some glosses in the margins have been connected with their place of reference in the text by strokes (e.g. fo. 48r).

5. We. 1732 (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,4)

Codicological description: Fo. 27r-30v. Format: 13,5x19 cm. Face of text: 10x16 cm. The copy is incomplete at the beginning, the text begins with verse 17. A first page seems to have been lost. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns without frame or any verse markers. Middle size, untrained Naskh hand with full diacritical dots and a few vowel signs. The vocalizations are often wrong and there are also numerous misspellings. Catchwords. The last word of v. 90, on fo. 29r, l. 3, has been ejected and written in the outer margin in order not to break up the border of the column.

Arrangement of verses: 17-23, 25-54, 56-144.

Context: A composite manuscript including texts which are written by different hands.

Means of controlling the text: Realizing that the space reserved for the first hemistich of v. 64 (on fo. 28r) was not sufficient, the scribe crossed it out and wrote it anew in the subsequent line. A blank space of half a line follows the deleted first hemistich. The superfluous letter *alif* has been crossed out in the expression *al-wuḍū'* (fo. 29r, ppu. =v. 102b).

6. Sprenger 1953 (= Ahlwardt no. 2044)

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-14r. 11 lines. Catchwords. Large, clumsily written vocalized Naskh hand with full diacritical dots. The first four lines of this copy of the poem consist of one full verse each and the hemistichs are separated from one another by a circular verse marker. From the fifth line after the Basmala, each line consists of one hemistich only. Here a verse marker or multiple thereof terminates every line. Some letters have been written far apart, irregularly (e.g. the expression *jā'iz*, in v. 61 = fo. 6v, l. 8) to fill up the space of the line. Due to lack of space, the last word of v. 80b (fo. 8v, l. 3) has been written vertically from the bottom to the top. The last two words of the second hemistich of v. 144 (fo. 14r, ppu.) have been written in the outer margin vertically from the bottom to the top and connected through a stroke to the place of insertion. The colophon has not been written in the usual triangular form, as would be expected, but in lines of equal length.

Heading: The poem is followed on fo. 14r by a colophon of two lines which include the title of the work (*Jawharat al-tawḥīd*) as well as the scribe's name (*min yad adnā l-'ābid Aḥmad* [end of page and microfilm copy; the scribe's name is not mentioned in Ahlwardt's description of the manuscript no. 2044]); the first words of the colophon have been overlined, i.e. the words *qad tamma [al-manẓūma]*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-70, 72, 71, 73-144.

Means of controlling the text: In v. 11 the wrongly written final word of the 2nd hemistich has been supplied in the margin, marked by letter *ṣād*, the word in the text has partly been blackened (fo. 2r, l. 8). One expression in v. 57a (fo. 6r, u.) had been blackened and was then supplied by the scribe, beneath the line, and marked with *ṣaḥḥ*. An added stroke serves to mark the place of insertion. On fo. 9v, in the upper margin, there is an explanatory gloss referring to the pronunciation of the letter *dāl* in an unspecified word. The place of reference is unclear; the gloss, which has been written upside down, includes an indication of the author as source (*qālahū al-mu'allif*). On the same page, in the right margin, ad v. 95b, a variant – not fitting the metre – (*bi-mā qad*,

for: *mā*) has been supplied marked with the letter *khā'* and with a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 7. The latter sign is also found in the text of the poem where it indicates the place of insertion. In the upper margin of fo. 11v, above verse 112b, there is an explanatory gloss, marked with the letter *mīm*, which interprets the expression *اي يمنع وطر د يز ا د* as follows: *اي يمنع وطر د*.

5.4.2.5.2 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

7. Hacı Selim Aga 657

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-7r. 144 verses. 13 lines to the page written in two columns. The text of the poem has been framed by two red lines, the columns are framed against each other by a single red line. Catchwords. Middle size Naskhī hand, slightly bent to the left with diacritical points and a few vocalizations.

Heading: The text is headed by the *basmala* which is inscribed in a rectangle.

Arrangement of verses: 1-70, 72, 71, 73-144.

Context: A collective – composite – manuscript of 12 texts in which the *Jawhara* is the first, beginning on fo. 1v. A list of contents mentions the titles of 11 works.

The overwhelming majority of the texts in this *majmū'a* treat the dogma of Sunnī Islam, and they were copied between the years 1065/1655 and 1151/1738-39. A salient feature of this composition is the fact that the first and last two works are poems, while the remaining are prose texts.

On fo. 7r, separated only by the colophon of the *Jawhara* which has been written in a triangular form framed by a single line, there follows (fo. 7r-9v) the *Bad' al-amālī* of al-Ūshī as the second text of the *majmū'a*.

The subsequent texts in the order of their placement in the volume may be listed as follows:

1. 'Umar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; GAL 1,548-50), *Aqīda*; incipit: *qāl ahl al-ḥaqq ḥaqā'iq al-ashyā' thābita* (fo. 10v)
2. Abū l-Mu'īn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114; GAL 1,547); inc.: *al-ḥamdu lillāh dhī l-Jalāl ... i'lam annī a'taqid ma'rifat Allāh* (scribe: Muṣṭafā b. 'Uthmān; fo. 18v; another manuscript is VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 82)
3. *Tadhkira wa-tabṣira*; inc.: *al-ḥamdu li-dhātihī li-walīyihī bi-dhātihī* (dated Rajab 1144/January 1732; fo. 87v)

4. Saḥʿaqlizāde, *Risāla fī bayān tajdīd al-asmāʾ*; inc.: *yaqūl al-yāʾis ... in qulta: mā taqūl fī muslim yaqūl li-tajdīd imānihi, yā rabb in ṣadara minnī kufr* (92v-94r)
5. Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (fo. 95v-99r)
6. Abū l-Maḥāmid al-Bukhārī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *ʿAqāʾid al-Ṣābūnī*; inc.: *al-ḥamdu lillāh dhī l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām ... ammā baʿd, fa-lammā tayassar al-farāgh ... min K. al-Kifāya fī l-Hidāya, iltamasa minnī ... an ulakhhkhiṣ minhu mā huwa l-ʿumda* (scribe: Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr; fo. 99v)
7. Khaṭṭāzāde, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, *Zād al-maḥkūm fī ḥadīth al-majdhūm*; inc.: *al-ḥamdu lillāh ghāfir al-khaṭāyā* (dated Ramaḍān 1151/December 1738-January 1739; fo. 123v)
8. Amīr Maḥmūd al-Sakkākī, *ʿAqāʾid al-Sakkākī* or *K. Ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa*; inc.: *qāl rasūl Allāh, lā tajtamiʿ ummatī ʿalā l-ḡalāla* (dated 1088/1677-78; fo. 133v)
9. Abū l-Najā b. Khalaf al-Miṣrī (d. 896/1491; Kaḥḥāla 13,76), *Manzūma fī l-ʿaqāʾid* (scribe: Ḥusain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, dated 22. Rabiʿ I. 1065/30th January 1655; fo. 143r-170r)
10. Khiḍrbeg (d. 863/1459; GAL 2,296-97), *al-Nūniyya fī l-ʿaqāʾid* (scribe: Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, dated 1138/1725-26; fo. 170v-174r)

Text no. 11 is an *urjūza* on dogma (*manzūma fī l-ʿaqāʾid*), written in 2 columns of 13 lines to the page, albeit deficient at the beginning. The incipit on fo. 143r runs: *fa-innahū ḥaqīqatu l-īmāni / yunjī (!) min al-khulūdī fī l-nirāni*. The copied text is interrupted by thematical headings written in red colour and framed by a single red line. The first headings may be read as follows: *fī bayān al-īmān ʿalā kull ḥāl; fī bayān ʿaqd al-īmān; fī bayān anna al-aʿmāl ghayr dākhila fī l-īmān; fī bayān anna al-ʿiṣyān lā yuḥbiṭ al-īmān*. The explicit: *wa-intaẓamat ḥādhihi l-ʿuqūd al-ḥasana / fī siʿat al-ʿaysh wa-ṭib al-azmina, wa-qad maḍat li-l-umma al-mumtaḥana / khamsumiʿa thumma sittūna sana*, i.e. the poem was composed in 560/1164-65(!).

The subsequent and final text in the volume is another poem, rhyming in – n, written in two columns of 15 lines framed by a single red line. The 105 verses are composed in the Basīṭ-metre. The incipit, on fo. 170v, reads: *al-ḥamdu lillāh ʿālī l-waṣf wa-l-shān / munazzah al-ḥukm ʿan āthār al-buṭlān* (other manuscripts are VOHD XVIIIB6 no. 132-33).

Al-Ūshī's poem is written in a rather careless manner: the style of writing changes, and the second hemistichs precede the first ones of each subsequent verse in each line. The reason for this *anomaly in the page layout* is that the very first hemistich - by virtue of the fact that the work-title is included in it - has been

set apart and written as the first line of the poem, so that the second hemistich of v. 1 follows in the second line of which it forms the beginning, etc.

The columns have been framed by a single red line as in the first text of the volume. Some hemistichs have been vocalized, others have not. Last words have been extended in order to fill a line by leaving ample space between the letters of a single word (!), e. g.: لَ غَيْرَ وَبَا (v. 55b). Some words in the last hemistich of the poem (v. 70b), probably written incorrectly, have been deleted, resulting in the reading: لَمَنْ بِالْخَيْرِ يَوْمًا قَدْ دَعَا لِي.

Means of stabilizing the text: On fo. 3v the penultimate word in the second hemistich of l. 2 has been corrected. In v. 52, the originally written فَي has been changed to فَحَادِر, however the dot of *dāl* in *fa-ḥādhir* has been omitted. In the following line, i.e. v. 53, the word خَلَق *khalq* had been omitted in the first hemistich and was added in the margin, perhaps by an alien hand, with a small prefixed circle to mark the place of insertion. On fo. 4r, v. 70a, the first word, بَعَثَهُ *ba'thuhū* (?), has been changed from what may have been originally *ba'thatuhū* بَعَثْتَهُ, by deleting the redundant letter in this variant.

5.4.2.6 Synopsis of verse sequences

As has been done with the other didactic poems of our corpus, the manuscripts have been arranged in the following charts according to the frequency of deviations from the reference.

Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, apo v = apocryphal verses

Hs. or. 4831	Petermann 703	Sprenger 1956	Ms. or. Quart 618	Sprenger 1953	Süleymaniye, Hacı Selim Aga 657	Wetzstein 1732
1-16						(1-16 m [acephalous])
17-24						24 m
25-55						55 m
56-71				(71↓)	(71↓)	
72				71 a 72	71 a 72	
73-144						
Deviations:						
0	0	0	0	1	1	18

In the three manuscripts Pm. 703, Spr. 1956 and Mq. 618 the arrangement of verses is identical with that of the reference manuscript Hs. or. 4831 which comprises 144 verses. In three further manuscripts, Spr. 1953, Süleymaniye, Hacı Selim Aga 657 and We. 1732, there are deviations which however are negligible.

In Spr. 1953 there is only one transposition of lines, viz. verses 72 and 71 have been inverted. The Süleymaniye manuscript has the same transposition with v. 71 coming after 72.

In We. 1732, on the other hand, which is an acephalous manuscript, the first 16 verses are missing and there is also one verse wanting, both after v. 23 and after v. 54.

Apart from the transposition of verses 71 and 72 - which indicates that Mss. Süleymaniye and Spr. 1953 have an identical filiation - and besides the two deviations in the defective manuscript We. 1732, viz. an omission of two verses, there is remarkable stability in the structure of this poem. This stability can be explained by the fact that transmission of the text was predominantly written transmission. By contrast to al-Ūshī's poem there are relatively few copies of the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* extant, suggesting that the latter has enjoyed less popularity than did the *Bad' al-amālī* and was thus less often memorized. Given the higher number of verses in the *Jawhara* (it is nearly twice as long as the *Bad' al-amālī*), it is obviously more difficult to learn al-Laḡānī's poem by heart.

5.4.2.7 Apocryphal verses

In the manuscripts of *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* only very few apocryphal verses could be detected.

In Spr. 1956, the scribe has added three *muzdawaj*-verses at the end of the poem (fo. 9r, l. 1-3), indicating the number of verses in the poem, i.e. 144 (v. 1), giving the author's name (v. 2), and then praising the poem, claiming that it surpasses all other texts, both long and short (v. 3):

وعدة الابيات جاءت مائة * ثم اربعون بعد اربعة
ثم ناظمها العلامة اللقاني * صنفه يا مولاي بالجنان
لانها نظم عظيم معتبر * فاق المتون ما بسط والمختصر

5.5 Al-Sanūsī, al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā

One prose text which has been copied many times will be studied in the following to check whether or not the phenomenon of variance, in its different manifestations, has the same scope in prose literature as it has in poetry. By way of example the very popular and succinct text on the dogma of Sunnī Islam by al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn*, to mention but one title variant, will be examined.

5.5.1 Author

Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. Shu‘ayb al-Ḥasanī al-Sanūsī was born in Tilimsān in 832/1428 or 838/1434 where he studied first under his father and thereafter at the local madrasas. He went to Algiers where he learnt ḥadīth under Abū Zayd al-Tha‘ālībī (d. 875/1470; Kaḥḥāla 5,192). He also studied mathematics, logic, and certain areas of law such as *farā’iḍ*, i.e. inheritance, as well as the canonical readings of the Koran (*al-qirā’āt al-sab’a*). In Algiers he joined the Sufi order of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Tāzī (d. 1462; TDVĪA 36,534c) and he received the Sufi gāberdine from him in Oran (Wahran; Daub, *Katechismen* 5). His student Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Mallālī (fl. 897/1492; GAL 2,323) wrote a biography devoted to al-Sanūsī which he entitled *al-Mawāhib al-quḍsiyya fī al-manāqib al-Sanūsiyya* (TDVĪA 36,534c-535a) and which, as indicated by the title, belongs to the hagiographical genre of Islamic literature. Al-Sanūsī died in 892/1486 or Jumādā II 895/May 1490 in Tilimsān where he had spent most of his life and where he was buried.

Bio-bibliographical sources: *Hadīya* 2,216; GAL 2,323-6 S 2,352; Kaḥḥāla 12,132; EI, second ed., 9,20-2; Muhammed Aruçi, art. “Senûsî, Muhammed b. Yûsuf”, in TDVĪA 36,534-535.

5.5.2 Al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā

5.5.2.1 Contents, edition and translations

Although al-Sanūsī authored works on most areas of the Islamic sciences he is best known for his writings on *kalām*. He proposed an interpretation of theology according to the teachings of Ash‘arī scholasticism for whose spread in North Africa he prepared the ground. The credos contain rational explanations for the assertions of Islamic dogma (cf. TDVĪA 2,219-20, article “Akâidü’ s-Senûsî”). To distinguish the present work, *Umm al-barāhīn*, from two other, somewhat longer

credos written by the same author (*al-‘Aqīda al-wuṣṭā* [one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 2635/10]; *al-‘Aqīda al-kubrā*), the *Umm al-barāhīn* has become known as the “Lesser Credo”, *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuġhrā*. After a very succinct credo entitled *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣaġhīra*, the *Umm al-barāhīn* is the shortest of all the catechisms of this author (Daub 2010, 24). Subsequently, and for a long time, the *Umm al-barāhīn* was used as a teaching manual in Western Africa, in Nigeria and Mali in particular, as well as in the countries of Southeast Asia such as Malaysia and Indonesia (one of the manuscript copies which will be examined in the following, Schöm. XI, seems to have originated in the Malay archipelago). According to Hall 2011, 137, 170, in the area of dogma, the *Umm al-barāhīn* is the most widely circulated text in West Africa and, up to the present day, al-Sanūsī’s works in general are still studied in the teaching institutions of Fas and the Azhar mosque university of Cairo (cf. Daub 2010, ch. 5: “Die Verwendung der Katechismen zu Lehrzwecken und ihre Verbreitung”, 78-80).¹⁶⁹ His ideas have lived on in the exegetical writings of the Algerian scholar ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs (d. 1359/1940; Kaḥḥāla 5,105) and in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of the Egyptian reformer Muḥammad ‘Abduh (d. 1323/1905; Kaḥḥāla 10,272-4). Despite the fact that al-Sanūsī had accepted belief in predestination (*cebīr görüşünü benimsemi*) and that he identified with Sufism he attributed greater importance to rational knowledge (Aruçi). A summary of the contents of this credo can be found in Daub 2010, 24-37.

The text has been edited by Moritz Wolff, in *El-Senusis Begriffsentwicklung, etc.*, Leipzig 1848, Arabic part, 2-10. The manuscript on which the edition of Wolff is based however does not seem to have been identified.

A German translation, made from Wolff’s edition and collated with the commentary of al-Bājūrī, has been included in Max Horten, *Muhammedanische Glaubenslehre. Die Katechismen des Fudālī und des Sanūsī. Übersetzt und erläutert von M. H.*, Bonn 1916, chapter: “Der kleine Katechismus des Sanūsī”, 45-53. Turkish translations of the credos were made by Hüseyin b. Muhammed (TDVİA 36,535^{b, eserleri, 2}). A study of al-Sanūsī’s catechisms was the subject of the Master’s dissertation by Frederike-Wiebke Daub (Jena/Hamburg), “Die Katechismen des Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsī (gest. 1490)” which was submitted at the Friedrich Schiller-Universität Jena in 2010.

¹⁶⁹ Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi* (London: Hurst, 2005), 79-86 has shown how the ‘*Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuġhrā* (sic!) was used as a basis for other didactic texts in West Africa (cf. Hall 2011, 137, fn. 72).

5.5.2.2 Commentaries and other derivative works

The credo has become the object of numerous commentaries. Manuscripts of *shurūḥ* on the short text, some of which have been used in the present study, include the following codices: al-Sanūsī's own commentary, *K. Tawḥīd ahl al-'irfān wa-ma'rifat Allāh wa-rusulih bi-al-dalīl wa-al-burhān* (BSB Cod.arab. 1521/8; Ms. Carullah Ef. 2125, where the commentary follows the foundational text [*infra*]); Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī al-Mallālī (fl. 897/1492; GAL 2,323), *Sharḥ 'alā 'Aqīdat al-Sanūsī* (BSB Cod.arab. 1598/3; VOHD XVIIIB3 no. 97 [*Sharḥ Umm al-b.*]); Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Hudhudī (d. 11th/17th c.; GAL 2,324,II,7 S 2,354), *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn* (BSB Cod.arab. 1434, 1765; VOHD XVIIIB6 no. 136/1); Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujirī al-Mullawī (d. 1181/1767; GAL 2,467 S 2,482), *Ḥāshiya 'alā Umm al-barāhīn* (Cod.arab. 2422 = VOHD XVIIIB10 no. 107,₂); al-Bājūrī/Bayjūrī (d. 1276/1860), *Ḥāshiya 'alā l-'Aqīda al-Sanūsīyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 1627/1); al-Ḥafṣī (d. 1114/1702), *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn* (BSB Cod.arab. 1652); Muḥammad b. 'Abdalwahhāb (Cod.arab. 1405 = VOHD XVIIIB9 no. 71); an anonymous abridgment entitled *al-Dalīl al-jumalī* is BSB Cod. arab 1853, fo. 9v-19r, part 3 of a multiple-text volume, dated 1277/1860, and written by two Maghribi hands.

According to the *Maqāla tata'allaq bi-bayān tafṣīl aḥwāl al-Zāwiya al-Hāmiliyya al-Qāsimiyya* contained in BSB Cod.arab. 2604, the *'Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā* was studied in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the convents of the Algerian Raḥmāniyya Sufi order, together with the author's commentary as well as with that of al-Bayjūrī.

Besides the commentaries, the *Umm al-barāhīn* has also become the object of several versifications: One of these poets, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr b. Bughayogho al-Wangarī (d. 1655), has already been mentioned (*supra*, p. 129) as the author of a commentary on al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda which was studied by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. He was the nephew of Muḥammad Bughayogho (d. 1594), a scholar from Timbuktu who is mentioned in Hunwick, ALA 4,33; Hall 2011, 137. Al-Nābulusī wrote a commentary entitled *al-Laṭā'if al-unsīyya 'alā naẓm al-'Aqīda al-Sanūsīyya* on the versification of the latter; the name given in BSB Cod.arab. 2551a is Muḥammad b. A. b. M. b. Maḥ. b. Abī Bakr Baghya' (sic!) al-W. (cf. VOHD XVIIIB10 no. 106). The poem, completed in Shawwāl 1020/January 1612 (cf. VOHD), can be found with a commentary in the manuscript BSB together with al-Nābulusī's *Sharḥ* (the commentary entitled *al-Laṭā'if al-unsīyya* is mentioned in GAL S 2,355,_{1,5}, but not the name of the poet).

5.5.2.3 The manuscripts

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK): 1. We. (Wetzstein) 1685, fo. 98v-102v (= Ahlwardt no. 2006); 2. Pm. (Petermann) 105, 3, fo. 15-17 (= Ahlw. no. 2007,2); 3. We. 1793, 7, fo. 49r-57r (= Ahlw. no. 2007,3); 4. Dq. (Diez) 97, 2, fo. 53v-58v (= Ahlw. no. 2007,4); 5. Spr. (Sprenger) 1956, 3, fo. 9-11r (= Ahlw. no. 2007,5); 6. Schöm. (Schömann) XI, 3a, Heft 5, fo. 8v-13v (= Ahlw. no. 2007,7); 7. Pm. 203, 3, p. 80-87 (= Ahlw. no. 2007,8) *Süleymaniye library*: 8. Carullah Ef. 2125 (fo. 1v-6v)

5.5.2.3.1 Condition of the manuscripts

Most of the Sanūsīyya-manuscripts in the Berlin state library are incomplete, either at the beginning (Pm. 203) or at the end (We. 1685, Pm. 105, Dq. 97, Schöm. XI). The one manuscript apparently intact is Spr. 1956. We. 1793 also seems to be complete, however one full page (fo. 53r) is illegible because of ink penetration. The Istanbul manuscript seems to be intact at both ends of the copy. Further manuscripts extant in a fragmentary state are Mo. 35, 40, fo. 317v-324 (= Ahlw. no. 2007,1) and Ms. Weimar Q 736 (= VOHD XXXVII5 no. 106/3).

Because of the fragmentary state of most of the manuscripts at our disposal, and given the recent date of production of the seemingly intact copy, Spr. 1956 (middle of 19th c.), the edition of M. Wolff (1848) has been used as the reference for the following study.

5.5.2.3.2 Dated manuscripts

Due to the fragmentary state in which they are preserved (some Mss. may have included a colophon which is now missing due to the removal of the end pages), the manuscripts are all undated - with the exception of We. 1685 and Spr. 1956.

We. 1685 was copied in 1114/1703, and Spr. 1956 in 1262/1845.

5.5.2.4 Variance in the manuscripts

5.5.2.4.1 Work titles

The credo is generally known by the titles *Umm al-barāhīn*, ‘*Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuġhrā*’ or simply as *al-Sanūsīyya*. The first-mentioned title variant contains a reference to the scholastic nature of the credo, namely that the author has demonstrated the truth of Sunnī doctrine by means of proofs, *barāhīn*, plural of singular

burhān. The variant ‘*Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuḡhrā*’ on the other hand has been used to distinguish the short credo from the other, more comprehensive, dogmatic tracts of the same author (*supra*, p. 230). In Spr. 1956 the title runs *matn al-Sanūsiyya* (in We. 1793 it has been written wrongly as *matn al-Sānūsiyyā*), in We. 1685 it is referred to as *al-Sanūsiyya*. In Carullah Ef. 2125 the title is mentioned in the colophon in the following way: *al-‘Aqīda al-musammātu bi-l-ṣuḡhrā*, i.e. the credo which has been designated the shorter one.

5.5.2.4.2 Page layout

As regards variance in the page layout of the manuscripts surveyed, it can be said, firstly, that a number of expressions have either been marked in red or been emphasized in some other way (e.g. through the use of a thicker *qalam*; in We. 1793 the bowl of the letter *kāf* in final position has been filled or reinforced) and that, secondly, many of the highlighted elements are identical throughout the manuscripts (e.g. the phrases *wa-kadhā*, *wa-ammā*, *rusul*, *burhān*, *wa-yajmaʿ*, *kayf*, etc.).

5.5.2.5 Edition of the *-Sanūsiyya*

The edition presented in the following is a synthesis of two defective manuscripts. We. 1685, although incomplete at the end, has been chosen as the basis of the edition as it is the oldest dated manuscript (1114/1703) in the present corpus. Spr. 1956, on the other hand, seems to be intact but it is a relatively recent copy (dated 1262/1845), i.e. almost one and a half centuries younger than We. 1685. We. 1793, which has been used to complement We. 1685 at the end of the ‘*Aqīda*, is somewhat flawed although it had been proof-read by the scribe. The untrained Naskhī script indicates that the copyists of both manuscripts were certainly not professional scribes. I have been able to study the Istanbul manuscript, apparently intact, in the Süleymaniyye library but the copy has not been available to me to serve as the basis of a text edition. The Schömm. XI Ms., in its turn, is conspicuous by its numerous misspellings. In the edition below, grammatical or orthographical mistakes will be marked and corrected within round brackets according to the reference text, i.e. Wolff’s edition. Completions of the text, again following Wolff, are given in square brackets. Thus, the text will be reproduced as it has been inscribed in the two manuscripts and may thus give a reliable impression of the extent of the imperfections in its written transmission.

SBB-PK, We. 1685

قال الشيخ الولي الصالح السنوسي الحسيني رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه وأرضاه الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اعلم ان الحكم العقلي ينحصر في ثلاث (!، = ثلاثة) اقسام ، الوجوب والاستحالة والجواز ، فالواجب ما لا يتصور في العقل عدمه والمستحيل ما لا يتصور في العقل وجوده والجائز ما يصح في العقل وجوده وعدمه . ويجب على كل مكلف شرعا ان يعرف ما يجب في حق مولانا عز وجل وما يستحيل وما يجوز ،

وكذا يجب [عليه] ان يعرف مثل ذلك في حق الرسل عليهم الصلاة والسلام . فمما (!، = فما) يجب لمولانا عز وجل عشرون صفة وهي الوجود والقدم والبقا ومخالفة تعالى للحوادث وقيامه تعالى بنفسه (!، = بنفسه) اي لا يفتقر الى محل ولا مخصص والوحدانية اي لا ثاني له في ذاته ولا في صفاته ولا في فعاله . فهذه ست صفات الاولى نفسية وهي الوجود والخمسة بعدها سلبية ، ثم يجب له تعالى سبع صفة (!، = صفات) تسمى صفات المعاني وهي القدرة والارادة المتعلقةات (!، = المتعلقةات) بجميع الممكنات و[العلم] المتعلق بجميع الواجبات والجائزات والمستحيالات والحيات (!، = الحياة) (و) وهي لا تتعلق بشيء والسمع والبصر المتعلقةات (!، = المتعلقةات) بجميع الموجودات والكلام الذي ليس بحرف ولا صوت ويتعلق بما يتعلق به العلم من المتعلقةات ، ثم سبع [صفات] تسمى صفات معنوية وهي ملازمة للسبع الاولى وهي كونه تعالى قادرا ومريدا وعالما وحيا وسميعا وبصيرا ومتكلما . ومما يستحيل في حقه تعالى عشرون صفة وهي اعداد العشرون (!، = العشرين) الاولى ، وهي العدم والحدوث وطرا (!، = الطروء) والقدم (!، = العدم) ومماثلته للحوادث بان يكون جرما اي تاخذ ذاته العلية قدرا من الفراغ او يكون عرضا يقوم بالجرم او يكون في جهة للجرم او له هو جهة او يتعبد (!، = يتعبد) بمكان او زمان او تتصف ذاته العلية بالحوادث او تتصف (!، = يتصف) بالصغرى (!، = بالصغر) او الكبرى (!، = الكبر او) ويتصف بالاغراض في الافعال والاحكام ، وكذا

يستحيل [+ عليه] ان لا يكون تعالى قايمًا بنفسه بان يكون صفة يقوم بمحلّ او يحتاج الى مخصص ، وكذا يستحيل عليه ان لا يكون تعالى واحدا بان يكون مركبا في ذاته (او صفاته) او يكون له مماثل في ذاته او صفاته او يكون معه في الوجود مؤثر في فعل من الافعال ، وكذا يستحيل ايضا عليه تعالى العجز على (!، = عن) ممكن ما وايجاد شي من العالم مع كراهته لوجود (!، = لوجوده) اي عدم ارادته له تعالى او مع الذهول او الغفلة او بالتعليل والطبع (!، = بالطبع) ، وكذا يستحيل ايضا عليه تعالى الجهل وما [+] في [معناه بمعلوم ما والموت والصمم والعمى والبكم وازداد الصفات المعنوية واضحة من هذه . اما الجائز في حقّه تعالى ففعل كلّ ممكن أو تركه ، واما برهان وجوده تعالى فحدوث العالم لانه لو لم يكن له محدث بل حدث لنفسه لزمان (!، = لزم ان) يكون احدا لامرين (!، = احد الامرين) المتساويين مساويا لصاحبه راجعا عليه بلا سبب وهو محال ، ودليل حدوث العالم ملازمة (!، = ملازمته) للأعراض الحادثة من حركة وسكون وغيرهما وملزم الحادث حادث ودليل حدوث الاعراض مشاهدة بغيرها (!، = تغييرها) من عدم الى وجود ومن وجود الى عدم ، واما برهان وجود (!، = وجوب) القدم له تعالى فلانه لو لم يكن قديما لكان حادثا فيفتقر الى محدث ويلزم الدور والتسلسل ، واما برهان وجود (!، = وجوب) البقاء له تعالى فلانه لو امكن ان يلحق (!، = يلحقه) العدم لا تنفى (!، = لا تنفى) عنه القدم لكون وجوده حينئذ يصير جائزا لا واجبا والجائز لا يكون وجوبا (!، = وجوده) الا حادثا ، كيف وقد سبق قريب (!، = قريبا) وجوب قدمه ، واما برهان وجوب مخالفته تعالى للحوادث فلانه لو مائل شيئا منها لكان حادثا مثلها وذلك محال لما عرف قبل من وجوب قدمه تعالى وبقائه . واما برهان وجوب قيامه تعالى بنفسه فلانه لو احتاج الى محل لكان صفة ، والصفة لا تتصف بصفة المعاني ولا المعنوية ، ومولاتنا عز وجل يجب اتصافه بهما فليس بصفة ، ولو احتاج الى مخصص لكان حادثا ، وقد قدم البرهان على وجوب قدمه تعالى وبقائه ، واما برهان وجوب الوجدانية له تعالى فلانه لو لم يكن واحدا لزم ان لا يوجد شيء من العالم للزوم عجزه حينئذ ، واما برهان وجوب اتصافه تعالى بالقدرة والارادة والعلم والحياء فلانه لو انتفى

شيء منها لما وجد شيء من الحوادث ، واما برهان [+ وجوب] السمع له تعالى والبصر والكلام في الكتاب (!، = فالكتاب) والسنة والاجماع وايضا لو لم يتَّصف تعالى بها لزم ان يتصف باضدادها وهي نقايص والنقص عليه تعالى محال ، واما برهان كون فعل الممكنات او تركها جائز (!، = جائزاً) في حقه وتعالى فلأنه لو وجب عليه تعالى شيء منها عقلا او استحالة عقلا لانقلب الممكن واجبا او مستحيلا وذلك لا يعقل . واما الرسل عليهم الصلاة والسلام فيجب في حقهم الصدق والامانة وتبليغ ما أمروا بتكليفه للخلق ويستحيل في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام اضرار هذه الصفات و[+ هي] الكذب والخيانة ويفعل شيء ما (!، = بفعل شئ مما) نهى عنه نهى تحريم او كراهة وكتمان شيء مما أمروا بابلاغه للخلق ، ويجوز في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام ما هو من الأعراض البشرية الذي لا تؤذي (!، = تؤذي) الى نقص في مراتبهم العلية كالمرض ونحوه ، واما برهان وجوب صدقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام فلأنهم لو لم يصدقوا للزم الكذب في خبره تعالى لتصديقه لهم بالمعجزة النازلة منزلة قوله تعالى صدق عبي في كل ما يبلغ عني . واما برهان [+ وجوب] الأمانة لهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام فلأنهم لو كانوا (!، = خانوا) بفعل محرم او مكروه لانقلب المحرم والمكروه طاعة في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام لان الله تعالى قد امرنا بالاعتقاد بهم في أقوالهم وأفعالهم ولا يامر الله بمحرم ولا مكروه وهذا بعينه هو برهان [+ وجوب] الثالث ، واما دليل جواز الأعراض البشرية عليهم الصلاة والسلام فمشاهدة وقوعها بهم إما لتعظيم أجرهم او للتشريع او للتسلي عن الدنيا والتنبيه لخسرة قدرها عند الله وعدم رضا تعالى بها دار جزاء لاوليائه باعتبار أحوالهم فيها عليهم الصلاة والسلام .

ويجتمع (!، = يجتمع) معاني هذه العقائد كلها قولك لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله اذ معنى الألوهية استغناء الاله عن كل ما سواه واقتصر (!، = افتقار) كلما (!، = كل ما) سواه اليه فمعنى جلّ وعزّ لا اله الا الله لا مستغني عن كلما (!، = كل ما) سواه ومفتقر اليه كلما (!، = كل ما) عداه الا الله تعالى ، اما استغناء جلّ وعزّ عن كلما (!، = سواه) فهو يوجب له تعالى الوجود والقدم والبقاء والمخالفة للحوادث والقيام بالنفس والتنزه عن

النفايص ويدخل في ذلك وجوب السمع له تعالى والبصر والكلام ، اذ لو لم يجب (!) ، =
 تجب) له تعالى هذه الصفات لكان محتاجا الى المحدث والمحل او من يدفع عنه النقائص
 ، ويؤخذ منه تعالى تنزه (!) ، = تنزيهه) عن الاعراض في افعاله واحكامه وإلا لزام (!) ،
 = لزّم) افتقاري (!) ، = افتقاره) الى ما يحصل [+ به] عرضه ، كيف وهو جل وعلا
 الغني الغني [! ، -] عن كلما (!) سواء ، وكذا يؤخذ منه ايضا انه لا يجب عليه تعالى
 فعل شيء من الممكنات ولا تركه (102) اذ لو وجب عليه تعالى شيء منها عقلا كالثوب
 (!) ، = كالثوب) مثلا لكان جلّ وعزّ مفقراً الى ذلك الشئ ليتكّمّل به اذ لا يجب في حقّه
 تعالى جلّ وعزّ إلا ما هو كمال له كيف وهو جلّ وعلا الغني عن كلما (!) سواء ، وأما
 افتقار كلما (!) سواء اليه جلّ وعزّ فهو يوجب له تعالى الحيات (!) ، = الحياة) وعموم
 القدرة والارادة والعلم اذ لو انتفى شيء منها لما امكن ان يوجد شيء من الحوادث فلا يفتقر
 اليه شيء ، كيف وهو جل وعلا الذي يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواء ، ويوجب أيضا له تعالى
 الوجدانية اذ لو كان معه ثاني في الالهية (!) ، = الألوهيّة) لما افتقر اليه شيء للزوم
 عجزهما حينئذ ، كيف وهو جل وعلا الذي يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواء ، ويؤخذ منه أيضا
 حدوث العالم بأسره اذ لو كان شيء منه قديماً لكان ذلك الشئ مستغنياً عنه تعالى ، كيف
 وهو جلّ وعزّ الذي يجب ان يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواء ، ويؤخذ منه أيضا ان لا تاثير (!) ،
 = تاثير) لشيء من الكائنات في أثر ما وإلا لزم أن يستغنى (102ب) ذلك الأثر عن مولانا
 عز وجل ، كيف وهو جل وعلا الذي يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواء عموماً ، وعلى كلّ حال
 هذا ان قدرة (!) ، = قدرّت) ان شيئاً من الكائنات يوتر بطبعه وأما ان قدرية (!) ، = قدرّته)
 مؤثراً بقوة جعلها الله تعالى فيه كما يزمه (!) ، = يزمه) كثير من الجهلة فذلك محال
 أيضا لأنه بصير حينئذ مولانا جلّ وعزّ مفقّر (!) ، = مفقراً) في إيجاد بعض الأفعال إلى
 واسطة ، وذلك باطل لما عرفت من وجوب استغنائه جلّ وعزّ عن كلما (!) سواء .

فقد بان لك تضمّن قول لا اله الا الله للاقسام الثلاثة التي يجب على المكلف معرفتها في
 حقّ مولانا جل وعز ما يجب في حقه تعالى وما يجوز وما يستحيل ، وأما قولنا محمد
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فيدخل فيه الايمان بسائر الانبياء والملايكة عليهم الصلاة

والسلام والكتب السماوية واليوم الآخر لأنه عليه السلام جاء بتصديق جميع ذلك ، ويؤخذ منه وجود (!، = وجوب) صدق الرّسل عليهم الصّلاة والسّلام واستحالة الكذب عليهم وإلا لم يكونوا رسلا أمناء لمولانا جلّ وعزّ العالم بالخفّيات

The end of the work is given on the basis of SBB-PK, We. 1793:

جلّ وعزّ .

واستحالة فعل المنهيات كلّها لأنّهم أرسلوا ليعلموا الخلق بأقوالهم وأفعالهم وسكوتهم فيلزم أن لا يكون في جميعها مخالفا (!، = مخالفة) لأمر مولانا جلّ وعزّ الذي اختارهم على جميع الخلق رسالة (!، = خلقه) وأمّنهم على سرّ وحيه ، ويؤخذ

منه جواز الأعراض البشريّة عليهم إذ ذاك لا يُقدّح في رسالتهم وعلوّ منزلتهم عند الله تعالى بل ذلك ممّا يزيد فيها . فقد اتّضح لك تضمّن كلمتي الشّهادة مع قلّة حروفها لجميع ما يجب على المكلف من عقائد الإيمان في حقّ مولانا جلّ وعزّ .

وفي حقّ رسله عليهم الصّلاة والسّلام ولعلّها لاحتقارها مع اشتغالها على ما ذكرناه جعلها الشّرع ترجمة على ما في القلب من الاسلام ولم يقبل من احد الا [!، —] الإيمان (!، = الإيمان) إلا بها فعلى العاقل أن يكفر (!، = يُكثر) من ذكرها

مستحضراً لما احتوت (157) عليه من عقائد الإيمان حتّى تمتزج مع معناها بلحمه ودمه فإنّه يرى لها من الأسرار والعجائب إن شاء الله تعالى ما لا يدخل تحت حصر . وبالله التّوفيق لا ربّ غيره نسأله سبحانه أن يجعلنا وأحبّتنا عند الموتى (!، = الموت) ناطقين بكلمتي الشّهادة عالمين بها وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمّد عدد ما ذكره الذّاكرون وغفل عن ذكره الغافلون ورضي الله تعالى عن أصحاب رسول الله أجمعين وعن التّابعين لهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدّين وسلام على المرسلين والحمد لله رب العالمين

5.5.2.6 Description of manuscripts

5.5.2.6.1 Manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

1. Sprenger (Spr.) 1956 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,5)

Codicological description: Fo. 9r-11r. The number of lines per page ranges from 17 (fo. 9r) to 24 (fo. 9v) and even 33, i.e. the leaves have been filled with lines with an increasing density. Catchwords. Middle size, fluid, partly vocalized Naskh hand with some Ruq‘a elements, vocalized in many places including some irregular ligatures such as *عكلك* (‘*alā kull*’; fo. 9r, l. 4 from below), i.e. between words which should be written separately.

Some expressions in the text which introduce a new passage are *highlighted* by use of coloured ink (*wa-hiya, fa-mā yajib, i‘lam, thumma yajib, wa-hiya, thumma, wa-kadhā, wa-aḡḡād, wa-ammā l-jā‘iz, wa-ammā l-burhān, wa-ammā l-rusul, wa-yastahīl, wa-yajūz, wa-ammā, wa-yu‘khaḡḡ minhu*). However, there has been a lack of consistency in the way pieces of text have been highlighted. Some words have also been overlain (e.g. fo. 10r, l. 3f.: *wa-dalīl*); the expression *wa-yu‘khaḡḡ*, on the last page, had originally been written in red and thereafter been overlain (probably again in red). Some letters written with a coloured ink have been reinforced by use of the same ink (e.g. the bowl of final *fā*’ in *ya‘rif*, fo. 9r, or *dhāl* in *hāḡḡhiḡ*, fo. 9v, pu., or a number of letters filled with red colour on fo. 10r, towards the end of the page).

Two final letters of the last word of fo. 11r, l. 13 have been separated and written in isolation in the margin in order to keep the edge straight. Exceptionally the last word of a line (fo. 10r, l. 15) has been written vertically against the main text to keep the edge straight. Final *mīm* is found written above a word, additionally, for clarification.

Date of copying: 22. Dhū al-Qa‘da 1262/1845.

The ‘*Aḡīda* starts with the author’s name, *Qāl al-shaykh al-walī al-ṡālīḡ*, etc., and with prayers on the Prophet. The first 5 lines of the text immediately following the introductory formula *i‘lam*, “know”, are provided with vowel signs.

Heading: The *heading* is written on fo. 9r, l. 6 above the basmala, with a coloured ink (probably red) as follows: *hāḡḡhā matn al-Sanūsīyya*. Some of the letters of the title have been extended by use of *mashq* (*taṡwīl*) and decorated with floral designs.

Context: The text of al-Sanūsī’s credo is preceded by a poem of hemistichs rhyming in pairs, viz. the *Jawharat al-tawḡīd* of al-Laḡānī (the name is mentioned on fo. 9r, l. 2), of which the last 4 verses are written at the top of the first page.

Means of achieving textual stability: The broad *margins* are left clear of any glosses except for one entry on fo. 11r which however is related to the page layout (final *hā*’ of *li-kḡḡṡāriḡhā* has been written separately in the margin in order not to interrupt the text frame). Some words which had been omitted as on fo. 9v, l. 3, have been *added above the line* (*wa-la fī*) or *below* (l. 6). The

letter *kāf* has been written underneath the cacographical expression *al-mum-kināt* for the sake of clarity (fo. 9v, l. 5).

2. Petermann (Pm.) 105 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,2)

Codicological description: Fo. 15r-16v. The text is incomplete at the end of the manuscript. A catchword on fo. 16v seems to indicate that the manuscript was continued and that at least one page is missing at the end. 23 lines to the page. Catchwords. There is an original foliation which extends from 77 until 78. The style of writing is a middle size, carefully written Naskh hand with full diacritical dots and some thoroughly executed vocalizations.

A relatively large number of selected words have been highlighted by use of coloured ink (author's name, *ḥamdala*, *i'lam*, *wa-yaḥib*, *fa-hādhihī*, *thumma sab'*, *wa-mimmā yastahīl*, *wa-ammā*, *wa-ammā burhān*, etc.). Coloured single dots are used as markers separating the divine names in line 4 of fo. 15r.

On fo. 16v, the final page of the copy, the last word in line 5, viz. the name Allāh, is written with coloured ink and, like the preceding formula of the Sunnī creed, has been inscribed, in isolation, in the outer margin. By employing this device the scribe has succeeded in keeping the left edge of the text justified.

Heading: The basmala is written as a heading. The author's name is mentioned in the second line (Sayyidī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī).

Means of achieving textual stability: The inner and outer margins have all been left blank with one exception relating to page layout (*supra*).

3. Petermann (Pm.) 203 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,8)

Codicological description: Page 80-87. Library pagination. 15 lines to the page. Catchwords. The script is a fair, carefully executed Naskh hand with diacritical dots and a few vocalizations (mainly *tanwīn*). Some important expressions have been overlain with black ink or colour (e.g. *wa-ammā*, *wa-kadhā*). Some words which serve as headings have been written by use of colour, e.g. *ammā burhān*. Instead of a colophon the text copy is concluded with the formula *tammāt bi-‘awn Allāh al-malik al-wahhāb*.

The text, of which the beginning is missing in the manuscript, starts at a place which corresponds to p. 3, l. 2 of the printed version. This means that probably not more than one initial page is missing of the manuscript copy.

Means of text stabilization: An intricate system of means of text stabilization has been applied in this manuscript.

A small number of **deletions** can be identified. On p. 82, l. 1 the variant *wa-baqā'ihī* (= print p. 4, l. 18) has been added above the line but then *crossed out* again. P. 84, l. 9 an erroneously written initial letter *alif* in ا ل ا *idhā* has been crossed out.

Words have been changed in the main text, as e.g. p. 82, l. 4, where the singular noun *ṣifa* has been altered to *ṣifāt*; the same expression occurring again in the subsequent line of the manuscript has likewise been changed to *ṣifāt*, but then the alteration entered above the line has been deleted by being crossed out.

The erroneous expression *bi-tablīghihī li-l-ḥaqq* on p. 83, l. 2, has been corrected through addition of *li-l-khalq* written above the line and marked *badal* in very small script.

Numerous **explanatory glosses** may be found in all the margins of a page; moreover some notes (mostly explanations of single terms) have been written between the lines (e.g. p. 83, l. 9). Interlinear glosses have been written both above or underneath the word referred to (p. 81).

Some explanatory glosses are preceded by the word ai (= i.e.). They may be found written above the line, e.g. p. 84, l. 1, without any sign of reference. Some of the comments have been provided with an *indication of the source* (e.g. al-Tilimsānī, p. 81, lower margin).

Signs of reference: The letter *hā'* has been used as a sign of reference both in the main text (above the line) and in the margin (p. 83) where an unclear expression of the main text has been explained (*murāduhū bi-l-thālith*). The gloss is terminated on p. 83 with the expression *sharḥ*, thus indicating that it has been taken from some commentary. Elsewhere (p. 85, l. 3) a gloss written above the line ends with the letter *hā'*, i.e. *intahā*. Ad l. 7 the letter *hā'* is also found above the line and at the end of the gloss in a slightly altered shape, viz. *hā'* without the appendix. At times the letter *hā'*, employed to mark the end of a marginal gloss, has the form of a *small heart* (e.g. p. 80).

Elsewhere on p. 83 the letter *kāf* is used as *reference sign* both in the text and in the margin where it is placed above an explanatory gloss signed *sharḥ*. Elsewhere again (p. 84, l. 2), an explanatory gloss in the margin is headed by a *sign resembling the Arabic numeral 6 or the letter 'ayn in initial position* and is also found above the word it refers to in the main text. This gloss contains a mention of the commentator, *al-Shaykh raḥimahu llāh*, without however calling him by name. On p. 84, pu., an addition has been entered in the margin, marked *ṣaḥḥ*, to be inserted at a place in the main text marked with a *sign resembling the Arabic (!) numeral 7*. *Signs of reference resembling the numerals 3, 4 and 5*, on p. 81, have been entered *beneath the lines*, each numeral having been written twice, at a certain distance from each other, apparently to indicate the place of reference for some of the glosses entered in the margins. However the related glosses cannot be easily identified.

The letter *ṣād* has also been used as a marker, on p. 86, l. 1, where an omitted word has been entered above the line.

Occasionally a *curved line* (a bow) has been employed to indicate the place of reference of an explanatory gloss (e.g. p. 80, l. 10).

4. Wetzstein (We.) 1685 (=Ahlwardt no. 2006)

Codicological description: Fo. 98v-102v. This copy is incomplete at the end. 18 lines to the page. Catchwords. Middle size, flat and unattractive Naskh hand with full diacritical points and some vocalizations some of which are incorrect (e.g. fo. 99r, u., fig. 23). Some of the dots have been omitted, e.g. *dhāl* is written as *dāl* throughout the text (e.g. fo. 100r, l. 5 from below), and likewise the points of *tā’ marbūṭa* are rarely written. *Alif maqṣūra* is indicated by an over-size *alif* placed above *yā’*.

A number of selected expressions which serve to introduce a new passage or thematic unit have been highlighted using a thicker *qalam* and a different colour (probably red).

The introduction including the author’s name and *taṣliya* differs considerably from the text in the printed version which lacks the prayers on the holy prophet.

The *Sanūsīyya* is preceded by some copyists’ verses which are conventionally added at the end of a text. The colophon of the previous text includes the date of copying (Dhū al-Qa‘da 1114/March-April 1703) and name of the scribe (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alā īdīn(!) b. Yūsuf [the last two words added in the margin]) from whose hand also the ‘*Aqīda* of al-Sanūsī has been written.

Heading: The work-title is mentioned in line 4 (*hādhihi l-Sanūsīyya*), the author in the subsequent line.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 102v, l. 7, the omitted expression *ijād* has been supplied in the outer margin and connected with the place of insertion in the text through a curved line.

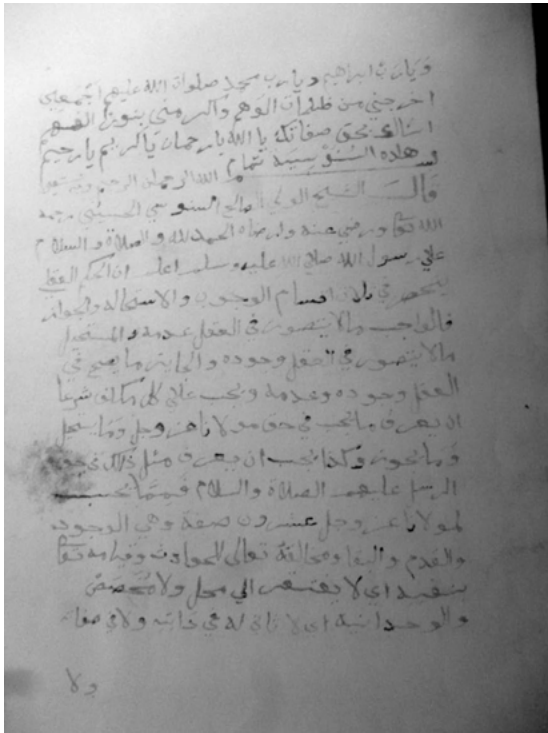


Fig. 23: Al-Sanūsī: *Umm al-barāhīn*, ca. 1114/1703; basis of the above edition but incomplete at the end; beginning of text (SBB-PK, We. 1685, fo. 98v).

5. Wetzstein (We.) 1793 (=Ahlwardt no. 2007,3)

Codicological description: Fo. 49r-57r. Original foliation numbers. Text area: ca. 7x12 cm. 12-15 lines to the page. On the last page, with only 13 lines, the space between the lines has been widened. Catchwords. The script is a large, mostly vocalized Naskh hand with full diacritical dots. Some letters have been reinforced, or their cavities (e.g. *kāf*, *hā'*) have been filled, with a darkish red ink. The headings or introductory expressions of some passages (e.g. *fa-l-wujūb*, *wa-l-jā'iz*, *wa-yajib*, etc.) are highlighted with a brighter red ink, some initial expressions and selected words (e.g. *i'lam*) have been overlain, again with a red ink.

The copy has been *executed very carelessly or clumsily and contains many mistakes* (e.g. *yaftaqir illā* for *yaftaqir ilā*). The text has neither been framed nor justified and yet *some words at the end of a line have been separated* and continued to be written in the beginning of the subsequent line (*enjambement*) in order not to interrupt the edge of the text (مرا - *mura- kkaban*, fo. 51r, l. 1-2; *dhā-tuhū*, fo. 51r, l. 2-3; fo. 49r, l. 8). On fo. 51r, l. 5 from below, the final word *wāḍiḥa* has been separated into two parts, letters *waw-alif* have been written at the end, letters *qād-hā' - tā' marbūṭa* at the beginning of the subsequent line. But then, in order to fill the line which may have appeared to the scribe to have ended too early, a cluster of three small circles

has been added, following the letters *waw-alif*, obviously in an effort to justify the edge. On fo. 52v, l. 6 the line has been filled at its end with a dotted heart-shaped decorative device. Alternatively, instead of writing the final letters of a word (at the end of a line) at the beginning of the next line, final letters have been detached and written in the margin at a distance of ca. 1 cm. to the text panel (e.g. fo. 52r, l. 1, *mukhālafatihi*).

A passage of about five lines (fo. 50r) has been copied twice and there is a relatively high number of text omissions. Two pages of the text (fo. 53r = p. 6, l. 1-10 of the printed version) have been rendered illegible on account of ink penetration from the page opposite (?), viz. fo. 51v (beginning with *aḥad al-amrayni* = print, p. 4, l. 9-18).

In contrast to the printed version the text starts with the *taṣliya* and excludes the author's name which however is contained in the heading.

Heading: The title of the work entered above the basmala has been written wrongly *Matn al-Sānūsiyā*(!).

Means of text stabilization: A relatively high number of *text-omissions have been entered in the margins*. On fo. 54v, l. 4, an omitted word has been supplied in the margin and connected through a curved line with the place of its insertion. On fo. 51r, l. 2 from below, the final two letters of *li-annahū*, which were omitted by the scribe, have been supplied in the margin, while the point of insertion in the line was marked by a slanted stroke. The omitted phrase *wa-dhālik ... wujūb* (= print p. 5, l. 1) on fo. 52r has been supplied in the margin by use of a sign resembling the Arabic numeral seven. This sign is found both above the place of insertion and in front of the gloss in the margin. On fo. 55r, l. 4, the omitted noun ‘*ajz* has been added in the margin without however any indication as to where the word was meant to be inserted. The word immediately preceding ‘*ajz* in the text has been misspelt (*li-luzūmihimā* instead of *li-luzūm*). Elsewhere, on fo. 55v, l. 5 from below, a whole phrase (*jall wa-‘azz ‘an ... fa-qad bān*) has been omitted and then supplied in the margin written vertically from the bottom to the top.

On fo. 56r, l. 4, the omitted expression *wa-l-yawm al-ākhir* has been supplied in the margin, marked *ṣaḥḥ*, and connected by a thin line with the place of insertion.

In rare instances *omitted letters and words*, as e.g. on fo. 53v, l. 2, have been entered *beneath the line*, whereas on fo. 52v, l. 1, the omitted expression *minhā* has been entered above the line and connected with the place of insertion by a curved line. On fo. 56v, l. 1, the omitted *sirr* has been written above the line.

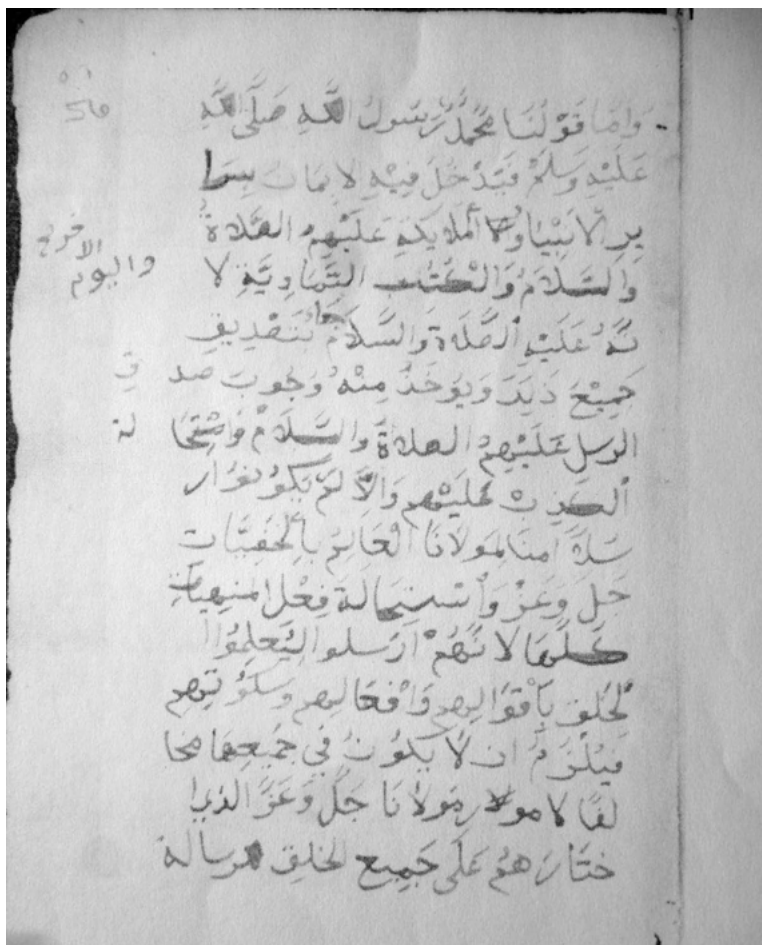


Fig. 24: Al-Sanūsī: *Umm al-barāhīn*, basis of the above edition for the end of the text (SBB-PK, We. 1793, fo. 56r).

The pronoun *hiya* after *mulāzama* written redundantly has been crossed out (fo. 50r, l. 9 = p. 3, l. 8; a similar case involving the letters *nūn-hā'* is fo. 52r, l. 2). On fo. 53v, last line, dittography had occurred and was detected by the scribe who crossed out the first of the doubled words. On fo. 56r, l. 3, the erroneously written *illā* has been crossed out (fig. 24).

A group of words which were originally written as *fī af'ālīhī ... aḥkāmihī* (fo. 50v, l. 9 = p. 3, l. 15 of the print) has been changed by the scribe to *fī l-af'āl wa-l-aḥkām*.

6. Diez A quart (Dq.) 97 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,4)

Codicological description: Fo. 53v-57v. 13 lines per page. Catchwords. Middle size, carefully executed, attractive Naskh hand with full diacritical dots. *At the end of the Umm al-barāhīn, at least one leaf is missing in this copy.* As the catchword at the bottom of fo. 57v indicates, the copying of the text must have been continued by the scribe.

Neither the author's name nor the title of work is mentioned on the first page. The text begins with ḥamdala and taṣliya.

Some of the writing mistakes found in this copy may leave the reader with the impression that the scribe was not very well acquainted with the theological content of the text he copied. The mistakes are in stark contrast to the overall neat appearance of the manuscript copy. The orthography is defective (e.g. *ثَلَاثَة* has been written instead of *ثَلَاثَة*, fo. 53v, l. 3).

A considerable number of initial expressions and other selected words have been highlighted through the use of red colour. Expressions highlighted on the first page include the following: *fa-l-wājib*, *wa-l-mustaḥīl*, *wa-yajib*, *wa-kadhā yajib*, *fa-hādhihi*.

The final letters of the last words in some lines have been written above the related words in order to keep the left edge of the page straight (e.g. fo. 54r, l. 11). Some final letters such as *yā'* of *ṣallā* *صلى* (fo. 57v, l. 8) have been extended far to the left so as to underline the following two words (*Allāh* 'alayh). A similar case may be found on fo. 56v, l. 4 where the final letter *yā'* of *fa-ma'nā* has been carried over to underline the subsequent expression *lā ilāha illā llāh*, and also *yā'* of *al-ghinā* in the penultimate line of this page.

Means of text stabilization: The manuscript has been left, as it were, *in a state of virginal purity*: glosses or notes in the margins or between the lines or any other place in this copy are conspicuous by their total absence. However, one single word has been subjected to an alteration:

Fo. 56v, l. 4 from below, the expression *tanazzuhuhū*, a cacography, seems to have been changed from original *tanzihuhū*, a variant which may also be found in other manuscript copies.

The expression *ḥīna'idhin* seems to have been *abbreviated* consistently through the use of the letter *ḥā'* written in the final position (e.g. fo. 57r, l. 6 from below).

7. Schöm. (Schömann) XI, 3a, Heft 5 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,7)

Codicological description: Fo. 8v-12v (p. 16-24). 10 lines per page. *The end of the copy is missing.* The text breaks off in the last line of p. 24 of the manuscript at a place which corresponds to p. 8, l. 11 (*min wujūb*) in the printed edition. The script is a large, flat and angular Naskhi hand of a scribe who presumably originated from the Malay archipelago, with the ends of numerous letters (e.g. *rā'*, *waw*; final *nūn*, *yā'*, *lām*) sharply pointed. The script is provided with full diacritical dots and vocalizations which however in many places are incorrect. The first line contains the end of a previous text apparently written in the same language in which the glosses have been composed, presumably *Malay* or *Jāwī* (cf. TDVĪA, art. Malezya). Numerous words are highlighted in red within the main text. In some lines a final word has been separated and continued in the

next line (an *enjambement* of this type may be found e.g. on p. 22, l. 4: *aḥwā-lihim*). *Tā' marbūṭa* ۞ is often written as *tā' maftūḥa* ۞ which shows a lack of familiarity with Arabic orthography on the part of the scribe. That he did not seem to have understood the Arabic language very well can be gauged from the high number of misspellings.

Heading: The text is preceded, in the second line, by basmala (instead of a title and author's name), ḥamdala and taṣliya.

Means of text stabilization: There are plenty of Malay translations of individual expressions in the wide spaces above and below the lines. The margins, on the other hand, have been left blank throughout the copy. The interlinear glosses have been entered meticulously and are written obliquely against the line, below or against the bottom of the page, respectively.

5.5.2.6.2 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

8. Ms. Carullah Ef. 2125

Codicological description: 230 pages. Fo. 1v-6v. The page size is 9,5x15 cm with a text area of 5x11 cm. 19 lines to the page. Catchwords. Small Naskh hand with certain Ruq'a elements and diacritical points and some vocalization. Some central expressions such as *qāl*, *al-ḥamdu li-llāh*, *i'lam*, *fa-al-wājib*, *wa-al-mustaḥil*, *wa-al-jā'iz*, etc. have been highlighted using red colour. Some words, additionally, have been overlined with the same colour, and a few red dots have been placed at the end of some semantic units. On fo. 5v-6r there has been ink penetration, rendering parts of the text illegible.

On fo. 1v, above the *incipit*, there is an owner's mark of Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān and two stamps, and elsewhere there is the endowment stamp "Waqf Aḥmad Efendi".

Title of work and author: The title is mentioned in the colophon on fo. 6v (*al-'Aqida al-musammātu bi-l-ṣughrā*). The author's name, on the other hand, is mentioned in the incipit (*wa-ṣallā llāh ... qāl al-Shaykh ... al-Sanūsī ... al-ḥamdu lillāh ... i'lam inna l-ḥukm al-'aqlī yanḥaṣir*).

Context: A second text entitled *matn Muqaddima* (the title is given in the colophon as follows: *al-'Aqida al-musammātu bi-l-Muqaddima* [= Ahlwardt no. 2008], and the text begins: *al-ḥukm ithbātu amrin aw nafyuhū*) follows on fo. 7r, written by the same scribe and with an analogous layout (red emphases). A third text, on fo. 10v, is another work of al-Sanūsī relating to dogma [entitled *Tawḥīd ahl al-'irfān wa-ma'rifat Allāh wa-rusulihī bi-l-dalīl wa-l-burhān* = Ahlw. no. 2008], beginning: *al-ḥamdu lillāh al-wāsi' al-jūd wa-l-'aṭā'*, which is al-Sanūsī's *commentary of his own -'Aqida al-sughrā*; on fo. 160v-228r, the fourth text is a commentary by al-Sanūsī entitled *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Sayyid ... al-Sanūsī* (= Ahlw. no. 2011; incipit: *qāl ... al-Sanūsī ... al-ḥamdu lillāh ...*

wa-ba‘d, fa-hādhihī kalimāt qaṣadtu bi-hā sharḥ mā waḍa‘tuhū min al-muqaddamāt ‘alā sabīl al-ikhtiṣār).

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 2v the expression *kull* which was omitted in the line has been added in the margin, marked by letter *ṣād*, and a bow has been placed above the place of insertion. Likewise, on fo. 2v, in the margin, there is an explanatory gloss on three aspects of divine unity, ad *wa-kadhā yastaḥīl ‘alayh an lā yakūn wāḥidan*. On fo. 4r the expression *law* (of *law khānū*) had been omitted and then supplied underneath the line. On fo. 5 (= p. 7, l. 18 of the printed version) *ayḍan* had been omitted and supplied above the line marked with the letter *ṣād*. The expression *ammā* had been omitted on fo. 5r, u., then supplied in the inner margin together with letter *ṣād* and a bow above the place of insertion (= p. 8, l. 8 of the print).

5.5.2.7 Evaluation of textual variants

In the surveyed manuscripts of the -‘*Aqīda al-ṣuġhrā* of al-Sanūsī, variants have been detected that may be categorized as copyist mistakes on the one hand, and as substantial or real variants on the other. The following variants are found in the first category: single different words which are nonsensical for contextual reasons (rare; ex.: *wujūb* for *wujūd*); orthographic or grammatical mistakes; dit-tography and omissions, both often being caused by an error of the eye, viz., when a similar phrase is found in the lines above or below (*saut du même au même*, i.e. homoioteleuton and homoioarcton);¹⁷⁰ diacritical mark variants.

There are also numerous substantial, i.e. semantically possible variants, such as: different phrases (e.g. *mā yumkin* for *mā yaṣiḥḥ*, *waḥidan* for *wāḥidan*), inversions of word order, additions and omissions. Some of these substantial variants may have happened accidentally, i.e. through a scribal mistake (*fī ‘āluhū* is a real variant for *af‘āluhū* but may have happened through omission of the initial letter *alif* due to neglect or fatigue; a similar case is *aw al-aḥkām* constituting a semantically possible variant of *wa-al-aḥkām*, “or” instead of “and” [p. 3, l. 15]).

A few copyist mistakes have been observed which may have been caused by a hearing mistake or through bad memory. The variant phrase *lā yaftaqir illā* in We. 1793 for *lā yaftaqir ilā* in Wolff’s reference text (p. 2, l. 10), for instance, was unlikely to have occurred in the process of copying the text from a (written) exemplar and it may well have been caused through a hearing error. An alternative explanation would be that the passage has been recalled from memory, i.e. the

¹⁷⁰ Numerous instances in Ms. Schöm.; a few also in Dq. 97 and We. 1793.

text would have been inscribed in the manuscript not under dictation but as a result of the activation of a memorized text. We know, e.g. from Ṭāshköprizāde, that not only poems but also short to medium length prose texts were committed to memory by students. Thus orality may have been a factor in the production of some (parts) of the manuscripts of the *Şuḡhrā*, but on the whole, as is indicated by the preponderance of the mistakes in copying, discussed above, over those orally/aurally caused, the manuscripts were mainly produced by copying from a written model. As is the case with the didactic poems, in many instances, the exact cause of the scribal mistakes in the copies of the *Şuḡhrā* remains unknown.

The analysis of the *Şuḡhrā* manuscripts of the present sample also shows that the same means of text stabilization have been at work as in the copies of the didactic poems, albeit on a lesser scale.

Whereas in four (Spr. 1956, Pm. 105, We. 1685, Dq. 97) out of eight manuscripts the margins have been left completely or nearly blank (in Spr. 1956 some omitted words have been added above and below the consonantal line), in Pm. 203 a complex system of means of text stabilization can be discerned, viz.: erasures, additions, alterations of single words; corrections of copyist mistakes; explanatory glosses; usage of signs of reference; in We. 1793 numerous text omissions have been added in the margins, sometimes also between the lines, and copyist mistakes have been corrected; in Carullah Ef. 2125 specific letters, *şād* in particular, have been used to mark omitted expressions that were supplied in the margins. Finally, the numerous explanatory glosses in the Malay language that can be found between the lines of Schöm. 11 are most likely due to the fact that the manuscript originated in a country where Arabic is a foreign language – as is indicated by the style of writing of the main text.

The study of the manuscripts of al-Sanūsī's prose text rounds off and confirms the picture that an interplay of orality and scriptuality has been at work in the transmission of didactic texts in the Arabic manuscripts. Although variance, as a concomitant phenomenon, has been acknowledged rather than suppressed, an effort has been made to control it and to protect the author's text, a fact illustrated by the use of various means of text stabilization.