

Fatih 2748 and the lost volume 9 of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*

by Julian Cook

[last modified 9th February 2017 – now examining the “Yemeni” edition of FM, vol.9, and also reconsidering the history of the lost volume 9 using Ragip Pasha 704]

[a version of this document should be available on the MIAS Archive website at http://archive.ibnarabisociety.org/wordpress_mias_archive/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Fatih-2748-and-lost-sifr-9-of-FM.pdf]

Introduction	3
MIAS Archive on Fatih 2748.....	4
Further notes by Julian Cook Oct 2016 (now we have a copy of the ms to examine in detail).....	5
Title page of Fatih 2748 (and similar in continuation Fatih 2747).....	8
Defects in Fatih 2748	9
Differences between true second recension text of sifr 9 (Fatih 2748 f.174-257) and the defective hybrid text found in replacement vol. 9 of holograph (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) and the texts in standard Cairo (Fut I.595-665) and in other editions and manuscripts (including Great Diwan)	10
OY vol. 9 p.55	10
OY vol. 9 p.56	10
OY vol. 9 p.58	11
OY vol. 9 p.58	11
OY vol. 9 p.63 l.9-10	11
OY vol. 9 p.64 l.3	12
OY vol. 9 p.64 l.8	12
OY vol. 9 p.69 l.6	13
OY vol. 9 p.72 l.13	13
OY vol. 9 p.90 l.1	14
OY vol. 9 p.94 l.10	15
OY vol. 9 p.94 l.11-12 and p.95 l.6	15
OY vol. 9 p.95 l.2-4	16
OY vol. 9 p.96 l.3 = Fut I.601 (opening poem to ch.71; verse 10)	17
OY vol. 9 p.119 l.9	21
OY vol. 9 p.121 l.11-12	21

OY vol. 9 p.125 l.10	21
OY vol. 9 p.136 l.5	21
OY vol. 9 p.152 l.7	22
OY vol. 9 p.156 l.1-4	22
OY vol. 9 p.157 l.10-12	23
OY vol. 9 p.158 l.13 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.611)	24
OY vol. 9 p.163 l.3	25
OY vol. 9 p.169 l.12-13	26
OY vol. 9 p.173 l.3-4	26
OY vol. 9 p.178 l.5-6	27
OY vol. 9 p.187 l.1 (and onto following page).....	27
OY vol. 9 p.195 l.5-6	27
OY vol. 9 p.206 l.10 = 1-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.619)	27
OY vol. 9 p.209 l.6	28
OY vol. 9 p.214 l.10	28
OY vol. 9 p.220 l.5-7	28
OY vol. 9 p.249 l.3-4	29
OY vol. 9 p.254 l.14-15	29
OY vol. 9 p.259 l.5 = 3-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.627)	29
OY vol. 9 p.262 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.627)	30
OY vol. 9 p.270 l.1-10	35
OY vol. 9 p.272 l.9	37
OY vol. 9 p.282 l.5-8	37
OY vol. 9 p.295 l.5-7	38
OY vol. 9 p.296 l.6-11	39
OY vol. 9 p.306 l.5-7 = 3-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.635).....	40
OY vol. 9 p.315 l.4	41
OY vol. 9 p.329 l.4	42
OY vol. 9 p.331 l.8	42
OY vol. 9 p.333 l.9 = 23-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.640)	43
OY vol. 9 p.336 l.3	45
OY vol. 9 p.340 l.1-4	46
OY vol. 9 p.355 l.15 = 1-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.644)	47
OY vol. 9 p.363 l.5-6	47
OY vol. 9 p.365 l.8-11	47
OY vol. 9 p.370 l.6-7	48

OY vol. 9 p.424 l.11 = 6-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.657)	48
OY vol. 9 p.431 l.3	49
OY vol. 9 p.432 l.4	50
OY vol. 9 p.432 l.6-7	50
OY vol. 9 p.436 l.15-16 = 2-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.659).....	50
OY vol. 9 p.438 l.4	51
Two folios missing from Fatih 2748 between f.250 and f.251 (Fut l.659-661).....	51
Two folios of Fatih 2748 misbound as f.254-5 (Fut l.659-661)	51
OY vol. 9 p.438 l.11	53
OY vol. 9 p.442 l.4-5	53
OY vol. 9 p.446 l.11	54
OY vol. 9 p.459 l.3-5	54
“Yemeni” editions (2010; 2013) of FM sifr 9	54
When was volume 9 of the holograph lost? A study of Ragip Pasha 704	59
OY vol. 9 p.262 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.627)	59
OY vol. 9 p.95 l.2-4 – block of text missing from K	60
OY vol. 9 p.96 l.3 = Fut l.601 (opening poem to ch.71; verse 10).....	61
OY vol. 9 p.158 l.13 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.611).....	61
OY vol. 9 p.259 l.5 = 3-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.627)	62
OY vol. 9 p.270 l.1-10 – block of text missing from K	63
OY vol. 9 p.340 l.1-4	64
Conclusion	65

Introduction

MIAS (SH) purchased a copy of Fatih 2748 (and also 2747 and 2749) at the end of October 2016. The main reason for this was for the Society to obtain a high quality copy of volume 9 of the second recension *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (final third of Fatih 2748). Volume 9 was lost from the holograph set Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (originally part of SQ’s waqf library in Konya) – and I have reason to believe it was lost centuries ago, long before any edition existed in print.¹

By studying the poetry I had become quite convinced the replacement volume (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 9 = Evkaf Muzesi 1853) was of low quality – I had found evidence of corruption (hybridization) with the first recension text. Yet the replacement volume continues to be referred to in all modern editions: ‘K’ in OY’s edition, it was also used in the recent Yemeni edition (‘q’) and also in an edition in preparation by an Egyptian group which I encountered at the TIMA conference in Cambridge, September 2016 (again ‘q’).

¹ Sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ corresponds in the standard Cairo edition to the bismillāh halfway down Fut l.595 up until the end of ch.71 on Fut l.665. That is the final 6 pages of ch.70 (on the secrets of *zakāt*) and all of ch.71 (on the secrets of fasting).

Having now studied the manuscript in some depth I believe that Fatih 2748 represents the best manuscript for critically reconstructing the true second recension text of Ibn ‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* volume 9 (of 37). As far as I am aware no editor to date has consulted it, but I argue Fatih 2748 should form the basis for any future edition.

Fatih 2748 has very good provenance. It was copied at an early date from the (now lost) holograph - in the *zāwiyya* of SQ in Konya - and later corrected against the same original in 747H. Fatih 2748 and its continuation Fatih 2747 were both owned in 850H by the collector of high quality Akbarian mss, Ibn ‘Azam (d.891H) – that is, within a year or so of him obtaining copies of two holograph mss of the Great Diwan (details below).

My study has uncovered further evidence of the deficiencies of ‘K’ – the replacement volume 9 in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (i.e. Evkaf Muzesi 1853). In general I would say that the standard Cairo print edition is more often closer than is K to the original. (Which of course begs the question which manuscripts the editors used given the holograph was lost and the replacement was defective). But I also find places where the standard Cairo edition diverges from the text in Fatih 2748. The need for a modern edition based upon Fatih 2748 remains urgent.

Also, I have now been able to study in depth the way in which the editors of the recent “Yemeni” edition of FM handled the problem of the lost volume 9 of holograph set K (i.e. their ‘q’). In a separate section at the end of this document I question the sense in which that edition can be considered ‘critical’. Again, I argue that a better job could now be done on the basis of Fatih 2748.

Finally, I have reexamined the question of when sifr 9 was lost from the holograph – through a study of Ragip Pasha 704, copied 1156H from the Konya set. My conclusion is that Ragip Pasha 704 sifr 9 could not have been copied from the current replacement sifr 9. But neither was it copied from the lost holograph (as represented by the much early copy of that, Fatih 2748). The only possible explanation is that the original sifr 9 had been lost by 1156H but it had been replaced by a different ms than the one that exists in the set today (K: Evkaf Muzesi 1845+, vol 9 = Evkaf Muzesi 1853). That earlier replacement also differed from the true second recension text which is preserved in Fatih 2748, but it did not differ in exactly the same way as does today’s replacement (K). That is, the earlier replacement (extant in 1156H, but now also lost) contained a hybrid of first and second recension texts, but a different hybrid from that found in today’s replacement! The problem of lost holograph sifr 9 (and its replacements) has a complex history stretching back centuries before the first print edition of FM.

[MIAS Archive on Fatih 2748](#)

[Some of these details need overhauling – especially the dates. As will be made clear in the following sections]

257ff pre-700H (?)

Beautiful copy of Chapters 69-71, 9th volume from original. This would make it a very precious text, as Volume 9 in the holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ is not original but a copy which Julian Cook has found to be a combination of first and second recensions, i.e. a much later text.

First page has different hands and inscriptions:

inshā mawlānā wa sayyidunā al-imām al-‘ālim al-rāsikh al-fard al-akmal Muḥyī al-milla wa’l-dīn shaykh al-islām Abū ‘Abdallāh M. b. ‘A b. al-‘A al-Ṭ al-Ḥ

Titles given as al-shaykh al-‘ālim al-muḥaqqiq wa al-‘ārif al-mudaqqiq Muḥyī al-ḥaqq wa al-dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh M. b. ‘A b. al-‘A al-Ṭ al-Ḥ. Original had reading dated Rabi’ I 647H, so must be second recension?

According to note on first page, book once belonged to ‘Ubayd Allāh M. b. ‘Umar Ibn ‘Azam, with date of 795H (?). A note in modern hand (OY?) suggests this might have been written in 696H (?)

Further notes by Julian Cook Oct 2016 (now we have a copy of the ms to examine in detail)
Fatih 2748 contains volumes 7, 8 and 9 in the volume numbering system of the second recension holograph, Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (which has 37 volumes total; 9th is NOT a holograph but a replacement which we have reason to believe does not contain a pure second recension text):

Sif 7. Fut I.457-526 (within ch.69 – within ch.69)

Sifr 8. Fut I.526-595 (within ch.69 – within ch.70)

Sifr 9. Fut I.595-665 (within ch.70 – end of ch.71) = low level juz’ 55-61²

PDF copy has 260 pages = f.-0a - f.258a with 2 different folios each marked f.211 (PDF p.212-3).

f.1a is title page to sifr 7 (copied and bound with sifr 8 & 9). [Contains information on the copy – see elsewhere in this document “Title pages of Fatih 2748 and continuation Fatih 2747”] Also contains ownership note in hand of important Akbarian book-collector Muhammad b. ‘Umar Ibn ‘Azam [d.891H] dated **850H**:

² Warning: in volume 9 of his edition OY labels these juz’ 54-60 which is one lower than both standard Cairo and Fatih 2748, which label these juz’ 55-61. From the start of volume 4 OY’ juz’ numbers are lower by one than the numbering in the holograph volumes of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. The reason for that is IA himself skipped juz’ number 22 whereas OY prefers to present true (corrected) juz’ numbers. By contrast standard Cairo tends to follow IA’s own numbers, with a few exceptions. In the first juz’ in volume 4 standard Cairo (Fut I.237) labels as juz’ 22 the juz’ IA now labels 23 (but in the following juz’ standard Cairo Fut I.247 makes the adjustment (to 24) to match the numbering system IA himself used). There is another reversion to true numbering in Fut I.317 where standard Cairo labels as juz’ 29 (for a second time!) a juz’ which IA had labelled 30 (and in the following juz’ standard Cairo Fut I.329 reverts to following IA’s system, numbering that 31).

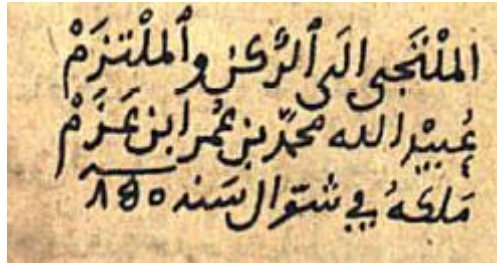
STANDARD CAIRO (AND WITH IT OY) FALLS OUT OF SYNC WITH THE HOLOGRAPH AT TRANSITION FROM VOL 3 (Fut I.161-237) TO VOL. 4 (Fut I.237-317). That is because at the start of volume 4 (equivalent to Fut I.237) IA mistakenly jumps to juz’ 23 (with no juz’ marked 22).

HOWEVER STANDARD CAIRO COMES BACK INTO SYNC WITH THE HOLOGRAPH IN THE FOLLOWING JUZ’, THE 2nd JUZ’ OF VOL. 4 (Fut I.247) SINCE IT NOW JUMPS A JUZ’ NUMBER (TO 24). HOWEVER, OY DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO MATCH THE NUMBERING OF JUZ’ IN THE HOLOGRAPH AND SO IT REMAINS OUT OF SYNC FROM THE START OF VOLUME 4 AND FROM THEN ONWARDS.

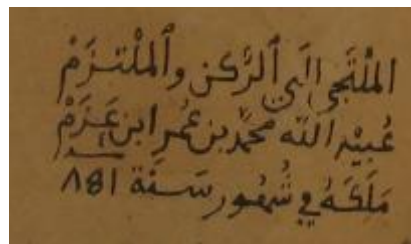
Vol. 3: Fut I.161 (not marked as juz’ transition in standard Cairo but juz’ 15 in OY; holograph 15) Fut I.171 (juz’ 16; holograph 16) Fut I.182 (juz’ 17; holograph 17) Fut I.199 (juz’ 18; holograph f.77a-b no new folio but start of 18) Fut I.208 (juz’ 19; holograph 19) Fut I.217 (juz’ 20; holograph 20) Fut I.228 (juz’ 21; holograph 21)

Vol. 4: Fut I.237 (juz’ 22; holograph 23 – **which is a jump of 1 in numbering of the holograph**, and even though at end of vol. 3 IA had announced the following juz’ would be 22) Fut I.247 (juz’ 24 – **note the jump so standard Cairo now in sync with holograph**; holograph 24; by contrast OY p.87 makes no jump, remains at juz’ 23, and so from now on is out of sync with both standard Cairo and holograph) Fut I.254 (juz’ 25) Fut I.266 (juz’ 26) Fut I.278 (juz’ 27) Fut I.292 (juz’ 28) Fut I.307 (juz’ 29; holograph 29).

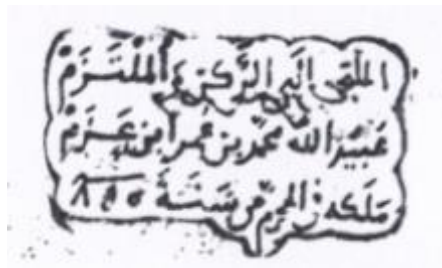
Vol. 5: Fut I.317 (juz’ 29 again – standard Cairo has typo for 30; holograph 30) Fut I.329 (juz’ 31; holograph 31) Fut I.344 (juz’ 32) Fut I.354 (juz’ 33) Fut I.365 (juz’ 34) ??? Fut I.386 (juz’ 36; holograph 36).



This same book dealer and Akbarian scholar, Ibn 'Azam (d.891H), was also the owner of other high quality mss, including 2 holograph volumes of the Great Dīwān, vol. 2 (Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 = Damascus al-Assad 14067) ownership also dated that same year **850H**, and vol. 7 (Shehit Ali 1177) ownership dated **851H**. *This alone suggests that the Fatih FM mss (2748, 2747) could have had very good provenance.* Here is the ownership note from SA 1177:

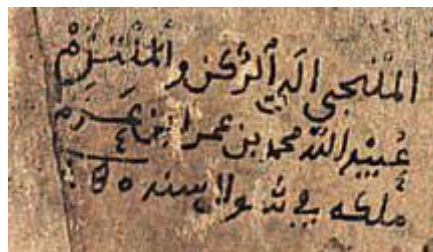


And here the the note from (Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 = Damascus al-Assad 14067):



[we have in the MIAS Archive further manuscripts owned by Ibn 'Azam]

Same man owned **Fatih 2747** (ownership dated same year 850H on title page) – which contains continuation of this ms: second recension sifr 10 (f.1a; Ibn 'Azam owned 850H), sifr 11 (f.92a; Ibn 'Azam owned undated), sifr 12 (f.190a; Ibn 'Azam owned undated):

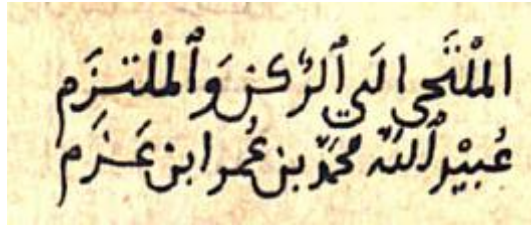


f.83b end of (low-level) juz' 48 and end of sifr 7

f.84a is title page to sifr 8. Ownership note of Ibn 'Azam undated.

f.173b end of (low-level) juz' 54 and end of mujallad (sifr) 8

f.174a is title page to sifr 9. Ownership note of Ibn 'Azam undated.



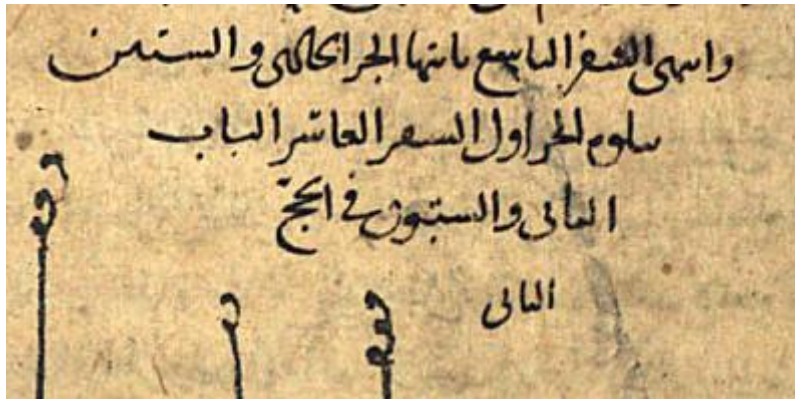
Fatih 2748 f.174a-257b is ALMOST CERTAINLY THE EARLIEST EXTANT COPY OF THE NOW-LOST VOLUME 9 OF THE HOLOGRAPH. WE HAVE GOOD EVIDENCE THAT THE MS WAS COPIED PRIOR TO THAT LOSS, OR AT LEAST PRIOR TO ITS REPLACEMENT WITH THE MANUSCRIPT THAT EXISTS TODAY IN Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 (A VOLUME WHICH CONTINUES TO BE USED IN MODERN EDITIONS SUCH AS THAT BY OSMAN YAHIA AND THE YEMENI EDITION).

Low-level juz' tend to be marked with a new page (and extended bismillah):

- Fatih 2748 f.174a start of juz' 55 [start of sifr 9] = Fut I.595 [OY vol 9 p.55 refers to this as start of juz' 54 (one lower than standard Cairo)]
- Fatih 2748 f.181a end of juz' 55; f.181b start of juz' 56 = Fut I.601 (start ch.71) = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.13b [OY vol 9 p.95 marks this end of juz' 54, start of juz' 55 (one lower than standard Cairo and the mss)]
- Fatih 2748 f.197a end of juz' 56; f.197b start of juz' 57 = Fut I.614 = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.44a [although that mistakenly marks this as end of juz' - 55 and start of juz' 56 – in this case that agrees with OY vol. 9 p.179 (OY is generally one lower than the juz' numbering of standard Cairo)]
- Fatih 2748 f.209a end of juz' 57 and on same page start of juz' 58 = Fut I.624 = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.67b [although that mistakenly marks this as both the end and the start of juz' 57; OY vol 9 p.241 marks this end of juz' 56 and start of juz' 57 (one lower than standard Cairo)]
- Fatih 2748 f.219a end of juz' 58; f.219b start of juz' 59 = Fut I.633 = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.90a [OY vol 9 p.294 marks this end of juz' 57 and start of juz' 58 (one lower than standard Cairo and the mss)]
- Fatih 2748 f.233b end of juz' 59; f.234a start of juz' 60 = Fut I.645 = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.117a [OY vol 9 p.358 marks this end of juz' 58 and start of juz' 59 (one lower than standard Cairo and the mss)]
- Fatih 2748 f.248b end of juz' 60; f.248b start of juz' 61 = Fut I.657 [note that after the (short form) bismillah there is no heading, unlike standard Cairo: وصل مناجاة الحق في الزمان الخاص بالحال الإلهي الخاص = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.145a [OY vol 9 p.426 marks this end of juz' 59 and start of juz' 60 (one lower than standard Cairo and the mss)]
- Fatih 2748 f.257b end of juz' 61 [end of sifr 9] (end of ch.71) = Fut I.665 = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.161b [OY vol 9 p.473 marks this end of juz' 60 and start of juz' 61 (one lower than standard Cairo and the mss)]

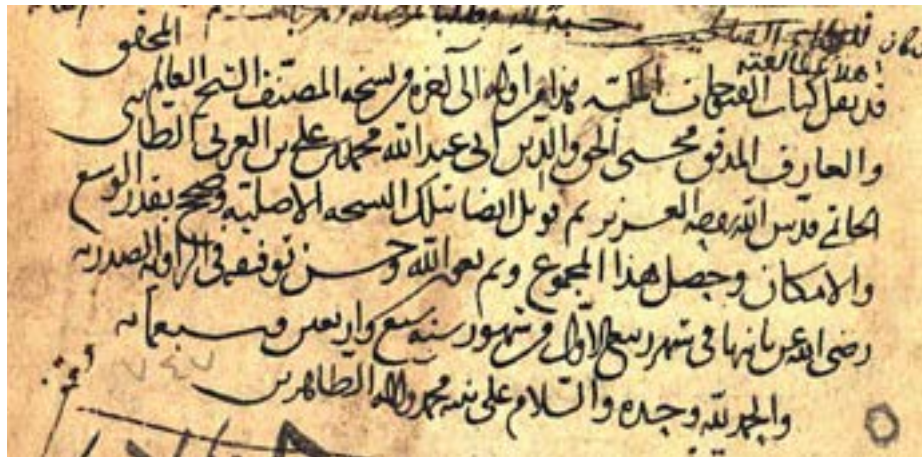
f.242a change of hand (no red ink beyond this point) – text continues with no loss of text according to parallel in standard Cairo Fut I.651. (However we have noticed a difference in the way low-level juz' are introduced on f.248b).

f.257b (brief undated unsigned colophon) end of sifr 9 = end of low-level juz' 61 prior to first juz' of following sifr 10 (and FM ch.72) [see Fatih 2747 for that continuation]



Title page of Fatih 2748 (and similar in continuation Fatih 2747)

Fatih 2748 f.1a (title page to sifr 7 which was copied and bound with sifr 8 & 9):



[With thanks to Claude Addas]

(Title in red ink)

al-sifr al-sābi' min al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya

volume 7 of FM [it corresponds to volume 7 of the second recension holograph, Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (but this manuscript also contains volumes 8 and 9 of the same with title pages prior to each; volumes 10-12 are in Fatih 2747 which has a similar title page to this)]

(2 lines below title)

Inshā' mawlānā wa-sayyidinā al-imām al-'ālim al-rāsikh al-fard al-akmal Muḥyī al-milla wa-l-dīn shaykh al-islām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Arabī al-Ṭā'ī al-Ḥātimī (RA)

The work of our master ... Ibn 'Arabī ...

(single line below that)

Fīhi baqiyya kitāb (69) al-ṣalāt wa-kiyāb (70) al-zakāt wa-kitāb (71) al-ṣawm

Containing the remainder of the book (chapter 69) on prayer and the book (chapter 70) on zakāt and the book (chapter 71) on fasting

[then 2 indecipherable lines partially erased]

(6 lines of text)

Qad nuqila k. al-F. al-M. hādha min awwalihi ilā akhirihi min nuskhat al-musannif al-shaykh al-‘ālim al-muḥaqqiq wa-l-‘ārif al-mudaqqiq Muḥyī al-ḥaqq w-l-dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-‘Arabī al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥātimī...

This book FM was transcribed from beginning to end from the copy of the author the shaykh... IA... [surely the 37-volume holograph now Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ but originally part of SQ’s waqf]

Thumma qūbila aydan tilka al-nuskhat al-aṣliyya wa-suḥiḥa bi qadar al-wus’ wa-l-imkān

Then (that copy) was again compared to the original copy and corrected as far and as much as possible

wa-ḥuṣila hadha al-majmū’ wa-tamma bi ‘awni llāh wa-tawfiqihi fī l-zāwiyya al-ṣadriyya (raḍiya llāh ‘an bānihā)

and this collection was obtained by the grace of God in al-zāwiyya al-Ṣadriyya (may God be satisfied with its founder) [presumably meaning the zāwiyya of SQ in Konya where the 37-volume holograph second recension was housed as part of his waqf]

fī shahr rabī’ awwal min shuhūr al-sanat 747

in the month of Rabī’ I in the year 747H [so this copy from the holograph was first made prior to 747H]

(note in left margin in faded ink)

طالعه من اوله الى اخره محمد بن احمد بن يعقوب الفيروز آبادي ؟؟؟

Read from start to finish by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ya’qūb al-Fayrūzābādī

(ownership note bottom right – that of Ibn ‘Azam dated 850H – see above)

Defects in Fatih 2748

- Folios marked f.254-5 were misbound (prior to pagination) – they should appear not as now between f.253 and f.256 but instead in between f.250 and f.251.
- The change of hand at f.242a could correspond to a change in quality in the copy. Does the second hand continue into the continuation that is Fatih 2747 or is that in yet another hand? If it were in the same hand then this would help date the second hand (all 6 asfār in Fatih 2748 and 2747 are marked with Ibn ‘Azam’s ownership notes, so all can be dated to pre-850H; and the notes on the title pages to the two mss suggest they were always part of the same set).

- There are occasional marginal (or inline) corrections in this ms – are these in the hand of the original scribe? Or do they indicate later collation by someone else? (see reference to later collation on title page – against original again, in 747H)
- There are two consecutive folios labelled 211 (together they correspond to a sequence of text in standard Cairo Fut I.625-626-627).

Differences between true second recension text of sifr 9 (Fatih 2748 f.174-257) and the defective hybrid text found in replacement vol. 9 of holograph (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) and the texts in standard Cairo (Fut I.595-665) and in other editions and manuscripts (including Great Diwan)

OY vol. 9 p.55
Fatih 2748 f.174b

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم **وبه نستعين** وصل في فصل **زكاة** الإبل **الزكاة** فيها بالاتفاق وقدرها ونصابها مذكور في أحكام الشريعة ...
الشيطنة البعد **يقال** [in margin] بنر شطون

Fut I.595 (start of sifr 9). Standard Cairo Fut I.595

[no bismillah] وصل في فصل **زكاة** الإبل **الزكاة** فيها بالاتفاق وقدرها ونصابها مذكور في أحكام الشريعة ... الشيطنة البعد
يقال بنر شطون

Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 (replacement) f.1b l.2:

[no bismillah] وصل في فصل **زكاة** الإبل **الزكاة** فيها بالاتفاق وقدرها ونصابها مذكور في أحكام الشريعة ... الشيطنة البعد
[no correction] بنر شطون

Osman Yahia (v.9 p.55) notes that (**زكاة**) is the standard Cairo reading but (**زكاة**) is found in 'B' (first recension) and also in 'K' (Evkaf Muzesi replacement). But since we find (**زكاة**) in Fatih 2748 we presume that is the true second recension reading and **Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (replacement vol. 9) here presents the first recension form rather than the true second recension form of the lost holograph. (Fatih 2748 is to be preferred)**. [This same 'error' occurs many times in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ replacement vol. 9, as indicated in Osman Yahia's footnotes against ms 'K' – we do not attempt to list all such cases]

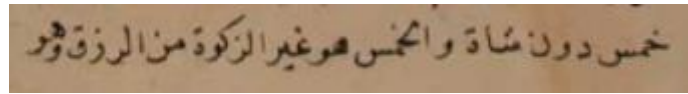
Osman Yahia (v.9 p.55) notes that (**يقال**) is present in 'B' (first recension) and 'C' (standard Cairo) but is absent in 'K', i.e. Evkaf Muzesi replacement vol 9. **Since we find it in Fatih 2748 (2nd recension) it would seem that the loss of the word in replacement vol. 9 is peculiar to that manuscript and is not an authentic reading of either recension.**

We also note that Osman Yahia does not refer to having found the words (**وبه نستعين**) after the bismillah in any ms or edition (it is not found in 'K', the replacement volume 9) but we find it used as part of the bismillah's at juz' headings in Faith 2748 (can we conclude it was in the lost holograph?)

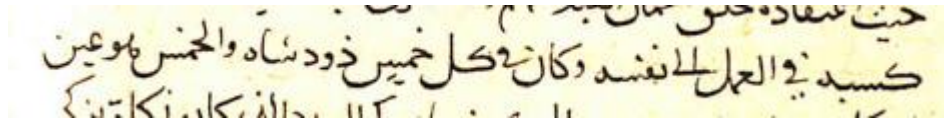
OY vol. 9 p.56
Fut I.595

وكان في كل خمس **ذود** شاة والخمس هو **عين**

OY vol 9 p. 5 indicates (ذود ... عين) is the reading in 'B' (first recension) and 'C' but that 'K' (replacement vol. 9) reads (دون ... غير) as indeed it does on the last line of f.1b:



However, Fatih 2748 f.174b differs:



This reads (ذود ... عين) which suggests that that is the true reading for the second recension (as well as the first) and that **replacement vol. 9 (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) contains here bogus readings not found in either recension.**

Yemeni edition v.3 p.407 does indicate any variants here among its sources (q, s and h).

OY vol. 9 p.58

Fut I.595:

(الاعتبار)

'K' Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 v.2 l.13 has:

وصل الاعتبار

Which Osman Yahia p.58 states is peculiar to 'K' – 'B' (first recension) like 'C' standard Cairo has only (الاعتبار). Fatih 2748 f.174b (2 lines from end) also has only (الاعتبار) so it seems as if the extra (وصل) is a bogus form peculiar to replacement vol.9 but not found in either true recension texts, 'B' or Fatih 2748.

OY vol. 9 p.58

Fut I.595:

والصغير يعلم الصلاة

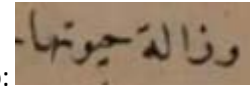
Fatih 2748 f.175a (l.1) has the standard Cairo reading (الصلاة) – which is also found in the first recension 'B' - but Osman Yahia v.9 p.58 alerts us to the fact that 'K' (Evkaf replacement vol.9) reads (الصلوة). This orthography seems peculiar to Evkaf replacement and is not found in either of the true readings for first recension (B) or second recension (Fatih 2748).

On the other hand the extra wa- 2 words earlier is peculiar to standard Cairo – it is not found in any of the mss: 'B' (1st recension) or Fatih 2748 (true second recension) or even in 'K' (hybrid; replacement Evkaf).

OY vol. 9 p.63 l.9-10

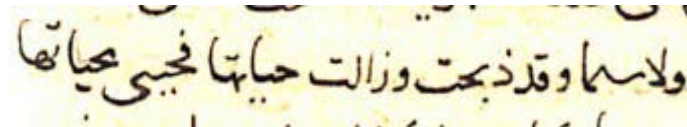
Fut I.596 (standard Cairo)

ولاسيما وقد ذبحت وزالت حياتها



OY vol.9 p.63 l.9-10: (زالت حياتها) is standard Cairo but K is (وزالة حيوتها) (f.3b:) and in 'B' (first recension) both words are entirely missing.

Fatih 2748 f.175b l.10 agrees with standard Cairo (وزالت حياتها):



Once again the 'K' form has no basis in either recension.

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.409) does not indicate any variants in its sources (q, s and h) from the standard Cairo text. But their 'q' should be OY's 'K' which is clearly different here. And if their 'h' (Hekimoglu) is in fact a first recension ms as we suspect then one would expect the two words to be absent as in OY's 'B'. In other words, here the editors do not appear to have noticed either of the divergences from their (primary?) source, 's' (standard Cairo).

OY vol. 9 p.64 l.3

Fut l.596 standard Cairo:

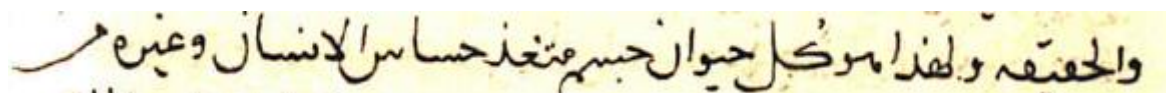
الحقيقة ولهذا هو كل حيوان جسم متغذ حساس فالإنسان وغيره من

OY v.9 p.64 l.3-4 adopts in his edition the following:

الحقيقة ولهذا [] كل واحد منهم (هو) جسم متغذ حساس الإنسان وغيره من

He notes that he finds this reading (واحد منهم) in 'B' (first recension) while 'K' agrees with standard Cairo.

Fatih 2748 f.175b l.14 agrees with 'K' here



It is not clear why OY chose to adopt the first recension reading of 'B' in this instance.

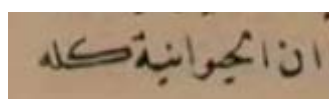
OY vol. 9 p.64 l.8

Fut l.596 standard Cairo:

أن الحيوانات في الحيوان كله حقيقة واحدة

OY p.64 l.8 indicates the two words (في الحيوان) are missing from K (end of f.3b) but are found in B (first recension) as well as in standard Cairo.

Here is K (end of f.3b, start of f.4a) confirming the absence of (في الحيوان):



حقيقه واحده

But the two words (في الحيوان) are also found in Fatih 2748 f.175b (4 lines from bottom) :

المقوم فاعلمه الله بما وقع ان الحيوانيه في الحيوان كله حقيقه واحده فاناده

So here replacement volume 9 (K) is defective and Fatih 2748 should be preferred (first and second recension readings agree).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.410) does not indicate any variants in its sources (q, s and h) from the standard Cairo text. But their 'q' should be OY's 'K' which is clearly different here. In other words, here the editors do not appear to have noticed the divergence in 'q' from their (primary?) source, 's' (standard Cairo).

OY vol. 9 p.69 l.6

Fut I.597 standard Cairo:

فإن الأبناء والفروع تكاد لا تنحصر بل لا تنحصر والله يقول الحق وهو يهدي السبيل

OY vol. 9 p.69 l.6 indicates (بل لا تنحصر) are missing from B and also from K (f.5b) which we can confirm in K itself:

الأبناء والفروع تكاد لا ينحصر والله يقول الحق وهو

Fatih 2748 f.176b contains those missing words:

فإن الأبناء والفروع تكاد لا تنحصر بل لا تنحصر والله يقول الحق وهو

So here replacement volume 9 (K) is defective (agrees with first recension only) and Fatih 2748 should be preferred

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.412 l.4) does not indicate any variants in its sources (q, s and h) from the standard Cairo text. But their 'q' should be OY's 'K' which is clearly different here. In other words, here the editors do not appear to have noticed the divergence in 'q' from their (primary?) source, 's' (standard Cairo).

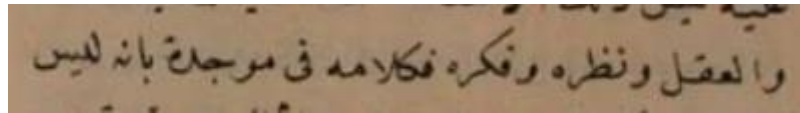
OY vol. 9 p.72 l.13

Fut I.597:

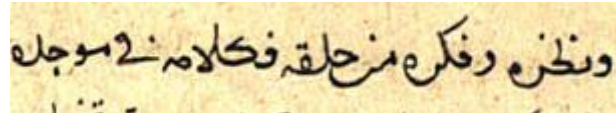
والعقل ونظره وفكره من خلقه فكلامه في موجد

OY vol.9 p.72 l.13 indicates these two words (من خلقه) are missing from K but are found in standard Cairo and in 'B' (first recension).

Here is K f.6b l.8 where we do indeed find that these two words (من خلقه) are missing:



We find the two words in Fatih 2748 f.177b l.1:



So here again **replacement volume 9 (K) is defective and Fatih 2748 should be preferred (first and second recension readings agree).**

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.413, l.7) does not indicate any variants in its sources (q, s and h) from the standard Cairo text. But their 'q' should be OY's 'K' which is clearly different here. In other words, here the editors do not appear to have noticed the divergence in 'q' from their (primary?) source, 's' (standard Cairo).

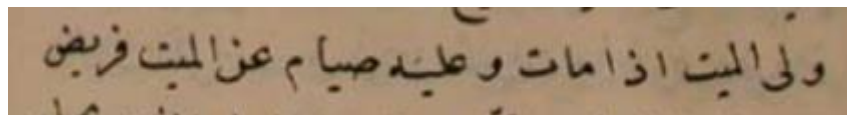
OY vol. 9 p.90 l.1

Fut l.600:

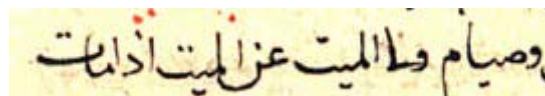
وصيام ولي الميت عن الميت إذا مات وعليه صيام فرض رمضان

OY vol 9 p.90 l.1 indicates the words (عن الميت) are missing from K (f.11b; 3 lines from end) but are present in 'B' as well as standard Cairo.

Here indeed is the text in K (f.11b; 3 lines from end) missing the words (عن الميت):



We find the words in Fatih 2748 f.180a:



So here **again replacement volume 9 (K) is defective and Fatih 2748 should be preferred (first and second recension readings agree).**

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.419, l.6) does not indicate any variants in its sources (q, s and h) from the standard Cairo text. But their 'q' should be OY's 'K' which is clearly different here. In other words, here the editors do not appear to have noticed the divergence in 'q' from their (primary?) source, 's' (standard Cairo).

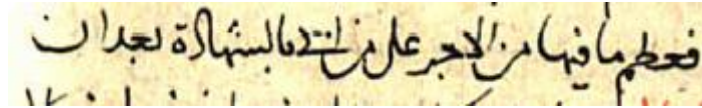
OY vol. 9 p.94 l.10

Standard Cairo Fut I.601:

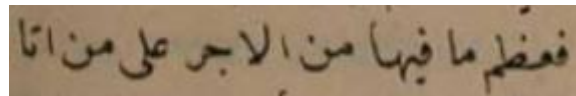
من الأجر على أجر من أتى

OY vol.9 p.94 l.10 indicates the word (أجر) is found in standard Cairo but not in either B or K.

We find the word is also absent in Fatih 2748 f.180b (4 lines from bottom):



Here is K (f.13a 5 lines from end):



Where we notice (أتى) for (أنا) but the standard Cairo word (أجر) is again missing.

So here standard Cairo incorrectly supplies an extra word (أجر) that is not found in either recension or any of the key mss (including replacement vol 9).

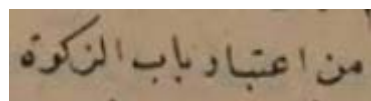
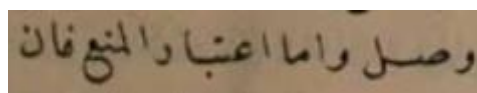
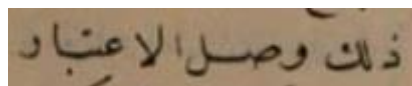
Yemeni edition (v.3 p.421, l.1) maintains the extra word of standard Cairo. But in this case they do at least indicate that the word is missing in their other sources (q and s).

OY vol. 9 p.94 l.11-12 and p.95 l.6

In 5 places standard Cairo Fut I.601 uses (اعتبار) with 'r' rather than (اعتباد) with 'd'.

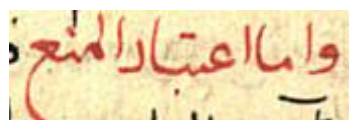
OY vol.9 p.94 l.11-12 and p.95 l.6 uses (اعتبار) and indicates that is the standard Cairo and also 'K' reading but that in B (first recension) the reading is (اعتباد).

Here is what we find in K itself (f.13a-b):



I have to say I disagree with OY here – these look more like (اعتباد) than (اعتبار).

We find in Fatih 2748 f.180b-181a the reading is clearly (اعتباد):



هذا القدر من اعتبار

So here standard Cairo (and also OY himself) incorrectly agrees with the bogus reading (اعتبار) which OY finds in replacement vol 9 'K'. But in fact the true reading (اعتباد) in first recension B is also found in Fatih 2748 (and perhaps in fact even in 'K') which means that is the true reading for both recensions.

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.421) maintains the standard Cairo reading (اعتبار) in all three cases and does not indicate any variants in its other two sources, 'q' (OY's K) or 's'.

OY vol. 9 p.95 l.2-4

Standard Cairo Fut l.601:

وهل يحكم اسم في وقت سلطنة اسم آخر مع بقاء حكم صاحب الوقت وهل يشتركان في الوقت الواحد فيكون الحكم لكل واحد من الأسماء حكم في وقته وهل حكم الوقت هو الحاكم على الاسم بأن جعله بحكم الاستعداد المحكوم فيه الذي أعطاه الوقت

OY vol. 9 p.95 l.2-4 indicates that the text in red is found in standard Cairo and 'B' (first recension) but is missing from 'K' (replacement vol 9 f.13a)

But here is 'K' (v.9 f.13a final 2 lines) where we find the missing text is in fact (اسم في وقت سلطنة اسم آخر) مع بقاء حكم صاحب الوقت وهل يشتركان في الوقت الواحد فيكون الحكم لكل واحد من الأسماء حكم

وهنا دقايق من العلم علوم الاسماء الالهيه وهل يحكم في وقته وهل حكم الوقت هو الحاكم على الاسم

Fatih 2748 f.180b-181a contains the standard Cairo text that was skipped in K:

نقضيه وهنا دقايق من العلوم من علوم الاسماء الالهيه وهل يحكم اسم في وقت سلطنة اسم اخر مع بقاء حكم صاحب الوقت وهل يشتركان في الوقت الواحد فيكون الحكم لكل واحد من الاسماء حكم في وقته وهل حكم الوقت هو

So here again replacement volume 9 (K) is seriously defective and Fatih 2748 should be preferred (first and second recension readings agree).

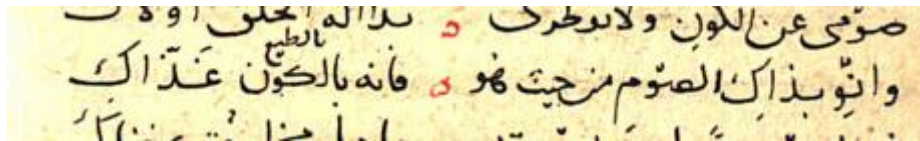
Yemeni edition (v.3 p.421, l.4-5) correctly notes that the text is missing from their 'q' (replacement holograph, OY's K) and they correctly record the range of text as (اسم في وقت ... حكم) [contrast OY's slight error in specifying the range].

NOTE: Fatih 2749 f.181a NUMBERS THE LOW-LEVEL JUZ' TRANSITION DIFFERENTLY FROM OY VOL 9 p.95 (Fatih has 55-56 as opposed to OY's 54-55). Standard Cairo I.601 has (انتهى الجزء الخامس و (الخمسون). IT APPEARS OY'S EDITION IS WRONG HERE. ON p.179 HE IS AGAIN OUT BY ONE JUZ' - THERE OY HAS TRANSITION 55-56 (CONTRAST Fut I.614 WHICH HAS 56-7).

OY vol. 9 p.96 l.3 = Fut I.601 (opening poem to ch.71; verse 10)
Standard Cairo:

وانوى بذاك الصوم من حيث هو * فإنه بالطبع غذاك

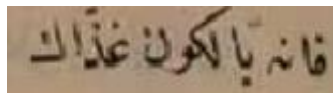
Fatih 2748 f.181b:



وانوى بذاك الصوم من حيث هو * فإنه بالكون [بالطبع] [correction above line] غذاك

We suspect that the copiest of Fatih 2748 reproduces here both the original text and also the correction (or variant) marked in the lost holograph vol. 9. And we suspect that the uncorrected text follows the first recension while the correction represents a modification peculiar to the second recension.

(Replacement) sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ f.13b:



... * فإنه بالكون غذاك

On the basis of what we found in Fatih 2748 we suspect that the replacement sifr 9 contains only the first recension reading – and here does NOT reproduce the variant IA introduced in the lost sifr 9 (probably as a correction or variant marked above the line or in the margins, both faithfully reproduced in Fatih 2748). If we are correct, then we have evidence that the replacement sifr 9 can not be relied upon to present a pure 2nd recension text, and Fatih 2748 should be preferred over it as reproducing more faithfully the lost text.

Here is Osman Yahia vol. 9 p.96 – where line 3 corresponds to the 10th verse of the chapter-opening poem:

وانوى بذاك الصوم من حيث هو فإنه بالكون غذاك 3
 أله : CB : آله (مصحفاً) || 2 الخلق : CK : الخز : B || 3 وانوى : GB (اليد ثابتة قرأوى) :
 وانوى : K || يذك : (مهمل ك) || 3 هو : CK : - B || فانه (همزة وثقة) : فانه : (بالكون
 BK : بالطبع C || غذاك (ثقة) : K : غذاك B (مطبوعة جزئياً) C || 4 معنى : CK : معنا B

Our focus is upon the pre-final word. In his main text OY selects the text he found in 'B' (first version Beyazid) and in 'K' (replacement sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+):

بالكون

However, in his footnote he records a different reading in the standard Cairo ('C'):

بالطبع

We have reason to believe that the manuscript reading (بالكون) corresponds to IA's first version of the FM, and that the standard Cairo edition reading (بالطبع) corresponds to a modification IA made in the second version (**on the basis of Fatih 2748 we would suggest this 'correction' was marked as a correction in the lost holograph and both the uncorrected text and the correction were reproduced in Fatih 2748**). Since sifr 9 is a replacement and the holograph is lost we can not be absolutely certain of this. Unfortunately, in this case the Syrian Dīwān manuscript is less informative. For in al-Assad 14067 f.37a we find the following for v.10:

The pre-final word here is بالكون but with no marginal correction. We can be confident this is the first version FM reading since that was the only version in existence when IA first wrote this holograph of the Great Dīwān. But in this case we find no indication in the Dīwān holograph that IA changed the text in the second version of the FM. Contrast the situation with the 4-verse poem we discussed in the previous section – there IA marked a 2nd version change with a marginal correction to his Dīwān holograph.

Confirming what OY records for 'K' here is the text in replacement sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ f.13b:

It does indeed have first version reading (بالكون).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.422, v.10) has (بالكون) in the main text – with the implied source being its 'q' (replacement holograph, OY's K). In the footnotes they indicate that 's' (Hekimoglu) and 'h' (standard Cairo) have (بالطبع). They usually follow standard Cairo which in this instance we believe contains the true second recension text. But in this instance they have chosen the reading they find in the replacement holograph which we believe is in fact the first recension form! (It is also interesting that they record the second recension form in Hekimoglu since we believe this their 's' to mean Hekimoglu 488-9 which can not therefore be a pure first recension text).

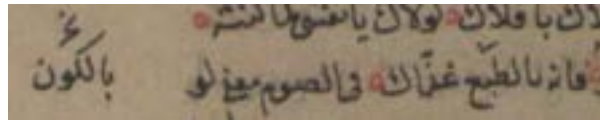
So what is origin of the standard Cairo reading (بالطبع) ? Does that edition once again preserve the authentic second version text, despite what is found in replacement sifr 9? We find evidence that it might well do so. In Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 f.219b we find the following:

The main text agrees with the standard Cairo edition (بالطبع) but in the margin is the first version text (بالكون)³. We find this manuscript usually presents the 2nd version text. It is not clear if the marginal note was meant to serve as a correction or simply to record a variant. If it were a correction it would

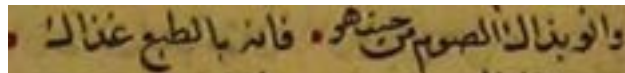
³ The symbol in the margin marking the 'variant' we understand to be an abbreviated form of نسخة (short for 'in other copy'). Compare the symbol in Husein Celebi 445 below.

be a correction in the wrong direction, towards the 1st version text! So perhaps the note was only meant to record a variant found elsewhere. Either way, this at least provides manuscript evidence for the standard Cairo reading (بالطبع) and suggests this could have been the true second version text.

Similar evidence is found in Husein Celebi 445 (946H) f.196b. Once again, the text we take to be 2nd version is found in the main text, while the 1st version form is provided as a marginal ‘variant’ ⁴:

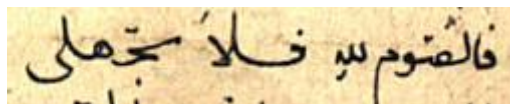


Nurosmaniye 2501 f.130a (copied in 1120s by a student of al-Nābulusī) has the putative 2nd version form (بالطبع) in the main text and no marginal ‘variant’:

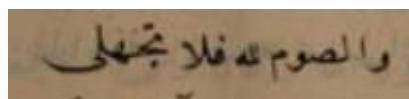


In conclusion, it seems very likely that IA changed this word when he wrote the second version of FM – using بالطبع instead of بالكون. But in this case he did not remember to update his holograph Dīwān, which thus preserves only the first version text and provides no indication (in the margins) that the poem had been changed in the second version.

v.17 of the same poem (start of ch.71) begins as follows in standard Cairo: (فالصوم لله فلا تجهلى). OY vol. 9 p.97 l.10 uses instead (... والصوم ...) which OY finds in K while B (first recension) agrees with standard Cairo. However, we find in Fatih 2748 f.181b the reading (... فالصوم ...) so the reading (... والصوم ...) in K (f.14a l.4) is a bogus reading not found in either recension and OY is wrong to follow that rather than the standard Cairo reading. Here is Fatih 2748 f.181b:



And here is that bogus reading in K f.14a:



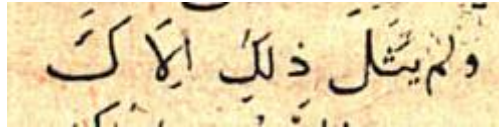
Yemeni edition (v.3 p.422, v.17) follows standard Cairo in main text and notes in the footnotes the wa- variant of K (their ‘q’).

v.19 of the same poem (start of ch.71). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.423, v.19) follows the standard Cairo (انتاك) which they find there (‘h’) and in replacement holograph (K = their ‘q’). But they note that in their ‘s’ (Hekimoglu) they find variant (انشاك) (sh not th). OY does not report such a variant even in ‘B’

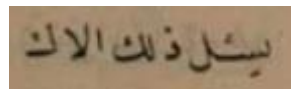
⁴ As a further complication another marginal ‘variant’ is marked in Husein Celebi 445 f.196b against the final word of verse 16. The main text is as in the standard Cairo edition (عراك) but in the margin one finds a variant (عداك). Osman Yahia records that first version ‘B’ has a different reading again (تراك). Topkapi Ahmed III seems to have a dot above the ‘ayn suggesting a yet another reading (غراك) - but this time there is no variant provided in the margins.

(first recension). Great Diwan holograph (first recension) reads as standard Cairo so we presume 'sh' is an erroneous reading peculiar to Hekimoglu.

v.20 of the same poem (start of ch.71) ends as follows in standard Cairo: (ولم ينل ذلك الاك). OY vol. 9 p.98 l.1 finds this reading in 'B' (first recension) but reports a different reading (يسئل) in K (although for some reason he himself chooses to follow standard Cairo and the first recension here). In Fatih 2748 f.182a we find a different reading again (يشل):



Here is the reading in K itself f.14a:

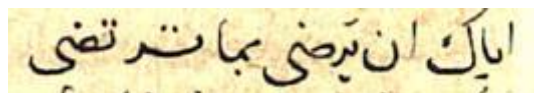


Which does indeed look like (يسئل).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.423, v.19) follows standard Cairo (ينل) (and presumably also Hekimoglu, their 's') but notes that 'q' (i.e. K) has variant (يسئل).

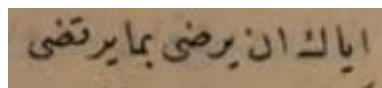
So we conclude that the 'K' reading (يسئل) is wrong but OY and standard Cairo were also both wrong in reverting to the first recension reading (ينل). The true second recension reading is found only in Fatih 2748 (يشل).

v.26 of the same poem (start of ch.71) begins as follows in standard Cairo: (اياك ان ترضى بما ترتضى). OY vol.9 p.98 l.7 indicates that B has instead (يرضى بما ترضى) while K has (؟؟؟ بما يرتضى). Here is Fatih 2748 f.182a:



That is (يرضى بما ترتضى) which looks more like the reading of B (although not identical).

Here is K itself (f.14a):



i.e. (يرضى بما يرتضى).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.423, v.26) follows standard Cairo (ترضى بما ترتضى) but notes that 'q' (i.e. K) has (يرضى بما يرتضى) (as we have noted) while their 's' (Hekimoglu) has yet another form: (ترضى بما يرتضى) which is directly opposite to the true second recension form we find in Fatih 2748 (t-y instead of y-t)!

Thus OY and standard Cairo are both wrong to create a form (ترضى بما ترتضى) (t-t) which is not found in either B or K. In fact, the true second recension reading of Fatih 2748 (يرضى بما ترتضى) (y-t) is different from, but not very different from, the first recension form found in B (يرضى بما ترضى) (y-variant t). Meanwhile K diverges in the opposite way from the true reading: (يرضى بما يرتضى) (y-y). And apparently Hekimoglu is different again (ترضى بما يرتضى) (t-y)!

OY vol. 9 p.119 l.9

OY vol. 9 p.119 l.9 indicates 3 words (المعين من الشهور) are missing from K (f.22b) but are found in B and in standard Cairo (Fut I.605).

The words appear in Fatih 2748 f.186a (3 lines from end).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.430 (5 lines from end) contains these words with no mention that they are not found in K (their main source).

OY vol. 9 p.121 l.11-12

OY vol. 9 p.121 l.11-12 indicates 9 words (فإن كان على درج الرؤية وغم علينا عملنا عليه) are missing from K (f.23b) and from B but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.606).

The words appear in Fatih 2748 f.187a (first line).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.431 (6 lines from end) contains these words and indicates that a slightly different set of words is omitted from 'q' i.e. K (their main source): درج الرؤية وغم علينا عملنا عليه وإن كان على

OY vol. 9 p.125 l.10

OY vol. 9 p.125 l.10 indicates 3 words (من الاسم الإلهي) [before فاطر السموات] are missing from K (f.25b) but are found in B and in standard Cairo (Fut I.606; 2nd occurrence).

The words appear in Fatih 2748 f.187b (5 lines from end).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.433 (l.7) contains these words with no mention that they are not found in K (their main source).

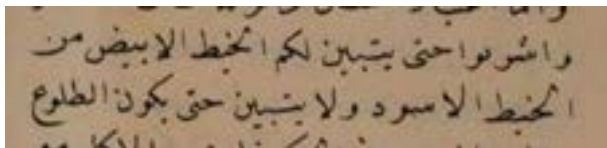
OY vol. 9 p.136 l.5

OY vol. 9 p.136 l.5 indicates K has a 5 word insertion (الخيط الابيض من الخيط الاسود) relative to standard Cairo (and it is not in B either).

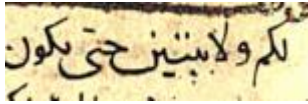
Here is the standard Cairo text Fut I.608:

وأما اعتبار التبيين في قوله تعالى وَكُلُوا وَاشْرَبُوا حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكُمُ [nothing here] ولا يتبين حتى يكون الطلوع وإليه أذهب في الحكم

We do indeed find this in K 7 lines from the end of f.29b:



But there is no such text in Fatih 2784 f.190a (l.1):



So we conclude that **K here contains a bogus insertion with no support in either version of FM!**

On the other hand this text (الخط الابيض من الخط الاسود) is found elsewhere on the same page Fut I.608 (three times) and also once much later in Fut IV.524. **It seems the K scribe (or someone before him) decided to supply a more complete quotation than IA himself had done in this specific location.**

OY vol. 9 p.152 I.7

OY vol. 9 p.152 I.7 indicates 3 words (طلبه الاستعداد فالحكم) are missing from K (f.35b) but are found in B and in standard Cairo (Fut I.611).

The words appear in Fatih 2748 f.193a (line 3).

In the Yemeni edition vol. 3 p.443 (I.4) it is indicated that a slightly longer passage is absent in K: الذي طلبه الاستعداد فالحكم

OY vol. 9 p.156 I.1-4

OY vol. 9 p.156 I.1-4 indicates K (f.36 I.3) has significant omissions relative to standard Cairo (Fut I.611).

Standard Cairo (Fut I.611):

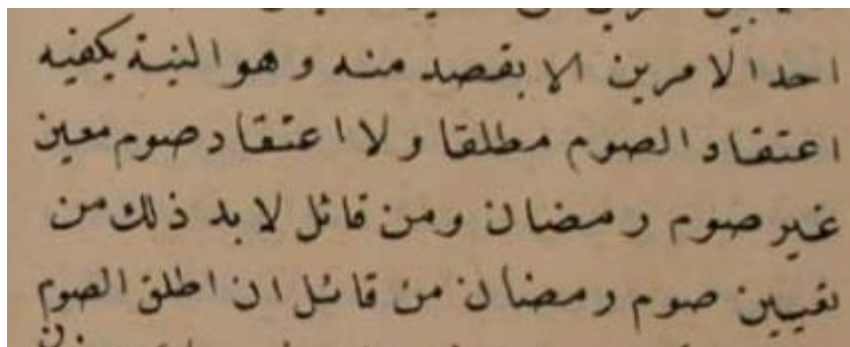
فلا يمكن أن يعدل إلى أحد الأمرين إلا بقصد منه وهو النية

(وصل في فصل من هذا الفصل وهو تعيين النية المجزئة في ذلك)

فمن قائل لا بد في ذلك من تعيين صوم رمضان ولا يكفيه اعتقاد الصوم مطلقا ولا اعتقاد صوم معين غير صوم رمضان

[IN K ONLY INSERT TRANSLOCATED TEXT HERE] ومن قائل إن أطلق الصوم أجزاء

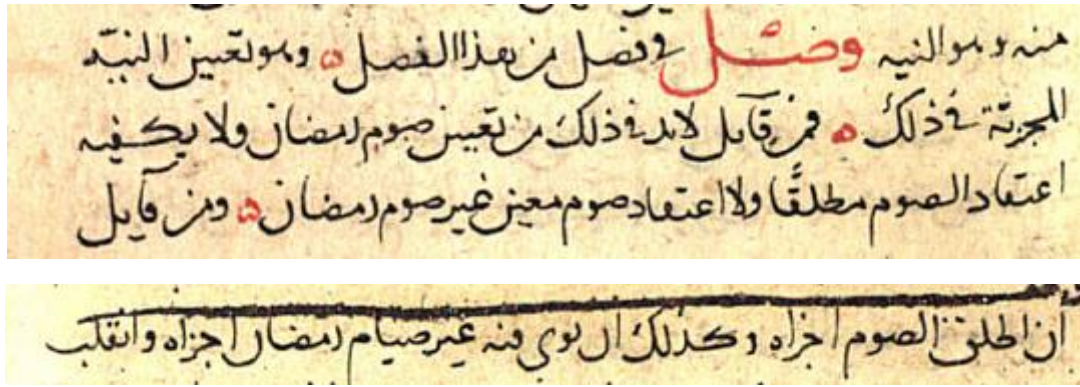
Here is indicates K (f.36 I.3-6) to demonstrate that the text in red (and green) is indeed missing:



But what is more K here has an insertion of some of the skipped text (that in green), inserting it at the location marked in green above:

فمن قائل لا بد في ذلك من تعيين صوم رمضان

Here is Fatih 2748 f.193a-b:



where there is no such omission / translocation relative to standard Cairo.

So here again replacement volume 9 (K) is seriously defective and Fatih 2748 should be preferred over K.

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.444, l.3-5) presents only the standard Cairo text (their 'h') and makes no mention of the omission/translocation of a block of text in their stated source 'q' (i.e. K).

OY vol. 9 p.157 l.10-12

OY vol. 9 p.157 l.10-12 indicates differences between his own edition and his sources K, C and B

Standard Cairo Fut l.611

الواحد من اختلاف ألفاظها والثاني من اختلاف معانيها وإن تقاربت غاية القرب وتشابهت غاية الشبه

[OY INSERTS FURTHER TEXT HERE (see below)]

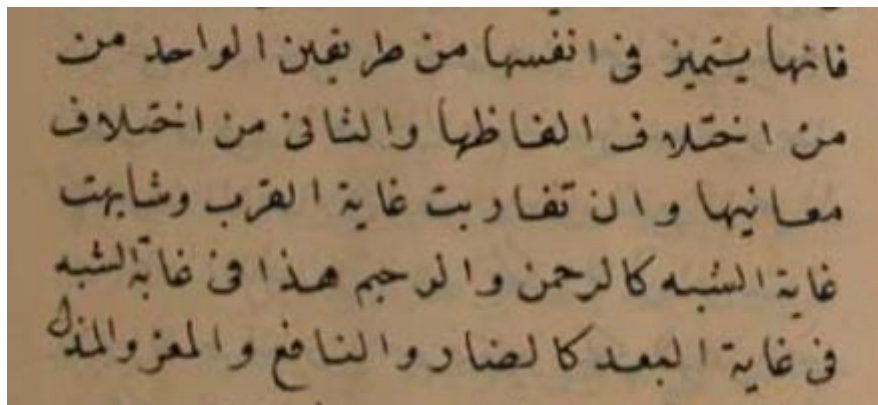
وأسماء المقابلة في غاية البعد كالضار والنافع

OY (l.11-12) in his own edition inserts at the marked location the following text not found in standard Cairo:

فانه لابد فيها من فارق كالرحيم والرحمن هذا في غاية الشبه

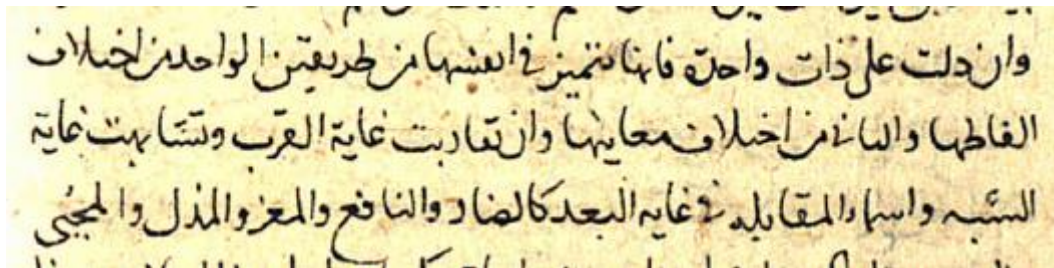
He finds all of this in B (first recension) and part of it (that in red) in K (f.37a l.8-12).

Here is K (f.37a l.8-12):



Where we see (on l.11) insertion of the extra text (in red) and omission of the texts we marked in green and in blue.

Here is Fatih 2748 f.193b:



Which supports the standard Cairo text and does not support omission of the text in blue (omitted in K) nor insertion of the texts in red and in green:

الواحد من اختلاف ألفاظها والثاني من اختلاف معانيها وإن تقاربت غاية القرب وتشابهت غاية الشبه

[OY INSERTS FURTHER TEXT HERE]

وأسماء المقابلة في غاية البعد كالضار والنافع

This is a particularly complex situation. **Fatih 2748 supports the standard Cairo text as authentic second recension. Relative to that 'K' omits two words (green) and inserts six others (red). In his edition OY presents an even more radically different text, based apparently on first recension B (why he preferred this here we can not guess). It seems 'K' presents here a strange hybrid of the first and second recension texts. Fatih 2748 (and standard Cairo) are to be preferred.**

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.444, final 4 lines) rather surprisingly follows OY's edition here, but it seems they do so on the basis of different manuscripts. They insert the extra words (فانه لابد فيها من فارق) not found in either standard Cairo or in 'q' (i.e. K) but which is found (as they mention in a footnote) in 's' (i.e. Hekimoglu; first recension?) and they also insert the extra words (كالرحيم والرحمن هذا في غاية) (الشبه) not found in standard Cairo (their 'h') but by implication found in their other two sources 'q' (i.e. K) and 's' (Hekimoglu). In other words, they follow the reading they find in Hekimoglu. However, we strongly suspect that Hekimoglu contains the first recension text here (even if in other places it might be hybridized with second recension readings). As a result, here **the Yemeni editors, like OY before them, choose to present a first recension text** – although unlike OY, they presumably did not realize that is what they were doing (in that they explicitly chose to make use of Hekimoglu in what would seem to be more single-minded attempt to construct an edition of the second recension).

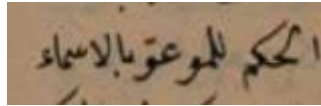
OY vol. 9 p.158 l.13 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.611)

Standard Cairo Fut I.611 v.1:

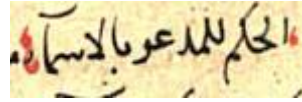
الحكم للمدع بالاسماء * ...

OY vol 9 p.158 l.13 indicates that this entire poem is absent from the first recension (B). We believe that is the explanation for why in the Great Diwan this poem appears outside the main FM block (by which we mean Paris BN 2348 f. 70b-139b, a block which was written on the basis of the first recension of FM) but appears much later in Paris BN 2348, on f.200b, along with some other poems that IA added only when he wrote the second recension.

The second word in Standard Cairo (للمدع) in K reads instead (للموع) as shown here on f.37b:



But here is the hemistich in Fatih 2748 f.194a:

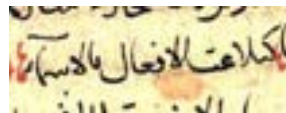


(and we find that same form in Great Diwan Paris BN 2348 f.200b)

So standard Cairo (للمدعو) is correct and replacement vol 9 K is wrong here (للموعود). Fatih 2748 should be preferred over K (which appears corrupted by something other than a first recension reading).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.445, v.1) follows standard Cairo (للمدعو) and does not indicate that there exists any variant in either 'q' (i.e. K, where in fact we see there IS a variant) or in 's' (Hekimoglu, where if it truly is first recension, this poem would not appear at all).

Incidentally, in the final hemistich of this same poem Fatih 2748 appears to have a different reading (كتلاعت) from standard Cairo (كتلاعب):



However I have not found support for the Fatih reading in other manuscripts.

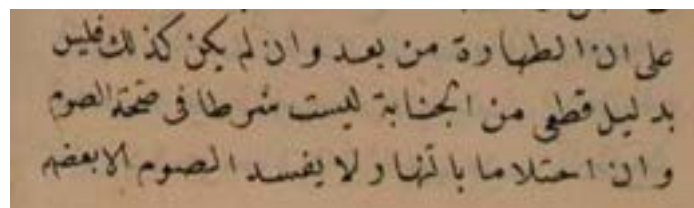
OY vol. 9 p.163 l.3

OY vol. 9 p.163 l.3 indicates that K (f.38b; 3 lines from end) contains an interpolated piece of text.

Here is the text in standard Cairo Fut l.612:

فالجمهور على إن الطهارة [NO TEXT HERE] من الجنابة ليست شرطاً في صحة الصوم

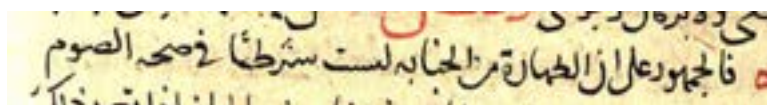
Here is K (f38b; final 3 lines):



The interpolates text in K is:

من بعد وإن لم يكن كذلك فليس بدليل قطعي

Here is Fatih 2748 f.194b l.3:



So standard Cairo agrees with Fatih 2748 and the extra text in K (in red above) is an interpolation. Clearly the text in K is corrupted.

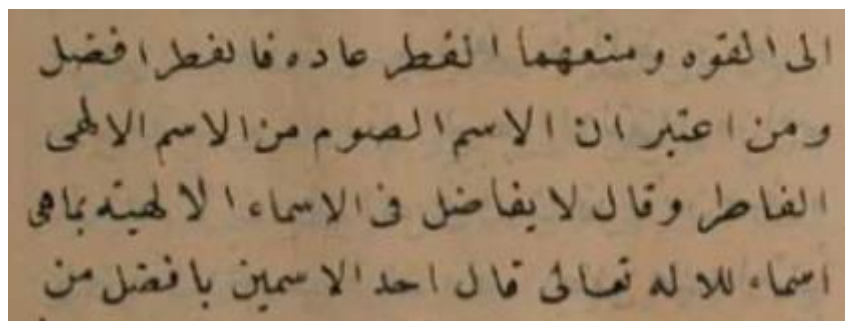
OY vol. 9 p.169 l.12-13

OY vol. 9 p.169 l.12-13 indicates K (f.41a) has a significant omission relative to standard Cairo (Fut l.613).

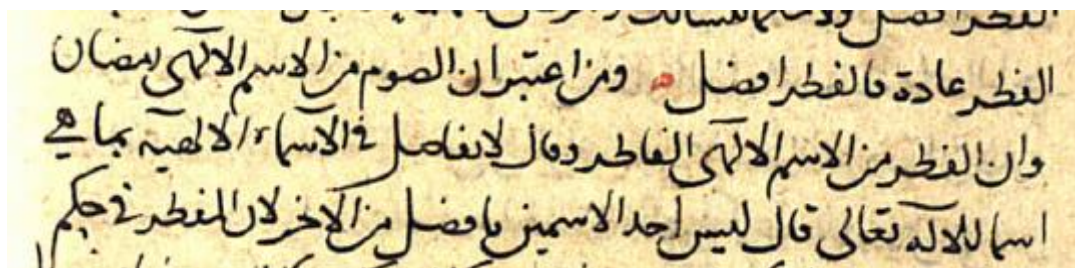
Standard Cairo (Fut l.613):

ومنبعها الفطر عادة فالفطر أفضل ومن اعتبر أن [SINGLE WORD INSERTION IN K] الصوم من الاسم الإلهي رمضان وأن الفطر من الاسم الإلهي الفاطر وقال لا تفاضل في الأسماء الإلهية بما هي أسماء للاله تعالى ليس أحد الاسمين بأفضل من الآخر

K (f.41a l.4-7): omits the words in red (رمضان وأن الفطر من الاسم الإلهي) and (ليس) which OY finds in B but not in K:



Fatih 2748 f.195b has all the words of standard Cairo which are omitted in K:



So standard Cairo is correct and replacement vol 9 K is seriously defective here. Fatih 2748 should be preferred over K.

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.448, l.16-17) follows standard Cairo and does not indicate that there exists any variant in stated source 'q' (i.e. OY's K).

OY vol. 9 p.173 l.3-4

OY vol. 9 p.173 l.3-4 indicates 10 words (يلحق من الصوم فيه مشقة وضرر ومن قائل إنه المرض) are missing from K (f.42a) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.613) and in B.

Text omitted by K appears in Fatih 2748 f.196a l.11.

Standard Cairo is correct and replacement vol 9 K is seriously defective here. Fatih 2748 should be preferred over K.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.449 (8 lines from end) has no indication that this passage is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.178 l.5-6

OY vol. 9 p.178 l.5-6 indicates 6 words (وكذلك الحائض تطهر تكف عن الأكل) are missing from K (f.43b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.614) and in B.

Text omitted by K appears in Fatih 2748 f.197a l.6 (we also notice prior to this the reading is **على** الأكل and not **عن** الأكل which is found in standard Cairo and OY).

Standard Cairo is correct (apart from the single word we mentioned) and replacement vol 9 K is seriously defective here. Fatih 2748 should be preferred over K.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.451 (l.5) indicates this passage is missing from their 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.187 l.1 (and onto following page)

OY vol. 9 p.187 l.12 (and onto following page) indicates 4 words (**قبل أن تأخذ القسمة**) are missing from K (f.47a) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.616) and in B.

Words are NOT found in Fatih 2748 f.198b (6 lines from end).

So here K is correct to omit these words and standard Cairo is wrong to follow the first recension (IA must have dropped these words in the second recension).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.454 (l.12) has no indication that this passage is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.195 l.5-6

OY vol. 9 p.195 l.5-6 indicates 13 words (**أما من فرق بين النذر والصوم المفروض فإن النذر أوجب الله عليه بإيجابه**) and also (**الذي هو رمضان**) are missing from K (f.50a) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.617) and in B.

In Fatih 2748 f.200a (5 lines from end) the words do occur.

K is seriously defective here and standard Cairo is to be preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.457 (l.6-7) has no indication that this passage is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.206 l.10 = 1-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.619)

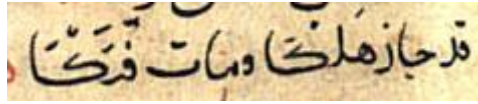
Standard Cairo Fut l.619 v.1:

من كان ملكا فعاد ملكا * قد **حاز** هلكا ومات فتكا

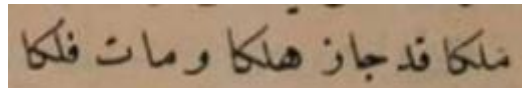
OY vol 9 p.206 l.10 indicates that that K reads (**جاز**) and not SC's (**حاز**) – although it is not clear why he chose to ignore K in favour of the standard Cairo edition.

This is another poem which does not occur in the first recension (B). And again it appears late in the Great Diwan in Paris BN 2348 f.200b (for the reason that it was only added into FM itself when IA wrote the second recension). Paris BN 2348 does not supply a dot to indicate this should read as with K (جاز) and not SC's (حاز).

Fatih 2748 f.202a suggests **that in this case K is correct and standard Cairo (and OY) are wrong – the true reading is (جاز):**



Here for comparison is K (f.54b) with that same reading



But note that K has an error in the final word (فلكا) instead of the true reading of Fatih 2748 (فتكا) (as OY himself noted).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.461, v.1) follows standard Cairo (حاز هلكا ومات فتكا) and notes only the variant (فلكا) in 'q' (i.e. K).

OY vol. 9 p.209 l.6

OY vol. 9 p.209 l.6 indicates 3 words (يقول ما أوجب) are missing from K (f.55b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.619) and in B.

The words appear in Fatih 2748 f.202b (4 lines from end).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.462 (l.2) has no indication this passage is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.214 l.10

OY vol. 9 p.214 l.10 indicates 8 words (وكذلك فعل فإنه قال فإن مع العسر يسراً) are missing from K (f.57b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.620) and in B.

In Fatih 2748 (f.203b; 11 lines from end) the words do occur.

K is seriously defective here and standard Cairo is to be preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.463 (7 lines from end) has no indication this passage is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.220 l.5-7

OY vol. 9 p.220 l.5-7 indicates many words (حتى وطئ في يوم ثان فقال بعضهم عليه لكل يوم كفارة و قال بعضهم) (عليه كفارة واحدة ما لم يكفر) are missing from K (f.59a) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.620) and in B.

In Fatih 2748 (f.204b; l.7) the words do occur.

K is seriously defective here and standard Cairo is to be preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.465 (l.7) contains this passage and no indication is given that it is missing in 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.249 l.3-4

OY vol. 9 p.249 l.3-4 indicates 3 words (اللاتى قطعن ايديهن) are extra in K (f.70b) but are NOT found after (ارجع إلى ربك فسئله ما بل النسوة) in standard Cairo (Fut l.625) or in B.

Those 3 words do not appear in Fatih 2748 f.210a (6 lines from end) .

K has a bogus insertion here and standard Cairo is to be preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.474 (l.8) includes the extra 3 words of their main source 'q' i.e. K (with no indication the phrase is NOT found in standard Cairo).

OY vol. 9 p.254 l.14-15

OY vol. 9 p.254 l.14-15 indicates 6 words (الذي هو كمال عدة الشهر القمري) are missing from K (f.73a) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.626) and in B.

These words are found in Fatih 2748 f.211b (on the right of the second of the two openings that are labelled 211) on the first line.

K is defective here and standard Cairo is to be preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p. 477 (l.11) contains this phrase with no indication it is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.259 l.5 = 3-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.627)

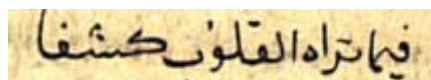
Standard Cairo Fut l.627 v.3:

مما تراه القلوب كشفا * ...

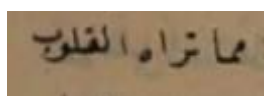
OY vol 9 p.259 l.5 follows standard Cairo (مما) and does not indicate this is any different from the reading in K (it is not).

This is another poem which does not occur in the first recension (B). And again it appears late in the Great Diwan in Paris BN 2348 f.200b (for the reason that it was only added into FM itself when IA wrote the second recension). Paris BN 2348 f.200b has the reading (فيما).

Fatih 2748 f.211b has the reading (فيما):



For comparison here is the same bogus reading (مما) in K (f.75a) itself:

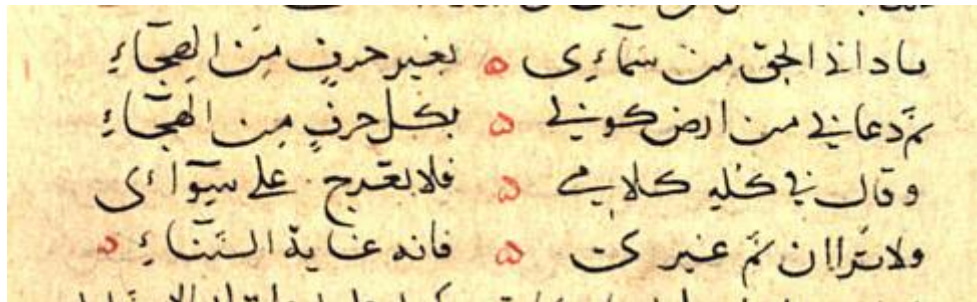


So here standard Cairo is wrong to reproduce the reading of K – the true reading is found in Fatih 2748 (and also in the Great Diwan, Paris BN 2348).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.479, v.3) follows standard Cairo (مما) and does not indicate this is any different from the reading in 'q' (i.e. K). Neither do they report finding the true reading of Fatih 2748 (فيما) in 's' (Hekimoglu).

OY vol. 9 p.262 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627)

Here is the text of this 4-verse poem in Fatih 2748 f.212a:

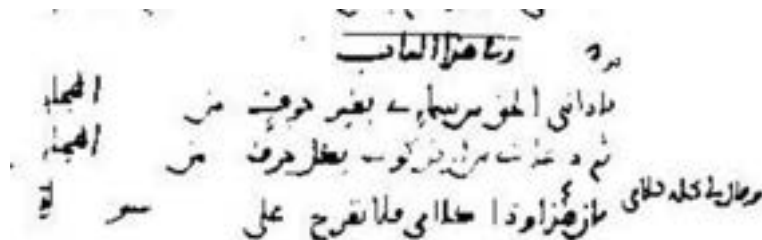


The 3rd verse begins:

وقال في كله كلامي * ...

or (في) or even (ني) for (لي)

Here is the text of this poem in Dīwān holograph AFM (Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 - now Damascus al-Assad 14067) f.37b-38a:



...

ولا تران ثم غيرك ٥ فانه غايه السناء ٥

Notice the marginal correction to the 3rd verse. The un-corrected text of the 3rd verse reads:

بان هذا وذا كلامي * ...

But the correction reads:

وقال في كله كلامي * ...

or (في) for (لي)

Here is that verse in Osman Yahia's FM edition, v.9 p. 262:

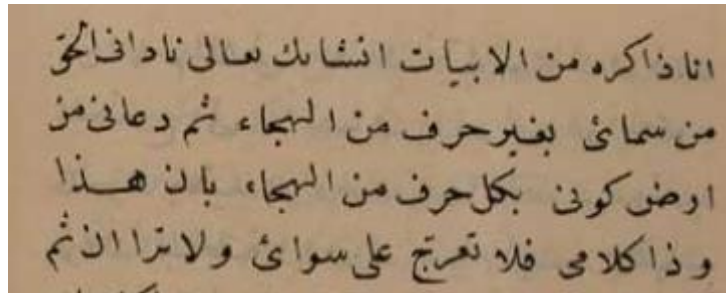
12 وَقَالَ لِي : كُلُّهُ كَلَامِي فَلَا تُعْرَجْ عَلَيَّ سِوَايَ

...

بكل حرف . (مملوءة جزئياً B) || الهجاء CK : الهجا B || 12 وقال... كلامي C : بان هذا وذا
 كلامي BK || تعرج CK (الرأء مشددة فيها) : تعرج B (مهمله) || سوائى C : سوائى K :
 سوائى B || 13 ترى C : ترا BK (مهمله B) || ثم . (مهمله B) || غيرى . (كذلك) || فإنه (همزة

His standard text 'C' (2nd version FM) more or less matches the corrected text of the Dīwān (وقال لي) [note he reads لي not لى]. For unknown reasons OY selected the 'C' (standard Cairo; Fut I.627) reading over the reading in the two manuscripts 'B' (Beyazid) and 'K' (Evkaf Muzesi). However, in his footnote OY records that mss 'B' (1st version FM) and 'K' (2nd version?) both contain the uncorrected text of the Dīwān (بان هذا وذا كلامي). There is a complication regarding 'K' here. This poem is found on f.76b in volume 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. **But unlike all of the other volumes in the 37-volume set, volume 9 is not in fact a holograph. It is a replacement in a different hand.**⁵

Here is the text of the poem from Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ volume 9 f.76b:



The 3rd verse reads:

بان هذا وذا كلامى * ...

This is the uncorrected form of the Dīwān ms, as noted by OY. This is not the form of the standard Cairo edition ('C') which we, like OY, believe is the correct second version text (for it is found in Fatih 2748 and we also know that it agrees with the marginal correction in the Dīwān): وقال لي كله كلامي. We find that **replacement volume 9 of 'holograph' second version Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ does not contain the true second version text. At least in this instance it contains a first version reading and does not reflect the changes IA made when he wrote the second version of FM. (Thus OY's 'K' –**

⁵ Sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ corresponds in the standard Cairo edition to the bismillāh halfway down Fut I.595 up until the end of ch.71 on Fut I.665. That is the final 6 pages of ch.70 (on the secrets of *zakāt*) and all of ch.71 (on the secrets of fasting). In terms of low-level juz' this is the entirety of juz' 55 – juz' 61. In other volumes of the 37-volume set Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ we find a few folios which seem to be in a different hand (later replacements for damaged or lost folios): vol.13 parts of f.1b-4b and all of f.154a (final folio); vol. 16 f.3a-4b (and lower left of f.5a). There is a 'hidden' folio numbering problem in v.14 as a result of which in our digital reproductions all but unknowingly we are missing an opening between what is numbered f.151a and what appears to be f.151b. In his edition OY found no such problem but his folio numbers here begin to fall out of sync with those now pencilled into the ms of vol.14 (see his vol.14 p.594-9). Between the folio we now find numbered f.151 and that numbered f.152 there must be another folio which is now either unnumbered or repeats the number '151' or '152'. And the photographer must have skipped over precisely this opening with the result that the sequence of folio numbers in the reproductions exhibits no problem (but an entire opening is omitted). Water damage in vol.24 means the top two lines are often difficult to read – but in this case no attempt has been made to restore the text. The final folio of vol.31 (f.132) is in a different hand – presumably a replacement (which means any reading certificates would have been lost).

replacement vol. 9 – is in fact a hybrid of the first and second recension texts and does NOT represent a true replacement for the lost 9th volume of the second recension holograph).

The recent Yemeni edition of FM has the following for vs.3 (in an earlier edition of the same this is found on p.480):

بأن هذا وذا كلامي^٦ فلا تُعْرَج على سيواني

...

هذا وقال لي ككلمة كلامي

i.e. the main text matches the uncorrected form of the *Dīwān* – which is also the form found in the replacement sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. However in the footnote they provide the corrected form of the *Dīwān* – which we understand to be the true second version text. The editors mark their source for this variant as “h” (هـ). In the key on p. 403 (and further information in the first volume) they indicate they mean by this the (standard?) Cairo edition (“s”) – while their other two sources are: ‘s’ the (mixed version?) manuscript Hekimoglu 488-9 (?); and ‘q’ meaning replacement sifr 9 in the “Konya” ms (i.e. the replacement holograph). Unlike Osman Yahia the editors of the Yemeni edition preferred what they found in replacement sifr 9 (and also one presumes in the Hekimoglu ms) to the text in the standard Cairo edition (the source of which remains a mystery to us even though on the basis of Fatih 2748 and the *Dīwān* manuscript we believe this to be the true 2nd version form).

The loss of vol.9 from Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ - and its replacement with a volume in another hand – might in fact go back centuries, at least to the time when the manuscript was still in Konya⁶. For in Ragip Pasha 704 on the 2nd to last line of PDF 387L one finds the same 1st version reading (بأن هذا وذا (كلامي)⁷. Yet Ragip Pasha 704 purports to have been copied from IA’s original (2nd version, in SQ’s waqf in Konya) in 1156H under the direction of Ragip Pasha himself (d.1176H). On the other hand, if the original volume 9 had been lost that early how can we explain that the editors of the standard

⁶ Yet CA reports (2016.02.11) that Shaykh Ṭaṭṭawī when preparing the standard Cairo (third) edition using the 37 volumes in Konya made no reference to a problem with volume 9 in a letter to the Emir in which he pointed out other problems. By contrast, the editors of the much more recent Yemeni edition make reference to the problem. Sifr 9 starts in vol.3 p.391 of the Yemeni edition. The editors note that the anonymous copiest of volume 9 excelled in calligraphy but made many errors due to his ignorance of Maghribi elements in IA’s original (from which they believed he was copying). Nevertheless, the editors relied upon this late copy except when mistakes were obvious, and in such cases they turned to the Cairo edition and a Hekimoglu ms. Very likely they mean Hekimoglu 488-9 (1017H) which are from originals dated 629H, i.e. first version (!) For in their first edition vol.1 p.51 they mention having referred to those mss, indicating this was a copy of the first version by Maḥmūd b. Khalīl al-Nābulusī completed in Jumāda I, 1017H. (OY also lists Hekimoglu 490-2 dated 1034H but he does not mention that they were from originals of either version. Other than those mss, TRF list Hekimoglu 484-6, which are very late, dated 1269H-1272H.) An indication that there was a problem with sifr 9 as early as 1276H is found in a manuscript in Princeton which was collated with the Konya holographs in that year. The collator refers to sifr 9 being in a more recent hand – see <http://pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=xs55mf66f#page/344/mode/1up>. So why did Ṭaṭṭawī in his letter make no mention of the problem given that he was examining the Konya manuscripts a decade after this? When he wrote his letter to the Emir in Ramaḍān 1287H it is possible he had not yet discovered the problem with sifr 9 or that he deemed it inappropriate to speak of such a detail.

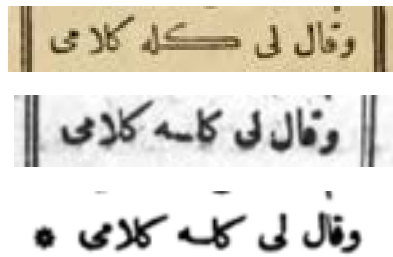
⁷ Ragip Pasha 704 can be downloaded from <https://ia601505.us.archive.org/16/items/M-00040/RAGIPPASA704.pdf>. Volume 9 is found in PDF 369L-411R.

Cairo edition made no mention of the fact, or that they were able to supply the true second version reading here when the replacement volume which exists today has the reading from the first version?

We believe there exists a direct copy of the original (pre-replacement) holograph vol.9. in Fatih 2748 (see above).

Another manuscript, Imam Muḥammad b. Saud Islamic University 3465 ⁸, contains vols. 7-9 (second version text) and a note at the end indicating it is a copy of a copy of the original in IA's hand in SQ's waqf. Could it possibly be a copy of a copy of the lost volume 9? Or is it merely a copy of the replacement volume? The ms is undated but seems quite modern so it is more likely to be based directly or indirectly upon the replacement volume 9 in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. We find this poem on JPG 309 (f.297b or f.300b) and the ms does indeed follow the text of replacement volume 9 (بيان هذا وذا كلامي).

For completeness here are the forms in the earlier editions, the first Būlāq edition (v.1 p.657), the second Būlāq edition (v.1 p.788), and the standard Cairo edition (v.1 p.627), respectively:



We see that standard Cairo inherited what we take to be the true second version text from the earlier editions. So it is possible this was originally found in a true second version manuscript and was never 'corrected' towards the first version text found in the hybrid replacement sifr 9 in Konya Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. ⁹

We should add that on l.10 of the same page PDF 387L of Ragip Pasha 704 one finds a 3-verse poem from standard Cairo Fut l.627 which we believe was not part of the 1st version text (جاء به صادق أمين ...). That is our explanation for why the poem is found in the Great Dīwān outside the main FM block (which was based upon the 1st version of FM) and only as part of the 'late additions' block in Paris B.N. 2348 f.200b (where IA placed a number of poems which were new in the 2nd version). The poem is also found in (replacement) vol.9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ f.75a (l.8). So it appears that replacement volume 9 – and later copies of it such as Ragip Pasha 704 - have elements of the true 2nd version text

⁸ Imam Muḥammad b. Saud Islamic University 3465 can be downloaded from

<https://ia801305.us.archive.org/8/items/m-alemam02/3465.zip>

⁹ In Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 (1022H) f.229b we find the 'correct' second version reading (وقال لي كله كلامي) has been used as a correction – written over what presumably was the un-corrected text. But Husein Celebi 445 (946H) f.204a has the same 'correct' reading without any indication that the manuscript has been corrected. Similarly Nurosmariye 2501 f.136b (copied in 1120s H by a student of al-Nābulusī). Each of these mss generally present the text of 2nd version FM (with occasional elements from the 1st). The same reading is found in Koprulu Fazil Ahmed Ps 755 f.340a (Fazil Ahmed Ps 755-758 is a mixed version text). Yet another 2nd version ms with the 'correct' reading is Imam Muḥammad b. Saud Islamic University 3402, f.204b – ms downloadable from: <https://ia801305.us.archive.org/8/items/m-alemam02/3402.zip> (241ff; decapitated and truncated, covers Fut l.356-Fut l.704; part of ch.68 – part of ch.71; no information on date or provenance; second version as indicated by sifr markings: end of sifr 5, Fut l.386, on f.20b; end of sifr 6, Fut l.457, on f.74b; end of sifr 7, Fut l.526, on f.126a; end of sifr 8, Fut l.588, on f.184a; end of sifr 9, Fut l.665, on f.231b). We include this ms in our list mainly to indicate how sifr markings can help identify a 2nd version mss.

as well as elements of the 1st. Which begs the question where did the editors of the standard Cairo edition – or the editors of the earlier 2 editions - find the ‘correct’ 2nd version reading of verse 3? And how did OY know to prefer that over the Evkaf Muzesi reading?

We continue to maintain that the Syrian Dīwān manuscript contains a record of two versions of the poem – and those variants can serve as ‘markers’ for the first and the (true) second version of FM. The un-corrected text in the Dīwān is the text of the first version FM – the text from which the Dīwān was originally extracted. But later IA made a change to the poem - when writing the second version of FM - and he recorded that change in the Dīwān using a marginal correction. (This is a similar situation to verse 31 of the 117-verse poem in the Introduction, where the uncorrected text ‘without alifs’ corresponds to the first version FM, but the correction ‘with alifs’ corresponds to the text of the second version FM).

By way of a summary, here is a possible ‘story’ for the sequence of events:

- Holograph sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ was lost and replaced early one – very likely before any of the editions of FM came into existence, quite possibly as early as 1156H (on the evidence of Ragip Pasha 704) . And when sifr 9 was replaced it was replaced with a manuscript which contained a hybrid of first and second readings – in particular it had the first version of reading of verse 3 of the 4-verse poem we have been studying.
- But manuscripts preserving the true second version reading of that verse still existed (Husein Celebi 445 and Nurosmaniye 2501 are examples)
- By good fortune, or good judgment, the editors of the first Bulaq edition selected the second version reading from the (unknown) manuscripts from which they worked
- That second version reading was transmitted to the second edition
- In preparing the standard Cairo edition Ṭaṭṭawī and coworkers chose to follow the previous editions rather than what they would have found in replacement sifr 9. (Although nothing was said in the letter to the Emir, it is possible they recognized that sifr 9 was not authoritative and saw no reason to ‘correct’ the text of this verse away from their starting point, the first edition.)
- For unexplained reasons Osman Yahia also chose to follow the standard Cairo edition over the manuscripts (although he reported in a footnote the other reading he found in manuscripts ‘B’ and ‘K’ – where by ‘K’ he must have meant replacement sifr 9)
- The Yemeni editors gave greater weight to Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ . So even though they were aware that sifr 9 was in a later hand they chose that reading over the standard Cairo edition (which they noted in a footnote). Unfortunately, this meant they unknowingly ‘corrected’ the true second version reading of previous editions towards the original first version reading.

This sequence of events is consistent with our working hypothesis: the Syrian Diwan manuscript contains the first version text in the main body (since IA wrote this part of the Great Diwan before he began work on the second version FM). But the marginal correction in the Diwan manuscript corresponds to a change IA made when writing the second version FM. He subsequently returned to his holograph Diwan manuscript and updated it in this way.

فما كان فيه من تنزيه فهو لله فإنه قال الصوم لي ومن كونه عبادة فهو لك هدى أي بيانا للناس على قدر طبقاتهم وما رزقوا من الفهم عنه فإن لكل شخص شربا في هذه العبادة وبيّناتٍ فكل شخص على بيّنة تخصه بقدر ما فهم من خطاب الله في ذلك من الهدى وهو التبيان الإلهي ولفرقان فإنه جمعك أولا معه في الصوم بالقرآن ثم فرقك لنتمیز عنه بالفرقان فأنت أنت وهو هو في حكم ما ذكرناه من استعمالك فيما هو له وهو الصوم فهو له من باب التنزيه وهو لك عبادة لا مثل لها

OY vol. 9 p.270 l.1-7 (and 2 lines from end of previous page) is essentially the same as standard Cairo (with a couple of words inserted in brackets):

... فما كان فيه من تنزيه

فهو لله فإنه قال الصوم لي ومن كونه عبادة فهو لك

هدى أي بيانا للناس على قدر طبقاتهم وما رزقوا من الفهم عنه فإن لكل

شخص شربا في هذه العبادة وبيّناتٍ فكل شخص على بيّنة

تخصه بقدر ما فهم من خطاب الله في ذلك من الهدى وهو التبيان

الإلهي ولفرقان فإنه جمعك أولا معه في الصوم بالقرآن ثم

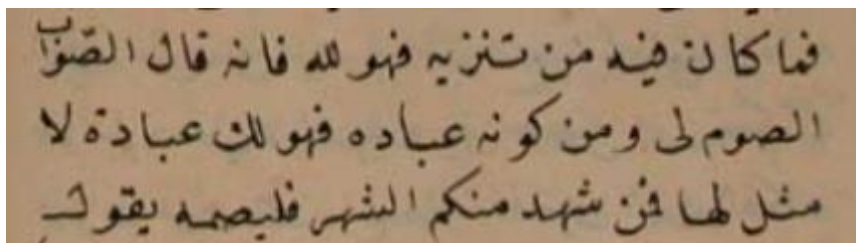
فرقك لنتمیز عنه بالفرقان فأنت أنت وهو هو في حكم ما ذكرناه من

استعمالك فيما هو له وهو الصوم فهو (أي الصوم) له من باب التنزيه وهو

لك عبادة لا مثل لها

OY indicates that both B (first recension) and replacement vol 9 K (f.79b) omit the words (معه) and (بالقرآن) and (لنتمیز) and (وهو لك) all found in standard Cairo.

In fact, K (f.79b) is missing a large block of text. Here are lines 2-4 from the end of f.79b:



Here is the standard Cairo text (Fut I.629) formatted to parallel that text in K (f.79b 2-4 lines from end):

فما كان فيه من تنزيه فهو لله فإنه قال [الصواب: EXTRA WORD]

الصوم لي ومن كونه عبادة فهو لك [SKIP MUCH TEXT] عبادة لا

مثل لها

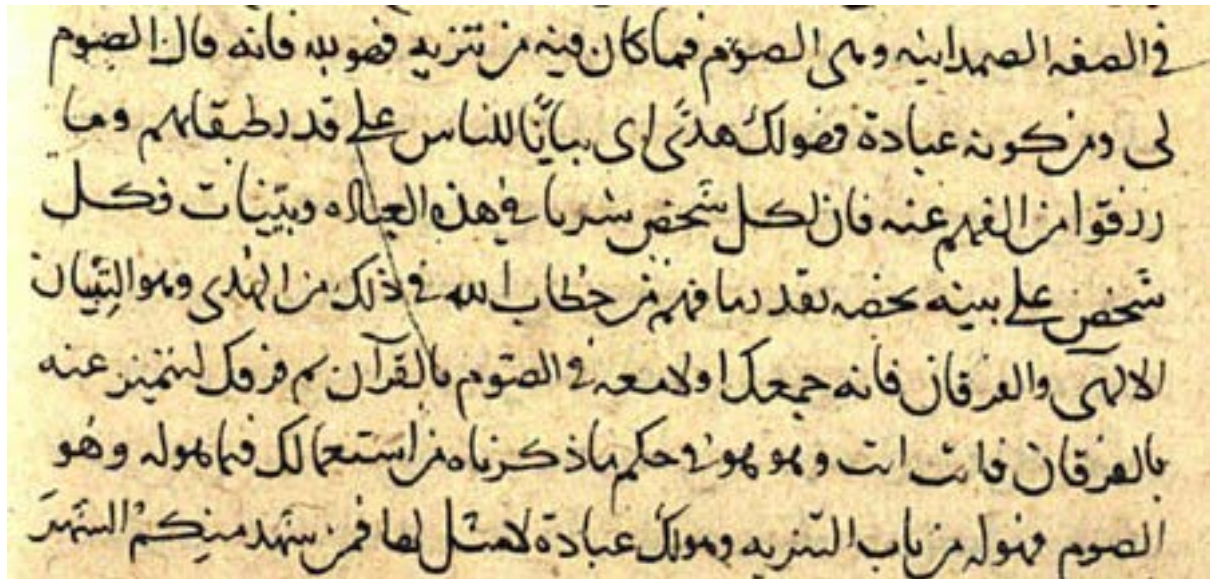
The text skipped here in K is found in standard Cairo as:

هدى أي بيانا للناس على قدر طبقاتهم وما رزقوا من الفهم عنه فإن لكل شخص شربا في هذه العبادة وبيّناتٍ فكل شخص على بيّنة تخصه بقدر ما فهم من خطاب الله في ذلك من الهدى وهو التبيان الإلهي ولفرقان فإنه جمعك أولا معه في الصوم بالقرآن ثم فرقك لنتمیز عنه بالفرقان فأنت أنت وهو هو في حكم ما ذكرناه من استعمالك فيما هو له وهو الصوم فهو له من باب التنزيه وهو لك

This is surely a very large defect peculiar to replacement holograph (K).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.483, l.13-17) follows standard Cairo and there is no indication that in fact there is a large block of text missing here in their source 'q' (i.e. K). It appears the editors did not look closely at this their stated source.

Fatih 2748 f.213b contains all of the text skipped in 'K' and all 4 words in red in particular:



So here K is highly defective and the true second recension text of Fatih 2748 is to be preferred.

Incidentally, we can not explain why OY (l.7) introduces after the phrase (لك عباد لا مثل لها) an extra line of text (p.270 l.7):

لك عباد لا مثل لها . فتميز الرب عن العبد ، بعد الاشتراك في اسم الصوم .

This is not found in standard Cairo or any manuscript we know about (nor is it in the Yemeni edition) – OY himself provides no explanation.

OY's text on l.10 (فمن حضر ... العموم فليصمه) – which he finds only in B and not in standard Cairo or in K - is NOT found in Fatih 2748 (f.214a first line). Here is OY's l.9-11:

(٣١٠) (ثم قال تعالى) : فَمَنْ شَهِدَ مِنْكُمُ الشَّهْرَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ ۖ
 يقول : فمن حضر منكم في الصفة المشهورة في العموم فليصمه ؛ يقول :
 فليُصِمِكِ نفسه في هذه الشهرة ، يعني ينزهها [F. 80^b] بالدلة والافتقار

And here (again) is the last line of f.213b and the first line of f.214a in Fatih 2748:

الصوم فهو له من باب التنزيه وهو لك عباد لا مثل لها فمن شهد منكم الشهر

فليصمه يقول فليصمك نفسه في هذه الشهرة يعني ينزهها بالذلة والافتقار

We see no sign of the words (فمن حضر ... العموم فليصمه)

Similarly standard Cairo only has the text found in Fatih 2748:

فَمَنْ شَهِدَ مِنْكُمْ الشَّهْرَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ يَقُولَ فليصمك نفسه في هذه الشهرة

So it would appear IA dropped the text (فمن حضر ... العموم فليصمه) when he came to write the second recension.

OY vol. 9 p.272 l.9

OY vol. 9 p.272 l.9 indicates 7 words (لان قبول الزيادة من ادل دليل على النقص) are missing from K (f.80b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.629) and in B. However, I find they are in fact missing from standard Cairo (Fut l.629) as well:

فجعل ذلك نعمة يجب الشكر منا عليها لكوننا نقبل الزيادة [NOT HERE] والشكر صفة إلهية

So what was OY's source? B? Where these words removed by IA when he wrote the second recension?

The extra words do NOT appear in Fatih 2748 f.214a (3 lines from end).

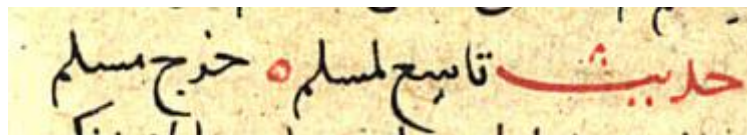
Yemeni edition vol.3 p.484 (5 lines from end) does not contain the extra words either.

OY vol. 9 p.282 l.5-8

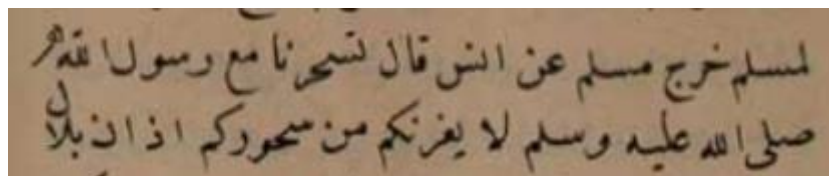
Standard Cairo Fut l.631:

حديث تاسع لمسلم خرج مسلم عن سمرة بن جندب

OY vol. 9 p.282 l.7 indicates this phrase (حديث تاسع لمسلم) is missing from K (f.84b) and B (first recension) but present in standard Cairo. We find it in Fatih 2748 f.216b:



In fact, as OY notes (l.5-8), K has a major defect here. K f.84b 6-7 lines from the end is missing a section of text.



Here is the equivalent text in Standard Cairo Fut l.631:

لمسلم خرج مسلم عن أنس قال تسحرنا مع رسول الله

صلى الله عليه وسلم لا يغرنكم من سحوركم أذان بلال [SKIP TEXT]

Skipped text (found in Standard Cairo but not in K):

ثم قمنا إلى الصلاة قلت كم كان قدر ما بينهما قال خمسين آية **حديث تاسع لمسلم** خرج مسلم عن سمرة بن جندب قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

So here replacement K is highly defective and does not present the true second recension text of Fatih 2748 (which is to be preferred).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.488, l.4-6) follows standard Cairo and there is no indication that in fact there is a large block of text missing here in their source 'q' (i.e. K). It appears the editors did not look closely at this their stated source.

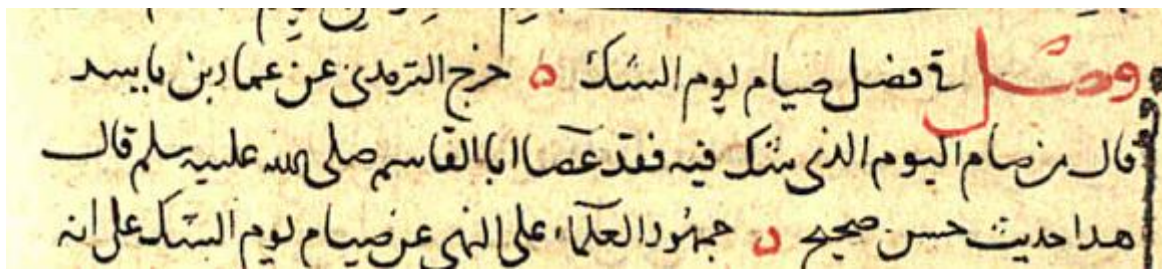
OY vol. 9 p.295 l.5-7

Standard Cairo Fut l.633:

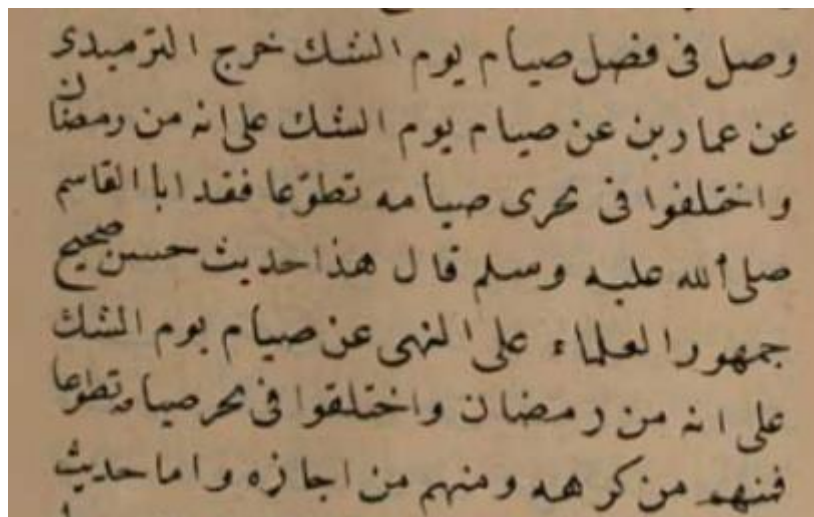
خرج الترمذي عن عمار بن ياسر قال من صام اليوم الذي شك فيه فقد عصى أبا القاسم قال هذا حديث حسن صحيح جمهور العلماء **على النهي** عن صيام يوم الشك على أنه من رمضان واختلفوا في تحري صيامه تطوعاً فمنهم من كرهه ومنهم من أجازه

OY vol.9 p.295 l.5-7 indicates the phrase in red is missing from K but is found in standard Cairo and in 'B' (first recension). In fact we find K is not so much missing text here as it is corrupted (see below).

Fatih 2748 f.219b contains the missing / corrupted text:



But here is the defective text in K (f.90a):



This is a corrupted text with relocation and repeat:

خرج الترمذي

عن عمار بن (SKIP – PARTIALLY RELOCATED LATER) عن صيام يوم الشك على أنه من رمضان

واختلفوا في تحرى صيامه تطوعا (RELOCATED PARTIAL TEXT) أبا القاسم

... (INSERT 4 WORDS) قال هذا حديث حسن صحيح

جمهور العلماء على النهي (NOW REPEAT) عن صيام يوم الشك

على أنه من رمضان واختلفوا في تحرى صيامه تطوعا

فمنهم من كرهه ومنهم من أجازه

So replacement volume 9 (K) is defective here – the ‘missing’ (uncorrupted) text is found in both recensions (B and Fatih 2748).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.493, l.4-6) follows standard Cairo and there is no indication that in fact there is a major defect here in their source ‘q’ (i.e. K). It appears the editors did not look closely at this their stated source.

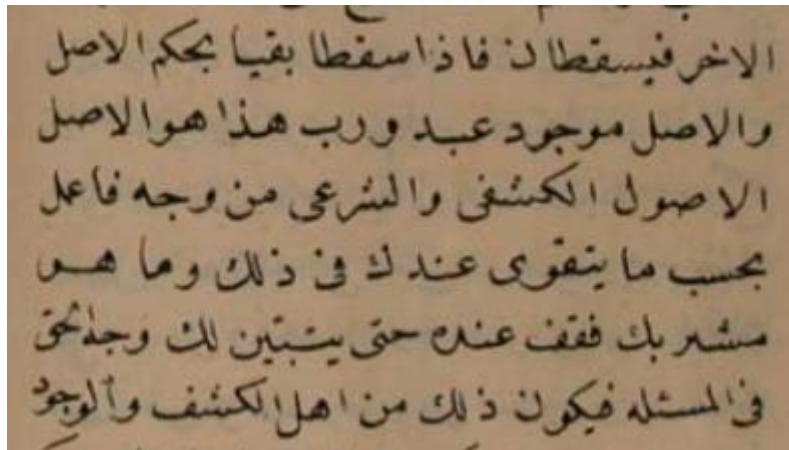
OY vol. 9 p.296 l.6-11

Standard Cairo Fut l.633:

وإذا سقطا بقيا بحكم الأصل والأصل هو وجود عبد ورب هذا هو الأصل النظري و الشرعي من وجه (INSERTED HEADING)
وأما أصل الأصل المراعي قبل هذا الأصل بل الذي هذا الأصل فرع عنه فهو وجود رب في عين عبد فهذا هو أصل الأصول
الكشفي الشرعي من وجه فاعمل بحسب ما يتقوى عندك في ذلك وما هو مشربك فقف عنده حتى يتبين لك وجه الحق في المسألة
فتكون عند ذلك من أهل الكشف والوجود

OY vol. 9 p.296 l.6-11 indicates the text in red is missing from ‘K’ but is found in standard Cairo and in first recension B.

Here is what we find in K f.90b:



وإذا سقطا بقيا بحكم الأصل

والأصل هو وجود عبد ورب هذا هو الأصل

(SKIP FROM HERE) النظري و الشرعي من وجه وأما أصل الأصل المراعي قبل هذا الأصل بل الذي هذا الأصل فرع عنه

فهو وجود رب في عين عبد فهذا هو أصل (SKIP TO HERE)

الأصول الكشفية الشرعي من وجه فاعمل

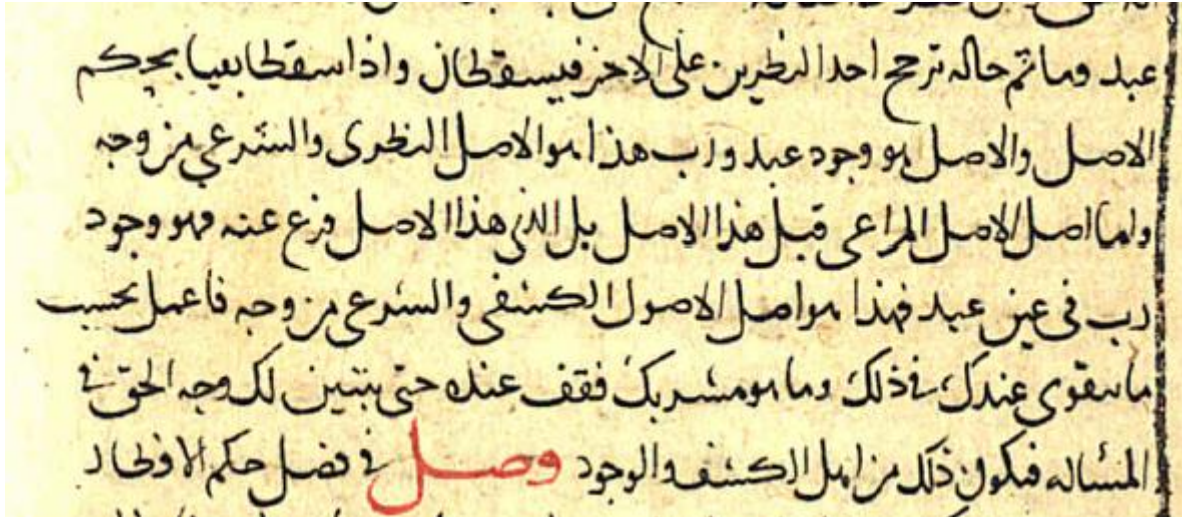
بحسب ما يتقوى عندك في ذلك وما هو

مشربك فقف عنده حتى يتبين لك وجه الحق

في المسألة فتكون عند ذلك من أهل الكشف والوجود

So in fact it is the text in green (from standard Cairo) that is skipped in K (OY marked the skipped text wrongly).

Here is the text in Fatih 2748 f.219b:



Which we see is effectively the same text as in standard Cairo:

... وإذا سقطا بقيا بحكم

الأصل والأصل هو وجود عبد ورب هذا هو الأصل النظري و الشرعي من وجه

وأما أصل الأصل المراعي قبل هذا الأصل بل الذي هذا الأصل فرع عنه فهو وجود

رب في عين عبد فهذا هو أصل الأصول الكشفي الشرعي من وجه فاعمل بحسب

ما يتقوى عندك في ذلك وما هو مشربك فقف عنده حتى يتبين لك وجه الحق في

المسألة فتكون عند ذلك من أهل الكشف والوجود

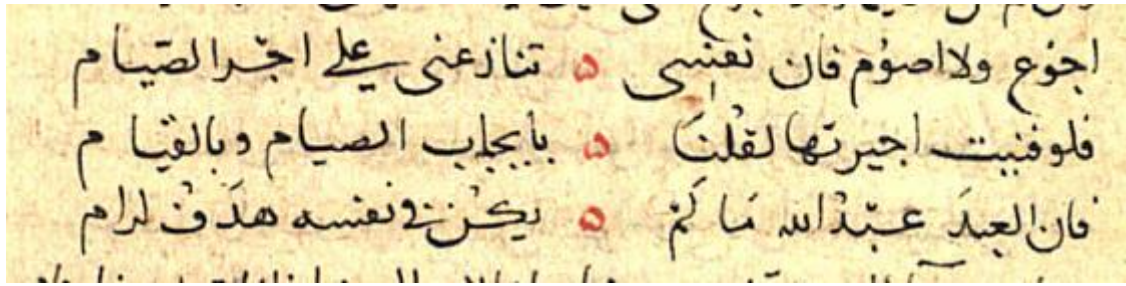
So once again we conclude **replacement vol 9 (K) is defective in this region of the manuscript.**

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.493, l.13-15) follows standard Cairo and there is no indication that in fact there is a major defect here in their source 'q' (i.e. K). It appears the editors did not look closely at this their stated source.

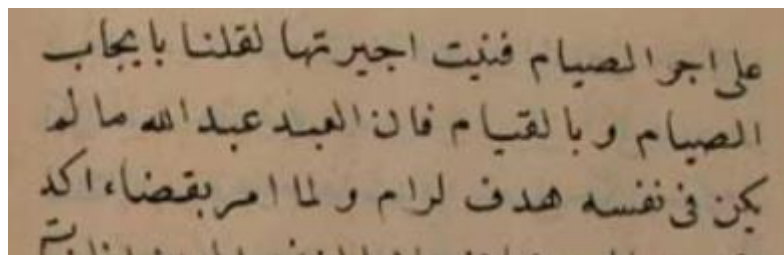
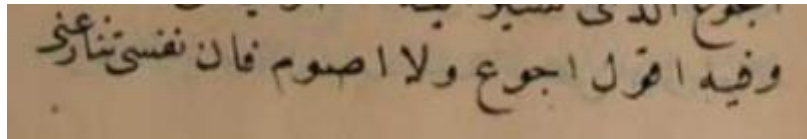
OY vol. 9 p.306 l.5-7 = 3-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.635)

OY vol. 9 p.306 l.5-7 indicates that in K v.2 is missing the initial (فلو) found in standard Cairo and in B (first recension). He also uses a final word for v.3 (لرامى) which is not found in any mss, but is found in Cairo.

Fatih 2748 f.221a has the initial (فلو) at the start of v.2:



Here for comparison is K (f.93a-b):



K is indeed missing the first word of v.2 so is again defective. Fatih 2748 is to be preferred.

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.496, v.2) follows standard Cairo and there is no indication that in fact there is a defect here in their source 'q' (i.e. K). It appears the editors did not look closely at this their stated source.

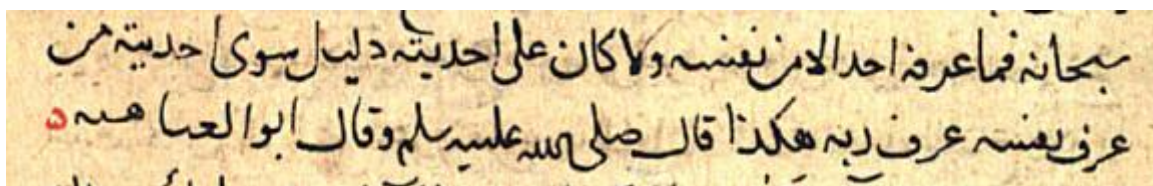
Also, for some reason the final word of v.3 in standard Cairo (and also in the Yemeni edition which so often follows it) is written with long final vowel (لرامى) rather than (لرام) but that is not supported by any of our mss (B, replacement K and Fatih 2748). **We suggest standard Cairo is incorrect here.** (In the Great Diwan Paris BN 2348 f.82b the reading is again (لرام) and that would be the first recension FM reading).

OY vol. 9 p.315 l.4

Standard Cairo Fut I.636:

ولا كان على أحديثه دليل سوى أحديثه من عرف نفسه عرف ربه هكذا قال صلى الله عليه وسلم و قال أبو العنايه

OY vol. 9 p.315 l.4 has instead of (أحديثه) the word (نفسه). Since he does not report finding this in S (standard Cairo) and does not report any variants there or elsewhere we suspect this is a **typo peculiar to OY's edition**. The text in Fatih 2748 f.223a agrees with standard Cairo's (أحديثه):



Yemeni edition (v.3 p.499, l.8) also follows standard Cairo without any footnote, so we assume that is supported by each of their three stated sources: 'h' (standard Cairo), 'q' (i.e. OY's K, the replacement holograph), and 's' (Hekimoglu).

We find K f.97a l.10 does indeed follow the standard Cairo reading.

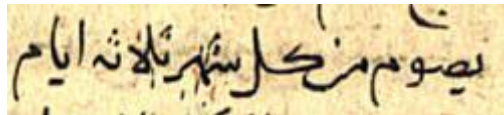
OY vol. 9 p.329 l.4

Standard Cairo Fut l.639:

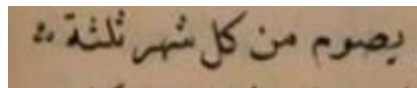
يصوم من كل شهر **ثلاثة** أيام

OY vol. 9 p.329 l.4 indicates that instead of standard Cairo (**ثلاثة**) both B (first recension) and replacement K have (**ثانئة**) which presumably is a typo for (**ثلاثة**).

Fatih 2748 f.226b supports the standard Cairo reading (**ثلاثة**):



Here for comparison is K f.103b with the reading (**ثانئة**):



There are many similar instances of the short form (**ثانئة**) used in K and B in place of long form (**ثلاثة**) of standard Cairo (and Fatih 2748) on this same page.

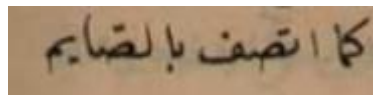
OY vol. 9 p.331 l.8

Standard Cairo Fut l.639:

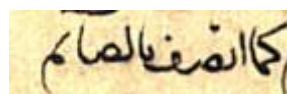
كما اتصف **بالصيام** وهو وصف إلهي

OY vol. 9 p.331 l.8 indicates that the standard Cairo reading is that of the first recension B (**بالصيام**) but that replacement K (f.104b; final word) reads instead (**بالصايم**).

Here is that word (**بالصايم**) in K (f.104b; final word):



Fatih 2748 f.227a supports the K reading (**بالصايم**) and indicates that **OY and standard Cairo are wrong to choose the first recension form:**



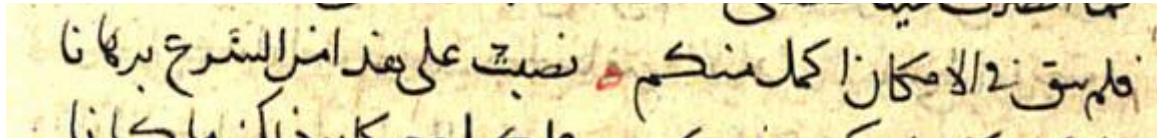
Yemeni edition (v.3 p.505, l.10) follows standard Cairo (**بالصيام**) and there is no indication that in fact there is a variant reading (**بالصايم**) in their source 'q' (i.e. K). It appears the editors did not look closely at this their stated source.

OY vol. 9 p.333 l.9 = 23-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.640)

Standard Cairo Fut I.640 v.3:

فلم يبق في الامكان اكمل منكمو * نصبت على هذا من الشرع برهانا

OY vol 9 p. 333 l.9 indicates that standard Cairo (منكمو) differs from both B and K (منكم) in having the hemistich-final vowel lengthened. We find Fatih 2748 f.227b supports the B/K reading (منكم) (standard Cairo – explicitly lengthening the final vowel - is not supported by any of our manuscripts; note that the exact same situation reoccurs later in verse 8):

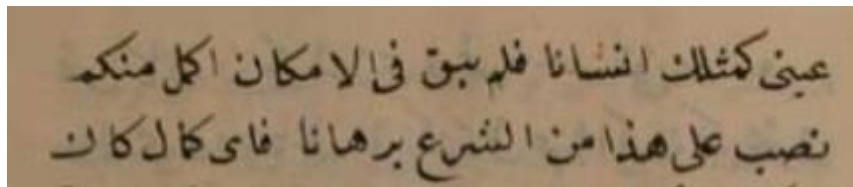


Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506, v.3) breaks with standard Cairo - offering only the form found in K, their 'q': (منكم). They do not even indicate that they find a variant in what their stated source 'h' (standard Cairo).

In the second hemistich the reading (نصبت) in Fatih 2748 agrees with standard Cairo but K has (نصب) and B has (نصيب).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506, v.3) here follows standard Cairo (نصبت) and there is no indication they noticed a variant in their stated source 'q' (i.e. K).

Here is the verse in K (f.106a; l.1-2) where we indeed see (نصب) :



v.5 of the same poem begins in standard Cairo with (طهرت) but Fatih 2748 supports instead the reading of K and B (and OY): (ظهرت)

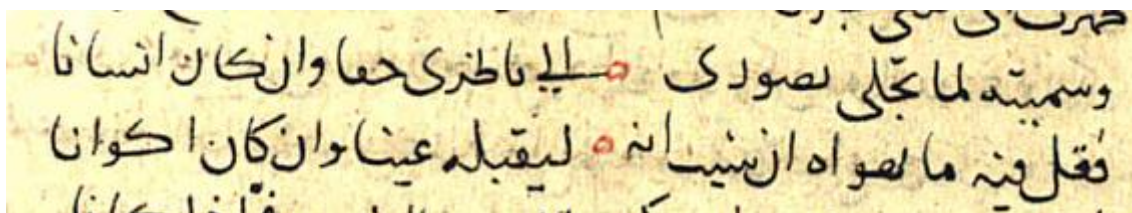
Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506, v.5) also has (طهرت) and reports no variants.

vv. 6-7 of standard Cairo are not in the first recension B but standard Cairo agrees with K:

وسميته لما تجلى بصورتى * إلى ناظرى حفا وان كان انسانا

فقل فيه ما تهواه ان شئت انه * ليقبله عينا وان كان اكوانا

And we find the same in Fatih 2748:



Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506, v.6-7) also contains these verses and reports no variants.

So we can assume that IA inserted these extra verses when he wrote the second recension. That would explain why in the Great Diwan this poem appears without those two verses in the main FM block (Paris BN 2348 f.82b) which we know IA wrote on the basis of the first recension – but there in Paris BN 2348 f.82b the scribe has appended precisely these verses (those new in the second recension) as a marginal correction. However in the holograph Great Diwan, Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 = Damascus al-Assad 14067 f.38b there is no such ‘correction’ in the margins (the pure first recension form is left as is).

Verse 8 of the same poem. Standard Cairo has:

... * لكان وجود **النقص** في إذا كانا

OY indicates that is the first recension reading of B. However OY states that K has (**النقص**) – which is indeed what we find in K itself (f.106a):

لكان وجود **النقص** في إذا كانا

However, in Fatih 2748 we seem to have yet another reading: (**النقص**) (if this is f not q, and if we supply the dot on q):

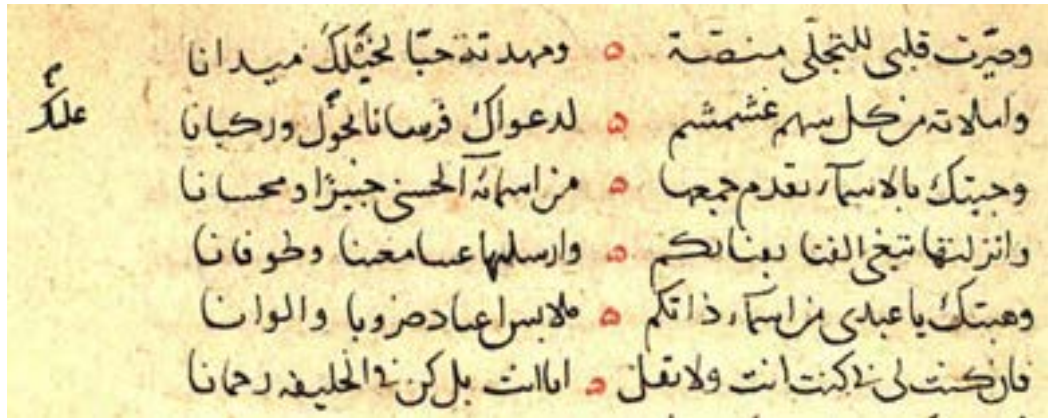
لكان وجود **النقص** في إذا كانا

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506, v.8) also contains standard Cairo (**النقص**) and reports no variants.

Verse 10-23 of the same poem. OY indicates (p. 334 l.1-14) these verses do not appear in the first recension B. And that is supported by the holograph Great Diwan Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 = Damascus al-Assad 14067 f.38a-b where the poem only has 7 verses (v.1-5 and v.8-9 of standard Cairo). [In Paris BN 2348 the scribe appends the verse peculiar to the second recension as marginal ‘corrections’ as we noted above for vv 6-7].

Verses 10-23 are found in Fatih 2748 f.227b-228a:

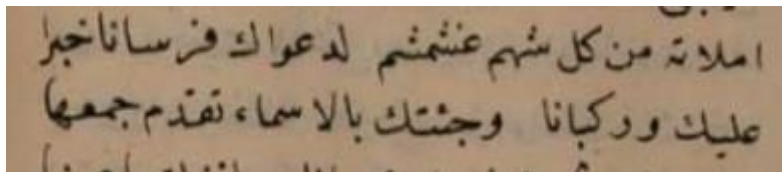
لذلك حصولي من
فما نل وجودي فالقابل حاصل • قُرِنَ ذَاتُكُمْ لِي وَضَعْتُكَ مِزَانًا
تَجِدُ عَلَمًا مَا دَقَلْتُ فَبِكَ مَسْطَرًا • وَلَا أَحَدًا وَجَدْتُهُ مِنْكَ رِيًّا بَا
لْهَرْتُ لَنَا مَجْلَى فَعَايَنْتُ صَوْرِي • وَعَايَيْتُ فَبِكَ الْكُونَ دَمْرًا وَبَتِيًّا نَا
وَسَارَ رَتَكُمْ لَمَّا رَأَيْتُ سِرَارَكُمْ • وَأَعْلَنْتُ قَوْلِي إِذَا بَحَلْتُ أَحْسَانًا
وَمَا لَيْتُ دَلِيلًا وَلَا أَنَا ذَاتُكُمْ • فَانْ كُنْتُ لِي عَيْنًا فَلَا بَتْدَ الْإِنَا
فَأَخْشَرْنَا مِنْ كَانَ بَعْلَن سَرَّة • وَالْبَحْنُ مِنْ كَانَ بِحْفِيهِ كَتْمًا نَا
فَمِنْ كَانَ ذَاكُمْ لَسَرِي وَغَيْرِي • سَنَلْقَى عِدَارًا وَخَالِي وَرَحْمَانًا
إِذَا كُنْتُ لِي عَيْنًا أَكُونُ لَكُمْ بَدَا • وَالْظَهْرُ كَمْ بِالْحَالِ سَرًّا وَأَعْلَانًا



Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506-7) also contains v.10-23 and reports no variants except in v.11 where for standard Cairo (their preferred reading) (أحدا) they report (أحد) (no final alif) in 'q' (i.e. K) and in 's' (Hekimoglu). Since Fatih 2748 clearly has no final alif either it would appear standard Cairo is wrong here – and the Yemeni edition should have followed their 'q' (i.e. K).

v.17 in standard Cairo (يدا) here in Fatih 2748 looks more like (بدا) (single dot). There is no sign in Fatih 2748 of the extra word which OY noted in K (f.106b l.2) prior to this: (تجول يدا). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506) neglects to report any variant in their 'q' (i.e. K) – they follow standard Cairo without providing a footnote to indicate a variant.

v.19 marginal correction (عليك) added to equivalent of standard Cairo (تجول) - or perhaps here (نجول) – the correction has no equivalent in standard Cairo. However OY (l. 10) indicates that K reads instead (خبر عليك). Here is K itself (f.106b) to prove it:



Yemeni edition (v.3 p.506) neglects to report any variant in their 'q' (i.e. K) – they follow standard Cairo without providing a footnote to indicate a variant.

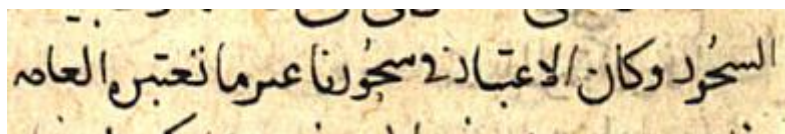
OY vol. 9 p.336 l.3

Standard Cairo Fut I.641:

و كان الاعتبار في سحورنا غير ما نعتبره العامة

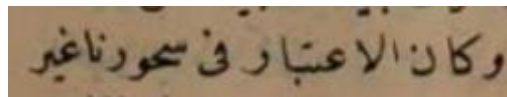
OY vol. 9 p.336 l.3 indicates that standard Cairo agrees with K (f.107a) but not with first recension B which has instead (الاعتباد)

Fatih 2748 f.228a seems to agree with the first recension reading of B (الاعتباد) (d not r):



So we suspect standard Cairo, OY himself and K are all wrong – the true reading for both recensions should be (الاعتباد)

Here is K itself (f.107a):



which looks as if it could also in fact be read as (الاعتباد) (d rather than r)

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.507, l.13) follows standard Cairo (الاعتبار) and does not indicate an alternative reading in their stated source 'q' (i.e. K).

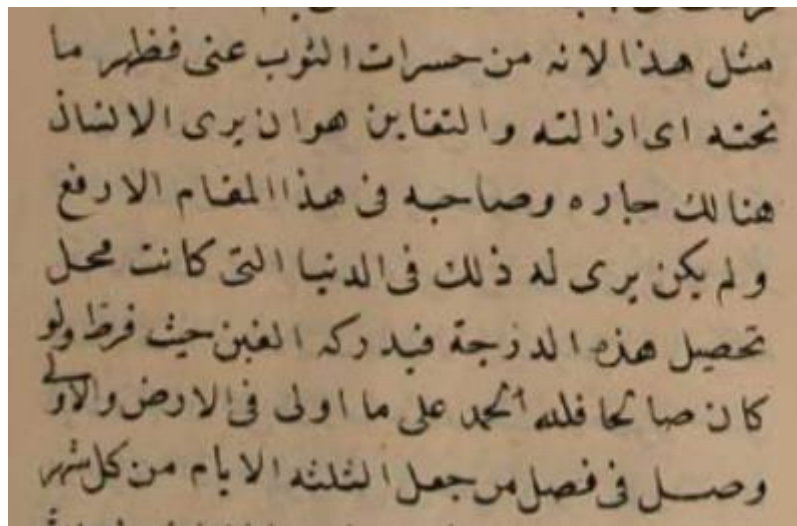
OY vol. 9 p.340 l.1-4

OY vol. 9 p.340 l.1-4 – here OY includes text NOT found in Standard Cairo (Fut l.641) but found in both B (first recension) and K (f.109a):

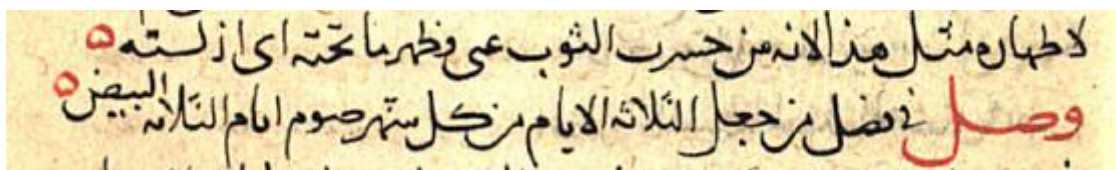
Standard Cairo Fut l.641 (with OY's extra text inserted by us in green):

فظهر ما تحته أي أزلته
والنعمان هو أن يرى الإنسان هنالك جاره وصاحبه في هذا المقام الارتفاع ولم يكن يرى له ذلك في الدنيا التي كانت محل تحصيل
هذه الدرجة فيدركه الغيب حيث فرط ولو كان صالها فليله الحمل على ما أولى في الآخرة والأولى
(وصل في فصل من جعل الثلاثة الأيام من كل شهر صوم أيام الثلاثة البيض)
[الأيام البيض أو ظهور الشمس لأعيننا في القمر]
خرج النسائي من حديث جابر بن عبد الله عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

Here is that 'extra' text in K (f.109a):



But there is no support for the text in green in (true second recension) Fatih 2748 f.229a:



I.e. it seems this text was probably part of the first recension but that IA removed it when he wrote the second. It was not in standard Cairo and OY was wrong to re-introduce it on the basis of 'B' (first

recension) and 'K' (which once again shows itself to be a hybrid text with elements of the first recension). Fatih 2748 (and standard Cairo) is to be preferred.

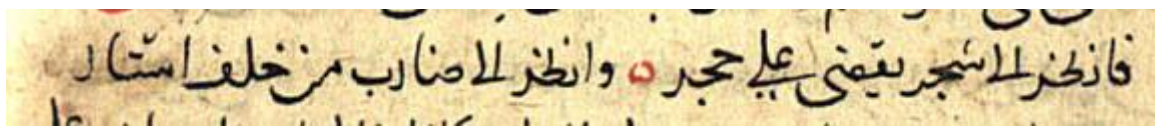
Yemeni edition (v.3 p.509, l.4-6) departs from standard Cairo and introduces the same text as does OY (that in green above) presumably on the basis of 'q' (i.e. K) and 's' (Hekimoglu). But they do not mention that the text is missing from their other stated source, 'h' (Standard Cairo).

OY vol. 9 p.355 l.15 = 1-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.644)

Standard Cairo Fut l.644:

فانظر إلى شجر يقضى على حجر * وانظر إلى ضارب من خلف أستاذ

Fatih 2748 f.232b the final word looks more like (أستاذ) (d not r):



OY vol. 9 p.355 l.15 does not report such a variant in either of B, K (f.116a) or standard Cairo.

The words (شجر يقضى) agree with K and standard Cairo, but differ from first recension of B (سجر ففضى).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.515, l.3) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants in 'q' (i.e. K) or in 's' (Hekimoglu).

This poem does not appear in the Great Dīwān. However it occurs in K. *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya* (RG 716) where at least one edition has (فاضى) in place of (يقضى). However, in Leiden Or 86 f.2b (an early copy of K. *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya*) the word looks more like (فاض) – and the final word looks more like (أستاذ) than (أستاذ) (r not d) although once again it is not entirely clear.

OY vol. 9 p.363 l.5-6

OY vol. 9 p.363 l.5-6 indicates 3 words (حكمها غير معقول) are missing from K (f.119b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.646) and in B.

The words appear in Fatih 2748 f.235a (l. 5).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.518 (7 lines from bottom) contains this entire phrase with no indication that it is missing from their main source 'q', i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.365 l.8-11

OY vol. 9 p.365 l.8-11 indicates many words (السبت والأحد أكثر ما يصوم ويقول إنهما يوما عيد للمشركين فأنا أحب) (أن أخالفهم واختلف العلماء في صوم) are missing from K (f.120b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.646) and in B.

These words occur in Fatih 2748 f.235b (l. 4-6).

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.519 (l.13) contains this entire phrase with no indication that it is missing from their main source 'q', i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.370 l.6-7

OY vol. 9 p.370 l.6-7 indicates 7 words (كله عليها ولولاها لم يظهر لعالم الأجسام) are missing from K (f.122a) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.647) and in B.

These words occur in Fatih 2748 f.236b (l.3)

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.521 (l.5) contains this entire phrase with no indication that it is missing from their main source 'q', i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.424 l.11 = 6-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.657)

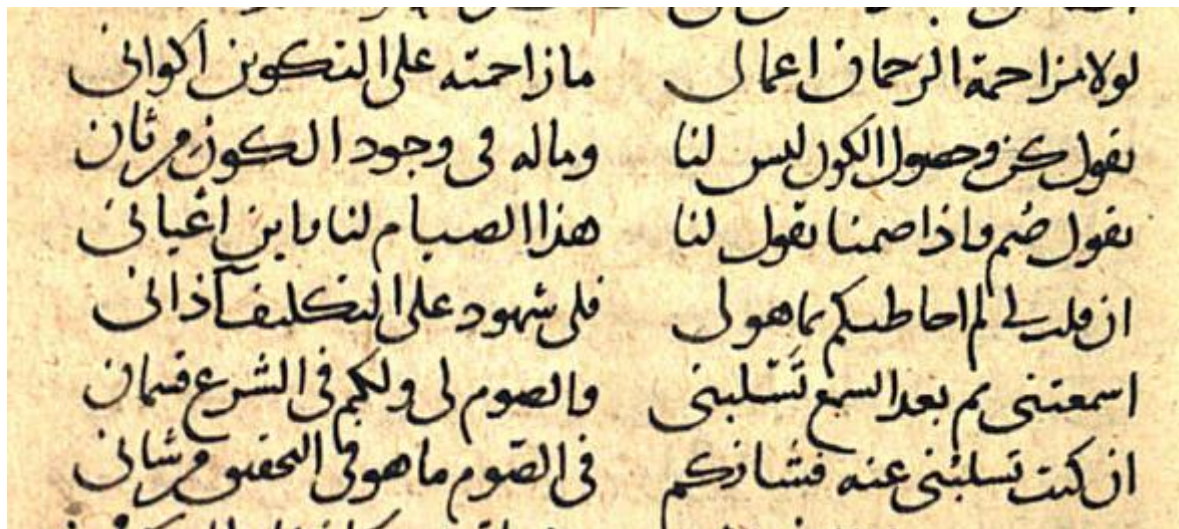
Note that this poem does not appear in the first recension (B). It does not appear at all in the Great Dīwān even among those poems IA added only in the second recension (Paris BN 2348 f.200b etc).

Standard Cairo Fut l.657 v.1:

لولا مزاحمة الرحمن أعمالي * ما زاحمته على التكوين اخواني

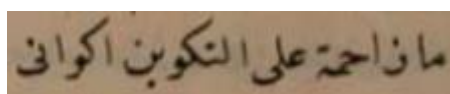
OY vol 9 p. 424 l.11 does not indicate that standard Cairo has a different reading for the final word (اخواني) instead of OY's (اخواني).

Fatih 2748 f.248a supports OY's (اخواني):



[Note that we are now in the section of Fatih 2748 which is written in the second hand – the change of hand occurs on f.242a]

v.1 Fatih 2748 also supports standard Cairo (ما زاحمته) which differs from bogus K (f.144b, l.5) (ما زاحمه) (missing t). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.540) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)! Here is K (f.144b, l.5):



v.2 ends in (ثاني) in standard Cairo (and OY adopts that) however he notes that K (as we also now see in Fatih 2748) have only (ثان). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.540) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)! Here is K (f.144b, l.6):

وماله في جود الكون من ثمان

v.3 Fatih 2748 reads (وإذا) and (وأين) (as K) rather than (فاذا) and (فأين) of standard Cairo (fa- not wa-twice). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.540) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants.

v.5 Fatih 2748 has (والصوم) (agreeing with K) not standard Cairo (فالصوم). Fatih 2748 agrees with standard Cairo (قسمان) and not with K's (قسماني). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.540) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)!

v.6 Fatih 2748 has (فشأنكم) (agreeing with K) not standard Cairo (فشأنكمو) i.e. no vowel-lengthening final wāw. Yemeni edition (v.3 p.540) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)! Fatih 2748 agrees with standard Cairo (تسليبي) and differs from K's bogus reading (تسليبي). Yemeni edition (v.3 p.540) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)!

Here for comparison is the text in replacement Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 f.144b (K):

اختلاف في احوالهم لولا مزاحمة الرحمن اعماله
ما زاحمة على التكوين اكواف يقول كن وحصل الكون
ليس لنا وماله في جود الكون من ثمان يقول صم واذ
اصمنا يقول لنا هذا الصيام لنا واين اعيا في ان قلت
لم اخاطبكم بما هو لي فلي شهود على التكليف اذاني
اسمعتي ثم بعد السمع تسليبي والصوم لي ولكم في الشرع
قسماني ان كنت تسليبي عنه فشأنكم في الصوم ما هو
في التحقيق من ثمان والاسم الفاضل على هذا في ليل شهر

OY vol. 9 p.431 l.3

OY vol. 9 p.431 l.3 indicates 6 words (يتغير عليه الحال بحسب مذهبه فيها) are missing from K (f.146b) and also from B but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.658).

The words are found in Fatih 2748 f.249b (l.3) (although rather unexpectedly there is no heading after it unlike standard Cairo: (وصل في فصل ليلة القدر اختلاف الناس في ليلة القدر

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.543 (l.11) contains this phrase with no indication it does not occur in their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.432 l.4

OY vol. 9 p.431 l.3 indicates 5 words (واختلف الناس في ليلة القدر) are missing from K (f.146b) and there is something different again in B but these words are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.658).

The words are found in Fatih 2748 f.249b (l.3) (although rather unexpectedly there is no heading before it unlike standard Cairo: وصل في فصل ليلة القدر اختلاف الناس في ليلة القدر)

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.543 (9 lines from bottom) contains this phrase with no indication it does not occur in their main source 'q' i.e. K.

OY vol. 9 p.432 l.6-7

OY vol. 9 p.432 l.6-7 indicates 4 words (الآخر منه ورأيتها مرة) are missing from K (f.146b) and also from B but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.658).

The words are found in Fatih 2748 f.249b (l.5)

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.543 (7 lines from bottom) has a note saying a slightly longer phrase is supplied by 'h': وفي العشر الآخر منه ورأيتها مرة (without an explicit mention that it is not found in 'q', i.e. K).

OY vol. 9 p.436 l.15-16 = 2-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.659)

Note that this poem does not appear in the first recension (B). It does not appear at all in the Great Dīwān even among those poems IA added only in the second recension (Paris BN 2348 f.200b etc).

Standard Cairo Fut I.659:

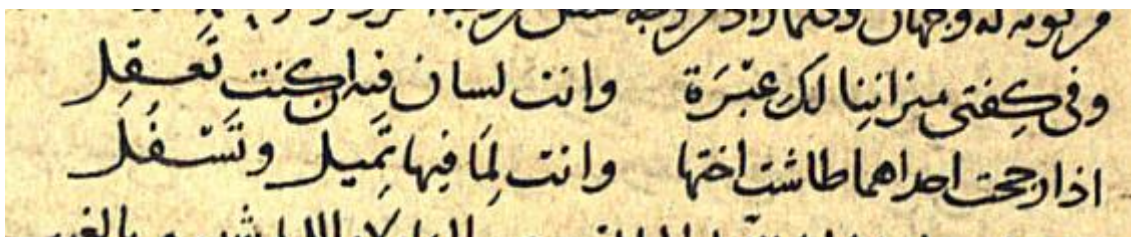
وفى كفتى ميزاننا لك عبرة * وأنت لسان فيه ان كنت تعقل
إذا رجحت احدهما طاش أختها * وأنت لما فيها تميل وتسفل

Standard Cairo is also the text in OY vol. 9 p. 436 l.15-16 where OY indicates the poem does not appear in B (first recension).

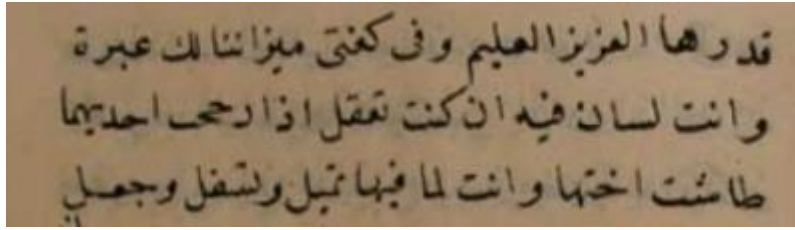
The variant reading (احديهما) in K (f.149a) for standard Cairo (احدهما) is not supported by Fatih 2748 (see below). Here standard Cairo is preferred over K. Yemeni edition (v.3 p.544) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)!

However the variant reading (طاشت) for standard Cairo (طاش) IS supported by Fatih 2748 (see below). Here standard Cairo looks wrong. Yemeni edition (v.3 p.544) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants so that too looks wrong.

Fatih 2748 f.250b:



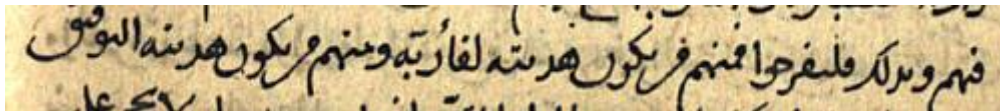
Here is K (f.149a) for comparison:



OY vol. 9 p.438 l.4

OY vol. 9 p.438 l.4 indicates 4 words (ربه ومنهم من تكون) are missing from K (f.149b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.659) and in B (يكون).

Text in red appears in Fatih 2748 (2 lines from end of f.250b):



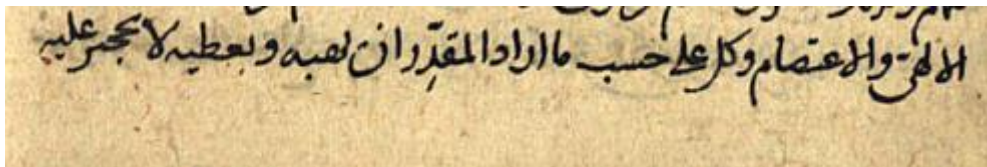
Clearly the text in red should not have been dropped from K. Fatih 2748 is preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p. 546 (l.1) contains this phrase without any mention that it is missing from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

Two folios missing from Fatih 2748 between f.250 and f.251 (Fut I.659-661)

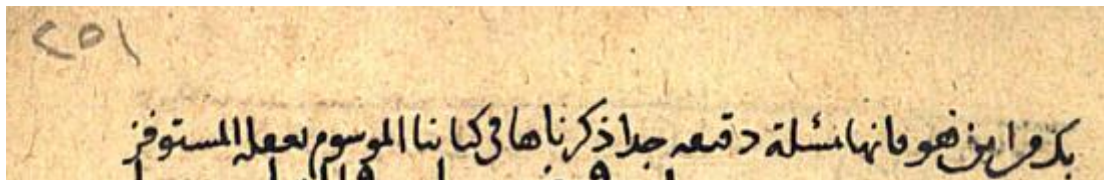
End of Fatih 2748 f.250b – equivalent text in Cairo Fut I.659:

الإلهي والاعتصام وكل على حسب ما أراد المقدر أن يهبه ويعطيه لا تحجير عليه في ذلك



Start of Fatih 2748 f.251a – equivalent text in standard Cairo Fut I.661:

في علم الله بك من أين هو فإنها مسألة دقيقة جدا ذكرناها في كتابنا الموسوم بعقلة المستوفز



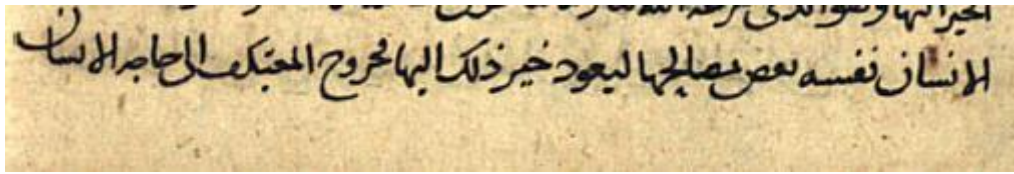
We estimate that 2 folios are missing from between f.250 and f.251. We find the missing folios misbound later as f.254-5 (see below).

Two folios of Fatih 2748 misbound as f.254-5 (Fut I.659-661)

There is a jump in the text between f.253 and f.254 (from Fut I.663 back to Fut I.659).

End of Fatih 2748 f.253b – equivalent text in Cairo Fut I.663:

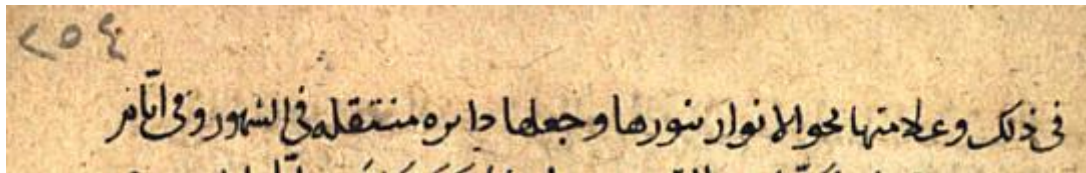
الإنسان نفسه بعض مصالحها ليعود خير ذلك إليها كخروج المعتكف إلى حاجة الإنسان وإقباله على ما كان



(the continuation in red is found at start of f.256a)

Start of Fatih 2748 f.254a – equivalent text in standard Cairo Fut I.659:

لا تحجير عليه في ذلك وعلامتها محو الأنوار بنورها وجعلها دائرة منتقلة في الشهور وفي أيام

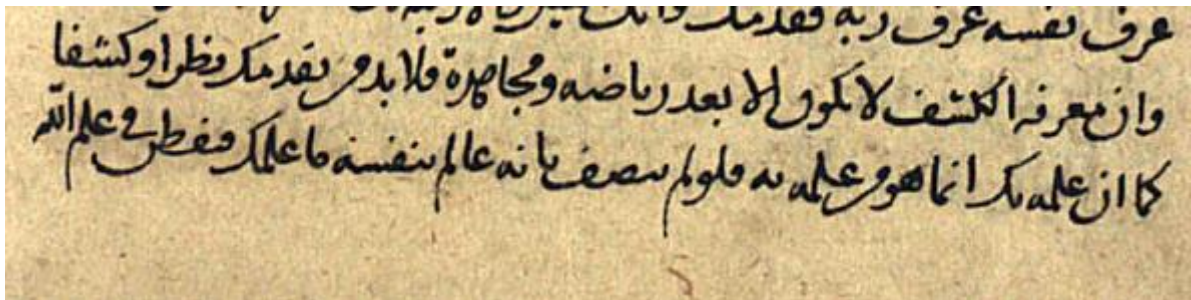


(the prior text in red is found at end of f.250b)

And there is a jump in the text between f.255 and f.256 (from Fut I.661 forwards to Fut I.663).

End of Fatih 2748 f.255b – equivalent text in Cairo Fut I.661:

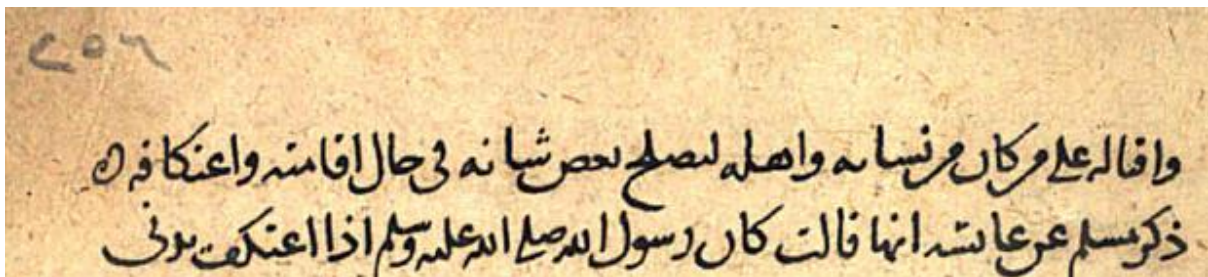
كما إن علمه بك إنما هو من علمه به فلو لم يتصف بأنه عالم بنفسه ما علمك فتفتن في علم الله بك من أين هو



(the continuation in red is found at start of f.251a)

Start of Fatih 2748 f.256a – equivalent text in standard Cairo Fut I.663:

إلى حاجة الإنسان وإقباله على ما كان من نسائه وأهله ليصلح بعض شأنه في حال إقامته واعتكافه



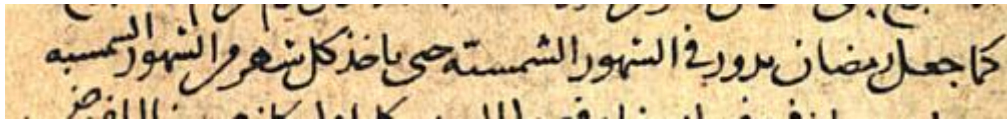
(the prior text in red is found at end of f.253b)

Clearly folios f.254-5 have been misbound – they should appear not as now between f.253 and f.256 but instead in between f.250 and f.251.

OY vol. 9 p.438 l.11

OY vol. 9 p.438 l.11 indicates 7 words (حتى يأخذ كل شهر من الشهور الشمسية) are missing from K (f.149b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut l.659) and in B.

Text in red appear in Fatih 2748 (misbound f.254a, l.3):



Clearly the text in red should not have been dropped from K. Fatih 2748 is preferred.

Yemeni edition vol.3 p.546 (l.5) contains the entire phrase with no indication that it is absent from their main source 'q' i.e. K.

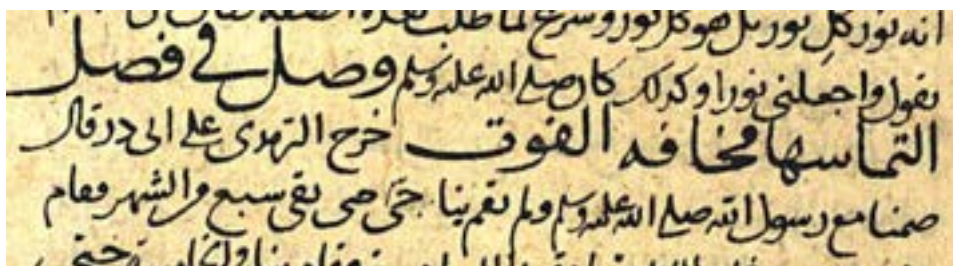
OY vol. 9 p.442 l.4-5

Standard Cairo Fut l.660:

خرج الترمذي عن أبي ذر قال صمنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فلم يقم بنا حتى بقي سبع من الشهر

OY vol. 9 p.442 l.4-5 indicates that K (f.151a) is missing standard phrase (صلى الله عليه وسلم) – a very unexpected omission, indicative of just how defective K can be. [See similar in OY vol. 9 p.351 l.9; p.405 l.9; p.406 l.7; p.412 l.5 and probably many other places]

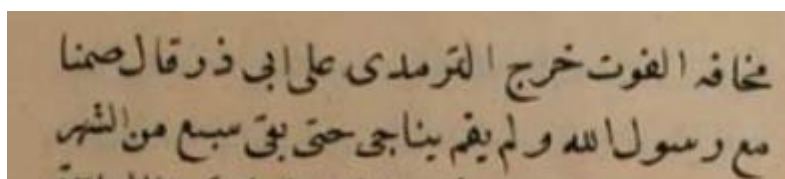
In Fatih 2748 the equivalent is found on f.254b which is one of the two folios (f.254-5) which have been misbound (they should really appear between f.250 and f.251). Fatih 2748 f.254b does NOT omit the standard phrase:



Notice the word after this phrase is (ولم) (as in K) not standard Cairo (فلم). Also notice that the word (حتى) is repeated (with a small sīn above the first).

Yemeni edition (v.3 p.547, l.6) agrees with standard Cairo and does not report any variants even in 'q' (i.e. K)! It would appear they did not look closely at this their stated source.

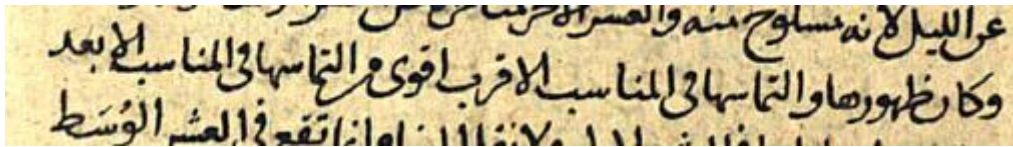
Here is K f.151a itself:



OY vol. 9 p.446 l.11

OY vol. 9 p.446 l.11 indicates 6 words in green (في المناسب الأقرب القوى من التماسها في المناسب الأبعد) are missing from standard Cairo (Fut I.660) but are found in K (f.152b) and in B.

In Fatih 2748 this would occur on the folios misbound as f.254-5 (they should really occur between f.250 and f.251). I find the text on f.255b l.11:



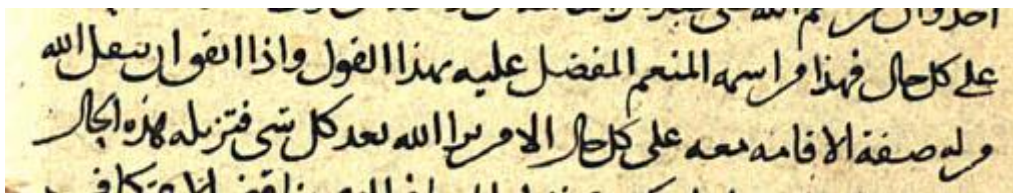
Clearly the text in green should NOT have been dropped from standard Cairo.

Yemeni edition (p.548 3 lines from end) includes the text in green but no mention is made of the text not occurring in their named source 'h' (standard Cairo).

OY vol. 9 p.459 l.3-5

OY vol. 9 p.459 l.3-5 indicates many words (فهذا من اسمه المنعم المفضل عليه بهذا القول ... فإذا اتفق أن ينقل الله من (له صفة الإقامة معه على كل حال إلى) are missing from K (f.156b) but are found in standard Cairo (Fut I.662) and in B.

In Fatih 2748 this missing text does occur f.252b:



Clearly the text in red should not have been dropped from K. Fatih 2748 is preferred.

Yemeni edition (p. 552 l.13-14) includes the text in red but no mention is made of the text not occurring in their named source 'q' (i.e. K).

[“Yemeni” editions \(2010; 2013\) of FM sifr 9](#)

Edition of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Sulṭān al-Manṣūb (2010; 2013) 37 vols bound as 12 volumes.

I have been able to examine in detail the first edition (2010) of this “Yemeni” edition of FM, vol. 9 (in vol.3 of their edition, p. 401-557) using the copy in the MIAS library (P/959 vol.3). With a copy of Fatih 2748 to hand – and the list of ‘marker’ texts described in this document - I am now in a position to assess how the editors of Yemeni edition handled the problem of the replacement for vol. 9 the holograph in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+, that is, their stated source ‘q’.

Footnote on p.401 and the note on p.403 appear to speak about how they deal with problem of missing holograph. p.403 indicates they use 3 sources:

- **q**¹⁰ = Konya (i.e. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 9 = Evkaf Muzesi 1853, the replacement for lost holograph) Do they believe the replacement is a copy from the original? On p.403 they have this note: (إذا جاء التعبير من غير تحديد نسخة فالمقصود به نسخة قونية باعتبارها الاصل)
- **s** = Suleymaniya [Hekimoglu ???; very likely they mean Hekimoglu 488-9 (1017H) which are from originals dated 629H, suggesting it is first version (!) – although we have reason to believe it is in fact a hybrid of the two versions. In their second edition (2013) vol.1 p.51 the Yemeni editors mention having referred to those mss¹¹, further mentioning this was a copy of the first version by Maḥmūd b. Khalīl al-Nābulusī¹² (not ‘Abd al-Ghanī, d.1143H) completed in Jumāda I, 1017H. (Other than Hekimoglu 488-9, OY also lists Hekimoglu 490-2 dated 1034H but he does not mention that they were from originals of either version. TRF also list Hekimoglu 484-6, which are very late, dated 1269H-1272H, which would suggest they might even be 3 of the 4 volumes of the first print edition of Būlāq.)]
- **h** = Cairo [one presumes the standard Cairo print edition of Būlāq, 1329H/1911CE, and not one of the earlier 2 editions]

Here is my transcription of their footnote 1 from p.401 (at the head of sifr 9):

العنوان ص 1ب . ويلي العنوان طابع دمغة برقم 1853 , ثم ختم الاوقاف الاسلامية برقم 1752 , واسفل الصفحة اشارة الي عدد الصفحات : " 320 ضحيفة " .

وهذا السفر كله مكتوب بخط نسخي جميل لكاتب اخر يبدو انه بعد زمن الشيخ بمدة طويلة , اذ لم يشر – ناسخه الي اسمه والي زمن نسخه – وهو واحد من مكونات نسخة قونية الاسلامية – والداعي له قد يكون تعرض النسخة الاصلية لتلف ما , استدعي اعادة نسخها حتي لا تفقد محتوياتها , وعهد بذلك الي نساخ متميز بجودة خطه . وقام الناسخ بنقلها ملتزما ببعض الضوابط التي عمل الشيخ الاكبر عليها في اسفاره كلها واهمها تضمن الصفحة الواحدة 17 سطرا . وما يعيب على الناسخ – وواضح انه مشرقى او ربما كان تركيا يجيد الكتابة العربية من غير فهمها بالضرورة – انه لم يتمكن من فك رموز الخط المغاربي الذي يكتب به الشيخ الاكبر , مثل عدم كتابة الشيخ لنقاط الحروف المعجمة في اكثر الاحوال , وكتابة نقطة واحدة في حرف القاف , ووضع الشدة فوق الحرف ان كان الحرف مفتوحا , وتحت ان كان مكسورا , الي غير ذلك مما لم يعدد المشارقة .. فجاءت **النسخة** مليئة بالاطعاء التي لا تغيب عن بال . **وقد اعتمدنا على الرسم الظاهري للنسخة باعتباره يمثل الاصل الذي نقلت منه** , وحين كنا نلحظ كلمة غير مفهومة في هذه النسخة نرجع الي نسخة مكتنة حكيم اوغلو بالسليمانية (س) , والي النسخة المطبوعة في قاهرو (ه) , لنتبين من هذه النسخ حقسقة اللفظ الذي جاء به الشيخ في **مخطوطه الاول** , وبحيث يكون رسمه قريبا من الرسم الذي جاءت به هذه النسخة وناخذ به . ولم نثبت الالفاظ المرفوضة لكثرتها ولعدم احتوائها على معان محتملة . الا اذا وجدنا ان لها مدخلا يمكن ان يكون له اثر في تغيير المعنى , عندئذ نشير اليه في الحاشية .

¹⁰ **Numbering openings or numbering folios.** In the Yemeni edition references to folios in the Konya ms ('q' = OY's K) are provided in footnotes of form (ص 119) or (ب 119). They number openings rather than folios and 'b' refers to the lefthand page of the opening, while the number refers to the number written on the folio on that lefthand page. We ourselves number folios rather than openings, and we use 'a' for the front of a folio, 'b' for the back. Thus we would write f.118b for Yemeni (ص 119) and we would write f.119a for Yemeni (ص 119). In his edition OY also numbers openings rather than folios but he embeds his references within the text itself and rather confusingly uses 'F' instead of ص. Thus OY would write [F. 119a] instead of Yemeni (ص 119) and instead of our f.118b. OY would write [F. 119b] instead of Yemeni (ب 119) and instead of our f.119a.

¹¹ For a description of Hekimoglu 488-9 which makes it almost certain that is the ms referred to by the Yemeni editor, under code 's', see the review at for example <http://www.mohideen-saeed.net/forum.php?action=view&id=282> (and the reviewer correctly points out this pair of mss was copied from the first version of FM because it records in the original colophon the date of completion as 629H).

¹² Maḥmūd b. Khalīl al-Nābulusī is probably also the scribe of a ms recorded at www.aruc.org copied in 1014H, now in the King Saud University (probably 7264). There is also given the names al-Shāfi'ī and al-Maqdīsī. The work is *Tuḥfat al-gharīb min kalām 'alā Mughnī al-labīb li-bn Hishām* (d.761H) a commentary upon Ibn Hishām by al-Damāmīnī. (Also described in doct here as King Saud Uni 7264: <http://fac.ksu.edu.sa/sites/default/files/lnHw.docx>) . I have also seen a reference to a ms of Sharḥ l-burda li-l-Būṣīrī copied by man of the same name in 1019H,

Here is a rough translation of the above thanks to Rahim and SH:

After the title there is a stamp with no. 1853, then an Islamic Endowment stamp with no. 1752, and at the bottom of the page there is a reference to the number of pages “320 pages”.

This whole volume has been written in a beautiful *Naskh* style by another scribe, apparently long after the time of the Shaykh, since the scribe doesn't refer to his name or the date of copying, which is one of the components of the Konya copy. The reason for that could be that the original copy was damaged in some way, which required re-copying it so that its content was not lost, and the task was entrusted to a good copyist who was wellknown for his good handwriting. When making the copy, the scribe imposed on himself certain rules which the Shaykh al-Akbar employed in all the volumes, the most important being that the page contains 17 lines.

What the scribe can be criticised for - and it is clear that he was a Mashriqi or perhaps a Turk who was good at writing Arabic without necessarily understanding it – is that he could not decipher the Maghribi writing that the Shaykh al-Akbar writes with, such as the Shaykh's omitting the dots on letters which are *mu'jam* in most cases, and writing one dot on the *qāf*, and putting the *shadda* over the letter if the letter is *maftuh*, and underneath it if it was *maksur*, and so on, things which are not done by people in the East. As a result, the **copy** came out full of mistakes that are obvious to any observer.

We have relied on the apparent form of writing for this copy, as it represents the original that it was copied from. When we came across a word that is unclear in this copy, we have resorted to the copy in the *Hekimoglu* Library in the *Suleymaniye* (S), and to the Cairo printed copy (H), to establish from these copies the correctness of the word that the Shaykh employed in his **first recension** [lit. first manuscript - presumably meaning the lost holograph of the *second* recension from which they believe K was copied]: if its form is close to the form of this copy, we have accepted it. But we didn't accept [all] the rejected words because there are lots of them and because they didn't have possible meanings, except if we found a way of considering them that might affect a change in the meaning – on such occasions we refer to it in a footnote.

The first line refers to title page of *Evkaf Muzesi* 1853, i.e. (replacement) vol 9 of *Evkaf Muzesi* 1845+ which they refer to as 'q' for Konya – here it is:



In the continuation of the footnotes the editors refer to the fact that this volume is in a much later hand (no scribe's name and no date). I do not understand what they are saying here. But are the editors saying this copy could have been made from the lost original? (والداعي له قد يكون تعرض النسخة) (الأصلية لتلف ما فجاءت النسخة مليئة بالأخطاء التي لا تغيب عن). They mention problems the scribe had with deciphering the Maghribi script of the presumed exemplar. They found it was riddled with errors? (بال). They say: "*We have relied on the apparent form of writing for this copy, as it represents the original that it was copied from*" (وقد اعتمدنا على الرسم الظاهري للنسخة باعتباره يمثل الأصل الذي نقلت منه) and returned to the other two sources (Hekimoglu ms, and Cairo print edition) to see what IA wrote in the 'first manuscript' (surely meaning the lost holograph of the 2nd recension) and to use that (!). Again, I should say I do not understand what they are saying here about their editorial practice. Nor do I understand how they sought to distinguish the two recensions, if indeed they intended to do that. In what sense are they presenting a critical edition of sifr 9?

I note they do seem to have made any use at all of Osman Yahia's edition (1972-92) – and this might help explain why they fail to record (or even notice?) so many of the differences between their 'h' (OY's C) and their 'q' (OY's K). On the other hand, in Yemeni edition v.3 p.444, final 4 lines, I find them (unknowingly?) preferring a first recension text over the true second recension text found in standard Cairo. They do this on the basis of one of their sources, 's' (Hekimoglu). But OY made *exactly the same editorial decision* on the basis of another first recension ms (his B). Is it a coincidence that both editors made exactly the same mistake here, or did they sometimes refer to OY's edition? Whatever the answer to that, it would seem the Yemeni authors were unaware that their source 's' (Hekimoglu) contained at least some first recension readings (as it did here). Why, I ask, were they not alerted to a potential problem when they recorded that Hekimoglu 488-9 (1017H) was apparently taken from originals dated 629H (making them first recension or at best hybrid mss)? Did they really not find many differences in 's' from the standard Cairo text (which is fundamentally second recension)? If they did, then I wonder why they only rarely made note of such differences in their footnotes.

Having carried out a detailed study of many problematic passages in sifr 9 (as described in this document) my general impression is that in their edition of FM, sifr 9 at least, the Yemeni editors have not always paid a great deal of attention to their other stated source 'q' (the replacement holograph, OY's K). I strongly suspect they began with the standard Cairo text (their 'h') as their starting point and that they were not always careful to check for variants in their other two sources, in 'q' (defective replacement holograph) and also in 's' (Hekimoglu). In a number of cases where I

have found in 'q' differences from the standard Cairo text I see the Yemeni editors reproducing the standard Cairo text (their 'h') but NOT indicating that they noticed any difference in their 'q'. Sometimes large blocks of text are skipped in 'q', yet the editors make no mention of this. (For details see examples in the 'Differences' section of this document).

What is more, in the 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627) the editors of the Yemeni edition did actually notice that variants existed in their sources, but here they preferred to present in their main text what they found in replacement sifr 9 (and also one presumes in the Hekimoglu ms) rather than the text in the standard Cairo edition (which they noted in a footnote). But in that instance we ourselves have reason to believe the text in 'q' (replacement holograph) – the text the editors here preferred – is in fact the first recension text, while standard Cairo contains the second recension text. In other words, in this case the text the Yemeni editors would usually rely upon (standard Cairo) they incorrectly relegated to a footnote, and 'corrected' the main text of their edition *away* from the second recension, towards the first recension!

Similarly in verse 10 of the poem opening FM ch.71 the Yemeni editors went with the form they found in replacement sifr 9 (their 'q') and recorded in a footnote that they found another form in both standard Cairo (their 'h') and Hekimoglu (their 's'). But again we have argued that the form they found in replacement sifr 9 is actually the first recension form, and the standard Cairo edition presents the true second version form. Once again, we find them 'correcting' the main text of their edition *away* from the second recension, towards the first recension!

So, in summary, the editors of the Yemeni edition do not seem to me to have handled well or even consistently the problem of the lost holograph. Sometimes they reproduce the text of standard Cairo and leave no indication that they were even aware of variations in their stated source 'q' (i.e. K). In other cases they preferred variants they found in 'q' (or even 's') over the standard Cairo text, thus indicating they regarded K as in some sense authoritative. Yet in some such places we ourselves have evidence that K in fact had the first recension text and standard Cairo the second. As a result the editors of the Yemeni edition ended up 'correcting' standard Cairo in the wrong direction, back towards the first recension!

This phenomenon of making 'corrections' to the second recension text back towards first recension forms is not new. (Even Osman Yahia was not always consistent in preferring second recension readings over first, although at least he went to great lengths to fully record the variants in his footnotes). I believe something similar has been going on for centuries as scribes struggled to deal with the existence of sources deriving from both of Ibn 'Arabi's two recensions (versions) of FM. Indeed, I believe this explains why so many manuscripts (and editions) which exist today represent hybrids of the two recensions (to say nothing of other errors that have arisen due to scribal and editorial errors or tampering).

I suggest it would be far preferable in any future edition of sifr 9 to take as the starting point neither standard Cairo nor replacement holograph (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 9) – which I regard as particularly unreliable - but rather Fatih 2748. The text in Fatih 2748 is probably closer than any other extant manuscript or edition to the original second recension text. It is early, it is of very good provenance, and it is the only manuscript (or edition) I know of where one can be confident there are no corruptions due to 'corrections' made away from the true second recension, and back towards the first recension text. With Fatih 2748 a true critical edition is both possible and urgently called for.

In future, (current) replacement sifr 9 in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (i.e Evkaf Muzesi 1853) should be forgotten altogether – its provenance is unknown, and my detailed investigations have shown it to be highly unreliable relative to Fatih 2748. Unfortunately, this also means that any edition which gives any weight to that manuscript – on the basis that it fills a hole in the holograph set – renders itself suspect in this section of FM (volume 9 of the original 37).

When was volume 9 of the holograph lost? A study of Ragip Pasha 704

In another document we noted that Ragip Pasha 704 purports to have been copied from IA's original (2nd version, in SQ's waqf in Konya) in 1156H under the direction of Ragip Pasha himself (d.1176H). But in Ragip Pasha 704 (details below) one finds the same 1st recension reading that is found in replacement vol. 9 (f.76b) for verse 3 of the 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627) (بان هذا وذا كلامي) . The true second recension reading is found in Fatih 2748. This in itself would suggest that as early as 1156H sifr 9 had been lost and replaced by the ms found today plugging the hole in the holograph set (or a very similar ms).

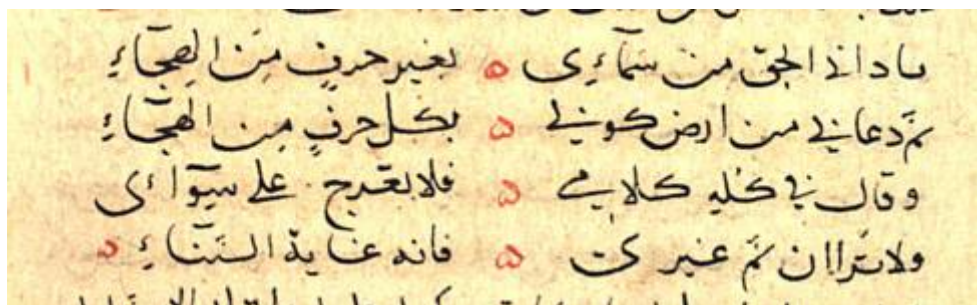
With Fatih 2748 and the studies presented in this document we now have many more markers of differences between K and the true second recension text. This means we can test more thoroughly the hypothesis that Ragip Pasha 704 was copied from the holograph set (K) at a time when that already included replacment sifr 9.

In Ragip Pasha 704 (=sifr 1-17) sifr 9 corresponds to PDF 370-411 = Fut I.595-665. After that there is a change of hand for PDF 411-455 = Fut I.665-732 = sifr 10. (And same second hand for PDF 125-242 = Fut I.237-386 = sifr 4-5; same second hand for tail end of ms, PDF 729-781 = Fut II.421-498 = sifr 17). Ch.71 (Fut I.601) begins at very end of PDF 372.¹³

OY vol. 9 p.262 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627)

First, here is the evidence of 1st recension rading in Ragip Pasha 704. OY vol. 9 p.262 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627)

Here is the text of this 4-verse poem in true second recension Fatih 2748 f.212a:

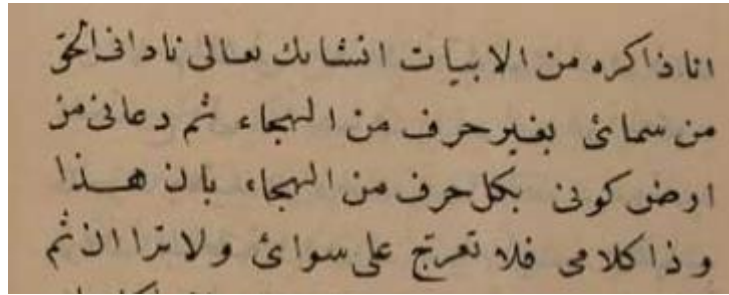


The 3rd verse begins:

وقال في كله كلامي ... *

¹³ The continuation of this ms (in a variety of hands) is found in Ragip Pasha 705 which contains vols 18-29 (PDF 1-484), vols. 33-34 (misbound in PDF 485-533 & 534-583), vols. 30-31 (PDF 583-649) and vol. 35-7 (PDF 649-750). I have not spotted vol. 32 (start of ch.558). The pair of ms are downloadable from <https://ia601505.us.archive.org/16/items/M-00040/RAGIPPASA704.pdf> and <https://ia601505.us.archive.org/16/items/M-00040/RAGIPPASA705.pdf>

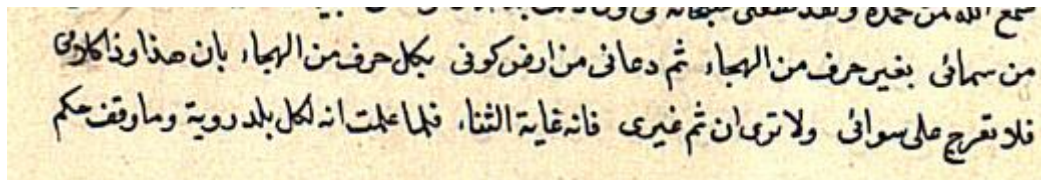
By contrast here the text of the poem from (replacement K) Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ volume 9 f.76b:



The 3rd verse reads:

بان هذا وذا كلامي * ...

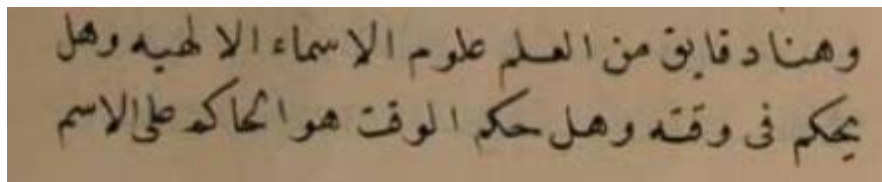
And in Ragip Pasha 704 on the 2nd to last line of PDF 387L one finds the same 1st version reading (بان (هذا وذا كلامي):



So here Ragip Pasha 704 agrees with replacement K and not with true 2nd recension Fatih 2748. Since Ragip Pasha 704 claimed to have been copied from IA's original (2nd version, in SQ's waqf in Konya) in 1156H the obvious conclusion is that sifr 9 had already (in 1156H) been replaced by the ms we find in K today. **Certainly in 1156H the original sifr 9 could not have still been in place in the Konya set** since the true second recension reading would have been as in Fatih 2748H (copied at a much earlier date from lost sifr 9)¹⁴.

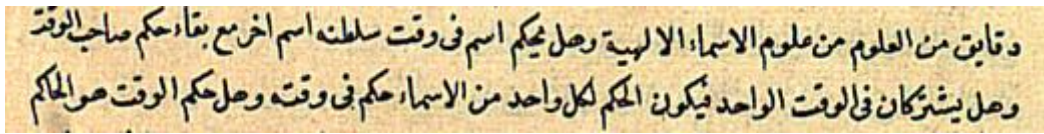
OY vol. 9 p.95 l.2-4 – block of text missing from K

Fut I.601. Here is 'K' (v.9 f.13a final 2 lines) where we find the missing text is in fact the text in red here (وهل يحكم اسم في وقت سلطنة اسم آخر مع بقاء حكم صاحب الوقت وهل يشتركان في الوقت الواحد فيكون الحكم لكل) (واحد من الأسماء حكم في وقته وهل حكم الوقت



¹⁴ We also found in f.37b-38a of the Diwān holograph Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 - now Damascus al-Assad 14067 - which was originally constructed on the basis of the first recension FM, that the main text reads (بان هذا وذا (كلامي). However, we also see there that Ibn 'Arabī added a marginal correction with the text as in Fatih 2748 (وقال في كله كلامي). We argue he did this at a later date when he was writing the 2nd recension holograph of FM itself, that is when writing the now lost sifr 9 of K, at which time he modified this verse of the poem (and updated the Diwan ms correspondingly). The reading in Fatih 2748 (copied from the lost sifr 9 of second recension centuries prior to Ragip Pasha) supports this view – the FM reading was indeed now (وقال في كله (كلامي).

But in fact Ragip Pasha 704 PDF 372L (4-5 lines from end) in fact DOES contain all of the missing text:



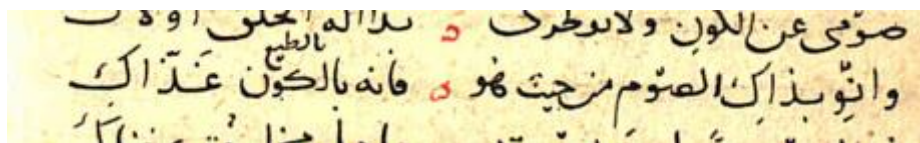
So we have evidence here that **Ragip Pasha 704 sifr 9** was **NOT** based upon the **current replacement sifr 9** ! Since we know it was not based upon the original sifr 9 (now lost) the only way we can accept that the ms was copied from the holograph set in Konya (as is claimed on the ms) is to hypothesize that **the original sifr 9 had been lost by 1156H but that it had been replaced by a different ms than the one that exists in the set today (K)**. It too differed from the true second recension text preserved in Fatih 2748, but it did not differ in exactly the same way. That is, **the previous replacement contained a hybrid of first and second recension texts, but a different hybrid from that found in today's replacement K!**

OY vol. 9 p.96 l.3 = Fut l.601 (opening poem to ch.71; verse 10)

Standard Cairo:

وانوى بذاك الصوم من حيث هو * فإنه بالطبع غذاك

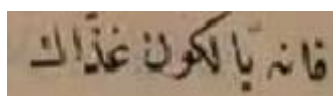
Fatih 2748 f.181b:



وانوى بذاك الصوم من حيث هو * فإنه بالطبع غذاك [correction above line]

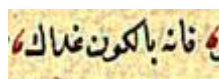
We suspect that the copiest of Fatih 2748 reproduces here both the original text and also the correction (or variant) marked in the lost holograph vol. 9. And we suspect that the uncorrected text follows the first recension while the correction represents a modification peculiar to the second recension.

(Replacement) sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ f.13b:



... * فإنه بالكون غذاك

Ragip Pasha 704 PDF 373R (l.5) agrees with K and with the UN-corrected (first recension) text of Fatih 2748:

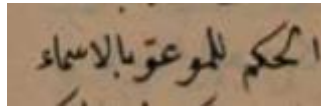


OY vol. 9 p.158 l.13 = 4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.611)

Standard Cairo Fut l.611 v.1:

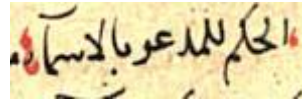
الحكم للمدعَى بالأسماء * ...

The second word (للمدعَى) in K reads (للموعَى) which we indeed find on f.37b



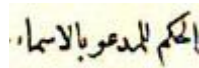
(this reading in K is simply bogus – the poem did not even appear in the first recension of FM).

Here is the hemistich in Fatih 2748 f.194a with true reading (للمدعَى):



So standard Cairo (للمدعَى) is correct and replacement vol 9 K is wrong here (للموعَى). Fatih 2748 should be preferred over K.

Ragip Pasha 704 PDF 378L (l.9) reads correctly (للمدعَى):



so here Ragip Pasha 704 differs from today's replacement K (للموعَى) – which would be consistent with having been copied from an earlier, less corrupted, replacement K.

OY vol. 9 p.259 l.5 = 3-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut l.627)

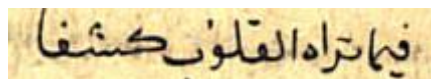
Standard Cairo Fut l.619 v.3:

مما تراه القلوب كشفا * ...

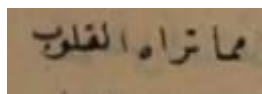
OY vol 9 p.259 l.5 follows standard Cairo (مما) and OY does not indicate this is any different from the reading in K (it is not).

This is another poem which does not occur in the first recension (B). And again it appears late in the Great Diwan in Paris BN 2348 f.200b (for the reason that it was only added into FM itself when IA wrote the second recension). Paris BN 2348 f.200b has the true second recension FM reading (فيما).

Fatih 2748 f.211b has the true reading (فيما):



For comparison here is the bogus reading (مما) in K (f.75a) itself (a reading which reappears in standard Cairo):

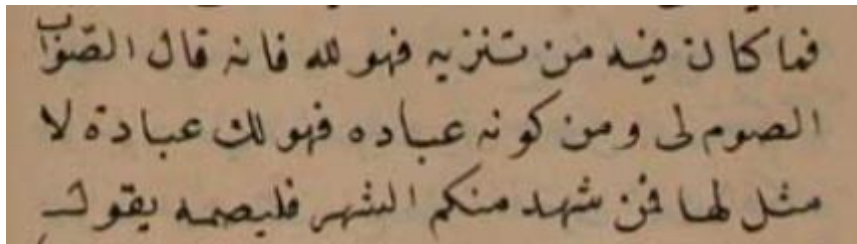


Ragip Pasha 704 PDF 387L (l.10) has the same bogus reading (مما) and so **here again Ragip Pasha 704 does NOT represent a true second recension text (and is very unlikely to have been copied from the lost holograph):**

ما تراه القلوب

OY vol. 9 p.270 l.1-10 – block of text missing from K

Standard Cairo Fut I.629. In the equivalent in K (f.79b) that ms is missing a large block of text. Here are lines 2-4 from the end of f.79b:



Here is the standard Cairo text (Fut I.629) formatted to parallel that text in K (f.79b 2-4 lines from end):

فما كان فيه من تنزيه فهو لله فإنه قال [الصواب: EXTRA WORD]

الصوم لي ومن كونه عبادة فهو لك [SKIP MUCH TEXT] عبادة لا

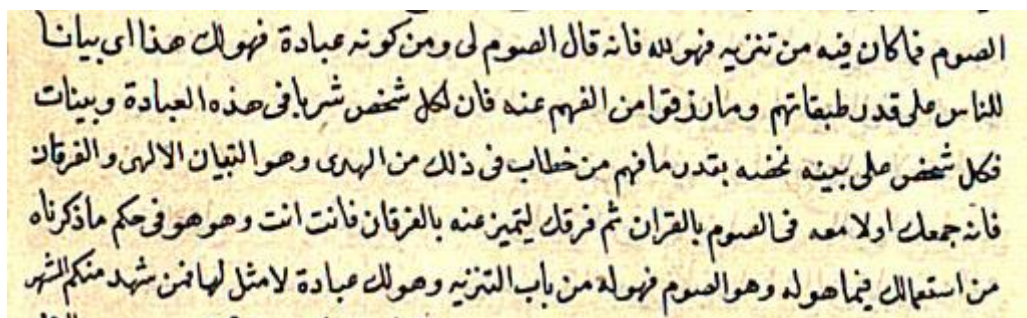
مثل لها

The text skipped here in K is found in standard Cairo (Fut I.629) as:

هدى أي بيانا للناس على قدر طبقاتهم وما رزقوا من الفهم عنه فإن لكل شخص شربا في هذه العبادة وبيئات فكل شخص على بيئته نخسه بتدر ما فهم من خطاب في ذلك من الهدى وهو التبيان الإلهي والفرقان فإنه جمعك أولا معه في الصوم بالقرآن ثم فرقك لنتمیز عنه بالفرقان فأنت أنت وهو هو في حكم ما ذكرناه من استعمالك فيما هو له وهو الصوم فهو له من باب التنزيه وهو لك

This is surely a very large defect peculiar to replacement holograph (K).

But there is no such defect in Ragip Pasha 704 PDF 388L:



Which is effectively as in standard Cairo:

الصوم فما كان فيه من تنزيه فهو لله فإنه قال [الصواب: NO EXTRA WORD] الصوم لي ومن كونه عبادة فهو لك هدى أي بيانا

للناس على قدر طبقاتهم وما رزقوا من الفهم عنه فإن لكل شخص شربا في هذه العبادة وبيئات

فكل شخص على بيئته نخسه بتدر ما فهم من خطاب في ذلك من الهدى وهو التبيان الإلهي والفرقان فإنه جمعك أولا معه في الصوم بالقرآن ثم فرقك لنتمیز عنه بالفرقان فأنت أنت وهو هو في حكم ما ذكرناه

من استعمالك فيما هو له وهو الصوم فهو له من باب التنزيه وهو لك عبادة لا مثل لها

The text in red is the text missing from replacement K, but clearly **that manuscript (replacement sifr K) can NOT have been the source for this section of Ragip Pasha 704.**

OY vol. 9 p.340 l.1-4

OY vol. 9 p.340 l.1-4 – here OY includes text NOT found in Standard Cairo (Fut I.641) but found in both B (first recension) and K (f.109a):

Standard Cairo Fut I.641 (with OY's extra text inserted by us in green):

فظهر ما تحته أي أزلته

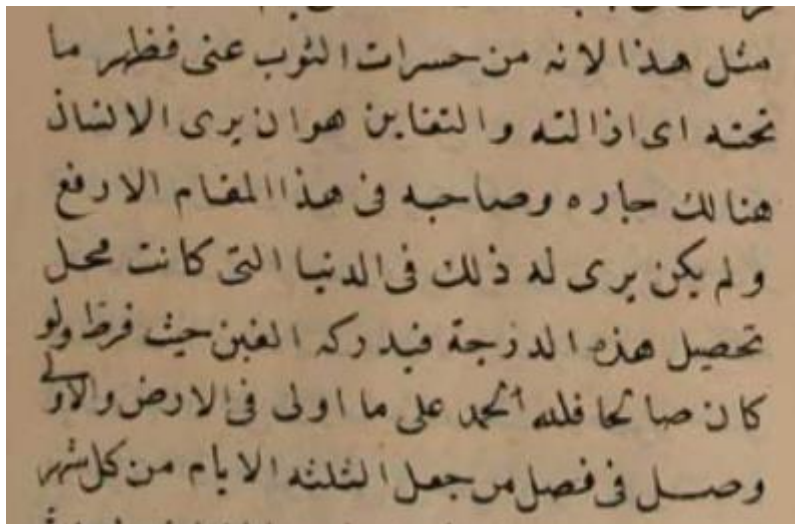
والنعمان هو ان يرى الانسان هنالك جاره وصاحبه في هذا المقام الارتفاع ولم يكن يرى له ذلك في الدنيا التي كانت محل تحصيل هذه الدرجة فيدركه الغيب حيث فرط ولو كان صالحا فليله الحمل على ما اولى في الآخرة والاولى

(وصل في فصل من جعل الثلاثة الأيام من كل شهر صوم أيام الثلاثة البيض)

[الأيام البيض أو ظهور الشمس لأعيننا في القمر]

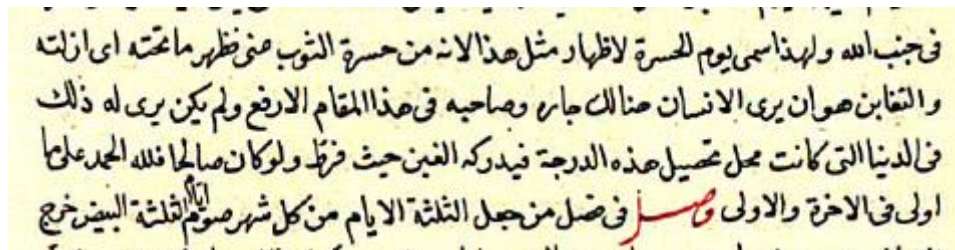
خرج النسائي من حديث جابر بن عبد الله عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

Here is that 'extra' text in K (f.109a):



But there is no support for the text in green in (true second recension) Fatih 2748 f.229a.

In Ragip Pasha 704 PDF 396R we find the same 'extra' text re-introduced from the first recension:



Thus both Ragip Pasha 704 and replacement K contain this text re-introduced from the first recension – text which should not appear in a true second recension (such as Fatih 2748, or even standard Cairo).

Conclusion

I find that Ragip Pasha 704 sifr 9 could not have been copied from the current replacement sifr 9. But neither was it copied from the lost holograph (as represented by the much early copy of that, Fatih 2748). The only possible explanation is that the original sifr 9 had been lost by 1156H but it had been replaced by a different ms than the one that exists in the set today (K: Evkaf Muzesi 1845+, vol 9 = Evkaf Muzesi 1853). That earlier replacement also differed from the true second recension text which is preserved in Fatih 2748, but it did not differ in exactly the same way as does today's replacement (K). That is, the earlier replacement (extant in 1156H, but now also lost) contained a hybrid of first and second recension texts, but a different hybrid from that found in today's replacement! The problem of lost holograph sifr 9 (and its replacements) has a complex history stretching back centuries before the first print edition of FM.