

Editions of Ibn ‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* – a brief history – plus case studies of textual variation

[This document originated as a translation of a document in French by Claude Addas: *Bref historique relatif aux diverses et successives éditions des Futūḥāt.docx* (received as email attachment 2015.09.11 – with additions 2015.09.12 and modifications 2015.09.13). Julian Cook, then added an extensive Appendix detailing some variant texts – variations across editions, versions and manuscripts.]

[Last updated: 2021.11.16] [Further recension markers identified by Maurizio Marconi – placed in yet another Addendum]

[1] First edition published by Būlāq (1269-1274H).....	2
Formula for ‘Alī – in FM chapter 6 (v.1, p. 132)	3
Verse 31 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM.....	3
Current date in FM chapter 351 (faṣl al-‘ubūdiyya).....	3
Vision of 633H at end of FM chapter 121	3
The two ‘aqīda.....	3
[2] Second edition published by Būlāq (1293H)	4
[3] Third edition published by Būlāq (1329H) – standard Cairo edition.....	5
[4] Edition of Osman Yahia in 14 volumes (1972-1992) up to and including ch. 161.....	6
[5] “Yemeni” edition of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Sulṭān al-Manṣūb (2010; 2013) in 12 volumes.....	6
Addendum: on the question of the first and second version of the <i>Futūḥāt</i>	7
Appendix: colophons for the first version	7
Appendix: case studies – textual variation across editions, versions and manuscripts	9
Case study (a): prose prior to the long poem in the Introduction to the FM	9
Case study (b): Verse 13 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM.....	11
Case study (c): Verse 31 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM	13
Case study (d): the 2 ‘aqīda of the Introduction.....	15
Case study (e): wujūd / ilāh in 19-verse poem in FM chapter 6 – evidence of a pre-first version variant in [B]?	17
Case study (f): Formula for ‘Alī in FM chapter 6	23
Case study (g): Osman Yahia’s version marker from FM ch. 16	24
Case study (h): Vision of 633H at end of FM chapter 121	26
Case study (i): 1-liner in FM chapter 230	27

Case study (j): Current date in FM chapter 351 (faṣl al-‘ubūdiyya)	28
Addendum - sets of poems only added in the 2 nd version FM?.....	30
IA’s “eulogy of the <i>Anṣār</i> ” - a set of 3 poems in a section of FM ch. 49 which was entirely absent from 1 st version FM – but the poems appear (with prose) in the Bulaq Diwan (p.338-9).....	35
Addendum - low-level juz’ markers peculiar to the 2nd version FM (?)	37
Addendum - reconstructing IA’s division of the first version text into 20 volumes (<i>asfār</i>) – and an independent division into perhaps 10 parts	44
Addendum – 37 volumes of 2 nd version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ cross-referenced to locations in standard Cairo edition and to low-level juz’ numbers and to FM chapter numbers and also to reconstructed 20 volumes of (lost) 1 st version holograph	49
Addendum – a letter diagram in ch.26 which differs in the two versions of FM	51
Addendum – further differences between 1 st and 2 nd versions of FM	54
2- or 3-verse poem in FM ch.22 and in RG 412 K. Manzil al-manāzil	54
4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627) and the replacement sifr 9 in the 37-volume holograph	56
Poem opening FM ch.71 and the replacement sifr 9 in the 37-volume holograph.....	61
Poem in FM ch.73 (Fut II.107-8) where holograph v.12 has a correction (in a later hand?)	64
Poem opening Fut. ch.83 – another correction in the holograph	65
Poem opening Fut. ch.99 – marginal correction (or variant?) in the holograph	67
Poem from FM ch.178 (on love) with multiple ‘variants’ even within the holograph FM itself	68
Addendum: manuscripts used in forthcoming Egyptian edition of FM	75
Addendum further FM recension / edition markers identified by Maurizio Marconi.....	76
Final thoughts - Digital copies of a complete set of manuscripts for the 1 st version FM	77
List of 1 st version (or hybrid) FM mss we have been able to study	77
Various FM manuscripts – with assessment of which version of FM they contain	83
Addendum: Transcription of reading certificates from Yusuf Aga 5463 – from the end of the (original?) first version of FM.....	91
[Kamāl al-dīn, al-Sharīf, Abū al-‘Abbās] Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad [al-Ḥamawī] al-‘Alawī and his readings of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works	101
[Kamāl al-dīn, al-Sharīf, Abū al-‘Abbās] Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad [al-Ḥamawī] al-‘Alawī – information from elsewhere	104
A reading of al-Assad ms 3757/1 in 657H – possibly attended by al-‘Alawī – in the company of numerous Akbarians	105

[1] First edition published by Būlāq (1269-1274H)

In four volumes : 1st volume in Dhū al-Ḥijja 1269/1853 (802 pages; ch.0-72) ; 2nd volume Shawwāl 1270/1854 (772 pages; ch.73-299) ; 3rd volume Dhū al-Qa‘da 1272/1856 (630 pages; ch.300-400); 4th volume Muḥarram 1274/1857 (619 pages; ch.401-560).

An example of this edition is held by the University of Toronto, shelfmark : BP189.26 I24 1852 v.1-v.4. Digital reproductions are available on the Internet :

<http://search.library.utoronto.ca/details?1587700&uuid=4c818d9e-8e57-4593-afae-706d23097621>

The editors indicated (v.1, p.801) this was based upon a number of manuscripts (*nusakh ‘adīda*).

This **first edition appears to be a mixture of first and second versions¹** of the *Futūḥāt*. **One finds here variants specific to the 1st version** (completed by Ibn ‘Arabī in Ṣafar 629/1231) for example:

Formula for ‘Alī – in FM chapter 6 (v.1, p. 132)

After the mention of ‘Alī, the formula: *imāmu l-‘alām wa-sirru l-anbiyā’ ajma‘īn* – **a formula specific to the first version** which does not figure in the second version. Compare edition of Osmam Yahia v.2 p. 227, l.6²; standard Būlāq edition of 1329H, Fut I.119.³ For details of these variants and others see the Appendix to this survey.

Verse 31 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM

This same first edition reproduces (vol. 1, p. 7) verse 31 of the long poem in the Introduction to the *Futūḥāt* **according to the first version** (without alifs). By contrast the standard edition of 1329H (Fut I.6) gives the second version variant (with alifs). For details of these variants see the Appendix to this survey.

Current date in FM chapter 351 (faṣl al-‘ubūdiyya)

In chapter 351 of FM (v.1, p. 251; *faṣl al-‘ubūdiyya*) Ibn ‘Arabī evokes his entry into the “Earth of the Reality” and states: “I entered there in 590H and we are today **in 628H**”. By contrast the second version states “and we are today **in 635H**” – see standard edition of 1329 Fut III.224. For details of these variants see the Appendix to this survey.

But in contrast to the previous examples – where the first edition followed the text of the 1st version of FM - one also finds **variants specific to the 2nd version** :

Vision of 633H at end of FM chapter 121

One also find in the first edition (vol 2, p.227) **an autobiographical detail which is specific to the 2nd version** (completed 24 Rabī‘ I 636H / November 1238) : that is, the account of a vision which Ibn ‘Arabī dates to 6 Rajab 633H / March 1236. This appears in the standard Cairo edition of 1329H, Fut II.204 – at the very end of FM chapter 121. Since this vision occurred after completion of the first version (629H) it could not have featured in the first version text.

¹ In this document we use the word ‘version’ although in other places on the MIAS Archive web-site the word ‘recension’ is used. That Ibn ‘Arabī took the trouble to write a second manuscript – in 37 volumes– from beginning to end suggests this should be regarded as a distinct text rather than as a revision of the previous one.

² In this survey we describe Osman Yahia’s edition under item [4].

³ Scholars have usually taken the 4-volume Cairo edition of 1329H as the ‘standard’. When we give a reference in the form Fut I.119 we mean page 119 of the first volume of that edition. That edition was also published by Būlāq – in this survey we describe it under item [3].

The two 'aqīda

The first edition also reproduced (v.1 p.41ff) the 2 'aqīda of the Introduction which do not figure in the first version (cf O.Y., introduction in French, v.1 p. 8, and also *Les Illuminations de La Mecque*, M.C., Introduction, p.45; translated in *The Meccan Revelations* (2004) vol. 2, p.21 – see also p.5) and corresponding to standard Būlāq of 1329H, Fut I.38-47.

Since the first edition includes this second version material – but in other places it presents first version readings – we conclude the first edition represents a 'mixture' of first and second versions.

[2] Second edition published by Būlāq (1293H)

An example of this edition is held by the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, as *al-Juz' ... min kitāb al-Futūḥāt al Makkīyah* (1293/1876; Dār al-Ṭibā'ah). Shelfmark: Arab d.27... d.34 (4 volumes in 8 parts; 960, 916, 743 and 719 pages per volume, respectively; FM ch.0-72, ch.73-299, ch. 300-400, ch. 401-560 – the same divisions as the first edition). Digital reproductions are available on the Internet : <http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> (search for *al-Futūḥāt al Makkīyah* 1293 and follow the links for 'View Online')

This second edition of 1293H is **also a 'mixture' of the two versions of the *Futūḥāt*. On finds there the same 3 "markers" of the first version identified above:** Formula for 'Alī in FM ch.6 (v.1 p. 154); verse 31 of the long poem in the Introduction (v.1 p.8); current date in FM chapter 351 (v.3 p.297). **But one also finds the "marker" of the second version** – the vision dated to 633H included at the end of FM ch. 121 (v.2 pp.269-70) – and the two 'aqīda added to the second version (v.1 p.47ff).

On the other hand, this edition is not a simple reproduction of the previous one. The editors indicated at the end (v.4 p.718-9) that it was a second edition, revised and corrected, and that they had taken into account "corrections made by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī in one juz'" and that it was the discovery of that juz' which led them to produce a second edition. This statement raises many questions. Which juz' (part) is it? Should one understand by this a complete manuscript collated by al-Nābulusī, or only one section? Or perhaps he (al-Nābulusī) noted only the most significant variants he detected in the holograph manuscripts in one juz'.⁴

It is possible that Bakrī 'Alā al-Dīn – when conditions allow – would enlighten us further on this point.

Note that the colophon of this second edition gives the date Ṣafar 629H as the date of completion, and it reproduces the last lines of the first version where IA indicates "I never make a draft for any of my works and this chapter was completed in Ṣafar 629H". See Appendix for reproductions of this colophon from the first version of FM.

⁴ Nuruosmaniye 2501 is a complete text in a single volume dated to the 1120s (in Damascus?) within the lifetime of al-Nābulusī (d.1143H). The scribe Muḥammad b. Sha'bān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Barakāt, known as Ibn al-Kamāl, was clearly devoted both to al-Nābulusī and to Ibn 'Arabī, for in his extended colophon he names and praises al-Nābulusī, adding: "it is he who wrapped me in his gaze to transcribe this book which I have already transcribed once and this is the second time and I hope to do it a third time, I have already started [this third copy] and I have completed this second copy at the tomb of its author [Ibn 'Arabī] asking his permission and assistance in the presence of my aforementioned master [i.e. al-Nābulusī]. And this copy is for the use of the library [bi-rasam khizānah] of Āl [al-]Bayt ... ".... (he goes on to praise the descendents of Abū Bakr and Ḥasan). Initial indications are that Nuruosmaniye 2501 is a mixed recension text even though it carries the 1st recension colophon (629H).

[3] Third edition published by Būlāq (1329H) – standard Cairo edition

The famous third edition of Būlāq (1329/1911) reproduced the second version⁵ of the *Futūḥāt* thanks to the investigative efforts of the Emir ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā’irī.⁶

Once again published in 4 volumes and with the same divisions as the first two editions: v.1 (763 pages; ch.0-72); v.2 (693 pages; ch.73-299); v.3. (568 pages; ch.300-400); v.4 (561 pages – but colophon is on p.553-4; ch.401-560).

Having noticed errors and lacunae in the first edition of the *Futūḥāt*, the Emir sent two of his disciples, Muḥammad Ṭaṇṭawī and Muḥammad Ṭayyib⁷, to Konya in 1287H, to collate the first edition with the holograph manuscript in 37 volumes (2nd version; now known as Evkaf Muzesi 1845+; OY’s ‘K’). We have the testimony of Ṭaṇṭawī concerning this. Shortly after his arrival in Konya he addressed a letter to the Emir (at least one copy exists, as indicated by R. Mālih⁸), dated 19 Ramaḍan 1287 / December 1870. In this letter Ṭaṇṭawī gives a detailed account of the manner in which the two of them proceeded to correct their exemplar of the edition of the *Futūḥāt* (at that date this could only be the first edition, that of 1269-1274H) by comparing it in minute detail with the holograph. Ṭaṇṭawī relates a series of visions he had at the start, when he began his work of collation, in which the Shaykh al-Akbar equipped with a pen vocalized each letter of the khuṭba, including even the simplest words. He relates also that he found many errors in the edited text in the first two juz’ but that the following parts required fewer corrections. Another significant detail: in his concern for restoring the original text, Ṭaṇṭawī was careful, he says, to copy various errors contained in the holograph manuscript.

Bakrī ‘Alā al-Dīn, in his critical edition of the *Mawāqif* (Damascus, 2014, v.1 pp.9-11⁹) provides further information: having compared the entirety of the 37 volume holograph to their exemplar, Ṭaṇṭawī and his companion repeated this operation a second time. Back in Damascus, the corrected exemplar was made the object of many copies, one of which belonged to ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Khānī¹⁰ – who states that his personal example of this corrected copy was completed in 1289H – and was conserved in a library in Konya.¹¹

⁵ See Appendix “Verse 13 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM” for an example of where the standard Cairo edition diverges from the second version holograph. In this case the editors overlooked a second version change – a marginal correction Ibn ‘Arabī made to his holograph manuscript.

⁶ A fully digitized version of an edition which appears to be a page-for-page reprint of standard Cairo edition is available at [http://www.noorlib.ir/View/en/Book/BookView/Image/10850 ... /10853](http://www.noorlib.ir/View/en/Book/BookView/Image/10850.../10853). Published by Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, Beirut. /10850 is vol 1 (pp.2-763); /10851 is vol 2 (pp.1-693); /10852 is vol 3 (pp.2-568); /10853 is vol 4 (pp.2-561).

⁷ Further information on the latter: http://privat.bahnhof.se/wb042294Texter/bionotes/bio_m_tayyib.html

⁸ See *Fihris al-ṭasawwuf fī l-maktabat al-Zāḥiriyya*, Damascus, 1980, v.2 pp. 374-5. It is now found in Damascus, al-Assad 142. Online catalogue for this ms: http://www.alassad-library.gov.sy/Search_makhtutat2013.php - search for الملكية والمكية في أسرار الملكية - and then for رقم 142.

⁹ *al-Mawāqif fī ba’d ishārāt al-Qur’ān ilā al-asrār wa-al-ma’ārif* / Emir ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā’irī. Damascus, 2014. Editor: Bakrī ‘Alā al-Dīn.

¹⁰ This man is mentioned by M.C. in *An Ocean Without Shore*, p. 132, as author of *al-Sa’āda al-abadiyya [fīmā jā’a bi-hi al-Naqshbandiyyah]* (Damascus, 1313H). There are other references to him in *The Spiritual Writings of Amir ‘Abd al-Kader* by M.C et al. He was also author of *Al-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya fī ḥaqā’iq ‘ajillā’ al-Naqshbandiyya* (Cairo, 1308H) and Worldcat lists other works by the same man. There is an article about him in Encyclopaedia of Islam Online – see https://www.worldcat.org/title/abd-al-majid-b-muammad-al-khani/oclc/5862821072&referer=brief_results

¹¹ At a TIMA Conference in Cambridge, September 2016, in a workshop on an Egyptian critical edition of FM currently in progress, Dr Kilany Khalifa showed a slide of an interesting hybrid ‘manuscript’ in which a scholar had carefully corrected in red ink one of the early print editions towards a truer 2nd version of the text. I

This edition of 1329H has been the object of numerous reproductions in Beirut since 1968. One 9 volume reissue, which saw the light of day in Beirut in 1999, contains a number of very useful indices.¹²

[4] Edition of Osman Yahia in 14 volumes (1972-1992) up to and including ch. 161

This is available as 14 separate files on the Internet with filenames similar to 14 الفتوحات.pdf .

The main text reproduces on the whole the second version. (We say 'on the whole' because Osman Yahia does not systematically follow the text of the holograph but opts in some cases to follow the reading of other manuscripts – as a result he provides a hybrid text). But above all he took great pains to make note of variants he found in other manuscripts, in particular the Beyazid manuscripts which correspond to the first version.

On v.1 p.12 OY lists some of the abbreviations he uses in his footnotes to indicate variants:

- K – the Konya ms – the 37-volume 2nd version holograph now known as Evkaf Muzesi 1845+
- F – the Fātiḥ ms – Fatih 2750 (1st version, 1st part written by Ibn Sawdakin from 623H autograph) – not mentioned in OY's footnotes¹³
- B – the Beyazid mss – Beyazid 3743-3746 (1st version from original in IA's hand)
- C – the standard Cairo edition of 1329H

[5] "Yemeni" edition of 'Abd al-'Azīz Sulṭān al-Manṣūb (2010; 2013) in 12 volumes

Based upon the holograph manuscript of the second version (now known as Evkaf Muzesi 1845+; 37 volumes; OY's 'K'). First published in 2010. Contains useful indices for all the poetry, whether by Ibn 'Arabī himself or by earlier poets.

MIAS possess a copy of this 12 volume set (3 parts of the holograph per volume, with 4 in the last). We know of no digitized versions of the text. A supplementary volume comprising a number of indices was published separately and in digital format – downloadable from <http://ibn-alarabi.yolasite.com/resources/all.pdf>

A second edition, revised and corrected, appeared in Cairo in 2013, but to date it seems to include only the first 7 volumes.

This edition was very favourably reviewed by E. Winkel in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Volume 24, Issue 1 (2013), pp. 80-83. See <http://jis.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2012/09/23/jis.ets079> The editorial process was described in the movie "Looking for Muhyiddin" by Nacer Khemir (2014).

believe it might have been referred to as "Khanizade" – so was it the corrected copy of 'Abd al-Majīd al-Khānī, completed in 1289H? Very possible so. In March 2018 the Society was supplied with a valuable complete copy of the early edition with Tantawi's corrections in red ink (while collating against the holographs) including a long note with the dates 1287 & 1289 – sourced from a private library in Konya.

¹² Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah. Beirut 1420/1999. Editor: Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn. 9 volumes. Volume 9 contains the indices and is downloadable from <http://www.sufi.ir/books/download/arabic/ibn-arabi/fotoohat-9-jeldi-aks/fotoohat-9-9-ar.pdf>

¹³ The reason for the lack of mention of 'F' in OY's footnotes is surely that the ms covers FM ch. 270-560 but OY's edition only reached as far as ch. 261.

Addendum: on the question of the first and second version of the *Futūḥāt*

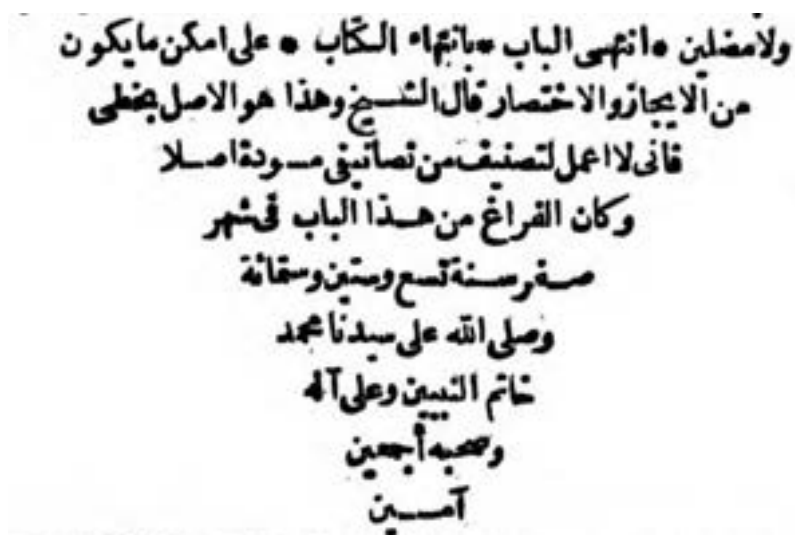
Whatever might be the interest in being able to compare these two versions, we should not forget that the second is in some sense the “testament” of Ibn ‘Arabī and corresponds to his *definitive text*; and we have Ibn ‘Arabī’s holograph manuscript of this second version. The same is not true of the first version: the manuscripts available to us today are more or less late copies and present among them variant readings. (See Appendix for some examples; see also the reading certificates from the original first version of FM, which are reproduced in Yusuf Aga 5463 and Nurosmāniye 2506/2507, and which we discuss later in this document).

Furthermore, as described elsewhere in this document, **Beyazid 3743 (‘B’)** contains some variants **which were not even in the first version**, at least in its final form. (Many of these are corrected in the margin of ‘B’). We find no sign of those pre-corrected ‘B’ texts in either of the Great Diwan manuscripts, the holograph ms ‘A’ (which usually preserves both versions) or the later ‘P’ (which usually follows the first version). Yet one would expect to find the first version texts in both of those mss. So it could be that OY was wrong to assume that the ‘B’ forms were final first version forms. On the other hand, we are unable to provide a better explanation for the pre-corrected ‘B’ variants. Perhaps IA maintained two variants within the first version itself. If so, then ‘B’ could be rare in transmitting both pre- and post-corrected forms. And such a ‘double first version’ text could be a good marker for closeness to the original holograph of the first version FM – a manuscript transmitting early variants which even IA himself did not transmit in the Great Diwan.

It would be highly desirable in this regard to obtain digital copies of the manuscript Fatih 2750 which, according to the indications of O.Y., is from the hand of Ibn Sawdakīn and dated 623H, reproducing one part of the first version.

Appendix: colophons for the first version

Colophon in second edition of FM (1293H). Here is the date 629H at the end of the colophon on v.4 p.718:



And here is the equivalent text from the end of Beyazid 3746 f.409b (1st version):

الضالين ولا مضلين انتهى الباب بحمد الله ما سها الكتاب على أمكن ما يكون من الانجاز و
 الاختصار وهذا هو الاصل بخطي فاني لا اعمل لتصنيف من تصانيفي مسودة اصلا وكان
 الفراغ من هذا الباب في شهر صفر سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة
 من الكتاب بعون الله الملك العزيز العلام
 حرره سليم بن علي غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المؤمنين
 والمؤمنات والصلوات والسلامات الاعلى
 منهم والاموات رحمكم يا ارحم الراحمين
 والحمد لله رب
 العالمين
 ١١٢٠
 ١١٢٠

Here is the equivalent from Amasya 660 f.881b – again with the date 629H¹⁴:

هادين مهتدين غير ضالين ولا مضلين قال الشيخ رضي الله عنه انتهى
 الباب بحمد الله بانتهاء الكتاب على أمكن ما يكون من الانجاز والاختصار
 وهذا هو الاصل بخطي فاني لا اعمل لتصنيف من تصانيفي مسودة اصلا
 وكان الفراغ من هذا الباب في شهر صفر سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة

And here is the equivalent from Yusuf Aga 5463 p.211 – again with the date 629H:

انتهى الباب بحمد الله بانتهاء الكتاب على أمكن ما يكون من الانجاز والاختصار وهذا
 هو الاصل بخطي فاني لا اعمل لتصنيف من تصانيفي مسودة اصلا وكان الفراغ
 من هذا الباب في شهر صفر سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة
 مع جميع هذا المجلد على ما مشيتم اذ لم الله تاييد

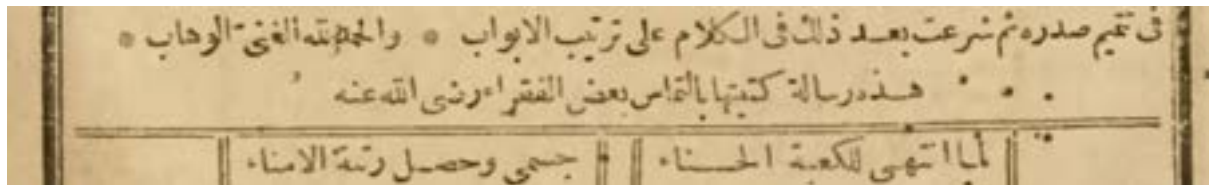
¹⁴ Warning: on f.7b of Amasya 660 (ch. 351) the text states the current date is 635H which is a 2nd version form (the 1st version would be 628H). Since the colophon on f.881b refers to completion in 629H it would appear that Amasya 660 is a mixture of versions 1 and 2. There is also evidence that different parts of the manuscript were written at different times by different scribes, quite possibly using different recensions of FM. The 3rd chunk – FM ch.462-560 – is dated earliest (901H) and is unique in that the scribe records the “book” (sifr) he has just copied, using the 20-volume numbering system of the 1st recension: f.472b = end of book #17 (after FM ch.557); f.596b = end of book #18 (after FM ch.558); f.671b = end of book #19 (after FM ch.559). By contrast, in chunk 2 (FM ch.371-461) on f.276b at the start of FM ch.384 the (later) scribe refers to this being book (sifr) #28 – which means this (later) scribe is using the numbering system of the second recension with its 37 total volumes, not that of the first with its 20 total volumes. The current date on f.7b - within the first chunk, FM ch.351-370 - suggests the first chunk might also be based upon the second recension. The copied colophon dated 629H (first recension) is in the 3rd chunk, the only chunk which might be pure first recension.

Appendix: case studies – textual variation across editions, versions and manuscripts

Case study (a): prose prior to the long poem in the Introduction to the FM

The text in the first version is longer than in the second – but the 1st edition FM is different again.

[1] Edition of 1269H (v.1 p.6)

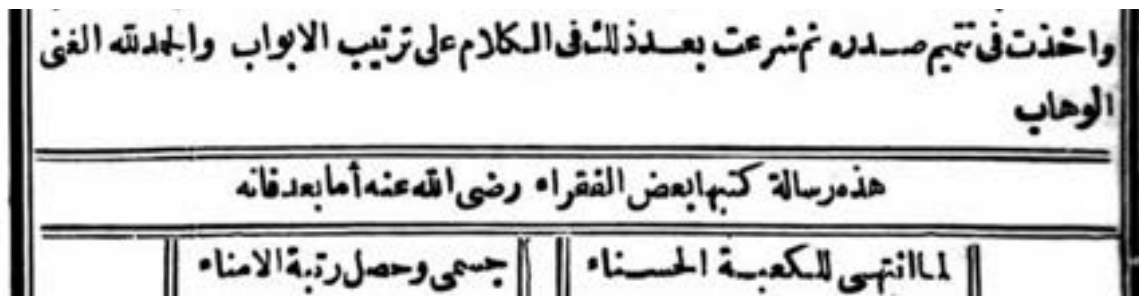


i.e. a text which is different again from the 1st version text of 'B' – here we read:

هذه رسالة كتبها بالتماس بعض الفقراء رضى الله عنه

Relative to 'B' there is an extra word (بالتماس) – and the 3 final words from 'B' are missing: أما بعد فإنه

[2] Edition of 1293H (v.1 pt.1 p.7)



i.e. the first version text of 'B' (without the variants found in the 1st edition):

هذه رسالة كتبها بعض الفقراء رضى الله عنه أما بعد فإنه

[3] [OY's 'C'] standard Cairo edition, Fut I.6:

[رسالة إلى الشيخ عبد العزيز المهدي]

هذه رسالة كتبت بها أما بعد فإنه

لما انتهى للكعبة الحسنة * جسمي وحصل رتبة الأمناء

Notice in this second version text the absence of the (first version-specific) text which OY inserts based upon 'B' (but with errors):

هذه رسالة كتبت بها إلى بعض الفقراء رضى الله عنه أما بعد فإنه

[4] OY v.1 p.59:

(رسالة إلى الشيخ عبد العزيز المهدي)

(٣٧) هذه رسالة كتبت بها إلى بعض الفقهاء - رضى الله عنه - .

3

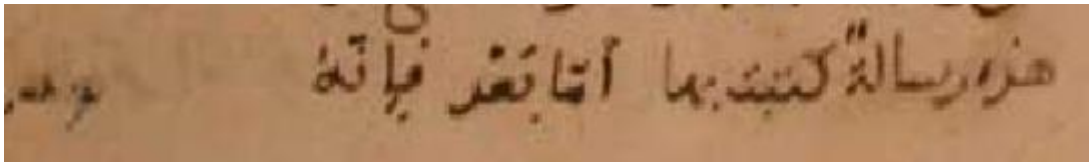
[P. 9^b] : أما بعد فإنه

لما انتهى للكعبة الحسنة جسمي وحصل رتبة الأمانة

With footnotes:

2 كتبت بها K : كتبها B || إلى بعض ... عنه B : - C K || 4 الحسنة G K :
الحسنة B || الأمانة C : الأمانة B K , وهكذا آخر أجزاء الروي فإنها كتبت بالالف الممدودة

[K] Evkaf 1845+ v.1 f.9a (just prior to poem which starts on following page):



As OY indicates this text in red is absent from K (and also from the standard Cairo, his 'C')

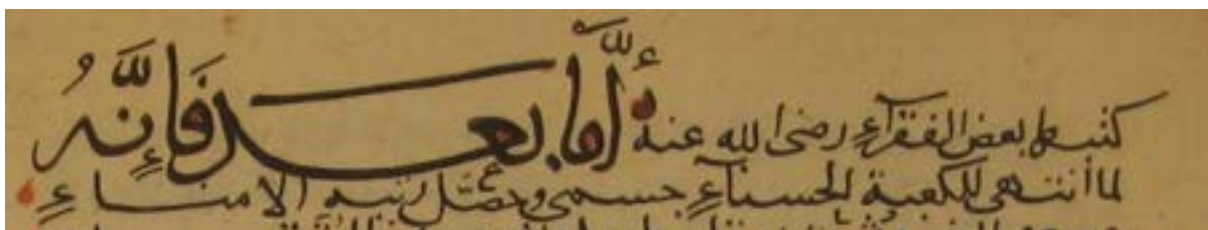
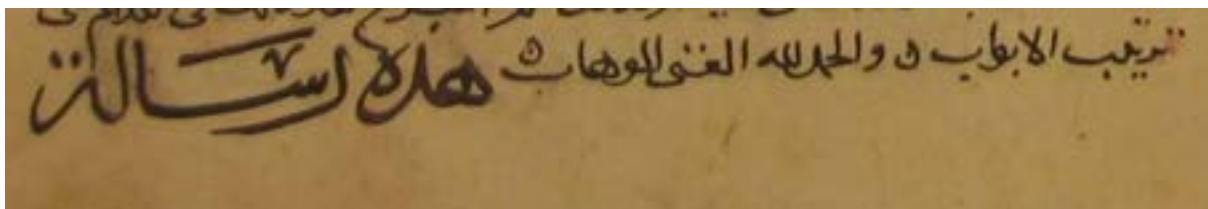
[B] Beyazid 3743 f.4a:



The first version text of 'B' is not quite the text given by OY but close:

هذه رسالة كتبت بها بعض الفقهاء رضى الله عنه أما بعد فإنه

[another first version ms] Manisa 1048 PDF p.8L-9R:



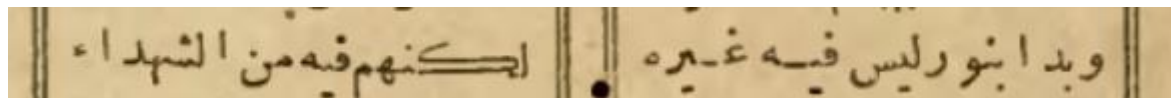
Once again Manisa 1048 follows Beyazid ('B') so we assume the extra text just prior to our original marker poem truly is another marker specific to the first version.

This example calls into question what OY's 'critical edition' is meant to represent – it seems to be a mixture of 1st and 2nd version readings. Also, although he usually indicates variants in the footnotes – even very minor ones - he fails to do so for the marker we identified in the 31st verse of this same poem (with or without alifs on final two words of first hemistich – see later in Appendix).

Case study (b): Verse 13 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM

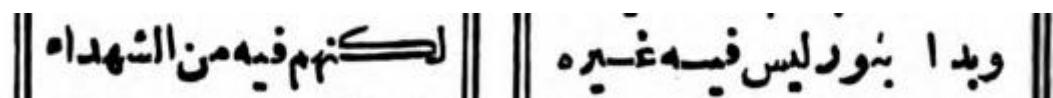
A case of OY mis-representing what is in first version 'B'. And a case of the standard Cairo Edition not reflecting the (marginally-corrected) second version holograph.

[1] Edition of 1269H (v.1 p.7)



This is the first version text (which is found in the standard Cairo edition because the latter does not reflect the marginal correction of the second version holograph)

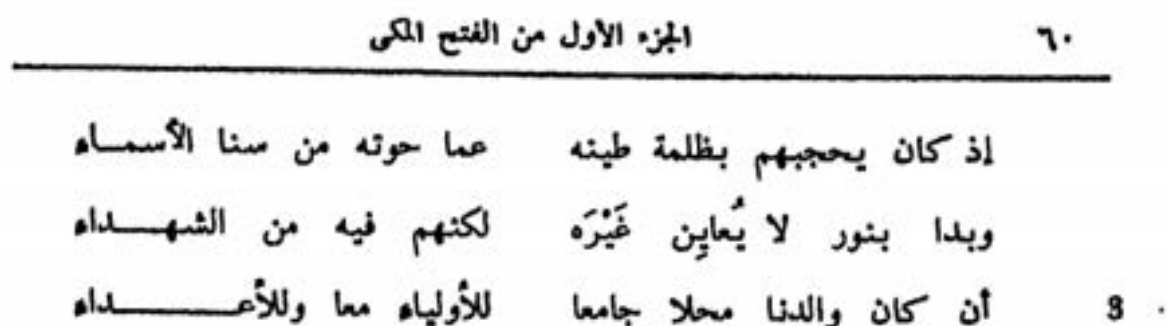
[2] Edition of 1293H (v.1 pt.1 p.7) is similar to the first edition:



[3] (OY's 'C') standard Cairo edition Fut I.6 verse 13 (first hemistich only). The text here is NOT the same as 'K' in that it is missing the marginal correction of that second version holograph - see below. In other words, here the standard Cairo edition preserves only the FIRST version text:

و بدا بنور ليس فيه غيره * ...

[4] OY v.1 p.60 (showing verses 12-14):



Here then is a transcription of his critical edition's v.13:

وبدا بنور لا يعاين غيره * لكنهم فيه من الشهداء

And here is OY's footnote indicating variants for verse 13 (I.2 on this page):

1 سناب: سنى K || 2 لا يماين B K: ليس فيه (1) (و كذا BK قبل التصحيح) || لكنهم CB: لا كنهم K ||
 3 للأولياء K: للأولياء B || وللأعداء C: وللأعداء B K || 4 جاء K C: جاءنا B ||

He indicates (correctly) the standard Cairo (C) reading of the first hemistich is

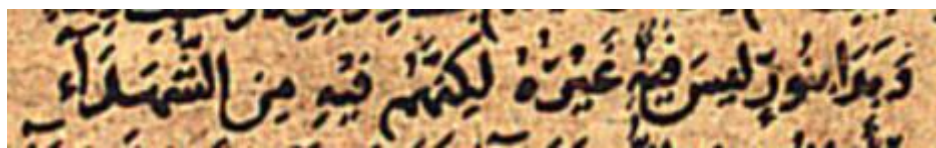
وبدا بنور ليس فيه غيره

But he indicates (wrongly – see below) that the BOTH first version B and second version K read as in his edition:

وبدا بنور لا يعالين غيره

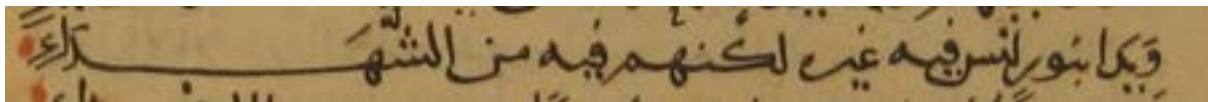
(in fact only K has that reading – and then only as a marginal correction).

[B] But here is 'B' f.4a:



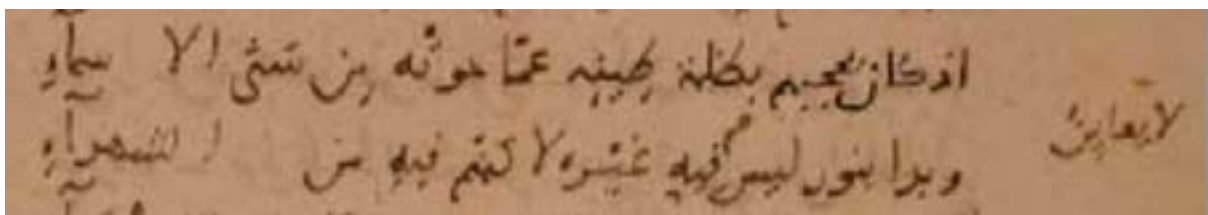
So in fact 'B' has the reading of the standard Cairo (C) and NOT the same reading as 'K' – OY was in error when he indicated 'B' agrees with 'K' and not with 'C' here! In fact this is yet another marker of the first version. But it is complicated by the fact that in this case standard Cairo maintains the first version text (see below).

[another first version ms] Manisa 1048 PDF 9R:



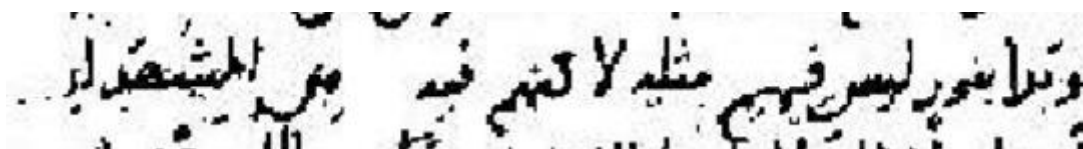
This again is the reading of the standard Cairo (C) – which, as we say, is first version.

[K] (second version holograph) Evkaf 1845+ v.1 f.9b:



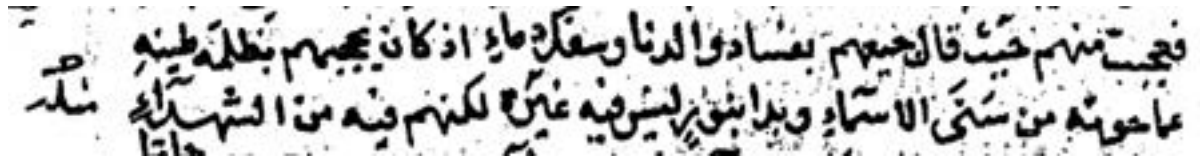
So the first version text was originally also in the main text of the second version – but IA changed this with a marginal correction to his holograph. As OY's footnote suggests, this is a rare example of standard Cairo diverging from the second version holograph 'K' (OY's mistake was in his claim about 'B' here). It seems the editors overlooked a marginal correction in the holograph 'K' – and as a result their text here remained first version. (There is another difference in the second hemistich).

[A] the equivalent from AFM (Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 - now Damascus al-Assad 14067) f.2b:



Strangely there is no sign of the second version modification here (one would expect to find it in the margins) – and what is more the word which follows is different again (مثله) not (غيره) ! Yet this ms is believed to be a “double version” holograph. Also strange is the fact that the second hemistich seems to have the second version reading (لاكنهم) in the main text and there no sign of the first version reading (without the alif). So it would appear that IA created an entirely new verse for the Great Diwan and he left it unchanged from then on (in the GD).

[P] Paris BN 2348 f.71a – a later copy of the Great Diwan apparently based on the holograph Great Diwan *before* Ibn ‘Arabī had added his marginal corrections for the second version. f.71a verses 11-13:



The plot thickens. Here in [P] the main text of v.13 reads:

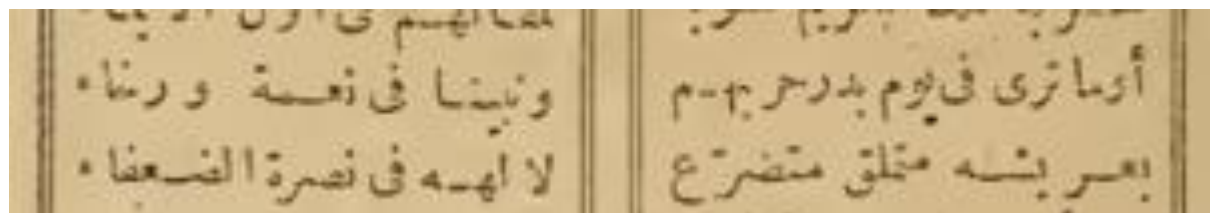
وبدا بنور ليس فيه غيره * ...

But a marginal correction indicates substituting (مثله) for (غيره) – which would bring the text in line with [A] the Great Diwan holograph. So somehow this Great Diwan ms initially followed the (first version) standard *Futūḥāt* (!) text and NOT the Great Diwan text of IA’s holograph [A]. But at some point it was corrected to match the Great Diwān text of [A]. One wonders what the original exemplar might have been. Was it a text which did NOT derive from the Great Diwan holograph? How could that be? Or could it be the scribe of [P] (Zayn Muqaybil of Bijapur) knew the standard FM text so well that he initially wrote the verse from memory and only later noticed the difference in the Great Diwan and corrected himself accordingly? To further complicate matters the second hemistich reads (لكنهم) and is NOT marginally corrected to match the (لاكنهم) of [A].

Case study (c): Verse 31 of the long poem in the Introduction to the FM

A ‘version marker’ by which to distinguish first and second versions: first hemistich without or with alifs, respectively.

[1] Edition of 1269H (v.1 p.7) – has the 1st version text (without alifs):



بعريشه متلق متضرع * ...

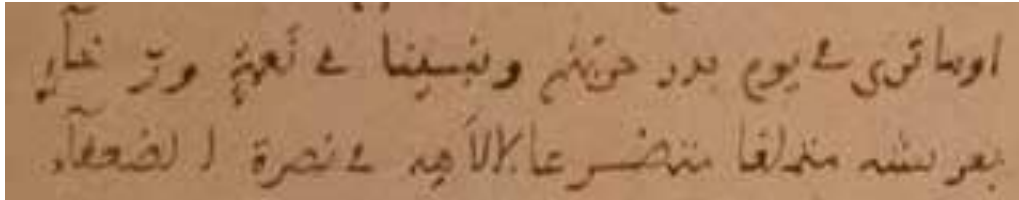
[2] Edition of 1293H (v.1 pt.1 p.8) – again has the 1st version text (without alifs):

|| بعريشه متلق متضرع || || لاله في نصره الضعفاء ||

[3] [= 'C' in Osman Yahia's edition] Standard Cairo (1329H) Fut I.6, the first hemistich of v.31 has the second version reading (with alifs):

بعریشه متملقا متضرعا * لالهه في نصره الضعفاء

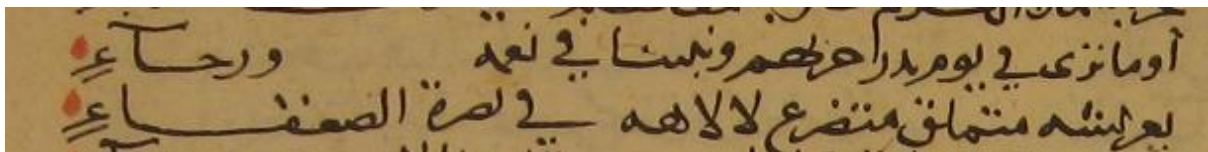
[K] second version FM holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845 v.1 f.10a uses alifs (and there are no marginal corrections indicated) :



[B] Beyazid 3743 f.4a (first version FM). The first version text lacks alifs:



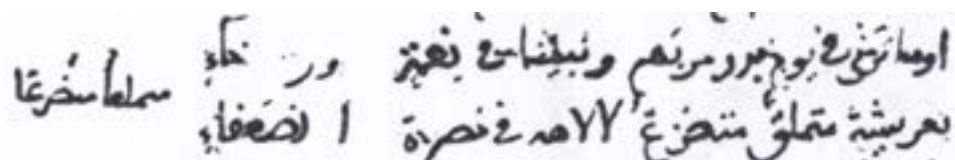
[Another first version manuscript] Manisa 1048 PDF p.9 (2nd and 3rd verses on left page):



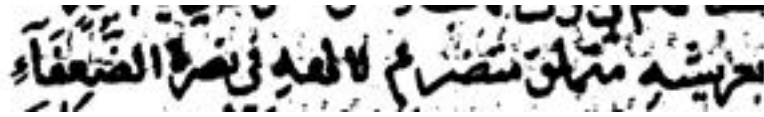
I.e. the first hemistich uses the first version (without alifs):

بعریشه متملق متضرع *

[A] (manuscript not referred to by OY) the “double version” text of vs. 30-1 in Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 (now Damascus al-Assad 14067) – a holograph volume of the Great Diwan containing poetry from the first half of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*. We believe that in general in this manuscript the main text is the first version and the marginal correction (with alifs) represents IA's second version modifications (i.e. the 2nd version of both FM and the Great Diwan):



[P] Paris BN 2348 f.71a – a later copy of the Great Diwan apparently based on the holograph Great Diwan *before* Ibn ‘Arabī had added his marginal corrections for the second version. For this follows the first version (FM) text, without the alifs:



Case study (d): the 2 ‘aqīda of the Introduction

[cf O.Y., introduction in French, v.1 p. 8, and also *Les Illuminations de La Mecque*, M.C., Introduction, p.45; translated in *The Meccan Revelations* (2004) vol. 2, p.21 – see also p.5]. These texts are believed to have been added by Ibn ‘Arabī only in the second version. However, the first and second editions reproduce them (even though ‘on the whole’ they reproduce the first version text. What is more, some ‘first’ version manuscripts do the same – perhaps we should refer to those as ‘mixed version’ manuscripts.

- Although on the evidence of ‘B’ (Beyazid 3743) these were not part of the first version text, we find they are included in many ‘minimally hybridized’ first version mss, such as Nurosmāniye 2502. So could it be that Beyazid does not fully represent the first version text here when it ‘omits’ them? Whatever the answer to that question, one should not deduce from the presence of the 2 ‘aqīda in some manuscript that that manuscript is generally close to the second version. Nurosmāniye 2502 is a counter-example – and we could name many others.
- It should also be mentioned that the text of the first ‘omitted’ ‘aqīda, Fut I.38-41, existed as a separate work long before 629H. It appears as an independent work RG 402 *R. al-Ma‘lūm min ‘aqā'id ‘ulamā' al-rusūm* in Veliyuddin 51 f.11a-114a – copied in 762H from the original composed in 602H. (See also RG 34 ‘*Aqīdat ahl al-islām*). MC (reference above, p.21) refers to this as the ‘aqīda (profession of faith) of the “theologians” and points out that this is a summary in rhymed prose of one of Ghazālī’s works (*al-Iqtisād fī al-i‘tiqād*)

[1] first edition reproduces them (v.1 p.41ff) although they do not figure in the first version of [B]

[2] second edition similarly reproduces them (v.1.p.47ff)

[3] [OY’s ‘C’] standard Būlāq edition of 1329H, Fut I.38-47. Here is the text leading up to the two ‘aqīda prior to the first chapter (Fut I.38) – only the text in black is found in first version [B] f.21b (which has instead of the two ‘aqīda a single line of text prior to the bismillah of the first chapter):

أنه المنعم المحسان ف ألحمُ لله الَّذي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَ مَا كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ لَوْ لَا أَنْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ لَقَدْ جَاءَتْ رُسُلُ رَبِّنَا بِالْحَقِّ «فهذه عقيدة العوام من أهل الإسلام أهل التقليد و أهل النظر ملخصة مختصرة» ثم أتلوها إن شاء الله بعقيدة الناشئة الشاذية ضمنيتها اختصار الاقتصاد بأوجز عبارة نبهت فيها على مأخذ الأدلة لهذه الملة مسجعة الألفاظ و سميتها برسالة المعلوم من عقائد أهل الرسوم ليسهل على الطالب حفظها ثم أتلوها بعقيدة خواص أهل الله من أهل طريق الله من المحققين أهل الكشف و الوجود و جردتها أيضا في جزء آخر سميتها المعرفة و به انتهت مقدمة الكتاب و أما التصريح بعقيدة الخلاصة فما أفردتها على التعيين لما فيها من الغموض لكن جئت بها مبددة في أبواب هذا الكتاب مستوفاة مبينة لكنها كما ذكرنا متفرقة فمن رزقه الله الفهم فيها يعرف أمرها و يميزها من غيرها فإنه العلم الحق و القول الصدق و ليس وراءها مرمى و يستوي فيها البصير و الأعمى تلحق الأبعاد بالأداني و تلحم الأسافل بالأعالي و الله الموفق لا رب غيره

«وصل الناشيء و الشاذي في العقائد»

قال الشاذي اجتمع أربعة نفر من العلماء...

And here is the end of this text, just prior to the start of the first chapter (Fut I.47)

... فمن شاء كتبها فيه و من شاء تركها و الله يقول الحق و هو يهدي السبيل انتهى الجزء الثالث و الحمد لله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

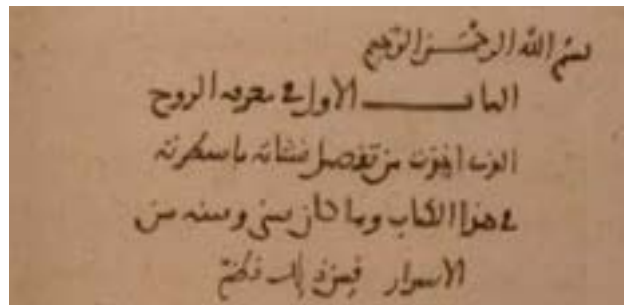
(الباب الأول) في معرفة الروح

الذي أخذت من تفصيل نشأته ما سطرته

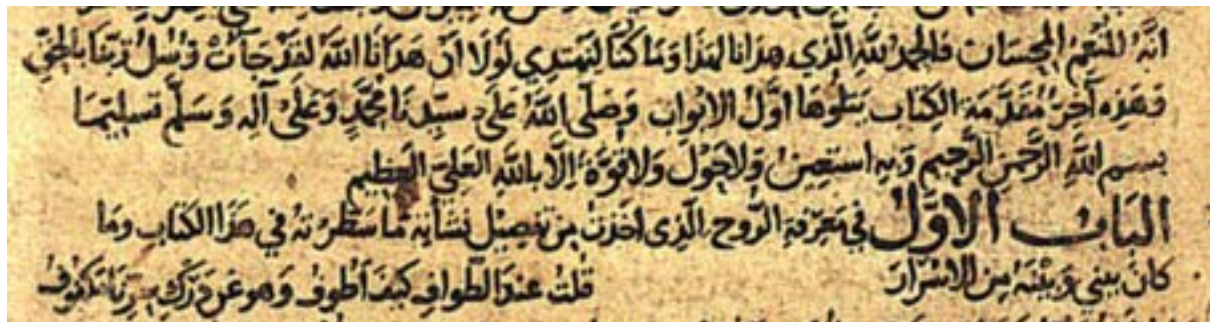
في هذا الكتاب و ما كان بيني و بينه من

الأسرار فمن ذلك نظم ...

[K] v.1 f.64a-83a. Here is the start of FM ch.1 f.84ab (which follows after the 'aqida):



[B] Beyazid 3743 f.21b (prior to start of FM ch.1)



Instead of the long section of text in standard Cairo Fut I.38-47 (marked in red above) this first version manuscript has a single line of text:

وهذا اخر مقدمة الكتاب ... وسلم تسليمًا

And there is also an 'extra' half line of text in the following line (directly after the bismillah) which is omitted in the 2nd version.

[Another 1st version ms? Or a 'mixed' version?] Manisa 1048 rather surprisingly contains the two 'aqida in PDF p.33L – p.41L – so it would appear Manisa 1048 might in fact be a 'mixed version' manuscript. But the existence of such 'mixed version' manuscripts – Amasya 660 is another – might also explain the hybrid nature of the first two editions of FM . It could be that such a hybrid manuscript was the source for those editions of the FM, both of which contain the two 'aqida even though 'on the whole' they follow the first version text of [B].

Here is PDF p.33L (start of the 'aqida):



That is the text we recognize from standard Fut I.38 (with red marking the extra text of the second version – i.e. missing from [B]):

... ف الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي

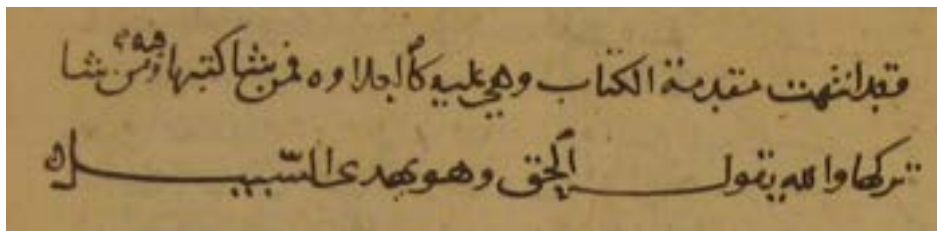
هَذَا لَهُدَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ لَوْ لَا أَنْ هَذَا

اللَّهُ لَقَدْ جَاءَتْ رُسُلُ رَبِّنَا بِالْحَقِّ «فهذه عقيدة العوام من أهل

الإسلام أهل التقليد وأهل النظر ملخصة مختصرة» ثم أتلوها إن شاء الله

بعقيدة الناشئة الشاذية ضمنيتها اختصار الاقتصاد بأوجز عبارة

Here is PDF p.41L (end of the 'aqida):



i.e. text which we recognize as the end of the 'aqida text from the second version (standard Cairo Fut I.47) - text which is entirely absent from first version [B]:

و قد انتهت مقدمة الكتاب و هي عليه كالعلاوة فمن شاء كتبها فيه و من شاء

تركها والله يقول الْحَقُّ وَ هُوَ يَهْدِي السَّبِيلَ

Case study (e): wujūd / ilāh in 19-verse poem in FM chapter 6 – evidence of a pre-first version variant in [B]?

In this poem ms 'B' (Beyazid 3743) has a number of instances of ilāh where the second version reading is wujūd. But [B] also has the wujūd readings marked as marginal corrections. Since another first version manuscript (Manisa 1048) has only the wujūd readings, it appears [B] was transmitting 'PRE-first version' forms. Perhaps these ilāh forms were present - with the author's corrections to wujūd marked in the margins? - in the original first version autograph/holograph from which [B] was copied.

[1] v.1 p.132 – wujūd reading (of second version)

[2] v.1 p.152– wujūd reading (of second version)

[3] [= 'C' in Osman Yahia's edition] Standard Cairo (1329H) Fut I.118

[4] [Osman Yahia's edition] v.2 p.221 (also see also p.36 for further discussion by OY) Line 11 is the first verse of the poem and it has the al-wujūd form in the second word:

(٣١٦) رُوحُ الْوُجُودِ الْكَبِيرُ هَذَا الْوُجُودُ الصَّغِيرُ
لَوْلَا مَا قَالَ : إِنِّي أَنَا الْكَبِيرُ الْقَدِيرُ [F. 71^a]

With footnote:

9 القفل G K : المقفل B || 10 شيع G K : B - || 11 روح الوجود G K : روح الاله B (وعل الهامش بقلم الأصل : الوجود - وفوق اللفظة بقلم الأصل أيضا : ما - وهذا يعنى أن كلتا الروايتين أصليتان) || هذا الوجود G K : هذا الاله B (وعل الهامش بقلم الأصل : الوجود - وفوق اللفظة بقلم الأصل أيضا : ما - وهذا يعنى أن كلتا الروايتين أصليتان) الصغير . + يطلق لفظ الاله ويراد به المحتجب والرفيع والعبادة وقرىء : ويلذك والاحتك أى عبادتك B (عل الهامش بقلم الأصل) || 15 ظهور . + قوله فللقديم يحتمل أن يريد أنه وصفه الحق بما وصف به نفسه : سيا عليا مریدا - قوله : والجديد - يحتمل أن يريد به ما فى الخلق من العجز والفقر والدلة إلى انه B (عل الهامش بقلم الأصل)

[K] second version FM holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845 v.2 f.70a-b shows that wujūd was the 2nd version form:

روح الوجود الكبير هذا الوجود الصغير
لولا ما قال انى انا الكبير ا لقدم

لا يهينك حدوث ولا الفناء والنشور
 فانت ان لم يمتني الجميع الكبير
 فلفظك بذات واللحم بد كظهور
 والله قد قد قد لا يعسر قصور
 والطول خلق جود في قبضتيه اسير
 فما من هذا ان انا الوجود الحقير
 وان كل وجودي على وجودي بدور
 فلا طليقي اهل ولا كنوز نور
 فمن يفل فني عبد انا الغني الفقير
 او قال ان وجود انا الوجود الحبير
 فصني تلخا تجرب او سوفة ما تجوز
 مما بهولا بقرب انت العلم البصير
 بلغ وجودي عنى والقول صدق وزور
 وقل لغزله ان انا الراجح الغفور
 وقل بان عنايه هو الغراب البير
 وقل ما ب ضحك لا استكبح البير
 وحضت ينعم تنفس على يد او تجوز

[B] Beyazid 3743 f.69a – note the ilāh form is used but the wujūd form is added as a marginal correction



Notice the notes alongside the corrections here.

So where standard second version is

روح الوجود الكبير * هذا الوجود الصغير

in this ms (main body) the reading is

روح الالاه الكبير * هذا الالاه الصغير

But in the margins one finds the 'second version' form as corrections. Similarly in verses 8 and 12.

Here is vs. 8 in standard second version:

فجاء من هذا أني * أنا الوجود الحقيق

But in [B] it reads in main text (with the al-wujūd reading given as a correction in margin):

فجاء من هذا أني * أنا الالاه الحقيق

Vs 12 has two such switches.

In the poor reproductions we have we see no sign of any marginal corrections – and the main text is the wujūd form. This suggest the pre-correct [B] forms might NOT always be first version texts as OY assumed – but are instead some peculiarity of the [B] ms. Perhaps the main text of [B] is some early

form of the first version which IA himself had corrected in the holograph first version before he extracted the poem and placed it in his Great Diwan. But one wonders why the [B] copiest placed the uncorrected text in the main body and corrected it in the margins (with notes).

ويعلم ان صاحب
 ربح ان وجود الكبير هذا بالوجود
 لا ما قال اننا الكبير
 لا يتجنى حوش ولا اقنا وا
 فاشي ان تا ما من الجيد
 للقدم بواك وللمديد
 والله فوه قدح لا ربه
 والتون على جود ما فضليه
 فها من عوا ان انا الوجود
 وان حل ربه على وجوده بدور

ما كليل ليل ولا نور
 من بقل في عثر ان العبد العسر
 او مال اني ربه انا الوجود
 فحني رتا عثر او عبوه ما تجور
 فها جولا بقرت انت العليم البصير
 بلغ وجودي عني والعل صدق وزور
 وفل لغيمه ان انا الودع الغفور
 وفل مان عذاب هو العذاب البشير
 وفل مان صمعه لا استمع البشير
 فكنف نعم نفص على نور او تبور

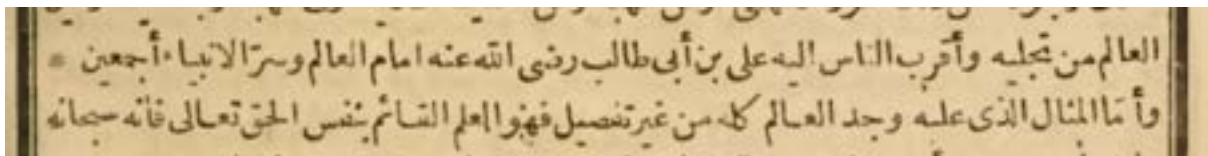
[P] Paris BN 2348 f.71a – a later copy of the Great Diwan apparently based on the holograph Great Diwan *before* Ibn ‘Arabī had added his marginal corrections for the second version. F.75a – text looks like the [A] text with no marginal corrections. No sign of anything like the pre-corrected [B] text.



Case study (f): Formula for ‘Alī in FM chapter 6

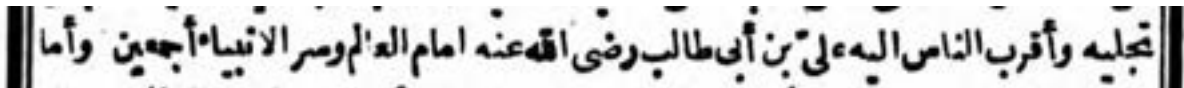
In the second version Ibn ‘Arabī used a shorter formula when referring to ‘Alī.

[1] Edition of 1269H (v.1 p.132) – has the 1st version text, *imāmu l-‘alām wa-sirru l-anbiyā’ ajma’in*:



... علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه امام العالم وسر الأنبياء أجمعين

[2] Edition of 1293H (v.1 pt. 1 p. 154) – has the 1st version text:



... علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه امام العالم وسر الأنبياء أجمعين

[3] [= ‘C’ in Osman Yahia’s edition] Standard Cairo (1329H) Fut I.119 – follows the 2nd version:

وفي الهباء وجد عينه وعين العالم من تجليه وأقرب الناس إليه

علي بن أبي طالب وأسرار الأنبياء أجمعين

وأما المثال الذي ...

[4] Here is Osman Yahia’s v.2 p.227 I.6 plus footnote:

الكلية . وفي الهباء وجد عينه ، وعين العالم من تجليه ؛ وأقرب الناس إليه
علي بن أبي طالب ، وأسرار الأنبياء .

...

3 المماء بالمقل K K : B 4 الإلهي : الإلهي K : الإلهي B C || 6 علي بن أبي طالب . . + رضى الله عنه إمام العالم وسر الأنبياء أجمعين B (يلاحظ هنا الفارق الهام بين رواية النسخة الأولى للفتوحات (نسخة B) ذات النزعة الشيعية الواضحة ، ورواية النسخة الثانية -K-) || وأسرار الأنبياء (K) : K K : B 8 القائم C : القائم B K || 9 الشكل المعين . .

I.e. in the main text OY gives a truncated version of the 2nd version:

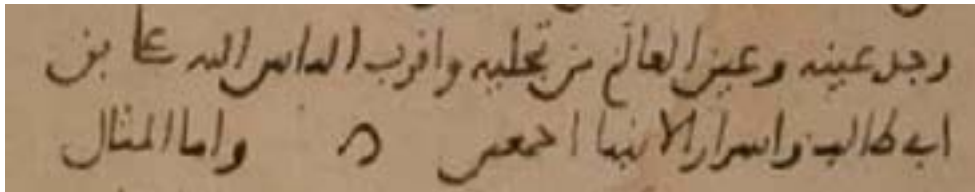
علي بن أبي طالب وأسرار الأنبياء [أجمعين]

And in this footnote OY indicates the 'B' text (Beyazid; 1st version):

... علي بن أبي طالب رضى الله عنه إمام العالم وسر الأنبياء أجمعين

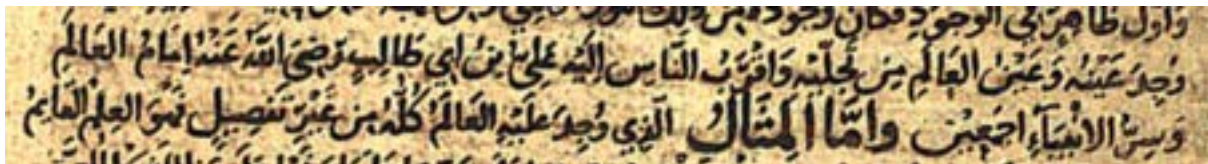
OY does not remark on the fact that 'C' (standard Cairo) also contains the (non-truncated) 2nd version text. And neither does he explain why he drops the final word of the 2nd version (أجمعين) – a word which we find DOES occur in his 'K' (2nd version holograph – see below).

[K] Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (2nd version holograph – OY's 'K') v.2 f.72b:



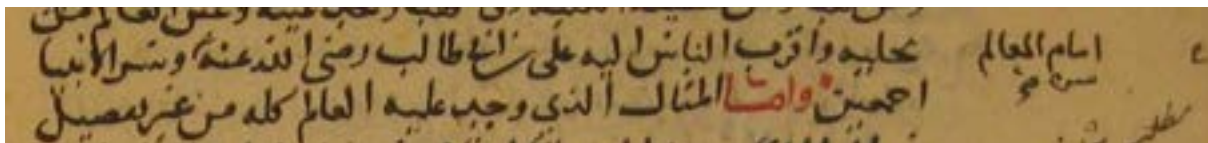
علي بن أبي طالب وأسرار الأنبياء أجمعين

[B] Beyazid 3743 f.70a (first version; OY's 'B')



... علي بن أبي طالب رضى الله عنه إمام العالم وسر الأنبياء أجمعين

[Another 1st version ms] Manisa 1048 PDF 112R is also first version (with a 2 word correction in the margin) :

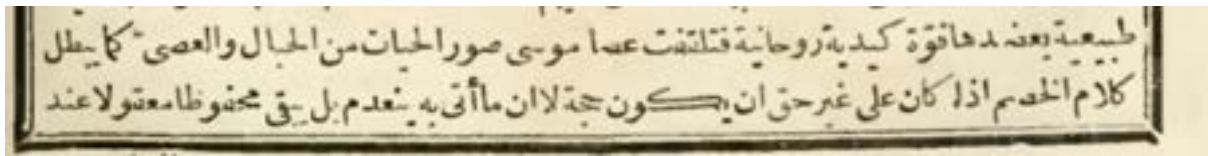


... علي بن أبي طالب رضى الله عنه إمام العالم وسر الأنبياء أجمعين

Case study (g): Osman Yahia's version marker from FM ch. 16

In his edition (v.2 pp.392-3) Osman Yahia OY indicates the first version ms 'B' includes extra text after *ṣūr al-ḥayāt* - صور الحيات – see below for OY's footnote.

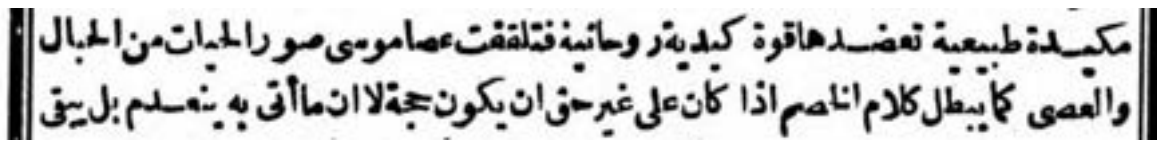
[1] edition of 1269H. v. 1, p.176. Follows the 2nd version text:



Cf similar in standard Cairo (FM I.158):

طبيعية بعضدها قوة كيدية روحانية فتلقفت عصا موسى **صور الحيات** من الحبال و العصي كما يبطل كلام الخصم إذا كان على غير حق أن يكون حجة لا إن ما أتى به ينعدم بل يبقى محفوظا معقولا

[2] edition of 1923H. v.1 pt. 1 p.206



Cf similar in standard Cairo (FM I.158):

مكيدة طبيعية بعضدها قوة كيدية روحانية فتلقفت عصا موسى **صور الحيات** من الحبال و العصي كما يبطل كلام الخصم إذا كان على غير حق أن يكون حجة لا إن ما أتى به ينعدم بل يبقى

[3] [=OY's 'C'] standard edition Fut I.158 (ch.16 occupies Fut I.157-161). Here the text in question (*ṣūr al-ḥayāt* - صور الحيات) is as follows:

عصا موسى **صور الحيات** من الحبال و العصي كما يبطل كلام الخصم إذا كان على غير حق أن يكون حجة لا إن ما أتى به ينعدم بل يبقى محفوظا معقولا

Then on Fut I.159 (we mark in red the text found in 'B' – which has a different half-line of text after *ṣūr al-ḥayāt* but is also missing must of the standard text here, i.e. the text we leave in black; OY does not provide this level of detail of the difference found in 'B'):

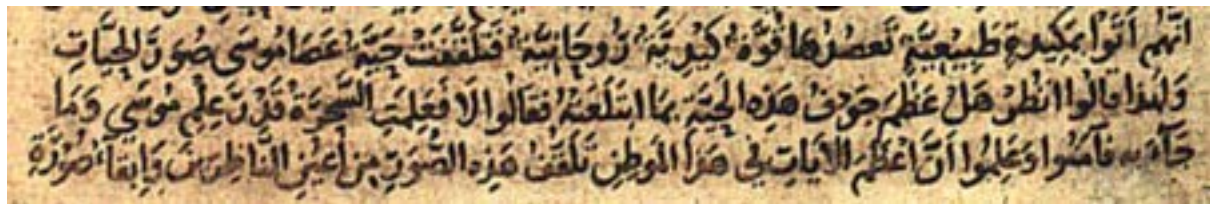
عند السامعين و يزول عندهم كونه حجة فلما **علمت السحرة قدر ما جاء به** موسى من قوة الحجة و أنه خارج عما جاءوا به و تحققت شغوف ما جاء به على ما جاءوا به و رأوا خوفه علموا أن ذلك من عند الله و لو كان من عنده لم يخف لأنه يعلم ما يجري فأيتته عند السحرة خوفه و آيتته عند الناس تلقف عصاه فأمنت السحرة قيل كانوا ثمانين ألف ساحر و **علموا إن أعظم الآيات في هذا الموطن تلقف هذه الصور من أعين الناظرين و إبقاء صورة**

[4] OY edition v.2 p.392-3 (the footnote to line 15 of p.392 in fact refers to line 1 of p.393) – note that 'B' refers to Beyazid 3743 (first version):

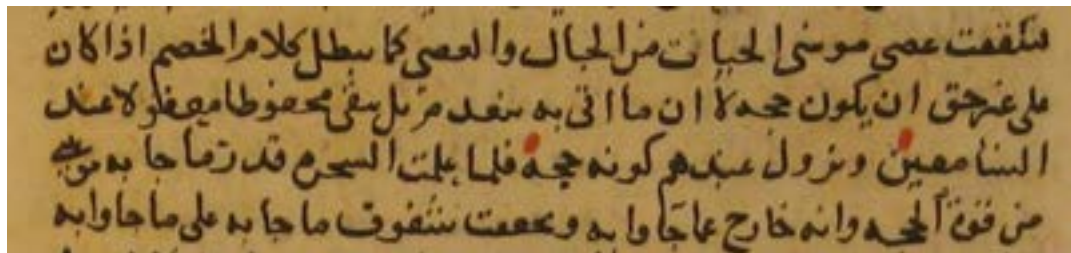
بمكيدة B || 14 يعضدها C K : تمعضدها B || 15 فتلقفت . . + حية B || صور الحيات . .
+ ولهذا قالوا انظر هل عظم جوف هذه الحية بما ابتلته فقالوا لا B

عصا موسى صور الحيات من الحبال والعصى ، كما يبطل كلام
الخصم ، إذا كان على غير حق ، أن يكون حجة ، لا أن ما أتى به ينعدم ،
بل يبقى محفوظاً معقولاً عند السامعين ، ويزول عنهم كونه حجة ... فلما 3

[B] Beyazid 3743 (first version) end of f.96a:



[Another first version ms (?)] Manisa 1048 - the text from f.152R:



This is clearly a minor variant of the standard (2nd version) text:

فتلقفت عصا موسى **صور الحيات** من الحبال و العصي كما يبطل كلام الخصم إذا كان
على غير حق أن يكون حجة لا إن ما أتى به ينعدم بل يبقى محفوظاً معقولاً ...

Elsewhere we have argued that Manisa 1048 is a 1st version text. But in this case it seems closer to the 2nd version of the FM. Perhaps 'mixed' version texts came into existence as scribes confused IA's two texts, and perhaps Manisa 1048 is an example of this.

The 'extra' text OY refers to in his footnote is the first half of the pre-final line. But we note that the continuation is also quite different.

Case study (h): Vision of 633H at end of FM chapter 121

A text referring to a vision in 633H could not appear in a true first version manuscript – since the latter was completed in 629H.

[1] In the 1269-1274H first edition the vision of 633H is reported on vol. 2 p. 227.

[2] In the 1293H edition the vision of 633H is reported on vol. 2 p.269-70.

[3] In the standard Bulaq edition of 1329H the vision of 633H is reported on Fut II.204.

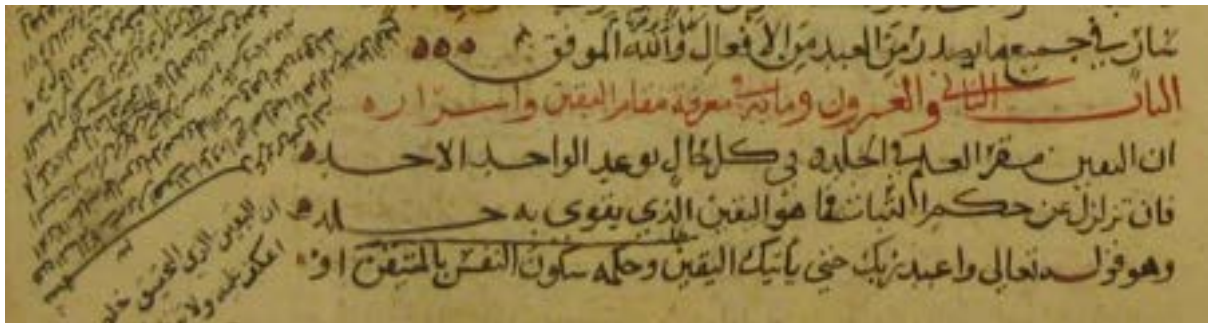
... من العبد من الأفعال مشهد عزيز **من عين المنة**

[الكسب الذي يقول به قوم و الخلق الذي يقول به قوم]

هذه المسألة كانت عندي من أصعب المسائل و ما فتح لي فيها بما هو الأمر عليه على القطع الذي لا أشك علما سوى ليلة تقييدي لهذا الباب في هذه المجلدة و هي ليلة السبت السادس من رجب الفرد سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين و ستمائة فإنه لم يكن تتخلص لي إضافة خلق الأعمال لأحد الجانبين و يعسر عندي الفصل بين الكسب الذي يقول به قوم و بين الخلق الذي يقول به قوم فأوقفني الحق بكشف بصري على خلقه المخلوق الأول الذي لم يتقدمه مخلوق إذ لم يكن إلا الله و قال لي هل هنا أمر يورث التلبس و الحيرة قلت لا قال لي هكذا جميع ما تراه من المحدثات ما لأحد فيه أثر و لا شيء من الخلق فإنما الذي أخلق الأشياء عند الأسباب لا بالأسباب فتكون عن أمري خلقت النفخ في عيسى و خلقت التكوين في الطائر قلت له فنفسك إذا خاطبت في قولك افعل و لا تفعل قال لي إذا طالعناك بأمر فالزم الأدب فإن الحضرة لا تحتل المحافقة قلت به و هذا عين ما كنا فيه و من يحاقد و من يتأدب و أنت خالق الأدب و المحافقة فإن خلقت المحافقة فلا بد من حكمها و إن خلقت الأدب فلا بد من حكمه قال هو ذلك فاستمع إذا قرئ القرآن و أنصت : قلت ذلك لك أخلق السمع حتى أسمع و أخلق الإنصات حتى أنصت و ما يخاطبك الآن سوى ما خلقت فقال لي ما أخلق إلا ما علمت و ما علمت إلا ما هو المعلوم عليه **رَّحُّ الْحُجَّةِ أَلْيَالِغَةً** و قد أعلمتك هذا فيما سلف فالزمه مشاهدة فليس سواء ترح خاطرك و لا تأمن حتى ينقطع التكليف و لا ينقطع حتى تجوز على الصراط فحينئذ تكون العبادة من الناس ذاتية ليست عن أمر و لا نهى يقتضيه وجوب أو ندب أو حظر أو كراهة **وَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَقُولُ الْحَقَّ وَ هُوَ يَهْدِي السَّبِيلَ**

[K] In the second version holograph the vision of 633H is reported on Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 14 f.33a-b.

[Another manuscript – 1st version] In Manisa 1051 PDF p.60 (the folios do not appear to be numbered) the chapter title for FM ch.122 and its opening poem follow immediately after the text which occurs just prior to the vision of 633H in the second version (... العبد من الافعال). In other words Manisa 1051 lacks entirely the block of text in which IA relates his vision of 633H. The most likely explanation is that this manuscript presents the first version text of 629H.



(In fact, the second version text of the vision of 633H is provided in the margins of Manisa 1051 – inverted and in a different hand. In that sense the manuscript could be termed a “double version” text).

Case study (i): 1-liner in FM chapter 230

Standard Cairo Fut II.528 (FM ch. 230) and Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 18 f.63b have the 2nd version form:

إذا ما بدا الكون الغريب لناظري * حننت إلى الاوطان حن الركائب

By contrast, Great Diwan mss PBN f.96b and AFM f.90a we believe must be the first version reading (since the poem appears in the main FM block of poems which we believe was based upon the first version of FM):

ولما بدا الكون الغريب لناظري * حننت إلى الاوطان حن الركائب

In what Cook and Hirtenstein call the “Eastern Diwan” – Istanbul University A1438 f.27b – we find the second version form (إذا ما بدا). That is interesting because the “Eastern Diwan” seems to be an alphabetical selective reorganization of the poems in the Great Diwan. Since the holograph (AFM) had the first version form and no marginal correction to indicate a change corresponding to the

second version FM, we must assume the Eastern Diwan was constructed on the basis of some later ‘corrected’ Diwan – or that it was itself corrected to match the second version FM (or some other work containing that form).

Interestingly, we also find this poem in various forms in numerous other works – sometimes with the 1st and sometimes with the 2nd version form:

- RG 2 K. al-‘Abādila (uses defective - اذا بدا - in at least one edition; عبد الله بن شبيب بن عبد العظيم). In the work RG 2 in Ayasofia 4817 f.25b we find the non-defective form (اذا ما بدا)
- RG 116 K. al-Dhakhā’ir wa al-a’lāq (uses - اذا ما بدا - in at least one edition; commentary to Tarjumān poem 23 v.5)
- RG 247 K. al-Hujub (uses - اذا ما بدا - in at least one edition; حجاب الكون)
- RG 738 K. al-Tajalliyāt al-ilāhīyah (uses - ولما بدا - in at least one edition; #14 تجلى الرحموت)

We also find the poem twice in a manuscript of (one form of) RG 433 K. *al-Masā’il*, namely Esad Ef 1477 f.109b (ولما بدا) and again on f.134a (ولما بدا). In an edition of 296 total masā’il - K. *al-Ma’rifah*, Muḥammad Amīn Abū Jawhar; Damascus, 2003 - the equivalent masā’il are #95 (p.88) and #170 (p.130).

Case study (j): Current date in FM chapter 351 (faṣl al-‘ubūdiyya)

Ibn ‘Arabī states the ‘current date’ – in the first version it is now 628H and in the equivalent place in the second version he states it is now 635H. We refer to IA’s entry into *‘arḍ al-ḥaqīqa* as reported in CA’s *Quest* p. 118 (in the original French *Quête* the equivalent text is p.148):

In chapter 351 Ibn ‘Arabī reveals a completely different aspect of this spiritual Earth: it is the Earth of those who have realised total servitude (*‘ubūdiyya*) with regard to God. ‘Servitude is complete and pure submission, in conformity with the very essence of the servant’s nature (*dhātīyya li l-‘abd*) . . . It is only realised by those who inhabit God’s Vast Earth, which contains both the contingent (*ḥudūth*) and the eternal (*qīdam*). This is the Earth of God; whoever dwells there has realised true servitude with regard to God, and God joins that person to Himself, because He has said, “You My servants who believe, My Earth is vast, therefore worship Me” (Qur’ān 29:57), alluding in these words to the Earth of which I am speaking. *I myself have been worshipping God in this place ever since the year 590, and we are now in the year 635.* This Earth is imperishable and immutable; that is why God has made it the abode of His servants and the place of His worship . . . It is a spiritual Earth, intelligible and not of the senses (*hiya arḍ ma’ nawīyya, ma’ qūla ghayr mahsūsa*) . . .’³⁹

36. The idea of another earth already occurs in traditions concerning the mountain Qāf and the cities of Jabalqa and Jabarsa. Cf. Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, trans. H. Zotenberg, *De la création à David*, Paris 1984, pp.42–3. The idea is also found in Mazdean tradition: cf. Henry Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth* (trans. N. Pearson, Princeton 1977), pp.3–105.

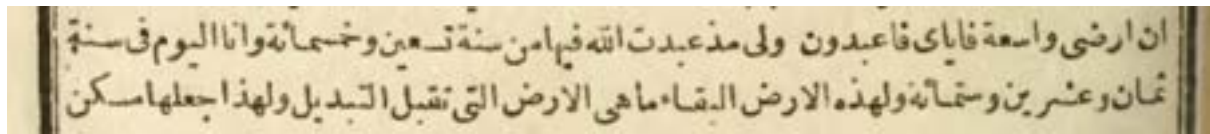
37. See previous note.

38. *Fut.*, I, p.130.

39. *Fut.*, III, p.224.

CA is quoting the second version text when she quotes “we are now in the year 635”. The first version text here reads “we are now in the year 628”.

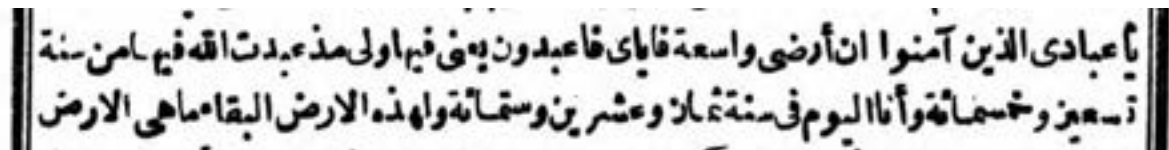
[1] Edition of 1269H v.3 p.251



i.e. "... since the year 590 and we are now in the year 628H (NOT 635H)" – which is surely the 1st version reading:

إِنَّ أَرْضِي وَاسِعَةٌ فَأَيُّايَ فاعْبُدُونِ يعني فيها ولي مذ عبت الله فيها من سنة تسعين و خمسمائة و أنا اليوم في سنة
ثمان وعشرين و ستمائة و لهذه الأرض البقاء ما هي الأرض التي تقبل التبديل و لهذا جعلها مسكن

[2] Edition of 1293H v.3 pt.2 p.297



i.e. again the 1st version reading (628H and not 635H):

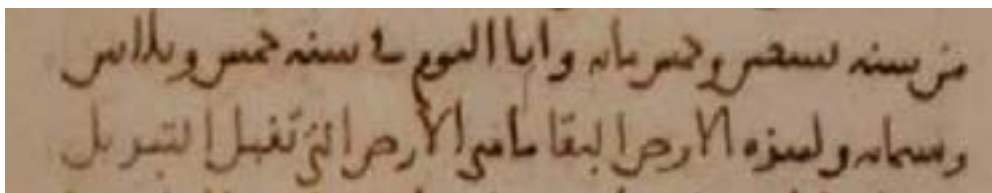
يا عبادي (الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا) إِنَّ أَرْضِي وَاسِعَةٌ فَأَيُّايَ فاعْبُدُونِ يعني فيها ولي مذ عبت الله فيها من سنة
تسعين و خمسمائة و أنا اليوم في سنة ثمان وعشرين و ستمائة و لهذه الأرض البقاء ما هي الأرض

[3] [= 'C' in Osman Yahia's edition] Standard Cairo (1329H) Fut III.224 – contains this 2nd version text
"... since the year 590 and we are now in the year 635H (NOT 628H)":

«وصل» العبودية ذلة محضة خالصة ذاتية للعبد

لا يكلف العبد القيام فيها فإنها عين ذاته فإذا قام بحقها كان قيامه عبادة و لا يقوم بها إلا من يسكن الأرض الإلهية الواسعة التي تسع
الحدوث و القدم فتلك أرض الله من سكن فيها تحقق بعبادة الله و أضافه الحق إليه قال تعالى يا عبادي (الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا) إِنَّ أَرْضِي وَاسِعَةٌ
فَأَيُّايَ فاعْبُدُونِ يعني فيها ولي مذ عبت الله فيها من سنة تسعين و خمسمائة و أنا اليوم في سنة خمس و ثلاثين و ستمائة و لهذه
الأرض البقاء ما هي الأرض التي تقبل التبديل و لهذا جعلها مسكن عباده و محل عبادته و العبد لا يزال عبدا أبدا فلا يزال في هذه
الأرض أبدا و هي أرض معنوية معقولة غير محسوسة

[K] 2nd version holograph (OY's 'K') Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.23 f.125b:

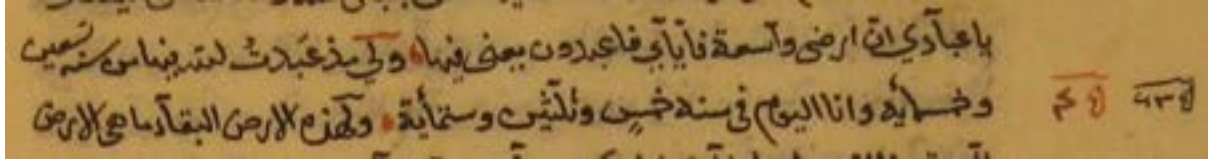


i.e. ... 635H...

من سنة تسعين و خمسمائة و أنا اليوم في سنة خمس و ثلاثين
و ستمائة و لهذه الأرض البقاء ما هي الأرض التي تقبل التبديل

[B] Beyazid 3745 – there is currently no copy in the Archive.

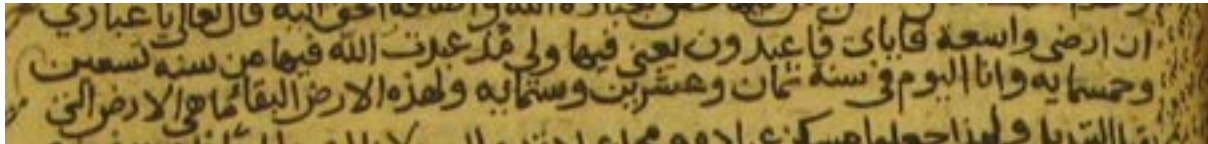
[Another ms – hybrid version?] Amasya 660 f.7b (Warning: this ms is marked in MIAS Archive as 1st version but in fact here it contains the 2nd version, post 629H text: 635H; on the other hand, the colophon on f.881b refers to completion in 629H, so this ms would appear to be a ‘mixed version’. See our footnote regarding the 3 chunks of Amasya 660) :



i.e. 635H (repeated in margin)

يَا عِبَادِي (الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا) إِنَّ أَرْضِي وَاسِعَةٌ فَإِيَّايَ فَاعْبُدُونِ يَعْنِي فِيهَا وَلِي مَذْ عِبَدْتُ اللَّهَ فِيهَا مِنْ سَنَةِ **تِسْعِينَ**
و **خَمْسَمِائَةٍ** وَأَنَا الْيَوْمَ فِي سَنَةِ **خَمْسٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَ سِتْمِائَةٍ** وَلِهَذَا الْأَرْضُ الْبَقَاءُ مَا هِيَ الْأَرْضُ

[Another ms – 1st version] Manisa 1050 PDF 161L (l.8-9) contains the true 1st version text (as found in the two early editions):



i.e. 628H and not 635H:

إِنَّ أَرْضِي وَاسِعَةٌ فَإِيَّايَ فَاعْبُدُونِ يَعْنِي فِيهَا وَلِي مَذْ عِبَدْتُ اللَّهَ فِيهَا مِنْ سَنَةِ **تِسْعِينَ**
و **خَمْسَمِائَةٍ** وَأَنَا الْيَوْمَ فِي سَنَةِ **ثَمَانٍ وَعِثْرِينَ وَ سِتْمِائَةٍ** وَلِهَذَا الْأَرْضُ الْبَقَاءُ مَا هِيَ الْأَرْضُ

This both confirms the 1st version reading and confirms that Manisa 1050 is a first (or at least mixed) version text.

Addendum - sets of poems only added in the 2nd version FM?

The great bulk of IA's poetry from the FM appears in the Great Dīwān as volumes 2 and 3 of a probable total of 10 (according to our reconstructions). These poems from the FM fill Paris BN 2348 f.70b-139b. (The first half of these are also found in the extant holograph for volume 2: Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774, now Damascus al-Assad 14067).

However, much later in Paris BN 2348, on f.200a-201b, we find another set of 18 poems from FM. In the prose headings to some of those IA refers to *al-nuskhat al-thaniyya* which we take to mean 2nd version. We hypothesize that:

- These 18 poems did not appear in the 1st version FM
- IA initially extracted his FM poetry for the Great Dīwān on the basis of the 1st version text (at a time when the 2nd version was at best a work in progress); with a few notable exceptions these poems he placed in one vast block of the GD (vols 2 and 3 of 10) as reproduced in Paris BN 2348 f.70b-139b

- At some later date, perhaps when the 2nd version FM text was complete, IA extracted the 18 ‘new’ poems and placed them near the end of volume 8 of the Great Dīwān (holograph now lost) – those are the 18 FM poems we find among the poetry in Paris BN 2348 f.200a-201b
- [At the same time IA probably made minor changes to the pre-existing poetry from the first version– we find some evidence of this in marginal corrections to Damascus al-Assad 14067]

Most evidence we have gathered so far supports this hypothesis. So far, with the exception of a pair of 1-liners, all of the poems we have been able to search for are indeed absent from manuscripts of the 1st version FM. However, there are also some indications in OY’s edition that some of the other poems might occur in his ‘B’ (1st version FM). So we modify our hypothesis and hypothesize further that:

- IA had overlooked a few poems when he first extracted poetry from the 1st version FM to form volumes 2 and 3 of his Great Dīwān; but later he corrected his omissions by inserting those poems among the poems which truly were ‘new’ in the second version text.
- Of the 18 FM poems in f.200a-201b at least 12, probably 17, were ‘new’ in the 2nd version text – the others were ‘previously omitted’ from the Great Dīwān (f.70b-139b)

For details see the Notes column in the following table.

Here is a list of the 18 ‘new’ or ‘previously omitted’ FM poems we find among the poetry in Paris BN 2348 f.200a-201b. Note that all but 4 of the 18 appear in chapter 68-72. We find that most of these are also absent from **Nurosmāniye 2502** which we believe to be an almost complete ms of the first version text ¹⁵.

Paris BN 2348	Verses	First verse (with unusual PBN headings in gold – only shown when not the standard وقال أيضا)	Notes
f.200a	1	وقال أيضا من المفاريد في النسخة الثانية اخبروني اخبروني انني * حرت في الله فما صنعه	FM ch.69. Fut I.397. WFUT_069901. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.6 f.26b. OY v.6 p. 108 (f.27a). <i>OY indicates that in fact this 1-liner does occur in the 1st version text of Beyazid 3743. Beyazid 3743 ch.69-72 is ‘facsimile’ in later hand - could it have been corrupted with part of 2nd version? (IA explicitly says here the poem is from the “second copy”, i.e. second version of FM) However, it is missing from Nurosmāniye 2502 f.153b (5 lines from end) so I suspect it did NOT appear in the first version and as IA’s heading for the poem suggests, it was only added in the second version.</i>

¹⁵ Nurosmāniye 2502 can be downloaded from <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2502.pdf>. It does not include ch. 560. The colophon at the end of ch. 559 (f.908a; cf. Fut IV.444) indicates it was copied and compared to a good copy in Zabīd, 23rd Ramaḍān 992H. Further indications that it contains the first version text: (i) it is missing the vision of 633H on f.338a (end of); (ii) v.31 of 117-verse poem on f.3b l.8 is the form without alifs. It is dated 992H at the end.

f.200a	1	ومن المفاريد فيها ايضا وفى كل طور له آية * تدل على انني مفتقر	FM ch.68. Fut I.331. WFUT_068003. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.5 f.32b. OY v.5 p.140 (f.33a). <i>In fact this 1-liner is found in 1st version text of Beyazid 3743 on f.206a (part of ms in hand of c.683H) Also found in Nurosmaniye 2502 f.136b (l.5)</i>
f.200a	3	وقال أيضا في الفتوحات الحقناها في النسخة الثانية ان الكيان عجيب في تقلبه * فيه لناظره نقش وتحبير	FM ch.68. Fut I.366. WFUT_068005. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.5 f.108a. OY v.5 p.381 (f.108b) <i>Missing from Beyazid 3743 f.226a (1st version FM). Also missing from Amasya 659 f.231b. Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.145b (one-third of the way down).</i>
f.200a	3	وفي هذه النسخة ايضا في باب الطهارة وكذلك الذي قبله كان سلطاننا فانظر له خبرا * فانه خبر عنها مع الخبر	FM ch.68. Fut I.366. WFUT_068006. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.5 f.109a. OY v.5 p.383 (f.109b) <i>Missing from Beyazid 3743 f.226b (1st version FM). Also missing from Amasya 659 f.231b. Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.145b (halfway down).</i>
f.200a	4	شكر لنعمة ربى نعمة أخرى * منه على لهذا يطلب الشكرا	FM ch.68. Fut I.505. WFUT_069016. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.7 f.109b. OY v.7 p.363 (f.109a). <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM) – along with much surrounding prose. Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.186a (l.11).</i>
			... then 3 poems NOT from FM then...
f.200b	4	الحكم للمدعو بالاسماء * ما الحكم للاسماء في الاشياء	FM ch.71. Fut I.611. WFUT_071002 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 f.37b. OY v.9 p.158 (p.38a) <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.217b (l.15).</i>
f.200b	1	من كان ملكا فعاد ملكا * قد حاز هلكا ومات فتكا	FM ch.71. Fut I.619. WFUT_071003 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 f.54a. OY v.9 p.206 (f.55a). <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.219b (l.24).</i>
f.200b	1	ومن المفاريد حيرة الامر حيره * وهي في المر غيره	FM ch.72. Fut I.715. WFUT_072020 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.10 f.110a. OY v.10 p.395 (f.110b). <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.249a (l.1).</i>
f.200b	3	جاء به صادق أمين * يخبر عن كل ما يكون	FM ch.71. Fut I.627. WFUT_071004 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 f.75a. OY v.9 p.259 (f.75b). <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM).</i>

			<p><i>Also missing from Nurosmāniye 2502 f.222a (9 lines from end). Intriguingly this poem is found in Khalili 225 f.146c which dates to 634H at the latest, 2 years BEFORE IA completed the second version of FM. This implies he placed this block of poems (poems that were new with the second version) into the Great Dīwān before he completed the rewrite. It will be noticed that the latest such poem (assuming he wrote the work sequentially) is from ch.177 which might well have been completed by 634H.</i></p>
			... then 1 poem NOT from FM then...
f.200b	4	ما يعرف الله إلا الله فاعترفوا * العين واحدة والحكم مختلف	<p>FM ch.72. Fut I.715. WFUT_072021 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.10 f.111a. OY v.10 p.398 (f.111b). <i>OY indicates this poem does occur in 'B' (1st version FM) – in Beyazid 3743 ch.69-72 is 'fascimile' in later hand - could it have been corrupted with part of 2nd version? However, it is missing from Nurosmāniye 2502 f.249a (l.13).</i></p>
f.201a	3	فالكل حق والكل خلق * وكل ما تشهدون حق	<p>FM ch.72. Fut I.714. WFUT_072019 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.10 f.109b. OY v.10 p.392 (f.110a). <i>OY indicates this poem does occur in 'B' (1st version FM) – in Beyazid 3743 ch.69-72 is 'fascimile' in later hand - could it have been corrupted with part of 2nd version? However, it is missing from Nurosmāniye 2502 f.248b (last few lines).</i></p>
f.201a	3	ما ثم إلا حيرة عمت * كلى وبعضى وهى من جملتى	<p>FM ch.72. Fut I.714. WFUT_072018 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.10 f.109a. OY v.10 p.392 (f.109b). <i>OY indicates this poem does occur in 'B' (1st version FM) – in Beyazid 3743 ch.69-72 is 'fascimile' in later hand - could it have been corrupted with part of 2nd version? However, it is missing from Nurosmāniye 2502 f.248b (last few lines).</i></p>
f.201a	2	فتجليه دايم * وتدليه لازم	<p>FM ch.72. Fut I.706. WFUT_072903 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.10 f.92b. OY v.10 p.334 (f.93a) l.6 (not formatted as poetry). <i>OY indicates this poem (l.6; not formatted as poetry) does occur in 'B' (1st version FM) – in</i></p>

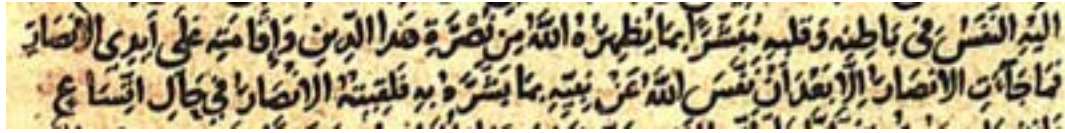
			<i>Beyazid 3743 ch.69-72 is 'fascimile' in later hand - could it have been corrupted with part of 2nd version? I do not find this text in Nurosmaniye 2502 f.246a (two-thirds of the way down) – the text here is significantly different from standard Cairo Fut I.706.</i>
f.201a	10	وقال أيضا في كلام له فكل جزء له حكم يميزه * في عينه أبدا من بين اخوانه	FM ch.72. Fut I.726. WFUT_072023 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.10 f.133b. OY v.10 p.468 (f.134a). <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.252a (11 lines from end) along with surrounding prose from Fut I.725-6. This poem is also found in Khalili 225 f.146c which dates to 634H at the latest.</i>
			<i>... then 5 poems NOT from FM then...</i>
f.201b	6	فكل كون عليه حق * فهو عبيد لذلك الحق	FM ch.141. Fut II.227. WFUT_141002 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.14 f.84a. OY v.14 p.375 (f.84b). <i>OY indicates this poem is missing from 'B' (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.346b (2 lines from end).</i>
f.201b	5	الفقر حكم ولكن ليس يدركه * الا الذي جل عن اهل وعن ولد	FM ch.162. Fut II.263. WFUT_162002. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.15 f.2a. (Beyond the 14 vols of OY). <i>Missing from Manisa 1051 PDF p.105 (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.359b (after the poem which opens ch.162).</i>
f.201b	3	فالامر ما بين مطوئ ومنشور * كالكيف والكم أحوال المقادير	FM ch.167. Fut II.270. WFUT_167002. Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.15 f.16b. (Beyond the 14 vols of OY). <i>Missing from Manisa 1051 PDF p.112 (1st version FM). Also missing from Nurosmaniye 2502 f.362a (2 lines after the poem which opens ch.167).</i>
			<i>... then 3 poems NOT from FM then...</i>
f.201b	1	وليس هذا لكل عارف * الا لمن يعلم المصارف	FM ch.177. Fut II.318 (9 lines from end). WFUT_177901 Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.15 f.112a. (Beyond the 14 vols of OY). <i>Manisa 1051 PDF p.169 (1st version FM) – right page I.5 has only the first hemistich. Similarly Nurosmaniye 2502 f.378b I.17.</i>
			<i>... after that a further 26 poems NOT from FM complete volume 8 of GD</i>

If our modified hypothesis is correct then at least 12, and probably 17 of the 18 poems can serve as markers for distinguishing first and second version manuscripts. The presence or absence of the poems in chapter 162 and 167 are particularly easy to use in this way because when the poems appear they will be found very soon after the title and opening poem of their respective chapters. We should also add that quite a bit of ‘new’ prose is associated with each ‘new’ poem – by which we mean prose which did not occur in the first version text.

Our hypothesis concerning how IA handled 2nd version FM changes to his poetry in the holograph Great Dīwān needs extending to cover cases where a poem already existed in the first version but where he made changes to it:

- We suggest such ‘corrections’ (or alternative readings) he would have marked as marginal corrections in volumes 2 and 3 of his holograph Great Dīwān. We can search for instances of this in the extant volume 2, Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774, now Damascus al-Assad 14067
- However, we know of a rather special case where Ibn ‘Arabī did NOT mark modifications in the margins of his Dīwān. That is a poem from ch.71 which had only 7 verses in the first version, but which was extended to contain 23 verses in the second version. This special case is complicated by the fact that the poem appears again (in unmodified 7-verse form) in ch. 178 on Love, a chapter which receives special treatment in the Dīwān. It could well be that IA decided to leave the 7-verse form of the poem untouched, so as to match the form it continued to take in ch.178 of FM (even though this meant it would not reflect the modified form it took in the second version of ch.71). Here are the details:
 - Standard Cairo Fut I.640, ch.71; 23 verses (text of the second version FM).
 - Standard Cairo Fut II.321, ch. 178; 7 verses (vv.1-5 and vv.8-9 of the 23-verse form found in ch.71)
 - 2nd version FM, ch. 71, Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.9 f.105b (ch.71) 23 verses [Warning: v.9 is not actually a holograph but is a replacement in the 37-volume set. We must assume that it faithfully presents the 2nd version text]
 - 2nd version FM, ch. 178, Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.15 f.118a (ch.178) 7 verses
 - 1st version FM, ch. 71, Nurosmaniye 2502, f.226a (ch.71) 7 verses (vv.1-5 and vv.8-9 of the extended 23-verse form of the 2nd version text)
 - 1st version FM, ch. 178, Nurosmaniye 2502, f.379b (ch.178) same 7-verses
 - Great Dīwān holograph vol.2, Damascus al-Assad 14067, f.38a (among the poems from ch.71). 7 verses with no marginal corrections. (The poem does NOT appear among the poems from ch.178 on f.74b, or anywhere else in the Great Dīwān from what we can tell)
 - Great Dīwān Paris B.N. 2348 f.82b (among the poems from FM ch.71) – the main text contains the 7-verse form of the first version FM; however the verses IA added in the second version (vv.6-8 and vv.10-23) appear as marginal corrections. Once again the poem does not appear among the poems from FM ch.178 on f.92b, and neither does it occur elsewhere.

IA’s “eulogy of the *Anṣār*” - a set of 3 poems in a section of FM ch. 49 which was entirely absent from 1st version FM – but the poems appear (with prose) in the Bulaq Diwan (p.338-9) On Fut I.267-8 there is a section entitled (ابن عربي بدمشق و حديث الأنصار). It contains 3 pieces of poetry – a 1-liner, a poem of 2 verses and a poem of 15 verses. This was absent from the first version of FM on the evidence of Beyazid 3743 (f.164a 8-9 lines from end):



Here is an abbreviated version of the text in standard Cairo Fut I.267-8 (missing section shown in red; poetry indented):

... جميعهم فتقدم إليه النفس في باطنه و قلبه مبشرا بما يظهره الله من نصرة الدين و إقامته على أيدي الأنصار

[ابن عربي بدمشق و حديث الأنصار]

و لقد جرى لنا في حديث الأنصار ما نذكره إن شاء الله ...

...

شغف السهاد بمقلتي و مزاربي * فعلى الدموع معولي و مشاربي

...

قال ابن ثابت الذي فخرت به * فقر الكلام و نشأة الأشعار

شغف السهاد بمقلتي و مزاربي * فعلى الدموع معولي و مشاربي

و كانت أمني تنسب إلى الأنصار فقلت

فلذا جعلت رويه الراء التي * هي من حروف الرد و التكرار

... (13 further verses) ...

رهبان ليلا يقرءون كلامه * آساد غاب في الوغى بنهار

و قصة الرؤيا طويلة فاقصرت من ذلك على ما نحتاج إليه في هذا الباب من ذكر الأنصار

[الأنصار، مع المهاجرين، عون النبي على إقامة دين الله]

ثم نرجع فنقول فما جاءت الأنصار إلا بعد أن نفس الله عن نبيه بما بشره به فلقيته الأنصار في حال اتساع ...

This section appears in FM holograph Evkaf 1845+ vol. 4 f.59b-61a.

The poems do not appear in the main FM block of poems in the Great Dīwān (i.e. in holograph Damascus al-Assad 14067). That is not suprising given they were not part of the first version text upon which the Dīwān holograph was based. However, they do appear elsewhere in the Great Dīwān – in Bulaq p. 338-9. There the 2-verse and 15-verse poem are concatenated to form a single poem in 17 verses. And prior to that the 1-liner appears embedded in much prose which is different from but related to the prose IA inserted into the second version of FM. Could it be he first wrote the passage in the Dīwān - in the lost holograph vol. 6 of 10 – before he wrote the second version FM ch.49? Or could it be that this section (the end of vol.6) was a late addition to the Great Dīwān? We have other evidence of IA adding 2nd version FM poems ‘late’ in the Dīwān construction process – those appear close to the end of vol.8 of the 10-volume Great Dīwān (see elsewhere in this document).

CA discusses this same section of FM in *Quest*, p. 268-9, and refers to the poem IA composed as his “eulogy of the *Anṣār*” (the Helpers of the Prophet in Medina). The poems was constructed upon a verse transmitted to Yaḥyā b. al-Akhfash from Ḥassān b. Thābit in a vision – a vision in which the former was also instructed by the Prophet to transmit the verse to IA for him to compose the eulogy):

However, it would be wrong to restrict the scope of Ibn 'Arabi's circle of companions to the individuals mentioned in the *ṣawā'if*. In several passages in his works he refers to other disciples of his in Damascus whose names are not to be found in the certificates listed by O. Yohia. That is the case for example with Yahyā b. al-Akhfash, who became acquainted with Ibn 'Arabi through the intermediary of the Prophet. 'There was among us in Damascus a virtuous, cultivated and pious man called Yahyā b. al-Akhfash. By origin he was from Marrakech, where his father used to teach Arabic. One day this man wrote to me the following letter from his home in Damascus, which is where I also was myself. "Dear friend, yesterday I saw the Messenger of God in the Great Mosque of Damascus. He was near the preacher's box (*maqārat al-khatīb*) which is beside the chest containing the copy of the Qur'ān that is attributed to 'Uthmān. People were rushing towards him to make the pact. I remained standing, and waited for the crowd to diminish, then I presented myself in front of him and took his hand [to make the pact]. He said to me: 'Do you know Muḥammad?' I asked him which Muḥammad he was referring to.

The meeting of the two Souls

He replied: 'Ibn al-'Arabi'. I answered that, yes indeed, I did know him. He then said to me: 'We have given him an order, so tell him "The Messenger of God bids you carry out the order you have received". As for you: be his companion, you will profit from it. And also tell him: "The Messenger of God asks you to praise the *Anṣār* and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda in particular".'¹⁴⁵ Then he called Ḥassān b. Thābit over to us and said to him: 'Ḥassān, teach him a verse which he will transmit to Muḥammad b. al-'Arabi, who will then compose his poem' Afterwards the Messenger of God said to me: 'When he has composed this eulogy of the *Anṣār*, transcribe it in a fine and readable calligraphy and take it on Thursday night to the tomb that you call *qabr al-sitt*. There you will find a man called Ḥāmid; give him the poem'. As soon as he had related this to me', Ibn 'Arabi continues, 'I composed this *qasīda* on the spot and presented it to him'¹⁴⁶

145. For this companion cf. *FI*², IV, p. 32. According to Ibn Jubayr (*Voyages*, p. 123) his tomb is situated 'four miles to the east of the town'. The *Anṣār* were the Helpers of Muḥammad in Medina.

146. *Fut.*, I, p. 267; *Diwan*, pp. 118-19.

Since this section did not appear in the first version FM it is probably safe to assume this sequence of events – and IA's two tellings of the story, in the *Dīwān* and in FM - all occurred after 629H.

The tomb in Qabr al-Sitt was very likely that of Sayyida Zaynab (d.62H), daughter of 'Alī and grand-daughter of the Prophet – thought by some to lie in a village of that name S.E. of Damascus (also known as Rāwiya, or Sitt Zaynab¹⁶). Others believe Zaynab was buried in Cairo.

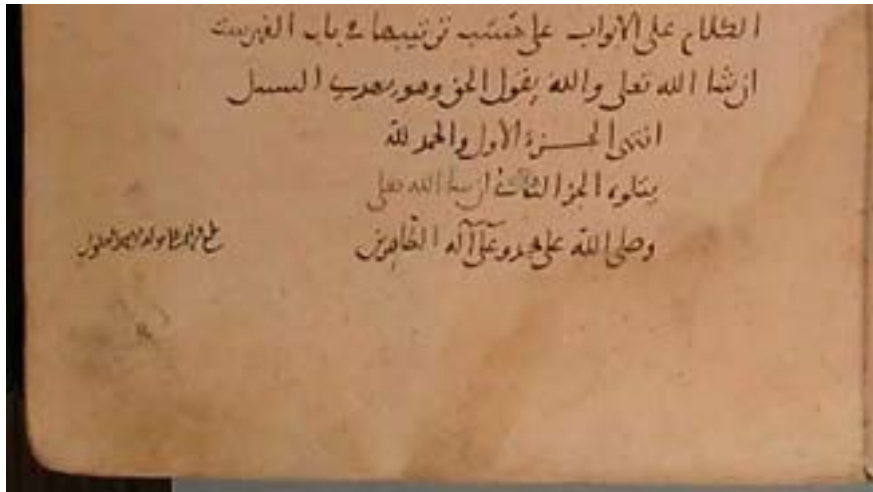
Addendum - low-level juz' markers peculiar to the 2nd version FM (?)

In the standard Cairo edition of FM one finds a long sequence of what we will call "low-level juz' markers". For example in Fut I.10 just prior to the index of chapters one finds "here ends juz' #1":

وَهُوَ يَهْدِي السَّبِيلَ **انتهى الجزء الأول** و الحمد لله يتلوه الجزء الثاني إن شاء الله تعالى و صلى الله على محمد و على آله الطاهرين

In second version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 1 f.15a the page ends the same way:

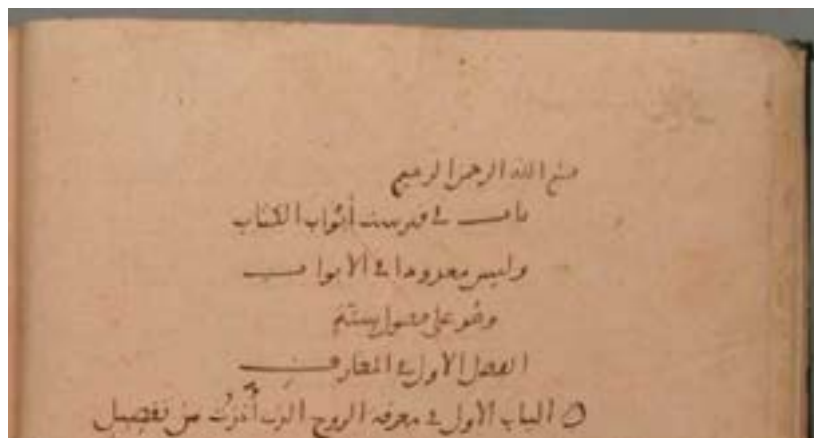
¹⁶ Information from Ibn Ṭūlūn (d.953H) via J.W. Meri in *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (p.188). CA finds the tombs of both Zaynab and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda mentioned one after another in the *Riḥla* of Ibn Jubayr (d.614H). al-Harawī (d.611H) in his *K. al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt* located the tomb of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda in al-Maniḥa (adding that in truth he died in Medina) and he then located the tomb of Umm Kulthūm in the nearby village of Rāwaya (i.e. Qabr al-Sitt). See p.26 of Meri's translation in *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide To Pilgrimage*, (2005). See also p.29 [p.12] of French translation of al-Harawī's work in *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage* (1957) by J. Sourdel-Thomine who provides references to ancient sources: <http://www.e-corpus.org/notices/110592/book/?fullpage=yes>



That is followed by a blank opening (f.15b-16a):



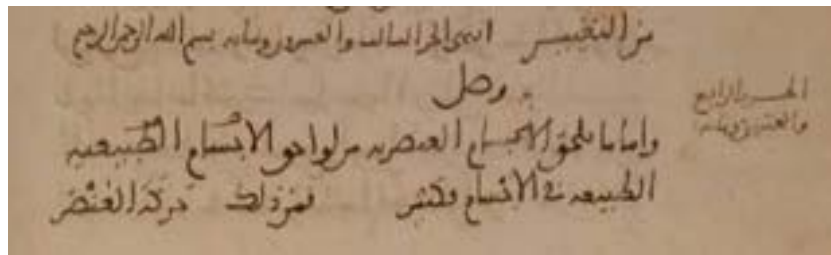
(top left of f.16a is written: al-juz' #2 of FM). And then on f.16b juz' #2 begins with a bismillah (followed by the index of chapters):



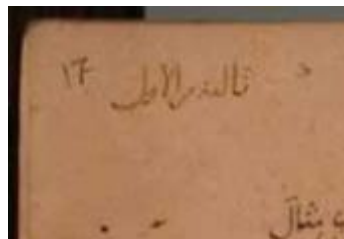
In this way a numbered sequence of “low-level” juz’ is clearly layed out in the holographs ms for 2nd version FM. In the standard Cairo edition it is reflected in phrases such as انتهى الجزء الأول or “here ends juz’ #1”.

In standard Cairo, I find this sequence of numbered low-level juz’ peters out at the end of juz’ #123, near the end of Fut ch.198, on Fut II.456. In the equivalent place in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 17 f.71b

one finds there is no blank opening at this point (and although juz' #124 is announced in the margin I find no indication later in the manuscripts of its end, or the start of any other such juz'):



Warning: It should be noted there is another numbering system for the sequence of low-level juz' in the holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. Without any break in the text IA, and usually every 8 folios, IA will mark a left page with something like "third of the first" as here on f.17a of vol. 1:



Almost certainly this marks the 3rd quire of the 1st of 37 volumes. Numbered quires of 8 folios could be written independently and later bound and unbound without risk of confusion¹⁷. This quire-numbering system for the 2nd version holograph is not carried over into the standard Cairo edition of FM – and later scribes would have been unlikely to have carried it over into their own manuscript copies.

The breaks between low-level juz' do not generally overlap with quire-breaks in the second version holographs. Take vol.1 for example. The seven low-level juz' begin on the following folios: f.2a, f.16a, f.48a, f.85a, f.105a, f.121a, f.143a (which extends to f.155a). The quires in vol.1 are numbered on the following folios: (f.1a), f.9a, f.17a, f.25a, f.33a, f.41a, f.49a, f.57a, f.65a, f.73a, f.81a, f.88a (after a short quire; 7 folios not 8), f.96a, f.104a, f.111a (after what only looks like a short quire – in fact there is an unnumbered folio between f.104 and f.105), f.119a, f.126a (again there is an unnumbered folio after f.120), f.134a, f.142a, f.149a (there is an unnumbered folio after f.142) – and the final quire probably ends with f.156, so is of usual length (8 folios).

In general 3 to 4 pages are left blank between low-level juz' – and sometimes this space is used for recording reading certificates¹⁸. This gives the text very much the appearance of a sequence of small ḥadīth collections – and conventionally those would also be referred to as "juz'". As can be seen in the example of vol.1 these juz' vary in length. There are often 7 in a sifr (volume) but the length of a volume is also quite variable. In the example of volume 1 if we ignore the blank space and reading-

¹⁷ However, I find no evidence of catchwords at the bottom of right-hand pages. As a result, there would remain a risk of individual folios falling out of sequence during any rebinding in which individual quires became internally unstitched. The quire numbering sequence would only protect the overall sequence of quires. It is also worth noting that the quire-numbering system continued through all 37 volumes of the holograph, in contrast to the "low-level" juz' system which petered out in ch.198.

¹⁸ Once the low-level juz' peter out midway through vol.17 the only room left for recording sizable reading-certificates is at the end of a volume.

certificates between juz' the 7 juz' have the following numbers of pages: #1: 26 pp; #2: 60.5 pp; #3: 68.5 pp; #4: 41 pp; #5: 30 pp; #6: 42 pp; #7: 24 pp.

Could the juz' divisions have corresponded to approximate quire divisions in the lost *first* version holographs? It is conceivable – an approximate 'common factor' in those pages per juz' would be blocks of 8.7 pages (pages in the second version, that is). If a block were 8.7 pages long then the blocks per juz' would be approximately as follows: #1: 3 blocks; #2: 7 blocks; #3: 8 blocks; #4: 5 blocks; #5: 4 blocks; #6: 5 blocks; #7: 3 blocks (in fact, just under the whole number of blocks in nearly every case¹⁹). But if a quire in the first version holographs contained text equivalent to 8.7 pages (4.35 folios) in the second version, and if Ibn 'Arabī had again used the conventional 8 folios per quire (with 1-2 pages left blank), then he must have been using fewer lines per page: around $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 17 lines per page in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+, i.e. 13 lines per page. I am not aware of Ibn 'Arabī ever using such a format in the holographs of his works that have come down to us. 17-19 lines per page seems to have been his norm (although he used 15 in Yusuf Aga 5059-64).

Here is a summary of the locations of the end of juz' markers markers (انتهى الجزء) in standard Cairo²⁰
21.

- Fut I.10 (end of juz' #1) [prior to index of chapters]
- Fut I.30 (end of juz' #2) [after index of chapters]
- Fut I.47 (end of juz' #3) [end of intro, prior to ch.1]
- Fut I.58 (end of juz' #4)
- Fut I.65 (end of juz' #5)
- Fut I.78 (end of juz' #6)
- Fut I.84 (end of juz' #7)
- Fut I.93 (end of juz' #8)
- Fut I.103 (end of juz' #9)
- Fut I.131 (end of juz' #11) [end of ch.8]
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.161 (end of juz' #14) [end of ch.16]

¹⁹ This could well be pure coincidence – if one performs the same calculations in volume 2 the juz' are mostly far from whole numbers of blocks of 8.7 pages.

²⁰ In his edition of FM vol.1 p.75 OY places a heading for (lower-level) juz' #2 which he indicates he finds in his 'K', Evkaf 1845+ on (vol.1) f.15b, but which he says does *not* appear in 'B' or in 'C', that is does *not* appear in standard Cairo. This is inaccurate in two senses. Firstly, 'C' does in fact mark the end of juz' #1 on its equivalent to f.15a of 'K'. What 'C' does not have - directly after that - is a heading for the start of juz' #2 – and in 'K' that is marked on the otherwise blank folio f.16a. OY repeats the error concerning 'C' on p.168 (start of juz' #3), p.215 (start of juz' #4), etc. Overall, he gives the impression that low-level juz' are not marked in 'C' when in fact they often are – at the end of a juz' with (انتهى الجزء). It is worth noting that it is the current low-level juz' which is repeated at the top of every other page in OY's edition.

²¹ The numbering of juz' in standard Cairo tends to follow quite closely that in the holographs. However, there are some exceptions. At the start of volume 4 of the holograph (standard Cairo Fut I.237) IA labelled the first juz' #23. However, this was an 'error' on his part – at the end of volume 3 he had announced the following juz' would be #22. It appears he never spotted the error for he continued to label juz' sequentially from then on. What IA called juz' #23 standard Cairo calls juz' #22 (Fut I.237), but in the following juz' (Fut I.247) standard Cairo 'catches up' with IA and labels the following juz' #24. I have noticed one other place where standard Cairo reverts to 'true' numbering rather than following IA's system, namely Fut I.317, where standard Cairo labels juz' #29 what IA calls juz' #30 (the first is holograph volume 5). By contrast to standard Cairo, OY in his edition prefers to correct IA's numbering system. As a result of this, from the start of volume 4 (following juz' #21) OY's juz' numbers are one lower than the juz' numbers IA himself used.

- Fut I.171 (end of juz' #15) [end of ch.21]
- Fut I.182 (end of juz' #16) [end of ch.23]
- Fut I.199 (end of juz' #17) [end of ch.29]
- Fut I.208 (end of juz' #18) [end of ch.32]
- Fut I.217 (end of juz' #19) [end of ch.34]
- Fut I.228 (end of juz' #20) [end of ch.37]
- Fut I.237 (end of juz' #21) [end of ch.40]
- Fut I.247 (end of juz' #23)²² [end of ch.43]
- Fut I.254 (end of juz' #24) [end of ch.46]
- Fut I.266 (end of juz' #25) [end of ch.48]
- Fut I.278 (end of juz' #26) [end of ch.53]
- Fut I.292 (end of juz' #27) [end of ch.59]
- Fut I.307 (end of juz' #28) [end of ch.63]
- Fut I.317 (end of juz' #28 – typo for #29) [end of ch.64]
- Fut I.329 (end of juz' #30) [end of ch.67]
- Fut I.344 (end of juz' #31)
- Fut I.354 (end of juz' #32)
- Fut I.365 (end of juz' #33)
- Fut I.380 (end of juz' #34)
- Fut I.386 (end of juz' #35) [end of ch.68]
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.448 (end of juz' #40)
- Fut I.457 (end of juz' #41)
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.546 (end of juz' #50) [end of ch.69]
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.601 (end of juz' #55) [end of ch.70]
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.657 (end of juz' #60)
- Fut I.665 (not marked as a juz' transition in standard Cairo, but is transition to vol. 10 and start of juz' 62 in holograph) [end of ch.71]
- Fut I.672 (end of juz' #62)
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.732 (end of juz' #70)
- ... etc ...
- Fut I.763 (end of juz' #74) [end of ch.72]
- ... etc ...
- Fut II.421 (end of juz' #120)
- ... etc ...
- Fut II.456 (end of juz' #123; near end of ch.198)

After that (near the end of FM ch.198) I find no other juz' numbered - in the remainder of vol II or in vols. III and IV of standard Cairo. In the 2nd version holograph this last marker is found on Evkaf

²² See earlier footnote regarding IA's skip in numbering of juz' at the start of holograph volume 4 (where he skips number 22 in his sequence of juz' numbers). Standard Cairo follows him one juz' later, skipping over its number 23. That is, standard Cairo sequence: 21, 22, 24 corresponds to IA's 21, 23, 24.

Muzesi 1845+ vol 17 f.71b. IA actually numbers juz' #124 in the margin alongside that – without starting a new folio with initial blank page, etc - but I have yet to spot him marking the end of juz' 124 or indeed marking the start or end of any juz' after that. Lank (The lack of blank pages from here on also means there is little space for reading certificates in vols. 17-37). So it seems standard Cairo closely matches the 2nd version holograph here.

Although these seem textually 'logical' the boundaries between juz' do not always coincide with boundaries between chapters. For example juz' #2 comprises the index of chapters. Although that is a logical unit of text, it is not a chapter in its own right.

So if there were logical divisions – and they had nothing to do with the quire structure of 2nd version holograph – were they already present (and marked) in the first version text? The holograph first version is lost. However, Beyazid 3743 claims to be a copy of that up to chapter 72. And **I find no indications of low-level juz' markers in first version Beyazid 3743**. For example, here is Beyazid 3743 f.6a, the start of the index of chapters for comparison to the standard Cairo and the 2nd version ms above:



So we are faced by two possibilities:

- (a) IA inserted the sequence of 123 low level juz' only when he wrote the 2nd version (in which case such markers would serve to distinguish 2nd version manuscripts from 1st version mss)
- (b) IA marked these divisions in his first version holograph but the scribe of Beyazid 3743 chose to ignore them. (Could it be he regarded them as peculiar to the holograph manuscript and not intrinsic to the organization of the text?)

I am currently unable to decide between these two possibilities. However, I know of two manuscripts, Nuruosmaniye 2502 and Manisa 1048, which seem to contain 'minimally hybridized' first version texts. By this I mean they have a few, but only a few, features one finds in the 2nd version but not in Beyazid 3743. For example NO 2502 and Manisa 1048 contain the two 'aqida at the end of the introduction, but those are absent from Beyazid 3743. This pair of manuscripts also contain some – but only some – of the 123 low-level juz' markers we are tempted to call 2nd version - but only under possibility (a). For example:

- NO 2502 PDF 10L (prior to chapter listing) says end of juz' #1 (as in standard Cairo Fut I.10)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 12R
 - Does not occur in Beyazid 3743 f.6a
- NO 2502 PDF 21R (after chapter listing) says end of juz' #2 (as in standard Cairo Fut I.30)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 26L
 - Does not occur in Beyazid 3743 f.16a-b
- NO 2502 PDF 30R (end of ch.1) says end of juz' #3 (as in standard Cairo Fut I.47; also in 2nd version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 1 f.83a)
 - Does not occur in Beyazid 3743 f.24b (reproduced below)
- NO 2502 PDF 33R says end of juz' #4 (as in standard Cairo Fut I.58)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 52L

- Does not occur in Beyazid 3743 f.29a
- NO 2502 PDF 36R says end of juz' #5 (as in standard Cairo Fut I.65)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 59L
 - Does not occur in Beyazid 3743 f.34a
- NO 2502 PDF 41R says end of juz' #6 (as in standard Cairo Fut I.78)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 70R
 - Does not occur in Beyazid 3743 f.40b
- ...
- NO 2502 PDF 51L (last line WITHIN ch.5) says end of juz' #9 (then bismillah then continue ch.5) We find this text (نتهى الجزء التاسع) in standard Cairo I.103 which is the equivalent in 2nd version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol 2 f.40b.
- NO 2502 PDF 58R (end of ch.5) says end of juz' #10 (then bismillah then ch.6)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 110R
 - Again not found in Beyazid 3743 f.68b
- NO 2502 PDF 63L (end of ch.8) says end of juz' #11 (then bismillah then ch.9)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 124R
 - Again not found in Beyazid 3743 f.77b
- NO 2502 PDF 69R (end of ch.11) says end of juz' #12 (then bismillah then ch.12)
 - Similarly Manisa 1048 PDF 136L (after which there is a major break in the text prior to ch.12 on PDF 138R)
 - Again not found in Beyazid 3743 f.86a
- NO 2502 PDF 73R (end of ch.14) does NOT say end of juz' #13 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.152) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead
- NO 2502 PDF 81L (end of ch.21) does NOT say end of juz' #15 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.171) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead
- NO 2502 PDF 86L (end of ch.23) does NOT say end of juz' #16 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.182) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead
- ...
- NO 2502 PDF 98R (end of ch.32) does NOT say end of juz' #18 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.208) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead.
- NO 2502 PDF 102R (end of ch.34) does NOT say end of juz' #19 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.217) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead.
- NO 2502 PDF 104R (end of ch. 35) says end of juz #35 (!) [a juz' number clearly confused with the FM chapter number; but this is a peculiar insertion compared to standard Cairo Fut I.222, which simply begins ch.36 at this point]²³
- NO 2502 PDF 106L (end of ch.37) says end of juz' #20 (then bismillah then ch.38)
 - Manisa 1048 PDF 215R also says “end of juz' #20” and goes further, saying start of #21, and adds a large font bismillah prior to ch.38
- NO 2502 PDF 109B (end of ch.40) does NOT say end of juz' #21 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.237) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead.
- NO 2502 PDF 113L (end of ch.43) does NOT say end of juz' #23 (unlike standard Cairo Fut I.247) – however it does have an extra bismillah instead.

²³ Three other minimally hybridized first version manuscripts carry this same peculiar insertion “end of juz' #35” at the end of ch.35 - namely, Manisa 1048 on PDF 209R and Nurosmaniye 2505 (998H) on PDF 73L and Nurosmaniye 2506 PDF 135. So we can be quite confident that Manisa 1048 (undated), Nurosmaniye 2505 (998H) and Nurosmaniye 2506 and Nurosmaniye 2502 (992H) are from a related family of manuscripts. (They also all share unique features in their first version form of the letter diagram in ch.26)

- NO 2502 PDF 116R (end of ch.46) says end of juz' #24 (then bismillah then ch.47)

That is the last explicitly numbered juz' marker I have spotted in NO 2502. (Although I find a few extra bismillahs in place of such markers later on). I.e. the text only seems to have included such explicit 2nd version juz' markers in a selection of juz' up to ch.46 whereas in second version (and standard Cairo) such markers are provided up until the end of ch.198. Thus even in the occasional use of these low-level juz' markers NO 2502 and Manisa 1048 seems to be only 'minimally' hybridized relative to Beyazid 3743. But that always assumes that Beyazid 3743 represents the pure first version holograph – possibility (a) – which is by no means a certainty.

We remain undecided as to whether the sequence of low-level juz' markers was included in the lost 20-volume set of holographs for the first version FM. But perhaps it is not a coincidence that the scribe of NO 2502 also used extra bismillahs to mark the start of some of the 20 *asfār* (volumes) of the first version holograph – and in a few places he explicitly numbered such a *sifr*. This double use of extra bismillahs suggests that the low-level juz' might also have been marked in the first version – but for some reason they were not recorded in Beyazid 3743 – our possibility (b). Perhaps Beyazid 3743 is not a pure first version text – and perhaps NO 2502 is purer than it might seem, i.e. not so 'mixed' with strictly 2nd version material.

Addendum - reconstructing IA's division of the first version text into 20 volumes (*asfār*) – and an independent division into perhaps 10 parts

A number of manuscripts contain references to *sifr* (volume) numbers which correspond to the 20 such volumes (*asfār*) in the first version holograph of FM. These references enable us to make at least educated guesses as to the content of each of the 20 volumes in that lost first version holograph. (And once those are known then *sifr* markings in another manuscript can help one to determine whether it contains the first or the second version text). There are indications that we can not always assume the division into 20 volumes respected IA's division of the text (in his table of contents) into 6 logical parts (*faṣl*)²⁴ In fact it might not even respect the division into 560 chapters. We know from SQ's study list (see Elmore's "Study List...", p.166) that SQ studied the 20 volumes of FM with him by recital. And IA even specified (study list p.175) SQ recited back to him all 20 vols of the holograph in Jumada I 629 (the work itself having been completed by IA, 3 months earlier, in Safar 629). We almost certainly have a copy of the final reading certificate for that in YA 5463.

- [Part I; sciences – *al-ma'ārif*] Ch.2-73 = Fut I.51-Fut II.139 = vol.1:93-13:52 of 37 (2nd version) = (guess) vol 1-6 of 20 (1st version)
 - (probably) **ch.0 – 11 (?) = vol (sifr) 1**
 - Our suggestion for the location of the end of sifr 1 is based upon the markings in Manisa 1048 prior to ch.12 (PDF 137) – "juz' 2 of the 20-juz' division of FM " in large letters on a new page
 - Nuruosmaniye 2504 has a very similar note here at the start of ch.12 (PDF 66) but the break in the text is far less obvious
 - However, determining the location of this sifr transition is particularly difficult because in this region many manuscripts contain markings for low-level juz' such as "here ends juz' number X" followed by a bismillah, or

²⁴ This assumption is not valid for the second version either: IA's division of the text into 37 volumes (*asfār*) did not always respect the boundaries of the 6 *faṣl*. In the second version the second *faṣl* begins on f.52 of volume 13 and the third *faṣl* begins on f.82 of vol.16.

sometimes just a bismillah. It could be one of those marks the end of sifr 1. (The end of ch.11 happens to coincide with the end of low-level juz' #12).

- A possible but in our view less-likely location would be the end of ch.16. In NO 2506 PDF 99 (end of ch.16) there is a curious corruption: "end of ch.6" followed by a bismillah and a prayer over the Prophet – could this be a remnant of a marker for the end of juz' or sifr 1 in the holograph? Fatih 2746 (no copy in Archive so unable to determine version) is labelled vol.1 and contains ch.1-16. The end of ch.16 also happens to correspond to the end of the second volume of 37 total in the 2nd version holograph.

○ (probably) **ch.12 (?) – 52 = vol (sifr) 2**

- Nuruosmaniye 2506 (PDF 168) at end of ch.52 states that here begins sifr 3 and here ends juz' 2.
- Warning: Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 113-5 (major break) indicates end of juz' 1 and start of volume (mujallad) 2 here at start of ch.53. So it is possible this marks a transition from sifr 1 to sifr 2. However, we believe it is more likely that this juz' / mujallad transition relates to a special part-numbering system that existed independently from the sifr numbering system. See discussion below in connection with Berlin Sprenger 778-9. Princeton Garrett 2404Yq has a marginal comment at the equivalent location – see <http://pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=jw827f26j#page/108/mode/1up> (end of part 1 in a 10-part division?) The wording of this note is similar to the wording of the note in Manisa 1048 and NO 2504 prior to ch.12 - but refers to a 10-part division rather than a 20-part division.
- Berlin Sprenger 777 (Ahlwardt #2856) contains ch.1-52 (and the heading of ch.53).

○ (likely) **ch.53 – 68 = vol (sifr) 3**

- Sifr 3 ends at the end of ch.68 on the evidence of Nuruosmaniye 2502 and Nuruosmaniye 2505
- Warning: Nuruosmaniye 2504 marks end of 3 sifr at the end of ch.68 (PDF 155); but it also marks end of 'volume' (mujallada) 3 within sifr 4 at the end of ch.69 (PDF 207) – and curiously adds to that a date of (original?) completion of this 'volume': Thursday 28th Rabī' I 627H. See our comments on the partitioning system in Berlin Sprenger 778-9.

○ (very likely) **ch.69 – 70 = vol (sifr) 4**

- Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 223-5 has major break prior to ch.71 although no sifr is mentioned
- Warning: see above for dated *mujallada* transition at end of ch.69 in Nuruosmaniye 2504

○ (very likely) **ch.71 – 72 = vol (sifr) 5**

- Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 279 marks end of sifr 5 prior to ch.73, as does Nuruosmaniye 2506 (PDF 431)

○ **ch.73 = vol (sifr) 6**

- British Library B385 ²⁵ indicates sifr 6 = ch.73

²⁵ British Library B385 is described in Loth, *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol.1 p.172, item #629. It contains the 2nd of 4 quarters of the first version text: *sifr* 6-9 and part of *sifr* 10 – that is, FM ch.73-270. It was transcribed and collated by Zayn b. 'Abd Allāh Muqaybil of Bijapur in 1091H. He was also scribe of the Great Dīwān ms Paris B.N. 2348 and a number of other Akbarian manuscripts now in London or Paris.

- Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 332 marks end of juz' (meaning sifr) 6 prior to ch.74, as does Nuruosmaniye 2506 (PDF 516)
- [Part II; interactions – *al-mu'āmalāt*] Ch.74-189 ²⁶ = Fut II.139-382 = vol 13:52-16:82 (2nd version) = (guess) vol 7-8 (1st version)
 - **ch.74 – 176 = vol (sifr) 7**
 - British Library B385 indicates sifr 7 = ch.74-176
 - **ch.177 – 198/43 = vol (sifr) 8**
 - British Library B385 indicates sifr 8 = ch.177-197 (and part of ch.198).
 - Paris BN 1336 f.147v starts new section here.
 - Note that ch.198 is also the chapter within which IA stopped marking and numbering “low-level” juz' (but there are indications he introduced that numbering system only in the second version of FM).
 - This sifr spans the transition from Part II to Part III (which occurs between chapters 189 and 190)
 - WARNING: Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 407-9 has a major break prior to ch.185 – although this would usually indicate a sifr transition the other manuscripts do not support that. The same location is marked with an illumination in Suleymaniye Sultan Ahmed 98 (PDF 383) – a manuscript that seems to use illuminations to divide the 20 sifr into 5 groups of 4 in a way that would parallel the unusual divisions of Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759.
- [Part III; states – *al-aḥwāl*] ch.190-269 ²⁷ = Fut II.382-571 = vol 16:82- end of vol 18 (2nd version) = (guess) vol 9 of 20 (1st version)
 - [first Part III would be found in tail end of sifr 8]
 - **ch.198/44 – 269 = vol (sifr) 9**
 - British Library B385 indicates sifr 9 = (part of) ch.198-269
 - A strong candidate for the precise transition to sifr 9 within ch.198 is the start of al-faḍl #44 towards the end of ch.198, on Fut II.472. In NO 2502 (PDF 438) one finds here a line of text in red ink containing prayer over the Prophet. And in NO 2504 (PDF 463-4) there is a major transition here with an internal colophon referring to the end of juz' 5 (!) of FM followed by similar prayer over the Prophet.
 - Fazil Ahmed Ps 759 PDF 440 marks “end of juz' 5 (!) of FM” at the end of ch.198 faḍl #43 (as in NO 2504 Sprenger 779) although it does not specify this is also a sifr transition. Similarly NO 2506 (PDF 719). See Berlin Sprenger 778-9, below.
 - Berlin Sprenger 779 (Ahlwardt #2865) contains a part (again numbered 5!) which contains ch.177-198/43 (surely sifr 7) followed by a part (numbered 6!) containing ch.198/44-269 (surely sifr 8). That ms is a continuation of Berlin Sprenger 778 (Ahlwardt #2864) which contains ch.73, ch.74-157, ch.158-176 (i.e. sifr 5 then sifr 6 split in two; these are numbered 3, 4 and 5!). This strange part-numbering system is clearly the same one found in NO

²⁶ There seems to be some inconsistency about whether ch.189 should be included in the second or the third *faṣl*. In his table of contents, Fut II.17, IA placed ch.189 at the end of the second *faṣl*, and began the third *faṣl* with ch.190. However at the start of the text for ch.189 on Fut II.380 (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 16 f.78b), IA writes *abwāb al-aḥwāl* prior to the chapter heading, as if the third *faṣl* started here. So it could be that he now regarded ch.189 as part of the third *faṣl* and not the second.

²⁷ See previous footnote.

- 2504 (and the other mss which mark “end of juz’ 5” at the end of ch.198 faḍl #43). This means the system could be linked with IA’s own *mujallada*-volume system which seems to have been distinct from his *sifr*-volume system in the first version holographs.²⁸
- Khuda Bakhsh 866 (vol.2 of 4) contains ch.72 – faḍl 43 of ch.198; Khuda Bakhsh 867 (vol.3 of 4) contains faḍl 44 of ch.198 – ch.366. Although the others are not natural *sifr* boundaries it is surely significant that the halfway point was chosen to be this precise point in ch.198
 - [Part IV; abodes – *al-manāzil*] ch.270-383= Fut II.571 – Fut III.523 = vol.19-27 of 37 (2nd version) = (probably) vol 10 – 15 of 20 (1st version)
 - **ch.270 – 293 = vol (sifr) 10**
 - Corum 679 f.604a (end of ch.293) marks end of sifr 10 of 20
 - Paris BN 1336 f.269r marks end of unnumbered sifr corresponding to end of sifr 10
 - Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 507-9 prior to ch. 294 has major break probably indicating sifr transition
 - Fatih 2750 f.1-162 in the hand of Ibn Sawdakīn (625H?) contains all but the last few lines of ch.270-293 and is labelled sifr 10 (warning: the continuation, f.163-395, in a later hand is probably the second version text)
 - **ch.294 – 321 = vol (sifr) 11**
 - Partially marked in King Saud University 1780-1²⁹

²⁸ We can combine indications in Fazil Ahmad Ps 759 and NO 2504 with the numbering of parts in the Berlin mss (Sprenger 778 & 779) and attempt to reconstruct the ranges for at least the first 7 ‘parts’ in this unusual numbering system: ch.0-52 (part 1); ch.53-69 (part 2); ch.70-73 (part 3); ch.74-157 (part 4); ch.158-176 and ch.177-198/43 (part 5); ch.198/44-269 (part 6); ch.270-360 (part 7). The resulting parts are of unequal size – this could be ‘fixed’ somewhat if we moved the unknown transition from part 2 to 3 to the end of ch.70, and moved the transition from part 6 to 7 to around the end of ch.309 (this would mean that the Berlin mss do not contain complete parts; it would also mean the entire text of FM would have filled around 10 or 11 parts of such a size). Alternatively, it is possible Manisa 1050 represents part 7 in this system – it covers ch.294-360 (sifr 11-13) and is labelled “part 7”. Corum 679 f.320-803 looks as if it might have remnants of the same part system alongside the *asfār* system. It covers ch.74-360 = sifr 7-13 (so perhaps covers parts 4-7): f.398a (end of ch.176; end of sifr 7) has no special markings (partly obscured); f.491b (end of ch.198/43; end of sifr 8) has no special markings; f.378a (end of ch.157; not a sifr transition) marks end of part (observed: 4?); f.543a (end of ch.269; end of sifr 9; dated 859H) marks end of faḍl 3; f.604a (end of ch.293) marks end of sifr 10 of 20; f.665a (end of ch.321; end of sifr 11) marks with page break; no other markings until end of ms (f.803b; end of ch.360; end of sifr 13; end of part 7?). **On the basis of all of the manuscripts studied so far we are unable to say whether this part-numbering system extended to the end of FM.** The admittedly complex case of NO 2504 suggests it might not have done – in this ms the scribe left gaps for illuminations prior to the following chapters, and these alone: ch.70 (after an important note dated 627H), ch.73, ch.74, ch.158, ch.198/44 and ch.270. **Still, this part-numbering system may well have had significance in the first version holographs.** For in NO 2504 PDF 207 at the end of ch.69 – or what we are calling end of ‘part’ 2 – we find a note which would appear to have originated in the lost holograph. The note states that this is the end of the 3rd (!) volume (*mujallada*) ending partway through the 4th *sifr* – and it is stated that this volume (*mujallada*) was completed in 28th Rabī’ I 627H. So although end of *mujallada* 3 coincides with end of ‘part’ 2 in our reconstruction, it could well be that the ‘parts’ indicated in FA 759, NO 2504 and the Berlin mss are related to a peculiar *mujallada*-volume numbering system in the original holograph (the first 2 parts filled 3 *mujallada*-volumes). And **it seems that this division into parts or *mujallada*-volumes existed in parallel to, but independently from, the *sifr*-volume system.** Did Ibn ‘Arabī alter the way in which he bound the content of the FM as he worked upon it over 30 years? Did he begin with the *mujallada*-volume system and only later move over to the *sifr*-volume system?

²⁹ King Saud University 1780-1 and 1780-2 (both dated 1091H) cover volumes (*asfār*) 11-13 and 14-16 of the first version, respectively. Digital reproductions are downloadable from

- Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 546 marks end of juz' (meaning sifr) 11 in original ms
- Husein Celebi 444 JPG 99 marks end of juz' (meaning sifr) 11 in original ms
- **ch.322 – 350 (?) = vol (sifr) 12**
 - Partially marked in King Saud University 1780-1
 - Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 598-600 prior to ch. 351 has major break probably indicating sifr transition
 - Warning: no special indications at end of ch.350 in King Saud University 1780-1 (PDF 206). But an extra bismillah prior to ch.346 (PDF 179) might indicate the transition from sifr 12 to 13 occurs there.
 - Warning: Corum 679 f.748b does not appear to have special indications at end of ch.350 (but text is obscured in lo-res reproductions) - or at the end of ch.345 (f.729b), or anywhere else - to mark the end of sifr 12. Yet it uses page breaks to mark the end of sifr 10 (f.604a) and end of sifr 11 (f.665a).
- **ch. 351 (?) – 360 = vol (sifr) 13**
 - Partially marked in King Saud University 1780-1
 - Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 625 marks end of juz' (meaning sifr) 13 in original ms (agreeing with King Saud Uni 1780). The same location is marked end of juz' 7 – we suspect that relates to the unusual part-numbering system found earlier in the ms (end of ch.52) and also in Berlin 778-9 and NO 2504.
- **ch.361-9 = vol (sifr) 14**
 - Paris BN 1336 f.413r marks end of sifr 14
 - Marked in King Saud University 1780-2
 - Manisa 1053³⁰ is labelled *mujallad* 14 and contains ch.361-369
- **ch.370-383 = vol (sifr) 15**
 - Marked in King Saud University 1780-2
- [Part V; mutual waystations – *al-munāzalāt*] ch.384-461 = Fut III.523 - Fut IV.73 = vol.28-29 of 37 (2nd version) = (certainly) vol 16 of 20 (1st version)
 - **ch.384-461 = vol (sifr) 16**
 - Paris BN 1336 f.454r marks start of sifr 16 (erroneous repetition of that on f.474r after end of ch. 411); f.492v marks end of sifr 16
 - King Saud University 1780-2 marks end of sifr 15 at end of ch. 383 and end of sifr 16 at end of ch. 461 (end of ms)
 - Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 734 (prior to ch.462) marks end of sifr 16
 - Nurosmaniye 2502 PDF 765R (end of ch.461) marks end of sifr 16
- [Part VI; stations – *al-maqāmāt*] ch. 462-560 = Fut IV.73 – Fut IV.554 = vol.30-37 of 37 (2nd version) = (certainly) vol 17-20 of 20 (1st version)
 - 3rd chunk of Amasya 660 (f.388b-882a) covers exactly this range and numbers (1st version) *asfār* 17-20
 - **ch.462-557 = vol (sifr) 17**
 - Paris BN 1336 marks start and end of sifr 17 (f.492v-f.531r)
 - Amasya 660 chunk 3 f.472b (end of ch.557) marks end of sifr 17

http://ia601505.us.archive.org/1/items/mishref_gmail_114_20150830/1780.1.pdf and http://ia601505.us.archive.org/1/items/mishref_gmail_114_20150830/1780.2.pdf

³⁰ Manisa 1053 (f.1-99) can be viewed in lo-res partly obscured images at https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/detay_goster.php?k=83035

- WARNING: Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759 PDF 757-9 has major break prior to ch.510 – although this would usually indicate a sifr transition the other manuscripts do not support that. The same location is marked with an illumination in Suleymaniye Sultan Ahmed 98 (PDF 740) – a manuscript that seems to use illuminations to divide the 20 sifr into 5 groups of 4 in a way that would parallel the unusual divisions of Koprulu Fazil Ahmed 759.
- **ch.558 = vol (sifr) 18**
 - Paris BN 1336 marks start and end of sifr 18 (f.531v-f.567r)
 - Manisa 1049 is a copy of ch.558 copied from copy in IA's hand which must mean vol. 18 of the lost 1st version holograph
 - Amasya 660 chunk 3 f.569b (end of ch.558) marks end of sifr 18
- **ch.559 = vol (sifr) 19**
 - Amasya 660 chunk 3 f.671b (end of ch.559) marks end of sifr 19
- **ch.560 = vol (sifr) 20**
 - Yusuf Aga 5463 is a copy of ch.560 from vol. 20 of the lost 1st version holograph [or perhaps SQ's copy of that]
 - There is another copy of ch.560 from the 1st version original (with a copy of the original colophon) in a 172 folio ms which is illuminated and ruled in gold and bears some large seals. It can be downloaded from <https://archive.org/download/M-0007/18484-.zip> . It seems to have been copied in 1005H. The ms is in the library of King 'Abd al-'Azīz in Medina (مجموع به عدد من الرسائل الخطية لابن عربي: 260/91).
 - WARNING: in British Library Or.6324 (7thH?) ch.560 is labelled sifr 19 (!). It is possible there was an early division of FM into 19 *asfār* rather than 20 (see also Carullah 986).

There is a manuscript set in Suleymaniye (?) which could potentially clear up the remaining questions about where the sifr divisions occur. OY lists Muḥtalit (Mukhtalit?) 133-152 as a 20 volume set (presumably 1st version).

Addendum – 37 volumes of 2nd version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ cross-referenced to locations in standard Cairo edition and to low-level juz' numbers and to FM chapter numbers and also to reconstructed 20 volumes of (lost) 1st version holograph

Volume and part markings can provide a straightforward means of identifying whether the text of any particular manuscript is fundamentally 1st or 2nd version FM (even if more detailed examinations of 'version' markers are also required to check for 'hybridization' of the two versions). A volume (*sifr*) is sometimes referred to as a *juz'*. The term *juz'* (lit. part) is particularly confusing because it can also be used for partitions of the text ranging from the "low-level" *juz'* (around 7 per volume in the 2nd version holographs) up to partitions of the entire text into 2, 3, 4 or more "super-volumes" (as for example in the various editions in print). And we have described elsewhere in this document yet another a partitioning of the 1st version text into perhaps 10 or 11 parts, a partitioning which only partially coincided with the more usual division into 20 volumes (see references to Berlin Sprenger 778-9 and related manuscripts). A *sifr* or a super-volume on occasion is referred to as a *jild*, *mujallad* or *mujalladah*. One should also remember that IA divided his text logically into 6 unequal-lengthed

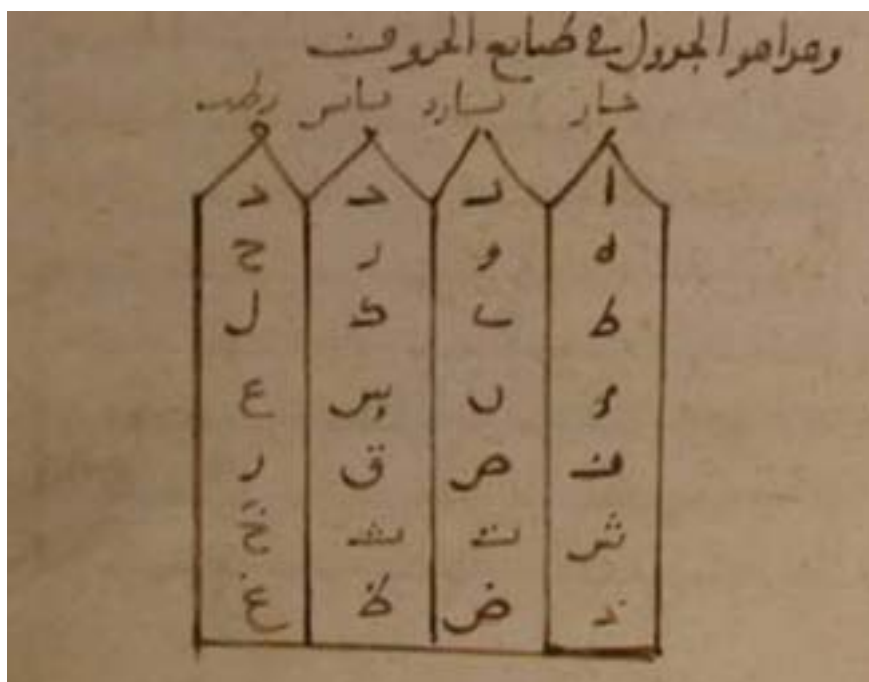
faşl (starting at ch.2; ch.74; ch.190; ch.270; ch.384; ch.462). The following table of cross-references can be helpful when working with manuscripts:

Volume (sifr) in 2 nd version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (37 total)	Low-level juz' number (not marked after #123-4 in sifr 17) [unclear whether these were used in 1 st version text or were original to 2 nd version]	Standard Cairo edition (volume.page)	FM chapter (0-560) at start of volume (and division into 6 <i>faşl</i>)	Volume (sifr) in reconstruction of lost 1 st version holograph (20 total)	Volumes (sifr) in another partitioning of 1 st version text (10 or 11 total?)
1	1	I.2	ch.0	1	1
2	8	I.84	(within ch.2)		
		<i>I.143</i>	12	2	
3	15	I.161	17		
4	22	I.237	41		
		<i>I.277</i>	53	3	2
5	29	I.317	65		
6	35	I.386	69	4	
7	41	I.457	(within 69)		
8	48	I.526	(within 69)		
		<i>I.546</i>	70		3?
9	54 (55?)	I.595	(within 70)		
		<i>I.601</i>	71	5	3?
10	61	I.665	72		
11	71	I.733	(within 72)		
		<i>II.2</i>	73	6	3?
12	80	II.39	(within 73)		
13	90	II.114	(within 73)		
		<i>II.139</i>	74 (<i>faşl</i> 2 of 6)	7	4
14	98	II.189	108		
		<i>II.256</i>	158		5 ₁
15	107	II.262	162		
		<i>II.297</i>	177	8	5 ₂
16	114	II.341	(within 178)		
		<i>[II.382]</i>	<i>[190 (faşl 3 of 6)]</i>		
17	121	II.421	(within 198)		
		<i>II.472</i>	198/44	9	6
18		II.498	211		
19		II.571	270 (<i>faşl</i> 4 of 6)	10	7?
20		II.644	289		
		<i>II.670</i>	294	11	7?
21		III.26	306		

		III.80	322	12	
22		III.96	326		
23		III.165	342		
		III.216	351	13 (?)	
24		III.236	353		
		III.293	361	14	8
25		III.307	363		
26		III.377	(within 369)		
		III.407	370	15	
27		III.454	373		
28		III.522	384 (faṣl 5 of 6)	16	
29		IV.15	411		
30		IV.74	462 (faṣl 6 of 6)	17	
31		IV.133	497		
32		IV.196	558	18	
33		IV.259	(within 558)		
34		IV.326	559	19	
35		IV.381	(within 559)		
36		IV.444	560	20	
37		IV.501	(within 560)		
(end of vol. 37)		IV.553	(end of 560; end of faṣl 6)	(end of vol. 20)	(end of vol. 10 or 11?)

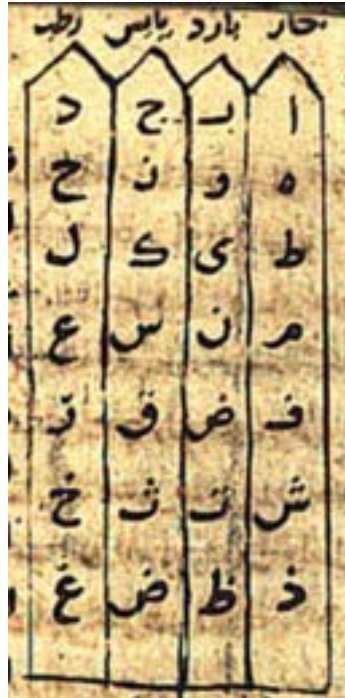
Addendum – a letter diagram in ch.26 which differs in the two versions of FM

In holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.3 f.60a we find the following diagram (in IA's hand):



Reading from right to left and row-by-row this presents the 28 letters in standard Abjad order. (We note but can not explain the lack of a tail on the jīm in the top row; we note IA's use of the Maghribi form of ظ with diagonal stem and dot to the left)

In Beyazid 3743 f.116a (1st version text) we find this variant:



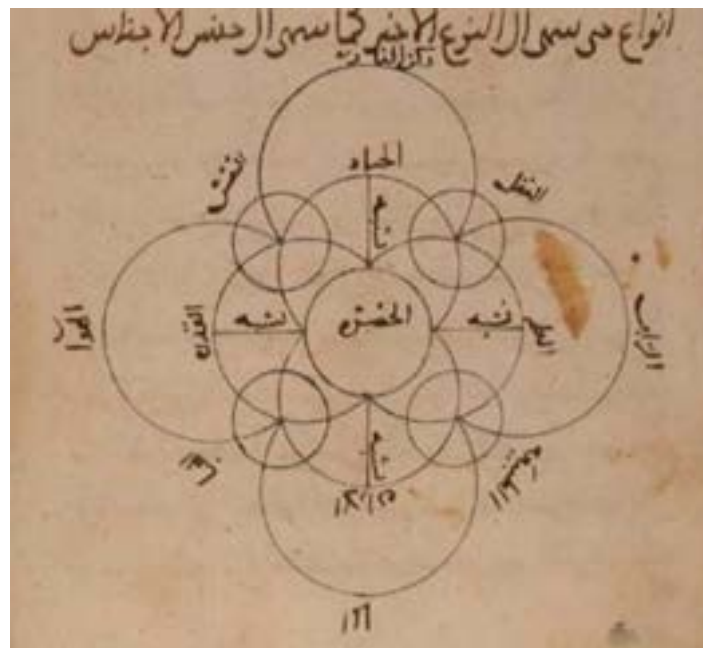
Notice that *z* and *ḏ* have been switched in the final row – in many vernaculars these letters are not distinguished in pronunciation – but this means the letters are no longer in standard Abjad order. It is of course possible this was a simple scribal error in Beyazid 3743. However, this ‘mistake’ (or non-conventional ordering) seems to have propagated with the first version text. For here is the equivalent in Nurosmaniye 2502 f.84b:



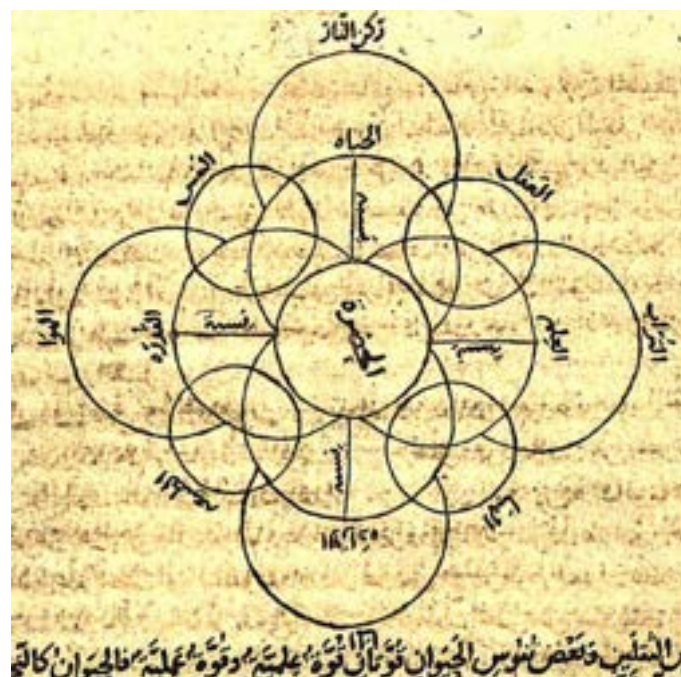
Once again we find the switch in the final row of letters. Also now the headings have been placed as footers and the definite feminine forms of those words appear as headings.³¹

³¹ All of these features are also found in Nurosmaniye 2505 (dated 998H) PDF 63. Downloadable from <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2505.pdf> And they are also found in

For another example of how a diagram can become modified here is a diagram from ch.47, Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.4 f.47b (2nd version holograph):



Here is the equivalent in Beyazid 3743 f.160b (1st version) – where the centering of circles seems to have drifted slightly (assuming the diagram in the 1st version holograph looked very much like that in the 2nd version holograph):



And here is the diagram in Nurosmaniye 2502 f.113a (later first version) – some circles have been resized and one set of circles has been replaced by a set of rays:

Manisa 1048 PDF 180. Similarly Nurosmaniye 2506 PDF 116. We find NO 2502, NO 2505, NO 2506 and Manisa 1048 to be a closely related family of mss.



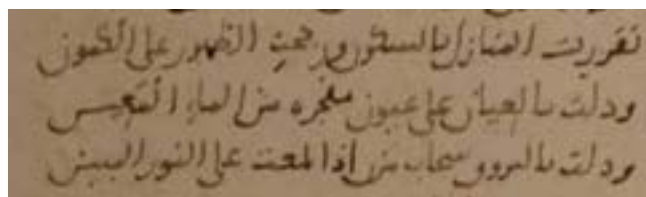
Yet another figure on Nurosmaniye 2502 f.114b is a stylized version of the simple diagram in both Beyazid 3743 f.163a and Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.4 f.55b - now with the word Allāh added in the centre.

Addendum – further differences between 1st and 2nd versions of FM

2- or 3-verse poem in FM ch.22 and in RG 412 K. Manzil al-manāzil

The holograph of RG 412 K. *Manzil al-manāzil* – Veliyuddin 1759 f.80a-102b was written in 618H, long before the first version of FM was completed in 629H. But the text of RG 412 can be regarded as an early version of FM ch.22. So if there were any differences in the poetry between versions of FM ch.22 then one would expect to find that the equivalent poem in RG 412 was closer to the first version.

A clear example of this is a poem from ch.22 which has an extra final verse added in the second version FM. Here it is with the full 3 verses in holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol.3 f.34a:



The extra 3rd verse is found in standard Cairo Fut I.177:

تَقَرَّرْتُ الْمَنَازِلَ بِالْأَسْوَاقِ * وَرَجَحْتُ الظُّهُورَ عَلَى الْكُمُونِ

وَدَلْتُ بِالْعِيَانِ عَلَى عَيُونٍ * مَفْجَرَةٍ مِنَ الْمَاءِ الْمَعِينِ

وَدَلْتُ بِالْبُرُوقِ سَحَابَ مَنْ * إِذَا لَمَعَتْ عَلَى النُّورِ الْمَبِينِ

But the 3rd verse is not found in Dīwān holograph AFM Damascus al-Assad 14067 f.21b (where it does not even appear as a marginal correction):

وما هذا الباس
تفرقت النور والسكون رجعت الظهور على الكون
ودلت بالعيان على عيون مفعلة من النور
وما هذا الباس

And here is (1st version FM) Beyazid 3743 f.108a – where again only those same two verses are found:

السرك المطلق وفيما أقول
تفرقت المنازل بالسكون رجعت الظهور على الكون
ودلت بالعيان على عيون مفعلة من النور
وما هذا الباس

The lack of a 3rd verse in this poem can thus serve as a marker for copies of the first version FM. We have used colour-coding to indicate that there is another difference between versions in the second verse. The 1st version text of v.2 ends (النور المبين) while in the 2nd version this becomes (الماء المعين) and the words (النور المبين) now appear at the end of the 'new' verse, v.3.

Here is the same 2-verse form (and a following line of prose) found in RG 412 K. *Manzil al-manāzil* holograph Veliyuddin 1759 (written 618H) f.94b (again there are no marginal corrections):

المطلق
وما هذا المنزل أقول
تفرقت المنازل بالسكون رجعت الظهور على الكون
ودلت بالعيان على عيون مفعلة من النور
وما هذا المنزل أقول

As we predicted, the text of RG 412 is closest to the first version FM (as is the holograph Great Dīwān).

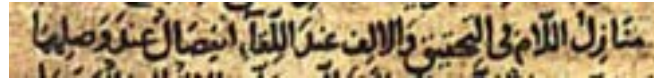
The poem prior to this in both FM ch.22 and and RG 412 is interesting. In the first verse, the holograph Dīwān and Beyazid 3743 (1st version FM texts) use (عند) but in the 2nd version FM (Evkaf and standard Cairo) this becomes (حال). Intriguingly, the word was initially omitted entirely in the holograph of RG 412, Veliyuddin 1759 – but is marked as an insertion in the margin of f.94b:

حال
وما هذا المنزل أقول
تفرقت المنازل بالسكون رجعت الظهور على الكون
ودلت بالعيان على عيون مفعلة من النور
وما هذا المنزل أقول

Here is the standard Cairo text (Fut I.177):

منازل اللام في التحقيق والالف * عند اللقاء انفصال حال وصلهما

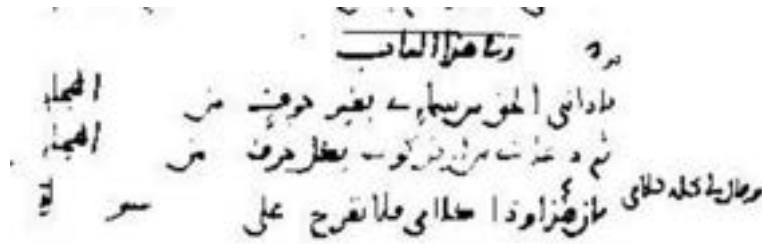
And here is the first verse in Beyazid 3743 f.107b, using (عند):



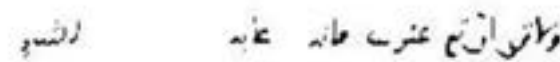
Since the marginal insertion in Veliyuddin 1759 matches the 2nd version of FM and not the 1st it seems most likely that the insertion was marked in that holograph of RG 412 much later than the time of its initial writing in 618H. It was probably added sometime after 629H when work on the 2nd version had begun, and the original (FM) reading (عند) had been replaced by (حال). One wonders, was this marginal insertion marked by IA himself, or with his authorization?

4-verse poem in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627) and the replacement sifr 9 in the 37-volume holograph

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



...



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 لي كله كلامي *

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

12 وَقَالَ لِي : كُلُّهُ كَلَامِي فَلَا تُعْرَجْ عَلَيَّ سِوَانِي

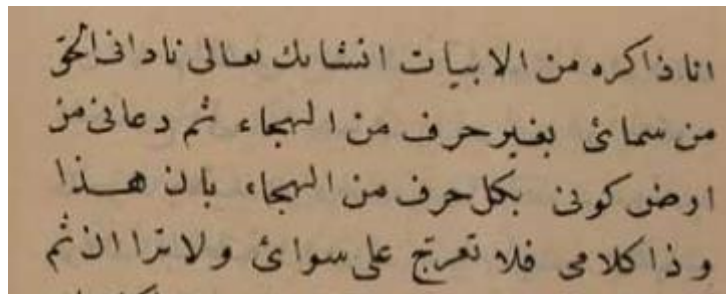
...

بكل حرف . (مطلوطة جزئيا B) || الهجاء CK : الهجا B || 12 وقال... كلامي C : بان هذا وذا كلامي BK || تعرج CK (الراء مشددة فيها) : تعرج B (مهملة) || سواني C : سواني K : سواني B || 13 ترى C : ترا BK (مهملة B) || ثم . (مهملة B) || غيري . (كذلك) || فإنه (همزة

His standard text 'C' (2nd version FM) matches the corrected text of the Dīwān (وقال لي كله كلامي). 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 un-corrected 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.³²

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



The 3rd verse reads:

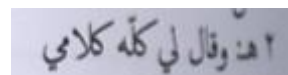
بان هذا وذا كلامي * ...

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, presume is the correct second version text (we also know that it agrees with the marginal correction in the Dīwān). Rather surprisingly 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 which IA we believe changed when he wrote the second version.

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):



...



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

³² 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).

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 (first 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 Konya³³. For in Ragip Pasha 704 on the 2nd to last line of PDF 387L one finds the same 1st version reading (بان هذا وذا (كلامى)³⁴. 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 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 now know there that there exists to this day a direct copy of the original (pre-replacement) holograph vol.9, namely Fatih 2748...

On 2016.10.17 we received from Istanbul copies of a single page from each of **Fatih 2747**, **Fatih 2748** and **Fatih 2749**. We subsequently ordered and received complete copies of each. Fatih 2747-8 are of the same set (although in multiple hands; both were owned by Ibn ‘Azam, ownership date: 850H, which is the same year as holograph Diwan vol.2, Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774 = Damascus al-Assad 14067, and the year before Ibn ‘Azam obtained holograph Diwan vol. 7, Shehit Ali 1177 – in itself a sign of excellent provenance; notes on the title pages indicate Fatih 2748 and Fatih 2747 were copied from the holograph second version of FM and later corrected against the same in 747H in *al-zāwiyya al-ṣadriyya*, which one assumes means in Konya). **Fatih 2747** is 2nd version vols. 10-12 containing ch. 72 and ch.73 up to 89th juz’and beginning of 118th question (Fut I.665-II.114 in 297 ff). **Fatih 2748**

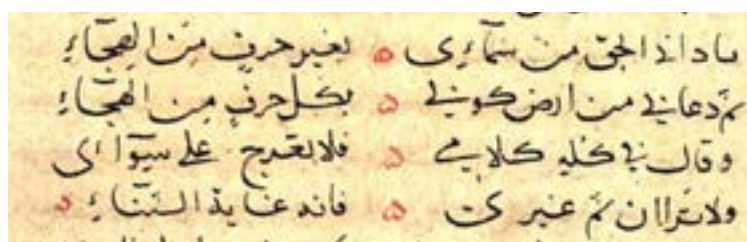
³³ Yet CA reports (2016.02.11) that Shaykh Ṭaṇṭawī when preparing the standard Cairo (third) edition using the 37 volumes in Konya made no reference to a problem with volume 9 in a letter to the Emir in which he pointed out other problems. By contrast, the editors of the much more recent Yemeni edition 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 Ṭaṇṭawī 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.

³⁴ 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.

contains 2nd version vol.7-9 (Fut I.457-I.665 in 257 ff) – **it DOES indeed include an early corrected copy of the lost holograph volume 9. Fatih 2749** is not from the same set as the other two mss – it contain 2nd version vol.5-8 (Fut I.317-588; ch.65-part of ch.70 in 304ff). I, Julian Cook, have compared the text of sifr 9 in **Fatih 2748** to other editions and manuscripts with the help of Osman Yahia's vol. 9 [details in a separate document: Fatih 2748 and lost sifr 9 of FM.docx]. In brief, I find the replacement holograph (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) to be a defective hybrid of first and second versions. Standard Cairo is generally closer to the true second version of text of Fatih 2748, but that too is not perfect. **An improved edition is urgently needed and is now possible – an edition based upon Fatih 2748 and ignoring Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 9 entirely.**³⁵

Another manuscript, Imam Muḥammad b. Saud Islamic University 3465³⁶, 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 (بان هذا وذا كلامي).

This poem is found in Fatih 2748 f.212a:



We see that verse 3 is very much as in standard Cairo (although perhaps **في** in place of **لي**):

وقال لي كله كلامي * ...

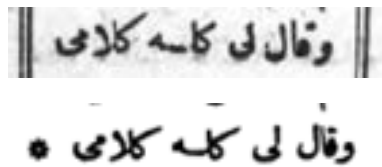
This is strong evidence that replacement sifr 9 does not contain the true 2nd version text.

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



³⁵ At least one other early ms exists containing the content of lost sifr 9 – a ms dated 692H in a microfilm held in University of Tehran (ms number unknown, in collection of Mojtaba Minovi 109; catalogue vol. 6 p. 655). See union catalogue entry: <http://www.ghaboz.org.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=81112> (it is said to contain chapters 71 and 72 and parts of chapters 70 and 73, which could well correspond to volumes 9-11 or 9-12 of the second version). A catalogue entry suggests this is a microfilm of a manuscript in **Konya**. Minovi is said to have arranged for 1500 or so Turkish mss to be microfilmed for the University of Tehran – see <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/minovi-mojtabalmaml> I have obtained a copy of this microfilm and **it does indeed contains lost sifr 9 (and volume 10 in the same hand is dated 692H)**. I have noticed a few differences from Fatih 2748 so it might be of slightly lower quality, but certainly early and 2nd recension.

³⁶ Imam Muḥammad b. Saud Islamic University 3465 can be downloaded from <https://ia801305.us.archive.org/8/items/m-alemam02/3465.zip>



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+. ³⁷

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 I.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 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 Ragib 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.

³⁷ 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 Nurosmāniye 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 I.356-Fut I.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 I.386, on f.20b; end of sifr 6, Fut I.457, on f.74b; end of sifr 7, Fut I.526, on f.126a; end of sifr 8, Fut I.588, on f.184a; end of sifr 9, Fut I.665, on f.231b). We include this ms in our list mainly to indicate how sifr markings can help identify a 2nd version mss.

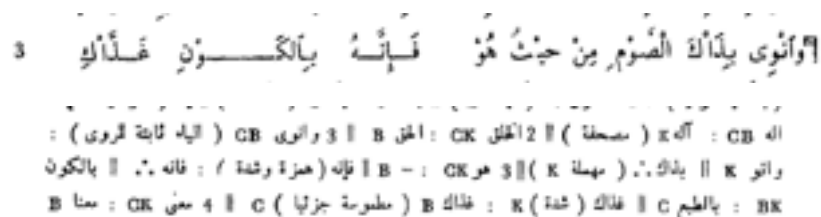
- But manuscripts preserving the true second version reading of that verse still existed (Husein Celebi 445 and Nurosmaniye 2501 are examples)
- By good fortune, or good judgment, the editors of the first Bulaq edition selected the second version reading from the (unknown) manuscripts from which they worked
- That second version reading was transmitted to the second edition
- In preparing the standard Cairo edition Ṭaṇṭawī 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.

Poem opening FM ch.71 and the replacement sifr 9 in the 37-volume holograph

The 10th verse of the poem which opens FM ch.71 provides another interesting case study which sheds further light on the problem with replacement sifr 9 in the (otherwise) holograph 37-volume set Evkaf Muzesi 1845+. Sifr 9 covers all of FM ch.71 (as well as the final few pages of ch.70).

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



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

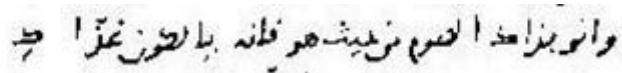
However, in his footnote he records a different reading in the standard Cairo (‘C’):

بالطبع

The first thing we notice is that OY’s editorial decision here is the opposite of the decision he made regarding the 4-verse poem later in FM ch.71 (Fut I.627). As we mentioned in the previous section,

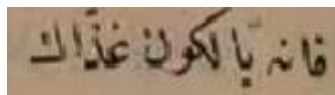
there he also recorded that standard Cairo 'C' differed from both manuscripts 'B' and 'K', but there he selected the standard Cairo reading for his main text. By contrast, here in the opening poem of ch.71 he favours the manuscripts over the standard Cairo edition. We have no explanation for this editorial inconsistency.

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. 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.³⁸

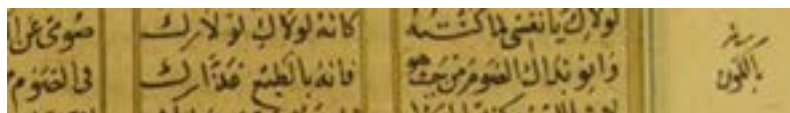
Confirming what OY records for 'K' here is the text in replacement sifr 9 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ f.13b:



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:



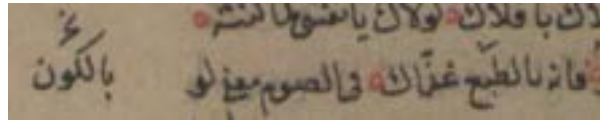
The main text agrees with the standard Cairo edition (بالطبع) but in the margin is the first version text (بالكون)³⁹. We find this manuscript usually presents the 2nd version text. It is not clear if the marginal note was meant to serve as a correction or simply to record a variant. If it were a correction it would be a correction in the wrong direction, towards the 1st version text! So perhaps the note was only

³⁸ We find further evidence this was the first version text in the 'minimally hybridized' first version manuscript Nurosmaniye 2502. On f.214a the text reads بالكون

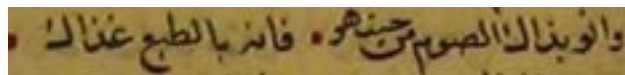
³⁹ The symbol in the margin marking the 'variant' we understand to be an abbreviated form of نسخة (short for 'in other copy'). Compare the symbol in Husein Celebi 445 below.

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.

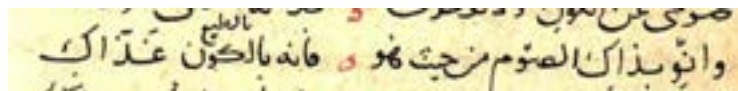
Similar evidence is found in Husein Celebi 445 (946H) f.196b. Once again, the text we take to be 2nd version is found in the main text, while the 1st version form is provided as a marginal 'variant' ⁴⁰:



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':



We find both the original first version text (بالكون) in the body and above that (within the line) the second version correction (بالطبع) in Fatih 2748 f.181b [the exact opposite situation to the Topkapi ms]:



In conclusion, it seems very likely that IA changed this word when he wrote the second version of FM – using بالطبع instead of بالكون. (On the evidence of Fatih 2748 it is likely IA made the change as a 'correction' within the holograph itself, having first reproduced the first version). 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. One consequence of this is that **we can not expect all 2nd version modifications to be marked in the Dīwān holograph**. In some cases - such as this poem - we must look for differences between manuscripts (or even editions). The good news is that in some manuscripts we are alerted to such changes, when a scribe or collator marks variants in the margins. But caution is always required. For when a generally second version manuscript such as Topkapi Ahmed III or Husein Celebi 445 has what looks like a correction marked in the margins – it can be that what is marked in the margin is in fact a first version 'variant'. If that was interpreted as a marginal correction one would end up correcting the second version text back towards the first! Spotting differences between versions and determining which version is which will always be a complex business. But in the case of FM chapter 71, where the 2nd version holograph has been lost - and replaced by a hybrid manuscript - this presents a particularly pressing problem.

To give another indication of the difficulties involved, we pursue another apparent 'variant' marked in the margins of Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 (this time in the prose of ch.71). On f.224a the main text reads:

في علم الغيب عندك

⁴⁰ 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.

But in the margins a 'variant' is marked as before – the variant text reading:

في علم غيبك

Based on our experience with the poem at the start of ch.71, one naturally wonders if the variant reading is the first version text and the main text is the second version. We find the variant text (في علم غيبك) in standard Cairo Fut I.613 – so in this case should we assume that standard Cairo is in fact the first version? Other manuscripts provide evidence for that - but also for the opposite!

In Husein Celebi 445 f.199b (another manuscript which generally seems to be 2nd version) the text agrees with the main text of Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 (في علم الغيب عندك) – and there is no variant / correction marked in the margins.

But in Nurosmariye 2501 f.132b (yet another manuscript which generally seems to be 2nd version) the text agrees with standard Cairo (في علم غيبك) – and there is no variant / correction marked in the margins.

In Nurosmariye 2502 f.218a (a 'minimally hybridized' first version text) one find this is part of chunk of text that is entirely missing – in standard Cairo that 'missing' text reads:

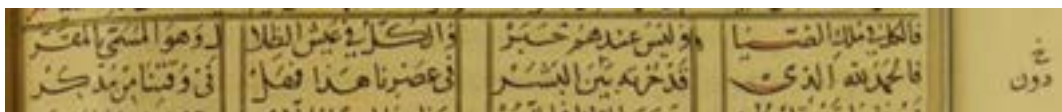
لقوله صلى الله عليه وسلم في دعائه اللهم إني أسألك بكل اسم سميت به نفسك أو علمته أحدا من خلقك أو استأثرت به في علم غيبك

Osman Yahia has this text in vol.9 p.161, lines 13-15, where he indicates it is indeed lacking in 'B' (Beyazid, first version).

So if we take it that IA only inserted this text in version two of FM, then the two variants we have been examining must be intrinsic to the manuscript tradition of the second version - they have nothing to do with differences between IA's two versions of FM. Most likely one is the true second version text and the other is an error introduced by a later scribe. Since it more likely a scribe would collapse *al-ghaybi* 'indaka into *ghaybika* than he would expand the latter reading into the former, one could argue that standard Cairo probably transmits the erroneous form. But this would be little more than speculation.

Poem in FM ch.73 (Fut II.107-8) where holograph v.12 has a correction (in a later hand?)

We were alerted to this strange situation by the marking of a 'variant' in the margins of (2nd version) Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 pt.2 f.40b:



The pre-final word of the 3rd verse has the following form in the main text:

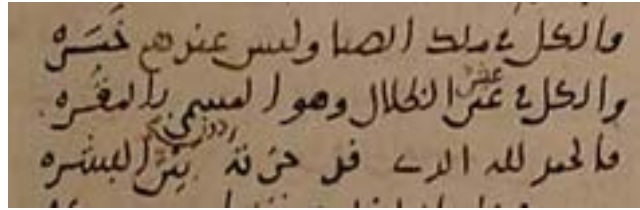
بين

But a variant is provided in the margin:

دون

Based on our experience with the poem opening Fut ch.71 we would expect the main text (بين) to be the second version form while the 'variant' in the margin (دون) might be IA's original first version form.

But the situation is complicated by what we find in holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol.12 f.147a. Here are the first 3 verses:



We see that the pre-final word in verse 3 is written (بين) but above that we see (دون) written as an apparent correction. Is this in another hand or was it IA's own correction? Here is what OY has to say, on v.12 p.543 (where the verse appears on l.7):

فَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي قَدْ حَنَّنَهُ دُونَ الْبَشَرِ

|| (OK) 7 فالحمد ... قد : (مهمله تماما K ، سوى القاف التي هي بوحدة ، الشدة سابقة فيه)
دون B : بين K (أصل المتن ، وفوقه : «دون» بقلم جديد ، مع إشارة التصحيح) O || 8 ن : (مهمله

OY found (دون) in 'B' (Beyazid; first version) and reports finding (بين) in standard Cairo 'C' (which we confirm finding in Fut II.108) and also in 'K' (2nd version holograph). But he adds that the also found there 'in a later hand' the text (دون) (marked as a correction). Given he found the first version form as a correction in a later hand one wonders why OY selected that form for the main text of his edition (ignoring standard Cairo). Did OY regard this as an authentic correction of IA himself even though it was written in a later hand?

In the holograph Dīwān al-Assad 14067 f.45b - which we know was based upon the first version FM - one indeed finds (دون). There is no sign of IA returning to the Dīwān holograph to mark in the margins any 2nd version change. But we know from experience that this can NOT be taken as evidence that he had not in fact modified the FM text itself when wrote the second version. It is quite conceivable that the second version form was (بين) and the later correction to the holograph FM was added by someone else who had noticed the text now differed from the first version and for unknown reasons thought it should be corrected back to that (دون).

Standard Cairo Fut II.108 presents what we are suggesting is possibly the true second version reading (بين). So, unlike OY, the editors of standard Cairo seem to have decided that the correction in the holograph should be ignored. We ourselves know from Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 that that reading existed in the manuscript base. The first edition from which the standard Cairo editors began would have provided the editors with indirect evidence of such a reading. So perhaps that was enough to convince them to ignore the correction in the holograph.

In contrast to Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 - and also Nurosmaniye 2501 f.192a, where the reading is (بين) - Husein Celebi 445 f.286a has the form as found in the first version (دون). Yet all three of these manuscripts generally present the second version text. So it seems that both forms existed in the manuscript base for second version FM. Perhaps the correction to the holograph in a later hand had presented earlier scribes with the same problem – which text should one follow? Should the correction be ignored? As with modern editors, different scribes working from the holograph seem to have taken different decisions on this.

For completeness, we can report that 'minimally hybridized' first version Nurosmaniye 2502 f.303b has the same reading as 'B', that is the first version form (دون).

Poem opening Fut. ch.83 – another correction in the holograph

Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 pt.2 f.58a has another marginal correction to the first 2 words:



...



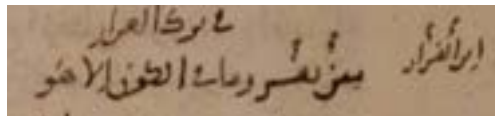
The main text reads:

ممن يفر

But the margin has a correction after the intriguing words bi-khaṭṭ al-shaykh (“in the hand of the shaykh”) ⁴¹:

ابن الفرار

Here is the text of the second version holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.13 f.86b:



So the Topkapi ms has in the main text the uncorrected text of the holograph but also records IA's (?) marginal correction from there.

Here is what OY has to say (vol 13, p.400, l.3):

3 (٤٦٢) مِمَّنْ تَفِرُّ؟ وَمَا فِي الْكَوْنِ إِلَّا هُوَ

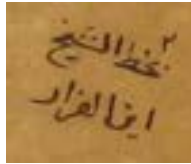
يخط عادي ، كالمعتن C (تتمة العنوان ، في سياق النص ، داخل هلالين زاهرين) 3 ممن تفر K (مهملة جزئياً ، الشدة ساقطة ، فوق الجملة ، بقلم الأصل : «صح ، صح» - إشارة إلى صحة هذه الرواية) : ابن الفرار K (ثابتة على الهامش ، بقلم الأصل ، وفوقها : «صح ، صح» - إشارة إلى صحة هذه الرواية أيضاً ، كالرواية الأولى) CB (في : (مهملة K) إلا (همزة تحتية وشدة) K (الهمزة ساقطة) K (كذلك ، مع الشدة) C (كذلك ، كذلك) : (الهاء بموحدة K) : عليه : (الهاء مهملة K) : ما هو : (الجزء الأخير

OY presents the UN-corrected text of 'K' (the holograph) in the main text even though he notes it is corrected in the holograph – corrected to match the text he also also found in both 'B' (Beyazid; first version) and 'C' (standard Cairo Fut II.156). In fact he reads the text as (ممن تفر) rather than (ممن يفر) . I am unable to understand what he is saying here – or to guess why he might have chosen to ignore the marginal correction.

Koprulu Fazil Ahmed Ps 756 (v.2 of a mixed version set, Fazil Ahmed Ps 755-758 ⁴²) is very similar to the Topkapi ms. On PDF 115L we find the main text read (ممن يفر) but in the margin a collation note provided the variant (ابن الفرار) found “in the hand of the shaykh”:

⁴¹ It seems very likely the scribe (or later collator) of Topkapi Ahmed III 1397 was collating against the 37-volume holographs in Konya, recording 'variants' marked there. I find other such indications (often marked simply “shaykh”) in pt.2, on f.119b; f.120a; f.128a; f.133a (all ch.178); f.142b (ch.195); f.181b (ch.210); f.184a (ch.215). Finally, on f.220a (within ch. 277) there is a marginal explanatory note (*hāshiya*) referring to “shaykh Saḍr al-dīn” – presumably in this case quoting from SQ's works.

⁴² Fazil Ahmed Ps 756 etc can be downloaded from <https://ia601502.us.archive.org/4/items/M-00080/FAZILAHMEDPS756.pdf> . Similarly the other volumes of this 4-volume set, Fazil Ahmed Ps 755-758 dated 1020H-1022H. The text is a mixture of versions: vol.2 PDF 148R has the vision of 633H at the end of ch.121 (strictly second version) while vol.3 PDF 220L says the current date is 628H (strictly first version). As with the Topkapi ms I find other indications this ms (vol.2) was collated with the holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ - perhaps even by the same collator. PDF 271R (ch.195) has a variant marked “shaykh”. Similarly PDF



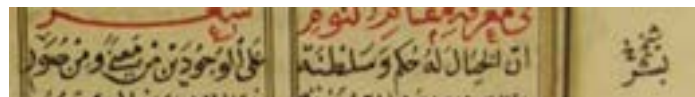
All of the other FM manuscripts I have examined have the corrected form (اين الفرار). That includes Dīwān holograph al-Assad 14067 f.47b, confirming that that must have been the reading of the first version FM. Koprulu Fazil Ahmed Ps 760 (a mixed version ms⁴³) is unique in that the main text reads (اين الفرار) but a variant is provided in the margins: (ممن يفر) or rather (ممن تفر) – reversing the situation in the holograph, the Topkapi ms, and Fazil Ahmed 756. Other manuscripts found to have (اين الفرار) as their main text but with no variant recorded: (‘minimally hybridized’ first version) Nurosmaniye 2502 f.321b; (second version) Nurosmaniye 2501 f.203b; Husein Celebi 445 f.299a. The Topkapi ms is thus the only FM ms following IA’s un-corrected form – but it would appear it’s scribe found that in some other copy, and that he or a collator added the corrected form later, at a time when they had more or less direct access to the second version holograph. (That would explain the phrase “in the hand of the shaykh” used with reference to the holograph’s marginal correction – although it conceivable that they were in fact collating against the first version holographs, now lost).

Once again we seem to have a case of two different forms existing in the manuscript base of the second version – one corresponding to the un-corrected text in the holograph and another to a marginal correction in the holograph. Once again we infer that some scribes with access to the holographs had chosen to ignore a marginal correction, but others had not.

Interestingly, we also find the uncorrected form (ممن يفر) used in Bodleian Pococke 275 f.23a – which is a copy of RG 103 *Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā’ al-amjad ‘alā ḥurūf abjad*.

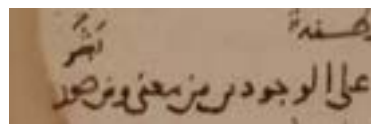
Poem opening Fut. ch.99 – marginal correction (or variant?) in the holograph

Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 pt.2 f.67b has another marginal ‘variant’ for the final word of the second verse of the poem opening ch.99:



The main text has (صور) but a variant (of the “shaykh”) is presented in the margin (بشر).

Here is the text in the holograph Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.13 f.143b:

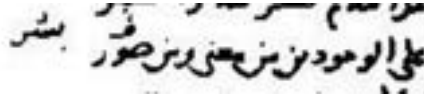


320R (ch.198); PDF 334R (ch.201, opening poem, vs.2, where holograph indicates this variant); PDF 359L (ch.222); PDF 376L (ch. 242, opening poem, vs.1, where holograph indicates this variant); PDF 384L (ch.254, opening poem, vs.3, where holograph indicates this variant, but strangely the holograph has a much more obvious variant against vs.4 and there is no indication of that in the Koprulu ms – is this evidence of very late tampering with the holograph?) It is possible parts of the other 3 volumes in the set were similarly collated against the holograph although I find no explicit reference to the “hand of the shaykh”. In vol.1 PDF 165L, the final word of the poem opening chapter 58 has a variant marked less obviously, but this is also found as a variant in the holograph (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol.4 f.100b).

⁴³ Fazil Ahmed Ps 760 can be downloaded from <https://ia601502.us.archive.org/4/items/M-00080/FAZILAHMEDPS760.pdf>. The text is a mixture of versions: PDF 273R has the vision of 633H at the end of ch.121 (strictly second version) while PDF 491L in ch.351 says the current date is 628H (strictly first version).

Should we interpret the ‘correction’ (بشر) above the final word (صور) as a ‘variant’? Was IA indicating both forms were valid in his second version? Or was he (or some later hand) indicating that the correction should apply.

Dīwān holograph al-Assad 14067 f.52a has a similar correction:



We would usually understand that to mean the the first version FM text (on which this ms was based) was (صور) but that IA had returned to mark the 2nd version form in the margins having changed the text in the second version, to (بشر). If that were the case then in Evkaf Muzesi IA had first written the unchanged first version form (صور) and at some point after that (perhaps while writing) had modified that to (بشر). In that case, we should understand the latter form to be the true (final) second version form. And the Topkapi ms was not going far enough when it indicated this was the shaykh’s ‘variant’.

Here is OY’s edition (vol 13 p.601, l.8):

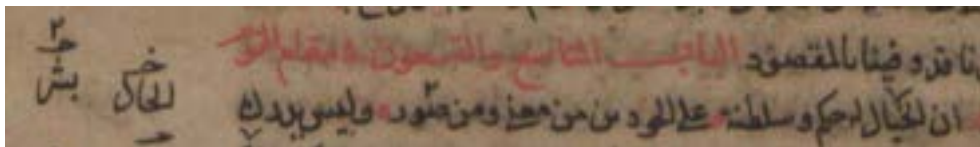
عَلَى الْوُجُودَيْنِ مِنْ مَعْنَى وَمِنْ صُورٍ

الثاني وسط سطر مفرد ، تشطرهما علامة نجمة صغيرة ، الهززة ساقطة والشدّة (B على ... صور K
(المصراع الثاني في نهاية سطر مفرد ، الياء مهملة مع النون الأولى) B (في السياق ، بلا تشطير) C (في
السياق ، مشطور) صور . (فوق الكلمة في أصل K «بشر» على أنها رواية ثانية ، وكذلك في أصل B ، مع
زيادة علامة الصحة بقلم الأصل على الرواية الأولى «صور» وعلى الرواية الثانية) «لا وليس ... ولا K

Again he chooses the UN-corrected text of the holograph (صور) but refers to the correction (?) (بشر) in his footnote. If I understand correctly he found (بشر) in ‘B’ (Beyazid; first version) but found (صور) in ‘C’ (standard Cairo; Fut II.183). So why did OY and the editors of standard Cairo choose to ignore the ‘correction’? I am unable to understand OY’s explanation here.

‘Minimally hybridized’ first version Nurosmaniye 2502 f.331a has (صور) which differs from first version ‘B’. So it would appear this is a case of Nurosmaniye 2502 NOT having the first version form – a case of hybridization with the 2nd version text.

Second version Nurosmaniye 2501 f.209b has (صور). But Husein Celebi 445 f.308a like the Tokapi ms presents both forms, with (صور) in the main text but (بشر) reported as a ‘variant’ found elsewhere:



Poem from FM ch.178 (on love) with multiple ‘variants’ even within the holograph FM itself

This poem from FM ch.178 on love is special for a number of reasons.

- Firstly, there are a number of marginal corrections to this poem in the holograph version 2 ms (EM 1845+). Were these in IA’s hand? How early were they added – at the time of writing

or later? What 'authority' do they have with regards to correcting (replacing) the main text? Did some of these notes even record previous variants, such as the first version text?

Generally it seems that different scribes, collators and even modern editors have interpreted such 'corrections'⁴⁴ in the holographs in different ways – some would ignore a 'correction' (assuming it was present when they saw the holograph), some would treat it as a 'correction' (ignoring the uncorrected text), and yet others would transmit both 'variants' (placing one or the other in their own margins / footnotes).

- Elsewhere we find explicit indications that 'variants' were being marked in the holographs, either by IA or a later collator. For example, in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 13 f.35b-36a there are two marginal notes marked (نسخة) – a conventional abbreviation for "in another manuscript". It is possible these were intended to help collators to 'update' 1st version mss in the direction of the 2nd version text – by correcting *towards* the form in the main text of the holograph, *away from* the form in the margin. This possibility suggests that **other apparent 'corrections' in the holographs – those where the post-correction form agrees with the 1st version text – might not be meant as 'corrections' at all. It might well be that IA or some later collator was flagging a 1st version 'variant' in the margins – but the UN-corrected text should still stand as the 2nd version text.** We find many examples of this in ch.558 where we have a true 1st version ms (Manisa 1049; sifr 18) with which to compare the Evkaf text(s). In that chapter (Evkaf vols. 32 and 33) more often than not a marginal 'correction' in Evkaf in fact indicates the 1st version 'variant'. These 'flags' should probably NOT be interpreted as corrections IA would have intended in the 2nd version.
- Secondly, it appears IA made some changes to the poem when he placed it in his Diwan, or when he extracted the Western Diwan from the Great Diwan. As a result the poem in the Diwan seems to have differed from the poem in both versions of FM. (We can not be certain of this – it is possible that what we are seeing in the Diwan mss is in fact the first version FM form which has since been lost from the manuscript base). The Western Diwan has an entire extra verse which is not found in FM manuscripts or even in the Great Diwan as it has come down to us.
- Thirdly, the standard Cairo editors seem to have introduced some errors – or at least forms for which we have found no support in manuscripts.
- Fourthly, an entire verse is missing from the Cairo edition – which happens also to be absent from the Diwan mss. Could it be this was the form of the first version FM?
- Finally, this poem has particular significance. In the text of the poem IA plays numerically upon the names Zayn(ab) and Allāh in that z-y-n = 67 = ()-l-l()-h. So it is surely significant

⁴⁴ There are some explicit indications that 'variants' were being marked in the holographs, either by IA or a later collator. For example, in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ vol. 13 f.35b-36a there are two marginal notes marked (نسخة) – a conventional abbreviation for "in another manuscript". It is possible these were intended to help collators to 'update' 1st version mss in the direction of the 2nd version text – by correcting towards the form in the main text of the holograph, away from the form in the margin. This possibility would suggest that **some other apparent 'corrections' in the holographs – those where the post-correction form agrees with the 1st version text – might not be meant as 'corrections' at all. It might well be that IA or some later collator was marking the 1st version 'variant' in the margins – but the UN-corrected text should still stand as the 2nd version text.** We find a number of examples of this in ch.558 where we have a true 1st version ms to compare with (Manisa 1049; sifr 18) – in that chapter (Evkaf vols. 32 and 33) more often than not a marginal 'correction' in Evkaf indicates the 1st version 'variant' and probably should NOT be interpreted as a correction IA would have intended in the 2nd version.

that IA placed this poem from FM ch.178 (on love) outside the main FM block in the Great Dīwān (volumes 2 and 3 of 10), and at the very heart of what we believe is what he called the “Zaynabiyyāt”, the Zaynab-related poems. We find the Zaynabiyyāt in Paris BN 2348 f.228a-232a, which corresponds to the final 2 juz’ of volume 9 of the 10-volume Great Dīwān. For a French translation of the poem see M. Gloton’s translation of FM ch.178, *Traité de l’Amour*, p. 52.

Abbreviations for manuscripts and editions:

- S/C = Standard Cairo FM (Fut II.324-5)
- KHL = Khalili 225 holograph Western Diwan (f.91b)
- VEL = Veliyuddin 1681 non-holograph Western Diwan (f.231b)
 - Note: in rows KHL/VEL where VEL differs from KHL we follow the KHL reading
- PBN = Paris B.N. 2348 non-holograph Great Diwan (f.229b)
- NO 2502 = Nurosmaniye 2502 ‘minimally hybridized’ first version FM (f.380a)
- FA 759 = Koprulu Fazil Ahmed Ps 759 ‘minimally hybridized’ first version FM (f.380b)
- EM 1845+ = Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ holograph second version FM (vol. 15 f.124b)
- TA 1367 = Topkapi Ahmed III 1367 (pt 2; f.120a)

مقالة من قال الحبيب له قل لي	*	أقول وعندي من هواك الذي عندي	[1] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
فلم أر قبلي في الهوى عاشقا مثلي	*	ولما دخلت الشام خولطت في عقلي	[2] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
أخالقي المحبوب أم هو من شكلي	*	عشقت وما أدري الذي قد عشقته	[3] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
فهل قال هذا عاشق غيرنا قبلي	*	ولا سمعت أذنأي قط بذكره	[4] S/C
فهل قال هذا عاشق في الهوى قبلي		as S/C	KHL/VEL
فهل قال هذا <> في الهوى عاشق قبلي			PBN
as S/C		as S/C	NO 2502
as S/C		as S/C	FA 759
as S/C		as S/C	EM 1845+
as S/C		as S/C	TA 1367
KHL reading appears to be unique to the Western Dīwān (no sign of this in either first or second version FM mss) – however this might well have been the Great Diwan form, since PBN has a slightly garbled form of the same. The Great Diwan tends to follow the first version of FM, so it is possible that is also the first version FM reading - and that NO 2502 and FA 759 as ‘hybridized’ first version texts in fact present the second version text in this verse. Alternatively when he translocated the poem in the Great Dīwān (placing it among			[4]

the love poetry, outside the main FM block), perhaps IA modified the poem away from the FM text common to both versions.			
لعلی أرى شخصا يوافقني على	*	فجبت بلاد الله شرقا ومغربا	[5] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
يلازمه طبعاً ملازمة الظل	*	فلم أر إلا ذا حبيب معين	[6] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
ولم أدر فانظر في مقامي وفي ذلي	*	فقلت إلهي أن قلبي مهيم	[7] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
as S/C		فقلت إلهي أن قلبي مهيم	EM 1845+
Minor difference in spelling.			[7]
لقد غصت يا مسكين في أبحر الجهل	*	فنادى منادى الحب من بين أضلعي	[8] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
فاني من أهل التعاليم والفضل	*	ألا فاستمع قولي وخذ سر حكمتي	[9] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
إذا أنت حصلت اثنتين على وصلي	*	بسبع وعشر ثم خمسين بعدها	[10] S/C
إذا أنت حققت اثنتين على وصل		as S/C	KHL/VEL
إذا أنت حققت اثنتين على وصل		as S/C	PBN
إذا أنت حصلت اثنتين على فضل		as S/C	NO 2502
إذا أنت حصلت اثنتين على فضل		as S/C	FA 759
إذا أنت حصلت اثنتين على وصل		as S/C	EM 1845+
The Dīwān mss (KHL and PBN) preserve a unique reading (حققت). Once again, either that was a form IA introduced specifically for the Dīwān – or this was the first version FM text which has been lost in ‘hybridized’ first version NO 2502 and FA 759. There might be a difference in the final word from first version (فضل) to second (وصل). I find no support for Standard Cairo’s final yā’.			[10]
NO VERSE		NO VERSE	[10+] S/C
NO VERSE		NO VERSE	KHL/VEL
NO VERSE		NO VERSE	PBN
كنشاء خلق الجسم من صورة الاصل		يقوم لكم شكل بديع مربع	NO 2502

كنشاة خلق الجسم من صورة الاصل		يقوم لكم شكل بديع مربع	FA 759
كنشاة خلق الجسم من صورة الاصل		يقوم لكم شكل بديع مربع	EM 1845+ (insertion in later hand?)
كنشاة خلق الجسم من صورة الاصل		يقوم لكم شكل بديع مربع	TA 1367 (uncorrected)
<p>Verses [10] and [11] have a common first hemistich. It would appear that when writing the second version holograph (EM) IA initially only included one of these verses. But later he (or another hand?) inserted the 'missing' verse. However, the verse is also missing from the Dīwān mss (KHL and PBN) so it is possible this verse was always lacking from the first version of FM (in which case we must explain its appearance in NO 2502 and FA 759 as another second version 'corruption' of the original first version text). Another possibility is that IA made the same error twice – but in the case of KHL (holograph Western Diwan) he did not notice the error and so did not correct the text. Finally, can we be certain that the insertion in the holograph FM (EM) was indeed in IA's hand and is not a result of tampering? If it was tampering then the bogus insertion has resulted in corruption of all of the FM mss we have seen – but the fact that it does NOT appear in standard Cairo suggests there might exist manuscripts in which this verse does not appear. (It also shows that the editors of standard Cairo chose to ignore the insertion which they surely would have noticed in the holograph).</p>			[10]
تماما على الوصل الذي فيه والفصل	*	يقوم لكم شكل بديع مربع	[11] S/C
as S/C		يقوم لكم شكل عجيب مربع	KHL/VEL
as S/C		as S/C	PBN
as S/C		as S/C	NO 2502
as S/C		as S/C	FA 759
as S/C		as S/C	EM 1845+
NO VERSE		NO VERSE	TA 1367 (uncorrected)
as S/C		(implied repetition so as S/C?)	TA 1367 (corrected "bi-khatt al-shaykh")
<p>The KHL reading (holograph Western Diwan) seems to be unique to that manuscript, i.e. it is something IA introduced when 'extracting' poems from the Great Diwan to form the Western Diwan. The fact that PBN (Great Diwan) follows the standard FM text suggest that the Great Dīwān holograph (now lost) probably followed the FM. The Topkapi ms of second version FM (TA 1367) at first omitted this verse (probably because it looked so similar to the previous verse). But during later collation with a holograph (?) the verse was inserted in the margin – or rather, the second hemistich was inserted there (perhaps the repetition of the first hemistich was implied).</p>			[11]

فكان اسم محبوبى على صورة الاصل	*	كمثل اسمه الله بيانا محققا	[12] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
as S/C		as S/C	PBN
فكان اسم محبوبى على ابداع اشكل		as S/C	NO 2502
فكان اسم محبوبى على ابداع اشكل		as S/C	FA 759
as S/C		as S/C	EM 1845+ (uncorrected)
فكان اسم محبوبى على ابداع اشكل		as S/C	EM 1845+ (marginal correction)
فكان اسم محبوبى على ابداع اشكل		as S/C	TA 1367 (uncorrected)
as S/C		as S/C	TA 1367 (corrected / variant)
Standard Cairo follows the UN-corrected form of the holograph (EM). For some reason the editors again chose to ignore the marginal correction. Since that UN-corrected form appears in both Diwan manuscripts it is quite possible that was the reading in the first version of FM. (If so, we would once again have to say that NO 2502 and FA 759 were 'corrupted' with 2 nd version reading). So when writing the second version it would appear IA first repeated the first version text and then modified it with a marginal correction. All of the FM manuscripts we have seen contain the modified form. But if the UN-corrected form appeared in the first edition of FM then it must be that manuscript existed with that reading. Notice that TA 1367 regarded the UN-corrected form as a 'variant'. If one regarded that as a correction then it would be a correction in the opposite direction to the correction in the holograph (towards what we are inclined to call the first version text).			[12]
وهذا من العلم المضاف إلى البخل	*	فذاك اسم من تهواه ان كنت عالما	[13] S/C
وهذا من العلم المضاف إلى النحل		as S/C	KHL/VEL
وهذا من العلم المضاف إلى النحل		as S/C	NO 2502
وهذا من العلم المضاف إلى النحل		as S/C	FA 759
وهذا من العلم المضاف إلى النحل		as S/C	EM 1845+
وهذا من العلم المضاف إلى النحل		as S/C	TA 1367
This would seem to be a case of Standard Cairo introducing an error – we find no manuscript support for the reading (البخل) rather than (النحل).			[13]
MISSING VERSE	*	MISSING VERSE	[14*] S/C
ينبه ان الشخص حل عز المثل		وبينهما في العد حرف محقق	KHL/VEL
MISSING VERSE		MISSING VERSE	PBN
MISSING VERSE		MISSING VERSE	NO 2502
MISSING VERSE		MISSING VERSE	FA 759

MISSING VERSE		MISSING VERSE	EM 1845+
MISSING VERSE		MISSING VERSE	TA 1367
This extra verse is only found in holograph Western Diwan (KHL). Since it does not occur in the (non-holograph) Great Diwan (PBN) it is likely it did not occur in the lost holograph Great Diwan, and that IA inserted the extra verse while 'extracting' the Western Diwan from the Great Diwan. We find no manuscript evidence for the verse ever existing in the FM but it is conceivable (if unlikely) that it was part of the first version.			[14*]
مثلة التريبع جامعة الشمل	*	فان كنت ذا فهم فلا تبتغى سوى	[15*] S/C
as S/C		as S/C	KHL/VEL
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دلى	*	فتاليها بيت وبيت مصحف	[16*] S/C
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دل		فتاليها بنت وبيت مصحف	KHL/VEL
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دل		فتاليها بنت <بيت؟> وبيت مصحف	PBN
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دل		فتاليها بنت وبيت مصحف	NO 2502
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دل		as S/C	FA 759
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دل		فتاليها بنت وبيت مصحف	EM 1845+
لها حسن ادلال يدل على دل		فتاليها بنت وبيت مصحف	TA 1367
We find no manuscript support for standard Cairo's final yā'. The reading bayt has very weak first version support in FA 759. We suspect the true 2 nd version reading is bint and that was probably the first version form also. So standard Cairo needs correcting in two places in this verse.			[*16]
هما أهل بيت للسماحة والبذل	*	فبيت إلى لعين عين وثم بيت لماجد	[17*] S/C
as S/C		فبنت لسعد وهى بيت لماجد	KHL/VEL
as S/C		فبيت إلى <> عين وبيت لماجد	PBN
as S/C		فبنت إلى <> عين وبيت لماجد	NO 2502
as S/C		فبيت إلى <> عين وبيت لماجد	FA 759
as S/C		فبنت إلى <> عين وبيت لماجد	EM 1845+ (uncorrected)
as S/C		فبيت <> لعين عين <> ثم بيت لماجد	EM 1845+ (correction)
as S/C		فبنت إلى <> عين وبيت لماجد	TA 1367 (uncorrected)
as S/C		فبيت <> لعين عين <> ثم بيت لماجد	TA 1367 (corrected "bi-khatt al-shaykh")
Once again the Western Diwan holograph (KHL) has a unique form not even found in the Great Diwan (PBN) – we assume IA introduced this form while 'extracting' the Western Diwan from the Great. Standard Cairo seems to have conflated two readings (لعين عين) and (إلى عين) to produce its bogus form (إلى لعين عين) for which we find no manuscript support. And it has conflated (وبيت) with (ثم بيت) to produce bogus (وثم بيت). There seems to be some			[17*]

confusion about the first word (bint or bayt?) – from the corrected and uncorrected forms in the holograph 2 nd version (EM) one suspects only two combinations would be valid: either (فبنت إلى عين وبيت) or (فبيت لعين عين ثم بيت). On the evidence of NO 2502, FA 759 and Diwan PBN, perhaps the first of those would be the first version FM – which IA initially wrote in the second version too. But the second form – if it is a genuine correction by IA – would be the true (final) second version form. That is the one standard Cairo SHOULD probably have followed (unless the editorial decision was made to ignore marginal corrections in the holograph).			
من الستة الاعلام من أحرف الفصل	*	وأوله حرف نزيه مسبع	[18*] S/C
as S/C		وأوله حرف نزيه مقدس	KHL/VEL
as S/C		وأوله حرف نزيه مقدس	PBN
as S/C		as S/C	NO 2502
as S/C		as S/C	FA 759
as S/C		as S/C	EM 1845+
as S/C		as S/C	TA 1367
The reading (مقدس) appears to be unique to the Diwan mss (PBN and KHL). Either IA introduced this form specifically for the Diwan or it was the first version FM reading which has once again been lost in the ‘hybridized’ first version mss, NO 2502 and FA 759.			[18]

Addendum: manuscripts used in forthcoming Egyptian edition of FM

[information gathered in workshop at TIMA Conference, Cambridge, Sept 2016: “Workshop: Preparing Critical Editions of Works on Islamic Mysticism: the Example of al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya”. Instructor: Dr Kilany Khalifa (who kindly supplied a copy of his slide on which he presented the following information)]

For this edition they are using 6 manuscripts: the “Konya” holograph (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) and 5 others which they have determined to be complete or near complete copies of the true second version text:

		Date of copy	Scribe			
Q	Evkaf Muzesi (متحف الفن الاسلامي) 1845-1881	636H	IA (holograph; except vol.9)	complete	4566 in 37 volumes	
M	Damad Ibrahim Ps 749	846H	Abū Ishāq b. Nizām b. Manşūr	complete	1072 ff	Naskh
Alif	Hamidiyya 686	866H	‘Alī b. Muḥamma d b.	complete	746	Nasta’līq

			Manṣūr b. Ismāʿīl al-Shīrāzī			
ʿAyn	Atif Ef 1486	883H	درويش ابراهيم كاتب مريد حضرة مخدود سيد السادات سيد ضيف	complete	537	Fārisī
Y	Suleymaniy e Yusuf Aga 994	1020H / 1017H	ʿAbd Allāh al-Dalbashānī al-Azhārī and ʿUmar b. Muḥamma d b. ʿUmar al-Shāfiʿī	complete	1071	Naskh
R	Raghib Ps 704, 705	1156H	Muḥamma d b. ʿAlwān al-Maqdisī and Muḥamma d b. Khalīl al-Baghdādī and others.	Yanqāṣ minhā al- bāb (i.e. missing chapter?) 558	1507	Naskh / Fārisī

Incidentally, they believe Fatih 2748 (ch.69-71) to contain the first version text (personal communication from Dr Kilany Khalifa) and therefore they did not make use of it when ‘fixing’ the problem of vol. 9. I suspect they might be wrong here and that their error may result from wrongly assuming that replacement volume 9 in the holograph set Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ contains the true second version text (while I have evidence it is in fact a hybrid text – see elsewhere in this document).

Addendum further FM recension / edition markers identified by Maurizio Marconi

Cap. 72: بسطناه في النسخة الأولى من هذا الكتاب

Cap. 121: من رجب الفرد سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وستمائة

Cap. 295: ونحن في سنة أربع وثلاثين وستمائة

Cap. 351: وأنا اليوم في سنة خمس وثلاثين وستمائة

Cap. 366: ونحن الآن في سنة خمس وثلاثين وستمائة

Colophon: سنة ست وثلاثين وستمائة

	Bulaq 1853	Bulaq 1910	Hekimoglu	Bayazid 3743-6
Cap. 72	I 768.5	I 732.5	488 f. 285a (-)	(-) OY Vol. X p. 513
Cap. 121	I 227.16 (633)	II 204.9 (633)	488 f 378a.1 (633)	(-) OY Vol. XIV p. 190
Cap. 295	II 753.29 (634)	II 676.33 (634)	489 f 47a.8 (634)	?
Cap. 351	III 251.34 (628)	III 224.10 (635)	489 f 152a.31 (628)	?
Cap. 366	III 378.1 (635)	III 339.19 (635)	489 f 200a.39 (-)	?
Colophon	IV 611 (-)	IV 553.34 (636)	489 f 525b. 38 (629)	3746 f 409b (629)

	Fatih 2750			
Cap. 72	-			
Cap. 121	-			
Cap. 295	f. 166b.18 (634)			
Cap. 351	f. 229a.27 (635)			
Cap. 366	-			
Colophon	-			

Final thoughts - Digital copies of a complete set of manuscripts for the 1st version FM
MIAS do not currently hold copies of a complete set of manuscript covering the 1st version of FM.
When preparing a 'shopping list' for such a set it would be useful to revisit OY's description of RG
135 in *Histoire et Classification de L'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī* (Damascus, 1964).

List of 1st version (or hybrid) FM mss we have been able to study

Manuscript	Date	Chapters covered	Notes
Beyazid 3743	c.683H	(most of) Ch.0-72 (*)	(*) we only have a copy of up until the change of hand very close to the end of ch. 68 (sifr 3) on Fut I.385. Beyond that Beyazid 3743 is thought to be a relatively modern 'fascimile'. From indications in OY's edition of FM the text of the final 55% of ch.69 is entirely missing from this ms (vol.7 and vol.8 up to p.184 in OY's edition; standard Cairo Fut I.457-546). Neither do we have access to the other volumes in this set, parts of which are in the same hand of c.683H from originals of 629H: Beyazid 3744 = ch.73-293 (sifr 6-10; all 683H); Beyazid 3745 = ch.294-379 (1 st 60% c.683H – probably ch.294-360 sifr 11-13); Beyazid 3746 = ch.380-560 (all 1212H). The parts of this set dated c.683H from originals of 629H correspond to sifr 1-3, sifr 6-10, sifr 11-13

			(approx). Some readings - up to ch.161 in 1 st version sifr 7 - can be deduced from footnotes in OY's edition, where the Beyazid mss are referred to as 'B'. <i>Warning: I have evidence that that the parts of this set in the later hand are probably not true 'fascimiles' of the first version text but are hybrid texts, corrupted with readings from the second version. That means only the text in ch.0-68 (sifr 1-3) and ch.73-360 (sifr 6-13) is likely to be pure first version.</i>
Yusuf Aga 5463 p.1-211	947H	Ch.560	f.1-211. More or less directly from original – i.e. lost sifr 20 - with reproduction of its reading certificates (or perhaps reading certificate from the copy in SQ's hand which had been recited back to him by IA). Ch.560 is also known as RG 818.
British Library Or. 6324	7thH?	Ch.560	Only a few pages photographed so little studied. Missing 5 lines at end including original dated colophon and copies of reading certificates when compared to YA 5464 (final word of this ms is not in standard Cairo or 2 nd version holograph: <i>واعتمد</i>). Unexpectedly ch.560 is labelled sifr 19 - not 20 as in YA 5463. Is there some basis for an early 19 sifr division of the FM? See Carullah 986 (also early) which has parts of what we would call sifr 18, differently ordered, and unexpectedly labelled sifr 17.
Manisa 1049	923H	Ch.558 (missing very start of chapter - cf Fut IV.196)	From copy of original i.e. copy of copy of lost sifr 18. Contains some marginal corrections which match marginal corrections in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ (vols. 32 & 33). So was it collated with a 2 nd version ms, even those holographs?
Carullah 986 f.60a-78b	7thH ?	Parts of ch.558	Parts of sifr 18, reordered and labelled sifr 17 (!) Ch.558 in standard Cairo is Fut IV.318-444. This ms contains 2 parts of that chapter, in reverse order: f.60a-62b is the end of ch.558 (Fut IV.318-326); that is followed here on f.62b-78b by the <i>ḥaḍarāt</i> section from the start of ch.558 (Fut IV.196-299). On f.60a the scribe give this text the title " <i>Ḥaḍrat al-ḥaḍarāt</i> from sifr 17 (!) of FM" (RG 209 =?= RG 382). Yet we know the content is from sifr 18. A very weak explanation could be that sifr 18 begins with the start of ch.558 and in this ms that is only found later, on f.62b. We have not verified this is a 1 st version text but the sifr number would suggest as much (if it is only slightly incorrect). (Compare British Library Or. 6324 – which contains what we would call sifr 20 but is labelled sifr 19).

Manisa 1048	Undated (*)	Ch.0-52	All of sifr 1-2. * although undated contains potentially datable names in a line of transmission. “Minimally hybridized”. Unusual heading prior to ch.12 (PDF 137) indicates start of juz’ 2 in a 20-part division of FM (same found in NO 2504). We take that to refer to sifr 2 in the original division of the holograph into 20 asfār. By contrast, at the end of ch.52 (end of ms) where a continuation is promised in “sifr 2” it is possible that would mean part 2 in the part-numbering system found in Berlin Sprenger 778 and 779 and elsewhere (a system in which parts do not always correspond exactly to pairs of the usual 20 asfār).
Nurosmaniye 2502	992H	Nearly complete (all but ch.560)	Sifr 1-19 of 20. “Minimally hybridized” (i.e. mainly first version but with a few element peculiar to the second version).
Koprulu Fazil Ahmed Ps 759	986H – 996H	complete	Sifr 1-20. “Minimally hybridized” first version
Manisa 1050	Undated (9 th -10 th ?)	Ch.294-360	Sifr 11-13. First version or hybrid? (current date 628H). On cover is labelled “part 7” – it is possible that refers to the part-numbering system found in Berlin Sprenger 778 and 779 and elsewhere.
Manisa 1051	1089H	Ch.74-157 & ch.158-181	Sifr 7 and 40% of sifr 8. “Minimally hybridized” first version. Missing a number of poems we believe were only added in 2 nd version On cover labelled “part 4” – it is likely that refers to the part-numbering system found in Berlin Sprenger 778 and 779 and elsewhere (where part 4 would be ch.74-157) – for between ch.157 and ch.158, on PDF 92-7, there are a few pages of inserted text (contrast Fut II.256) then a major break (marking start of “part 5”?)
Amasya 660 (chunk 3; f.387b-end)	901H	Ch.462-560	Sifr 17-20 (i.e. part IV, al-maqāmāt). We have yet to spot any 2 nd version features. In contrast to chunk 3, we believe the first two chunks of Amasya 660 (dated later, 911H-913H) are either second version texts or hybrid (f.1-386; they cover ch.351-370 and ch.371-461; if they had been true first version text that range would correspond to sifr 13-16 of 20).
Amasya 659	undated	Ch.0 – most of ch. 69	Hybrid. Missing some of the poems we believe were new in 2 nd version (in ch.68-9) but has elements of 2 nd version also. Ends abruptly in Fut I.527 (within ch.69, Fut I.386-546). Sifr 1-3 and two-thirds of sifr 4.
King Saud University 1780	1091H	Ch.294-360 & ch.361-461	In two parts: sifr 11-13 and sifr 14-16. Sifr markings make clear it is basically 1 st version (or hybrid).

British Library B385	1091H	Ch.73-270	Not in fact studied but we use information in the Loth catalogue to help determine some sifr divisions. Contains sifr 6-9 plus very beginning of 10. Scribe/collator: Zayn Muqaybil of Bijapur.
Berlin Sprenger 778 & 779	c.1150H	Ch.73-176 & ch.177-269 & ch.285-340	Sifr 6 -9 and a section from sifr 10-12. Not in fact studied but we use information in the Ahlwardt catalogue (#2864, #2865) regarding the division of the text into parts. This partitioning system is different from – but not entirely unrelated to - the standard 20-asfār system. In the Berlin system part 3 contains or includes ch. 73; part 4 contains ch.74-157; part 5 contains ch.158-176 & ch.177-198/43; part 6 contains or includes ch.198/44 – ch.269. (Beyond that in the ms ch.270-284 are missing, and ch.285-340 appear without a part number).
Berlin we 1628	717H	Ch. 328-360	Decapitated so perhaps was once sifr 12-13. Not in fact studied but we use information in the Ahlwardt catalogue (#2867). Listed here because is early.
Iran, Mashhad, Astan Quds Razavi 43605	715H (?)	Ch.73-157	Have only seen first and last pages from http://digital.aqr.ir/newindex.aspx?pid=6&ID=78774&Complete=1&CBNID=b15b9792-242e-4853-82af-07cdb3627d88 but this appears to have content coinciding with what is labelled part 3 and part 4 in Berlin Sprenger 778 (no such label at end of this ms though). The poem at the start of ch.73 and the prose which follows that suggest this is a first recension ms. (We are unable to confirm the date based on these 2 pages. And neither can we explain the list of chapter headings prior to the final paragraph of ch.157 on the final page).
Nurosmaniye 2501	112?H (Damascus)	complete	Sifr 1-20. Mixed but probably much closer to second version. Date not clear. Copied by a student of al-Nabulusi (d.1143H) within his lifetime. Interesting colophon – includes asking for help at IA's tomb in presence of al-Nabulusi.
Nurosmaniye 2503	undated	complete	Sifr 1-20. Hybrid (includes vision of 633H)
Nurosmaniye 2504	1058H	complete	Sifr 1-20. Has at least elements of 1 st version. Many chapter headings omitted (gaps are left where red ink would be expected) as are some illuminations and diagrams. At start of ch.12 (PDF 66) marks start of juz' 2 in a 20-part division. Marks end of sifr 3 "in the original" at end of ch.68 (as in other mss). But uniquely at the end of ch.69 the scribe also marks the end of 'volume' (<i>mujallada</i>) 3 within <i>sifr</i> 4; and

			there he specifies the (original?) date of completion of this 3rd 'volume': Thursday 28 th Rabi' I 627H ⁴⁵ .
Nurosmaniye 2505	998H	complete	Sifr 1-20. "Minimally hybridized"? From a family of mss which includes Manisa 1048, Nurosmaniye 2502, Nurosmaniye 2506-7
Nurosmaniye 2506	undated	Ch.0-280 (pt.1 of 2 forming almost complete set)	Forms pair with NO 2507. Mixed version (elements of 2 nd version, and yet NO 2507 once had reading certificates from first version, according to OY). Slight loss of text between NO 2506 and NO 2507. Ch.280-281 – where the 2 parts are split - is not a natural sifr transition (occurs within sifr 10).
Nurosmaniye 2507	undated	Ch.281-560 (pt.2 of 2 forming almost complete set) (incomplete at end)	Forms pair with NO 2506. Incomplete (ends with text of Fut IV.531 so missing final 22 pages of standard Cairo). OY claimed to find reading certificates of first version here (as in YA 5463) but these are not reproduced either. Either the final part of this manuscript has been lost or the digital reproductions are incomplete.
Husein Celebi 444	1004H	complete (but MIAS only have copy of around ¼: ch.0-ch.33 and ch.273-ch.360)	Sifr 1-20. At least minimally hybridized – has part of the two 'aqida's. Although the ms itself is probably complete (607 ff) the parts copied cover only most of sifr 1-2, most of sifr 10 and asfar 11-13.
Princeton Garrett 2404Yq	11thH?	Ch.0-72 and ch.73-360	Sifr 1-5 & sifr 6-13 (2 vols bound as one). Online at http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/jw827f26j . Base text is 1 st version (lacking vision of 633H at end of ch.121; current date 628H in ch.351). Very few sifr markings.
Corum 679 f.320-803	958H	Ch.74-360	Sifr 7-13. No copy in Archive but lo-res, partly obscured images of this ms available at https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/detay_goster.php?k=49480&dill=eng (Prior to this, in f.1-317, is a copy of ch.0-64 dated 716H, but that chunk is a 2 nd version text – sifr 1-4 of 37).
Fatih 2750	623H and 821H	Only ch.270-293 is in hand of Ibn Sawdakīn (d.646H).	Sifr 10. (We have only been able to study a few pages of this ms). On the title page it is declared this is sifr 10 – and indeed the part of the ms in Ibn Sawdakīn's hand (f.1-162) covers all but a few lines of FM ch.270-293, which is

⁴⁵ CA transliterates and translates: Kamulat al-mujallada al-thālitha min al-futūhāt al-makkiyya bi-kamāl al-bāb al-tāsi' wa-sittīn fī ma'rifati asrār al-ṣalāt ; yatluhu fī l-sifr al-rābi' al-bāb al-muwaffā sab'in fī ma'rifati asrār al-zakāt. Wa-kāna al-firāgh min hādhihi al-mujallada yawm al-khamīs al-thāmin wa-l-'ishrīn fī shahr al-rabi' al-awwal sanata sab'a wa-'ishrīn. ["The third volume (*mujallada*) of FM was completed with the completion of ch.69 on the knowledge of the secrets of Prayer. It is followed in the 4th sifr by ch. 70 on the knowledge of the secrets of Zakāt. This volume (*mujallada*) had been completed Thursday 28th Rabi' I 627H."] CA points out the the first version of FM might not have been written sequentially over the 30 years prior to its completion in 629H. We know that ch.351 was written in 628H (see 'current date', Fut I.251). Fatih 2750 contains sifr 10 (ch.270-293) and carries a reading certificate dated 28th Shawwāl 623H.

		(Ch.294-362 in later hand).	sifr 10 of the first version in our reconstruction. After that, the manuscript continues in a different hand (f.163-395), completing ch.293 and continuing to the end of ch.362, which is marked as the end of sifr 24 (which indicates this is now the <i>second</i> version!). This continuation is dated 821H. So it seems only the initial part of the ms (f.1-162) is truly first version – a very early copy of sifr 10. OY gives dates 625H and 623H in different places – on the cover page there is a samā' dated 28 th Shawwāl 623H in Damascus.
Koprulu 766, f.1-120	7thH?	Ch.462-557 (omitting ch.480-2)	Sifr 17. This ms is classified as RG 35. <i>K. al-Aqṭāb</i> . Based on a study of the poetry it has the appearance of a highly abbreviated version of FM ch.462-557 (sifr 17). It omits ch.480-482 entirely. Perhaps it is an early form of sifr 17 or perhaps it is an epitome (abstracted summary) of that. If it was a copy of the FM as a work in progress then it could provide valuable insights into the early evolution of the work.
Paris B.N. arabe 1336	1026-7H	ch. 0-558 omitting second half of ch.69 and all of ch.70-176	sifr 1-3, part of 4, sifr 8-18. Mostly according to sifr divisions of first version but f.145v has internal colophon marking end of sifr 6 meaning second version (contrast f.531r which has end of sifr 17 of first version but uses very similar wording in referring to the 'original copy'). F.52a has end of mujallad 1 at equivalent of end of sifr 2 of second version. Other signs of partial hybridization with second version (e.g. existence of some poems that were new in that).
Aleppo Ahmadiyya 774, now known as Damascus al-Assad 14067	<633H	FM poetry by IA. Holograph Great Dīwān (vol. 2 of 10). IA's poetry from FM ch.0-329.	Ibn 'Arabī extracted his poetry from the 1 st version of FM when constructing the Great Dīwān. But there are signs he and/or later collators returned to the holograph ms later so some second version modifications appear in the margins. Most of his FM poems went to form vol. 2 and vol. 3 in the holographs of the Great Dīwān, but a few poems he placed in other volumes from the outset, and poems entirely new in the second version FM he also placed elsewhere. This ms is holograph vol. 2 (the first half of the FM poems). The holograph of vol. 3 is lost, but an indirect copy of both volumes exists in Paris B.N. 2348.
Paris B.N. arabe 2348	1094H	FM poetry by IA. Great Dīwān ms (initial and final thirds of Great Dīwān). Main FM	The main FM poetry block corresponds to vols. 2 and 3 of the Great Dīwān 10-volume holograph, of which vol.2 still exists, in Damascus al-Assad 14067. Although the Dīwān was constructed from the 1 st version text of FM

		poetry block: f.70b-139b.	we find numerous instances of the scribe / collator, Zayn Muqaybil of Bijapur, placing in the margins of this ms verses that were new in the 2 nd version FM (ultimately this would have to have been done on the basis of a FM ms). A block of poems entirely new to the 2 nd version appears on f.200a-201b (corresponding to a few folios in vol.8 of the GD holograph). A few other FM poems, for example some first version poems from ch.178 on love, appear elsewhere in the evolving structure that was IA's GD.
--	--	------------------------------	--

Various FM manuscripts – with assessment of which version of FM they contain

Hekimoglu 488-9. (1017H) from the original dated 629H [so 1st version]

- CA believes this is a complete copy but JC wonders if it is only that 'part' mentioned by the editors of the 2nd edition
- CA says that according to the Yemeni editor (2nd edition; Cairo 2013, vol. 1 p.51) this manuscript is dated 1017H - copied by a Nābulusī (not 'Abd al-Ghanī) – and corresponds to the 1st version. CA wonders whether the editors of the 1293H edition might have confused two men known as al-Nābulusī. She also wonder if this truly is a 1st version – is it perhaps a 'mixed' version?

Fatih 2750 (ch.270 to end dated 821H from original reported by Ibn Sawdakīn) [CA points out this would explain why 'F' does not appear in his edition since he only reached ch. 161. However...] [only a few pages in the Archive]

[and again – OY typo here?] **Fatih 2750** ("ch.10 24", written and reported by Ibn Sawdakīn in 623H in Damascus, autograph). I believe that 10 and that 24 do not refer to chapters but to asfār (sifr numbers) in different versions of FM:

- f.1a contains samā' dated 28th Shawwāl 623H in Damascus where I read Muḥammad ... al-Mu'azzamī [our #14]; Ibn 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Al-Anṣārī [perhaps our #1 or our #10]; ... Ismā'īl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī [our #34] .
- Fatih 2750 f.1-162 contains all but the final few lines of sifr 10 (of 20 total) in the first version – ch.270-293. This is in Ibn Sawdakīn's hand and must be dated before the reading certificate of 623H on the title page – i.e. many years before the first version FM was completed in 629H
- Fatih 2750 f.163-395 contains the continuation (end of ch.293) up to the end of ch.362 which is the end of sifr 24 (of 37 total) in the second version. This part is in a later hand, and is dated 821H
- So only the first part is first version – a very early, 'pre-release' copy of sifr 10.
- We really should obtain a copy of this first part (f.1-162).

Koprulu Fazil Ahmed Ps 759 (complete copy from original dated 629H, i.e. 1st version)

- TRF indicates that Koprulu (Fazil Ahmed Ps) 759 f.8-885 (also numbered f.1-878) is dated 1000H – but we find internal colophons dated 986H and 996H
- before FM on f.1b-7b is a copy of *al-Durr al-thamīn fī manāqib [OR maḥāsīn] al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-dīn = Manāqib Ibn ‘Arabī / Abū al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī [OY: Aḥmad] b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Qādirī al-Baghdādī* (OY: d.821H) = al-Qārī’ al-Baghdādī (fl.784H; d.800-850H) [OY *Histoire*, pt.1 p.113; editions of 1959 and 2007 by Mizyadī in *al-Nūr al-abḥar fī al-difā’ ‘an al-Shaykh al-Akbar* – download: https://ia801002.us.archive.org/2/items/nour-abhar/nour-abhar_text.pdf]
- Downloadable from <https://ia601502.us.archive.org/4/items/M-00080/FAZILAHMEDPS759.pdf> . At the end we indeed find the colophon of 1st version (with date 629H; in later hand?). The vision of 633H is missing from the end of ch.121 (f.341b). The current date is 628H and not 635H in ch.351 (f.590a l.2). V.31 of the 117-verse poem of the Prologue is without alifs – the first version form (f.3 l.10). So there is **good evidence for this being a ‘minimally hybridized’ complete 1st version text** – I have yet to spot many signs of this being a ‘mixed’ version except for:
 - presence of the two ‘*aqīda*’ prior to the start of ch.1 (f.15b)
 - the letter diagram of ch.26 (f.69a) is in standard Abjad order (unlike purer first version mss)
 - poem at start of ch.67 has all 6 verses of standard Cairo (but we believe the 5th verse was not present in the 1st version on the evidence of Beyazid 3743 f.202b and Diwan ms al-Assad 14067 f.35a).
- Some other ‘features’ of this ms:
 - There is a major glitch at the start of ch.6 on f.41b – the text is repeated on the following page f.42a with the result that chapter 6 opens twice in a single opening.
 - Diagrams on f.96a and f.97b (ch. 48) were left incomplete
 - Major division after ch.52 (f.102b) – with internal colophon dated 986H (there are indications this corresponds to the end of either sifr 1 or sifr 2 in the lost 20-volume holograph of the first version of FM)
 - Less major division after ch.69 (f.195a) (which we suspect is midway through sifr 4)
 - Major division after ch.70 (f.212a) (which we suspect is the end of sifr 4)
 - Although there is no major division, after ch.72 (f.267b) the scribe records end of sifr 5 “in the original”
 - Scribe records end of juz’ (meaning sifr) 6 on f.320b – at the end of ch.73
 - Major division after f.396a (end of ch.184) – in our current reconstruction we believe that lies partway through sifr 8 (ch.177-197)
 - Major division after f.496a (end of ch.293) – probably end of sifr 10
 - Scribe records end of juz’ (meaning sifr) 11 on f.534a-b (and of ch.321)
 - Major division after f.586b (end of ch.350) – probably end of sifr 12 (internal colophon here is dated 996H)
 - Minor division on f.612b (end of ch.360) – scribe indicates end of juz’ 7 (in unknown numbering system) which is also juz’ (i.e. sifr) 13 in the original (lost holograph)
 - Scribe records end of sifr 16 of the shaykh’s original on f.721b (end of ch. 461)

- Major division after f.744b (end of ch.509) – in other manuscripts this would seem to fall partway through sifr 17 (ch.462-557)
- PDF 803-812 (within ch.558) are blank – but there is no break in folio numbering

Veliyuddin 1747 (complete copy, revised, dated 1174H, from original dated 629H; i.e. 1st version)

- TRF indicates this has 781 folios
- No copy or entry in Archive.

[Beyazid 3743]

- Interestingly, in *Histoire...* (RG 135) OY does not mark **Beyazid 3743** as 1st version, but it would seem that OY's information is incomplete here (it appears as 'B' in his edition of FM)
- MIAS already have a copy of the first half of this ms (the part in the hand of c.683H)
- volume covers ch.0-72, but the old hand (from IA's original of 629H) stops very near the end of ch.68 (sifr 3) on Fut I.385
- from indications in OY's FM edition, vol.7 and vol.8 up to p.184, **Beyazid 3743** (OY's 'B') is missing entirely the final 55% of FM ch.69, that is the equivalent of Fut I.457-546 from Fut I.386-546 in standard Cairo
 - I can not explain the strange coincidence of the start of that missing text in ch.69 coinciding with the start of a volume in the *second* version holographs – a location which had no such significance in the first version...
- But I am no longer confident the 'fascimile' section in the later hand was pure first version. I believe it is not truly a fascimile but is a mixed version replacement. Here are the details:

In **Paris BN 2348** f.200a – at the start of the 'late' FM poems block – a 1-liner follows a heading in which IA states explicitly that the poem is from the "second copy" (i.e. the second version):

وقال أيضا من المفاريد في النسخة الثانية

اخبروني اخبروني انني * حرت في الله فما صنعه

But in his edition of FM (vol. 6 p.108) Osman Yahia indicates this poem from ch.69 occurs in Beyazid 3743. Alarm bells ring!

A further indication that this poem would not appear in a pure first version text is the fact that it is missing from Nuruosmaniye 2502 f.153b (5 lines from the end).

In the same block of late FM poems in the Paris Diwan ms **BN 2348** f.200b-201a I find 4 other poems from ch.72, all of which in fact appear in the 'fascimile' section of **Beyazid 3743** according to OY's footnotes (vol.10, p.334, p.392, p.398). And all four are missing from ms **Nuruosmaniye 2502**, which strongly suggests they were not part of the first version text.

Having pointed this out, I would not go as far as to suggest that the 'fascimile' section of **Beyazid 3743** is a second version text. It is missing other second version poems from ch.69-72 which IA placed in this same 'late' region of the Great Diwan.

So Beyazid seems to be a hybrid text, and one which on the basis of these poems seems more corrupted by second version readings than is the minimally hybridized 1st version ms **Nuruosmaniye 2502**.

As a consequence of this, I would call into question the provenance and quality of the other parts of the ms set Beyazid 3743-6 that were also thought to be 'fascimiles' of the first version in a later hand. This means I would question the final 40% of **Beyazid 3745** and all of **Beyazid 3746**. Between them those probably contain ch.361-560 which would correspond to the final 7 of the 20 volumes in the 1st version holographs.

Add to that the problems at the end of **Beyazid 3743** – in ch.69-72, meaning volumes 4 & 5 of the 20 – and I am now calling into question the provenance and quality of texts in **Beyazid 3743-6** which correspond to 9 of the total 20 volumes in the lost holographs of the first version! I suspect only the text in the hand of c.683H can be relied upon as pure first version – the text in asfâr 1-3 and in asfâr 6-13 of 20, or FM ch.0-68 and FM ch.74-360.

- MIAS do NOT have a copy of the fascimile continuation, or of the remaining 3 volumes of the 4-volume set, **Beyazid 3744-6** - parts of which are also in the old hand of c.683H, other parts being much later 'fascimiles' (or, rather, mixed version replacements) (c.1212H).

Beyazid 3744

- ch.73-293 (sifr 6-10)
- entirely in early hand c.683H (from original of 629H)
- vol.2 of 4-vol set

Beyazid 3745

- ch.294-380 (or -379)
- suspect that only ch.294-360 (i.e. sifr 11-13) is in old hand and from original of 629H; the remainder (sifr 14 and part of 15) is a much later 'fascimile', c.1212H
 - see my comments against **Beyazid 3743** for my suspicion that this probably not a fascimile of the first version but rather a mixed version replacement
- warning: neither ch.379-380 nor ch.380-381 is a natural sifr transition in either version of FM
- vol.3 of 4-vol set

Beyazid 3746

- ch.381-end (or 380-end); corrected; was from original dated 629H; but this volume is entirely a 'fascimile' made in 1212H
 - see my comments against **Beyazid 3743** for my suspicion that this probably not a fascimile of the first version but rather a mixed version replacement
- tail end of sifr 15 then sifr 16-20
- vol.4 of 4-vol set

Beyazid 3747 (ch.270-end; 960H, from original dated 629H) [not even mentioned in Archive] (sifr 10-20)

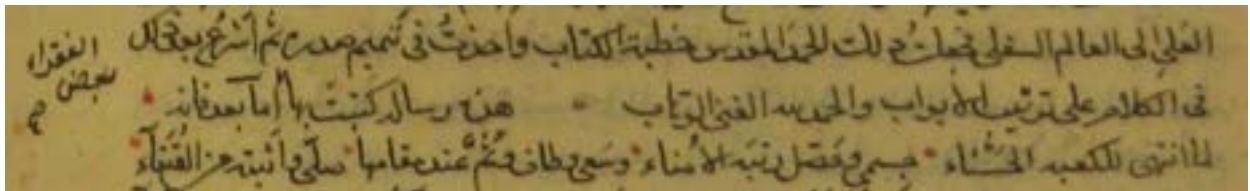
Beyazid 3749 (ch.270-end; 980H; from original dated 629H) [not even mentioned in Archive] (sifr 10-20)

Nurosmaniye 2506 and 2507 (complete set from originals) although OY does not say this, it would appear these are 1st version mss. We come to this conclusion based on the reading certificates reported by OY - which we find to be very similar to those reproduced in 1st version Yusuf Aga 5463 (see below). So these might also be worth considering. [TRF list the 2 vols as containing 741 and 803 folios; undated]⁴⁶

It would also be useful to revisit the manuscripts already in the Archive, and to make sure we know which version they represent. We have already made reference in this document to a few of these: Amasya 660; Beyazid 3743 (and relatives); Evkaf Muzesi 1845+; Manisa 1048; Manisa 1050; Manisa 1051. Here are some miscellaneous observations regarding some of the others:

Amasya 659 – in Archive - which version is it?

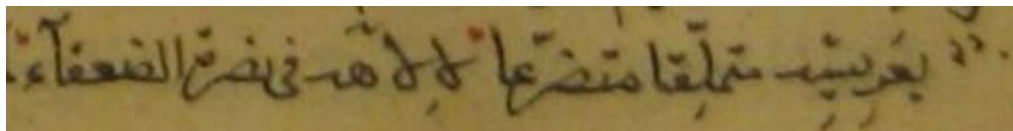
- Undated. Covers ch.0 to midway through chapter on salat
- F.3b prose prior to 117-verse poem:



This seems to be the second version (shorter form) of standard Cairo - هذه رسالة كتبت بها أما بعد - فإنه corrected in the margin to make it look more like the longer first version (!):

هذه رسالة كتبها بعض الفقهاء رضى الله عنه أما بعد فإنه

- F.3b vs. 31 of the long poem has the 2nd version form (with alifs as in standard Cairo):

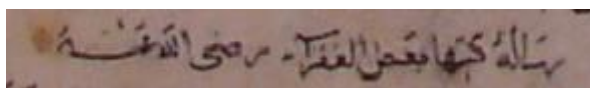


So on the basis of this poem alone it looks to me as if Amasya 659 is probably in essence a 2nd version text.

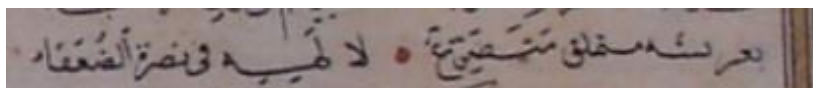
⁴⁶ These can be downloaded from <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2506.pdf> and <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2507.pdf>

Husein Celebi 444 – in Archive – which version is it?

- JPG 4L prose prior to 117-verse poem looks like an abbreviated form of the 1st version text:
- رسالة كتبها بعض الفقهاء رضي الله عنه



- JPG 5R vs 31 of that poem is without alifs (again 1st version):



- JPG 13: prose just prior to Fut ch.1 (where looking for the 2 'aqīda) ends with text from standard Cairo Fut I.43 :
- نسبة أخرى فاذن فلا يتغير علم و لا معلوم و إنما العلم له تعلقات بالمعلومات أو تعلق
- JPG 50 has letter diagram in standard Abjad order (unlike pure 1st version).
- (but ch.1 starts on Fut I.47 – so missing at least 3 pages of standard Fut – is it the 2 'aqīda that are missing? Not quite – those are on Fut I.38-47 – **so this ms (which up until now looked like 1 version) has PART BUT ONLY PART of the 2 'aqīda section that was added in the 2nd version!!** (WARNING: could be a binding problem – but it can NOT be due to the fact that we only copied part of this ms)
- Would look for end of ch.121 to check for dated vision... but we do not have copies of this section of the ms....
- ch.5 is JPG 26; ch.26 is JPG 50; ch.33 is JPG 54 **[NOW JUMP BETWEEN JPG 54 and JPG 55 FROM CHAPTER 33 TO CH 273!]** ch.274 is JPG 55; ch.278 is JPG 59; ch.293 is JPG 72; ch.326 is JPG 104; ch.350 is JPG 133. JPG 150 has a poem from ch. 360 (so it is NOT a complete ms – ends soon after this – still ch.360? - at JPG 154)
- [TRF DO NOT LIST HC 444 SO CAN NOT TELL HOW MANY FOLIOS SHOULD HAVE ALTHOUGH MIAS INDICATES 607 AND WE ONLY HAVE REPRODUCTION OF AROUND ¼ OF THAT NUMBER, 154 JPGS, SO IT IS NO WONDER THERE ARE GAPS – PRESUMABLY IT WAS ONLY PARTLY COPIED - perhaps ch.0-ch.33 and ch.273-ch.360. IT IS POSSIBLE THE MS ITSELF IS IN FACT A COMPLETE MS – in Standard Cairo ch.0-33 are in Fut I.1-213 and ch.273-360 are in Fut II.582-693 and Fut III.1-293 for a total of around 630 pages, which would indeed be around ¼ of the entire work.]
- JPG 99 (end of ch.321) records that this is the end of juz' 11 in the original. This is clear evidence the ms is fundamentally 1st version.

Husein Celebi 445 - in Archive - which version is it?

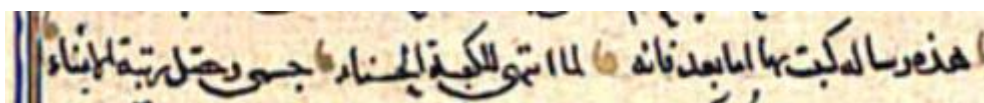
- Contains ch.0-207 (not a natural sifr division in either version but slightly less than first half of FM)
- f.19b is start of Fut ch.1
- final line of f.7b (vs 31 of 117-verse poem) is 'with alifs' so 2nd version
- Also prose prior to the poem on same page is the standard Cairo (2nd version) form
- Contains 2nd version vision of 633H at end of FM chapter 121 (PDF 320L)

Corum 679 – parts in Archive (f.1-12a; f.93a-185a = ch.5-28) – all (?) at https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/detay_goster.php?k=49480&dill=eng – which version is it? in two chunks and we suspect first chunk is 2nd version (ch.0-64), but second chunk is 1st version (ch.74-360)

- F.5a (final line) (vs 31 of 117-verse poem) is 'with alifs' so 2nd version
- F.105a (end of ch.5) marks (start of) juz' #11 – this must be a “low-level” juz' marker and there are indication this sequence of markers was only added in the 2nd version [note that “low-level” juz' markers generally given full page-break in this ms, unlike the holograph itself]
- F.107a (l.16) the 2nd version formula for 'Alī (FM ch.6) - وأسرار الأنبياء أجمعين
- F.118b (end of ch.8) marks (start of) juz' #12 (another “low-level” juz' marker)
- F.150b – is this dated 710H?
- F.151 (start of ch.17) start of sifr 3 [in 2nd version holograph] and (low-level) juz' #15
- F.181 has 2nd version form of letter diagram in ch.26
- F.275b start of ch. 54
- F.317a ends with text from Fut I.317 (end of ch.64; end of low-level juz' 28; end of vol.4 of 37 vol holograph) – adding end of sifr 4 (in 2nd version)... (start of) juz' 29?
- F.317b (in scrapy hand) seems to mark end of chunk 1 of 2 – see https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/sayfagoster.php?path=/mnt/fiber2/2006/corum/19_Hk_679/lowres/0325.jpg
- new section in smaller hand begins f.320b (with text starting ch.74) [ch.65-73 are skipped in the gap between chunks]
- f.398a is start of ch.177 (start of sifr 8 in first version) – and text at end of ch.176 looks much closer to NO 2502 PDF 376L than it does to standard Cairo, Fut II.297. A sign this 2nd chunk contains the 1st version text.
- F.495a – is it dated 958H?
- f.543a another major break (after ch.269 = end of sifr 18 in 37-vol holograph but end of sifr 9 in 20-vol holograph – also marks end of faḍl 3)
- f.802a has poem from late in ch.360 (Fut III.290)
- f.803b end of chunk is text from end of ch.360, Fut III.293 – see https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/sayfagoster.php?path=/mnt/fiber2/2006/corum/19_Hk_679/lowres/0800.jpg
- summary:
 - first chunk (f.1-317) contains ch.0-64 (sifr 1-4 of 37 in second version holograph) is almost certainly 2nd version text reproducing many features of the holograph
 - second chunk (f.320-803) contains ch.74-360 and is likely to be the first version text, if only because that range would correspond to sifr 7-13 of 20 in the lost first version holograph
- Since early ms dated 710H-716H could potentially have been used it to recover lost sifr 9 (end of ch.70-71) but unfortunately that falls in the gap between volumes!

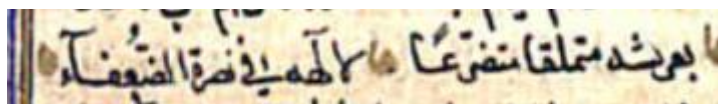
Turhan Valide 187 – which version is it?

- Archive only has a few openings
- f.2b has prose prior to 117-verse poem:



This is the shorter 2nd version form -of standard Cairo - هذه رسالة كتبت بها أما بعد فإنه -

- Vs. 31 of same poem (f.2b) is with alifs:



So on the basis of this poem alone it looks to me as if Turhan Valide 187 is probably a 2nd version text.

We notice that other first version mss are not listed in the Archive under RG 135 but under RG 135.3 / RG 818. In particular, **Yusuf Aga 5463** (947H) contains the final chapter, FM ch. 560 of 1st version (we reproduced the colophon from p.211 earlier in this document). It corresponds to sifr (book/volume) 20 of the 20-volume lost holograph of the first version FM. It also includes reading certificates reproduced from the original (or perhaps from SQ's 629 copy, as close to the original as one could get). See separate section below for transcriptions. There we also comment upon the reading of a combination of first version and second version manuscripts of FM in Damascus 633H. And we also argue indirectly that **Nurosmaniye 2506 and 2507** might be a complete set of 1st version FM manuscripts based upon originals (we now have copies of these but we are yet to verify this hypothesis).

Another valuable first version ms not listed under RG 135 is **Manisa 1049** (RG 135.4; RG 425) – which contains ch.558 copied in 923H from a copy in IA's hand. We know it is first version since it is marked as sifr (book/volume) 18. And we know from the sifr markings in **Amasya 660** (3rd chunk; first version; ch.462-560) that volume 18 of the 20-volume 1st version holograph contained ch.558 and nothing more – for on f.472b at the end of ch.557 one finds 'end of sifr 17' and on f.569b at the end of ch.558 one finds 'end of sifr 18'.

In conclusion: how might MIAS go about obtaining 1st version manuscripts? MIAS do not currently possess a complete definitive 1st version ms. (Qn: what about the Manisa mss?) Should we prioritize obtaining copies of Fatih 2750 (given it is incomplete) or another ms such as Koprulu 759 or Veliyuddin 1747 or perhaps Nurosmaniye 2506-7⁴⁷? We also find that Nurosmaniye 2502 contains the first version text although it is missing the final chapter⁴⁸. What about the 4-vol Beyazid set 3743-6, or at least the old parts of them from c.683H? (In hand of c.683H are: first half of vol 1, all of

⁴⁷ These can be downloaded from <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2506.pdf> and <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2507.pdf>

⁴⁸ Downloadable from <https://ia801501.us.archive.org/12/items/M-000p78/NURUOSMANIYE2502.pdf>

vol 2, first half of vol 3, none of vol 4; the remainder is a later fascimile; MIAS currently possess only the first half of vol 1).

Addendum: Transcription of reading certificates from Yusuf Aga 5463 – from the end of the (original?) first version of FM

Yusuf Aga 5463 is listed not under RG 135 but under RG 135.3 / RG 818. It contains the final chapter, FM ch. 560 of 1st version (we reproduced the colophon from p.211 earlier in this document). It also includes reading certificates reproduced from an original [Given the month, Jumada I, 629H and the riwaya of SQ this is surely a sama which would have appeared on the final vol of the 20 vols holographs which IA states SQ read back to him in that same month (see Elmore Study List, p.176) – 3 months after the completion of the original text]. Here we transcribe the various names and dates reproduced in **Yusuf Aga 5463**:

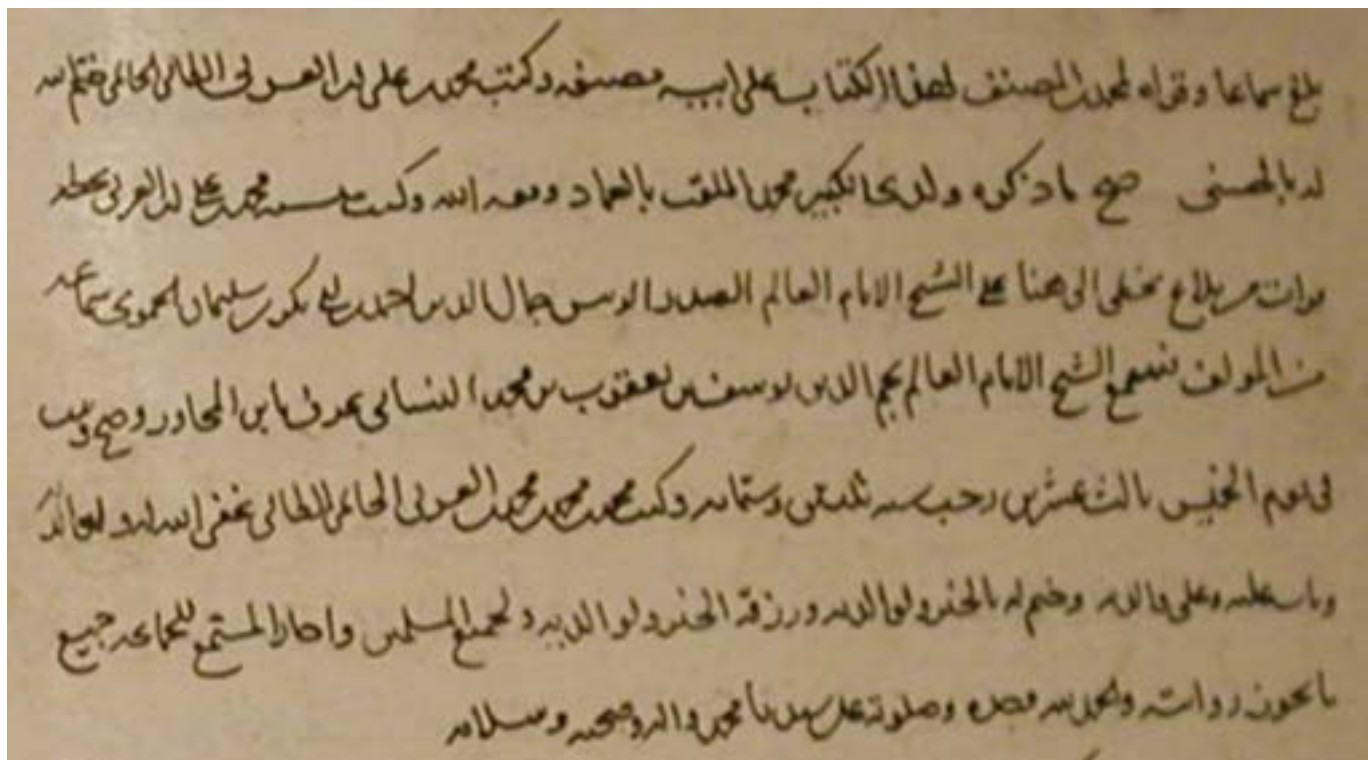
- p.5 (cover page) has some recognizable names:
 - (riwāya) Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad [SQ]
 - (riwāya) Ismaʿīl b. Sawdakīn
 - Abū al-? Ismaʿīl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī
 - Ismaʿīl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī
 - ʿImād al-dīn Muḥammad ... Saʿd al-din Muḥammad [IA's two sons]
 - Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad [SQ]
 - Jumādā al-awwal 629H [the very date SQ says IA recited the 20 vols in SQ's hand; 3 months after the original completion date of safar 629]
 - Muḥammad... Saʿīd Saʿd al-dīn
- At end of ms, reading certificates reproduced after the colophon on p.211-2:
- [compare OY *Histoire* p.231 (under RG 135) where OY reports very similar certificates reproduced in **Nurosmaniye 2506 and 2507** copy of FM].

- The first reading certificate in Yusuf Aga 5463 (p.211-2) with names transcribed below:

- and his sons ‘Abd al-Wāḥid and Aḥmad [our #64 and #65]
- and the former’s son Muḥammad [our #66]
- Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh b. Abū al-‘Izz b. Abū Ṭālib al-Shaybānī al-Ṣaffār [our #5]
- Ya‘qūb b. Mu‘ādh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Warabī [our #7]
 - [cf. OY, *Histoire*, p.231 – equivalent in Nurosmaniye 2506/2507 has an extra name after this: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lawzī⁵⁰ – he does not occur in Yusuf Aga 5463]
- Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Balkhī [our #36]
- Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Muṭarrizī [our #59]
- ‘Alī [b.] Abū al-Ghanā‘im al-Ghassāl [our #44]
- Muḥammad and Muḥammad [and Muḥammad] sons of ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Ṣā‘igh [our #97]
- and their cousin ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. Ṭalā‘i b. [Yusuf Aga 5463, start of p.212] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [our #98]
- ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Muẓaffar b. Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Miṣrī [our #90]
 - This is a fuller name than we find for our #90 in certificates in 2nd version FM (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+); however, it matches exactly the name reported by Leder et al. 1996, p.409 – he attended reading #9 of ms 1088:3 (dated 623H) at which Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Birzālī (our #11) was both reader and writer
- Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad son of the author [our #6]
- Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Mawṣilī [our #16]
- al-Sharīf Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-‘Alawī [NAME NEW TO US – OR RATHER NOT YET NUMBERED]
 - See section below with information on this man’s readings of Ibn ‘Arabī works
- Ma‘tūq b. ‘Alī b. Ma‘tūq al-Naṣībī [NAME NEW TO US]
 - [cf. OY, *Histoire*, p.231 – according to OY at the equivalent place in Nurosmaniye 2506/2507 there is a single name in place of these last three persons, namely: Ḥusayn b. Ma‘tūq b. ‘Alī b. Ma‘tūq al-Ḍabbī/al-Ḍabbī]
 - [al-Birzālī lists a Taqī al-dīn Ma‘tūq b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar (!) al-Naṣībī in v.1, p.513 - <http://www.noorlib.ir/View/en/Book/BookView/Text/17702/1/513> (in an obituary for his son Shams al-dīn Muḥammad who died 680H). Taqī al-dīn has his own obituary (d.684H; born 600H) in v.2, p.78. See also Dhahabī *Tārīkh al-islām* v.51 <http://islamport.com/w/tkh/Web/3534/23418.htm> - he himself born 600H]

⁵⁰ There is a possible lead to information on this ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Lawzi on p.188 (item #14) of *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus*, Volume 2 (2009; De Ibn Adhà a Ibn Busrà) – but I am only able to view it in Google Books - <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=8VFIAQAIAAJ&dq=%22+al-lawzi%22+%22al-andalusi%22&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22+al-lawzi%22+> . Does the actual text in fact read al-Jawzi? If so that could be an unconventional way of referring to the famous Abu Al-Faraj Abd Al-Rahman Ibn Al-Jawzi, d.597H. On the other hand, that same page refers to some names and a date we recognize: item #13 - with date 633H - is our #90 ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Muẓaffar al-Miṣrī; item #14 - is ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Lawzi [al-Jawzi?]; item #16 names both our #15 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as Ibn Zurāfa, and also his nephew our #45 ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Abū al-Rajā; item #17 - with date 633 - could be our #101 ‘Abd al-Salām b. Abū al-Faḍl. All of these except al-Lawzi attended OY’s samā‘ #37 of Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.7, which took place in that same year, 633H. It would surely be worth pursuing this article in *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus*, v.2, p.188.

- certificate written by Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Qurashī [our #18]
- dated **19 Shawwāl 633H** [i.e. **25th June 1236CE**]
- *This date is a somewhat surprising find in a certificate for a first version FM text – because only a few months earlier this same group of people had been reading the first 73 chapters of FM in the second version holographs (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) at Ibn 'Arabī's house in Damascus. Presumably version two of the chapter 560 had not yet been written. So here we have evidence that people were studying a mix of versions in Damascus in 633H (almost certainly with Ibn 'Arabī's blessing).*
- *We know from reading certificates in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ that the Damascene reading group read the first 12 volumes of what would eventually be a 37-volume 2nd version – and they did this over the period of late October 1235 to mid-February 1236. However, their reading sped up during that time – they read volumes 7-12 in a single month. If they continued reading the remaining 2/3 of the FM at the same accelerated pace, one would have expected them to finish the entire work around four months later, that is, around mid-June 1236. Since this reading certificate in Yusuf Aga 5463 is dated 25th June 1236 we can therefore speculate that the same group did indeed read through the entire FM, but they switched from the 2nd version to the 1st version holographs after the first 73 chapters. Presumably they made the switch because at that time IA had completed only that initial 1/3 of the 2nd version.*
- [paragraph continues] ...
 - Ibrāhīm b. Abū Bakr b. al-Khallāl [our #72]
 - [note that OY places him in the second certificate reproduced in Nurosmaniye 2506 and 2507]
- Here is the second certificate in Yusuf Aga 5463 p.212 with names transcribed below



- ‘Imād (al-dīn) Muḥammad [IA’s son]
 - Jamāl al-dīn Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥamawī [our #64 = our #123]
 - Najm al-dīn Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (?) known as Ibn al-Mujāwir (?)
 - [NAME NEW TO US but see this article on a Damascus-born traveller and author of that name who lived 601H-690H: <http://www.arab-ency.com/ar/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%AD%D9%88%D8%AB/%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%88%D8%B1-%D9%8A%D9%88%D8%B3%D9%81-%D8%A8%D9%86-%D9%8A%D8%B9%D9%82%D9%88%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D9%8A%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A> ; apparently he was author of *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir* – English translation in *A traveller in thirteenth-century Arabia : Ibn al-Mujāwir's Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*; he is named in this way in the samā’ in Damascus (from 633H) in Nurosmāniye 2506-2507 as reported by OY RG 135 p. 231 – and, as we have noted, those two reproduced reading certificates sound very similar indeed to the first two reproduced here in Yusuf Aga 5463]
 - dated Thursday 23rd Rajab 630H [not 633H – contrast OY’s report of Nurosmāniye 2506-2507]
 - written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Arabī [a grandson of IA? See below for such a person. But he died in 698H so is unlikely to have had the authority to write a certificate in 630H. Alternatively perhaps this is a mis-copying of IA’s own name: Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad]
- And here is the third certificate (and final ms-specific colophon) on p.212 with names transcribed below

689H, named Ibn 'Izz al-Quḍāt, Fakhr al-dīn, Abu al-Fidā', Isma'īl b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī... (here said to be born in 630H rather than in 650H – and 630H is the date given by al-Birzālī, below).

- A long entry – under the heading Fakhr al-dīn Ibn 'Izz al-Quḍāt – is provided in *al-Wafī bi-l-wafayāt* by al-Ṣafadī (d.764H) which is found here: <http://islamport.com/w/tkh/Web/290/1227.htm> (and following page - contains verse)
 - [Rough translation CA/JC] He began as a secretary (kātib) and man of letters in the service of (the powerful ones in) the administration. He had access to King Nāṣir, the ruler of Damascus, with the poets and men of his entourage. When people left Damascus for Egypt during the Tartar invasions he went (se rendit) to Egypt and came back (revint) strongly impregnated with renunciation and abandonment of this world. He applied himself to (the study of) the writings of the shaykh Muḥyī al-dīn Ibn al-'Arabī, making copies of some of them, and he regularly visited his tomb. He became known as a pious man and people held him in high esteem. He left nothing when he died in 689H and what money he had was exhausted the night he died. He died in Aqrabā' and was transported to the Grand Mosque and had a large funeral. He was buried in the private cemetery (turba) of the Banū Zakī. People read the Qur'ān and made several reading of it (khatm) in its entirety. They were much distressed by their loss and some had pious visions of their subject. (Followed by poetry).
- His entry in *Fawāt al-wafayāt* by al-Kutubī (d.764H) is here: http://shiaonlinelibrary.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8/3591_%D9%81%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D8%AC-%D9%A1/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D9%81%D8%AD%D8%A9_154
- His entry in *Tārīkh al-islām* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748H) is here: https://library.islamweb.net/hadith/display_hbook.php?indexstartno=0&hflag=&pid=518051&bk_no=936&startno=12
- Al-Birzālī gives his dates as 630H-689H in an extensive obituary in *al-Muqtafī* v.2 p.202-3:

[وفاة الإمام الزاهد فخر الدين ابن أبي اليمن]

٤٩١ - وفي ليلة الأربعاء الحادي والعشرين من شهر رمضان توفي الشيخ الإمام، الفاضل، الزاهد، العابد، فخر الدين، أبو الطاهر، إسماعيل بن علي بن محمد بن عبد الواحد بن أبي اليمن، المعروف بابن عز القضاة^(١)، وصلي عليه من

(١) انظر عن (ابن عز القضاة) في: تاليف كتاب وفيات الأعيان ٤٣ رقم ٦٣، وذيل مرآة الزمان (المخطوط) ٣/ ورقة ٥٦١ - ٥٦٤، وتاريخ ابن الجزري (مخطوط غوطا) ورقة ١٧٤ - ١٧٥، =

الغد يوم الأربعاء بجامع دمشق، وذفن بسفح قاسيون بترية القاضي محيي الدين التي بها قبر الشيخ محيي الدين ابن العربي.

وكان في أول أمره كاتباً أدبياً، فاضلاً، خدّم في الجهات، وكان له نظم حسن، ودخول على الملك الناصر مع الشعراء وأهل المغل، ويُقال الناس من دمشق بسبب التتار، وسافر وأقام بمصر مدة، ورجع متزهداً (..).^(١) عن الدنيا، ولزم طريقة حميدة جميلة إلى أن مات، ولم يخلف شيئاً. وكان لا يملك طاسة ولا غيرها، ومهما فضل عن مصلحته الضرورية وفُتح عليه فتصدق به ولا يذخر شيئاً. وحضر جنازته جمع كبير، وخُمل على الأعناق، وحمله من باب التربة إلى القبر المسعودي، والمطروحي، وغيرهما.

ومولده في الخامس والعشرين من شوال سنة ثلاثين وستماية بدمشق.

روى لنا عن السخاوي، وابن الصلاح، والصريفي، وجماعة قطعة من «صحيح مسلم».

وكتب عنه الشيخ جمال الدين ابن الصابوني من نظمه، ونسخ بخطه نحو خمسين مجلداً ووقفها، ومن جملتها «جامع الأصول» لابن الأثير، و«الفتوحات المكية» للشيخ محيي الدين بن العربي، وغير ذلك/ ١٦٢ ب/ من تواليه، وكان يعظمه تعظيماً كبيراً، ويلزم زيارة قبره كل جمعة.

= وتاريخ حوادث الزمان - بتحقيقنا - ج ١/ ١٨ - ٢٣ رقم ٧، وتاريخ الإسلام (٦٨٩ هـ) ص ٣٦١ - ٣٦٦ رقم ٥٥٧، والإعلام بوفيات الأعلام ٧٨٨، والعبر ٥/ ٣٦١، والإشارة إلى وفيات الأعيان ٣٧٨، وعقود الجمان للزركشي، ورقة ٧١، والبداية والنهاية ٣١٨/ ١٣، ٣١٩، والوافي بالوفيات ١٦٦/ ٩ - ١٦٨ رقم ٤٠٧٩، وفوات الوفيات ١٧٩/ ١ - ١٨١ رقم ٦٩، وغيون التواريخ ٥٤/ ٢٣ - ٥٦، وتذكرة النبيه ١٣٠/ ١، ١٣١، ودرة الأسلاك ١/ ورقة ١٠٢، والسلوك ج ١ ق ٣/ ٧٦٠، والمفقى الكبير ١٢٧/ ٢، ١٢٨ رقم ٧٧٨، وعقد الجمان (٣) ٤٤، ٤٥، والنجوم الزاهرة ٣٨٦/ ٧، والمتل الصافي ٤٠٨/ ٢ - ٤١١ رقم ٤٣٨، والدليل الشافي ١٢٥/ ١ رقم ٤٣٧، وشذرات الذهب ٥/ ٤٠٨.

(١) كلمة غير مقروءة.

- [Rough translation CA/JC] on the night of Wednesday 21st Ramaḍān [689H] died the shaykh, the imām, the excellent, the renouncer, the adorer, Fakhr al-dīn, Abū al-Ṭāhir, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū al-Yaman, known as Ibn ʿIzz al-Qudāt. And prayers were said the following Wednesday, the day after the funeral prayers at the mosque. He was buried on Mt Qāsiyūn in the turba of Qāḍī Muḥyī al-dīn in which is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥyī al-dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī ... He did not possess even a cup and that which had not been absolutely necessary to him he gave in alms after he had a spiritual opening (faṭḥ) – and he kept nothing in reserve. He was carried on men's shoulders from the door of the turba up to the tomb of Mas'ūdī and of Matrūhī and others (???). He was born on 25 Shawwāl 630H. He transmitted al-Sakhāwī [d.643H]

⁵¹, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ [d.643H], and al-Ṣarīfīnī [d.641H] and (among) others (jamā'āt – group, assembly), a section of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. The shaykh Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Ṣābūnī [d.680H] ⁵² transcribed some of his poetry and he wrote 50 volumes by hand which he gave in waqf including the *Jāmi' al-'Usūl* of Ibn al-Athīr⁵³ and *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyat* of shaykh Muḥyī al-dīn Ibn 'Arabī and other writings of his – and he greatly venerated him and visited his tomb each Friday.

- Shihāb al-dīn, Abū al-'Abbās, Aḥmad b. Zakariyā b. Abū al-'Ashā'ir al-Māridānī
 - [NAME NEW TO US but al-Birzālī refers to Shihāb al-dīn, Abū al-'Abbās, Aḥmad b. Zakariyā b. Abū al-'Ashā'ir in vol. 4 (not 2) p. 161
<http://www.noorlib.ir/View/en/Book/BookView/Image/7316/1/161> (born 629H; died 714H). According to Ibn Ḥajar he lived 629H-714H and transmitted ḥadīth: see <http://islamport.com/w/trj/Web/279/41.htm> (where his name is written al-Māridīnī)]
 - Here is al-Birzālī's entry (v.4 p.161-2) – notice the mention of one "Ibn al-'Arabī" and also al-qāḍī Muḥyī al-dīn Ibn al-Zakī, IA's host in Damascus, and his children:

[وفاة شهاب الدين ابن أبي العشائر]
 ٣٣٧ - وفي الثالث أو الرابع من شهر رمضان توفي الشيخ شهاب الدين،
 أبو العباس، أحمد بن زكريا بن أبي العشائر^(١) الماردني بالقيوم من الديار المصرية.
 ومولده في سنة تسع وعشرين وستماية بماردن.
 روى الجزء الثاني من «مشيخة ابن مسلمة» عنه، وكان مقبلاً بدمشق القاضي
 محيي الدين ابن الزكي، وأولاده، وينتهي إلى ابن العربي. ثم إنه سافر في الجبل إلى
 القاهرة واستوطنها.

⁵¹ 'Alī b. Muḥammad, 'Alam al-dīn, al-Sakhāwī (d.643H). He was one of a number of musmi'ūn for a reading reported in Leder et al. ms. 3798:21 #2, in Damascus, 640H – a reading which was also attended by Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Qurashī (our #18) and al-Shaybānī (our #5). (We are of course guessing the people to whom al-Birzālī refers here when we supply dates of death to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and al-Ṣarīfīnī – but all three seem to have died in the early 640s, which 'fits' with Ibn Abū al-Yaman living 630H-689H and transmitting from them to al-Birzālī, who lived 665H-739H. We are guessing that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ refers to 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shahrazūrī, d.643H, *author of Muqaddimah ibn al-Ṣalāḥ fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*; and al-Ṣarīfīnī we take to be Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṣarīfīnī, d.641H, who wrote a history of Nishapur – al-Birzālī gives an obituary for his son Muḥammad in v.2 p.6, for the year 683H, and calls him al-ḥāfiẓ Taqī al-dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Azhar al-Ṣarīfīnī).

⁵² Jamāl al-dīn, Abū Ḥamid, Muḥammad b. (Abū al-Ḥasan) 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Maḥmūdī al-Ṣābūnī, lived 604H-680H. Author of *Takmilah ikmāl al-ikmāl* and a work mainly of ḥadīth in Chester Beatty 3905 discussed by Arberry in "Two Small Collections". In Chester Beatty 3905 f.10b Arberry finds verses quoted by Thābit al-Tiflīsī (d.631H) – and the latter man we recognize as the poet who read holograph Murad Bukhari 162 back to IA in 620H. See our comment: http://archive.ibnarabisociety.org/wordpress_mias_archive/index.php/mias_archive/best_ms_list/murad-bukhari-162-1a-89b-3_898-2/#comments

⁵³ There are volumes from this work by Ibn al-Athīr (d.606H) in Konya, Yusuf Aga 5049-5058 – and at least some of those volumes are dated 666H and are from SQ's personal library. But in his library list of 665H, SQ describes owning 10 volumes (Tehran Milli Malik 4263/2; SQ's item #8) – so perhaps the mss were written at an earlier date and 666H is only the date of the reading certificates. Is it possible those were written by this devotee of Ibn 'Arabī, Ibn Abū al-Yaman (d.689H) and were in the possession of SQ in Konya by 665H?

وأجاز لنا بدمشق والقاهرة.

- [rough translation CA/JC] On the 3rd or 4th of Ramaḍān [714H] the shaykh Shihāb al-dīn, Abū al-'Abbās, Aḥmad b. Zakariyā b. Abū al-'Ashā'ir al-Māridīnī died in Fayyūm, Egypt. He was born in 629 in Mardīn (now S.E. Turkey at eastern end of border with Syria, nearer to Mosul, Iraq than to Aleppo in Syria). He transmitted section 2 of the the *Mashyakha of Ibn Maslama* from the author. He lived in Damascus with the Qāḍī Muḥyī al-dīn Ibn Zakī and his children and he was connected with (the school of) Ibn 'Arabī. He departed at the time of the exodus (during the Mongol invasion) and settled in Cairo. He transmitted to me (al-Birzālī) in Damascus and in Cairo.
- ... 'Abd Allāh...
- Dated Tuesday 28th Dhū al-Ḥijjah 678H [?but that was a Monday?]
- written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad (?!) b. Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī... Is this IA's grandson (again)? IA himself was long dead in 678H. IA's own full name is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh so perhaps the scribe reversed Aḥmad and Muḥammad in the 4th and 5th generation of ancestors. We know IA had a grandson via his son 'Imād al-dīn Muḥammad, a grandson also known as Muḥyī al-dīn Muḥammad, hence Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī etc, who died in 698H (in Ṭarābulus, i.e Tripoli) – for al-Birzālī left a short obituary as entry #1346 in *al-Muqtafī 'alā kitāb al-rawḍatayn al-ma'rūf bi-ta'rīkh al-Birzālī* v.2 p. 596 (notice that this namesake and grandson of IA married an unnamed grand-daughter of Muḥyī al-dīn Ibn al-Zakī, IA's host in Damascus, her father being Bahā' al-dīn – surely it is no coincidence that another attendee of this reading in 678H, al-Māridānī / al-Māridīnī, was familiar with that same circle):

[وفاة محيي الدين محمد بن عماد الدين العربي]

١٣٤٦ - وفي هذا الشهر وصل الخبر أيضاً بوفاة محيي الدين محمد بن عماد الدين محمد ابن الشيخ محيي الدين ابن العربي^(٢)، توفى بطرابلس، وكان ذهب إليها بقصد التفرج فجاء خبره.
(وكان مدرّس مقصورة الخضر، التي تُعرف بحلقة ابن صاحب حمص)^(٣).
وتزوج بنت قاضي القضاة بهاء الدين ابن الزكي.

...

(٢) انظر عن (ابن العربي) في: تاريخ الإسلام (٦٩٨هـ). ص ٣٦٧ رقم ٥٥٤.
(٣) ما بين القوسين من تاريخ الإسلام.

- ... Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. ?? al-Ḥamawī [our #64 again]

- The final line of p.212 has the date Shawwāl 947H - the copying date this ms, Yusuf Aga 5463.

[Kamāl al-dīn, al-Sharīf, Abū al-‘Abbās] Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad [al-Ḥamawī] al-‘Alawī and his readings of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works

[READINGS A] We have found this man named along with members of the main Damascene reading group at the end of 1st version FM according to **Yusuf Aga 5463** p.211-2 - dated 19 Shawwāl 633H [i.e. 25th June 1236CE]. We do not know when he joined the group but he was NOT one of those who had studied the 2nd version (ch.0-73) over a period ending four months earlier.

[READINGS B] The same man [OR: Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamawī al-‘Alawī] is also the writer of a sama in a lost holograph or autograph of *Nasab al-Khirqa* - i.e. the sama' copied in Esad 1507 f.98b⁵⁴. According to one place in Archive (an error) that is dated 22nd Rabī‘ al-ulā (i.e. al-Awwal) 633H. However, I have checked Esad reading - the year is indeed 633H but the day is yawm al-ithnayn rabī‘ ‘asharīn shawwāl = Monday 24th Shawwāl 633H = Monday 30 June 1236⁵⁵. So this sama was dated just over 4 months later than all the FM readings by the main group but over a year before the same man completed his reading of the Western Diwan (after which he would read FM over a period of 2 years). The Archive mentions 2 dates: 22nd Rabī‘ al-ulā and 24th Shawwāl and claims both are the same date!! (I believe only the second date is correct - and have no idea where the first came from)

[There is a near coincidence of dates in this man's reading: that date in Esad 1507 - Monday 24th Shawwāl 633H = Monday 30 June 1236 - is only 5 days after the reading certificate for the

⁵⁴ CA notes that Kamāl al-dīn al-‘Alawī is not only the scribe of *al-Khirqa* – he is also the recipient of the certificate of investiture itself (Esad Ef. 1507 f.95b) – in other words, the person to whom Ibn ‘Arabī was transmitting the *khirqā*. The same is true in Zahirīyya (al-Assad) 4134 f.123b. Similarly Berlin Ibg 964 where his name is given with 17 generations back to ‘Alī, so supporting his epithet al-‘Alawī: Kamāl al-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammād b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (17 generations). Similarly British Library, India Office, Loth 657/3 = Bijapur 409/3 f.22. On the other hand, in Zahirīyya (al-Assad) 17390, dated 1134H, the recipient of the *khirqā* is Muwaffaq al-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Qaysī al-Ishbīlī (f.119b); similarly in Zahirīyya (al-Assad) 5924 (f.24), H. Mahmud 2522 and Shehit Ali 1344. Muwaffaq al-dīn is also named in a reading certificate of 630H in Evkaf Muzesi 1933 f.78a (along with Tāj al-dīn al-Sarrāj and others). There he is named: Muwaffaq al-dīn Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (banīhum) al-Ishbīlī al-Qaysī (elsewhere in the Archive the name is transcribed Maryam / Muraym / Buraym / Yuraym rather than banīhum). That same man is associated with transmission of RG 484 K. *al-Mu‘ashsharāt* in Halet 245 and Istanbul University A3320.

⁵⁵ I suspect that al-‘Uraybī - the scribe of Esad Ef. 1507 - might have made some errors when reproducing the samā’ of 633H. The two names he gives prior to Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamawī al-‘Alawī himself are firstly Sa’d al-dīn Abū Su‘ūd (!) – IA’s son – and secondly one Muḥammad b. Ya‘aysh b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. (Ya‘aysh could also be read Yuhmash or similar if we compare the way al-‘Uraybī writes Aḥmad). But I wonder if the reproducing scribe has conflated two names here, while also mis-reading the first. I speculate al-‘Uraybī should have written Muḥammad b. al-Baranqush / al-Yaranqush – i.e. IA’s son-in-law, whose fuller name would be Muḥammad b. al-Baranqush [OR Yaranqush] b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mu‘azzamī, Shams al-dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh. If I am correct then al-‘Uraybī’s continuation [b.] Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad would have to refer to someone else, very likely Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī. For all three of these men are named in many reading certificates from 633H in Damascus. Indeed in the reading of the first version FM reproduced in Yusuf Aga 5463 – which is dated only 5 days earlier than the reading in Esad Ef 1507 – al-‘Alawī is named directly after IA’s son and al-Mawṣilī, while Muḥammad b. al-Baranqush is named somewhat earlier in the list of 20+ attendees.

conclusion of the reading of the 1st version FM by the main Damascene reading group - a group now including our man al-Sharīf Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-'Alawī - as recorded in Yusuf Aga 5463 p.211-2 (and also reproduced in Nurosmāniye 2506 and 2507 according to OY *Histoire*, p. 231)]

[READINGS C] He read through the Western Diwan in 634H (finishing multiple sessions in 13th Dhu'l-Hijjah 634H - i.e. very close to end of 634H; see Khalili 225. By this time he had begun his readings of the second version FM (see below).

Khalili 225 (according to SH) : "In eleven separate places there are marginal notes stating that the reading of the book had reached this point in the presence of the author, signed by Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī. At the end of the manuscript (fol. 180b) there is a 4-line certificate by the same man, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-'Alawī, recording the completion of the reading of the manuscript."

See extended reading notice at end of Khalili 225 f.180a (usually of form "balagha qirā'atan 'alā munshīhi li-Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī") to which IA appended a 2-line note (prior to poem in nA): "This confirms that the aforementioned person has heard the reading of this volume and the rest of the dīwān, which make up [another] five volumes, at numerous sessions. Its author, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Arabī, wrote this in his own handwriting in this year (i.e. the year mentioned in the note above)."

The fuller reading notice prior to that note by IA is "The reading has been checked with the book's author, my master and imam, the shaykh, the imam, the most knowledgeable (al-'allāma), the uniquely realised verifier (al-muḥaqqiq al-fard), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī, may God support him and grant him enjoyment throughout his life, by the poor in God the High, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. (?) al-'Alawī may God pardon him. This took place over various sessions, the last of which took place on Sunday 13th Dhu'l-Hijjah 634H [= 7 August 1237] at his blessed house in Damascus..."

[READINGS D] al-'Alawī read at least v.1-2 and v.32-34 of FM 2nd version (Evkaf Muzesi 1845+) over a 2-year period, late 634-6H. In fact, he began a few months before he had completed his readings of the Western Diwan (READINGS C). Here are the reading certificates I have recorded (not all are mentioned by OY in *Histoire* under RG 135):

- (four not recorded by OY)
 - margin of v.1 f.46b: Aḥmad al-'Alawī - along with Ibrāhīm al-Khallāl [our #72]
 - margin of v.1 f.51b
 - margin of v.1 f.69a
 - OY's FM #3 (although OY does not list him) [dated 634H]
 - margin of v.1 f.83a. OY transcribed the reading more fully in his edition of FM vol. 1 p.214: Dated Wednesday 15th Shawwāl 634H. Along with IA and 3 others. Named: Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī.
 - margin of v.1 f.91b
-
- OY's FM #4. [OY: reader: Aḥmad al-'Alawī (but is he only on previous page, f.91b?)]
 - in margin of v.1 f.92a. 3 people plus IA (undated): Aḥmad al-'Alawī (or is he only on f.91b?) - Muḥammad... al-Muṭarrizī [our #59] - Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr al-Ḥamawī [our #64]

- OY's FM #5
- margin of v.1. f.111a: Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī - along with Ibrāhīm al-Khallāl [our #72]
- (not recorded by OY)
- margin of v.1 f.139a
- OY's FM #8 [dated 635H in IA's house]
- vol 1 f.155a, Dated Wed 17th Muḥarram 635H, i.e. only a couple of weeks into 635H - only a month after he had finished reading the Western Diwan - and in fact another date, also this month Muḥarram 635H, is found in the over-written lines on f.1a of Khalili 225 itself)
- (five not recorded by OY)
- margin of v.2 f.18b
- margin of v.2 f.20b
- margin of v.2 f.30b
- margin of v.2 f.36b
- margin of v.2 f.40b
- OY's FM #16
- margin of v.2 f.54a
- (two not recorded by OY)
- margin of v.2 f.69a
- margin of v.2 f.94b

[NOW A JUMP FROM v.2 TO v.32 – AND A JUMP FORWARDS IN TIME – IN RECORDS OF THIS MAN'S READING OF THE HOLOGRAPH 2nd VERSION OF FM]

- OY's FM #55 [636H]
- v.32 f.126a [OY says end of ch.558 in vol 32] - named Kamāl al-dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-ʿAlawī.
- Dated 636H. Others named: IA himself (musmīʿ). Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Anṣārī (writer) [one of the 3 brothers, our #97]; Tāj al-dīn ʿAbbās b. ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā b. Surūr al-Anṣārī al-Ḥanafī al-Sarrāj (reader)
 - Tāj al-dīn ʿAbbās ... al-Sarrāj [NAME NEW TO US] But he is named again (along with al-ʿAlawī) in OY's samāʿāt #56 and #57 (see below).

- He is named by IA himself in the text of Fut II.145 (ch.76): صاحبنا تاج الدين عباس بن عمر السراج .
 - He is also named as reader in a samā' of Friday Jumādā al-awwāl 630H attached to the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* in SQ's hand in **Evkaf Muzesi 1933**, f.78a; there his name is given similarly as Tāj al-dīn 'Abbās b. 'Umar al-Sarrāj al-Anṣārī (currently mis-transcribed in MIAS Archive)
- OY's FM #56 [636H]
 - v.33 f.127a same names again, dated Friday 7th Shawwāl 636H (13th May 1239CE)
-
- OY's FM #57 [636H]
 - v.34 f.135a dated Tuesday 24th Dhū al-Qa'da 636H (28th June 1239CE; close to 2 years later than OY's #8 in v.1). Other names as above but in addition: Sa'd al-dīn Muḥammad (IA's son).

[Kamāl al-dīn, al-Sharīf, Abū al-'Abbās] Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad [al-Ḥamawī] al-'Alawī – information from elsewhere

I have found it difficult to locate further information concerning this man. A good place to start seemed to be the Damascene Reading Certificates recorded by Leder et al.

It was conceivable that this is the same man Leder et al. 1996 (*Mu'jām al-samā'āt al-Dimashqiyya al-muntakhaba min sanat 550 ilā 750H*) list in multiple Damascene reading certificates, p.184, namely:

- Aḥmad b. (al-Muḥibb) 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. (Abū Bakr) Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Shihāb al-dīn, Abū al-'Abbās, al-Maqdisī.
- He attended readings of ms 955/9 #11, #13, #14, #15, #17, and #24 which are dated 728H, 726H, 729H, 725H, 653H
- Those would appear to be from the year he was born to the year before he died – if he lived 653H-730H as indicated here: <http://shamela.ws/browse.php/book-26389#page-47>

Clearly, these dates (653H-730H) are much too late to be our al-'Alawī.

Indeed, the reading of our man's name in Esad Ef. 1507 – possibly supported by the reading in Khalili 225 and that in Evkaf Muzesi 1845+ v.1 f.83a – is Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad **b. 'Alī...**

On p.183 Leder et al. list two other possible candidate matches, each of whom is named on a single certificate. The first is as follows:

- Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad (ms 3775/4 #3 f.44a dated 667H with a large audience – see v.2 p.345 – this name appears on l.7 about half way through). There is not enough information to decide whether this could be our man al-'Alawī.

But the second one turns out to be much more promising...

A reading of al-Assad ms 3757/1 in 657H – possibly attended by al-‘Alawī – in the company of numerous Akbarians

- **Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, al-Qurashī, al-Hawalī (?), Sharaf al-dīn.** This is the name given in the index to Leder et al. And there it is claimed he attended reading of ms 3757/1 #12 which was dated 11th Ramaḍān 657H and held at the house of qāḍī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn at Bāb al-Barīd, Damascus.
- This is potentially very interesting – for at that reading in 657H which this Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad attended, there were others with Akbarian connections - including the house itself!
 - The writer of the certificate in ms 3757/1 #12 is ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī. Surely this is ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Yazīd al-Widā’ī al-Kindī al-Iskandarānī thumma al-Dimashqī (640H-716H) as named in Ibn Ḥajar’s *al-Durar al-kāmina* <http://www.noorlib.ir/View/en/Book/BookView/Text/7495/1/130> . al-Birzālī gives that man’s obituary for the year 716H in *al-Muqtafī* v.4. p.230-1 – where he is called a creative poet and given many honorifics : ‘Alā al-dīn, Abū al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Zayd b. Hibbat Allāh al-Kindī, al-Iskandarī, then al-Dimashqī . He would have been 17 in 657H at the time of this reading. I believe this is also the man Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī who appears in the chain of transmission for Ibn ‘Arabī’s 10-liners *K. al-Mu’ashsharāt* RG 484 given by Ibn ‘Azam (d.891H) in Univ A3320 (omitted from equivalent in Halet 245).
 - [note al-Kindī also attended a reading for ms 3757/2 #2 in the same month in 657H]
 - Also in attendance at the 657H reading in the house of Muḥyī al-dīn: IA’s son ‘Imād al-dīn (d.667H) – the very person from whom Ibn ‘Azam says al-Kindī transmitted the 10-liners.
 - And also present were various members of the Banū Ibn al-Zakī (at whose house the reading took place)...

I reproduce the actual samā’ 3757/1 #12 from Leder et al. v.2 (2000) p.257:

- [no wa-] al-sāda (?) al-quḍāt al-uḡalā' 'Imād al-dīn Abū al-Majd 'Īsā
 - [Leder et al list him for this reading as 'Īsā b. (Muḥyī al-dīn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal) Yaḥya b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, al-Maqdisī, Abū al-Majd, 'Imād al-dīn – i.e. they identify him as another son of Yaḥyā al-Qurashī (so a brother of Bahā' al-dīn etc below)]
 - [al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.3 p. 123 contains an obituary for this man's daughter, Fāṭima bint 'Imād al-dīn 'Īsā b. al-qāḍī Muḥyī al-dīn b. al-Zakī (d.700H). She married a cousin or half-brother (ibn ummihā) Shams al-dīn Ibn al-qāḍī Bahā' al-dīn.]
 - [see CA, *Quest*, p. 255, for a passage from Abū Shāma (*Tarājim* p.205-6), referring to 'Īsā's father - qāḍī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn Yaḥyā - giving 'Īsā control of the Sufi *khānqāhs* and choosing his 'uterine brother' to assist him in the magistracy. He also took care of IA's son 'Imād al-dīn who was also present at this reading with the brothers, in the family house in 657H (he was given the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrassa* taken from Shams al-dīn al-Kurdī). The events Abū Shāmā refers to would take place in the following year, 658H]
- 'Alā al-dīn Abū al-'Abbās (?) Aḥmad (?)
 - [compare the final squiggle to the way Aḥmad (?) is written in Sharaf al-dīn Aḥmad... Aḥmad below. Leder et al seem to regard him as yet another son of Yaḥyā al-Qurashī – I believe they place him in the index as Aḥmad b. (Muḥyī al-dīn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal) Yaḥya b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, al-Maqdisī, Abū al-Majd (!), 'Imād al-dīn (!). So it seems they confused him in part with the previous name: 'Imād al-dīn Abū al-Majd 'Īsā (who they provide elsewhere with a very similar entry). I believe their entry for this man Aḥmad should have been written Aḥmad b. (Muḥyī al-dīn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal) Yaḥya b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, al-Maqdisī, **Abū al-'Abbās, 'Alā al-dīn.**]
 - [Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.1, p.531 gives an obituary for a Sharaf al-dīn (!) Aḥmad b. qāḍī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn Yaḥyā b. Zakīy al-Qurashī (d.680H). However, the editor identifies him with 'Alā al-dīn Aḥmad in an entry for the 680H in *Tarīkh al-Islām*, so it is possible this is the same man. On the other hand, *al-Muqtafī*, v.1, p.534, is a much fuller obituary for the same year for another son also called Aḥmad, named in full as: al-qāḍī, al-imām, al-ṣadr al-kabīr, Abū al-'Abbās, Ahmad b. qāḍī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Yaḥyā b. Muḥyī al-dīn Muḥammad... b. Sa'd al-Zakīy al-Qurashī. Born 632H – judge at *al-Dawla al-Nāṣiriyya* and *al-Dawla al-Ṣāliḥiyya* in *al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya* and taught at *al-'Azīziyya* and *al-Taḡwiyya* in Damascus. So perhaps this second Aḥmad (Abū al-'Abbās) - who died in the same year - is the man listed in *Tarīkh al-Islām* as 'Alā al-dīn Aḥmad. In that case all components of his name would match the man at the reading. Either way, he died in 680H. If born in 632H he would have been 25 at the time of this reading.]
- Bahā' al-dīn Yūsuf
 - [father in law to Ibn 'Arabī's grandson and namesake, Muḥyī al-dīn Muḥammad (d.698H) whose father is also present at this reading: 'Imād al-dīn Muḥammad; see Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.2, p.596]
 - [Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.2, p.99 gives Bahā' al-dīn Yūsuf's own obituary for 685H (born 640H – so he would have been 17 years old at the time of this reading). A daughter Nafīsa died in 693H (v.2 p.364)]
- [no wa-] Zakī al-dīn [no wa-] Ḥusayn

- [Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.1 p.219 gives an obituary for Zakī al-dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn qādī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad... al-Qurashī (641H-669H). al-Yūnīnī gives his dates as 642H-669H in *Dhayl mir'āt al-zamān* – and names him al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b...., Abū 'Abd Allāh, Zakī al-dīn al-Qurashī, and quotes some of his verse – see <http://www.islamicbook.ws/tarekh/dil-mrat-alzman-005.html> (v.2 p.458 in print edition). He would have been 15 or 16 years old at the time of this reading.]
- (wa-) Ibrāhīm awlād [i.e. all of those just named are 'children' of] mawlānā qādī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qurashī
 - [we know Bahā' al-dīn had a son called Ḥasan (d.707H) – so it is possible Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm are his sons in which case they would be grandsons of Muḥyī al-dīn Yaḥyā. However, Leder et al do not list any sons against Bahā' al-dīn in their index; instead they list both Ibrāhīm and Ḥusayn as sons of Muḥyī al-dīn Yaḥyā. We have no real reason to doubt this assertion.]
 - [the paterfamilias himself, qādī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qurashī would die in 668H – see al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī* v.1 p.208 – but he was apparently not present at this reading in 657H. The following year, in 658H, he would be 'exiled' to Egypt for 'collaboration' with the Mongols (see CA's *Quest*, p.255 – a passage from Abū Shāma also mentions some of his sons, as we noted above).]
- Shams al-dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-'Imād al-Kātib
 - [Leder et al call him Muhammad..., al-'Imād, al-Kātib, but there is clearly a single 'bin' here. Compare their entry for similar-sounding Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. ('Azīz al-dīn) Muḥammad b. (al-qādī 'Imād al-dīn) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Qurashī, ancestor known as al-'Imād al-Kātib]
- 'Imād al-dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn al-'Arabī
 - [Ibn 'Arabī's eldest son (d.667H) – he was over 50 when he died according to al-Yūnīnī (*Dhayl mir'āt al-zamān* v.2 p 428) so he would have been over 40 at the time of this reading.]
 - [Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.1 p.189 also has an obituary for him (d.667H) – he was associated with the prayer place of Khidr in the (Umayyad) Mosque of Damascus. And according to his own obituary (*al-Muqtafī*, v.2 p.596) Imād al-dīn's son, IA's grandson and namesake, Muḥyī al-dīn Muḥammad (d.698H) taught at the same prayer place of Khidr – and he would marry a daughter of Bahā' al-dīn Yūsuf of the Banū Ibn al-Zakī. Bahā' al-dīn Yūsuf is present at this reading in 657H (as a young man). The house of Banū al-Zakī at Bāb al-Barīd – the location of this reading – was situated against the Western end of the Umayyad Mosque with its own private entrance to the Mosque (information from CA: Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, p.32)]
- Fakhr al-dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Kanjī
 - [Leder et al list other readings he attended]
 - [Perhaps author (al-Shāfi'i; d.658H) of *Kifāyat al-tālib fī manāqib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib* and *al-Bayān fī akhbār ṣāhib al-zamān*]
- (his son) Ja'far aḥḍar (?)
 - [Leder et al list him as Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Kanjī]

- Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. Aybak (?) b. ‘Abd Allāh
 - [Leder et al identify him as Muḥammad b. (‘Izz al-dīn) Aybak b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shiblī, Nāṣir al-dīn. Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.3, p.371 obit Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. (al-Amīr ‘Izz al-dīn) Aybak al-Najībī (d. 707H) – Nāṣir of the *madrassa* al-Najībīyya. Al-Yūnīnī obit. (... b. al-Iskandarī): <http://www.islamicbook.ws/tarekh/dil-mrat-alzman-006.html>]
- Aḥmad (?) b. ‘Umar b. Najīb (?) al-Ṣūfī
 - [This is Leder et al’s reading of this name in their index]
 - [Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.3 p.254 has an obituary (d.703H) for Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Najīb al-Ṣūfī, known as Khidma (“at the service”?) of the sons (awlād) of al-qāḍī Muḥyī al-dīn – which would include the 5 brothers present at this reading. Al-Birzālī mentions he was found in a samā’ with Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl (the musmi’ here too, in 3757/1 #12). However, I find no evidence that al-Birzālī ever attended a reading of (al-Assad) 3757/1.]
 - [According to Ibn Ḥajar <http://islamport.com/w/trj/Web/279/418.htm> a daughter Fāṭima bint Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Najīb al-Kanjī (again) lived 654H-736H and transmitted to al-Birzālī]
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maghribī
- Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim [ibn] al-Khabbāz
 - [Leder et al list many readings and a number of relatives. His full name: Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Barakāt b. Sa’d, Ibn al-Khabbāz, al-Ḥanbalī, al-Mu’dhan, Najm al-dīn, Abū al-Fidā’, Abū Muḥammad – entry in *al-Durr al-kāmina*. Lived 629H-703H - <http://shamela.ws/browse.php/book-6674/page-432>]
 - [Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, v.3 p.239 has an obituary (629H-703H): Najm al-dīn, Abū al-Fidā’, Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Rakkāb (!) b. Sa’d b. al-Khabbāz]
 - Chester Beatty 3525/1 (ḥadīth collection of al-Jawharī, d. 454H) on f.14b contains a reading note dated 663H signed by Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim al-Khabbāz (d.703H) according to CB catalogue. On previous page there are reading notes in the hand of his teacher Ḍiyā’ al-dīn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (d.643H) dated 625H and 633H (and Chester Beatty 3525/5 is a ḥadīth commentary by the same Ḍiyā’ al-dīn, with his autograph, dated 632H).
 - Leiden Or 2554 is copied by this same man from his own archetype of ḥadīth collections dictated by his teacher Ḍiyā’ al-dīn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (d.643H) in years 637H-641H. Contains many reading certificates from 661H, Mt Qaysun, Damascus.
- ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl b. Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī
 - [Leder et al say he is Najm al-dīn]
- Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muknā (?) b. Abū al-Faḍl al-Dimashqī
 - [Leder et al call him al-Shāfi‘ī]
- Abū al-Faḥ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Qurashī
- (writer) ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī
 - [see my notes above for more on this man (lived 640-716H so 17 when he wrote this certificate)]
- 11th Ramaḍān 657H
- At the house of the qāḍī al-quḍāt Muḥyī al-dīn at the Bāb al-Barīd, Damascus

- [the family house for many named above: ‘Imād al-dīn ‘Īsa, ‘Alā al-dīn Aḥmad, Bahā’ al-dīn Yūsuf, Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm. See our notes against ‘Imād al-dīn Muḥammad, above, for the house’s connections with the Umayyad Mosque, and with Ibn ‘Arabī’s descendants who taught there.]
- ...
- *[with lines above and below the text – marking a testimony validating the certificate?]*
- Aḥmad (?) b. Abū al-Qāsim (?) b. Hibbat Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-??
 - [that is the form of this name given by Leder et al in their index]
- al-ḥaqqah (?) ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar al-Kindī
 - [i.e. the certificate writer’s name again]
- wa-kadhalika **al-Hawlī (?) Sharaf al-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad (?) al-Qurashī al-? al-?**
 - [could this be al-‘Alawī ?]
- ...
- *[signed at the end by the musmi’]*
- Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Dimashqī
- ...

So this Sharaf al-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, al-Qurashī – who was in the house of Banū al-Zakī in the company of known Akbarians, in 657H – could he possibly be our man al-‘Alawī?