

# The Unique Copy of Ibn Khafif's Collection of Transmitted Prayers

*Codicology, Marginalia, Paratexts, and Transmitters' Strategies*

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The earliest of the patron saints of Shiraz, Muḥammad b. Khafif b. Isfakshādh/Isfikhshādh (d. 371/982),<sup>1</sup> is known as the author of numerous works on his distinctive brand of Sufism, which is characterised by a synthesis of the sophisticated mysticism of the school of Baghdad headed by Junayd (d. 297/910) and the imagined piety of the Prophet's successors of the first three generations.<sup>2</sup> This synthesis can be recognised in those of his writings that are still extant: for example, *Faḍl al-taṣawwuf*, on the excellence of Sufism; *Iqtīṣād*, on training novices;<sup>3</sup> and *Sharaf al-faqr* on poverty (which is accessible in a Persian translation only).<sup>4</sup>

In research that I was pursuing in the Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul about a decade ago, I discovered what seems to be the only copy of a work of Ibn

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- 1 Coming from later times, Rūzbihān al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209) and Shams al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389 or 793/1391) have been revered as saintly figures in Shiraz, overshadowing Ibn Khafif's fame (cf. Arberry: *Shiraz*, pp. 86–111; for Ibn Khafif, see Arberry: *Shiraz*, pp. 61–85; a useful biography, based on the earliest sources, is al-Dhahabī: *Sīyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 16, pp. 342–347; see also Sobieroj: "Ibn Khafif").
  - 2 The authorities cited in the collection of transmitted prayers, who belong to the first three generations after Muḥammad, in all likelihood correspond with the *religiosi* whom al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) dealt with in his *K. al-Zuhd* that, deplorably, is lost (on this work, see Thibon: *Les générations des Soufis*, p. 8).
  - 3 In a Persian-language article on the works of Ibn Khafif that are still extant, Jawād Bashari studies a fragment of a third copy of the *K. al-Iqtīṣād* (the other two manuscripts are MS Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett Collection (Yahuda Section), 459, and MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Pertev Paşa, 652). The fragment seems to have been produced on the Jabal 'Āmil of Lebanon and is now lodged in the Mar'ashī library of Qum. A paratext on the text transmission (*thabt*) prefaced to the fragment includes three isnads, the last of which testifies to a transmission of this work by Ibn Khafif to al-Sulamī (see Bashari: "Āṣār", p. 48).
  - 4 A fate this text shares with the biography of Ibn Khafif written by his disciple 'Alī al-Daylamī (see Sobieroj: "Daylamī", pp. 85–86) in Arabic, which is extant in a Persian translation made in the eighth/fourteenth century by Yaḥyā b. Junayd Shīrāzī (on the translation, see al-Daylamī: *Sīrat*, p. 9).

Khafif entitled, to use the variant on the flyleaf, *K. Sharḥ khāṣṣīyat al-āyāt al-bayyināt wa-jawāmi' al-da'awāt fī al-awqāt al-mukhtalifāt* (commentary on the special properties of clear qur'anic verses<sup>5</sup> and all the prayers for different circumstances).<sup>6</sup>

As the title indicates, the text includes comments on the “special properties” of the qur'anic verses (*khāṣṣat al-āyāt*), as well as prayers recommended for recitation in the changing circumstances of life (*jawāmi' al-da'awāt fī al-awqāt al-mukhtalifāt*), and, apart from man (*al-ādami'*), it even contains prayers (*adhkār*) of animals (*al-ḥayawānāt*) and angels (*al-malā'ika*; angels' prayers are mentioned, e.g., on fols. 25b–26a). The subject mentioned as the second element of the title (prayer) outweighs the first-mentioned by far – but qur'anic verses, by virtue of their presumed special properties, have also been integrated into many of the transmitted prayers. These are traced back mostly to Muḥammad<sup>7</sup> and, occasionally, to one of the Prophet's successors, and even more rarely to an early Sufi.

5 The expression *khāṣṣīyat (khawāṣṣ) al-āyāt* refers to certain occult qualities that have been ascribed – at the latest since Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765; Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 104) – to specific qur'anic verses or expressions occurring in them. Among the authors said to have written texts on this subject, al-Ghazālī takes pride of place: the theologian is presumed to have written a relevant tract titled *Asrār khawāṣṣ kitāb Allāh al-'azīz* (not mentioned in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*; recently reprinted by Maktabat al-Waḥda al-'Arabiyya).

6 In the *Shadd al-izār* of Junayd-i Shīrāzī, p. 42, a prosopographic work on saintly individuals buried in Shiraz, a work titled *K. Sharḥ al-faḍā'il* is ascribed to Ibn Khafif. In 'Īsā b. Junayd's *Hazār mazār*, a Persian translation of *Shadd al-izār*, a work titled *Jamī' al-da'awāt* is attributed to Ibn Khafif (see Sobieroj: *Novizenerziehung*, p. 312, no. 30). Ḥājji Khalīfa: *Kashf*, vol. 5, p. 131, who mentions the text with incipit, offers the title variant *K. Faḍā'il wa-jāmi' al-da'awāt wa-l-adhkār*, and thereby seems to indicate that the works referred to in *Shadd al-izār* and *Hazār mazār* are all identical. On the work's authenticity, see Sobieroj: *Variance in Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 91 n. 129; Sobieroj: “Ibn Khafif”, p. 140; in addition, the author's name is mentioned in the preface of the manuscript. Bashārī: “Āṣār”, p. 46, mentions, among the works ascribed to Ibn Khafif, the present collection of prayers and he adds that it would be highly desirable to study the text.

7 Notwithstanding his Sufi profession, Ibn Khafif was also an authority in Prophetic tradition. He frequented the great scholars in hadith in Fārs and during his travels in the Arab countries, and it was his habit to copy twenty traditions every night, after completing his prayer litanies. Ibn Khafif did not reject weak traditions of the *akhbār al-āḥād* type, which he accepted with a caveat: in his creed entitled *Mu'taqad* (edited by Schimmel-Tari as an appendix in al-Daylamī: *Sīrat*, p. 301), he declares that they obligate Muslims to practise their contents but “knowledge” (i.e., legal rulings) must not be founded on them. He compiled a collection of *mufrad* traditions but he refrained from holding sessions of dictating hadith, which he did not consider part of his duties (Daylamī: *Sīrat*, p. 209).

As to the structure of the text under scrutiny, which totals 262 chapters, it is divided into two parts of unequal length: first, the section on suras and parts thereof whose recitation is believed to produce specific effects, mainly of a therapeutic and apotropaic nature; second, the much more extensive section on “transmitted” prayers arranged thematically, covering subjects such as prayers for travelling, performing the hajj pilgrimage, funeral service, and so on.<sup>8</sup>

In the present paper, I will give a short codicological description of the manuscript (which does not seem to have attracted the attention that it deserves from scholars) and focus on the numerous marginalia of explanatory glosses and corrections entered in its leaves.

The assembly of what is mainly Prophetic prayers represents a compilation of traditions similar to the classical hadith collections.<sup>9</sup> However, it is possible to discover segments of text integrated within the main textual body in which Ibn Khafif (or his informants) acts as the commentator of his traditions. As these “paratexts” do not form part of the marginal commentaries under scrutiny they will not be examined in this chapter. Both Ibn Khafif and his authorities, quoted in the truncated isnads, have employed strategies to raise the esteem in which their prayers were held in order to encourage the audience to accept his *da‘awāt* piously and memorise them.<sup>10</sup> An attempt at

8 A paper concentrating on content-related issues and the relationship between orality and scriptuality as reflected in Ibn Khafif’s text is *in statu nascendi* and will be published in German. The section on “strategies” in the present paper (see below, pp. 334–8) is intended to serve as an example of the content-related matters discussed there and to give an impression of how the prayers “worked”.

9 There are similar prayer collections based on hadith such as Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī’s (d. 676/1277) *Ḥilyat al-abrār wa-shi‘ār al-akhyār fī talkhīṣ al-da‘awāt wa-l-adhkār al-mustaḥabba fī al-layl wa-l-nahār* (MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (henceforth SBB), Ms. or. quart. 1705) or *al-Wasā’il al-qur’āniyya wa-l-ad’iyya al-nabawiyya* by the Yemeni Zaydī author Yaḥyā b. al-Mahdī (14th cent.; MS Berlin, SBB, Ms. or. quart. 1834). The focus placed by Ibn Khafif on prayers with the “greatest name of God” and with verses selected from the Qur’an on the basis of its hidden properties can also be observed in the last-mentioned text. The dissemination of these collections, ascribed to authors who overshadowed the fame of Ibn Khafif, may have played a role in the eclipse of the compilation under study. An emphasis laid on (insignificant) variance caused Ibn Khafif to repeat traditions several times, which defeats the author’s intention of offering the text as a prayer manual (*vade mecum*). This however may be considered as one of the reasons why the text, in the course of time, was supplanted by more popular works such as the aforementioned.

10 Ibn Khafif composed the text, as he says in the preface, in his youth, and to begin with, he had included the full isnad for each tradition quoted. However, in order to ease memorisation, he deleted the chains of transmitters (*fa-ḥadhaftu al-asānīd*) in a subsequent step, maintaining a truncated form of the isnad only. This statement has in part been

deconstruction to identify the major “marketing” strategies chosen by the authors will round off this paper. It is not directly related to marginalia but to commentarial practice in the wider sense, and it may help in understanding the textual structure of the individual traditions which have served as the points of reference for the glosses.

## 1 Codicological Description

The Arabic manuscript Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1296, kept in a brown binding of partial leather with a flap, comprises 158 leaves with twenty-one lines on each page, which means that it is a relatively long text. The first few leaves have been damaged and text has been lost in an attempt to repair the pages. While the beginning of the literary work (fol. 1b; see Fig. 10.1) has been supplied by a recent hand – four lines of decreasing length – the first chapter is only partially extant – the first seven lines – and chapters 2–5 are completely missing. Likewise, paper damage has resulted in the loss of text in some other places: for example, in chapter 129 on prayers for warriors (fols. 171b–172a), a tradition traced back to Muḥammad has become illegible due to a large stain (perhaps the impact of moisture?).

The first chapter deals with the “special properties of the qur’anic verses” that are said to be included, for example, in Sūrat al-Kahf. The first tradition quoted here contains the words of Muḥammad, transmitted by ‘Āisha, on the effects of reciting ten verses of that sura before going to sleep, which include protection against the eschatological upheaval designated *fitnat al-Dajjāl* and against the light emanating from the “false Messiah” on Judgement Day. After the lacuna, the text resumes with chapter 6 which no longer refers to any specific qur’anic verses.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscript is divided into 262 chapters preceded by headings written with red colour. The length of the chapters varies greatly. Some chapters – for example, chapters 188 and 191 – only contain three lines, while others extend to more than a dozen pages (e.g., there are fifteen pages in chapter 52).

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supplemented in a marginal gloss (fol. 1b), but this has been tampered with by an alien hand. (As result of this interference, the gloss runs: *wa-l-ḥādhiḥ ghayr al-shaykh raḥimahū Allāh* (the person deleting was somebody other than the shaykh); see Fig. 1.) It cannot be excluded, however, that the isnads were truncated by a scribe or a redactor who worked on Ibn Khafīf’s original text (in this case one should read: *fa-ḥudhifāt minhu al-asānīdu*).

11 As is implied in the chapter heading, “what has been passed down as prayer for one who wants to sleep and fears *iḥtilām*”, it includes, among other things, a prayer in which God’s protection is implored against nocturnal emissions.



FIGURE 10.1 First opening of manuscript; paper damages and loss of text; *waqf*-note; marginal gloss. Ms Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1296, fols. 1b–2a

The style of writing is an aesthetically pleasing *naskhī* that has been executed meticulously by the hand of one scribe only (for a qualification of this statement, see the next footnote). The writing is medium in size, rather flat, and fully pointed.<sup>12</sup>

The names of the transmitters of the prayers quoted have been regularly overlined by use of red colour (the exception is the *Du‘ā’ Dāniyāl* on fol. 148b, included in a chapter that lacks overlining); similarly, the headings of the prayers ascribed to individual prophets in chapter 261, such as *Du‘ā’ Dāwūd*, are overlined. Occasionally, graphic elements such as a triangle-like cluster of three red dots have been used, for example on fol. 147a–b, where these elements serve to separate the divine names from each other; the names are mentioned in the Sufi prayer of the “prophet” Idrīs, according to ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (d. 177/793).<sup>13</sup>

In a few instances, prayers have been written with full vocalisation, for example the prayer recommended for a person grieving (fol. 83a); likewise, the prayer on fol. 22a, containing praises (*tasbīḥāt*) to recite when concluding the ritual prayers. Some vowel signs have been added unsystematically, in order to ease comprehension of the text.

12 However, between fols. 102b and 103a, a change in the style of writing may be observed, possibly caused by a change of hands.

13 On this figure, see Uludağ: “Abdülwāhid b. Zeyd”, p. 282.

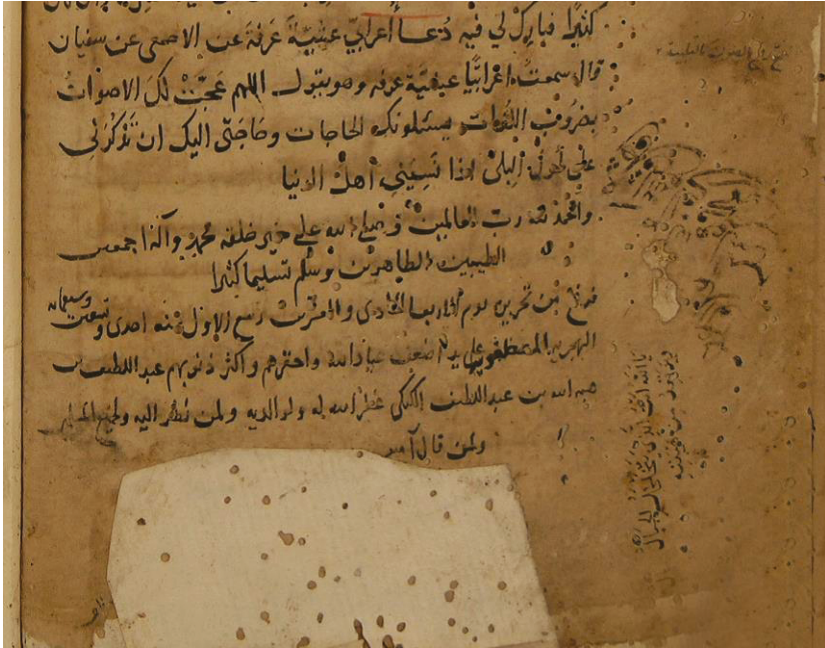


FIGURE 10.2 Colophon, with name of scribe and date of copying, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1296, fol. 158b

A short colophon (Fig. 10.2) ends the manuscript, stating the name of the scribe, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Katakī,<sup>14</sup> and the date of execution of the copy, 21 Rabi’ I 791 (20 March 1389).<sup>15</sup>

An *exlibris* (fol. 1a) and an endowment (*waqf*) stamp indicate that the manuscript belonged to the Shaykhülislām Seyyid Feyzullāh Efendī (d. 1115/1703),<sup>16</sup> who made the manuscript an endowment<sup>17</sup> in 1112/1700–1701 – that is, at the

14 Possibly, although it is rather unlikely, a member of the Naqshbandiyya-Khojas of Kūcha in Altishahr, who were known as Katakī; Fletcher: “Naqshbandiyya”, p. 6.

15 The manuscript was copied in a Sunni milieu. This may be inferred from the observation that ‘Ā’isha is designated *umm al-mu’minīn* in the first of a series of traditions on prayers that Muḥammad would say when the new moon appeared (*‘inda ru’yat al-hilāl*), reported on her authority (chapter 152).

16 This previous owner designates himself “al-Sayyid Fayḍ Allāh al-Muṭī fi-l-salṭana al-‘aliyya al-‘Uthmāniyya”. For his biography, see Tayşi: “Feyzullah Efendi”; for his library, Tayşi and Ülker: “Millet Kütüphanesi”.

17 The *waqf* stamp, reproduced in Tayşi: “Feyzullah Efendi”, p. 527, includes the stipulation that the manuscript must not be removed from his madrasa. The expression *waqf*, written with extended letter *fā’* and sprinkled with gold dust, has also been inscribed on the upper margin of this page as well as on fol. 1b.

beginning of the eighteenth century – for use in his madrasa which was situated in the Fātiḥ quarter of Constantinople.<sup>18</sup>

## 2 Marginalia

The manuscript of Ibn Khafif's collection of prayers includes numerous carefully written and mostly highly legible marginalia from the scribe's hand which comprise well-informed comments and lexical glosses as well as corrections (sometimes interlinear); the latter include additions of parts of text that had been omitted as well as collation notes (*balagha/buligha*) which obviously indicate that the text has been subjected to a revision by the scribe. The scribe's glosses are mostly short, with a few exceptions that have a length of many lines. These text-stabilising interventions may be viewed as expressions of the effort taken by a transmitter and a user of the manuscript to maintain the author's work in its transmitted form and protect it against overgrowth (*Verwilderung*).

### 2.1 Comments

Explanatory glosses written in the margins often include clarifications of difficult expressions; that is, they are of a lexical nature.

An expression considered needy of explanation is, for example, *asma' al-da'awāt*, interpreted as *aqbal al-da'awāt*, that is, the prayer most likely to be answered (literally, accepted; fol. 18a). Another lexical gloss includes an explanation of the term *ada'uhā*, defined as synonymous with *atrukuhā*: one companion of the Prophet – Abū Hurayra – is reported to have said about a prayer he had heard Muḥammad say: "I will not stop saying it as long as I live" (*lā ada'uhā mā 'ishtu*; fol. 110a). An instruction for a prayer recommended for recitation when one has forgotten something (chapter 139) – and wishes to remember it – stipulates that before saying the prayer formula, one places one's forehead in one's right hand (*waḍa'a jabhatahū fī rāḥatihī*); the interlinear gloss explains the final word in this phrase as synonymous with *kaffahū* (his hand; fol. 84a).<sup>19</sup>

The expression *al-hawāmm* occurring in a comment of the Prophet about permitted apotropaic prayers (*ruqya*)<sup>20</sup> against snakes, scorpions, and other

18 Köprülü: "Feyzullah Efendi", p. 599a.

19 In this prayer, God is addressed as the one who makes a person remember "a thing" (*yā mudhakkir al-shay' wa-fā'ilahū dhakkirī mā nasītu*).

20 'Ā'isha explained to the person inquiring about its licitness that he may say the charm with the two short *mu'awwidha suras* (*irqi bi-l-mu'awwidhatayn*) without, however, breathing (*naftḥ*) over "it" (i.e., the wound).

toxic animals is explained, in a gloss in the margin of fol. 131a, as *al-hamīm al-dabīb huwa al-mutaḥarrīk 'alā al-arḍ*, that is, a reptile that crawls over the earth.

Lexical glosses have been entered not only in the margins but also between the lines. An example of such an interlinear gloss is the explanation of *nukta* as *nuqṭa* (fol. 47a), relating to Muḥammad's remarks on the excellence of *al-istighfār* (to say "God forgive me"), according to which a black dot is formed in the human heart whenever a man commits a sin (*nukitat fī qalbiḥi nukta-tun sawdā'*).

The expression *yarmalu*, in a phrase relating to Ibrāhīm – that is, the patriarch Abraham, mentioned in chapter 191 – *kāna yarmalu fī baṭn al-wādī*, is explained as *yusri'u* (fol. 125a) in an interlinear gloss written beneath the reference expression, that is, he rushed through the valley near Mecca while saying the prayer recommended by Ibn Khafīf in the Islamic era.

Likewise, the explanation *idhā akhadhahū* for *idhā taghawwalahu l-ghūl* (when the desert demon seizes him) has been written between the lines, again beneath the expression to be explained (chapter 252, fol. 138b).

In an interlinear gloss in chapter 62 relating to a prayer which Ibn Khafīf has recommended as helping in disquieting situations, the verbal phrase *idhā hammahu l-amr* (when some matter worries him), has been explained by *idhā aqlaqahū wa-ḥazanahū* (when it disquiets him and makes him sad; fol. 54a).

Explanatory glosses sometimes include Persian translations (e.g., on fol. 96a, for sg. *ukum*, "hill, heap", pl. *ākām*): *wa-ḥiya bi-l-fārisīyya*, etc. (illegible).

The marginal gloss entered in Persian on fol. 83b is owed, exceptionally, to the intervention of an alien hand. In addition to the main text, it furnishes the wording of a therapeutic prayer known as *Tiryāq* (*namāz-i ḥājat-i mashhūr ba-Tiryāq*) with an instruction of how to perform it.

Explanations or translations of Arabic medical terms such as *al-sill* (tuberculosis) and *al-rī'a* (lungs) include a statement of literary source (e.g., *Anwār*; fol. 140a) which is a rarity in the present manuscript.

There are some explanatory expressions such as *taqsīm* (division?) or *istifhām* (question) which serve as syntax markers; that is, they indicate the position and function of words in a sentence, and they are always entered between the lines.<sup>21</sup>

The explanatory lexical glosses, often introduced by *ay* (i.e.), are sometimes adduced with a reference to authorities from the field of philology, for example on fol. 89a where the divine name *al-muqīt* is explained as *al-muqtadīr*, according to the grammarian al-Farrā' (al-Daylamī; d. 207/822) or on fol. 107a, where

21 In a similar context, Darya Ogorodnikova, in her chapter in this volume, uses the term "morphosyntactic glossing".

a lexical gloss is traced back to the lexicographer al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213?/828?).<sup>22</sup> A comment entered in the margin of fol. 133a, relating to the expression *ruqyat al-namla* that designates an incantation accompanied by an unspecified use of ants, includes a reference to two written sources, *Sharḥ Mishkāt al-ʿarūs* of al-Ṭayyibī<sup>23</sup> and al-Ṣaghānī.<sup>24</sup>

Other types of annotations refer to the transmitters of a text and alternative transmissions. An explanatory gloss from the scribe's hand in the margin of fol. 83a adds to a prayer communicated in the main text, that it has also been transmitted by Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) and others – which reveals that the text has been received within Sunni traditionalist circles.

In an explanatory gloss in the margin of the subsequent leaf (fol. 84b), it is stated that the reference tradition in the main text – relating to a prayer recommended for an indebted person – was recorded by Sulaymān al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/970–971) in his *Muʿjam*. Since this traditionist originating from Galilee/Tiberias is a scholar from whom Ibn Khafīf, according to al-Daylamī (al-Daylamī: *Sīrat*, p. 209), had heard Prophetic traditions (*az gharb*), it cannot be excluded that the gloss has been entered by the author himself – Ibn Khafīf – to correct an omission (statement of literary source), in which case it would be an incidence of author's marginalia (but note that the technical term *minhu*, commonly used in more recent manuscripts, has not been entered in the margin).<sup>25</sup>

## 2.2 Corrections

Corrections, furnished with the sign *ṣād* for *ṣahḥa* (it is correct),<sup>26</sup> have been entered in the margins; often, however, between the lines or within the line of the main text.

As a rule, the expression to be corrected has not been crossed out or deleted in other ways nor has it been corrected in the margin; it has instead been left

22 He explains the two zoological terms *al-awraq* (*min al-ibl*) and *al-lubūn* (*min al-shāt*), subspecies of camel and sheep.

23 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyibī (al-Ṭibī; d. 743/1342; Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, p. 448) wrote a gloss on a commentary, or revised and extended version, titled *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* by Tibrīzī on the *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna* of al-Baghawī.

24 Perhaps identical to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252; Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, pp. 443–444, suppl. vol. 1, p. 614), author of works on (apocryphal) hadith.

25 In the corpus examined by Quiring-Zoche, the earliest instances of *minhiyyāt* were detected in artefacts produced in the middle of the thirteenth century; see Quiring-Zoche: “*Mīnhīyāt*”. In this volume, see Bockholt's chapter “Footnotes in Premodern Times?”.

26 Gacek: *Glossary*, p. 82.

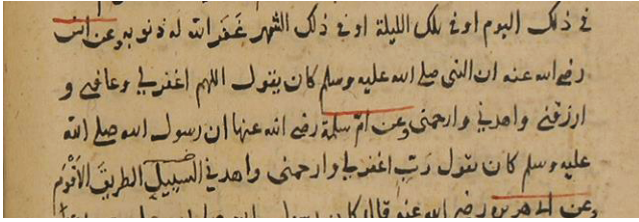


FIGURE 10.3 Correction written after the expression. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1296, fol. 114b

intact and the correct form has been written after or above it.<sup>27</sup> An example for the first case (correction written after) can be found on fol. 114b, l. 12 (*wa-hdini al-sabīl/al-ṭarīq al-aqwam*; see Fig. 10.3), where the synonymous expression *al-ṭarīq* has been written after the expression to be substituted, *al-sabīl* – perhaps the added variant has been found in the exemplar of the manuscript; a sign resembling an extended letter *šād* has been placed above *sabīl*. Obviously, these additions were entered not in a second round of corrections, but in the process of copying the text.

The sign *šād* can also be found written between the lines on fol. 132b where the missing letter *dāl* (in the word *āda*) has been added; likewise, between the lines, on fol. 160b, for the omitted word *Allāh*, the divine name.

In relatively few cases, the expression to be corrected has been crossed out or wiped away in the body of the text. An example of a correction in the reference text which has been crossed out is the quotation of sura 20, v. 69 (fol. 140a), where erroneously written *‘aṣāka* (your rod), after *wa-alqi* in the command *wa-alqi mā fi yamīnika* (throw away what you have in your right hand), has been crossed out by means of a horizontal stroke.

Elsewhere an expression in the main text has been written over and substituted by a variant: a noun no longer legible, apparently designating a Zoroastrian house of worship, on fol. 97a has been replaced by *masjiduhum* (their house of adoration; see Fig. 10.4).

Often, however, the chapter numbers, spelled out with red ink, have been crossed out; they prove to be incorrect due to the numbers from chapters 203

27 The tendency to leave incorrectly written expressions intact in the main text may be explained by reference to a raised sense of respect for the traditions copied. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) authored a text titled *K. al-Kifāya fi ‘ilm al-riwāya* in which relevant issues are discussed; among others, in the chapters dealing with self-corrections by the scribe (and abstaining from it), *bāb mā jā’u fi iṣlāḥ al-muḥaddith kitābahū bi-ziyādat al-ḥarf al-wāḥid fīhi aw bi-nuqṣānīhi* (p. 249 of the Hyderabad edition), or *bāb dhikr al-riwāya ‘amman lam yuḥawwiz ziyādat ḥarf wāḥid wa-lā ḥadhfhāhū*, etc. (pp. 177–178).

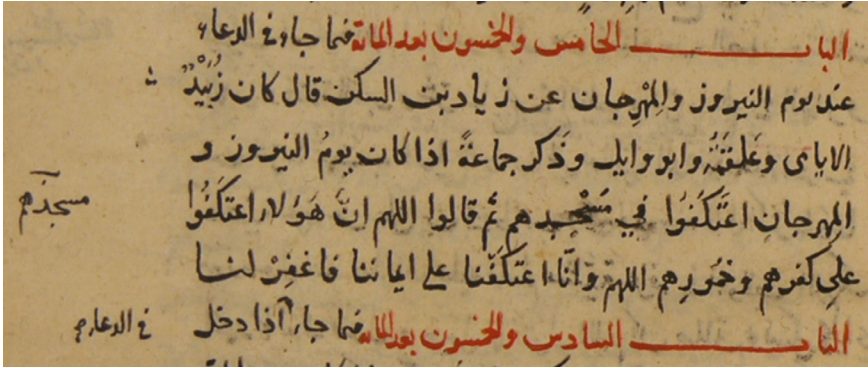


FIGURE 10.4 Corrections: the variant *masjidihim* was written over the original text; two lines below a marginal correction with *ṣaḥḥa* and bow-shaped insertion marker. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1296, fol. 97a

(*al-bāb al-thālith ba'd al-m'atayn*) to 261 being read incorrectly; in a process of correction carried out by the scribe, the correct forms have been entered in the margins, mostly in red, and provided with the sign/letter *ṣād*.

Notes of correction often relate to text omissions in the main text and contain the corresponding supplements. One example for a supplement entered in the margin – with an insertion marker – is the phrase beginning with *kuffirat 'anhu* in the sentence, “he who recites the prayer so-and-so, his sins will become effaced (*kuffirat 'anhu*) even if numerous as the foam crowns of the ocean” (fol. 107a).

Occasionally, the place of insertion for omissions to be added in the main text has been marked by a sign in the shape of a bow (fol. 128a, l. 8). The sign is entered in the text while *ṣaḥḥa* is written in the margin. Another sign for marking a place of insertion is a graph resembling the Arabic number ٢ (fol. 130b, 131a).<sup>28</sup>

Headings omitted in the main text, probably mostly caused by inattentiveness, have been supplied in the margins, such as the heading of chapter 170 on prayers of protection against scorpions (*fī-mā jā'a min ruqya ilkh*), entered at right angles to the main text (fol. 101b); and, corresponding to the usual format of headings, written with red ink. Likewise omitted – though in this case presumably because it was felt to be too long – was the second half of the heading of chapter 131, a protective prayer against despotic rulers and hostile tyrants (*li-l-iḥtirāz min sharr al-salāṭīn* [and thereafter written in the margin] *al-jabbārīn wa-min sharr al-ḡalama al-mu'tadīn*; see Fig. 10.5).

28 For the insertion markers, see Gacek: *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 250 (s.v. “signes-de-renvoi”); Sobieroj: *Variance in Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 50, 118.

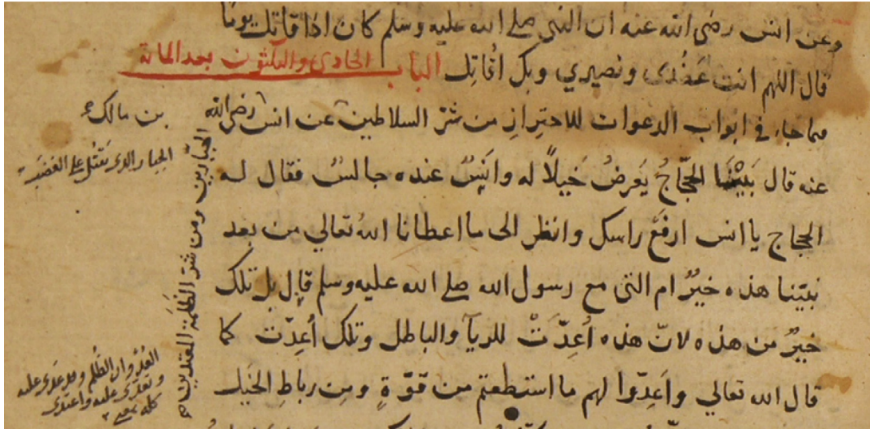


FIGURE 10.5 Corrections: second half of the heading of chapter 131 was added in the margin. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1296, fol. 73a

An unnumbered heading has been added in the margin and written at right angles to the text body in chapter 184, on entering the Great Mosque (of Mecca) and what has to be recited while doing so.

A few thematic headings not found in the main text, beginning with *maṭlab*,<sup>29</sup> have been written in the margins by a more recent hand (e.g., fol. 48b, *maṭlab al-du'ā' li-l-mu'minīna wa-l-mu'mināt*, “subject of supplication of both male and female believers”). These additions are, of course, corrections only in the widest sense of the word – the intention has been to give orientation to the user of the manuscript.

### 2.3 Individual Letters (Ḥarf) and Balagh Notes

In a few places, the final letters of the last word of a line have been ejected into the margin in an aesthetically motivated effort to keep the lines straight (e.g., fol. 112a).

*Balagh* notes, entered in the margins of a few pages, indicate that the copied text has been subjected to a collation with its exemplar. Presumably in this process, redundant *alif* of third or first person singular imperfect forms of *verba tertiae infirmae* such as *arjū* (ارجو, I hope) or *yashkū* (يسخو, he is generous; e.g., fol. 106a) have been deleted throughout the text – in these cases a sign of correction has not been entered in the margin.

29 In some instances, the term *maṭlab* has been written on the margins in isolation, i.e., without mention of the reference (e.g., fol. 135b).

### 3 Strategies to Raise the Status of a Prayer

The discussion in this section on strategies to raise the status of a prayer is not directly related to marginalia, but it provides a glimpse into the culture of prayer as enacted by traditionalist Sufis and may therefore help to shed light on the religious ideas of the members of the milieu in which the manuscript under discussion was produced.

Certain “strategies” can be detected in Ibn Khafif’s collection that were employed by the authors to boost the esteem in which their prayers were held and to encourage the audience to accept them piously and learn them by heart. The devices include, inter alia, the claim that Muḥammad showed a special interest in a prayer he heard someone say; the claim that a prayer would inevitably be answered by God; the addition of qualifications – often in the morphological *afʿal* form (e.g., *awfaq al-duʿāʾ* or *awthaq al-duʿāʾ*); and the provision of an atmosphere of intimacy between the Prophet and the first-generation transmitters of a prayer.

#### 3.1 *Stating That the Prophet Recited the Prayer Frequently or on Special Occasions*

One strategy for raising the status of a prayer is the claim that the Prophet used to recite that specific prayer frequently (*kāna yukthiru an yaqūla Allāhumma ilkh.*; fol. 112b), or that he said that prayer at a special time such as, for instance, during the so-called farewell pilgrimage (*duʿāʾ fi ḥijjat al-widāʾ*; fol. 113a), at the beginning of each lunar year when visiting the martyrs’ tombs (fol. 123a), or in his agony (fol. 118a–b).

#### 3.2 *Stating That Muḥammad Was Especially Interested in the Prayer*

Other prayers are made to stand out by mentioning the interest which Muḥammad showed in them. In one instance, it is noted that he overheard a prayer said in a mosque, inquired who said it, and, having discovered that, added: “[now] ask [God for something] and you will be given!” In this tradition, Abū Bakr identified (ʿAbdallāh b.) Masʿūd as the one who said the prayer designated by Muḥammad as “wish-fulfilling”, and he asked the companion to repeat to them the *duʿāʾ* which he had recited just before (fol. 151b).

Another tradition reports that Muḥammad once went to Abū Dharr, “socialiste avant la lettre”, in order to inquire about the prayer which he kept saying. His interest became aroused after Jibrīl told him, in allusion to Abū Dharr’s famous solitariness, that the companion was better known among the people of heaven than among those of the earth (*inna A. Dh. aʿraf fi ahl al-samāʾ*

*minhu fī ahl al-arḍ*), because of a specific prayer which he recited twice every day (fol. 152).<sup>30</sup>

### 3.3 *Stating That Muḥammad Mentioned an Authority for the Prayer*

In some cases, the Prophet is quoted as mentioning the archangel or the prophets preceding him as his authorities for a given prayer, thereby raising its status. For example, when the Prophet addressed 'Umar, enticing him with the proposal, "Shall I not teach you words which Jibrīl taught me (*a-lā u'allimuka kalimātin 'allamanihinna Jibrīl*), etc., rather than sending you the load of dates (*wasq min tamr*) which you asked for?" (fol. 111a), a criticism of the companion's gluttony was intended, but – at the same time – the prayer's status has been boosted through the reference to Jibrīl.

In talking to 'Alī, Muḥammad claims that the prayer he (regularly) said on the day of 'Arafa (during the hajj pilgrimage), quoted subsequently, is the *du'ā'* that the prophets before him had said the most (*kāna akthara du'ā' al-anbiyā' qablī du'ā' yawm 'Arafa*); it begins with *lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahū ilkh*. (no god but God, etc.; chapter 158, fol. 125b).

### 3.4 *Stating That the Prayer Was Taught and Memorised like the Qur'an*

Prayers are made to stand out through comparison with the Qur'an and the exhortation to memorise them. The transmitters of the *ṣaḥāba* generation claim, for instance, that the Prophet taught them the *du'ā' al-istikhāra* just as he taught them the qur'anic suras.<sup>31</sup> Prayers of this type usually start with the supplication that if a matter is good for someone, God may give him or her the power to do it and bless him or her in its performance, and so on (chapter 64, fols. 54b–55a).

Likewise, antidepressant prayers such as the *da'awāt al-karb* (fols. 82b–83b) are reported to have been taught by the Prophet to his companions; the receptive audience was asked to memorise them and not divulge them to other people (*yaktumuhā*, i.e., conceal them). It is stated that prayers which Muḥammad inculcated into his companions' hearts could not be forgotten for the rest of their lives (fol. 106a), that is, God would not allow the individual to whom a

30 Abū Dharr explained to the Prophet that the prayer consisted of ten words which he (Jibrīl?) had taught him (*innamā 'asharat aḥruf alhamanī ilhāman*), beginning: *Allāhumma innī as'aluka imānan dā'imān*. The angel enumerated the effects of the prayer as including being loved by the people, forgiveness of sins, and entry into heaven (fol. 152a).

31 A similar claim is made about the *ta'widh* prayers.

good outcome has been destined (*man arāda Allāhu bihī khayran*) to forget the prayer (*lam yunsihī iyyāhunna ḥattā yamūt*). However, the prayers thus inculcated – the tradition says – do not remain in the hypocrite’s heart (*innahunna lā yathbutna fī qalb munāfiq*).

### 3.5 *Adding Qualifications to the Prayer*

Certain qualifications have been added to the prayers increasing the esteem in which they are held. A companion, Abū Hurayra, is reported to have said about a prayer that he had heard the Prophet recite (beginning with: *Allāhumma ijʿalnī uʿazzimu shukraka*, “God, make me value thanking you”), “I will not stop saying it as long as I live” (see also above, p. 328).

Another qualification added with the intention of raising a prayer’s status is the expression “most likely to yield success” (*awfaq al-duʿā*). An example of this is a prayer transmitted by Abū Hurayra (fol. 110a), which begins with *Allāhumma anta rabbī wa-anā ʿabduka* (“God, you are my lord and I am your servant”). An alternative is to call a prayer *awthaq al-duʿā*, “the most reliable of prayers” – this is a variant of *awfaq* and perhaps only constitutes a spelling mistake (fol. 110a).<sup>32</sup>

Another expression that is sometimes added to underline the importance ascribed to a prayer is *aḥabbu al-duʿā ilā Allāh an yudʿā bihī* (the supplication God loves the most that one prays with it; fol. 112a).

### 3.6 *Stating That There Was an Atmosphere of Intimacy with the Prophet in the Prayer*

Another technique for boosting the prestige of a prayer is to establish an atmosphere of intimacy with the Prophet in the context in which the prayer is transmitted. In one instance, Muḥammad takes the hand of Muʿādh<sup>33</sup> and says that he loves him and the latter says the same, and Muḥammad says to him: “Shall I not teach you words to say after each ritual prayer?”<sup>34</sup>

32 The expression occurs in an address by Muḥammad to Abū Hurayra – *inna awthaq al-duʿā an yaqūla al-ʿabd: Allāhumma anta rabbī wa-anā ʿabduka* (the most reliable prayer that man can say is “God, you are my lord and I am your servant”) – and the prayer is identical to the version above.

33 In all likelihood, identical with Muʿādh b. Jabal, the Prophet’s famous missionary to Yemen (see my article “Reflections of Yemeni Masters”, pp. 151–152).

34 The words given in all three versions are: *Allāhumma aʿinnī ʿalā dhikrika wa-shukrika wa-ḥusni ʿibādatika* (help me to remember and thank you and adore you beautifully; fol. 112a–b).

### 3.7 *Stating That Muḥammad Offered a Valuable Alternative to the Prayer*

Another status-raising device is the alternative question that Muḥammad directed to a person to whom he intended to teach a prayer. The companion or family member is asked which of two valuable things he or she would prefer of those the Prophet offered to bestow: one thing is an object of high material value, the other is the prayer.

According to a certain hadith report adduced on the authority of Suwayd b. Ghafla, Fāṭima went to her father when she suffered hunger, and was made to choose between 500 goats (*anz*) and five words that Jibrīl had taught the Prophet. To no surprise, she chose the prayer. Back with 'Alī, her spouse, she explained that she had departed from him for a worldly matter and returned to him with a thing of the hereafter (*dhahabtu min 'indika ilā al-dunyā wa-ataytuka bi-l-ākhirā*; fol. 113b).

### 3.8 *Stating That the Prayer Is Always Answered*

Specific prayers in the collection are accompanied by the statement that they are inevitably answered (*mustajāb*). In one place, for example, Muḥammad is cited as guaranteeing that a specific type of prayer, prayers with the greatest name – or any of the most beautiful names – of God, is answered.

The cognate belief that a person praying with the divine names will necessarily be rewarded by heaven is documented by traditions (quoted in chapter 142) including a statement by 'Alī about paradise being the inevitable reward.<sup>35</sup>

The presumed inevitability that a prayer will be answered is often expressed, in the collection, by a *mā ... illā* phrase; for instance: “No Muslim has ever been afflicted with grief and sorrow and said [a prayer with the words] such-and-such without God taking away his grief and sorrow” (*mā ašāba muslim [...] hamm wa-lā ḥuzn fa-qāla Allāhumma [...] illā adhaba Allāhu ḥuznahū*).<sup>36</sup>

### 3.9 *Stating That the Prayer Has Proven to Be Effective*

The effectiveness of a prayer as claimed in the frame stories is occasionally underpinned by a statement that it has been proven by a transmitter who tested

35 The main part of this chapter (which is headed *fī-mā jā'a fī thawāb man da'ā Allāh bi-tis'at wa-tis'ina isman*) consists of a single tradition in which further effects of invoking God with his names are described.

36 Alternatively, the Prophet is quoted as making the claim of an answering by inevitability through an if-clause, “if you say the prayer so-and-so, God will do such-and-such a thing” (fol. 83b).

the *du'ā'*. For example, the ascetic and weeper Šāliḥ b. Bishr (d. 176/792–793)<sup>37</sup> learned from an anonymous person a prayer with the greatest name of God that was said to guarantee that God would answer one's supplication. The transmitter says he tested the prayer and claims that whenever he recited it "on land and on sea" his supplication was answered (*jarrabnāhu wa-lā da'awtu Allāha fī barrin wa-lā baḥrin illā istajāba*; fol. 158b).

The invitation to the recipient of a prayer to curse its transmitter if the prayer proves ineffective may also be seen as a device for supporting a claim that it is a supplication inevitably answered. A certain Muqātil transmitted a prayer to secure one's release from prison and, in order to buttress the claim that it is a proven prayer, he said to the person to whom he taught it that he may curse him, alive or dead, if the *du'ā'* does not work (*fa-in lam tustajab laka fa-l'an Muqātilan*).<sup>38</sup> The recipient was thrown into Caliph Maṣṣūr's prison and thanks to the prayer – so the frame story says – he was immediately released (fol. 82a).<sup>39</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

The marginal commentaries in the manuscript of Ibn Khafīf's prayer compilation were designed to help the user assimilate the supplications recommended by the author(s) – the recommendations are supported by claims made in the frame stories deconstructed as strategies. The lexical glosses are meant to help the reader understand the often archaic wording of the prayer texts, many of which may have originated as early as the second/seventh or third/eighth century, when Arab culture was in transition from orality to scripturality. The chapter headings added in the text or ejected into the margins were designed as aids to comprehend the prayers individually or as thematic groups and to ease memorisation; this didactic motive caused Ibn Khafīf (or his editor?) to delete the isnads which were part of the text at an earlier stage, maintaining a rudimentary chain only. Some marginal glosses referring to the arch-traditionalists revered by Ibn Khafīf, such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and

37 On Šāliḥ, see, e.g., Ibn al-Jawzī: *Ṣifāt al-ṣafwa* (an imitation and abridgement of Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*), vol. 3, p. 207; his prayer is one of the very last to be adduced in Ibn Khafīf's collection.

38 It had to be recited 100 times in conjunction with the morning prayer (*idhā ṣallayta al-ghadāt*).

39 While certain prayers were said to guarantee an answer, with other *da'awāt* specific devices (efforts) can be identified in the collection that were to be adopted as a precondition for success.

al-Ṭabarānī, may be seen as remnants of an earlier and more exhaustive use of the margins' potential, while they also help in reconstructing the social context in which the prayers were transmitted and received. The interlinear deletion of the name of a Zoroastrian house of worship may be taken as an indication of the religious exclusivism detectable with some representatives of Sunni traditionalism. Notwithstanding this tendency towards parochialism, extraneous material such as the Christian Lord's prayer has been incorporated, as a therapeutic charm or *ruqya*, without however indicating its non-Islamic provenance.

In comparison to other hadith manuscripts, whose margins tend to abound with notes of various types, such as *ijāza* (MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (henceforth SBB), Hs. or. 1653) or *samā'* notes specifying the details of a teaching session (MS Berlin, SBB, Hs. or. 10864, 10866), author's marginalia (*minhiyyāt*; MS Berlin, SBB, Hs. or. 5067), textual variants accompanied by sigla (MS Berlin, SBB, Hs. or. 5314), *balagh* notes (MS Berlin, SBB, Hs. or. 4993), quotations from parallel works evincing participation in scholars' debates (MS Berlin, SBB, Hs. or. 4840), catchwords relating to traditions discussed in the main text (MS Berlin, SBB, Hs. or. 5067), and so on, the margins of the present manuscript are rather empty. The types of comments that are profusely written in the margins of the standard hadith text manuscripts have, by contrast, been integrated into the main text in the present artefact. However, it cannot be ruled out that at an earlier stage of text composition, some of the additions<sup>40</sup> were written in the margins and eventually found their way into the main text – that the text was reorganised is indicated by the author's (or redactor's) mention in the preface that he shortened the isnads of his traditions.

This relative vacuity, in the margins of the Süleymaniye Library manuscript, reflects the fact that although the text, by its content, represents one of the genres of transmission from the Prophet (and the pious forefathers, *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) – that is, prayer – the compilation did not originate in the sphere of hadith scholarship (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*). The author had felt intensely attracted – especially in the early years of his career – to the company of scholars of hadith as bearers of transmitted religious knowledge, and he regularly visited them as a very young traveller (*pisar, kudak (a boy)*) during his sojourns in the centres of learning in the “West” (*gharb*; Daylamī, *Sīrat*) but he distanced himself from

40 “Paratexts” that Ibn Khafif added to his prayer traditions have been made discernible as such by way of introductory phrases such as *qāla al-shaykh raḥimahu Allāh* (e.g., fol. 69b) or *wa-l-muṣannif raḥimahu Allāh ka-dhālika* (the author has acted in the same way; fol. 133a). The additions may include evaluations of traditions; cross references; notes on variance relating to transmitters and to text; and so on.

their professional pursuits and technicalities which he considered incompatible with his Sufi aspirations (contemporary Sufis tended to be sceptical about the discipline of *‘ilm al-rijāl* – assessment of transmitters’ reliability – as practised by the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, which they felt amounted to slander, *ghība*).<sup>41</sup>

Although some prayer texts found in the present compilation may be considered as purely mystical, they form only a relatively small minority. Fol. 120b includes, for example, the famous prayer of the Sufis who would flee from God’s wrath to his contentment, “from you to you” (*a‘ūdhu bika minka*), uttered by the Prophet (according to ‘Ā’isha, during *sajda*) and later by, among others, the great mystic of Baghdad, Abū Bakr Dulaf al-Shiblī (d. 334/945; see Ibn Khamīs: *Manāqib al-abrār*, fol. 81b). However, a much larger group of prayers, transmitted in the names of the Prophet and his successors in the first three generations (considered as saints (*awliyā’*) by al-Sulamī, for example, in the introduction to his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*), tend to the therapeutic and apotropaic needs of believers; many of these prayers and incantations assembled in Ibn Khafīf’s collection are associated with a belief in special properties that attach to specific Qur’anic verses, words, or letters. Thus, in consonance with the general orientation of Ibn Khafīf’s Sufism, the “transmitted prayers” confirm the function of the renunciants (*zuhhād*) who preceded the historic formation of Sufism to serve as his role models.<sup>42</sup>

### Acknowledgements

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41 For related issues, see my article “Hadith and Sufism”.

42 I seize this opportunity to refer to a short article of mine, “*Awṣāf al-qulūb*”, in which I discuss both the auctorial texts that may be detected in Ibn Khafīf’s collection of prayers and – approvingly – the authenticity of the very comprehensive *Awṣāf al-qulūb* traditionally ascribed to him. The paper was published in Moein Kazemifar’s two-volume collection of the works of Ibn Khafīf entitled *Majmū‘a-i āṣār-i Ibn Khafīf-i Shīrāzī*; the first volume includes the *Awṣāf al-qulūb* (pp. 59–343), while the second offers nine texts, of which five are Persian translations.

## List of Manuscripts

Note that the following abbreviations for libraries are used in the text and footnotes:

SBB Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Ibn Khafīf, Muḥammad b. Isfakshādh/Isfikshādh: *K. Sharḥ khāṣṣiyyat al-āyāt al-mubayyināt wa-jawāmi' al-da'awāt fi-al-awqāt al-mukhtalifāt*

MS Süleymaniye, Feyzullah Efendi 1296.

Ibn Khamīs, al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr al-Mawṣilī: *Manāqib al-abrār (wa-maḥāsin al-akhyār)*

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann, [1] 376.

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