

## Collating Qaṣīdah Burdah of Al-Buṣīrī: A Living Text between the Editions and its Manuscripts

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### Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji proses transmisi teks-teks Qaṣīdah Burdah karya al-Buṣīrī. Studi ini dilakukan dengan membandingkan beberapa manuskripnya dengan edisi-edisi yang ada. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui proses transmisi pengetahuan dari satu generasi ke generasi berikutnya dan mengetahui bagaimana pengetahuan sebagai inti peradaban dipertahankan dari waktu ke waktu. Artikel ini akan meneliti titik keseragaman dan perbedaan (variasi) teks; dari teks yang berbentuk tulisan tangan sampai teks cetak yang ada saat ini. Artikel ini juga berusaha melihat, baik sejarah internal teks maupun sejarah penerimaannya. Setelah mengevaluasi edisi-edisi tersebut dan juga manuskrip-manuskrip Qaṣīdah Burdah al-Buṣīrī yang disimpan di perpustakaan Universitas Leiden, Saya menyimpulkan bahwa tidak ada perbedaan signifikan antara edisi-edisi yang ada saat ini dengan manuskrip-manuskripnya. Perbedaan hanya berkaitan dengan hal-hal teknis, seperti pembagian bab dan cara pembacaan.

*Kata kunci: kolasi manuskrip, edisi teks, Qaṣīdah Burdah, al-Buṣīrī, Perpustakaan Universitas Leiden*

### Abstract

This article studies the process of transmission of Qaṣīdah Burdah texts of al-Buṣīrī. This study is carried out by comparing some manuscripts of it with the editions available now. This effort aims to know the process of transmission of knowledge from one generation to another and know how knowledge as the core of civilization is maintained from time to time. This study will scrutinize both the uniformity and the difference of the text; from its handwriting form to a living printed text nowadays. This article is intended to look at both the internal history of texts and the history of reception. Having evaluated the editions and collated the manuscripts of al-Buṣīrī's Qaṣīdah Burdah preserved in the library of Leiden University, I conclude that there are no significant differences between the editions available nowadays and the manuscripts. The differences only relate to technical matters, such as the division of chapter and the way of reciting.

*Keywords: collation of manuscript, edition of text, Qaṣīdah Burdah, al-Buṣīrī, Leiden University Library*

### Introduction

Some scholars—such as Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921), a Hungarian orientalist—questioned the significance and validity of oral transmission in the Islamic tradition (Goldziher, 1981, p. 39; Schoeler, 2006, p. 30). However, oral transmission is considered as

the primary way in the Islamic tradition (al-Rafi‘i, 2000). In fact, oral and written transmissions are mutually interconnected. They can complete each other. Therefore, the role of written transmission should also not be ignored (Rosenthal, 1947). The written text functions as a means to tie what is preserved in memory. If someone forgets something in his memory, he can refer to the written text. Otherwise, when a teacher would like to license a written text of his student, he would use his memory to confirm it. Therefore, the position of oral and written transmission is equally vital.

In history, there are two ways of transmitting knowledge: oral and written transmission. In Islamic tradition, both are utilized since its advent. The processes of transmitting Qur’anic text and *Hadith* (prophetic tradition), for instance, were carried out through both oral and written transmission (Schoeler, 2006). These kinds of transmission were used in literary works as well, such as *shi‘r* and *qaṣīdah* (Khulaif, 1981, p. 23).

In this article, I will collate some manuscripts of al-Buṣīrī’s *al-Kawākīb al-Durrīyyah fī Madh Khair al-Barīyya* or well-known as *Qaṣīdah Burdah*, compare them to one another and compare the manuscripts with the current editions of the text. The collation of manuscripts of *Qaṣīdah Burdah* is very important because it is one of the most popular texts in Islamic World to date. Al-Buṣīrī was a prominent Sufi-poet in thirteenth century AD and *Qaṣīdah Burdah*, his masterpiece, has been being maintained, taught, and recited in Muslim society and even it is believed that it has miraculous effects on whoever recites it. It has been translated into many languages, such as into English, Turkish, Persian, Punjabi, Urdu, Swahili, Pastum, Indonesian, Malay, French, German and Italian (Hitti, 2008, p. 698). It was translated into German by C.A. Ralfs, published after his death by W. Behnauer in 1860, into English by Faizullabhi Sheikh Lookmanji in 1893, into French by Rene Basset in 1894, into Malay in about the 16th century AD. (Brockelmann, 1943, pp. 266-267 ). In The Netherlands, Uri (1861), a Dutch scholar, translated *Qasidah Burdah* into Latin entitled *Carmen Mysticum Borda Dictum* and Drewes (1955), who wrote *Een 16 de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Busiri* (A sixteenth-century Malay translation of the Burda of Al-Busiri). In Germany, at least two other translation editions, i.e. Von Rosenweg’s (1824) work entitled *Funke Inde Vandelsterne Zum Iobe Des Geschopfe*, and work of Redhouse (1881) entitled *The Burda*. In Italy, there was one edition, i.e. work of Gabrielli (1901) entitled *Al-Burdatain* (Adib, 2009, p. 27) . Other translations, such as: Muhammad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Busiri, *A Reader on Islam*, trans. Arthur Jeffery, Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962; Sharaf ad-Din Muhammad ibn Sa’id al-Busiri, *Al-Busiri’s Burdah*, trans. Thoraya Mahdi Allam, Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization 1987; Sharaf ad-Din Muhammad ibn

Sa'id al-Busiri, *The Burda: The Poem of the Cloak of Al-Busiri*, trans. Hamza Yusuf, Thaxted, Essex: Sandala Ltd., 2002.

Such a study will show and firm that both of these traditions (written and oral transmission) are alive in the Islamic world and at the same time, prove the tradition and genealogy of Islamic sciences. The editions of Qaṣīdah Burdah are found throughout the world, including in Indonesia, but rarely found writing that examines or portrays the transmission and the existence of the manuscripts and editions of Qaṣīdah Burdah in a region. Among the rare ones who had profoundly studied Qaṣīdah Burdah's texts are Gerardus Willebrordus Joannes Drewes, a Dutch scholar who portrayed the influence of Arabic on Malay (Drewes, 1955, p. 7), Aḥmad Ṭāher Ḥasanein (Ḥasanein, 2003), Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (Stetkevych, 2006; Stetkevych, 2007), Rose Aslan (Aslan, 2008), and Enes Karić (Karić, 2010, pp. 152-163), who tried to study a brief history of the existence of the editions and recitation of the Qaṣīdah Burdah in the madrassas of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For Indonesian context, according to Fadlil Munawwar Manshur, Qaṣīdah Burdah is among the *kitab* (Islamic book) that contains traditional Islamic teachings that are accepted and continue to be preserved and taught in Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. This Qaṣīdah Burdah has even been translated into ethnic languages, such as Sundanese and Javanese. It was, for instance, translated into Sundanese, taught, and spread by Kyai Ahmad Fadlil, founder of Cidewa Islamic Boarding School (Darussalam Islamic Boarding School Ciamis, now) (Manshur, 1997, p. 1). Manshur is one of the rare researchers who has examined the process of transmitting and receiving Qaṣīdah Burdah text. He studied and traced Kyai Ahmad Fadlil's version of the Qaṣīdah Burdah, from handwriting to print version (Manshur, *Kitab Kasidah Burdah: Tradisi Pembacaan dan Resepsinya*, 1997, p. 5). He has also studied Qaṣīdah Burdah among Arabic Musical Literatures and concluded that the text of Qaṣīdah Burdah could survive and adapt from time to time suitable with the tastes of its "audience." (Manshur, 2007, p. 206). Qasidah Burdah is now being sung, accompanied by music, making it more serene for the listeners as Fadlil Yani Ainussyamsi did this. He is grandson of Kyai Ahmad Fadlil, from Darussalam Islamic Boarding School Ciamis (Ainussyamsi, 2009, pp. 49-58). Most of the *kitab* of Qaṣīdah Burdah can be found in the form of translations, poems, and explanations (including the teachings contained in it), not in terms of studying their manuscripts and transmission process.

In Indonesia it is found some works containing of Qasidah Burdah, such as: Moh. Tolhah Mansoer, *Sajak-sajak Burdah* (Mansoer, 1974); Ahmad Makki, *Penjelasan Kasidah*

*Burdah, Juz 1 dan 2* (Makki, n.y.); K.H. Bisyrri Musthafa, *Tiryaqul al-Aghyar fi Tarjamati Burdat al-Mukhtar* (Musthafa, n.y.); Abdurrahman Masykuri, *Burdah Imam al-Bushiri Cinta Dari Tepi Sungai Nil* (Masykuri, 2009); K.H. M. Syarwani Abdan, *Kasidah Burdah Imam al-Bushiry: Terjemahan, Penjelasan, Faidah & Khasiat* (Abdan, 2011); Syihabuddin, Analisis Struktur “Kasidah Burdah,” Intertekstualitas dan Fungsinya bagi Masyarakat Pesantren (Syihabuddin, 2012); Ulin Nihayah, Konsep Seni Qasidah Burdah Imam Al Bushiri Sebagai Alternatif Menumbuhkan Kesehatan Mental (Nihayah, 2014); Muhammad Baharun, *Burdah Madah Rosul Dan Pesan Moral* (Baharun, 1996); Eko Setiawan, Nilai-Nilai Religius Dalam Syair Shalawat Burdah (Setiawan, 2015); Mochammad Irfan Achfandhy, *Metode Dakwah dalam Qasidah Burdah* (Achfandhy, n.y.); Asep Solikin, Nilai-nilai Spiritual Sufistik Qasidah Burdah dalam Meningkatkan Religiusitas (Solikin, 2015); Ahmad Faidi, “Qashidah Burdah sebagai Media Pengobatan Magis-Ekonomis: Studi terhadap Tradisi Pembacaan Qashidah Burdah terhadap Orang Sakit di Desa Sera Timur Kecamatan Bluto Kabupaten Sumenep Propinsi Jawa Timur (Faidi, 2016); and Nor Izzatil Hasanah, *Pendidikan Karakter dalam Qasidah Burdah Karya Imam Al-Bushiry* (Hasanah, 2016).

Different from other works as mentioned earlier, in this paper I would like to add information related to the process of transmission, reception, and the existence of Qaṣīdah Burdah texts, specifically Qaṣīdah Burdah manuscripts available in the library of Leiden University, the Netherlands. In this lacuna, this paper finds its level of originality.

## Methodology

This research belongs to qualitative research, where I, as the writer, am myself the key instrument of this research. I determine the object and the sources of this research. In this research, the sources could be divided into two: the primary and the secondary sources. The primary sources are the manuscripts and editions of Qaṣīdah Burdah I found in the Library of Leiden University, the Netherlands. The manuscripts of *Qaṣīdah Burdah* are coded as Or. 1335 (henceforward, manuscript A), Or. 2386 (henceforward, manuscript B), and Or. 3116 (henceforward, manuscript C). While, the editions are *Qaṣīdah Burdah; Busairi's Poem of the Mantle*, written by A.R. Arjum (Arjum, 2000). *Qaṣīdah Burdah (The Poem of the Scarf)* (n.y.), and *Qaṣīdah Burdah, Terjemah Sholawat Burdah: Bahasa Indonesia, Arab dan Latin* (n.y.). For secondary sources, I use some related works from books, journal articles, and academic reports. To find the sources above, I use manuscript catalogs and internet search engines.

The data found are then analyzed by using textual criticism theory and presented descriptively. Textual criticism is very important to connect the existing editions with the older ones and identify the original wording of the author's text or the author's copy (Witkam, 1988). Some comparisons are conducted to see the similarities and differences both between the manuscripts and among the editions.

### About the Author: Al-Buṣīrī

Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Said ibn Hammad ibn Muḥsin al-Buṣīrī (also spelled al-Busairi) was born on 1<sup>st</sup> Shawwal 608 AH/7<sup>th</sup> March 1213 AD. in Abusir or in Dilas, Egypt (Lubis, 1983, p. 10) (M. Th. Houtsma, at al., 1913, p. 804). However, Clement Huart in his book, *A History of Arabic Literature*, dated that al-Buṣīrī was born in 1211 and died in 1294 (Huart, 1903, p. 115). His family was originally from Morocco but he grew up at Busir where his name derived from (al-Buṣīrī). It is little known about his life. Some references describe his biography slightly. In *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, for instance, he is described in no more than half a page (M. Th. Houtsma, at al., 1913, p. 804). It seems because of his *Qaṣīdah Burdah* which is a popular text up to date, he is still recognized amongst Muslims until now.

He got his early education in the traditional religious schools of his time. He studied Qur'an and *hadith* (prophetic tradition) since he was very young. When he was in Egypt, he also studied a number of Islamic sciences as well as Arabic language and literature (Arjum, 2000, p. 19). He was later involved in *Shadziliyah* sufi order led by the prominent sufi master, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad al-Mursi (d. 1287 AD). In *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), he followed the Shafiite school of law (Lubis, 1983, p. 10).

Al-Buṣīrī is a follower of Syadziliyah, a Sufi order established by Sheikh Abu Hasan al-Syadzili. *Qaṣīdah Burdah* is a reflection of al-Buṣīrī's mystical journey. Based on a love for Allah as well as feelings of love and longing for His great Messenger, al-Buṣīrī then poured it in *Qaṣīdah Burdah* (Nihayah, *Qasidah Burdah Imam Al-bushiri; Model Alternatif Dakwah Pesantren*, 2015, p. 33). Although it contains numerous esoteric mystical and Sufi references, *Burdah* has reached a much wider audience due to its accessible language and devotional style (Aslan, 2008, p. 9).

Because of his comprehensive knowledge in religious sciences, he was renowned as a traditionalist, calligraphist, and also a poet. Long before he wrote *Qaṣīdah Burdah*, he often got rewards for his excellence in poetry. He used to be a worker in the office of Zain al-Dīn Ya'qub ibn Zubair, a court minister. The minister knew the poetic talent of al-Buṣīrī and persuaded him to compose poems (Arjum, 2000, p. 19).

He wrote some works in poetry. Bukhari Lubis (1983) divided his works into two periods: those written before al-Buṣīrī's pilgrimage and those written after that. Among works written before the pilgrimage are *al-Qaṣīdah al-Hā'iyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Lāmīyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Dālīyah*, and *al-Qaṣīdah al-Mīmīyah*. Moreover, those written after pilgrimage is *al-Qaṣīdah al-Bā'iyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Hamzīyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Mīmīyah* (*Burdah* or *al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fī Madh Khair al-Barīyah*) (Lubis, 1983, p. 13), in his book *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (GAL)* mentions six works of al-Buṣīrī. Amongst other are *al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fī Madh Khair al-Barīyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Hamzīyah fī Madā'ih al-Nabawiyah*, *Duhr al-Ma'ad 'ala Wazn Banat Su'ad*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Hamzīyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Mudarīyah fī al-Salah 'ala Khair al-Barīyah*, and *al-Tawassul bi al-Qur'an* (Brockelmann, 1943, pp. 264-267).

In the literary world, al-Buṣīrī was regarded as the real pioneer of *Madā'ih al-Nabawiyah* (praise of the Prophet). *Qaṣīdah Burdah*, the masterpiece of al-Buṣīrī, is assumed to be the first panegyric for the Prophet in a proper sense (Lubis, 1983, pp. 4-5). It is then more popular than Ka'b ibn Zuhair's *Burdah*.

At the end of his life, al-Buṣīrī left his job at the Court and lived in *Bait al-Maqdis* for over a decade and in Medina for some time (Arjum, 2000, p. 21). There is a dispute related to when he died. Al-Marqīzī and Ibn Shakir said that he died in 696 AH/1296-7 AD, Suyuti gave the year 695 AH/1294-5 AD, while Hajji Khalifa mentioned 694 AH/1294-5 AD (M. Th. Houtsma, at al., 1913, p. 804). He died in Alexandria and was buried in Fustat. His tomb is near Imam al-Shafī'i (Arjum, 2000, p. 21; Lubis, 1983, p. 10).

### About Qaṣīdah Burdah of Al-Buṣīrī

The *Qaṣīdah Burdah* of al-Buṣīrī has earned universal renown in the Moslem world and many commentators have expounded its beauty. Many scholars have translated it into many languages, e.g. French, German, and English (Huart, 1903, p. 115). *Qaṣīdah* (Arabic) etymologically means neck (al-Manzūr, 1981, p. 3644), but terminologically it refers to the Arabic poem, usually in mono-rhyme, may be satirical, elegiac, threatening, or laudatory.

As a literary genre, *qaṣīdah* is the oldest form of Arabic poetry. It typically consists of more than 50 lines and sometimes more than 100 lines in length. *Qaṣīdah* was often panegyric written in praise of a king or a nobleman. This kind of *Qaṣīdah* is known as a *madh* meaning praise. *Qaṣīdah Burdah* of al-Buṣīrī contains lessons about how to respect the chosen creature and God's beloved man, prophet Muhammad Pbuḥ (Kabbani, 1998, p. 98). It consists of ten themes: 1) love for the prophet Muhammad, 2) avoiding lust, 3) praise, 4)

the story of the birth of the prophet Muhammad, 5) miracles, 6) the Qur'an, 7) isra' miraj, 8) jihad, 9) closing and 10) prayer.

*Burdah* also means "mantle" or "scarf". It is an ode of praise for the prophet Muḥammad. There are two popular *Burdah* recognized amongst the Muslims, composed by Ka'b ibn Zuhair (Almujalli, 2014), who lived in the Prophet's era and that was composed by al-Buṣīrī. Al-Buṣīrī's poem was entitled *al-Kawākib ad-Durrīyyah fī Madh Khair al-Barīyyah* (Celestial Lights in Praise of the Best of Creation). It was panegyric in praise of Muḥammad who cured the poet of paralysis by appearing to him in a dream and wrapping him in a mantle or scarf (that is why *Qaṣīdah Burdah* named). This information can be found in Leiden Manuscript Or. 2386; *Qaṣīdah Burdah (The Poem of the Scarf)*, and *Qaṣīdah Burdah; Busairi's Poem of the Mantle*, written by A.R. Anjum (Arjum, 2000, p. 24).

The *Qaṣīdah Burdah* has been regarded to be a remarkable poem once al-Buṣīrī wrote it. It was narrated that at a morning after his dream due to some necessity, al-Buṣīrī went to a Bazaar. A pious dervish greeted him and requested him to recite the poem he had composed in praise to the Prophet. Since al-Buṣīrī had composed a lot of poems, he asked the dervish of which poem he would like to hear. The dervish replied: "the one which begins with *amin tadakkurin...* (i.e. *Qaṣīdah Burdah*). After hearing the dervish's reply, al-Buṣīrī became wondering and struck and said: "I take the oath that no one knows about this poem. Tell me the truth, from whom did you hear about it?," The dervish replied: "I take an oath by Allah that I heard it from you last night when a dream you had recited it to Prophet, whereupon Prophet became attentive towards you and because of its blessings Allah granted you complete cure from your ailment." (n.y., p. ii).

Since this poem was given to the dervish, its secret became known to all people and its *barākah* and blessings too became general for all. It was later considered to be a talisman that protects the one who reads it. Many Muslims believed that it has miraculous effects. They wrote some of its verses on paper or on the walls of their house (Lubis, 1983, p. xv). It is narrated that through *Qaṣīdah Burdah's barākah*, Allah granted a governor who suffered blind complete cure and restored his eyesight. In *Qaṣīdah Burdah (The Poem of the Scarf)*, some virtues and specialties of *Qaṣīdah Burdah* are mentioned. For instance, for blessing in life, one has to recite 1001 times, for the removal of difficulties, one has to recite 71 times, to remove drought recite 300 times, for wealth and riches recite 700, to have male children recite 116 times, and so on. This also proves that it is believed and practiced up to date (Lubis, 1983, p. xv) (Adib, 2009, pp. 81-82). (To know about this tradition and practice in Indonesia, you can read Ahmad Faidi, *Qashidah Burdah sebagai Media Pengobatan Magis-*

Ekonomis: Studi terhadap Tradisi Pembacaan Qashidah Burdah terhadap Orang Sakit di Desa Sera Timur Kecamatan Bluto Kabupaten Sumenep Propinsi Jawa Timur [Qashidah Burdah as Magical-Economic cure: a Study of Qashidah Burdah Recitation Tradition for Patient in Sera Timur Sub-district, Bluto Sumenep District Jawa Timur Province] (Faidi, 2016) and Julian Millie and Syihabuddin, Addendum to Drewes The Burda of Al-Buṣīrī and the Miracles of Abdulqadir al-Jaelani in West Java (Julian Millie and Syihabuddin, 2005).

Al-Buṣīrī's Burdah is divided into 10 chapters and 162 verses. Each verse ends with the Arabic letter *mim*, a style called *mimiyah*. The 10 chapters of the Burdah comprise: 10 verses on lyrical love yearning, 16 verses on warnings about the caprices of the self, 30 verses on the praise of the Prophet, 19 verses on the birth of the Prophet, 10 verses on the miracles of the Prophet, 10 verses on the exalted stature, 10 verses on miraculous merits of the Qur'an, 3 verses on the ascension of the prophet, 22 verses on the chivalrous struggle of Allah's messenger, 14 verses on seeking intercession through the prophet, and the rest on intimate discourse and the petition of one's state (Lubis, 1983, p. xv; Nihayah, 2015; Syihabuddin, 2012).

### Manuscripts of Qaṣīdah Burdah of Al-Buṣīrī

Al-Buṣīrī's Burdah is very popular amongst Muslims throughout the world and there are many editions available nowadays. Rarely, however, do the editions refer to manuscripts. It is as if it is written by an author who is still alive and that the text has no historicity. Textual criticism and establishing a stemma in this case are very valuable to connect the existing editions with the older ones and identify the original wording of the author's text or the author's copy (Witkam, 1988, p. 88).

To find the existing manuscripts including the manuscripts of Buṣīrī's Burdah, catalogues are very crucial and the best way (Vrolijk, 1998, pp. 62-70). Some catalogues are listing the preserved manuscripts throughout the world such as Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL)* (Brockelmann, 1943), Sezgin's *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums (GAS)* (Sezgin, 2000), and more specifically for Dutch collections, Voorhoeve's *Codices Manuscripti: Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands* (Voorhoeve, 1957), and Witkam's *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Legatum Warnerianum in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collection in the Netherlands* (Witkam, Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden (Online), 2007).

Fuat Sezgin, in his *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums (GAS)*, gives very little information about Buṣṣirī and his work. He only mentions Buṣṣirī's name once in one short sentence (Sezgin, 2000, p. 235). A piece of information is provided in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL)*. With keyword "Buṣṣirī", I find information about Buṣṣirī, his work, and commentaries to Buṣṣirī's works. In his work, Brockelmann says that Buṣṣirī's full name is Saraf al-Dīn Abu 'Abdillah ibn Said ad-Dulasi al-Buṣṣirī (608AH/1211AD-694AH/1295AD). He mentions six of Buṣṣirī's works, as mentioned above (Brockelmann, 1943, pp. 266-267).

For Example, in these works, Brockelmann says that *al-Kawākib ad-Durriyya fi Madh Khair al-Bariyya* is an imitation of Ka'b ibn Zuhair's panegyric poem in praising the Prophet. It was well-known by Qaṣīdah Burdah. This work was translated into other languages, such as into German by C.A. Ralfs, published after his death by W. Behnauer in 1860, into English by Faizullabhi Sheikh Lookmanji in 1893, into French by Rene Basset in 1894, into Malay in about the 16th century AD (Brockelmann, 1943, pp. 266-267). It is undoubtedly, it has been being copied and translated perpetually into many other languages wherever Muslim society is living.

Buṣṣirī's Burdah has been widely commented and abridged. Brockelmann mentions at least 30 commentary editions of it. 16 editions of *tahmis* (composing four hemistiches of their own based on a fifth from the "model" source), 3 editions of *tasbi'* (six hemistiches of their own based on a seventh from the "model" source), one edition of *tatsi'* (eight hemistiches of their own based on a ninth from the "model" source), 2 editions of *tastir* (one hemistich of their own), and 2 editions of *tadjil* (the same as *tastir*) (Brockelmann, 1943, pp. 266-267).

Unfortunately, there are no Burdah's manuscripts mentioned in this book available in the Library of Leiden University. The manuscripts available in the Library of Leiden University are commentary editions of al-Buṣṣirī's Burdah. They are coded as Leid. 714, Leid. 713, Leid. 718, Leid. 717, Leid. 716, Leid. 1720, Leid. 715, and Leid. 721.

For the purpose of this study, Voorhoeve's *Codices Manuscripti* is very helpful. In this hand list, Voorhoeve mentions at least six manuscripts of al-Buṣṣirī's *Burdah*, one *takhmis*, and eight commentaries. The six manuscripts are coded as Or. 1335 (9), Or. 2386 (2), Or. 3116 (1), Or. 5823 (2), F. Or. A 26a, and Or. 8357. The *takhmis* is coded as Or. 6350. while, the commentaries are coded as Or. 128 (1), Or. 54, Or. 6888, Or. 849 (1), Or. 849 (2), Or. 849 (3), Or. 696, and Or. 1596 (Voorhoeve, 1957, pp. 156-157).

These editions (the *Burdah* and its derivations) prove that al-Buṣīrī's *Burdah* has been very popular and is a living text until now. Yet, because of its popularity, the text might have been transmitted and published loosely. The text is taken for granted from generation to generation. The text is sometimes even printed without mentioning al-Buṣīrī as the author, such as *Terjemah Sholawat Burdah: Bahasa Indonesia, Arab dan Latin* (Indonesia: TB. Bursa Ilmu, no year). Therefore, tracing back to its old editions or manuscripts is valuable to consider that the text has its historicity. From the process of collection, we could understand that a text is sometimes copied and transmitted unsatisfyingly.

### Three Leiden Manuscripts of Qaṣīdah Burdah of Al-Buṣīrī

This study only scrutinizes and collates three manuscripts of *Qaṣīdah Burdah* available at Leiden University Library. These three manuscripts are coded as Or. 1335 (henceforward, manuscript A), Or. 2386 (henceforward, manuscript B), and Or. 3116 (henceforward, manuscript C).

Having researched the three manuscripts above, I argue that the three are a copy (not the holograph or autograph) since those are compilation manuscripts. The manuscript A was obviously copied by Muḥammad ibn Sulaiman al-‘Irwani, while both manuscript B and C are anonymous. From the three manuscripts, I do not know which exemplar/model was used for their copying. I only find certificates of transmission and *ijāza* in manuscript B and finds a little information in manuscript A.

All these manuscripts are a compilation of litanies in which the al-Buṣīrī's *Burdah* is included. The title “*Qaṣīdah Burdah*” was used in the three manuscripts to mark al-Buṣīrī's work instead of using the original title *Kawākīb al-Durīyyah fī Madh Khair al-Barīyyah*. It seems that the first title was more popular than the last one, at least when the manuscript was being arranged. The three manuscripts were written on paper and all of them are well-arranged. Looking at the physical characteristics of the manuscripts, it is believed that those manuscripts were coming from the early modern time.

On the first page of the manuscript A (Or. 1335), it is written that “Sheikh Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sulaiman al-‘Irwani has said”. From the preface, we know that the purpose of the writing of this manuscript is to remember the grace of the Prophet and it is arranged to make it easy to memorize for readers. It is said that these litanies are one of the most important things for one who wants to get close to God. Furthermore, the writer of this manuscript says that he then entitled the book as *Dalāil al-Khairāt* (I do not know whether or not this manuscript is an extremely popular *Dalāil al-Khairāt* written by the Moroccan

Sunni Sufi and Islamic Scholar Muḥammad Jazuli (died 1465). In this manuscript, there is no “Muḥammad Jazuli” mentioned.

The manuscript A was written in Arabic script and *magribi* writing. It contains 241 pages, but not all of the pages contain Burdah. The Qaṣīdah Burdah is placed from page 135 up to 151, and each page has 11 lines. This manuscript is a small book (it was seemingly a pocketbook). It measures 7.7 x 7 cm, and the body of text is 5 x 4 cm.

The paper and ink of the manuscript A are in good condition so that the text is readable. The cover of the manuscript is beautiful and it was made with good binding. From the paper's quality, its beautiful cover, and its binding, it is likely that the manuscript was made for public consumption or was dedicated to a certain figure rather than for private use. The text was framed by triple rectangles (one blue line on the outside and two red color lines on the inside). The text was primarily written in black ink, except some words were written in gold, blue, and red ink. It is unknown why the scribe used tinted ink in certain words, but it was presumably intended to give emphasis on it. The colored ink is mainly related to words referring to God and the Prophet. Gold ink was usually used in writing title as found at the beginning of Qaṣīdah Burdah section. The red and blue dot was placed between two verses, with an indentation for the second verse. There is a catchword in the left-bottom of the side (a) of page. But unfortunately, there is no information about the date of making this manuscript.

Manuscript B (Or. 2386) is a binding manuscript gathered from various texts of the manuscript. It consists of 90 pages and the Buṣīrī's *Burdah* starts from page 79 up to 85. Each page consists of 17 lines. It measures 19.2 x 11 cm and the body of text is 14.4 x 7.7 cm. The whole text of Burdah is written in black ink except for the title and note added in the margin written in red ink. The text is framed by a gold tinted line and it appeared in different style indicating that different persons wrote it. The Qaṣīdah Burdah text was written in *naskhi* style, while, the other texts were written in *farisi (ta'liq)* style.

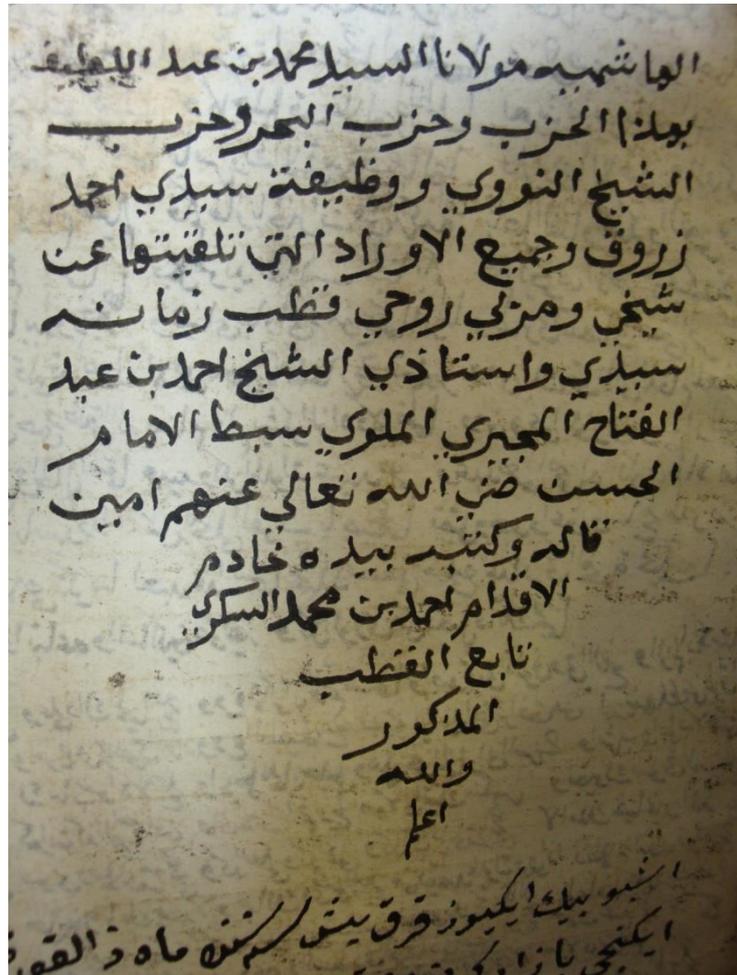
On the back side of the manuscript, there is an *ijāza* giving a little information about the manuscript. The *ijāza* was written as follow:

وبعد فقد اجزت السيد الفاضل فرع الشجرة الزكية وطراز العصابة <...> مولانا السيد  
 محمّد بن عبد اللطيف بهذ<ا> الحزب وحزب البحر وحزب الشيخ النووي ووظيفة  
 سيدي احمد زروق وجميع الاوراد التي تلقيتها عن شيخي ومزلي روجي قطب زمانه سيدي

واستاذي الشيخ احمد بن عبدالفتاح المجيري الملوي سبط الامام الحسن <رضي الله  
تعالى عنهم امين. قاله وكتبه بيده خادم الاقدام احمد بن محمد السكري تابع القطب

المذكور والله اعلم . 1245

This *ijāza* says that someone (the writer?) has licensed this *hizb* to *Sayyid al-Fādil* ...*Maulana Sayyid Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf* and the *hizb* is *hizb al-Bahr* and the *hizb* of Sheikh al-Nawawī. The *wazifa* of Ahmad Zaruq and other litanies (*awrad*) were received by the writer from his teacher *Sheikh Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Fattah al-Majiri al-Malawi*, grandson (descendent) of al-Imam al-Hasan. It has been said and written by Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sukri. This *ijāza* was dated as 1245 (AH).



Picture 1

the *ijāza* of the manuscript B

On the front side of the Burdah section, there is a note of the transmission of this text mentioning about when (year) it was transmitted. In the last transmission, it was mentioned that it was transmitted in 1229 (AH) in Medina *al-Munawwarah*. It also describes the ones who have ever owned this manuscript. There are three persons mentioned in this note of transmission. Those are Ahmad ibn Basir al-Dīn ibn ‘Ali al-Biqā’i, Muḥammad Unyan al-Shini [...] al-Ḥusaini, and Sulaiman Rashid. The text is as follow:

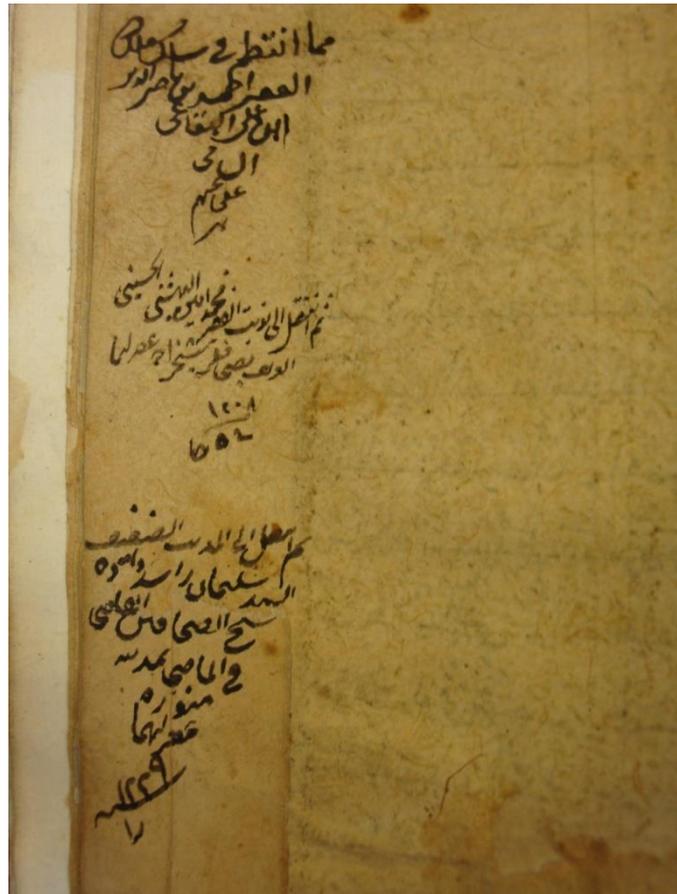
مما انتظم في سلك ملك العصر احمد بن باصرالدين بن علي البقاعي <...>

ثم انتقل الي <...> العصر محمد انين الشني <...> الحسيني

ثم انتقل الي المذنب الضعيف السيد سليمان راشد <...> شيخ الصحافين العاصي في

الماضي بمدينة منورة . 1229

There is no information about who wrote this copy of Qaṣīdah Burdah and Voorhoeve did not mention where the copy comes from. However, it is sure that the manuscript was not written by the author, al-Buṣīrī, since it is a kind of compilation book which is not all litanies included there belongs to al-Buṣīrī. The Qaṣīdah Burdah is only one of them. However, from the aforementioned dating, I can posit that this manuscript was written at least two centuries ago.



Picture 2

Notes of transmission on the cover of the *Burdah* text

Meanwhile, manuscript C (Or. 3116) as mentioned in Voorhoeve's *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*, is a copy from Indonesia (Voorhoeve, 1957, p. 156). The manuscript contains 39 pages. Buṣīrī's *Qaṣīdah Burdah* was placed from page 1 until 11. Each page has 17 lines. This manuscript is bigger than the two previous one. It measures 33.5 x 21 cm and the body of text is 16 x 13.5 cm.

The quality of the paper, ink and binding is good. The text was wholly written in black ink. The manuscript was well-arranged with beautiful decoration in the first pages. Although its quality is lower than the manuscript A, the text can clearly be read. All of them indicate that the manuscript was ready for public consumption rather than for private use. There is no catchword, colophon, or marginal note in this manuscript. The script was written in the same style, indicating that the scribe is the same person. Yet, we cannot determine the writing's style whether it is *naskhi*, *tsuluthi*, *diwani*, *farisi*, *riq'ah*, or *kufi*. It seems more free (typically) Indonesian style.

Talking about how is knowledge transmitted in Islamic tradition, there are three methods of teaching in early classical Islam: the *sama'* (audition), the *qira'ah* (recitation), and *kitabah* (written copying of material) (Schoeler, 2006, p. 14). The authority of a transmitted text is based on *ijazah* (license) throughout the chain of transmission (*isnād*) (Witkam, n.y., pp. 123-136). And related to the manuscript's authority, there are two kinds of authorizations: active and passive authorization (al-Qadhi, 2007, pp. 43-44). The active authorization includes: the author's autograph, a copy dictated by the author to the student and read back to him (*qira'ah* and *sama'*), a student's copy read by the author and the author indicating by the statement of reading (*qira'ah*), a copy dictated by the author and having a statement indicating the occurrence of hearing (*sama'*), and a copy read by the student to the author and having a statement indicating the occurrence of reading (*qira'ah*). While the passive authorization includes: a copy made by a student from an approved copy by the author which was handed over by him personally (*munāwalah*), a copy made by a student from an approved copy by the author which was requested by correspondence (*kitāb, mukātabah*), a copy made by a student from an approved copy by the author which was licensed by him (*ijazah*), a copy collated with the author's autograph, and a copy collated with an approved copy by the author (al-Qadhi, 2007, pp. 43-44).

After evaluating the three manuscripts above, I assess that those three manuscripts were not written by the author (al-Buṣīrī). The main reason is that the three manuscripts are a compilation book. Although undated, manuscript A was written by Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sulaiman al-Irwani. The manuscript B was dated year 1229 AH or 1245 AH., as pointed out in the transmission notes, long after the time of al-Buṣīrī's life. It is too far to be ascribed that these manuscripts are the author's handwriting. Furthermore, the manuscript C which was written in Indonesian style is impossible to be al-Buṣīrī's handwriting. So, it is fair to say that these manuscripts were all produced several centuries after al-Buṣīrī's death.

Paleography is likely very valuable in determining someone's handwriting (Vrolijk, 1998, pp. 62-70). With this science, we can identify the date, the author, the scribe, or the manuscript's copyist. Unfortunately, I cannot find specimens of the author's handwriting (Buṣīrī's handwriting) such as personal notes and drafts which can be attributed to him. So I can only assume that those manuscripts are authorized through passive authorization; either they are a copy collated with the author's autograph or a copy collated with an approved copy by the author as mentioned above.

### Critical Edition, Collating Manuscript and Translation

In *Arabic Manuscripts: a Vademecum for Readers*, Adam Gacek describes that the term “collation” has two distinct meanings: *first*, the establishment of the correct sequence of quires (gatherings) in the text block by catchwords, quire signatures (numbering) and foliation; and *the second*, the establishment of the correct transmission of the copied text by comparing the copy with the model (exemplar) (Adam Gacek, n.y., p. 65). In this case, I want to emphasize on the second meaning of this term in a looser usage. In this case, I will examine the current edition of the *Qaṣīdah Burdah* by comparing it to the model or at least to a presumed oldest copy known today. This is in line with the effort to establish a stemma (Witkam, 1988, p. 88).

In this collating process, I use manuscript B as the basic manuscript. The manuscript (Or. 2386) is used as the basic manuscript with some consideration. *Firstly*, although this manuscript is not the best in paper quality and its binding, it is the most readable manuscript among the three. The manuscript was written in a good Arabic script and arranged neatly. The manuscript A is better in its appearance, but its Arabic script is not quite clear so that it cannot easily be read. *Secondly*, as indicated in the *ijāza* and notes of transmission, manuscript B came from the heartland of Islam, Medina. Its Arabic culture and language made it closer to be authoritative than the copy from Indonesia (the manuscript C). *Thirdly*, from the *ijāza* and its notes of transmission, it is clear that this manuscript was widely used as a valid text.

#### a. Editions of *Qaṣīdah Burdah* of al-Buṣīrī

There are many editions of *Qaṣīdah Burdah* of al-Buṣīrī scattered worldwide. At Leiden University Library, there are three printed editions *Qaṣīdah Burdah* of al-Buṣīrī found. Those are *Qaṣīdah Burdah; Busairi's Poem of the Mantle*, written by A.R. Arjum (Arjum, 2000). *Qaṣīdah Burdah (The Poem of the Scarf)* (n.y.), and the Indonesian version of *Qaṣīdah Burdah, Terjemah Sholawat Burdah: Bahasa Indonesia, Arab dan Latin* (n.y.). These three editions are taken as samples.

The first book (version A), *Qaṣīdah Burdah; Busairi's Poem of the Mantle*, contains Buṣīrī's *Burdah* in Arabic with an English translation by A.R. Arjum, a professor of English at King Abdul Aziz University in Medina *al-Munawwarah*. In this book, A.R. Arjum gives a quite long introduction to this *Burdah* edition. He also describes the literary genre of *Qaṣīdah*, Buṣīrī's life, the title of the *Qaṣīdah*, and the ritualistic recitation of the *Qaṣīdah*. In this edition, he divides the poem of *Burdah* into ten chapters.

The second book (version B), *Qaṣīdah Burdah (The Poem of the Scarf)*, was published by Zam Zam Publishers in Pakistan. There is a foreword given by *Kanqah al-Sheikh Zakariyya* in this edition, written in October 1995 in Lenasia, South Africa. This book is accompanied by an introduction describing the reason for writing this poem and the virtue and distinctive characteristics of *Qaṣīdah Burdah*. An Arabic edition and English translation is provided. Similar to the first book, this book also divides the *Qaṣīdah* into ten chapters.

The third book (version C), *Terjemah Sholawat Burdah: Bahasa Indonesia, Arab dan Latin* was published in Indonesia by TB. Bursa Ilmu. This book is a translation of the *Qaṣīdah Burdah* into Bahasa Indonesia. The translator is Zainul Ridlo Buyan, a lecturer at LPBA Masjid Agung Sunan Ampel, in Surabaya East Java. Unlike the first two books, which are hardcovers, this last book was produced as a simple paperback, presumably because it was produced for a popular audience. It consists of the Arabic script of the *Burdah*, a transliteration in Latin characters, and its Indonesian translation. Unlike the two previous books, in this book, there is no introduction and division of chapters.

Some different vocalization among the three editions:

Verse of <i>Burdah</i>	(version A)	(version B)	(version C)
وما لقلبك ان قلت استفق بهم	<i>inna</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>
لأرقت لذكر البان والعلم	<i>araqta</i>	<i>ariqta</i>	<i>ariqta</i>
أتى أتهمت نصيح الشيب في عدلى	عدلى	عدلى	عدلى
من جهلها بنذير الشيب واليرم	<i>harami</i>	<i>harimi</i>	<i>harami</i>
ولا أعدت من الفعل الجميل قرى	<i>a'ad tu</i>	<i>a'ad tu</i>	<i>a'addat</i>
ان الطعام يقوى شهوة النهم	<i>nahami</i>	<i>nahimi</i>	<i>nahimi</i>
حب الرضاع وان تفضمه ينفطم	<i>ridhai'</i>	<i>ridhai'</i>	<i>radhai'</i>
وراعها وهى في الاعمال سائمة	<i>wahya</i>	<i>wahiya</i>	<i>wahya</i>
واخشى الدسائس من جوع ومن شيع	<i>shabain</i>	<i>shibain</i>	<i>shibain</i>
ان اشتكت قدماه الضرمين ورم	<i>inishtakat</i>	<i>anishtakat</i>	<i>anishtakat</i>
محمد سيد الكونين والثقلين	<i>watstsaqalain</i>	<i>watstsaqalain</i>	<i>watstsqalay</i>
والفريقين من عرب ومن عجم	<i>'urbin</i>	<i>'arabin</i>	<i>'urbin</i>
لكل هول من الاموال مقتحم	<i>muqtahimi</i>	<i>muqtahimi</i>	<i>muqtahami</i>

مستمسكون بحيل غير منقسم	<i>munfaṣimi</i>	<i>munfaṣami</i>	<i>munfaṣimi</i>
فجوه الحسن فيه غير منقسم	<i>munqasimi</i>	<i>munqasami</i>	<i>munqasimi</i>
واحكم بما شئت مدحافيه واحتكم	<i>wahtakimi</i>	<i>wahtakami</i>	<i>wahtakimi</i>
احي اسمه حين يدعى دارس الرمم	احي	احي	احيا
كالشمس تظهر للعينين من بعد	<i>bu'din</i>	<i>bu'din</i>	<i>bu'udin</i>
صغيرة وتكلى الطرف من امم	<i>wa tukillu</i>	<i>wa takillu</i>	<i>wa tukillu</i>
حتى اذا طلعت في الكون عم هداها # العالمين واحيت سائر الامم	<i>not available</i>	<i>available</i>	<i>not available</i>

Table 1

### Vocalization difference among the three samples

Having compared the three editions above, I found that there are almost no significant differences among them. A little difference can be found in the vocalization of its Arabic words, but not in the words (the form of *lafad*) themselves. For example, in verse: ولا رقت, and لذكر البيان والعلم, the first book reads *wa la araqtā*, while the last two books read *wa la ariqtā*; in verse: من جعلها بندير الشيب والهرم, the second book reads *wal harimi*, while the first and the third book read *wal harami*. I found something like that in many places, but I did not find the differences in the form of word (*lafad*) and therefore, there are no differences in meaning.

The deference is also found in the beginning and the end of the verses of the *Burdah*. The version A and B, for instance, are begun by *amintada...* while, the version C, is begun with some verses as introduction. On the closing of verses, the version A and B are closed by *saaltukal khaira...* while, the version C is closed by *wa al-muslimīn jamī'a* and *amintada....*

However, based on these few samples, I might tentatively conclude that there are no meaningful differences between these editions. This means that the editions that exist nowadays are relatively the same and uniform. This also indicates that the editions of Buṣīrī's *Burdah* available nowadays are valid and, therefore, authoritative. But

unfortunately, these three editions do not refer to or mention manuscripts or older text used as models.

In the next discussion, I will collate the manuscript containing Buṣīrī's *Burdah* and compare it with the above existing editions. This study will see the similarities and differences between the manuscripts of Buṣīrī's *Burdah* and its editions. If there are differences between the manuscripts and the editions, thus, the question is, how significant these differences; can the current editions be regarded as a valid copy.

#### b. Editing *Qaṣīdah Burdah* of al-Buṣīrī

Before collating the manuscript, it is worth to describe some peculiarities among the three manuscripts compared. *First*, in manuscript A, ق (*qaf*) is written with one dot over it (like ف), while ف is written with one dot under it. ع and غ, ح and خ as well as ك and ل which are frequently mixed and hard to differentiate. These are more because of the provenience of the text, which came from *maghribi*. *Secondly*, it is quite apparent that manuscript C, which was brought from Indonesia has a few constant differences in writing ض as ظ and ط as ت as well as س as ش and conversely. It is likely because this *Burdah* was transmitted orally and then was miswritten in Indonesian pronunciation. *Thirdly*, in manuscript A, there are two verses which are not found in the two other manuscripts. The verses are:

ولا اعدتك ثوبى عبرة ضنى # ذكرى الخيام وذكرى ساكنى الخيم

In this study, I try to collate three chapters of *Qaṣīdah Burdah*. The three manuscripts are compared and the manuscript seems to be peculiar compared to both manuscript A and B. There are almost no differences between manuscript A and manuscript B. The following text is a collation based on manuscript B as the basis.

امن تذكريان بذي سلم # مزجت دماغ من مقلة بدم

ام هبت الريح من تلقاء كاظمة # اوامض البرق في الظماء اضم<sup>1</sup>

فمالعينك ان قلت اكفها همتا # ومالقلبك ان قلت استفق بهم

ايحسب الصب ان الحب منكم # ما بين منسجم منه ومضطرم<sup>2</sup>

لولا الهوى لم ترق دماغ علي طلل # ولا ارقى لذكر البان والعلم

<sup>1</sup> اظم. C.

<sup>2</sup> مظترم. C.

- فكيف تنكرحبا بعد ما شهدت # به عليك عدول الدمع والسقم
- واثبت<sup>3</sup> الوجد خطي عبرة وّ ظني<sup>4</sup> # مثل الهار علي خديك والعنم
- نعم سري طيف من اهوى فارّقى # والحبّ يعترض اللذات بالالم
- يالائى في الهوى العذرىّ معذرة # متى اليك ولو انصفت لم تلم
- عدتك حالي لاسرىّ بمستر # من الوشاة ولادائى بمنحسم
- محضتني النصيح لكن<sup>5</sup> لست اسمعه # انّ المحبّ عن العدّال في صمم<sup>6</sup>
- انّى اتهمت نصيح الشيب<sup>7</sup> في عدلى<sup>8</sup> # والشيب ابعدي نصيح عن التهم
- فانّ امارتى بالسوء ما اتعظت<sup>9</sup> # من جهلها بنذير الشيب والهزم<sup>10</sup>
- ولاعدت من الفعل الجميل قري # ضيف الم برأسى غير محتشم<sup>11</sup>
- لوكنت اعلم انّى ما اوقره # كتمت سرا بدالى<sup>12</sup> منه بالكتم<sup>13</sup>
- من لى بردّ جماح من غوايتها<sup>14</sup> # كما يردّ<sup>15</sup> جماح الخيل باللجم
- فلاترم بالمعاصى كسر شهوتها # انّ الطّعام يقوى شهوة النهم
- والنفس كالطفل ان تهمله شبّ على # حبّ الرضاع وان تفضمه ينفطم
- فاصرف هواها واحذر ان تولّيه # انّ الهوى ماتولى يصم او يصم
- وراعها وهي<sup>16</sup> في الاعمال سائمة # وان هى استحلّت المرعى فلاتسم

<sup>3</sup> اشبيت C.

<sup>4</sup> ظني C.

<sup>5</sup> لاكن A.

<sup>6</sup> صمام C.

<sup>7</sup> الشيب C.

<sup>8</sup> عدال C.

<sup>9</sup> ماتعظت C.

<sup>10</sup> الحرم C.

<sup>11</sup> امحتاسم C.

<sup>12</sup> بدال C.

<sup>13</sup> من هب الكتم C.

<sup>14</sup> ( ) غوايتها C. (with adding ي)

<sup>15</sup> بردّ C.

<sup>16</sup> وهيا C.

كم حسنت لذة للمرء قاتلة # من حيث لم يدران السم في الدسم  
 واخش الدسائس من جوع ومن شبع<sup>17</sup> # فرب مخصصة<sup>18</sup> شر<sup>19</sup> من التخم  
 واستفرغ الدمع من عين قد امتلات # من المحارم والزم حمية الندم<sup>20</sup>  
 وخالف النفس والشيطان واعصهما # وان همامحضاك النصيح فاتهم  
 ولا تطع منهما خصما ولا حكما # فانت تعرف كيد الخصم والحكم  
 استغفر الله من قول بلا عمل # لقد نسبت به نسلا لذي عقم  
 امرتك الخير لکن ما ائتمرت به # وما استقمت كما قولی لك استقم  
 ولا تزودت قبل الموت نافلة # ولم اصل سوى فرض ولم اصم  
 ظلمت سنة من احي الظلام<sup>21</sup> الى # ان اشتكت<sup>22</sup> قدماه الضرمين ورم  
 وشد من سغب احشاءه وطوى # تحت الحجارة كشحا<sup>23</sup> مترف الادم  
 وراودته الجبال الشم<sup>24</sup> من ذهب # عن نفسه فاراها ايما شمم<sup>25</sup>  
 واكدت زهده فيها ضرورته # ان الضرورة لا تعدوا على العصم<sup>26</sup>  
 وكيف تدعو الى الدنيا من العدم # لولاه لم تخرج الدنيا من العدم  
 محمد سيد الكونين والثقلين # والفريقين من عرب ومن عجم  
 نبينا الامر النهي فلا احد # ابر في قول لامنه ولا نعم  
 هو الحبيب الذي ترجى شفاعته # لكل هول من الالهوال مقتحم  
 دعا الى الله فالمستمسكون به # مستمسكون بحبل غير منقسم  
 فاق التبيين في خلق وفي خلق # ولم يدانوه في علم ولا كرم

17 من سبع C.

18 مخصصة C.

19 شر C.

20 الندام C.

21 الضلام C.

22 استكت C.

23 كسحا C.

24 السم C.

25 سم C.

26 العظم C.

وكلهم من رسول الله ملتمس # عرفا من البحراو رشفامن الاديم  
 وواقفون لديه عند حدّهم<sup>27</sup> # من نقطة العلم او من شكلة<sup>28</sup> الحكم  
 فهو الذي تم معناه وصورته # ثم اصطفاه حبيبا بارئ النسم  
 منزّه عن شريك في محاسنه # فجوهرا الحسن فيه غير منقسم<sup>29</sup>  
 دع مادعته<sup>30</sup> التصارى في نبيهم # واحكم بما شئت مدحافيه واحتكم  
 وانسب الى ذاته ماشئت من شرف # وانسب الى قدره ماشئت من عظم  
 فان فضل رسول الله ليس له # حد فيعرب عنه ناطق<sup>31</sup> بقم  
 لونا سبت قدرته عظما # احي اسمه حين يدعى دارس<sup>32</sup> الرمم  
 لم يمتحنّا بما تعى العقول به # حرصا علينا فلم نرتب ولم نهم  
 اعنى الورى<sup>33</sup> فهم معناه فليس يرى # للقرب والبعد فيه غير منفيهم  
 كالشمس تظهر للعينين من يعد # صغيرة ويكل<sup>34</sup> الطرف من امم  
 وكيف يدرك في الدنيا حقيقته # قوم نيام تسلّوا عنه بالحلم  
 فيبلغ العلم فيه أنّه بشر # وانّه خير خلق الله كلّهم  
 وكلّ اى اتى الرسل الكرام بها # فانما اتصلت من نوره بهم  
 فانه شمس فضل هم كواكبها # يظهرن انوارها للناس في الظلم  
 <حتى اذا طلعت في الكون عم هداها # العالمين واحيت سائر الامم>  
 اكرم بخلق نبيّ زانه خلق # بالحسن مشتمل<sup>35</sup> بالبشر منتسم<sup>36</sup>  
 كالزهر في ترف والبدر في شرف # والبحر في كرم والدهر في همم

27 حادهم C.

28 سكلة C.

29 منقسم C.

30 دعما دعته C.

31 نطق C.

32 يدعدارس C.

33 الورى C.

34 وتكلّ C.

35 مستمّل C.

36 منتشم C.

كانه وهو فرد في جلالته # في عسكر<sup>37</sup> حين تلقاه وفي حشم<sup>38</sup>

كانما اللؤلؤ المكنون في صدف # من معدني منطق منه و مبتشم<sup>39</sup>

لا طيب يعدل تريا ضم اعظمه # طوبى لمن تشق<sup>40</sup> منه وملثم

### c. The translation of the Arabic Text<sup>41</sup>

*Is it because of your remembrance of the neighbors of Dhi-Salam*

*That tears mixed with blood are flowing (from your eyes)*

*Or is it because of the breeze blowing from Kazima*

*Or is it the lightning struck in the darkness of the night of Idom*

*What has happened to your eyes, (the more) you tell them to stop, the more they  
continue flowing*

*What is the matter with your heart, (the more) you tell it to its senses, (the  
more it is distracted)*

*Does the lover think that his love can be concealed*

*While his eyes are shedding tears and his heart is glowing*

*Had not been for love, you would not have shed tears at the ruins (of your  
beloved)*

*Nor would you become restless at the remembrance of the cypress (tree)  
at the high mountain*

*How do you deny love after the testimony*

*Borne against you by (such) reliable witness as your tears and your  
illness*

*Love has ingrained two lines of fear, and withered your face*

*On your cheeks like yellow roses and the reddish tree*

*Yes, thoughts of the beloved came to me at night and kept me awake*

*And love transforms pleasure into pain*

*O you who reproach me, regarding my love, excuse me*

*From me to you if you do justice, you would not reproach me*

<sup>37</sup> C. عسكر

<sup>38</sup> C. الحشم

<sup>39</sup> C. مبتشم

<sup>40</sup> C. لمن تشق

<sup>41</sup> This translation is adopted from *Qaṣīdah Burdah (The Poem of the Scarf)*, Pakistan: Zam Zam Publishers, no year.

*My state (of love) has been expressed to you, (now) my secret is no longer  
concealed*

*From those who malign (me), nor is there (something to) check (cease)  
my agony*

*You have sincerely advised me, but I did not heed it*

*For verily a lover is deaf to those who advise him*

*I regarded with suspicion the advice of the elders in reproaching me  
(wisdom) in the advice of the elders is above suspicion*

*Verily my soul which is laden with evil did not heed the advice*

*Due to its ignorance, from the warning by grey hair and old age*

*And I have not prepared, of good deeds, a feast*

*For a guest (that) has lodged on (my) head nor did I honor (him)*

*Had I know that I would not be able to honor him (it)*

*I would have concealed my secret, which is exposed, by dyeing*

*Who is there that can restrain my wayward-self from its waywardness*

*Just as unmanageable horses are restrained by reins*

*Do not try, through sinning, to subdue sensual desires*

*For verily food, only increases sensual desires*

*Your self (desires) is like a child who when breastfed*

*Loves suckling but when you wean it, will stop*

*Then stop its inclinations and beware that it does not overpower you*

*Verily lust whenever it overpowers you (it will) kill or maim (your character)*

*And guard it while it is grazing in (the field of) actions*

*If it enjoys pasture, do not let it roam (graze) freely*

*How often has pleasure been considered good, whereas it turned out to  
be deadly*

*Because he does not know that there is poison in the fat*

*And fear the evil of (both) hunger and satiation*

*For most times hunger (poverty) is more evil than overeating*

*And shed tears from those eyes which have become full*

*Sayings (preaching) which I do not practice upon*

*For verily I have attributed (claimed), through this, offspring from a  
barren woman*

*I command you to do good but I do not command myself to do the same*  
*And I was steadfast (on deen) so then of what use (value) is my saying to*  
*you: “Be steadfast” (on deen)*  
*And I made no provisions before death of voluntary worship*  
*And I did not perform salat nor did I fast except what was obligatory*  
*I transgressed the sunnat of him (Prophet) who passed the night (in ibadat)*  
*Until his feet complained of injury due to being swollen*  
*And he tied and folded, on account of hunger, around his stomach*  
*For had it not been for him this world would not have come out of non*  
*existence*  
*Muhammad (pbuh) is the leader of both the worlds and both creations (man*  
*and jin)*  
*And of both groups, Arabs and non-Arabs*  
*Our Prophet, the one who commands (good), forbids (evil). There is non*  
*(parallel to him)*  
*More truthful than him in saying “no” or “yes”*  
*He is (Allah’s) most beloved, whose intercession is hoped for*  
*For every fear (and distress) that is going to come (on the day) of agony*  
*(and fears)*  
*He called (people) towards Allah, so those who cling to him*  
*Clinging to a rope which will never snap*  
*He transcends the prophets, physically and in (noble) character*  
*And (the other prophets) can not come near him in knowledge and noble*  
*nature kindness*  
*They all obtained from Rasulullah (pbuh)*  
*(Like a) handful (of water) from the ocean or (a few) sips from continuous*  
*rains*  
*And they all stopped before him at their (assigned) limits*  
*(Either) of a point of knowledge or to gain one wisdom from (his) wisdom*  
*For he is the one with whom, ended all outward and inward perfections*  
*And then the Creator of all creation chose him as (His) most beloved*  
*He has no equal in his magnificence*  
*The jewel of (excellence) in him is indivisible*  
*Discard what the Christians claim about their Prophet*

Then decide and say what you wish in praise of him (prophet pbuh)  
 And attribute towards his personality whatever you wish of excellence  
 And attribute to his dignified status as much greatness as you wish  
 For verily excellence of the Messenger of Allah has no (limits)  
 Bounds, that a speaker might (be able to) express with his mouth  
 If his miracles were proportionate (according) to his rank, in greatness  
 Then his name would have, when called out brought decaying bones back  
 to life  
 He did not try to (test) us with that which would confound our minds  
 Out of keen interest (kindness) for us, neither were we suspicious (about  
 the truthfulness of his mission) nor were we confounded (by his doctrines)  
 His perfect inner nature made people helpless from comprehending, so it was  
 not understood  
 Those near and far, except according to their (helpless) imperfect  
 understanding  
 Like how the sun is seen by the eyes from far  
 Verily small, yet hurts (dazzles) the eye (when you stare at it)  
 And how can the reality of him be comprehended in this world  
 A sleeping nation whose description of him are (interpretations of) a  
 dream  
 So the extreme depth of (our) knowledge concerning him, is that he is a man  
 And verily he is the best of all the creation of Allah  
 Every miracle which all the Prophets showed  
 Verily they have been derived from his nur (light)  
 For verily he is the sun of virtue (and) they (prophets) are its stars  
 Which their lights to people only in the dark  
 Until when the sun rose his light spread  
 Universally and gave life to all the nations  
 How noble are the physical qualities of Prophet (Pbuh) adorned with good  
 character  
 (Who) was vested with beauty and distinguished by pleasant temperament  
 (He) is like a blooming flower in its freshness and the full moon in splendor  
 And the ocean in generosity and time in its fearless courage  
 Even when alone, it appears due to his grandeur

*As though (he is) in the midst of a large army and its retinue  
It is like pearls well preserved in oysters  
From the two mines, of his speech and his smiles  
No perfume equals the dust (earth) which is touching his (Prophet Pbuḥ) body  
Glad tidings be to the person who smells it (the dust) and kisses it*

## Conclusion

Having evaluated the editions and collated the manuscripts of al-Buṣīrī's Qaṣīdah Burdah, I conclude that there are no significant differences between the contemporary editions used nowadays and the classical manuscripts—at least those preserved in the library of Leiden University. The differences only relate to technical matters and the way some words are read. The differences between the three manuscripts are not significant. The apparent differences are found between manuscript B and manuscript C concerning mostly misspellings in manuscript C (a copy from Indonesia). It is likely that Indonesia is located far from the heartlands of Islam and education had not developed well yet so that the scribe could not pronounce and write some Arabic words well. These differences do not diminish the originality of the editions available nowadays. The current editions tend to be uniform both in wording and meaning.

It could be deduced from collating these three manuscripts that these oral and written transmissions mentioned in the introduction were really practiced in Muslim societies. A written text was sometimes used to tie what was memorized in mind. The manuscript A, for instance, seems to be a tie of what was preserved in mind. Although it was made neatly, the text was hard to read due to its writing style. It was difficult for someone who was not familiar with Burdah, for instance, to read it. The user of this manuscript might be one who had known and had memorized the text. The differences which appeared in the three manuscripts and three editions are tolerable in this view. It, therefore, does not imply that the al-Buṣīrī's Qaṣīdah Burdah available nowadays is not original since it was transmitted not only through written transmission but also through oral transmission (memorizing). This study thus confirms that these methods of transmission were used in Islamic tradition. Through both kinds of transmission, Qaṣīdah Burdah continues to be a living text.

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