he himself indulges in fanciful interpretations and accepts curious grammatical rules, to the extent that his critics have easily been able to point out proofs of his ignorance, even in the domains where he is considered a master.

Afflicted with both a squint and a limp (Muh. b. Ḥabīb calls him also al-A'radi), he seems not to have had a very distinguished career, but his learning nevertheless met with some success, since audiences of more than one hundred crowded to his classes. At Sāmarrā, al-Wāthik resorted to him for the solution of a philological problem, which proves that he enjoyed quite a wide reputation. In spite of his hostility towards the Mu'tazilīs, it was Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [q.v.] himself who led the funeral prayer at his grave, on 13 Sha'bān 231/14 April 846 (but the date of his death varies from 230 to 233), at Sāmarrā.

About twenty works are attributed to him: K. al-Nawādir, K. al-Anwā', K. Şifat al-nakhl, K. Şifat al-zar', K. al-Khayl, K. Ta'rīkh al-kabā'li, K. Ma'āni 'l-shi'r, K. Tafsīr al-amthāl (Fihrist: al-Kabā'li, but that is an error), K. al-Nabāt, K. al-Alfāz, K. Nasab al-khayl, K. Nawādir al-Zubayriyyīn, K. Nawādir Banī Fak'as, K. al-Dhubāb (transmitted by al-Sukkarī), K. al-Nabīt wa 'l-bakl, and others listed by Brockelmann. Only a few of these have survived, a K. al-Fāḍil fi 'l-adab, a collection of elegies published by Wright (Op. ar., 97-122), a K. al-Bi'r (Cairo, vii, 652) [see Bl'R], and the K. Asmā' khayl al-'Arab wa-fursānihā, which must correspond to the K. Nasab al-khayl mentioned above (ed. G. Levi Della Vida, Les "Livres des Chevaux", Leyden 1928); on his recension of al-Akhtal's Dīwān, see Al-Akhtal's

Bibliography: Djāhiz, Bukhala', Bayan and Hayawan, index; Muh b. Habib, Muhabbar, index; Ibn Kutayba, Ma'arif, 238; idem, 'Uyūn and Adab al-kātib, index; Țabarī, iii, 972, 1357; Ķālī, Amālī, index; Mubarrad, Kāmil, index; Aghānī, index; Mascūdī, Murūdi, iv, 117, vii, 162-4; Fihrist, Cairo, 102-3; Marzubani, Muwashshah, index; Ibn Khallikan, i; Khatib Baghdadi, Ta'rikh Baghdād, v, 282-5; Yāķūt, Udabā', xviii, 189-96; Ibn al-Athir, Mathal sa'ir, 490; Nawawi, Tahdhib, 784; Suyūţi, Bughya, 42-3; Şafadi, Wāfī, Damascus 1953, iii, 79-80 (no. 993); Anbāri, Nuzha<sup>2</sup>, 95-7; Zubaydi, Tabakāt, Cairo 1373/1954, 213; Fihris al-mu'āllifin, Tetuan 1952, 248; al-Muktabas, vi, 3-9; Fück, 'Arabiya, 49-51 (Fr. trans., 75-8) and index; R. Sellheim, Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen, The Hague 1954, 49 and index; Brockelmann, S I, 179-80; B. al-Bustāni, in Dā'irat al-ma'arif, ii, 340-4. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-CARABI, ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLAH AL-MA'AFIRI, a traditionist belonging to Seville; b. 468/1076, d. 543/1148. In 485/ 1092 he travelled with his father to the East, and spent periods studying in Damascus and Baghdad. In 489/1096 he performed the Pilgrimage, after which he returned to Baghdad and studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and others. He then went with his father to Egypt and met traditionists in Cairo and Alexandria. After his father's death in 493/1100 he returned to Seville, where he was credited with encyclopaedic knowledge. He wrote books on a variety of subjects, including hadith, fikh, usul, Kur'an studies, adab, grammar, and history. A long list of his writings is given by Makkari, Analectes, i, 483 f. Among them is 'Arida al-Ahwadhī, a commentary on al-Tirmidhi's collection of traditions. Many of his works are no longer extant. In Seville he acted as kādī for a time, acquiring a reputation

for severity towards evildoers and kindness towards humble people. He later resigned this post and devoted himself to scholarship, both teaching and writing. When the Muwahhids entered Seville he and others were taken to Marrakush where he was imprisoned for about a year. He died while on a journey from Marrākush to Fez, where he was buried. Maķķarī says a ziyāra came to be held at his tomb, which he himself had visited several times, While Ibn al-'Arabi was generally highly commended, everyone did not accept him as an authority on hadith. He has been called thika (trustworthy) and thabat (reliable), but the kādī 'Iyād b. Mūsā (d. 544/ 1149), a contemporary who heard traditions from him, said people criticized his traditions, and Ibn Hadiar al-Askalāni (d. 852/1449) has called him dacif (weak).

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, No. 1181; al-Makkari, Analectes, i, 477-89; al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, iv, 86-90; Ibn Khayr, Fihrisa, 567 (Bibl. Arab.-Hisp., x); Ibn Farhūn, al-Dibādi almudhahhab, Cairo 1329, 281-4; Ibn Ḥadjial-Lisān al-mīzān, v, 234; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, Būlāk 1275, i, 697 f., De Slane (Eng. trans.), iii, 12-14; Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt, 546 A.H.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, Index No. 2045; Brockelmann, I, 525, S I, 632 f., 732 f. (J. ROBSON)

IBN AL-'ARABĪ, MUḤYI'L-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-'ĀRABĪ AL-ḤĀTIMĪ AL-ṬĀ'Ī, known as al-Shaykh al-Akbar (560/1165-638/1240), was one of the greatest Ṣūfīs of Islam. He is usually referred to—incorrectly—as Ibn 'Arabī, without the article, to distinguish him from Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū Bakr [q.v.]; in Turkey he is often referred to as ''Muḥyi 'l-Din 'Arabī''; whereas some sources (e.g., al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-wafayāt, Cairo 1951, ii, 487) give his kunya as Abū Bakr, in autograph notes he refers to himself only as Abū 'Abd Allāh.

Life. He was born at Murcia on 27 Ramadan 560/7 August 1165 (see the note by Sadr al-Din al-Kūnawi, reproduced by A. Ates, in TV, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), Pl. XXV), of a family claiming descent from Hātim al- $T\bar{a}$ 'i [q.v.]; some Şūfi adepts were numbered among his near relations. When he was eight, his father moved to Seville, where Ibn al-'Arabi began his formal education; as a young man he is said to have acted as kātib to various governors (al-Maķķarī, Nafh al-tib, i, 568). At an early age, in the course of an illness, he enjoyed a vision (Futūhāt, iv, 552) which changed the course of his life, leading him to regard his earlier years as a period of djāhiliyya (Futūḥāt, i, 207); the genuineness of this "conversion" much impressed his father's friend the philosopher Ibn Rushd [q.v.], the kādī of Seville (Futūhāt, i, 170). Although Ibn al-'Arabi claimed that his ma'rifa was communicated to him with no intermediary, he notes in his works the names of many shaykhs whom he served and whose company he sought, among them: Abū Dja'far al-'Urayni (Rūh al kuds [no. 8, below], fol. 41; Futūḥāt, iii, 589, 596, etc.); Abū Yackūb al-Ķaysi, a disciple of Abū Madyan [q.v.] (Rūḥ al-kuds, fol. 43); Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAdawi, skilled at revealing the future; Abu 'l-Ḥadidiādi Yūsuf, etc. (Rūḥ al-ḥūds, fols. 46-73), and two women: Fāṭima bint al-Muthannā and Shams Umm al-Fukarā'. Although he refers to Abū Madyan (d. 598/1193) as his "shaykh", in fact he never met him personally (Rūḥ al-ḥuds, fol. 66).

Ibn al-'Arabi spent some ten years in various towns of Spain and North Africa with these teachers, but until 590/1194 Seville remained his home. In that year, at the age of 30, he went to Tunis to join a certain 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mahdawi (Rüh al-

kuds, fol. 33). In the next year he went to Fez, where in 594/1198 he wrote his K. al-Isrā' (no. 3, below). In 595/1199 he was in Cordova, where he attended the funeral of Ibn Rushd, and later at Almeria, where he wrote his Mawāķi al-nudjūm (no. 7 below) (Nafh al-tīb, i, 576); in 598/1202 he was back in Tunis and then, travelling via Cairo and Jerusalem, set out to perform the Pilgrimage (Rūḥ al-ḥuds, fol. 63 v.). Deeply moved by the sight of the Kacba, for him the point of contact between the worlds of the invisible (ghayb) and the visible (shuhūd), he staved for two years at Mecca, frequently performing the tawaf, reading and meditating, and enjoying many mystic visions and dreams. It was here that he wrote his Tādi al-rasā'il (no. 6), his Rūḥ al-kuds (no. 8), and began, in 598/1202, his great al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya (no. 1); here too he addressed to 'Ayn al-Shams Nizām, the daughter of an Isfahāni resident in Mecca, the poems collected in a diwan entitled Tardjumān al-ashwāķ (no. 13).

In 600/1204 he met at Mecca a number of Anatolian pilgrims from Konya and Malatya, led by Şadr al-Din al-Kūnawi's father, Madid al-Din Ishāķ, who was then living in Syria; he accompanied them on their homeward journey, via Baghdad and Mosul (where they stayed for some months), reaching Malatya by Dhu 'l-Ka'da 601/June-July 1205. The Sultan of Konya, Kay-Khusraw I [q.v.], now restored to his throne, invited Madid al-Din to re-join him (Ibn Bibi, facs. 91 f.; tr. Duda, 41 f.); the latter brought Ibn al-'Arabi with him, and the Sultan loaded both with gifts (Nafh al-țīb, i, 569; Futūhāt, iii, 126, 255). In the next years we find Ibn al-'Arabi again travelling-to Jerusalem, Cairo, and Meccabut in 606/1209-10 he was back in Konya, where in that year he wrote his Risālat al-anwār. In 608/1211-2 he was again in Baghdad, perhaps accompanying Madid al-Din, who had been sent to the Caliphal court to announce the accession of Kay-Kā'ūs I. To this new ruler Ibn al-'Arabi addressed a letter of practical advice in religious matters (text in Futūḥāt, iv, 604 f.).

In the following years he visited Aleppo (where he began the Sharh (no. 14) to his Tardjumān al-ashwāk, completing it in Aksaray in 612/1215) and Sivas (where he had a dream foretelling Kay-Kā'ūs's re-capture of Antalya), but from 612/1216 onwards he lived mainly at Malatya. Here his son Sa'd al-Din Muḥammad was born, in 618/1221. The report that he married the widow of his old friend Madid al-Din seems doubtful: at least the latter's son Ṣadr al-Din (b. 606/1209-10) and Ibn al-Arabi do not speak of each other as step-son and step-father.

It is not known why, or when, Ibn al-'Arabi finally left Anatolia to settle at Damascus, where he is first found living in 627/1230. Here he probably experienced some discomfort, exposed to the criticisms of the orthodox but finding protectors in the Ibn Zaki family of kādīs (Ibn Kathir, al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya, Cairo n.d., xiii, 156) and in members of the Ayyūbid ruling family. He led a quiet life of reading and teaching, composing, as the result of a dream in 627/1229, his most influential work, the Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam (no. 2 below), and completing and revising, from 630/1233 onwards, his Futūhāt. A tradition (Nafh al-țib, i, 581, from al-Yāfici [q.v.]) that towards the end of his life Ibn al-'Arabi forbade the reading of his works is belied by the facts that he heard and approved the text of his Kitāb al-Asfār (no. 10) only 20 days before his death (A. Ateş, in Bell., xvi/61 (1952), 87), and that his disciple Sadr al-Din, who was with him in his last days, spent his life in teaching and commenting on his master's works. Ibn al-'Arabī died, in the house of the &ādī Muḥyi 'l-Din Ibn al-Zakī, on 28 Rabī' II 638/16 November 1240, and was buried in that family's turba on the slopes of Mount Kāsiyūn.

Ibn al-'Arabi married several wives and presumably had many children, but only two of his sons are known: Sa'd al-Din Muḥammad, b. 618/1221 in Malatya, d. 656/1258 in Damascus, a poet (al-Kutubi, Fawāt al-wafayāt, ii, 325 (which, however, gives the date of his death as 686); Nafh al-tib, i, 572; Brockelmann, I, 583), and 'Imād al-Din Abū 'Abd Allāh, d. 667/1269 in Damascus (Nafh al-tib, loc.cit.).

The Ottoman Sultan Selim I, during his stay in Damascus after his Egyptian campaign (923-4/1517-8), ordered the rebuilding of the turba where Ibn al-'Arabi was buried, and the construction nearby of a mosque and a takkiyya (H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., Damascus 1952, 148-50; cf. Feridün, Munsha'āt¹, i, 404, 441, 444; Sa'd al-Din, ii, 379); on this occasion a fatwā lauding Ibn al-'Arabi was given by Kemāl-Pasha-zāde [q.v.] (text in Shadharāt, v, 195).

Works. Ibn al-'Arabi was certainly the most prolific of all Şūfi writers; although Brockelmann (I, 571-82, S I, 791-802) lists no less than 239 works (perhaps with some duplication of works with differing titles), he was unable to avail himself fully of the rich resources of the libraries of Istanbul and Anatolia-the investigation of which still remains incomplete. Ibn al-'Arabi himself did not know how many works he had written; at the request of his friends he endeavoured to draw up a list, of which three (conflicting) versions survive: (1) Fihrist (Konya, MS Yusuf Ağa 4989, pp. 378-89, on which see A Ates, in TV, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), 155-6), written by Sadr al-Din before 627/1230, is incomplete; (2) a MS of 1337/1918-9 (copied from one of 639/1241-2) lies behind Kurkis al-'Awwad, Fihrist mu'allafat Muhyi 'l-Din b. 'Arabi, in Madiallat al-Madima' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī, xxix (Damascus 1954), 344-59, 527-36, xxx (1955), 51-60, 268-80, 395-410; this lists 248 works, some said to be uncompleted; (3) the idjāza which Ibn al-'Arabi gave to the Ayyūbid Ghāzī b. al-Malik al-'Ādil in 632/1234 (see Ahlwardt, Verzeichniss ..., iv, 77, no. 2992/4) mentions 289 works. [Osman Yahia (see bibl.) lists no fewer than 846 items.] Altogether there seems little doubt that Ibn al-'Arabi is the author of some 400 works; some of these, as he himself said (K. al-'Awwad, op. cit., xxix, 355, 527, 534), had been given away to others, some were in circulation, some he still retained, waiting for God's command to release them. Many of Ibn al-'Arabi's books, both those written by himself and those owned by him, passed to Sadr al-Din al-Kūnawi, who left them as wakf to the library which he founded at Konya; in spite of later neglect, many of these survive in the Yusuf Ağa Library at Konya and in other Turkish libraries; and in what follows, especial emphasis will be laid on these and other exceptionally authoritative manuscripts.

Ibn al-Arabi's production was not only in the field of taṣawwuf, but his other works are not known to survive: among these are an abridgement of the Ṣaḥiḥ of Muslim and a K. Miftāḥ al-ṣa'āda, a compilation of the traditions collected by Muslim and al-Bukhārī; an abridgement of Ibn Ḥazm's al-Muḥaliā was apparently known to Ḥādidji Khalifa (Kashf al-zunūn, ii, 1617).

Of his sūfī works, the most important are:

(1) al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya fī asrār al-mālikiyya wa 'l-mulkiyya (Brockelmann <sup>8</sup>, no. 10). The autograph text of the second recension, in 37 volumes dated 633-7/1235-9, is preserved in Istanbul, MSS Türk-Islām Eserleri Müzesi 1845-81; several printed eds.: 1269, 1294, 1329. The work was begun in Mecca in 598/1201 and finished (according to one tradition) in 629/1231. In six faṣl subdivided into 560 bāb, it contains a full exposition of the author's ṣūfī doctrine. A commentary on its difficult passages was written by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Dinī (d.832/1428; Brockelmann, S II, 283), and there are abridgements by ('Abd al-Wahhāb) al-Sha'rānī [q.v.] (d. 973/1565): Lawāķik al-anwār ... (Cairo 1311); al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar ... (Cairo 1277); al-Yawāķīt wa 'l-diawāhir ... (Cairo 1277, 1305, 1321).

- (2) Fuşüş al-hikam wa khuşüş al-kilam (Brockelmann<sup>2</sup>, no. 11). MS written by Şadr al-Din in 630/1232-3, read to and corrected by the author, in Istanbul, MS Türk-Islâm Eserleri Müzesi 1933. This summary of the teaching of 28 prophets from Adam to Muhammad, dictated to the author at Damascus by the Prophet in a dream, has been frequently printed: Cairo 1252, Istanbul 1897, Cairo 1304, 1309, 1321, 1329, etc. Abridged Eng. tr.: Sahib Khaja Khan, Wisdom of the Prophets ..., Madras 1929; partial Fr. tr.: T. Burckhardt, La sagesse des prophètes, Paris 1955; Turkish tr. in the series Şarkislâm Klasikleri (no. 27), by Nûrî Genç Osman, Istanbul 1952. Brockelmann lists no less than 35 commentaries, the most important of which are (a) Ibn al-'Arabi's own Miftah al-Fuşūş, (b) Şadr al-Din's al-Fukūk fī mustanadāt Hikam al-fuṣūṣ (see Osman Ergin, in Şarkiyat Mecmuası, ii (1957), 75); those by (c) 'Afif al-Din al-Tilamsani (d. 690/ 1291; Brockelmann, I, 300), and (d) Abd al-Razzāķ al-Kāshānī (d. 736/1335; Brockelmann, S II, 280); (e) the Maţlac Khuşūş al-kilam of Dāwūd al-Kayşarī (d. 751/1350; Brockelmann, II, 299); (f) the Naķā al-nusūs of Djāmi [q.v.], etc.
- (3) K. al-Isrā' ilā makām al-asrā (Brockelmann a, no. 15). MS Veliyüddin (Istanbul, Bayezid Public Library) 1628, dated 633/1235-6, was read to the author. Printed: Haydarābād 1367/1948. A short work, written in rhyming prose (sadī') in Fez in 594/1198, it describes Ibn al-'Arabi's "mi'rādī' from the world of being (kawn) to the station (mawkif) in God's presence. Commentaries by (a) his disciple Ismā'il b. Sawdakin al-Nūrī (d. 646/1248; Brockelmann, I, 582), (b) Sitt al-'Adījam bint al-Nafis, and (c) Zayn al-'Ābīdin al-Munāwi.
- (4) Muhāḍarāt al-abrār wa musāmarāt al-akhyār (Brockelmann ², no. 128). MS Istanbul, Topkapısarayı Ahmed III 2145 is dated 711/1311-2; printed: Cairo 1282 (lith.), 1305, 1324. This two volume collection of anecdotes contains some spurious additions, but the authorship of the basic work is certain.
- (5) Kalām al-ʿAbādila (Brockelmann ², no. 126). MS dated 641/1243-4: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4859/2; same date: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/1; MS dated 663/1264-5: Istanbul, Köprülü 713/3 (copied from the autograph); a collection of "sayings" attributed to numerous (imaginary) personages named "'Abd Allāh''.
- (6) Tādi al-rasā'il wa minhādi al-wasā'il (Brockelmann'', no. 54). MS dated 613/1216-7 and 616/1219-20, "heard" by the author: Istanbul, Veliyüddin 1759/1; 764/1362-3: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4875, fols. 130-46; printed: Cairo 1328. A set of eight letters recounting his spiritual conversations with the Ka'ba while in Mecca in 600/1203-4.
- (7) Mawāķi' al-nudjūm wa maţāli' ahillat al-asrār wa 'l-'ulūm (Brockelmann', no. 18); composed 595/1199 at Almeria; printed: Cairo 1325.

- (8) R. Rūḥ al-kuds fī munāṣaḥat al-nafs (Brockelmann³, no. 56). MS copied in Rabīc I 600/end of 1203, the month of composition: Istanbul University Library A 79; lith. Cairo 1281. A letter written from Mecca to his Tunis friend cAbd al-cAzīz al-Mahdawi, with criticisms of the wordly ways of ṣūfīs he had met and much information on the shayhhs whom he had known in Spain (this section discussed with Sp. tr. by M. Asin Palacios, Vidas de santones en Andalucia, Madrid 1933).
- (9) al-Tanazzulāt al-mawṣiliyya fī asrār al-ṭahārāt wa 'l-ṣalawāt wa 'l-ayyām al-aṣliyya (Brockelmann³, no. 100). Autograph MS dated 620/1223-4: Istanbul, Şeyh Murad (Süleymaniye) 162; MS read to the author by Ṣadr al-Din: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4861; MS read to the author: Istanbul, Murad Molla 1256; MS of ch. 4 dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868, fols. 46 ff. A work of 55 chapters, composed at Mosul, on the "inner" significance of religious duties.
- (10) K. al-Asfār (not in Brockelmann). MS read to the author, dated 638/1240: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4859, fols. 4-38. On the three "journeys", to, from and in God.
- (11) al-Isfār 'an natā'idj al-asfār (Brockelmann, S no. 152); printed: Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948. Perhaps identical with no. 10.
- (12) Dīwān (Brockelmann², no. 130). MSS written during the author's lifetime: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 5501, 5502; printed Būlāķ 1271; lith. Bombay n.d.
- (13) Tardjumān al-ashwāk, and (14) the commentary on it: Fath (Kash) al-dhakhā'ir wa 'l-a'lāk 'an wadih Tardiumān al-ashwāķ (Brockelmann<sup>2</sup>, no. 129); Eng. tr. of text and part of comm.: R. A. Nicholson, The Tarjumán al-Ashwáq, a collection of mystical odes, London (Or. Trans. Fund., n.s. xx) 1911; commentary printed: Beirut 1312. The surviving text of the poems contains 61 love poems preceded by two, completely contradictory, prefaces: according to the first, the poems were written in love for Nizām bint Makin al-Din; according to the second, they are to be interpreted allegorically. The epilogue of the commentary recounts that it was written because the poems provoked gossip in Syria. The truth may be that the poems fall into two groups: those written in 598/ 1201-2 for Nizām, with the first preface, and those written when Ibn al-'Arabi was about 50, i.e. ca. 610/ 1213 (cf. poem 32), with the second preface, the two groups being combined when the shark was under-
- (15) <u>Sharh Khal' al-na'layn</u> (Brockelmann<sup>2</sup>, no. 103a). MS from Şadr al-Din's library, dated 640/1242-3: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4989, pp. 110-338. A commentary on the work by Ibn Kasi [q.v.].
- (16) K. Hilyat al-abdāl (Brockelmann, no. 28). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/4; printed: Ḥaydarābād 1948; Turkish tr. Enwer, Istanbul 1326.
- (17) K. Tādi al-tarādim fī ishārāt al-cilm wa latā'if al-fahm (Brockelmann', no 65). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/5; 649/1251-2: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/3.
- (18) K. al-<u>Sh</u>awāhid (Brockelmann³, no. 29). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/6; 649/1251-2: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/2.
- (19) K. Ishārāt al-Kur'ān fī 'ālam al-insān (Brockelmann', no. 48). MS written during the author's lifetime: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4989/1.
- For further details of MSS in Konya and Manisa, see A. Ates, Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar, in Belleten, xvi/61 (1952), 49-130; idem, Anadolu kütüphanelerinden ..., in TV, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), 150-7; idem, al-Makhtūtāt al-'arabiyya

fī maktabāt al-Anādūl, in Madjallat Machad al-Makhtūtāt al-Arabiyya, iv (Cairo 1958), 25 ff.

Among the spurious works attributed to Ibn al'Arabi may be mentioned: Tafsīr al-Shaykh al-Akbar
(Brockelmann's, no. 3); al-Shadjara al-nu'māniyya
fi 'l-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya (Brockelmann's, no. 124);
and a popular work on the interpretation of dreams
(Ta'bīr-nāma-i Muhyi 'l-Dīn 'Arabī terdjümesi,
Istanbul 1309 etc.; most lately Rūyā tābirleri,
Istanbul 1955).

Thought. With so many of his works still in manuscript, it is as yet impossible to give a complete conspectus of Ibn al-'Arabi's ideas. The following summary is based on only a few of his writings, mainly al-Futühāt al-Makkiyya.

Before his mystical ideas are examined, it is necessary to consider his epistemological outlook. Like almost all Muslim sūfis, Ibn al-'Arabi regards human reason as severely limited: in the introduction of the Futuhāt (i, 33 ff. and cf. iii, 505), he divides the branches of knowledge ('ilm) into three classes: (a) those which may be attained through reason ('akl); (b) the knowledge attained through "states" (hāl), acquired by perception of taste, colour, etc.; (c) knowledge of mysteries: this is the knowledge which the soul "blows" (nafatha) into the heart (rūc); it is in part like (though higher than) the knowledge provided by 'akl and hal; in part it is knowledge arising from "communications" (akhbār), i.e., the revelations of prophets. This last "knowledge", coming from God, with or without the mediation of an angel, and acquired only after a profound mystic training, is ma'rifa. The true branches of knowledge are the ma'arif; and he who knows these knows everything.

The  $ma^c \tilde{a} rif$ , and particularly those relating to the "way" of God, are not to be acquired by reason, or by reason's most effective instrument  $ki\gamma \tilde{a}s$  [q.v.], for "every day [Allāh] is upon some labour" (Kur'ān, LV, 29). The truth of a statement depends on its source: the prophets recognized truths through inspiration  $(ilk\tilde{a}^2)$ ; these truths are to be received by faith and are not open to dispute. Ibn al-'Arabi claimed a similar authority for his own teachings, since the wali [q.v.] is modelled upon and is the heir of the prophet; but he is far from claiming prophethood (nubuwwa) for himself  $(Futah\tilde{a}t, iii, 505)$ .

Ibn al-'Arabi's ma'arif, for which he claimed to have only a divine source, has in fact other sources, chief among them the Kur'an, verses or words of which, or the letters prefixed to various sūras, he felt free to interpret in a manner unconnected with the context. He also studied the works of such mystics as Djunayd, Bāyazid al-Bisṭāmi, al-Ḥallādj, and al-Kushayri [qq.v.]. He was not uninfluenced by Muslim Neoplatonism: his relations with Ibn Rushd have been noticed above; and he accepted that truth was to be found in the sayings of such philosophers as al- $\underline{Gh}$ azālī and al-Suhrawardī [qq.v.]. Indeed, the comprehension of Ibn al-'Arabi's writings is made exceptionally difficult by the fact that he may use as interchangeable equivalents terms with different meanings taken from such varying sources as these.

Ibn al-ʿArabi believed that God is an Existence free of all attributes, using for this such terms as ʿamāʾ muṭlak, ghayb al-ghuyūb, almost with the suggestion that God is unknowable. The emanation (sudūr) of other beings (mawdjūdāt) from this Being is explained in a very confused manner (see, e.g., Ibn Khaldūn's Shifāʾ al-sāʾil ..., ed. M. Tāvit al-Ṭanci, Ankara (Ank. Ün. II. Fak. Yay. xxii) 1957), but agrees in essentials with the Neoplatonist, and

hence the Bāṭinī, position (summary in IA, art. Muhyi-d-Din Arabi, pp. 549a-551a). Man makes various progresses, which are thought of as a series of journeys (asfār), in particular three: (1) from God, al-safar 'an Allah, by which a man having traversed the various worlds ('awalim) is born into this world, and is then thus furthest removed from God; (2) to God, al-safar ila 'llāh, by which, with the help of a guide, he makes the spiritual journey with the goal of reaching the "station of junction [with Universal Intelligence] after separation" (makam al-djam' ba'd al-tafriķa); (3) in God, al-safar fi 'llāh. The first two journeys have an end, the third has no end: it is bakā' bi'llāh. The traveller (sālik) who is making the third journey performs those precepts of the shari'a which are fard; externally, he is living with his fellows; but internally he is dwelling with God. Not every man is capable of more than the first journey; only those specially endowed (khawāss) may win to the vision of God, but even for them this depends on certain conditions (shurūt), some fulfilled by the traveller (sālik, murīd) himself, some provided by the shaykh. Even the Prophet had a shaykh—Gabriel. The shaykh perform the function which the prophets had performed in their day, except that they do not bring a new sharica.

Ibn al-'Arabi's views on the "traveller" are expounded especially in his Tuhfat al-safara ilā hadrat al-barara (Istanbul 1300; Turkish tr. M. Sālim, Istanbul 1303) and Hilyat al-abdāl (Turkish tr. Enwer, Istanbul 1306). The conditions he must observe are four: (1) silence (samt); (2) withdrawal from men ('uzla'); (3) hunger (dia'') and (4) wakefulness (sahar). Through their observance with sincere intention (ikhlas), there will be awakened in his heart a love (maḥabba), which grows to be a passion ('ishk) quite distinct from selfish desires (shahwa). It is this passion which particularly brings men to God. On the journey the sālik experiences a series of "states" (ahwāl), some continuing and hence called "resting-places" (makām, manzil), at each of which he learns various ma'arif. When the heart is thoroughly purified, the veil (hidjāb) of those "other" things which hide God (mā siwā' Allāh) is drawn aside; all things, past, present and future, are known; God grants the manifestation (tadjalli) of Himself; and finally union with Him (waşl) is achieved.

Influence. Thanks to the protection of influential supporters, Ibn al-'Arabi was only once in his lifetime in danger for his opinions; this was in Egypt (Makkari, Nafh al-fib, i, 580). Neither he in his lifetime nor his followers after his death founded a tarīķa. The greatest influences in spreading his teaching were the works of his disciple Şadr al-Din al-Ķūnawi [q.v.] and Şadr al-Din's conventicle at Konya, where there foregathered learned sufis who -many of them in flight before the Mongols-had come to Anatolia. The most important of these was the poet 'Irāķī ([q.v.]; d. 686/1287), author of the Lama'āt: this abridged paraphrase in Persian of the Fusus carried Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching as far as eastern Iran (so that the Lawa'ih of Djami [q.v.] is written in imitation of it). Others were al-Mu'ayyad b. Maḥmūd al-Djanadi (Brockelmann, I, 588) and Sa'd al-Din al-Farghani (Brockelmann, S I, 812; see also A. Ateş, in TM, vii-viii/2 (1945), 112 ff.).

Ibn al-'Arabi's mysticism was widely taught in the Yemen, particularly at Zabīd, where it aroused much hostility; some  $fukah\bar{a}$  and  $k\bar{a}d\bar{i}s$  sought the opinions of various doctors, and  $fatw\bar{a}s$  to the effect that Ibn al-'Arabi's ideas were bid'a and that every word of the  $Fus\bar{u}s$  was kufr were given by, e.g., Ibn

Taymiyya [q.v.], Taķī al-Din al-Subkī (d. 745/1344; Brockelmann, II, 106) and Badr al-Din b. Djamā'a (d. 767/1366; Brockelmann, II, 86). Ibn Khaldun [q.v.], in his <u>Sh</u>ifā' al-sā'il, mentioned above, examined Ibn al-'Arabi's mystical thought, and found it meaningless and heretical. That he had numerous followers, however, is made clear by the writing of such polemical works as Ibn al-Ahdal's (d. 855/1451) Kashf al-ghita' (Brockelmann, S II, 239) and the Tanbîh al-ghabî calā takfir Ibn al-cArabi of Ibrāhim al-Biķāci (d. 885/1480; Brockelmann, II, 179). It is only later that he found defenders, in the Tanzīh al-ghabī of al-Suyūtī [q.v.], the K. al-Radd fī munkir al-Shavkh al-Akbar of 'Abd Allah b. Maymun al-Idrīsi (d. 917/1511; Brockelmann, II, 152), and particularly in the fatwā delivered by Kemāl-Pashazāde [q.v.] when the Ottoman Sultan Selim I ordered the restoration of his turba (see p. 708b above). Thereafter there were written two major works in his defence: al-Kawl al-mubin fi 'l-radd 'an Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, of al-Sha'rāni ([q.v.] d. 973/1565; Brockelmann, II, 442) and al-Radd al-matin ..., of 'Abd al-Ghani [q.v.].

The spread of Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching in Persia and India was promoted particularly by Djāmi [q.v.], with his Lawā'iḥ, an Arabic Sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ, and a Persian Sharḥ Nakṣh al-Fuṣūṣ; but here too his doctrines were attacked, e.g., by al-Taftazāni [q.v.], in his al-Radd wa 'l-taṣni' 'alā kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ.

Ibn al-'Arabi's ideas had their most profound influence in Anatolia, thanks to the activities of Şadr al-Dîn's disciples, so that his works became "text-books" in Ottoman madrasas, commentaries being written by Dāwūd al-Ķayşarī (d. 751/1350; Brockelmann, II, 299), Ķuţb al-Dîn al-Izniķi [q.v.] and Yazidii-zade Mehmed [see YAZIDII-OGHLU]. Nevertheless, in spite of Kemāl-Pasha-zāde's fatwā, al-Halabi ([q.v.], d. in Istanbul 956/1549) wrote a refutation of the Fusus (Niemat al-dhariea fi nusrat al-shari(a); and a similar work was composed by 'Ali al-Kāri (d. 1014/1605; Brockelmann, II, 519). From this time onwards, however, hostile writing ceases, and there appears a continuous stream of commentaries on and translations of Ibn al-'Arabi's works, chiefly the Fuşūs. A comparable influence in Anatolia was exercised only by Djalal al-Din Rumi; but the two great commentators of the Mathnawi, Ismācil Anķārawi ([q.v.], d. 1041/1631-2) and Şari 'Abd Allāh ([q.v.], d. 1071/1661), interpreted the whole text in the light not of Djalal al-Din's teaching but of Ibn al-'Arabi's doctrines (see A. Ates, Mesnevî'nin onsekiz beytinin mânası, in Fuad Köprülü armagani, Istanbul 1953, 37-50); and from the 8th/ 14th century onwards this doctrine of monism (waḥdat al-wudjūd [q.v.]) became the main tenet of Anatolian sufism and of the philosophy expressed in dīwān literature.

lbn al-'Arabi may have had some influence also on mediaeval Europe, notably on the Catalan missionary Raymond Lull (ca. 1235-1315) (see Carra de Vaux, Penseurs, iv, 223 ff.); and it has been suggested that his description of his isrā' influenced Dante (see M. Asin Palacios, Islam and the Divine Comedy, tr. H. Sunderland, London 1926, intr. and pp. 42-52) [on this question see further MI'RĀD].

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xiii, 156; Ibn Ḥadiar, Lisān al-mīzān, v, 311-5; Ibn al-Wardi, Ta²rīkh, ii, 336; Ibn Taghrībirdi, vi, 329 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt, v, 190-202; al-Shaʿrāni, al-Ṭabakāt al-kubrā, i, 149; Djāmi, Nafahāt al-uns, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿi, Istanbu 1270, 621-32; Muḥ. Radiab Ḥilmi, al-Burhān al-azhar fī manākib al-Shaykh al-Akbar, Cairo 1326 (with Turkish tr. in the margins).

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[This article is abridged from the late Ahmed Ates's contribution, s.v. *Muhyi-d-Dîn Arabî*, to *IA* (fasc. 85, pp. 533-55), where further references are given]. (A. ATES)

IBN 'ARABSHAH, AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm <u>Sh</u>ihāb al-Dīn Abu 'L-'Abbas al-Dimashķī al-Ḥanafī al-'Adjamī, born in 791/1392 in Damascus, was taken with his family to Samarkand in 803/1400-1, when Timur conquered Damascus and carried off many of its inhabitants (cf. Vita Timuri, ed. Manger, Leeuwaarden 1767-72, ii, 143 ff.); there he studied with al-Djurdjani, al-Diazari and others, and learned Persian, Turkish and Mongol. In 811/1408-9 he went to Khata in Mongolia where he studied hadīth with al-Shirāmi, later to Khwārazm and Dasht (at Serāy and Ḥādidijī Tarkhān), where he still was in 814/1409-10 (Vita Timuri, i, 376). He came through the Crimea to Edirne, where he became a confidant of the Ottoman Sultan Mehemmed I b. Bayezid. He translated several books for him into Turkish (al-'Awfi, Djāmi' al-hikāyāt wa-lāmi al-riwāyāt, Ḥādidi Khalifa, ed. Flügel, ii, 510; Abu 'l-Layth, Tafsīr, Hādidji Khalifa, ii, 352; Dînawarî, Tacbîr, Hādidi Khalifa, ii, 312) and conducted, as Kātib al-Sirr, the Sultan's correspondence in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Mongol. In 824/1421 he went to Aleppo, in 825/1422 to Damascus, where he studied hadith with his friend Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Bukhārī (cf. Vita Timuri, i, 32). In 832/1429 he performed the Hadidi, in 840/1436 he migrated to Cairo and was there on friendly terms with Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghribirdī, amongst others. He died in 854/1450. His chief work is the 'Adjā'ib al-maķdūr fi nawā'ib Tīmūr (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 122 f.; editions in Brockelmann; tr. into Turkish by al-Murtadā Nazmīzāde al-Baghdādi in 1110/1698, Ḥādidii Khalifa, iv, 190; vi, 544), in which Timūr's conquests and the conditions under his successor are described. Timur is represented as a cruel profligate and tyrant, but towards the end (ed. Manger, iii, 781 ff.) his great qualities are appreciated. The book contains valuable descriptions of Samarkand and its learned world (iii, 855 ff.); Latin translation by Golius, Leiden 1636, French translation by Vattier, 1658, English translation by J. H. Sanders, London 1936. His Fākihat al-khulafā? wa-mufākahat al-zurafā' in ten chapters, written in