# Establishing Ibn 'Arabī's Heritage

# First findings from the MIAS Archiving Project

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Ibn 'Arabī has long been regarded as one of the most inventive and prolific writers within the Islamic tradition, with very large numbers of books and treatises attributed to him. For instance, in his seminal bibliography of Ibn 'Arabī's works published in the 1960s,1 Osman Yahia listed in excess of 850 separate titles which have in some way been associated with him. Many of these are clearly misattributed, as Yahia himself pointed out, and today it is widely accepted that the actual number is much less, probably in the region of 300 to 350. This number would seem to be supported by the evidence of two lists which Ibn 'Arabī himself composed: the Fihris al-mu'allafāt (RG 142), of which there is a surviving certified copy,2 and Ijāza li al-malik al-Muzaffar (RG 269).3 These list 248 and ca. 290 works respectively,<sup>4</sup> amounting to 296 distinct texts. In addition, there are 20 works mentioned in Ibn 'Arabī's other writings, making a total of 316. However, according to Yahia, only 106 have manuscripts that have survived to the present day, posing questions about the fate of the other 210 'lost' works.5

- 1. Osman Yahia, Histoire et Classification de l'Oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī (Damascus, 1964), 2 vols.
- 2. Yusuf Ağa 7838, fols. 188b–193b, written by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. The title page is missing, but a copy of the whole manuscript has also survived (Hamidiye 188, 139b–144a). However, contrary to Yahia's claim, it is unclear when it was written.
- 3. The manuscript base for this work is much less secure, the earliest known surviving copy being dated 973H (Ulu Cami 1600, fols. 175b–179a).
  - 4. See *Histoire*, pp. 37–56.
- 5. See *Histoire*, pp. 54–6. Yahia mentions a total of 317 works cited by Ibn 'Arabī, but this seems to be a simple mathematical error.

Following the publication of Yahia's Histoire et Classification de l'Oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī in 1964, very little work was done on the bibliography as a whole until we began re-investigating the exact corpus of Ibn 'Arabī's works some ten years ago. In the intervening period, the *Histoire*, and the mode of classification Yahia adopted of giving each separate work a separate RG number (RG = Répertoire Général), has become the standard work of reference for Ibn 'Arabī studies. The existence of a good bibliography has without doubt been a very important factor in the enormous expansion in scholarship and translation which has taken place over the last fifty years. However, it is increasingly clear that some revision is now required: as libraries have modernised, the naming and numbering of some collections (even page numbers) have been altered, volumes have been rebound etc., so that finding the manuscripts which Yahia mentions is sometimes impossible. Another consideration is that as scholarship has developed and individual researchers have worked on particular texts, a number of significant inaccuracies in the cataloguing have come to light. Perhaps more importantly, as more libraries have catalogued their collections and modern techniques such as digitisation have opened up the contents of previously inaccessible collections, there is much new material which has come to light and needs to be included.

In determining the core Ibn 'Arabī texts, Yahia based his research upon various written sources in addition to the *Fihris* and *Ijāza*, including books mentioned by Ibn 'Arabī in his works (which do not appear in his auto-bibliographies) or by other early authors, library catalogues and general bibliographies such as those done by 'Awwād and Brockelmann.<sup>6</sup> In total he classified just over 2,500 manuscripts, of which he personally consulted some 1,900.<sup>7</sup> This article takes a rather different approach, working solely from the extant manuscript base and concentrating particularly upon the 'historic' manuscripts, i.e.

<sup>6.</sup> See *Histoire*, pp. 55–71; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1943), pp. 571–82 and S1 (ibid, 1937); 'Awwād, *RAAD*, vols. 2, 3 (1955).

<sup>7.</sup> See *Histoire*, pp. 67–71.

those which carry some sort of annotation or indication which authenticates their attribution to Ibn 'Arabī. As such, it is one outcome of a larger project undertaken by the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, which since 2001 has examined around 2.800 manuscripts<sup>8</sup> with a view to creating a digital archive of 'historic' manuscripts alongside a specially designed database to catalogue the precise details of each work. The Archiving Project has the dual purpose of preserving the akbarian heritage and facilitating publication and scholarship; in particular, it aims to create a sound manuscript foundation for the production of good critical editions. This has necessitated gathering together the texts that most faithfully conform to the author's original intentions and, by extension, classifying them according to authenticity. Below we discuss the criteria that we have developed to determine the authenticity of a work and, in so doing, present some of our initial findings.

The overall result of this research is that on the basis of the current historic manuscript base (including only those which we have had access to), we estimate that there are 84 extant works which we can be certain were actually written by Ibn 'Arabī himself, with a further 11 that have a high probability of being authentic, amounting to a core corpus of 95. Of these, only 20 are currently available in a good critical edition (with a further 14 in progress), giving an indication of the scale of the task which still faces contemporary scholars.

#### **SCOPE**

When it was initiated eleven years ago, the primary focus of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society Archiving Project was to create a digital archive of the best surviving manuscripts. There is a large concentration of very early manuscripts preserved in the libraries of modern Turkey, a function of the importance given to the akbarian tradition by successive political, intellectual

8. Of these, 1664 are by Ibn 'Arabī himself; the rest are by important followers such as al-Qūnawī, or have simply been noted because they appear in the same collection as an Ibn 'Arabī text.

and religious elites since the time of the Seljuks.9 Our first task, therefore, was to visit the very rich collections in Istanbul and Konya, using Yahia's *Histoire* as a guide to identifying the key manuscripts. Later visits were also made to libraries in Bursa, Manisa and Ankara, where a number of important manuscripts not seen by Yahia were identified and classified. More recently, as the Turkish libraries have developed their own digitisation programme in the two main centres of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul and the Bölge Manuscript Library (Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi) in Konya, it has become possible to view digital versions of manuscripts from many smaller provincial libraries, such as Amasya and Corum, which again have revealed important previously unknown texts. Outside Turkey, our investigations so far have systematically covered the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. In addition, there have been some important and generous additions from private collections, such as a digital copy of an autograph volume of the *Dīwān* courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection in London, plus several significant donations of copies from colleagues and Society members from libraries around the world, including Syria, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Iran, Tunisia and France. In the Appendix we list the libraries whose collections have been systematically covered. Unlike Osman Yahia, who in some cases worked from library catalogues without viewing the manuscripts themselves, we have only catalogued texts that we have personally examined.

The project has not yet systematically covered all the major manuscript libraries, which remains the stated aim of the research. Therefore, the lists of Ibn 'Arabī's extant works presented below must be considered a work in progress; it is to be expected that as more research is completed they will be amended and extended. However, we believe that given the fact that so much important historic material has remained within the Turkish library system, the project has covered a sufficiently wide base to allow for a major re-assessment of the extant heritage.

<sup>9.</sup> See Jane Clark, 'Early Best-sellers in the Akbarian Tradition', *JMIAS* 33 (2003), pp. 27, 38.

#### **CRITERIA**

Our major focus has been on what we term 'historic manuscripts', by which we mean that a manuscript copy should fulfil at least one of the following basic criteria:

- (1) It is written in the hand of Ibn 'Arabī himself or by one of his close associates during his lifetime, or it carries Ibn 'Arabī's signature as part of an authenticating certificate.
- (2) It carries a note stating that it was copied from an original manuscript as defined above, or from a copy which was made from such an original.
- (3) It was written prior to 730/1330, that is, within some ninety years of Ibn 'Arabī's death. This cut-off date has been chosen because it is the death-date of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī, a student of al-Qūnawī's principal disciple, Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-Jandī (d.700/1300). Thus it provides a marker for the first three generations of followers, during which period, it would appear from our research, copies were still being made within a relatively small circle with traceable connections to the original groups in Damascus and Konya. A manuscript written during this period would probably only have gone through one or two copying processes, and is therefore likely to contain fewer deviations or errors than the copies which have often been used to generate modern printed editions, many of which were written four or five centuries later.

Using these guidelines, we have so far identified 333 historic copies of Ibn 'Arabī's works spread across some 130 collections. <sup>10</sup> A breakdown of the different categories is given in the following

10. In practice, we have digitised far more than this number of manuscripts. This was partly because of the aim to gather enough material to enable good critical editions of the major works: in many cases, there were insufficient historic manuscripts to provide enough copies with adequate clarity. Another factor was a developing preference to digitise whole collections rather than isolating single works, as it seemed increasingly important to consider a text in context. The total number of individual manuscripts in the archive currently numbers 1182, of which 850 are by Ibn 'Arabī.

table. To give an idea of the comparative significance of these figures, we may note that in the same period only 27 historic copies of al-Qūnawī's works are extant. It should be pointed out that in certain cases a manuscript fulfils two or more of the criteria: for instance, a text written in Ibn 'Arabī's hand must also have been written before 638H. Also, in one or two cases, we have seen fit to classify a manuscript as historic even when it does not strictly adhere to the criteria. A case in point are the three works in the collection Köprülü 766, which carry no notes about date or provenance at all: however, the physical evidence of the handwriting, the paper and the style of book, as well as the contents of the text, indicate that they are very early indeed, almost certainly within Ibn 'Arabī's lifetime.

#### Historic manuscripts of Ibn 'Arabī's works

(1)	Written by Ibn 'Arabī or a close companion	49
(2)	Copied from an authenticated original possibly copied from an original	160 34
(3)	Copied within Ibn 'Arabī's lifetime within al-Qūnawī's lifetime prior to 730H	46 117 265

The figure of 49 works that fulfil the first criteria is astonishingly high, given the fact that it is now nearly eight hundred years since Ibn 'Arabī lived and all the vicissitudes of time. It constitutes a manuscript heritage which would appear to be unique not only within the Islamic tradition, but for any major world thinker of a comparable age. We should also note that in terms of volume, these manuscripts represent a very high proportion of the extant heritage, as included in this category are copies of most of the known long works. For example, there are extant copies of: al- $Fut\bar{u}h\bar{a}t$  al-Makkiyya (RG 135)<sup>11</sup> and K. al-' $Ab\bar{a}dila$  (RG 2)<sup>12</sup> in Ibn 'Arabī's own hand;  $Fus\bar{u}s$  al-hikam (RG

- 11. Evkaf Müzesi 1845–81. Vol. 8 is actually a facsimile in a later hand.
- 12. Yusuf Ağa 4859, fols. 2a-84a.

150)<sup>13</sup> and  $Maw\bar{a}qi^{\circ}$  al- $nuj\bar{u}m$  (RG 443)<sup>14</sup> written by al-Qūnawī; two versions of al- $Tanazzul\bar{a}t$  al-Mawṣiliyya (RG 762), one written by Ibn 'Arabī himself and one copied by his close disciple Ayyūb b. Badr al- $Muqr\bar{i}$ ; <sup>15</sup> and copies of K. ' $Anq\bar{a}$ ' mughrib (RG 30) and K. al- $Isr\bar{a}$ ' (RG 313), written in Ibn 'Arabī's lifetime by other disciples. <sup>16</sup>

The detailed ancillary information that such texts provide offers unparalleled insights into the life and times of Ibn 'Arabī and his close circle. For instance, the handwriting gives us an intimate insight into particular individuals, not only the author but also his close disciples such as Badr al-Habashī and Ismā'īl Ibn Sawdakīn. This can be seen in the copy of the R. Rūh al-quds fī munāsahat al-nafs (RG 639) in the University Library in Istanbul (University A79), which is designated as al-Habashī's riwāya (a verified copy which could be transmitted to others), and may even be in his handwriting. In Yahia's classification, many manuscripts are described as 'autograph', meaning that they were in Ibn 'Arabī's hand or carried his signature or a short statement by him. Our research has necessitated a clarification of this somewhat ambiguous term, and a way of distinguishing an 'autograph' (a manuscript containing an authenticating statement by the author) from a 'holograph' (a manuscript wholly written by the author). So far we have found at least 21 Ibn 'Arabī holographs, which provide examples of both his draft (musawwad) and fair (mubayyad) hand.17

There are several other significant elements that are found on the manuscripts. The way that a work is titled and the author's name is styled afford clues to the source of a copy. <sup>18</sup> A colophon at the beginning or, more commonly, at the end of a work may give details of the author's name, date and place of composition,

- 13. Evkaf Müzesi 1933, fols. 1a-78a.
- 14. Yusuf Ağa 5001, fols. 1a-165b.
- 15. Murad Molla 162 and 1257 respectively.
- 16. Private 1 fols. 1a-33a and Veliyuddin 1628.
- 17. We intend to devote a future article to the complex issue of Ibn 'Arabī's handwriting.
- 18. See Stephen Hirtenstein, 'Manuscripts of Ibn 'Arabī's Works: Names and Titles of Ibn [al-]'Arabī', *JMIAS* 41 (2007), pp. 109–29.

the scribe or copyist's name, place of transcription and so on, resembling the imprint page found in a modern book. The colophon may also include details of how the copy was collated with the original: it was common practice for collation to be done either by recitation of the newly made copy back to the author or by a physical comparison of the two texts done by the scribe himself. For example, a copy of *Maqṣid al-asmā*' (RG 418), entitled *al-Madkhal ilā maʿrifat al-asmā*' *al-ilāhiyya wa al-kināyāt*, was made by Ayyūb b. Badr on 12 Ramaḍān 621H (27 September 1224) in the presence of the author and then checked against Ibn ʿArabī's original in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, most early works carry a detailed audition certificate ( $sam\bar{a}^c$ ), registering the reading of the text, where and when it was read, who was present, etc. These  $sam\bar{a}^c$ s give unique details of Ibn 'Arabī's circle, allowing us to reconstruct a whole milieu. For example, those on different sections of the  $Fut\bar{u}h\bar{a}t$  provide some 150 names of disciples over an eighteenyear period, whilst the numerous  $sam\bar{a}^c$ s on University A79 record the reading of the  $R\bar{u}h$  al-quds between 600H and 634H in various towns, thus allowing us to reconstruct the journey Ibn 'Arabī made from Mecca to Anatolia, and include the names of all those present at the readings as well as three examples of the author's signature.

Nevertheless, not every manuscript carries such precious details. For example, some of the manuscripts held as part of al-Qūnawī's private library (now in the Yusuf Ağa library in Konya) carry no ancillary information at all; in these cases an assessment has had to be made on the basis of other factors, such as handwriting or the fact that they formed part of the waqf (the charitable foundation) established after al-Qūnawī's death.<sup>21</sup>

- 19. Shehit Ali 2813, fols. 12a-17b.
- 20. See Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 264–8, for an overview of these certificates.
- 21. Detailed bibliographical comments, including our rationale for the classification of the manuscripts, can be viewed in the Archive Catalogue (available online through the Society).

Our cataloguing has taken all these factors into account and, as a result, in a number of cases our assessment of a manuscript differs significantly from that made by Yahia in the Histoire. Sometimes this is because we have been unable to find evidence for the status he grants to a text. One example is the important long collection Carullah 986, containing 34 core works by Ibn 'Arabī, which Yahia catalogues as being written in the lifetime of the author. Neither we, nor Elmore who used this text for his study of K. 'Angā' mughrib, 22 could find any evidence for this, and therefore, although it is a sound text and the indications of paper and handwriting would support an early date, we have not felt justified in giving it full historic manuscript status.<sup>23</sup> In other cases, we found that Yahia had assumed that information at the end of one manuscript extended to all the other manuscripts in the collection. Such an assumption, in our opinion, is unjustified: where a manuscript has been taken from a special copy, the scribe is almost always very careful to record the fact, even if this means adding virtually the same note to a long series of manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> By extension, therefore, the absence of a colophon probably indicates that there was nothing noteworthy about the original exemplar it was copied from. Consequently, we have been careful to categorise each manuscript within a collection separately, recording details about dates and copying when they are specifically present.

The resulting change of status for some manuscripts has potentially significant implications for determining the authenticity of works. For example, in the long Carullah 2080 collection, which is dated 791–3H, only two of the 34 works – *K. al-Quṭb* (RG 585) and *al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya* (RG 762) – carry notes indicating that they were copied from authenticated

- 22. See Gerald Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time* (Leiden, 1999), p. 200.
- 23. In this case, all the works are verified from other sources, with the exception of a very short unique extract provisionally entitled by a later scribe as *K. al-Falak wa al-samā* (RG 123).
- 24. For an example of this on another manuscript, see Jane Clark and Denis McAuley, 'Manuscripts of Ibn 'Arabī's Works: Some Notes on the Manuscript Veliyuddin 51', *JMIAS* 40 (2006), pp.101–15.

originals. However, Yahia extended this status to all the works, including al-Madkhal  $f\bar{\imath}$  'ilm al-ḥur $\bar{\imath}$ f (RG 384) and Risāla muta'alliqa bi al-qalb (RG 631), for which this manuscript is crucial to establishing their pedigree. If one follows Yahia, therefore, one would regard these as fully verified works, but following our system, there remains a significant element of doubt.

Similar problems arise with dating. It is quite common for only some works in a collection to be dated, or for there to be a date on the *fihris* (list of contents) which may or may not apply to the whole collection. Here there is some justification for extending a date to other works: for instance, when the collection is a coherent one, clearly written in the same hand throughout, one can infer that the works were copied within a similar time frame. In other cases, however, where collections consist of a diverse set of texts in different hands, on different paper or in styles indicating different time periods, it is more problematic to do so.

Where a manuscript lacks any indication of date, various other factors have to be taken into account when deciding whether to give it the status of a historic manuscript, such as handwriting, paper, the internal evidence of the text, etc. In practice, it is rare for the status of a manuscript to be determined by date alone, but it is often a contributory factor when assessing evidence.

### DETERMINING THE CORE HERITAGE

Having determined the size and extent of the historic manuscript base, we then began assessing the likelihood of a work being a *bona fide* Ibn 'Arabī composition. In determining this, the existence of a historic manuscript of the work is an important factor, but other factors have also been taken into account: for instance, internal textual evidence and whether it is referred to in Ibn 'Arabī's other works. In undertaking this task, we have been able to draw upon both published and unpublished works of many contemporary scholars, of whom Michel Chodkiewicz deserves special mention, who generously made detailed comments upon our early listings. We have developed

seven separate categories, explained below, to clarify the status of a particular work. While some texts are clearly established as either being by Ibn 'Arabī or not, there are many cases where authorship is quite uncertain: here we would expect the categorisation to change as future research and scholarship clarifies the status of a particular work, thus our database would be updated accordingly.

## (1) Verified A: number of works = 71

This is the core gold-standard group, about which there is no doubt at all concerning Ibn 'Arabī's authorship and where the text is completely sound (see Table 1, pp. 20–3). It includes most of the well-known and well-established works. To qualify for this category, there must be at least one extant historic manuscript with a specified provenance which fulfils criteria 1 or 2 above (see p. 6), i.e. that it is a holograph or autograph, or can be traced back to such a copy. Our research shows that manuscripts that fulfil only the third criterion of an early date are insufficient to provide authentification of authorship, as it is clear that works were being misattributed within decades of Ibn 'Arabī's death.

Many of the core works are very well supported and have more than one authenticating manuscript, in some cases as many as seven or eight. On close examination, however, it can be seen that they often derive from a single original. K. al- $Isr\bar{a}$ , for instance, has two excellent historic texts: one made by an Andalusian disciple named Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Qurtubī from an original in Ibn 'Arabī's hand, carrying a  $sam\bar{a}$ ' at the author's house in Damascus in 633H and an authenticating signature by the author;<sup>25</sup> and the other a copy of al-Qūnawī's copy, which the latter made from Ibn 'Arabī's own copy in 628H and then read out in front of him in 630H, also with a verifying signature.<sup>26</sup> It is fairly reasonable to conclude that both of these were taken from the same original

<sup>25.</sup> Veliyuddin 1628, fols. 1a–75b.

<sup>26.</sup> Ragib Paşa 1453, fols. 81a-132a.

which was in Ibn 'Arabī's possession at the time and has subsequently disappeared. Copies of either manuscript would in theory result in the same text, although in practice over time families of manuscripts tend to develop based upon variant readings. While this is most commonly due to scribal error, it may also reflect different readings of an often unvowelled text.

It may equally be the outcome of differences in the original text itself. In several cases we have evidence of more than one 'original'. Unlike our modern conceptions of a book, which tend to be somewhat fixed, Ibn 'Arabī's compositions are best viewed as organic artistic creations, susceptible to change according to new insights and a different audience. Whereas a new edition of a printed book today is always noted in the small print, such changes in an age of manuscripts are harder to track. There are many examples of how Ibn 'Arabī redrafted his own work, the best known of which is the second recension of the Futūhāt, completed in 636H, which has significant differences from the first recension completed seven years earlier. Similarly, the much shorter al-Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyya (RG 315) exists in three different 'editions': one copied in Damascus by Ayyūb b. Badr, 27 a second copied in Konya from a text written in Malatya in 615H,<sup>28</sup> and a third which is included in the *Futūhāt*. Thus, even where the basic authenticity of a text is not in doubt, there may be multiple versions to be considered.<sup>29</sup>

## (2) Verified B: number of works = 13

In the case of these works (see Table 2, p. 23), the manuscript base is not absolutely definitive since the copies do not mention any original from which they were made, but internal evidence is conclusive proof of Ibn 'Arabī's authorship. A good example is *al-Durra al-fākhira* (RG 105), for which the two surviving

- 27. See Manisa 1183, са. 650н.
- 28. See Milli 571, 668н.
- 29. For an example of the 'stability' of a text with variants rather than the idea of a critical edition, see Suha Taji-Farouki, *A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 74–5 et passim.

manuscripts, which are dated 715H and 1006H,  $^{30}$  carry no information about provenance. However, the work describes Ibn 'Arabī's Andalusian masters in a manner so similar to events related in the very well-authenticated  $R\bar{u}h$  al-quds that there can be no doubt that the two works are written by the same author. The same considerations apply to  $Muh\bar{a}darat$  al-abr $\bar{a}r$ , for which again there are no historic manuscripts at present.  $^{31}$ 

## (3) Probable: number of works = 11

For works in this category, the historic base is not definitive and, while other internal evidence may be persuasive, it is not absolutely certain (see Table 3, p.24). Good examples are the two prayers, K. Awrād al-usbū' (RG 64) and Dawr al-a'lā (known also as Hizb al-wigāya, RG 244), for which there are no historic manuscripts at all, with nothing extant from before the 10th/16th century. However, Beneito and Hirtenstein, who have published a translation of the Awrād, argue for its authenticity on the grounds of content,32 as does Taji-Farouki in the case of the *Dawr*.<sup>33</sup> Another notable example is *Ikhtisār* al-sīra al-nabawiyya al-Muhammadiyya (RG 276), for which there are very few surviving manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> However, Beneito has undertaken a study and part-translation of the text<sup>35</sup> and makes a case for its inclusion in the corpus of accepted works. In addition, there is reported to be a manuscript dated 701H in Jerusalem, which we have not yet been able to inspect.

- 30. Veliyuddin 1800 and Esad Efendi 1777, respectively.
- 31. The earliest known copy is Esad Efendi 1897, dated 933H, although we have heard that there may be an autograph copy in a private collection. There also seems to be a much earlier copy in the Topkapı Library in Istanbul (Topkapı A2451), which according to the catalogue is dated 712H. We have not yet been able to inspect either of these manuscripts.
- 32. See Pablo Beneito and Stephen Hirtenstein, *The Seven Days of the Heart* (Oxford, 2000), p. 22.
  - 33. A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation, pp. 1–2.
- 34. We have only inspected one so far: Ayasofia 765, dated 885H (RG 765).
- 35. 'A Summary of the Life of the Prophet by Ibn 'Arabī', *JMIAS* 30 (2001), pp. 73–103.

### (4) Unverified: number of works = 62

This category is set up for works which we have inspected but for which there is not enough available evidence at present to assess the authenticity (see Table 4, pp. 24–6).

In some cases this is because there is a very small manuscript base, in which the one or two known manuscripts are either late or undated. In other cases, where there are several surviving copies, different texts may have been conflated, or neither the ancillary information nor the content provide firm proof of authorship. One example is *K. al-Ḥikam* (RG 233), for which Yahia lists 20 manuscript copies: the earliest with a definite date, Halet 821, is dated 1030H, and we were unable to verify Yahia's claim that University A3531 (dated 1322H) was copied from an original. The question of authorship, therefore, must remain open in these cases until further information becomes available.

## (5) Not by Ibn 'Arabī: number of works = 73

These are works for which, in most cases, we have definite information indicating that they have been wrongly attributed (see Table 5, pp. 27–9). This is not a definitive list as there are many RG entries recording probable misattribution, but it does cover some of the more prominent examples in the field. This is an important category since works are still routinely ascribed to Ibn 'Arabī which were clearly not written by him. Examples include  $Ras\bar{a}$ 'il Ibn 'Arabī, published in Abu Dhabi in 1998, a collection of 12 treatises which the publishers claim Ibn 'Arabī wrote in the last years of his life, but which are all apocryphal and most likely to have been composed by one of his Persian disciples, Ḥamawayh; or the 4-volume  $Ras\bar{a}$ 'il Ibn 'Arabī, published in Beirut in 2002 to 2004, which combines verified and apocryphal works in a most confusing manner.

In some instances, information within the text makes it impossible for it to be an authentic Ibn 'Arabī work: for example, *Khal' al-na'layn fī al-uṣūl ilā ḥaḍrat al-jam'ayn* (which Yahia lists as RG 253.1) states that the author had a vision in 1001H, more

than three hundred and sixty years after Ibn 'Arabī's lifetime, while *R. al-Mi'rāj* (RG 473) is based upon a mystical experience which took place three months after Ibn 'Arabī's death. For other works the textual evidence is not so clear-cut, but the case against authorship rests upon a detailed analysis of the content: Denis Gril, for instance, has argued convincingly that one of the most celebrated akbarian works in Ottoman times, *al-Shajara al-nu'māniyya* (RG 665), is not by Ibn 'Arabī,<sup>36</sup> and we have followed his reasoning.

In other cases the work is known to be by another author. Thus works by al-Qūnawī are often found attributed to his master (e.g. *Shuʻab al-īmān*, RG 755), as have works by other followers such as Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh (RG 221, 226, 302.1), Sitt al-ʻAjam (*Kashf al-Kunūz*, RG 337), ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (RG 266), ʻAbd Allāh al-Busnawī (RG 253.1) and Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Wafāʾ (RG 803).

Sometimes a work is found attributed to both Ibn 'Arabī and another author, without any clear indication as to which is correct. In these cases, our tendency has been to assume that it is not by Ibn 'Arabī if it is often attributed to someone else, on the basis that Ibn 'Arabī's extraordinary fame within the Islamic mystical tradition provided a strong incentive to attribute texts to him. An example of this more complex situation is *R. al-Aḥadiyya* (RG 13), a popular and much copied work.<sup>37</sup> However, it is also found attributed in about half the extant manuscripts to the Persian master Awḥad al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Balyānī (d.686/1287), and Michel Chodkiewicz has made a convincing case on textual grounds for this being the correct judgement.

In one or two cases, a work has been put into this category, not because there is a known alternative author, but simply because there is no attribution to any author at all on the

<sup>36.</sup> See Denis Gril, 'The Enigma of the *Shajara al-nu'māniyya'*, *JMIAS* 43 (2008), pp. 51–74.

<sup>37.</sup> Apart from the numerous manuscripts, it has been translated into French by Michel Chodkiewicz as *Épître sur l'Unicité Absolue* (Paris, 1982), and into English by Cecilia Twinch as *Know Yourself* (Sherborne, 2011).

manuscripts we have inspected (they are nevertheless classified by libraries as a work by Ibn 'Arabī). These appear in Table 5 without a proposed alternative author.

In other cases there are copies of works known to be by other authors to which Osman Yahia has given an RG number. An example of this is *K. Faḍl shahādat al-tawḥīd*,<sup>38</sup> a section from the famous Sufi text *K. Qūt al-qulūb* by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), which Ibn 'Arabī himself copied out.

### (6) Extracts: number of works = 36

This category collects together works which Yahia listed as independent works but which, on inspection, have been found to be extracts from longer ones (see Table 6, pp. 30–1). Most of these are taken from the *Futūḥāt*: for example, *R. Arḍ al-ḥaqīqa* (RG 40), which is clearly marked as Chapter 8, or the oftencopied *Waṣāya al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (RG 818), which is Chapter 560. However, issues can arise about this categorisation, in that some extracts were very frequently copied as independent works and took on a life of their own. An example is 'Aqīdat ahl al-Islām (RG 34), which is from the first chapter of the *Futūḥāt*, for which Yahia lists 18 manuscripts. This we have regarded as an extract because it closely replicates the text in the original work.

In other cases we have left the question open, particularly where there are significant textual differences from the longer work: for instance, *K. al-Aqṭāb* (RG 35) is very similar in content to Chapters 462 to 489 in the *Futūḥāt*, but there are sufficient textual variations to indicate that it was not merely copied from it. In fact it would appear to be an earlier prototype version which was later incorporated into the *Futūḥāt* (see below). A similar situation can be found in two poetic works, *K. al-Muʿashsharāt* (RG 484) and *al-Muwashshaḥāt* (RG 517), which reproduce sets of poems also found in the *Dīwān*: both the order in which they are presented and the number of textual variations indicate that they are not mere copies and

we have therefore left in place their status as separate works. Here again, it is likely that these were originally composed as works in their own right and later incorporated into the larger collection, albeit with some modification.

## (7) Duplicates: number of works = 20

Yahia often categorised a manuscript under two or even three different works, which in many cases turn out to be the same work with a variant title. We have tried to gather these manuscripts together under one title, denoting the other/s as a duplicate (see Table 7, p. 31). For example, Esad Efendi 1777 is listed under RG 105 as *al-Durra al-fākhira*, and also under RG 496 as *Mukhtaṣar al-Durra al-fākhira* along with Veliyuddin 1800. But inspection of the manuscripts indicates that there is only one work here, and so RG 496 has been classified as a duplicate.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Clearly, despite the seemingly solid material evidence of extant manuscripts, there remain many issues and uncertainties surrounding the classification of Ibn 'Arabī's works. There will no doubt continue to be discussion and debate about the status of certain works; as further work is done on the actual texts – a process which we hope the digital archive will facilitate – it is to be hoped that a much finer and more complete understanding of Ibn 'Arabī's written heritage will emerge.

However, the most important finding to emerge from this research is that there is a core corpus of 84 extant works which can be attributed to Ibn 'Arabī without any doubt, supported by evidence from a large historical base of manuscripts. As we have shown, the vast majority of these works are authenticated by more than one historic source and, by definition, exist in versions which are sufficiently close to the original to assure us not only of their authenticity but also their accuracy, i.e. their faithfulness to the author's intention. The fact that these 84 works include most of Ibn 'Arabī's long compositions,

including the two master works, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* and Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam, a huge  $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$  and a further 14 works which in manuscript form are longer than 30 pages, means that there is a truly remarkable extant body of authentic writings.

There remains the question of what might have happened to the 200 or so other works which Ibn 'Arabī lists in his Fihris and *Ijāza*, and for which there appears to be no surviving copy. One answer is that there are without doubt many more extant manuscripts than we have seen: some may be in libraries not yet visited or properly catalogued and some in private collections which are hidden from public scrutiny. During the course of this project, for example, we have been fortunate to come across two such manuscripts in private collections: one is the fourth volume of the holograph  $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ , which carries the seal of the Ottoman sultan Selim I and is now held in the Khalili Collection:<sup>39</sup> the other is a set of three works, that was once part of a larger collection written by a known disciple of Ibn 'Arabī in 637H in Damascus, i.e. in the last year of the author's life.40 There is a strong probability that more material like this will emerge in years to come, thus providing either copies of works for which there is at present no extant text but which we have good reason to think existed, such as the commentary on the Qur'an, or further evidence which would authenticate some of the 62 works which at present are classified as 'unverified'.

A second answer may be that many works have been lost over the intervening centuries. However, this is highly unlikely to account for as many as 200 works, given that copies of works in the early period seem to have been preserved and passed on with a most meticulous attention and care. In fact, our research reveals that the early collections show considerable stability in their content, with many major works copied two or three times by different scribes in known circumstances. Although some works may not have been copied for specific reasons, such

<sup>39.</sup> Khalili 225.

<sup>40.</sup> The copy was made by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Anṣārī, who was present at readings of the *Futūḥāt* and also copied Manisa 1183, a collection of 13 works not seen by Yahia.

as the *Awrād*, which were not considered suitable for public dissemination,<sup>41</sup> these are likely to be exceptions to the rule and unlikely to account for a loss of works on such a large scale.

The third and perhaps most plausible explanation for the discrepancy is that many of the smaller works which are mentioned in the auto-bibliographies were absorbed into the final version of the *Futūhāt*, and there was subsequently no reason for them to be copied separately by disciples. The first recension of the Futūhāt, which was begun in 601н in Mecca, was completed in 629H in Damascus, i.e. after the composition of the Fihris (627H) and prior to the Ijāza (632H). There is some evidence to support the theory of the absorption of works: for example, K. al-Aqtāb, of which only one very early copy (Köprülü 766) has survived, is undoubtedly the prototype for the section on the spiritual Poles in the Futūhāt (Chapters 462 to 489),42 and Yahia himself lists 173 other works for which he found a significant correlation with the Futūhāt. 43 A similar situation almost certainly exists within the poetic works, with smaller works being absorbed into the *Dīwān al-kabīr*, which was also completed late in the author's life in Damascus.

While this research into the historic manuscript base does not give us an absolutely definitive and complete picture of Ibn 'Arabī's total written output, it does provide a very clear picture of the actual heritage that has come down to the present day. It shows that the authenticated body of works, large and well supported though it is, is considerably less than the 300-plus traditionally attributed to Ibn 'Arabī. At the same time, the relatively high number of manuscripts which can be traced directly back to a copy written by the author means that the heritage is exceptional in providing quality material which is textually accurate. Surprisingly, there are at present few critical editions of the Arabic texts or translations into western languages. Hence, the most immediate task must surely be to

- 41. Beneito and Hirtenstein, Seven Days, p. 171.
- 42. Our initial analysis shows that *K. al-Aqṭāb* does not have any of the poems that begin each chapter in the final  $Fut\bar{u}h\bar{q}t$  version.
  - 43. See *Histoire*, pp. 75-6.

bring this carefully preserved corpus into accessible form in both Arabic and western languages, so that Ibn 'Arabī's remarkable insights may be properly appreciated by the contemporary world.

Table 1 Verified A

RG No.	Title	Copies seen	Historic ms.	Earliest authen- ticating ms. (H)	Holograph/ Autograph/ Copy from original
2	K. al-'Abādila	12	7	<638	Н
26	K. al-Alif/al-Aḥadiyya	24	6	621	A
28	K. al-Amr al-muḥkam	30	7	724	С
30	K. 'Anqā' mughrib	22	7	597	A
33	R. al-Anwār	30	4	651	С
67	K. Ayyām al-sha'n	21	3	603	Н
68	K. al-Azal	16	5	615	Н
70	K. al-'Aẓama	15	5	617	Н
71	K. al-Bā'	17	4	<638	Н
102*	al-Dīwān al-kabīr	16	4	634	Н
116	K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa al-a'lāq	20	3	640	С
125	K. al-Fanāʾ fī al-mushāhada	24	1	<700	С
135	al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya	30	11	636	Н
142	Fihris mu'allafāt al-shaykh al-akbar	9	3	<638	С
150	Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam	30	6	630	A

The two entries marked with an asterisk (\*), RG 102 in Table 1 and RG 101 in Table 2, currently follow the order established by Yahia for Ibn 'Arabī's  $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ . However, this classification needs revising in the light of the accompanying article by Cook and Hirtenstein in this issue.

169   K. al-Jalāla   28   8   615   H   177   K. al-Jawāb al-mustaqīm   6   3   617?   H   182   Jawāb su'āl lībn   7   2   <638   C   Sawdakīn   205   K. al-Hū   15   3   761   C   219   K. al-Haqq   29   4   621   A   237   Hilyat al-abdāl   30   7   602   C   C   247   K. al-Hujub   22   7   668   C   C   255   K. al-Khalwa   28   3   <638   C   C   C   C   C   K. al-Jīāda līman   7   1   664   C   C   C   C   C   C   C   C   C							
182   Jawāb su'āl lībn   7   2   <638   C	169	K. al-Jalāla	28	8	615	Н	
Sawdakīn   205   K. al-Hū   15   3   761   C   219   K. al-Ḥaqq   29   4   621   A   237   Ḥilyat al-abdāl   30   7   602   C   C   247   K. al-Ḥajūb   22   7   668   C   255   K. al-Khalwa   28   3   <638   C   266   K. al-Ifāda liman   7   1   664   C   arāda al-istifāda   268   Ijāz al-bayān fī   2   1   622   H   tarjama 'an al-Qur'ān   271   Ijāzat-al-shaykh   12   1   629   A   al-akbar   281   K. al-I'lām bi ishārāt   22   3   782   C   ahl al-ilhām   289   K. Inshā' al-dawā'ir   26   3   655   C   303   Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī   9   3   762   C   C   313   K. al-Isrā'   314   633   A   315   al-Iṣtilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya   30   10   637   C   317   R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī   18   4   621   C   352   K. Kunh mā lā būdda   20   4   724   C   C   316   Al-murīd minhu   380   K. al-Mabādī wa   7   2   600   A   al-ghayāt   386   K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb   24   5   621   A   392   K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā   1   1   600   H   402   R. al-Ma'lūm min   3   1   762   C   C   342   K. Manzil al-manāzil   7   3   618   A   442   K. Manzil al-manāzil   7   3   618   A	177	•	6	3	617?	Н	
219   K. al-Ḥaqq   29   4   621   A	182	3	7	2	<638	С	
237   Hilyat al-abdāl   30   7   602   C	205	K. al-Hū	15	3	761	С	
247         K. al- Ḥujub         22         7         668         C           255         K. al- Ḥujub         28         3         <638	219	K. al-Ḥaqq	29	4	621	A	
255 K. al-Khalwa 28 3 <638 C 266 K. al-Ifada liman 7 1 664 C arāda al-istifāda 268 Ijāz al-bayān fī 2 1 622 H 271 Ijāzat-al-shaykh 12 1 629 A al-akbar 281 K. al-Iflām bi ishārāt 22 3 782 C ahl al-ilhām 289 K. Inshā' al-dawā'ir 26 3 655 C 303 Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī 9 3 762 C 303 Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī 9 3 762 C 304 K. al-Istār 'an natā'ij 12 3 <638 H 315 al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya 30 10 637 C 317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C 352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C 1352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C 1363 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A 1374 R. al-Istār 'an natā'ij 1 1 600 H 1380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A 1392 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 H 1392 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 H 1402 R. al-Maḥajja al-baydā 1 1 600 H 1402 R. al-Maḥajja al-baydā 1 1 600 H 1402 R. al-Maḥajja al-baydā 1 1 600 H 1402 R. al-Maḥajja al-baydā 1 7 62 C 140 C	237	Ḥilyat al-abdāl	30	7	602	С	
266 K. al-Ifāda liman arāda al-istifāda 7 1 664 C arāda al-istifāda 268 Ijāz al-bayān fī 2 1 622 H tarjama 'an al-Qur'ān 271 Ijāzat-al-shaykh 12 1 629 A al-akbar 281 K. al-I'lām bi ishārāt 22 3 782 C ahl al-ilhām 289 K. Inshā' al-dawā'ir 26 3 655 C 303 Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī 9 3 762 C 'ālam al-insān 307 K. al-Isfār 'an natā'ij 12 3 <638 H al-asfār 313 K. al-Isrā' 16 4 633 A 315 al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya 30 10 637 C 317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C 352 K. Kunh mā lā budda li al-murīd minhu 380 K. al-Mabādī wa al-ghayāt 386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A 392 K. al-Maḥajja al-baydā 1 1 600 H 402 R. al-Maḥajja al-baydā 1 1 600 H 402 R. al-Mahajja al-baydā 1 1 762 C 'ada'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm 412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	247	K. al- Ḥujub	22	7	668	С	
arāda al-istifāda  268 Ijāz al-bayān fī	255	K. al-Khalwa	28	3	<638	С	
tarjama 'an al-Qur'ān  271 ljāzat-al-shaykh al-akbar  281 K. al-l'lām bi ishārāt 22 3 782 C ahl al-ilhām  289 K. Inshā' al-dawā'ir 26 3 655 C 303 Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī 9 3 762 C 'ālam al-insān  307 K. al-Isfār 'an natā'ij 12 3 <638 H al-asfār  313 K. al-Isrā' 16 4 633 A 315 al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya 30 10 637 C 317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C 352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C li al-murīd minhu  380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A 392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H 402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	266		7	1	664	С	
281   K. al-l'lām bi ishārāt   22   3   782   C   ahl al-ilhām     289   K. Inshā' al-dawā'ir   26   3   655   C     303   Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī   9   3   762   C   C     'ālam al-insān   307   K. al-Isfār 'an natā'ij   12   3   <638   H   al-asfār     313   K. al-Isrā'   16   4   633   A     315   al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya   30   10   637   C     317   R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī   18   4   621   C     352   K. Kunh mā lā budda   20   4   724   C   C     352   K. Kunh mā lā budda   20   4   724   C     1380   K. al-Mabādī wa   7   2   600   A     380   K. al-Mabādī wa   7   2   600   A     380   K. al-Mabādī wa   7   2   600   A     392   K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā   1   1   600   H     402   R. al-Ma'lūm min   3   1   762   C     'aqā'id 'tulamā'   al-rusūm   412   K. Manzil al-manāzil   7   3   618   A	268		2	1	622	Н	
ahl al-ilhām  289 K. Inshā' al-dawā'ir 26 3 655 C  303 Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī 9 3 762 C  'ālam al-insān  307 K. al-Isfār 'an natā'ij 12 3 <638 H  al-asfār  313 K. al-Isrā' 16 4 633 A  315 al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya 30 10 637 C  317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C  352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C  li al-murīd minhu  380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A  al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A  392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H  402 R. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 7 762 C  'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	271	,	12	1	629	A	
303       Ishārat al-Qur'ān fī 'ālam al-insān       9       3       762       C 'ālam al-insān         307       K. al-Isfār 'an natā'ij al-asfār       12       3       <638	281		22	3	782	С	
'ālam al-inṣān         307       K. al-Iṣfār 'an natā'ij al-aṣfār       12       3       <638	289	K. Inshāʾ al-dawāʾir	26	3	655	С	
al-asfār  313 K. al-Isrā' 16 4 633 A  315 al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya 30 10 637 C  317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C  352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C  li al-murīd minhu  380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A  al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A  392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H  402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C  'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	303	-	9	3	762	С	
315 al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya 30 10 637 C 317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C 352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C li al-murīd minhu 380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A al-ghayāt 386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A 392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H 402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C 'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm 412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	307		12	3	<638	Н	
317 R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī 18 4 621 C  352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C  li al-murīd minhu  380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A  al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A  392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H  402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C  'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	313	K. al-Isrā'	16	4	633	A	
352 K. Kunh mā lā budda 20 4 724 C li al-murīd minhu  380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A 392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H 402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C 'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	315	al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya	30	10	637	С	
li al-murīd minhu  380 K. al-Mabādī wa 7 2 600 A al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A  392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H  402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C 'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	317	R. al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī	18	4	621	С	
al-ghayāt  386 K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb 24 5 621 A  392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H  402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C 'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	352		20	4	724	С	
392 K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā 1 1 600 H  402 R. al-Maʿlūm min 3 1 762 C ʿaqāʾid ʿulamāʾ al-rusūm  412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	380		7	2	600	A	
402 R. al-Ma'lūm min 3 1 762 C 'aqā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm 412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	386	K. Mafātiḥ al-ghuyūb	24	5	621	A	
ʻaqā'id ʻulamā' al-rusūm 412 K. Manzil al-manāzil 7 3 618 A	392	K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā	1	1	600	Н	
	402	ʻaqā'id ʻulamā'	3	1	762	С	
414 K. Maqām al-qurba 24 7 617 H	412	K. Manzil al-manāzil	7	3	618	A	
	414	K. Maqām al-qurba	24	7	617	Н	

RG No.	Title	Copies seen	Historic ms.	Earliest authen- ticating ms. (H)	Holograph/ Autograph/ Copy from original
418	Maqṣid al-asmā'	17	8	621	A
423	K. Marātib ʻulūm al-wahb	17	5	823	С
432	K. Mashāhid al-asrār al-qudsiyya	19	3	651	С
433	K. al-Masā'il	15	5	<658	С
443	Mawāqiʻ al-nujūm	28	5	<638	A
462	K. al-Mīm wa al-wāw wa al-nūn	19	6	617	Н
480	K. Mishkāt al-anwār	15	10	678	С
484	K. al-Muʻashsharāt	7	3	808	С
485	R. al-Mubashshirāt	9	4	<673	С
511	K. al-Muqniʻ fī īḍāḥ al-sahl al-mumtaniʻ	13	3	<638	С
517	al-Muwashshaḥāt al-ilāhiyya wa al-azjāl	1	1	777	С
528	Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ	10	3	650	С
530	R. al-Khirqa	16	2	999	С
532	K. al-Naṣāʾiḥ	9	1	650	С
548	K. al-Nuqabā'	7	4	761	С
551	Nuskhat al-ḥaqq	20	5	621	A
565	K. al-Qasam al-ilāhī bi al-ism al-rabbānī	10	2	761	С
585	K. al-Quṭb wa al- imāmayn	11	5	825	С
639	K. Rūḥ al-quds fī munāṣaḥat al-nafs	13	3	600	A
681	Sharḥ Khalʻ al-naʻlayn	4	3	640	С
689	K. Shawāhid al-ḥaqq fī al-qalb	14	7	617	Н
716	K. al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya	29	5	<638	Н

736	K. Tāj al-rasā'il	11	2	600	A	
737	K. Tāj al-tarājim	13	4	617	Н	
738	K. al-Tajalliyāt	29	6	620	Н	
762	K. al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya	17	9	620	Н	
767	Tarjumān al-ashwāq	22	2	<800	С	
802	'Uqlat al-mustawfiz	25	3	<638	Н	
825	K. al-Waʻz bi al- aḥādīth al-nabawiyya	1	1	1152	С	
826	R. fī al-Waʻz li baʻḍ aḥbābihi	3	1	1005	С	
834	K. al-Yaqīn	9	3	825	С	

Table 2 Verified B

RG No.	Title	Copies seen	Historic ms.	Earliest ms. (H)
9	K. al-Ajwiba	5	2	<700
35	K. al-Aqṭāb	2	1	<638?
101*	Dīwān al-maʿārif	3	2	700?
105	al-Durra al-fākhira	2	1	715
168	K. al-Jalāl wa al-jamāl	14	3	637
269	Ijāza li al-malik al-Muẓaffar	8	0	<800?
294	R. al-Intiṣār	7	2	703
338	K. Kashf al-maʻnā	8	0	783
347.1	al-Kawkab al-durrī fī manāqib Dhū'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī	1	1	712
354	R. al-Kutub	3	0	< 700
493	Muḥāḍarat al-abrār	14	0	933
611	R. al-Shaykh al-'Arabī ilā Abī 'Alī al-Ghazzāl	5	1	667
612	R. al-Shaykh ilā al-imām al-Rāzī	22	3	690

Table 3 Probable

RG No.	Title	Copies seen	Earliest ms. (H)
64	K. Awrād al-usbūʻ	30+	939
188.1	al-Juz' al-awwal min tafsīr kalām Allāh ta'ālā	1	977
244	Ḥizb al-wiqāya	18+	994
276	Ikhtiṣār al-sīra al-nabawiyya al-Muḥammadiyya	3	885
384	Madkhal fī ʻilm al-ḥurūf	8	725
387	Majmaʻ khuṭab Ibn ʻArabī	1	< 700
428	R. fī Maʻrifat laylat al-qadr	3	673?
448	al-Mawʻiza al-ḥasana	1	962
702	al-Ṣalāt al-fayḍiyya	12	1141
748	Takhmīs qaṣīdat Abī Madyan	2	>1000
821	Waşiyya fī kayfiyyat ḥuṣūl al-maʻrifa al-quṣwā	7	777

Table 4 Unverified

RG No.	Title	Copies seen	Earliest copy (H)	Attributed to IA
6	K. al-Adhkār	3	1011	Y
10	K. al-Ajwiba	3	980	Y
51	K. al-Asrār al-thalātha	1	1004	Y
87	Faṣl fī bayān aqsām maʻānī al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā	2	881	N
98	Da'wat al-asmā' al-ḥusnā	2	>1100	N
109	Du'ā' al-ism al-a'ẓam	1	>1100	N
110	Du'ā'	1	>1100	N
112	Du'ā' 'azīm mubārak	1	>1100	N
113	Duʻāʾ sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ	1	>1100	N
123	K. al-Falak wa al-samā'	1	<700	N
152	al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya	5	975	Y

178	Jawāb 'an mas'alat al-durra al-bayḍa	1	>950	N
179	Jawāb 'an mas'alat al-sabḥa al-sawdā'	1	1202	N
180	Jawāb 'an mas'alat al-zumurruda al-khaḍrā'	1	1202	N
195	K. al-Ghāyāt	2	1004	Y
204	K. Hayākil al-nūr	1	n.d.	Y
233	K. al-Ḥikam	11	1030	Y
238	Ḥizb al-aḥadiyya	8	1010	Y
249	Māhiyyat al-qalb (K. al-Ḥulal)	4	837	Y
282	K. al-Iʻlām fī mā buniya ʻalayhi al-Islām	2	1004	Y
293	K. al-Insān al-kullī	3	1057	Y
323	R. al-Kalām 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam wa ma'ānīhā	1	789	Y
325	Kalimāt fī faḍāʾil al-futuwwa	1	1084	Y
328	Kanz al-jawāhir fī mazāhir al-awākhir	1	>950	Y
333	Kashf al-ḍamīr min aḥruf al-taksīr	1	>950	Y
349	Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda li ahl al-irāda	10	953	Y
391	R. fī al-Maḥabba	3	705	N
410	Manqabat mawlid al-Nabī	1	1100	Y
421	K. Marātib al-taqwā	2	789	Y
427	R. fī Maʻrifat al-nafs wa al-rūḥ	1?	722?	Y
447	Maw'izat al-albāb	1	977	Y
470	Min khuṭab al-shaykh al-akbar	2	724	Y
481	Mishkāt al-maʻqūl	1	1098	Y
489	al-Muḍāda fī al-ʻilm al-ẓāhir wa al-bāṭin	3	1117	Y
494	Muhayminiyyāt Ibn ʿArabī	1	1021	Y
510	R. al-Mūqiza	2	777	Y
518	K. al-Muwāzanāt	3	1043	Y
533	R. al-Nash'atayn	1	896	Y

RG No.	Title	Copies seen	Earliest copy (H)	Attributed to IA
536	K. Natā'ij al-adhkār	3	704	Y
543	Sayr al-hilāl	1	>900?	Y
550	Nuskhat al-akwān	1	1004	Y
554	K. Nuzhat al-naẓar fī al-mawāʻiẓ wa al-ʻibar	1	>900?	Y
564.1	Qaṣāʾid	1	n.d.	Y
566	al-Qaṣīda al-tāʾiyya	4	915	Y
622	R. Ibn ʿArabī	1	>950	Y
623	R. Ibn ʿArabī	2	724	Y
628	R. li al-shaykh al-akbar	1	1000?	Y
631	Risāla mutaʻalliqa bi al-qalb	1	791	Y
638	R. Rūḥ al-quds al-wārida min sidrat al-muntahā	1	n.d.	Y
644	Safīr al-ilhām	1	1099	Y
675	Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā wa taḥqīqātihā	2	>950	Y
692	K. Shujūn al-masjūn wa futūn al-maftūn	6	959	Y
704	al-Ṣalāt ʻalā al-Nabī	4	>1100	Y
707	Ṣalawāt sharīfa	6	994	Y
731	Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa	1	886	Y
746	Taḥdhīr dhawī al-tasḥīr	1	n.d.	Y
757	al-Tāʾiyya	4	876	Y
763	Tanbīhāt	1	826	Y
766	Taqsīm al-nuʿūt al-ilāhiyya	1	875	Y
768	Tartīb al-sulūk ilā malik al-mulūk	1	1238	Y
773	Tawajjuh waqt al-saḥar	2	1164	Y
900	R. fī qawlihi (SA) al-nās yanāmu	1	1002	Y

Table 5 Not by Ibn 'Arabī

RG No.	Title	Probable author
13	R. al-Aḥadiyya	Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī
18	ʻAyn al-aʻyān	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh?
19	ʿAyn al-ḥayāt	Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Makkī
24	K. Alf maqām	ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī
25	K. al-Alfiyya	ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī
32	al-Anwār al-qudsiyya fī bayān qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya	ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʻrānī
38	K. al-Arbaʻīn ḥadīthan	Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī
46	R. fī Asrār al-ḥaḍra al-ilāhiyya	ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī
77	Baḥr al-shukr fī nahr al-fikr	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh?
80	Baqiyyāt risālat al-radd 'alā al-Yahūd	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh?
90	K. al-Bughya fī ikhtiṣār al-Ḥilya	Abū Nuʻaym Iṣfahānī+
91	Bulghat al-ghawwāṣ	Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī
99	al-Dawḥā al-rabbāniyya	?
104.1	al-Durra al-bāḍiʻa fī kashf ʻulūm al-jafr al-jāmiʻa	?
116.2	R. al-Dhikr	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh?
120	K. Faḍl shahādat al-tawḥīd	Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī
131	Faṣl fī bayān al-ashkāl al-sabʻa	Ibn Muqla?
194	R. al-Ghawthiyya	ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī
203	K. Hatk al-astār fī 'ilm kashf al-asrār	'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī?
214	Ḥall al-rumūz wa mafātiḥ al-kunūz	ʿAbd al-Salām al-Maqdisī
217	Ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāʾiq	?
221	Ḥaqq al-waqt	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh
226	Ḥarf al-miʻrāj	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh?
230	K. Ḥawd al-ḥayāt	Samarqandī?
253.1	Khalʻ al-naʻlayn fī al-uṣūl ilā ḥaḍrat al-jamʻayn	ʻAbd Allāh al-Busnawī
256	Khātimat risālat al-radd 'alā al-Yahūd	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh
262	Khurūj al-shukhūş min burūj al-khuṣūṣ	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh

RG No.	Title	Probable author
275	Ikhtiṣār al-Muḥallā	Ibn Ḥazm+
288	Inkhirāq al-junūd ilā al-julūd	Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh
302.1	Irshād al-ṭālibīn wa tanbīb al-murīdīn	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh
332	Kashf al-asrār wa hatk al-astār	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī
337	Kashf al-kunūz	Sitt al-'Ajam
339	K. Kashf al-rān 'an wajh al-bayān	?
340	Kashf al-sitr li-ahl al-sirr	?
342	Kashf sirr al-waʻd wa bayān ʻalāmat al-wajd	Saʻd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh
366	R. Lawāmiʻ al-anwār	?
372	al-Lumʻa al-mawsūma bi kashf al-ghitā'	Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī?
378	K. al-Maʻārij	Qirīmī
442	Mawāqiʻ al-ilhām min nafaḥāt al-ʻaql wa al-anʻām	al-Fāḍil al-Makkī?
463	Minhāj al-'ārif al-muttaqī	ʻAlwān al-Hamawī
473	R. al-Miʿrāj	Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamawayh?
475	Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn	Muḥammad al-Shīrīn?
477.1	Mişbāḥ al-işbāḥ	?
519	Nafā'is al-'irfān	Muḥammad al-Wafā
552	al-Nuṣūṣ	Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī
571	al-Qawl al-nafīs fī taflīs Iblīs	ʿAbd al-Salām al-Maqdisī
588	K. Radd maʻānī al-āyāt	Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī?
615	R. fī ayy dhikr afḍal	?
642.2	K. Sāʻat al-khabar	?
661	K. al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm	ʻAbd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Sabʻīn
663	K. al-Shaʿāʾir	Muḥammad al-Wafā
665	al-Shajara al-nuʿmāniyya	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al- Basṭāmī?
666	Shajarat al-kawn	ʿAbd al-Salām al-Maqdisī
671	K. Shaqq al-jayb	?

676	Sharḥ al-Jaljalūtiyya	Ibn Muqla
701	R. fī al-Ṣalāt	?
710	al-Ṣuḥuf al-nāmūsiyya	Abū al-Mawāhib al- Shinnāwī
718	K. Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ	ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Qādirī
730	Tafsīr ba'd ayāt al-Qur'ān	'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī
732	Tafsīr al-Qurʾān	'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī?
745	Tahdhīb al-akhlāq	Yaḥyā b. Adī
749	Takhmīs al-abyāt	Muḥammad al-Wafā?
755	Taḥrīr al-bayān	Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī
758	K. Tanqīḥ al-adhhān wa miftāḥ maʻrifat al-insān	Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī?
760	Tamhīd al-tawḥīd	Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī
772	R. al-Tawajjuh al-atamm	Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī
775	R. al-Tawḥīd	Mulla Fanārī
782	Tuḥfat al-safara ilā ḥaḍrat al-barara	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al- Basṭāmī?
803	K. al-'Urūsh	Muḥammad al-Wafā?
808	Uṣūl al-'uqūl	Abū Zakariyya al-Khayyāṭ
815	K. al-Fatq wa al-ratq	Muḥammad al-Wafā
835	Zād al-muqillīn	Ḥaydar ʿĀmulī?
836	K. al-Zahr al-fā'iḥ fī sitr al-'uyūb wa al-qabā'iḥ	Muḥammad al-Ghazarī

Table 6 Extracts

RG	Title	Source
No.		
16	Aḥwāl al-anbiyā'	Futūḥāt
34	ʿAqīdat ahl al-Islām	Futūḥāt
40	R. Arḍ al-ḥaqīqa	Futūḥāt
43.1	R. al-Asmā' al-ilāhiyya	Futūḥāt
56	Asrār al-Qurʾān	Futūḥāt
58	Fī maʻrifat asrār takbīrāt al-ṣalāt	Tanazzulāt
62	R. fī Awjūh al-qalb	Mashāhid
72	Bāb fī al-tawḥīd	Iʻlam
78	al-Bayʻa al-ilāhiyya	Futūḥāt
81	R. fī al-Barzakh	Futūḥāt
103	Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā'	al-Dīwān al-kabīr
131.1	Faşl min kalām al-shaykh al-akbar	Futūḥāt?
132	Faşl mufīd fī tafsīr Fātiḥa al-Kitāb	Futūḥāt?
149	Fuṣūl min kitāb al-Masāʾil	Masā'il
156	Jadwal al-ḥaḍra al-ilāhiyya	Inshā'
209	Ḥaḍrat al-ḥaḍarāt	Futūḥāt
242	Ḥizb al-shaykh al-akbar	Awrād
305	al-Ishārāt ilā sharḥ al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt	Tāj al-rasāʾil
348	R. fī kayfiyyat aḥwāl rijāl Allāh	Futūḥāt
382	K. al-Mabāḥith al-mutaʿalliqa bi al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā	Futūḥāt
390	R. al-Maḥabba	Futūḥāt
405	K. Manāhij al-irtiqā'	Futūḥāt
411	Manzil al-'ārif al-Jibrā'īlī	Futūḥāt
412.1	al-Manẓūmāt	Futūḥāt
413	K. Maqām al-maʻrifa	Futūḥāt
425	R. fī maʻrifat al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā	Futūḥāt
430	R. fī maʻrifat sayr rijāl al-ghayb	Futūḥāt
542	Nazm al-futūḥ al-Makkī	Futūḥāt

565.1	Qaṣīda	Tarjumān
567.1	Qaṣīda fī ḥaqq al-Mahdī	Dīwān
602	Rijāl al-ghayb	Futūḥāt
626	R. ilā aṣḥāb al-Shaykh al-Mahdawī	Mashāhid
677	Sharḥ alfāẓ al-Ṣūfiyya	Futūḥāt
816	K. al-Waṣāʾil	Futūḥāt
818	Waṣāya al-shaykh al-akbar	Futūḥāt
844	(extracts)	Futūḥāt

## Table 7 Duplicates

RG No.	Title	Other RG No.
5.1	Adʻiyat al-shaykh al-akbar	64
45	K. al-Asrār	313
47	K. Asrār al-ḥurūf	380
150.1	al-Fuṣūl wa al-fawā'id	182
297	K. al-ʿIqd al-manẓūm	384
451	Mawlid al-Nabī	276
496	K. Mukhtaşar al-Durra al-fākhira	105
621.1	R. fī al-taṣawwuf	various
669	K. al-Shamā'il al-Nabī	276
749	Takhmīs qaṣīdat al-ḥajj al-akbar	566
761	al-Tanazzulāt al-layliyya fī al-aḥkām al-ilāhiyya	433
785	Thalātha masāʾil	433
817	K. al-Waṣāya	821
820	K. al-Waṣiyya	821
827	Wird al-aḥadiyya	64
828	Wird al-i'tiṣām	64
829	Wird al-maʻrifa	64
830	Wird al-nūr	64
831	Wird al-qurba	64
832	Wird al-saṭwa	64

# Appendix

### Libraries personally visited

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