

The Great Dīwān and its offspring

The collection and dispersion of Ibn 'Arabī's poetry

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INTRODUCTION

The reason which has led me to utter poetry (*shi'r*) is that I saw in a dream (*wāqi'a*) an angel who brought me a piece of white light, like a fragment of the sun's light. "What is that?" I asked. "It is the *Sūrat al-Shu'arā'* (the Poets)" was the reply. I swallowed it, and felt a hair (*sha'ra*) arising from my chest to my throat, and then into my mouth. It was an animal with a head, a tongue, eyes and lips. It grew out of my mouth until its head struck the two horizons, the East and the West. After that, it contracted and returned into my chest, so I knew that my words would reach the East and the West. Then I came back to myself and I uttered poetry without any process of reflection or thought. Since that time, this inspiration has never ceased; and it is because of this sublime contemplation that I have collected together all the poems that I can remember in this *Dīwān*. But there is much more that I have forgotten! Everything that this collection contains is thus, praise be to God, nothing other than [the fruit of] a divine projection, a holy, spiritual inspiration, and a splendid, celestial heritage.¹

In these lines from the Prologue to the work he calls *Dīwān al-ma'ārif al-ilāhiyya wa-l-laṭā'if al-rūḥiyya* ('the *Dīwān* of divine knowledges and spiritual subtleties') or *al-Dīwān al-kabīr* ('the Great *Dīwān*'), Ibn 'Arabī clearly outlines the vision that initiated an unfettered outpouring of poetic inspiration and caused him

1. Ms. Paris BN 2348, fol. 37a. See C. Addas, 'The Ship of Stone', in *The Journey of the Heart*, J. Mercer (ed.) (Oxford, 1996), pp. 5–24, and D. McAuley, *Ibn 'Arabī's Mystical Poetics* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 47–8, for alternative translations.

to later collect together all of the poems that he could remember. This description, however, does not tell us the form taken by this Great *Dīwān* (unless we are to somehow identify it with the phantasmagorical creature that he found emerging from his chest) or the date when he began this huge undertaking, nor does it tell us the relationship that it bears to any number of 'poetry collections' (*Dawāwīn*, pl. of *Dīwān*), which are to be found in the manuscripts associated with his name.

As regards dating, we know from its contents that in its current form it must have been begun after the composition of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (RG 150, composed 627/1229) and *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (RG 135, first recension, completed 629/1231), and perhaps around the time that he extracted the poetry from the *Futūḥāt* in a separate treatise named *Nazm al-futūḥ al-Makkī* (RG 542), which may have been a precursor to the *Dīwān* itself.² The title *Dīwān al-ma'ārif* is mentioned in his auto-bibliographies, the *Fihris* (RG 142, no. 70) and the *Ijāza* (RG 269, no. 75, which equates it to *al-Dīwān al-kabīr*). The Great *Dīwān* was certainly in its final form by 634/1237, possibly even three years earlier.³

Building on the work of others spanning many decades, we report here on progress in a new study, one based upon cataloguing and cross-matching every individual poem in the oldest and best manuscripts currently available to us.

In his monumental and pioneering study of Ibn 'Arabī's manuscripts in public collections, Osman Yahia gathered together the main *Dīwān* manuscripts under RG numbers 100–

2. This work (Aḥmadiyye 774, fols. 1–120) carries a *samā'* certificate in the hand of Ibn 'Arabī dated 630/1233 in Aleppo, and mentions his wife Maryam bint Ibn Abdūn as one of those present. That indicates that he put it together sometime prior to this.

3. The precise date is a matter of some obscurity: the *Fihris*, dated 627/1229, mentions a prototype for the work called *K. al-ma'ārif al-ilāhiyya wa al-laṭā'if al-rabbāniyya* (presumably without the *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt* poems), while the *Ijāza*, written in Muḥarram 632/September 1234, records it as *Dīwān al-ma'ārif*. One manuscript (Khalili 225) gives the date 13 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 634/7 August 1237 for a *reading* of the whole *Dīwān*, without specifying exactly when it was composed. It is worth noting that the *Dīwān* was compiled on the basis of the first recension.

103.⁴ Subsequent work by other scholars can be conveniently divided between studies that concentrate primarily upon the literary content of certain poems, and those that focus on the structure of the various *Dawāwīn*.

The 'literary content' studies range from R. Nicholson's 1911 edition and translation of the *Tarjumān al-ashwāq* (with extracts from the *K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-a'lāq*)⁵ to a series of studies by P. Bachmann and by R. Austin.⁶ Translations of many individual poems have been published in the Society's Journal. Most recently, D. McAuley's Ph.D. thesis and 2012 book represent the most extensive study to date (at least in English) of the literary content of Ibn 'Arabī's poetry.⁷ This work represents a truly exciting development and is sure to inspire specialists and general readers alike to further study.

4. O. Yahia, *Histoire et Classification de l'Œuvre d'Ibn 'Arabi* (Damascus, 1964). Other *Dawāwīn* are listed separately from RG 100–103 as follows: RG 116 (*K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-a'lāq*, Ibn 'Arabī's commentary on the *Tarjumān*, partly reproduced in the *Dīwān al-Ma'ārif*, RG 101); RG 295 (*Inzāl al-ghuyūb 'alā marātib al-qulūb*, mentioned in Ibn 'Arabī's *Fihris* but apparently lost); RG 380 (*K. al-Mabādī wa-l-ghayāt*; a collection of letter poems that appear in ch. 2 of the *Futūḥāt*); RG 412a (*al-Manzūmāt*, a small collection of poems extracted from the *Futūḥāt*); RG 484 (*al-Mu'ashsharāt = al-Dīwān al-aṣghar*, the '10-liners' reproduced in the *Būlāq Dīwān*); RG 517 (*al-Muwashshahāt al-ilāhiyya wa-l-azjal*, 'strophic poems' which are distributed across the first half of the *Būlāq Dīwān*); RG 542 (*Naẓm al-futūḥ al-Makkī*, poems from the *Futūḥāt* from the Prologue up to ch. 320); RG 767 (*Tarjumān al-ashwāq* reproduced in the *Dīwān al-ma'ārif*); RG 837 (*K. al-Zaynabiyyāt*, a section of the *Dīwān al-ma'ārif* – see below). After listing well over 20 manuscripts under RG 102, Yahia states "Les copies ci-dessus mentionnées sont toutes incomplètes... Une édition critique de cette oeuvre exigerait donc la consultation de toutes les copies". We continue to add to Yahia's list, and many manuscripts remain which we have yet to examine and catalogue.

5. R. Nicholson (ed.), *The Tarjumān al-ashwāq. A collection of mystical odes* (London, 1911).

6. References to the papers by P. Bachmann (1980s–2001) can be found in McAuley, *Mystical Poetics*. R. Austin's study was 'Ibn al-'Arabī – Poet of Divine Realities' in *Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Arabī: A Commemorative Volume*, S. Hirstenstein and M. Tiernan (eds.) (Sherborne, 1993), pp. 181–9.

7. D. McAuley, *An Analysis of Selected Poems from Ibn 'Arabī's Dīwān* (Ph.D. 2007), and *Mystical Poetics* – the latter has an excellent bibliography.

Our own study stands in the tradition of the more structure-based studies of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetic output, which can be said to have begun with the initial editorial work that lay behind the Būlāq print edition (*Dīwān Ibn ‘Arabī*, Cairo, 1855). In 1994 the Būlāq edition was shown by R. Deladrière to be based upon a text established by Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl Shihāb al-Dīn, and Deladrière was able to identify the source for quite a large number of poems.⁸ In a follow-up study in 1998, the overall outline of the Būlāq was more fully described by G. Elmore.⁹ Although Elmore commented upon the initial studies of the *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif* by C. Addas, his focus remained upon the content of the Būlāq edition, which to this day remains the only Dīwān in print.

However, the scope for structural (as well as literary) studies of Ibn ‘Arabī’s Dawāwīn expanded enormously with three studies by Addas.¹⁰ She provided the first detailed description of the content of the only complete manuscript of the *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif*, Paris BN 2348 (her DM), a work listed by Ibn ‘Arabī in both his auto-bibliographies. This Paris manuscript is huge, more than twice the length of the Būlāq edition.

Although Addas was unable to trace the majority of the poems to known works – and thus a vast chunk of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetic output remains an all but hidden treasure – she did note that the *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif* had very little overlap with Būlāq. She proposed that Būlāq was in fact the first continuation of the *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif* within Ibn ‘Arabī’s ‘Great Dīwān’. It remained for scholars to look in greater detail at the large number of Dīwān manuscripts listed by Yahia under RG 100–103, the majority of which Yahia himself regarded as ‘incomplete’. As part of the Society’s Archive Project, S. Hirtenstein described the structure of some particularly important historic manuscripts.¹¹

8. R. Deladrière, ‘The Dīwān of Ibn ‘Arabī’, *JMIAS* 15 (1994), pp. 50–6.

9. G. Elmore, ‘The Būlāq Dīwān of Ibn al-‘Arabī: Addenda to a Tentative Description’, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 29/3–4 (1998), pp. 136–66.

10. ‘À propos du *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif* d’Ibn ‘Arabī’, *Studia Islamica*, 81 (1995), pp. 187–95; ‘Ship of Stone’; ‘L’Œuvre poétique d’Ibn ‘Arabī et sa réception’, *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000), pp. 23–38.

11. S. Hirtenstein, ‘Some Preliminary Notes on *al-Dīwān al-kabīr*,

But questions remained as to how these relate to each other and to the *Dīwān al-ma'ārif* and *Būlāq*. There are indications of five or six 'parts', but which part did each manuscript represent? Could one even expect them to be mutually exclusive with regard to their poetic content?¹²

The next logical step seemed inevitable, albeit a vast undertaking: cataloguing and cross-matching each individual poem in Ibn 'Arabī's known works and in the best manuscripts of the various *Dawāwīn*. This was not a task to be undertaken lightly: the *Futūḥāt* alone contains around 1,750 pieces of verse, and the Paris manuscript contains over 2,500! This article is the first fruit of our use of modern computer techniques to catalogue and cross-reference multiple *Dawāwīn* manuscripts as well as the poems found in Ibn 'Arabī's printed works.

There have been a number of keys to bringing this work into the realms of the feasible. Firstly, and most obviously, was the basic cataloguing task of inventing a 'naming' convention, whereby individual poems could be identified in meaningful ways and quickly located in source texts. For reasons of practicality we chose to record the following data in our database as a minimum for every poem: its identifier (a unique shorthand indicator of where it occurs in a work or a manuscript), the first verse in Arabic, the total number of verses, and the rhyme letter. Secondly, we developed software for 'fuzzy matching' Arabic strings using the dynamic programming concept of 'minimum edit distance', which provides a measure of closeness or variation between any two Arabic verses in our database. With this we have managed to discover and record cross-matches between poems across works and manuscripts. With fuzzy matching we could also deal with errors in data input, scribal or editorial errors, and even variations Ibn 'Arabī might have allowed himself.

JMIAS 39 (2006), pp. 111–20.

12. McAuley notes the wide variation that can sometimes occur in a particular poem that is found in different forms in the manuscripts. See *Mystical Poetics*, p. 127, n.45.

Finally, with these tools in place, many man-months were dedicated to the laborious task of data entry. That we can offer the current progress report after less than a year is in no small part due to our discovery of extraordinary structural relationships between manuscripts, in which the same poetic content is presented under very different organisations. There has also been a significant snowball effect, as our database approached the state of containing 'all' of Ibn 'Arabī's poetry. Increasingly we know both what to look for and where it is likely to occur. We can thus recognise and indirectly decipher all but illegible manuscripts, and can even predict in some detail the content of manuscripts we have yet to examine.

A NEW CLASSIFICATION

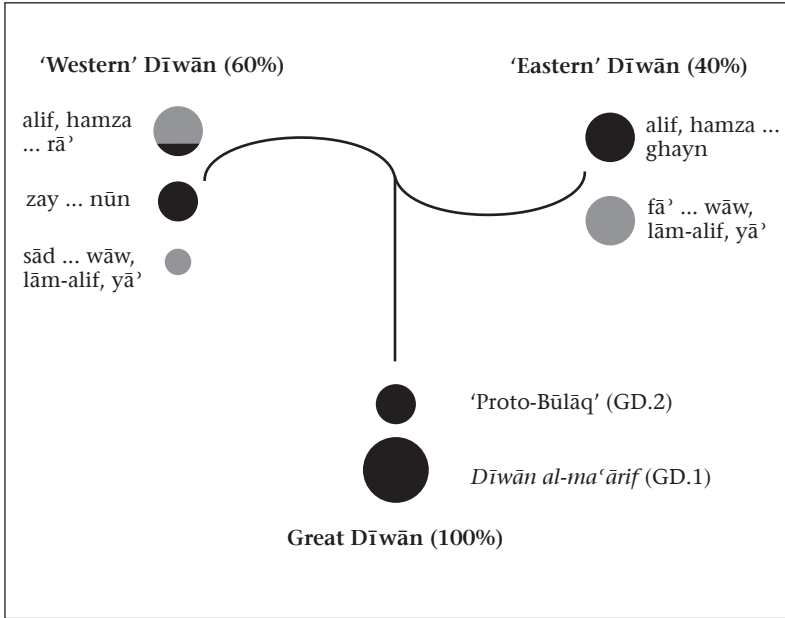
After entering all the data and initiating a poem-by-poem structural analysis of over fourteen Dīwān manuscripts, it has become clear to us that Yahia's tentative classification system is in need of serious revision. Our reasons for coming to this conclusion are set out below, but for simplicity, we shall structure this report around the end-point: a proposed reclassification of the Dawāwīn and associated families of manuscripts.

The primary feature of this new classification is that there are three main Dawāwīn (which we may call 'Great', 'Western' and 'Eastern'), all of them probably compiled by the author himself, plus a miscellany of 'other' Dawāwīn.¹³ To help orientate

13. Our list of Dawāwīn corresponds more or less to the manuscripts classified under RG 100–103. We exclude from the list distinct collections such as *Tarjumān al-ashwāq* and *K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-a'lāq* (RG 767 and RG 116), *K. al-Mu'ashsharāt* (RG 484), and *al-Muwashshahāt* (RG 517), even though the poems from these other collections do appear in the Great Dīwān. It can prove confusing that some library catalogues list under the title 'Dīwān' manuscripts that contain these other distinct collections: for example, listed under RG 102 a manuscript which we have examined (Yahya. Ef. 3660 = Hacı Mahmud 3660) is no other than the *Tarjumān*. To date, no manuscripts have appeared for a Dīwān identifiable as *Inzāl al-ghuyūb 'alā marātīb al-qulūb* (RG 295), which is mentioned in the *Fihris, Ijāza* and *Rūḥ al-Quds*, although three of the poems in the latter are said

the reader we offer a schematic depiction of the three main Dawāwīn, which is loosely related to the second and third of the three visions that Ibn ‘Arabī described in the Prologue to the *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif*.

... it was a melody in double or triple time, depending on whether they were adding or taking away ...



*... It was an animal with a head, a tongue, eyes, and lips.
It grew out of my mouth until its head struck the two horizons,
the East and the West ...*

As can be seen, these three main Dawāwīn have a total of 7 manuscript parts: the Great Dīwān (2 parts), which contains all of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetic output, from whose contents two selective reorganisations were made, one ‘Western’ (3 parts) and one

to have come from there. As a result that Dīwān does not appear in our classification, although it seems likely that its content may have been included in some way.

'Eastern' (2 parts). The Great Dīwān (GD) exists in two surviving manuscript parts: one entitled *Dīwān al-ma'ārif* (GD.1) and the other, which we have named 'proto-Būlāq' (GD.2), a fuller and more complete ancestor of the printed Būlāq Dīwān. The 'Western Dīwān' (WD, our title) has a thematic–alphabetic structure, based on a Maghribi alphabetical order, reorganising 60% of the content of GD: from the two surviving manuscripts we have seen, we believe it to have existed in (at least) three manuscript parts of unequal sizes. The 'Eastern Dīwān' (ED, our title) is a fully alphabetical reorganisation of 40% of the content of GD, using a Mashriqi alphabetical order: it seems to have existed in two manuscript parts of roughly equal size,¹⁴ and while individual poems are mostly also to be found in the WD, the ordering of those poems at all structural levels is generally quite different.

The relative sizes in terms of approximate number of poems are:

| | |
|----|-------------------------------|
| GD | 3,500 (2580 + 920) = 100% |
| WD | 2,000 (890 + 670 + 440) = 60% |
| ED | 1,400 (700 + 700) = 40% |

It is tempting here to speculate upon the overall ratio 3:2 of the WD and ED selections, whether this was accidental or deliberate. If deliberate, the 3:2 proportion might recall Ibn 'Arabī's description (mentioned above) of the screeching of the styluses (or "the grinding of the pens" as McAuley translates it¹⁵) that record human actions as "a melody in *double* or *triple* time", i.e. a melody that divides everything into even and odd measures, a descriptor of nothing less than the poetic rhythms of all human life.

Of the seven manuscript parts of all these Dawāwīn, we have so far only examined and fully catalogued manuscript examples

14. While we have been unable to confirm this from the actual manuscripts, which are sadly lost, the volumes of Ibn 'Arabī's Dīwān (YA 5001 and 5002) from the Yusuf Ağa Library in Konya, in a Maghribi hand, were summarily described by Ahmed Ateş in 'Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bâzi mühim yazmalar', *Belleten* 16 (1952), p.54.

15. See *Mystical Poetics*, p.47.

of those depicted in black. Appendix 1 gives details of each of these manuscripts. Those circles depicted in grey are predicted or strongly suspected to exist elsewhere in the manuscript base, but we have not come across any copies yet. The part-grey part-black circle in the WD reflects the fact that one of the manuscripts which we have catalogued, Veliyuddin 1681 ([VEL]), contains the end of the 'd' block (poems rhyming in *dāl*) and all of the 'r' block (poems rhyming in *rā'*), after which it overlaps with the beginning of the holograph Khalili 225 ([KHL]). It thus straddles two of the three parts indicated by our circles.¹⁶

For a more detailed schema, we refer the reader to the tables in Appendix 2 ('Proposed reclassification of Ibn 'Arabī's *Dawāwīn*'), in which we indicate the breakdown of each *Dīwān*, its approximate size, the RG number, and the code for the manuscript(s) for which we have catalogued the poetry.

THE TWO-PART GREAT *DĪWĀN* (GD)

At the root of our classification is Ibn 'Arabī's 'Great *Dīwān*' (*al-Dīwān al-kabīr*). This seems to have existed in two manuscript-parts: the *Dīwān al-ma'ārif* and what we term the 'proto-Būlāq'.

The first part is represented by the unique and supremely important manuscript Paris BN 2348 [PBN], which has been the subject of detailed study by Addas. In the Prologue Ibn 'Arabī gives two longer titles to the work: *K. Tanazzul al-arwāḥ bi-l-rawḥ wa-l-rayḥān wa-l-irwāḥ wa-ma'ārif al-anwār min subuḥātihi wa-laṭā'if al-asrār wa-l-arwāḥ jā'at bihā al-amlāk min malakūtili 'inda taṣarruf al-arwāḥ* (a title that plays on the abundant meanings of the root *r-w-h*), followed directly by a shorter title (fol. 35b): *Dīwān al-ma'ārif al-ilāhiyya wa-l-laṭā'if al-rabbāniyya*. In his *Ijāza* (no. 75), Ibn 'Arabī identifies the *Dīwān al-ma'ārif* with his 'Great *Dīwān*' (*al-Dīwān al-kabīr*). We propose to use the title 'Great *Dīwān*' to cover not only the contents of [PBN] (= GD.1) but also its continuation (or second manuscript-part, GD.2). For

16. We might suppose that the WD begins with an alif sequence (as does the ED) – otherwise where would such poems be placed?

there is a specific sense, as Addas suggested, in which these two parts between them can be said to contain ‘all’ of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetry – the project he himself announced in the Prologue.¹⁷

The second part is represented by the Būlāq printed edition but with one significant addition, which is drawn from the single proto-Būlāq manuscript we have been able to catalogue, Yusuf Aḡa 5463 [YAB]. It is thus necessary to distinguish between the original complete GD.2 and the Būlāq edition itself (and Būlāq-alike manuscripts). The difference consists of what we refer to as the ‘Būlāq hole’, which can be found at p.52 of the Būlāq printing: a missing section of nearly 50 poems and a block of prose on initiation from the *K. Nasab al-khirqā* (RG 530). That there was no such ‘hole’ in the original GD.2 is corroborated by the ‘mapping’ to the WD (see below). Furthermore, much of the original content in this ‘hole’ can be found scattered around other Dawāwīn. A recently rediscovered early Būlāq-alike manuscript, Leiden Or. 2687 [LDN], one featuring or containing the ‘Būlāq hole’, i.e. with the gap, might well mark the branching-away of the Būlāq family of manuscripts from the proto-Būlāq, since the hole occurs precisely at a break between folios, indicating that its exemplar, the manuscript it was copied from, may have been the defective manuscript which had lost a number of folios.

Addas suggested that Būlāq (her D) – the only Dīwān in our list (of those based on RG 100–103) that has ever been printed – was the continuation, or one of the continuations, to GD.1.¹⁸ We can now say with some certainty, and with specific meaning, that an ancestor of the Būlāq edition, the proto-Būlāq, was the *only* continuation. The reason we are able to do this is that the Great Dīwān’s offspring, the WD and ED, provide particular and deliberate clues to their parentage: as we shall see, the WD was derived quasi-formulaically from the 2-part Great Dīwān,

17. It is debatable whether the title *Dīwān al-ma’ārif* should be extended to include GD.2 and therefore cover the whole Great Dīwān, but that might prove confusing to readers of Addas’s papers. With the minor modification we are about to mention, her DM and D correspond to GD.1 and GD.2.

18. ‘À Propos’, p. 194.

a process we know was instigated by the author himself since [KHL] is in his own handwriting. One consequence of that ‘mapping’ is that we are able to conclude that there was no significant number of poems beyond those found in GD.1 and GD.2 – were one to posit the existence of some other, as yet unknown, sizeable continuation of the Great Dīwān, then one would have to explain why so few of its poems appear in the reorganisation that is found in the WD (or ED). A secondary effect is that many poems in the Great Dīwān can be read ‘backwards’ (and thus authenticated) through ‘matching’ poems in the WD, alleviating the problems of occasional illegibility in the Paris manuscript. To a lesser extent this is true of ‘matching’ poems in other Dawāwīn, of which the ED is the most important.

In summary, we can see the full scope of the Great Dīwān: a total of approximately 3,500 poems, made up of 2,580 in GD.1 and 920 in GD.2. Of this enormous poetic output, then, a mere 25% has so far been printed as the Būlāq Dīwān, with a further 40% or so published in the form of other works such as the *Futūḥāt*. This means that approximately one-third of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetic output has so far not been printed at all.

Structure and content of GD.1

As mentioned above, Addas described in detail the first part of the Great Dīwān in her series of three articles, in particular ‘À Propos’. Our cataloguing of every poem in [PBN] has provided some further insights. We will provide a description of the structure and content here, and a summarising table of the way it relates to the Western Dīwān can be found in Appendix 3.

Parts and sections

GD.1 as represented by [PBN] is vast and complex. It consists of a Prologue plus 103 further sections. Each section (*juz*¹) is well marked, beginning with a *basmalah*, and followed by the words *wa-qāla ayḍan* (‘And he also said...’) which introduce each poem, and ending with the words *intihā’ al-juz*² (‘here ends the section’). These *basmalah*-sections, as in the *Futūḥāt* and some other works such as *K. al-Isrā’*, determine the overall shape of

the book in a similar way to chapters. The initial 50 sections are numbered, the first 45 of which are said to complete the first 'part' (also somewhat confusingly named *juz'*) of the *Dīwān* (fol. 139b).

GD.1 seems to have originally been conceived of in four major themed parts of collected poems (or possibly five if the Prologue is viewed as separate). Although internal notes only refer to the end of the first and third parts, and there is no specific marker for the end of the second or fourth part (the fourth comes at the end of the manuscript),¹⁹ we suggest that as with Ibn 'Arabī's other works, there is a highly detailed organising principle at work in the way the whole project was conceived. This should be in no way surprising or considered arbitrary to anyone familiar with his work, since for Ibn 'Arabī numbers and letters exhibit a special harmony and beauty in a manner which is beyond the reach of the ordinary intellect. Thus the structure of many works, including his *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt*, is as numerical as it is metaphysical, where the numbers involved directly link to the subject matter under discussion. Such a numerical construction is most evident in GD.1: the number of *basmalalah* sections, 104, is based upon multiples of 26 (4×26), and 26 is the number of the *Sūrat al-Shu'arā'*, the Quranic chapter of the Poets which Ibn 'Arabī states that he 'swallowed' in his vision. If we also include the 52 sections (2×26) found in GD.2, we have a total of 156 (6×26) for the whole *Dīwān*. These six sections are strongly reminiscent of the organising principle of the *Futūḥāt*, which is also divided into six sections (*faṣl*), each with a preface (*khutba*) and an introduction (*muqaddima*).²⁰ Whether there is any more specific correlation between the individual sections in the *Dīwān* and the *Futūḥāt* is a possible avenue of future research, but we may also note a resemblance (more than just passing?) to the animal with its six body-parts

19. Addas suggested that the note referring to the end of the third part was actually a slip of the pen and should have said the end of the second – in which case the manuscript contains 3, or 2 and a bit, parts rather than 4.

20. See M. Chodkiewicz's analysis in *The Meccan Revelations* (New York, 2004), pp. 7ff.

(head, tongue, two lips and two eyes). However that may be, in one real sense we can speak of the Great Dīwān as having six overall parts, which have survived in two manuscript blocks, [PBN] (GD.1) and [YAB] (GD.2).

However, the internal structure of GD.1 is not simply four equal parts of 26 sections, as one might at first imagine. It is much more complex and seems directly related to the content of the poems themselves. First of all, the text begins with a prologue, which is a standard feature of Ibn ‘Arabī’s writings: here it is not called *muqaddima* (introduction) or *khuṭba* (preface) but is specifically named *ṣadr al-Dīwān*, literally ‘the chest of the Collection’, an image that again cannot fail to recall the vision of the animal, which emerges precisely from the ‘chest’ of the author.²¹

Prologue (‘chest’)

As McAuley has noted,²² Ibn ‘Arabī describes his intentions in the Prologue in some detail, including a clear exposition of how he views poetry, likening it to the very fabric of existence in terms of structure and order. Having delineated the technical terminology he and other spiritual masters use (a listing which is taken from his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*), he recounts three important visions, each of which has a special significance in terms of his poetry: the first records the dream in which Ibn ‘Arabī meets the three prophets of the Abrahamic religions, Jesus, Moses and Muḥammad; the second describes his spiritual marriage to each of the stars in the sky and letters of the alphabet, and the function of poetry as reflecting universal order and symmetry; and the third we quoted in full at the beginning of this paper.²³ The number three seems particularly significant in the Prologue, perhaps echoing the Sura of the Poets, which begins with three isolated letters (*t-s-m*),²⁴ for there are three poems about poetry

21. If the Prologue represents the ‘chest’, perhaps the remainder of GD.1 could be considered the ‘throat’ and GD.2 the ‘mouth’?

22. *Mystical Poetics*, pp. 46ff.

23. See ‘Ship of Stone’ for more details of these visions.

24. See Addas, ‘Ship of Stone’, p.20, where she notes that Ibn ‘Arabī speaks of “the knowledge of three secret lights” at the beginning of the

itself, providing allusive keys to his project. The first, a 16-line poem (beginning “Whenever I mention traces of abandoned encampments or [deserted] dwellings, or [forlorn] lodgings...”), is one that appears in the prologue to *K. al-Dhakhā’ir wa-l-a’lāq*, the commentary on *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*.²⁵ The second, a 5-line poem, beginning “I have a love who has the name of all who have a name...”, is repeated later (with variations) at the beginning of the third part (translated in full below). The Prologue closes with an 11-line poem which we have not found elsewhere:

In our poetry, there is no padding
 nor are there any redundant words.
 Under every word that it contains
 is abundant meaning.
 Not many people know it
 and those who know it are few.
 The one who is inspired
 will understand what I say.
 Phrases of it are for one group
 and sections are for other groups.
 Its roots are lofty
 and its branches are long.
 It came down from its level
 and where we are, it is like trees.
 Its descent is an ascent
 its ascent is a descent.
 Its roots are branches
 its branches are roots.
 When its sun rises
 it never sets from us.
 Where is Abraham, that he might support
 what I say – the Intimate Friend!²⁶

chapter in the *Futūḥāt* which corresponds to the *Sūrat al-Shu‘arā’*, ch. 358 (*Fut.*1.22 and III.262).

25. For a partial translation by A. Knysh (from the *Dhakhā’ir*), see *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (eds.) (Cambridge, 2000), p. 341.

26. With thanks to Denis McAuley for providing the translation. We

Part 1 (45 sections, #1–45)

Part 1 is dominated by poems from the *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt*. The first section contains almost 40 poems, most of which are untraced. Section #2 contains 28 poems from the *Fuṣūṣ*; here it seems that number must have played an important role, not only as 28 is the second perfect number and the number of chapters in the book (Prologue + 27), but also since the *Fuṣūṣ* contains 33 poems by Ibn ‘Arabī overall (as well as four by other authors, making 37 in total), and therefore some had to be omitted in order to ‘fit’ into this section. An examination of the omission strategy is revealing: the poems from the chapters of Noah and Ṣāliḥ are left out completely (we have so far found no record of them in the Great Dīwān at all), while the 2-line poem in the chapter of Muḥammad is to be found later in section #88 (part 4). Two one-line poems (*mufrad*), from the chapters of Aaron and Moses, also appear elsewhere in the Great Dīwān: the first appears in the *Futūḥāt* block (section #30, fol.106a, see below), as the second poem of chap. 331 (*Fut.* III.117), and is also repeated in Būlāq, p.48, as part of a series of *mufrads*; the second occurs as the *second* verse of a poem at the heart of the ‘Zaynabiyyāt’ section (see Part 3 below), a line which is explicitly described by Ibn ‘Arabī in chap. 332 (*Fut.* III.119) as being part of an ode in the Zaynabiyyāt. This probably indicates that these two *mufrads* originally came from elsewhere, were imported into the *Fuṣūṣ* when it was composed, and then were finally brought into the Great Dīwān. One other feature of these 28 poems from the *Fuṣūṣ* is worth mentioning here: a *mufrad* from the chapter of Hūd (“Those from whom you seek the accomplishment of your desires come to light by your bringing the degrees to light”) is included, a poem that is not signalled in Afīfī’s Arabic edition.

may note here Ibn ‘Arabī’s allusion to the Quranic passage (6:74–9) where Abraham goes beyond the worship of the star, the moon and the sun, saying “I love not that which sets”, to the adoration of the True Divinity. In addition, there may also be a reference here to Abraham as the father of the three western religions and hence of the three prophets mentioned earlier.

The end of this second section and the following 12 sections contain around 300 poems, most of which are untraced (over 20 from the *Muḥāḍarat*). Interestingly, although the overall order of the poems is not strictly alphabetical by rhyme letter, in the first 14 sections there are a large number (14 sequences of 6 or more poems) that follow the Maghribi ordering of the letters (see below). This part is completed with a vast 31-section block of 1,081 poems from the *Futūḥāt* (some 30% of the entire manuscript). However, yet again this does not represent all the poetic content of the *Futūḥāt*: we count around 1,750 poems, although not all these are by Ibn ‘Arabī and 310 are *mufroads*, which appear only rarely in the GD (ca. 10%). In addition, there are nearly 200 poems which appear more than once in the *Futūḥāt*. Hence, this 31-section block of poems might represent perhaps 80–90% of the total available to him. This is partly explained by what Ibn ‘Arabī himself tells us, that he moved some poems to other later sections, but we have managed to locate only around 30 of those (with a comparable number appearing in *Būlāq*). For example, after listing a few *mufroad* poems from chap. 178 of the *Futūḥāt*, he states that he has “mentioned all of these in the *tashbīb* section of this *Dīwān*, in the *Juz’ al-Zaynabiyyāt* and the *Ghazaliyyāt*” (fol. 92a). The selectivity of *Futūḥāt* poems for inclusion would be an interesting and important area of future research.²⁷ And

27. We should bear in mind the likelihood that the GD was based upon the first recension of the *Futūḥāt*: at present we have catalogued only the second (printed) recension, and that this might account for at least part of the variation. That said, ch. 178 (on love) would make a good starting-point, being rich in poetry. There are 51 poems in the *Futūḥāt* itself: excluding the 21 not by Ibn ‘Arabī, we have 8 *mufroad* and 21 multi-line poems available. Of those 32 we find 20 in [PBN] while 12 are absent. None are found in GD.2. In GD.1 we find only 6 of the 20 in the main *Futūḥāt* section for ch. 178. The other 14 we find elsewhere, mainly in the ‘*Zaynabiyyāt*’. But one (5th in ch. 178) appears amongst the ch. 71 poems of [PBN] (fol. 82b) but in the 7-line form of ch. 178 (as opposed to the full 23 verses one might have expected from the second recension of the ch. 71 poem). Of the 12 poems absent from [PBN], 8 are *mufroad* (apparently showing his preference for omitting one-liners). This leaves 4 multi-line poems absent from [PBN], 2 of which he even mentions (fol. 92a) as

the sense in which GD.1 and GD.2 contain ‘all’ of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetry needs further clarification in this area.

Overall, this designated ‘part 1’ (*al-juz’ al-awwal*) of GD.1 (fols. 38a–139b) has 45 inner sections, surely not a numerical accident, 45 being the number of the name Adam (*alif/1 + dāl/4 + mīm/40*) and of the supra-intellectual sciences which constitute the true human heritage, “the mothers of the knowledge of God insofar as He is independent of the worlds” as Ibn ‘Arabī expresses it in his *K. al-Ifāda* (RG 266).²⁸

Part 2 (27 sections, #46–72)

Part 2 opens with several untraced poems (fol. 139b) and at the end of section #46 has a ‘sign of the Seal’ poem, where Ibn ‘Arabī explains about his being invested as the Seal of Muhammadian Sainthood.²⁹ In sections #48–50 there are 69 poems from the *Tanazzulāt* (most of them) and 4 from the *Isrā’*. Section #52 marks a transition where the section numbering ceases and the Mosaic prayer from Q.20 is used: “Lord, open up my chest...”³⁰ The second to last section (#71) begins with a set of four poems which reappear in GD.2 (a rare break with the mutual exclusion principle which holds between the two parts of the Great Dīwān), and also contains twelve poems from *Fut.* chaps. 69–72.³¹ Another poem from the *Futūhāt* (2nd poem in chap. 167) appears in the final section (#72), amidst poems that emphasise the either/or–both/and nature of reality. Although not marked in the manuscript, part 2 would most naturally

appearing elsewhere. It may be that some of these missing poems remain to be discovered as parts of poems elsewhere in GD (as was the case with the *mufrad* from the *Fuṣūṣ* chapter of Moses).

28. Manisa 1183, fol. 114a.

29. Fol. 141b. For translation of the prose passage that follows, see Addas, ‘Ship of Stone’, p. 23. Cf. Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 157–8.

30. One may note the repetition of the word *ṣadr* (chest, breast), echoing the ‘chest’ of the author from which emerged the poetic animal.

31. There are indications that the start of this section also marks a significant transition point for the selection of poems for inclusion in the ED.

end at fol.203b, a break noted by Addas, making a total of 27 sections.

Part 3 (14 sections, #73–86)

Part 3 (under our proposal) begins with what, following Addas,³² we refer to as the ‘*rūḥ* transition’, where there is a marked change in the way in which poems are introduced (with a brief line of prose beginning *wa-rūḥuhā...* or *wa-l-rūḥ...*, ‘and its/the spirit [of the poem] is...’). The first two poems preface this new form of prose introduction: the first is a variant of the second poem in the Prologue (see below), referring to the many names of the same beloved, while the second is also a general poem on the same theme. The initial 11 sections consist of almost 240 poems, mostly untraced. Section #84 appears to be what Ibn ‘Arabī earlier calls the ‘Ghazaliyyāt’ section, which contains 24 mostly untraced poems (one is from *Futūḥāt* chap. 178). The final two sections (#85–6) we believe to make up what Ibn ‘Arabī earlier refers to as the ‘Zaynabiyyāt’ section, in which there are 50 poems, again mostly untraced (nine are from *Futūḥāt* chap. 178, three of which are concatenated into one). Part 3 ends on fol. 232a, making a total of 14 sections – the well-known trope of ‘the maid of fourteen’, the epitome of beauty in female form, and here exemplified by love-poems (*ghazals*) in praise of Zaynab (Zaynabiyyāt).³³

Part 4 (17 sections, #87–103)

The theme of celebrating female beauty in verse (*tashbīb*) is continued in the fourth and final part, where various female figures (e.g. Niẓām, Hind and Maryam) appear. It opens with

32. ‘À Propos’, pp. 189 and 192.

33. This 2-section part seems to have been viewed as a work in its own right: Yahia classifies *K. al-Zaynabiyyāt* under RG 837, but no independent manuscripts of it are known. Ibn ‘Arabī refers to a *Juz’ al-Zaynabiyyāt* in *Fut.*III.119, and it is reported in *Fihris*, #154 and in *lǧāza* #165. Al-Qūnawī cites this same *Juz’ al-Zaynabiyyāt* in the list of works Ibn ‘Arabī transmitted to him as a ‘part’ of the *Dīwān*. See Elmore, ‘Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī’s personal study list’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 56 (1997), pp. 161–81, and also his ‘Būlāq *Dīwān*’ article, p. 137.

eight sections containing almost 220 poems, most of which are untraced. Among them is an extensive ‘Nizāmiyyāt’ block, which appears to span much of sections #90–1, following which there are indications of short sections which could be called ‘Hindiyyāt’ and ‘Maryamiyyāt’.³⁴ Near the end of the eighth section (#94) we find a second set of 3+3 poems from *Tanazzulāt* and *Isrā’*. The final nine sections, #95–103, contain the 61 *Tarjumān* poems. Let us note in passing a numeric aspect of that work: 1 (the setting-the-scene poem that is commented upon by Ibn ‘Arabī himself in the prologue to the commentary) + 60 (= 24 + 36, i.e. a 2:3 ratio again). Here we find yet another unexplained division: the first 14 poems (possibly emphasising the ‘maid of fourteen’ motif)³⁵ are accompanied by the verse-by-verse commentary from *Dhakā’ir* (which thus extends into section #101), after which the remaining 47 poems (15–61) appear alone, as in the *Tarjumān* itself. It is worth noting here that as a whole, GD.1 begins and ends with poems from the *Tarjumān*, suggesting that it can be seen primarily as a collection of love poetry. The 17 sections of this fourth part may possibly be connected to the combined number of the three Arabic vowels, the so-called *ḥurūf al-‘illa* (the so-called ‘sick letters’ or ‘the letters that cause [the movement of articulation]’): *alif*/1 + *wāw*/6 + *yā’*/10.

The tally of blocks of poems which are currently ‘mostly untraced’ in all four parts comes to just over half of the total of 2,580 poems in GD.1 as a whole. Even after we have accounted for the poems that can be found in other works (such as *Muḥāḍarat*), well over 1,000 poems in GD.1 remain entirely untraced to currently known works by Ibn ‘Arabī. Hence one-third of the Great Dīwān can be said to be still unpublished.

34. See Addas, ‘À Propos’, p.192.

35. We may note here that 14 is a number that suggests many other connections: it is described in the *Dhakā’ir* as deriving from ‘the most perfect number’ (see *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, XL, ed. Nicholson, pp.124–5); there are also 14 solar letters (those that assimilate to the article in pronunciation) and 14 lunar (those that do not assimilate), and so on.

Structure and content of GD.2

The structure of the Būlāq edition has been well described by both G. Elmore and R. Deladrière. Our discovery of the ‘Būlāq hole’ and our cataloguing of a proto-Būlāq manuscript [YAB], as well as three Būlāq-alike manuscripts, has provided further insights. We will concentrate mainly on the ‘Būlāq hole’ in the context of the overall structure.

GD.2 appears to be in two major parts, each with 26 *basmalah*-sections. There is certainly a case for more study of the exact breakdown of these 52 sections, as there are clear groupings within them. In the first 26 sections (pp. 1–214), we find poems from works that are generally considered to date from the early Maghribi period of Ibn ‘Arabī’s life (for example, *K. al-Isrā’*, *Mawāqī’ al-nujūm*, *‘Anqā’ muḡhrib*, *al-Ittiḡād al-kawnī*) as well as apparently later poems that appear in the *Futūḡhāt*. However, as Elmore has pointed out, these might also date to an earlier period in terms of composition.

At page 52 occurs what we name the ‘Būlāq hole’: two-and-a-half *basmalah*-sections containing almost 50 poems and a section of prose. All of these are missing from the Būlāq print edition and Būlāq-alike manuscripts, but are found in the proto-Būlāq manuscript, Yusuf Aḡa 5463 [YAB].

The contents of the hole are intriguing: while we have been unable to trace any of the first three poems (which can thus join the group of ‘miscellaneous poems’ recorded by Elmore, p. 143), the seventh poem comes from *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya* (RG 716), and the final six poems of the sixth *basmalah*-section ([YAB] pp. 328–9) come from *K. al-Muḡni’* (RG 511), ending with a poem of 45 verses in alif-hamza on the regulation of the soul (*tadbīr al-naḡs*).³⁶

36. The first line of this poem is recorded by Ismā‘īl Pāshā in his *Ṭdāḡ al-maknūn* (II.345), as being part of Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Kashf al-astār ‘an khawāṣṣ al-asrār* (RG 332a). Somewhat confusingly, this same alchemical poem is recorded in British Library Add. 7590/4, referred to as *Dīwān fī al-kīmīyā’*, a few folios after a work attributed to Ibn al-Ṣalāḡ with exactly the same title, *Kashf al-astār ‘an khawāṣṣ al-asrār*.

More significantly, the 7th (21 poems) and 8th (17 poems) sections explicitly state that they are devoted to the advice and counsel which kings and rulers (*al-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn*) asked for from Ibn ‘Arabī³⁷ – in other words, this must be the very part he designated in GD.1 as the ‘Sultāniyyāt’ (and hence proof that GD.1 and GD.2 were conceived of as one unit). It is composed of a total of 38 poems, the first 28 of which are in Maghribi alphabetical order (in 12 distinct letters), and each poem explicitly mentions the word *malik* or *sultān*.

The 9th section begins with a long section of prose from *Nasab al-khirqā*, which gives details of Ibn ‘Arabī’s investitures by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā in Mecca, by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī in Fez and by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī in Mosul,³⁸ and thus the end of the ‘hole’ initiates another set of poems that relate to initiation, drawn from the *Nasab al-khirqā* and including 23 shorter poems describing the conferring of initiation (*ilbās al-khirqā*).

The 10th section comprises *Futūḥāt* poems from the section on ritual purity and prayer (chaps. 68 and 69), poems which appear in full in [PBN].³⁹ After seven sections of ‘miscellaneous poems’, there follow five sections on the meditative poems dedicated to the spirits of the Quranic suras,⁴⁰ and another 40 or so miscellaneous poems.

The final poem of the 26th *basmalah*-section, marking a halfway point in GD.2, is the unique ‘strophic poem’ in the *zajal* form addressed to the ‘verifying seeker’ (*yā ṭālib al-muḥaqqiq*). This completes the cycle of 22 Andalusian-style

37. [YAB], p. 329.

38. For an English translation and study of the *Nasab al-khirqā*, see G. Elmore, ‘Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Testament on the Mantle of Initiation’, *JMIAS* 26 (1999), pp. 1–33.

39. A variant of these verses occurs in the opening 84 verses of the ‘Eastern Dīwān’ [UNI]. However, there are significant differences in the ordering of verses, with omissions and insertions. Furthermore, the same poem is given its own entry by Yahia under RG 567a with the title *qaṣīda fī ḥaqq al-mahdī*.

40. See McAuley, *Mystical Poetics*, ch. 3, pp. 59–92.

lyrical poems or songs that appear to have been the original work of *al-Muwashshahāt* (RG 517).⁴¹

The only identifiable text in the second half of GD.2 is *al-Mu'ashsharāt*: 29 ten-line poems ('tensomes' as Elmore calls them), each taking one of the letters (including lām-alif) as both an end-rhyme and the initial letter of every verse.⁴² In addition, as McAuley has noted,⁴³ there is an 11-line cap-poem that serves to comment on the cycle of *mu'ashsharāt*. The final 24 sections, with over 400 poems, contain very few found elsewhere.

Works supplying poems to the Great Dīwān as a whole

In the following lists we only treat the works we have catalogued, in which there are one or more poems. These are the works we would expect to find represented in the Great Dīwān if it truly contained all of Ibn 'Arabī's poetry and if the work were authentically his. At present in the database, however, we do not distinguish poems by Ibn 'Arabī from those quoted by him but actually written by someone else: this is a drawback, since there are many examples where Ibn 'Arabī quotes single lines from earlier poets such as Ḥallāj or 'Imrū al-Qays, often without attributing them, and this is an area for future refinement of the catalogue. Another potential problem would occur if all 'unique' multi-verse poems in a work were in fact quoted from another author. In that case, we would not expect to find the work represented in the GD (as a collection of all of Ibn 'Arabī's

41. See Shehit Ali 1389, fols.60a–65b, for these 22, reportedly copied from a copy of one in the hand of Ibn 'Arabī – possibly they were copied from the lost Yusuf Aḡa 5502? There are 29 songs or 'strophic poems' in total, scattered across Būlāq: the first 22 at pp. 45, 81, 84–9, 108–10, 117–20, 122, 129, 194–200, 211–14 (the halfway point in Būlāq), and then the remaining set of seven (not found in Shehit Ali 1389) at pp. 389–91, 413, 446, 448, 452.

42. See *Mystical Poetics*, chs. 7 and 8, for a more detailed discussion of these poems.

43. *Mystical Poetics*, pp.194–99, which includes a translation of the poem and a comparison with one by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. The poem can be found in Būlāq, p.237.

own poems) and so would have no reason to question the authenticity of the work. There is equally the complication that poems found in one work can also be found in other works: for example, the two *mufrads* discussed earlier, which are found in the *Fuṣūṣ* chapters of Aaron and Moses, but according to the GD ordering probably did not originate there; or a two-line poem quoted in *K. al-Jalāla*, which actually derives from the middle of a poem in *al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya*.

We can divide the works that provide poems to the GD into two groups, those that provide significant blocks of poems to the GD and those that have only one or two poems to contribute:

Major contributors:

- [mainly or only in GD.1] *Fuṣūṣ*, *Futūḥāt*, *Tanazzulāt*, *Dhakā'ir*, *Tarjumān*
- [mainly or only in GD.2] *Mawāqī'*, *'Anqā'*, *Ittiḥād*, *Mu'ashsharāt*, *Muwashshahāt*
- [in both GD.1 and GD.2] *Isrā'*, *Muḥāḍarat*

There are also other shorter works that contribute one or more poems: for example, *K. al-'Abādila*, *K. al-'Azama*, *K. al-Bā'*, *Ḥilyat al-abdāl*, *al-Kawkab al-durrī*, *K. al-Kutub*, *K. al-Muqni'*, *K. Nasab al-khirqa*, *Rūḥ al-quḍs*, *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya* (in the 'Būlaq hole') *Tāj al-rasā'il*, *al-Tajalliyāt al-ilāhiyya*, *'Uqlat al-mustawfīz* and *K. al-Yā'*.

We are currently unclear whether the 'Zaynabiyāt' (GD.1) or the Quranic poems (GD.2) ever existed as an independent work. The same goes for the 'Sultāniyyāt' (GD.2): the exclusion of its poems from the WD strongly suggests that these poems originally appeared in an independent work.

One of the most useful diagnostic tools that the database can offer is to check the authenticity of a work that has poetry in it and is attributed to Ibn 'Arabī. If the poems are not to be found anywhere in the GD, then evidently its claims to being a genuine work by Ibn 'Arabī must be called into question. For example, none of the 93 poems in *Shujūn al-masjūn* (RG 692) are to be found in the GD, although they can be found in [BOD] and [HME] (see Appendix 1 for details of these manuscripts).

‘WESTERN’ AND ‘EASTERN’ DAWĀWĪN

Before we turn to describing the two main Dawāwīn derived by Ibn ‘Arabī himself from the Great Dīwān, we should emphasise that these two working titles are entirely of our own invention. We have chosen them primarily to reflect the two different alphabetical orderings around which the Dawāwīn are organised, one Maghribi and one Mashriqi. However, we also intend to call to mind the vision described in the Prologue to GD.1, in which the poetic animal spread its head to the Eastern and Western horizons before returning into Ibn ‘Arabī’s chest (see the figure and accompanying quotation on p. 39).

A MULTI-PART ‘WESTERN DĪWĀN’ (WD)

The ‘Western Dīwān’ (WD) is represented by two manuscripts which partially overlap: [VEL] and [KHL].⁴⁴ Unlike the situation with the GD, the WD is not (as far as we know) referred to by Ibn ‘Arabī himself as an independent work. Yet he must have been involved in the construction of this component of his Dīwān, since a key manuscript [KHL] is in his own hand and the manuscript was read in front of him and approved by him. He himself tells us that [KHL] is “the fourth part of the Dīwān”, there being five (other?) parts. [VEL], another early manuscript, describes itself as the third part, even though it actually overlaps with [KHL]. At present it is somewhat unclear what is meant by the fourth part, although we might surmise that if GD.1 and GD.2 are considered the first and second, then [KHL] would be the fourth after the predicted volume that overlaps with [VEL]. Equally, if we count first from the two volumes of the Eastern Dīwān (ED), then again [KHL] is the fourth. In both cases, there would be five volumes to consider.

The WD has a strikingly different organisation to that of the Great Dīwān: it is made up of blocks of poems that share a rhyme letter alternating with blocks of mixed rhyme (‘letter blocks’ and ‘thematic blocks’, as we call them). [KHL] contains

44. Both are described by Hirtenstein in ‘Some Preliminary Notes’.

letter blocks for the following letters: {z, ṭ, z, k, l, m, n}. [VEL] contains letter blocks for the following: {d,⁴⁵ dh, r, z, ṭ, z, k, l} (the last five being where the content coincides with that of [KHL]). This sequence of letters is part of an alphabetical sequence peculiar to the Maghrib (**[VEL]** and **[KHL]** in bold):⁴⁶

alif ʾ b t th j ḥ kh {**d dh r z ṭ z k l m n**} ṣ
 ḍ ʿ gh f q s sh h w lām-alif y

We know that Ibn ʿArabī found this 29-letter Maghribi sequence to be significant, for it is also found in full as the first letter of verses 9–37 of a special 44-verse poem on the letters in Būlāq.⁴⁷ We are uncertain as to what would happen under this scheme to poems rhyming in alif, which Ibn ʿArabī treats as a distinct rhyme letter: it could be that they would appear prior to the hamza poems as in the ED, or they may have been omitted. Although as yet we have no manuscript evidence to prove this, it seems to us highly likely that there were other ‘parts’ to the WD, corresponding to those letters not covered by [KHL] and [VEL], and ordered according to the Maghribi alphabetical sequence.

On the basis of the ‘mapping’ which we describe below and assuming that the GD is the full complement of poems available, we are able to reconstruct much of the content of the whole hypothetical WD. We estimate that [KHL] would contain around 35% of the total poems (670 out of 2,000), while the earlier part (alif, hamza ... rāʾ) would cover some 45% (890 poems), and the later part (ṣād ... lām-alif) around 20% (440 poems). Since we have not found any manuscripts for the first

45. According to our reconstructing the ‘d’ block under the mapping from GD to WD, we believe it only contains around the final 40% of poems rhyming in ‘d’.

46. See e.g. A.M. Honeyman, ‘The letter-order of the Semitic alphabets in Africa and the Near East’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, XXII (1952), pp. 136–47. It seems to have been most common to place lām-alif prior to yāʾ: see *Mystical Poetics*, p. 62, n.17 for references on various kinds of alphabetical ordering.

47. Būlāq, p. 317. In the Leiden ms. [LDN], fol. 148b, we find this sequence of letters in verses 9–37 highlighted in the margin.

putative part, we do not know whether it also contained its own prologue.

Over 95% of the poems in the WD are also found in the GD, but there are significant definable 'ignored' sections of the GD whose poems do not figure in the WD, in particular most poems from the *Futūḥāt* and other recognisable works (details below).⁴⁸ In short, the WD is a selective reorganisation of GD, part thematic, part alphabetic, ordered overall according to a Maghribi alphabetical sequence.

The 'mapping' from the Great Dīwān to the Western Dīwān

In the process of cataloguing and cross-matching poems in the Great Dīwān and the Western Dīwān we uncovered a four-stage 'mapping' process by which the latter was derived in large part formulaically from the former.

First of all, poems sharing a rhyme letter are 'combed out' from defined sections of the GD into separate 'strands'. These strands are then woven together or 'plaited', i.e. reordered, according to a weave-pattern which is fixed across all rhyme letters: that is to say, the sequence in which poems are sourced from the GD is standardised for all letters (see Appendix 5). In this way alphabetic blocks (or 'plaits') are constructed. In the third step, these alphabetic plaits are laid out one after another in the Maghribi alphabetical order.

There is one further 'rule' to this mapping process: certain sections of the GD are to be ignored and do not form part of the strands. These are the poems drawn from known works, as follows:

48. The WD contains approximately 60% of the poems in the GD, 2,000 of the 3,500 GD total, made up of around 1,300 from GD.1 and 700 from GD.2. The values are around 5% lower than the 'candidate' values (under the 'mapping'), an adjustment we make to reflect the 'actual' values we find in [KHL]. In other words, around 5% of poems predicted under the mapping to occur in the WD are in actual fact not found there. Ibn 'Arabī for some reason tended to drop a small number of poems beyond those in the 'ignored' blocks of poems from known works.

GD.1:

- (PBN fol. 40a–41b) – *Fuṣūṣ* poems
- (PBN fols. 70b–139b) – *Futūḥāt* poems
- (PBN fols. 144b–151a) – *Tanazzulāt* and *Isrā'* poems

The *Tarjumān* is the exception to this rule: its poems *do* reappear in the WD, from which we might conclude that the WD retains the emphasis on love-poetry which is so characteristic of GD.1.

GD.2:

- the early works (*Isrā'*, *Mawāqī'*, *'Anqā'*, *Ittiḥād*)
- three late works, the *Mu'ashsharāt* and all 6 poems from *K. al-Muqni'* followed by a double-section of poems within the 'Būlāq hole' ([YAB] pp.329–36), which has been identified as the 'Sulṭāniyyāt' – the latter must derive from an as yet unidentified work that Ibn 'Arabī wrote during his time in the Mashriq
- the *Muwashshahāt* (strophic poems), which are a special case, since they do not appear as a coherent block in GD.2 but are scattered across it

None of these poems appear in the WD, which probably suggests that Ibn 'Arabī considered them well enough known in their own right as independent books not to be involved in this alphabetical reorganisation process. By summing up the numbers of poems in the 'ignored' blocks, we can estimate a total number of poems for the WD: approximately 2,130 (60%) of the 3,500 poems in the GD. Thus Ibn 'Arabī can be said to have composed over 2,000 self-standing poems which are not part of any specific collection or prose work.

Finally, the fourth and last element of the WD construction is that the alphabetic plaits are separated from each other by non-alphabetic (mixed rhyme) or 'thematic' blocks of poems. These thematic blocks do not appear, as far as we can tell, at the beginning or end of each part of the WD. For example, the 'd' block is separated from the 'dh' block by what we label the [d-dh] thematic block. Thematic blocks have a simpler structure than alphabetic blocks: they are generally lifted *in toto* from particular regions of the GD (without selection or reordering

of the poems within them). As a result the thematic relation binding those poems together is carried over from the GD to the WD (by contrast, nearby poems in alphabetic blocks are dispersed in the move to the WD unless they happen to share the same rhyme letter).

Two main regions of GD.1 provide poems to the WD 'thematic blocks':

- First thematic section (PBN fols. 203b–225b)
- Second thematic section (PBN fols. 232a–243a)

(See Appendix 5 for a depiction of the way the mapping works.)

The direction of the 'mapping': which came first, the Great Dīwān or the Western Dīwān?

If one considers inverting the mapping and then attempts to derive the Great Dīwān from the Western Dīwān, one soon runs into a problem. To generate an alpha-block in GD, poems from corresponding sub-blocks of each letter block in the WD would need to be 'shuffled' together in such a way that the poems in each letter maintained their order (much as when one splits a deck of cards in two and 'combines' those two). It is difficult to conceive of why that would be a meaningful thing to do if the only thing all these poems have in common is some theme: why scatter around that block poems which share a rhyme letter, and why preserve their order while doing so? We can only conclude that the Great Dīwān was the first compilation that Ibn 'Arabī constructed, and its significantly larger overall size is simply due to the inclusion of poems from the *Futūḥāt* and other major works which do not occur in the WD. Thus the WD must have come later, as a selective reorganisation of the GD, formulaically derived according to this mapping.

Reconstruction of the letter blocks and missing (predicted) manuscripts

Since the GD-to-WD mapping corresponds to a defined algorithm, we can use it to reconstruct all of the letter blocks, both those for which we have manuscript examples ([KHL]

and [VEL]), and those for which we do not. In the former case we can compare the reconstructed letter block to the actual letter block and gauge the extent to which Ibn ‘Arabī omitted or added poems or reordered them in a way *not* predicted by the mapping. In the latter case, we can build a detailed picture of the likely contents of ‘missing’ (i.e. predicted) manuscripts of the WD as an aid to the ongoing search for Dīwān manuscripts.

As an example of how the reconstructed blocks compare with actual blocks, let us take the ‘n’ block of the WD as found in [KHL]. The mapping predicts that this should contain 195 poems. In fact we find that only eleven of these (just over 5%) do not appear in the WD ‘n’ block; we also find five new poems, i.e. poems not found in the GD, and four that appear out of the expected order. These numbers are not atypical, and we can see that the mapping predicts the structure of letter blocks remarkably well. In other words, Ibn ‘Arabī used a process equivalent to the mapping to construct the WD from the GD, and he did not often diverge from it.

We can also use the mapping to revisit the structure of the Great Dīwān, allowing us to effectively reconstruct a ‘table of contents’ for the GD (see Appendices 3–5). The mapping from the GD to the WD delimits implicit ‘sections’ which otherwise would not be obvious (there being no section headings in the manuscripts we have studied). By identifiable ‘sections’ we mean that a contiguous set of poems is treated as a group under the mapping, and in this way is distinguished from surrounding sections. It seems very likely that Ibn ‘Arabī regarded such ‘sections’ as made up of thematically related poems.

Clear examples of identifiable mapping-defined sections are the ‘Zaynabiyāt’ and ‘Ghazaliyyāt’ sections. In the GD these two sections are surrounded by sections supplying thematic blocks to the WD. Since these love-poems are treated as alphabetic blocks under the mapping, the poems in these sections are scattered across letter blocks (according to their rhyme letter) in the WD. However, as the mapping produces the same weave-sequence for every letter block, these appear in the same relative location within each letter block of the WD. More

precisely, poems from the GD 'Ghazaliyyāt' section appear at the very end of letter blocks in the WD, while 'Zaynabiyyāt' poems appear just before them.

Another mapping-implied 'block' is the sequence of four *basmalah*-sections (labelled [M4b] in our schema in Appendix 5), which is distinguished from the blocks before and after it in the GD, [M4a] and [M4c]. We expect that detailed analysis of the content of the poems themselves will indicate a 'thematic' reason why these poems should belong together in the GD and why they should have been placed after the *Tarjumān* poems and before the Initiation poems in the alphabetical blocks of the WD.

Ibn 'Arabī himself refers to a number of sections within the GD.1, not all of which we have yet been able to identify. After the vast main block of poems from the *Futūḥāt* he states:

in this and other chapters of the *Dīwān*, we have sometimes left out verses that are to be found there [i.e. in the *Futūḥāt*]. We have not put them in here because they are recorded in this *Dīwān* in the [sections] on *tashbīb*, *sultāniyyāt*, *mawā'iz* and other subjects. ([PBN] fol. 139b)

We can be reasonably certain that as *tashbīb* means 'the making of the commencement of poetry elegant, or ornate, by the mention of women',⁴⁹ examples of it would be the 'Zaynabiyyāt' and 'Ghazaliyyāt'. Addas also suggested a number of other such sections: a 'Niẓāmiyyāt', 'Hindiyyāt' and 'Maryamiyyāt', based on the occurrence of these names in the first lines of poems.⁵⁰ However, as far as we can see, these sections are not treated in any special way by the mapping to the WD. The 'Niẓāmiyyāt', the only large-scale one of the three, occurs in a 'thematic' block in the GD and might supply sequences of poems to one or more mixed rhyme blocks, but if so, this would be in a part of the WD for which we do not yet possess manuscripts. In addition, the 'Sultāniyyāt' section has been identified as part of GD.2 (in the Būlāq hole).

49. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1493.

50. 'À Propos', p. 192.

Recension markers

While comparing in detail the text of poems appearing in both the GD (especially GD.1) and the WD we discovered a number of ‘recension markers’. By this we mean a word or phrase used with great regularity and prominence, but with a consistent difference whenever such a poem appears in one or other of the two ‘recensions’, the GD or WD. For example, we find the strange word *m-h-b-l-n-d* used in a large number of poems in the WD in place of a small number of alternative phrases in the GD, most often *man ‘alimtum* (‘the one whom you all know’) or occasionally *‘ayn dhātī* (‘essence of my own self’).

The recension markers are to be found in the putative third part of GD.1, in poems which follow the *rūḥ* transition, and in the opening six sections of the fourth part – in other words, at the beginning and heart of the love-poems (*tashbīb*) section. This area of GD.1 is generally the supplier of poems to thematic blocks to the WD, although it also includes the ‘Ghazaliyyāt’ and ‘Zaynabiyyāt’ sections (which supply poems to the tail-end of alphabetic blocks in the WD). In the latter case a recension marker would serve to flag for the reader the thematic connections between poems dispersed around the WD. For example, near the end of a typical alphabetic block, the reader of the WD will come across poems using the name Zaynab. However, although Ibn ‘Arabī specifically mentions the ‘Zaynabiyyāt’ section early in the GD.1, the poems in that section generally do not use the name Zaynab, opting (as in the case of *m-h-b-l-n-d*) for an epithet such as *rāḥatī* (‘my repose’) instead.

Here let us recall the 5-line poem, which heads this section ([PBN] fol. 203b) and had already appeared in a slightly different form in the Prologue:

I have a love who has the name
 of all who have a name
 That is what I allude to
 in [both] clear and obscure [speech]
 By [referring to] Rubab
 to Hind and to Salma, I mean
 Only Him, so consider Him
 for He is the name that is named.
 And the one who does not know what I am saying
 is blind to the way of Truth/God

Having thus stated that what he loves “has the name of all who have a name”, Ibn ‘Arabī immediately provides us with another poem that describes why he is mentioning so many apparently different beloveds such as Firdaws in this section. As the last line states:

All of their names are truly distinguished –
 and in Him are they united!

He then begins to use the particular recension markers – thus, for example, the first eight poems all have the phrase *dhāt nafṣī* (‘essence of my own self’), which we strongly suspect is a cipher for the name Mah-buland (or Mah-baland). As this recension marker is outside the known manuscripts of the WD, we cannot confirm this, but it is highly reminiscent of other markers that denote Mah-buland, such as *‘ayn dhātī*.

As we do not possess manuscripts for all of the WD, we are unable to put an exact number to the number of poems in which recension markers occur. Our estimates are based on knowing the list of alternatives in the GD for each marker and identifying those phrases in nearby poems. Here is a list of the main recension markers we have discovered so far:

| WD form | GD alternatives | Location in GD | Estimated number of poems using 'marker' |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Mah-buland</i> مهبلند | من علمتم (most common) عين ذاتي (less common) and there are even rarer alternatives such as نور عيني | Part 3 prior to 'Ghazaliyyāt' | 98 |
| <i>Firdaws</i> فردوس | A great variety, none of which can be said to be common, e.g. جنتها or جنتنا or النعيم | Part 3 prior to 'Ghazaliyyāt' | 62 |
| <i>Ghazaltī</i> غزلتی | حياتي (always) | 'Ghazaliyyāt' | 19 of 24 |
| <i>Zaynab</i> زينب | راحتي (most common) | 'Zaynabiyyāt' | 26 of 50 |
| <i>Ṣafīya</i> صفية | علية (most common) | Part 4 (after 'Zaynabiyyāt') | 13 |

In the case of the marker *Ṣafīya* (*ṣ-f-y-h*), we even find an acrostic poem for this word in [PBN] fol.242b (five verses, rhyming in 'q'), where the four letters *ṣ-f-y-h* occur as the first letter to each of the first four verses in turn, with the fifth (missing in the WD) adding an explanation of how these letters evoke the beloved. In the WD manuscripts [KHL] and [VEL], this acrostic is flagged by the scribes repeating the letters in the margin.

It is noteworthy that the 'final' WD form tends to explicitly mention the name of the particular beloved, rather than an allusive cipher: Şafiya, Zaynab and Firdaws, which are still used today as girls' names. The first name Mah-buland (or Mah-baland as vowelled in [VEL]) is a combination of two Persian words meaning 'high moon' or 'exalted beauty'. We can only assume that it might have been used as a girl's name in Ibn 'Arabī's time or earlier.⁵¹

Thus this method served both a lover's purpose, of veiling or masking the reality of his beloved from the eyes of others, as well as a practical one, of linking poems across different recensions. Intriguingly, we have even found two cases in which recension marker variations occur in poems from the *Futūḥāt*, where the original *Futūḥāt* form is *different yet again* from both the GD and WD forms. In a poem from chap. 178 which Ibn 'Arabī placed within the 'Ghazaliyyāt' section (*Fut.II.323*; fol.227a), the original form is *ḥaqīqtī* (= *ḥaqīqatī*) and not *ḥayātī* (GD) or Ghazaltī (WD).⁵² Again, in another poem from chap. 178 which he placed in the 'Zaynabiyyāt' (*Fut.II.324*; fol.229b), the original form is *hādhihī* and not *rāḥatī* (GD) or Zaynabun (WD and ED).

We conclude that from the very beginning Ibn 'Arabī was inserting recension markers as part of his *Dīwān* construction process, presumably so as to emphasise thematic relations among neighbouring poems. But, rather disturbingly, this also means there is no *a priori* reason to regard either a GD or a WD poem as representing the 'original' poem! A detailed study of these recension markers, which would be most valuable, will have to be left for others, as here there is only space to suggest an outline of what is a most fascinating area.

Finally, recension markers are useful to us in assessing what

51. Buland finds its way into Turkish as the boy's name Bülent. As for the name Ghazaltī ('my gazelle'), this is a dialect form which seems to be an epithet (akin to *ḥabībtī* for *ḥabībatī*), still used today in various regions to denote a female beloved.

52. The abbreviated form (*ḥaqīqtī* as per *ḥabībtī*) of this *Futūḥāt* poem was noted by Sulaymān 'Aṭṭār in *al-Khayāl wa-l-shi'r fī taṣawwuf al-Andalus* (Cairo, 1981), p.304.

sources were used by Dawāwīn beyond the GD and WD. For recension markers seem to be consistently ‘inherited’ in other Dawāwīn. For example, when parallel poems appear in [BOD] (*Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā’*, OD1), it is the WD form that is always used. By contrast, when parallel poems appear in [UNI] (ED.1), the GD form is always used. We can thus conclude that OD1 had the WD as its ultimate source, while the ED was based upon the GD.

A TWO-PART ‘EASTERN DĪWĀN’ (ED)

We now turn to yet another large-scale Dīwān which seems to have been constructed by Ibn ‘Arabī himself. The ED is a fully alphabetical Dīwān, with poems grouped entirely by rhyme letter, and letter blocks arranged according to the Eastern (standard) alphabetical order, alif, hamza through to lām-alif and finally yā’.

The only manuscript we have been able to catalogue in detail is [UNI] (see Appendix 1), which covers the first 19 letters, alif to ghayn.⁵³ This manuscript calls itself the ‘first part’ and contains approximately 700 poems. We believe this to have been copied from the ‘lost’ volume in al-Qūnawī’s *waqf*, Yusuf Aḡa 5501, which was briefly described by Ahmed Ateş in 1952.⁵⁴ According to Ateş, Yusuf Aḡa 5501 had 235 folios, and was written in a Maghribi *naskhī*, with no date. The beginning states: “*qāla al-shaykh al-imām... Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Arabī al-Ḥātīmī al-Ṭā’ī, raḡiya Allāhu ‘anhu*” and then the poems from alif to ghayn follow. From this notice it seems that Yahia (and following him, Elmore) declared this to be an ‘autograph’, perhaps assuming that the handwriting was Ibn ‘Arabī’s own. Given that this and the second volume were part of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī’s *waqf*, we might deduce that this copy was not

53. Another direct parallel for University A1438 and Yusuf Aḡa 5501 is Zahiriya 364 Tas (=Zahiriya 1539; based on personal communication from Bakri Aladdin who examined the ms.). The initial poem (which thus begins the alif letter block) is also found on its own in Zahiriya 6824, which Yahia catalogues as RG 567a with the title, *qaṣīda fī ḥaqq al-mahdī*.

54. *Bellesten* 16 (1952), p. 54.

only al-Qūnawī's own but formed some kind of present from the author to his stepson, knowing that he would already have copies of the poems in works which are omitted. Hence we might even describe this as the Konya Dīwān. However, while possible, we cannot determine with any certainty whether this was the case, as there is no known copy, microfilm or digital, that we have been able to access.

Ateş also mentions a second companion volume of this Dīwān (Yusuf Ağa 5502), equally from al-Qūnawī's *waqf*, which had poems covering the remaining letters of the Eastern order, fā' through yā', in 189 folios. In addition, it contained a final section of *Muwashshahāt*, in 11 folios. We assume that this would have been the second part (ED.2), which we can estimate as containing a similar number of poems to ED.1 (approximately 700). It may seem surprising that the ghayn-fā' divide should mark an approximate halfway point in the alphabet in respect of total numbers of poems. We compute that the zā'-āyn divide would be closer still, but the difference is only a small fraction of the whole. Perhaps there are other factors in this division which are more connected to hidden meanings of letters or numbers: for example, the letter ghayn suggests 'otherness' or 'distance' (*ghayr*, *gharb*), and is thus a natural end-point to a series beginning in alif; or there may be a numerical aspect, since this division produces two alphabetical sections of 19 and 10 letters. In addition, we should consider the large numbers of poems rhyming in q, l, m, n and h in Ibn 'Arabī's poetic corpus. Whatever the truth of the matter, there is evidence that Ibn 'Arabī himself flagged 'gh-f' as a quantitative halfway point, since in his sequence of '10-liners' (reproduced in the Būlāq) he chose the poem in 'f' to be the only one to carry an odd-number of verses, 11 rather than 10 (Būlāq, p. 227).

A question remains as to whether ED.2 contained a lām-alif section prior to the yā' section, which was apparently the last. Such an ordering of the 29 letters occurs in Ibn 'Arabī's '10-liners' in Būlāq, which turn out to play a special role in the structure of the ED: in the minor letter blocks these *mu'ashsharāt* are always placed first. It is also quite striking that Ibn 'Arabī gave such prominence to an apparently Maghribi style of poem

(*mu'ashshara*) in a Mashriqi-ordered Dīwān. Unfortunately, as we have not yet come across any surviving copy of ED.2, we have been unable to confirm the precise contours of the volume which Ateş described.

As we mentioned earlier, parallel poems in the GD and WD sometimes contain variations, variations which are consistent across groups of poems in each recension (i.e. in GD and in WD). A number of those poems which carry such recension markers also have parallels in [UNI], i.e. ED.1. In all the cases we have examined – close to 20 – the [UNI] reading agrees with the GD reading and differs from the WD reading. Thus we have good evidence that the (alphabetic) ED was constructed from the (non-alphabetic) GD and *not* from the (thematic-alphabetic) WD.⁵⁵

Having analysed the selection of poems from the GD and the way in which they are reordered to form the alphabetic blocks in the ED, we find nothing equivalent to the mapping by which the content of the GD was selectively reorganised to form the WD.

We considered every poem in the GD which rhymes in a letter between alif and ghayn (in the Eastern alphabetical sequence), and recorded whether or not it appears in ED.1. We then computed a 're-usage' percentage for various sections of the Great Dīwān and found some significant differences. In the first section (up to fol. 168a), poems from the major works (*Fuṣūṣ*, *Futūḥāt*, *Tanazzulāt*) were hardly used at all in [UNI] (the same was true of the WD). Meanwhile, the percentage of repeated poems from all the ones in this first section is close to 60% (medium re-usage). In the second section (fols. 168a–198b) we find heavy re-usage (80%). In the third section, from the repeated Būlāq poems onwards (including the *Tarjumān* poems) we find low re-usage (25%).⁵⁶

55. We have so far found only one exception to this, where the recension marker Zaynab(un) used in the ED ([UNI] fol. 159b) derives from the WD marker ([VEL] fol. 142b), not from the GD ([PBN] fol. 229b, *rāḥatī*).

56. Unlike the other major works noted earlier, we note that five *Tarjumān* poems (but only five) out of a potential 33 do appear in alif-ghayn. In three cases these are embedded in the commentary from

We carried out a similar re-usage analysis of poems in GD.2. Here we find that the level of re-usage divides GD.2 into four sections, with breaks at Būlāq pp. 40, 52 and 60. We find limited usage (25%) in the 'early works' (Būlāq pp. 1–39; by contrast in the WD these were entirely excluded); medium usage (50%) in Būlāq pp. 40–52 (including the Būlāq hole). There is light usage (10%) in the poems on initiation (Būlāq pp. 52–60, after the Būlāq hole, in contrast to the WD where these were included in a prominent place, prior to the 'Zaynabiyyāt' and 'Ghazaliyyāt', at the end of the alphabetic blocks). Finally, we find heavy re-usage (75%) in the remainder of Būlāq (pp. 60–475).

Overall usage of the GD in ED.1 indicates that approximately 40% of all poems in the GD appear in the ED (compared to 60% for the WD). Even in regions of heavy re-usage we find only 75–80% of poems in the GD reappearing in ED.1. We also find 36 'new' poems in ED.1 (5%) – poems with no parallel in the GD (although many of these occur in other manuscripts, a few even in the WD). This strongly suggests that the ED was constructed after the GD, but further research is needed to clarify this and many other questions, especially as currently we only have one part of the whole to analyse.

There is no room here to go into the detailed structure of letter blocks in ED.1. What is clear is that although there is no equivalent to the GD-to-WD mapping (whereby every letter block would have a similar structure), there are clear signs of systematisation. Minor letter blocks (those letters that only give rise to a few poems) all begin with the corresponding letter poem from the '10-liners' (*Mu'ashsharāt*), none of which appear at all in the WD.⁵⁷ However, the structure of major letter blocks

Dhakā'ir, even though that does not occur with the equivalent poem in the GD or WD. Somewhat as with the WD, poems in the *Tarjumān* are treated differently. We note that the break at fol. 198b, four poems repeated from Būlāq pp. 181–3, was not significant in the mapping by which the WD was produced. It is only re-usage analysis in the ED which indicates that this marks a significant transition in the Paris manuscript.

57. The 29 '10-liners' have been studied in detail by Denis McAuley (*Mystical Poetics*, pp. 198ff.), who also identifies an 11-verse 'cap poem' associated with them and found a little later in Būlāq (p. 237). They too

(poems in hamza, ‘b’, ‘d’ and ‘r’) do not even have this feature in common. Rather, the grouping of poems by source region in the ED is extremely complex, and may not itself provide a meaningful way to view the poems. Our impression is that the rearrangement of poems within letter blocks was significant on a finer scale in the ED than in the WD (where the ‘mapping’ was much more formulaic – poems were kept in meaningful subgroups, very few were dropped, and there was relatively little rearrangement of poems within those subgroups). Explaining the complexity of the rearrangement in the ED would demand a detailed analysis of the poems themselves, which lies well outside the scope of the current study.

OTHER DAWĀWĪN (OD)

We have now described the three large-scale Dawāwīn which we know or strongly suspect to have been constructed by Ibn ‘Arabī himself: the Great Dīwān, and the two selective reorganisations which we have labelled the ‘Western Dīwān’ and the ‘Eastern Dīwān’. We have also studied manuscripts which represent smaller-scale collections, which range from around 300 to a mere 19 poems (OD1–6). We do not propose to describe these other Dawāwīn in detail here but refer the reader to Appendix 2, in which we list these ‘other dawāwīn’ along with associated RG numbers and codes for the manuscripts we have studied. We have no reason to believe that any of these were known to Ibn ‘Arabī himself, although much of the poetic content seems to be authentically his.

OD1 (*Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā’*) corresponds to Yahia’s RG 103, which we have studied through a previously neglected manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (the oldest dated copy we have found). Although quite large (around 300 poems), a note within the text itself (fol.85a) indicates that it was compiled by a certain Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Interestingly, the ‘recension marker’ evidence of seven parallel poems in [BOD] is that OD1

follow a Mashriqi order in Būlāq, with a lām-alif poem placed pre-finally, between ‘w’ and ‘y’.

was compiled on the basis of the WD and not the GD.

OD3 (~150 poems) is another independent Dīwān to which Yahia gave a separate RG number (RG 100). Described by Addas as a *florilegium* compiled by an admirer of the Shaykh ('L'Œuvre', p.28), this collection draws poems from various works including *Tarjumān*, *Fuṣūṣ* and *Mawāqī' al-nujūm*. However, there are indications that nearly 40 of the poems in the early part of this compendium are not by Ibn 'Arabī at all (see Appendix 1 [BLB]).

As for the remaining four Dawāwīn (OD2, OD4–6) it is difficult to see how any of these could be assigned meaningfully to existing RG numbers. Perhaps of most interest are the manuscripts for OD2 and OD5: Berlin 7746 [BLN] and Fatih 5322 [FTM], respectively. These were both listed by Yahia under RG 101, the *Dīwān al-ma'ārif*, along with the Paris manuscript ([PBN] which we have reclassified as GD.1), the main reason seemingly being the fact that they all provide the text of the Prologue (although in the case of [BLN] only partially).

The Berlin manuscript, [BLN], described by Addas as an 'anthology',⁵⁸ apparently comes from a Sirāj al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī, who was the *khādīm* (caretaker) of Ibn 'Arabī's *zāwiya* in Mecca. It is entitled *Dīwān murtajalāt al-shaykh... al-mawsūm bi'l-ma'ārif al-ilāhiyya wa-l-laṭā'if al-rabbāniyya*: that is to say, poems 'extemporised' by Ibn 'Arabī but bearing the same general title as that given by the author in GD.1. Having catalogued and cross-matched the poems, we can also add a more descriptive working title, namely the 'early poems Dīwān': it consists almost entirely of poems from early works and early chapters of the *Futūḥāt*, i.e. early sections of GD.1 (up to fol. 66a) and GD.2 (up to the first six poems of the 'Būlaq hole').

Finally, we turn to OD5, represented by Fatih 5322 [FTM]. This is not simply a severely truncated version of the Paris manuscript, as Addas thought ('À Propos', p. 192), but is in fact yet another Dīwān. While the Prologue and the first six poems do mirror GD.1, the eleven poems which follow differ. We have found no parallels for any of the eleven poems elsewhere in the

58. 'À Propos', p. 193.

printed works or in any manuscript we have catalogued so far, suggesting that they were either written by some other author or they belong to an as yet unknown work by Ibn ‘Arabī, which does not appear in the GD.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have briefly surveyed the contours of what we believe to be Ibn ‘Arabī’s Great Dīwān and its offspring, the ‘Western Dīwān’ and its ‘Eastern’ sister. We have on a number of occasions raised the question of whether the Great Dīwān contained ‘all’ of Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetry. The fact that Ibn ‘Arabī says he wished to include all the poetry he could remember, and also speaks of the ongoing nature of poetic inspiration and production, surely means that this ‘all’ is inevitably open-ended. Ibn ‘Arabī’s collecting together of his own poetry would have to remain the task of a diary-keeper as much as that of a librarian. In the [KHL] manuscript we find poems written into the margins: do some of these represent authentic poems written on the spur of the moment in the process of collecting or organising his own poems? Or are they ones that suddenly popped back into his memory, having lain dormant for a while? Again, the few poems which are found only in the WD and ED frequently appear in small groups or at section breaks: can we conclude that they were composed as part of the living process of dīwān construction?

We have seen that even in the case of known works where we are confident of the original text (e.g. *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt*), Ibn ‘Arabī does not seem to always include absolutely every poem in his Great Dīwān. In many cases certainly the missing poems are not his creations, but this does not account for all the omissions. Yet the numbers are not large enough for us to suspect that there is anything like a missing third part beyond the GD.1 and GD.2.

A second problem is that of various versions of a poem. This has significance beyond the fact that a poem might undergo improvements by the author, or suffer unintended mutation under the hands of a sequence of scribes – problems which a critical edition could hope to address. There is plenty of evidence

that Ibn ‘Arabī himself, like any great creative artist, did not regard his poems as being fixed in stone – or perhaps we should say that if one of his poems is fixed, it is fixed beyond the words he used to express it! We have already mentioned two *Futūḥāt* poems whose form is deliberately altered when it appears in the GD and the WD, these forms being related to the recension markers he apparently introduced to flag connections between sequences of poems. A consequence of this is that even if we had before us a manuscript of a poem in the holograph Great Dīwān (i.e. the one written by Ibn ‘Arabī himself, surely the best possible situation), we could not necessarily assume that that was the form in which the ‘same’ poem appeared when he had originally placed it in an earlier composition or when it was first imprinted upon his memory!

Having said all this, we can surely attempt to perform the modern librarian’s version of what Ibn ‘Arabī set out to do: to record every poem in every authenticated work and manuscript that has come down to us in a vast database or super-dīwān. We are now some way up that mountain path, and can take stock. We can assess the sizes of the various Dawāwīn in which we know or strongly suspect Ibn ‘Arabī was involved. We can establish how these overlap and record the numbers of ‘new’ poems. We can continue the cataloguing of known copies of ‘Ibn ‘Arabī’s Dīwān’ and search for those other Dawāwīn which we predict should exist, be they in some public library or private collection. We can look at another Dīwān attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī, even one put together much later, and determine which material is authentic and which is doubtful (and where material is authentic, recension markers allow us to assess the likely source for such compilations). We can also use the same criteria to look at works containing poems, which have been attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī, and establish whether he can be considered the real author or not. We have already given one example with *Shujūn al-masjūn*, where at present scholarly opinion is divided as to whether it is an authentic work by Ibn ‘Arabī or not.

Another interesting area of study would be the prose sections that accompany various poems. We have mentioned various kinds of prose in the Dawāwīn, e.g. the Prologue, the section

on initiation from the *Nasab al-khirqā* (part of the Būlāq hole), the sign of the Seal text, commentaries attached to poems from the *Tarjumān* (i.e. the *Dhakā'ir*) or other works (e.g. *Muḥāḍarat* or *‘Abādila*). In general, it is noticeable that prose tends to travel with the poem to which it is attached, when the poem appears in another Dīwān. There are also snippets of prose used at *basmalah*-section transitions, and prose used to introduce poems. However, in our own work so far we have not been systematic in the cataloguing of prose sections, since the first priority has been to build up the poem database.

In conclusion, although we have not reached the summit, we believe we are sufficiently above the tree-line to have a clearer view of the landscape of the various Dawāwīn. And what we have found seems to recall again and again the remarkable vision with which we began this paper, and which Ibn ‘Arabī records at the very outset of his enterprise. In particular, we see the recurrent themes in the form and structure of the fruit of his poetic inspiration: the extraordinary creature that emerged from his chest as a hair, as an awareness and as verses (all meanings implied in the root *sh-‘-r*), and stretched its head to both horizons, western and eastern. However, it is one thing to describe the overall contours of such fruit, and quite another to savour the taste in all the various poems that the author has so carefully laid out for his readers’ enjoyment and education. Let us, therefore, finish with a two-line poem from the ‘Ghazaliyyāt’ section of GD.1 ([PBN] fol.226b), which also appears with a different marker in the WD ([VEL] fol.22b):

The one whom I love visited my place while
 I was out – if I were only aware whether she
 would come again!
 That is not equity on the part of my gazelle –
 no, fairness would be for her to come back...⁵⁹

59. With many thanks to Denis McAuley for the translation of this poem. It is worth noting the phrase *layta shi‘rī* (‘if I were only aware’) exactly echoes the first words of the first poem of the *Tarjumān*, and the word *shi‘r* seems to be deliberately used to convey not only awareness but also poetry itself.

Appendix 1

List of manuscripts studied (poems catalogued and cross-matched)

[BLB] – British Library Add. 7599 (London) fols. 1–60

Classification: OD3. Given a separate RG number by OY (RG 100) and described by C. Addas as a ‘florilegium’ (‘L’Œuvre’, p. 28). Begins with 994-verse *tā’iyya* (see ‘L’Œuvre’, pp. 27–8 on this) followed by 37 poems we do not recognise. Then 17 (of 61) *Tarjumān* poems (reordered) are followed by 29 poems from the *Fuṣūṣ* (a different selection to [PBN], omitting the poem from the Prologue, one from Isaac, the Hud *mufrad*, one from Shu‘ayb and one from Solomon), then 54 (almost all) from *Mawāqī‘*, then two poems we do not recognise and an out-of-sequence poem from *Tarjumān* (the fifth), and finally 13 (of 29) from the *Mu‘ashsharāt*.

Total: around 150 poems. Contains 40 poems not found elsewhere.

See Addas, ‘L’Œuvre’, p. 28, and ‘À Propos’, p. 193, for more details.

[BLN] – Berlin 7746 Sprenger 1108 (Berlin) fols. 1–62

Classification: OD2. Contains a variant of part of the Prologue from RG 101 (cf. [PBN] and [FTM]), but subsequently is yet another *Dīwān*. It is dominated by blocks of poems from the first two chapters of the *Futūḥāt*, as well as from *Tanazzulāt* and *Ittihād*. It also contains other miscellaneous poems from early in proto-Būlāq (early works and others up to and including the first six poems of the Būlāq hole, Būlāq, p. 52) and from early in Paris (up to fol. 66a, i.e. prior to the *Futūḥāt* block), poems from *Isrā’*, ‘*Anqā’*, *Mawāqī‘* (early works) and occasional poems from *Rūḥī*, *Tāj*, *Fuṣūṣ* and some later parts of *Futūḥāt* (often chapter initial), and a few from later in Paris (fols. 234a–35a and fol. 238a, which are in the second thematic section). Since it consists almost entirely of poems from early works, early chapters of the *Futūḥāt*, or from early sections of Paris and proto-Būlāq, we refer to it as the ‘Early poems *Dīwān*’.

The sequence of letter poems in fols. 8b–12a is a selective reordering of poems from *Fut.* chap. 2. Almost the exact same sequence is found as *K. al-Mabādī wa-l-ghayāt* (RG 380) as found in Istanbul University A79, fols. 98b–102a. So RG 380 may have been an intermediate source for the construction of this *Dīwān*.

Total: around 290 poems. Contains 20+ poems not found elsewhere.

[BOD] – Bodleian Pococke 275 (Oxford) fols. 1–85

Classification: **OD1**. RG 103 = *Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā' al-amjad 'alā ḥurūf al-abjad*. Not listed by Yahia, dated 980/1572, the oldest known manuscript of this *Dīwān* compiled by a certain Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (according to note in text, fol.85a). Poems are grouped by rhyme-letter, arranged in (Eastern) abjad order, ending in lām-alif. Although the majority of poems are found in the printed works of Ibn 'Arabī, 'recension marker' evidence indicates that this *Dīwān* was based upon the WD rather than the GD. Contains a 431-verse *tā'iyya* (RG 757).

Total: around 320 poems. Contains 60+ poems not found elsewhere.

[FTH] – Fatih 3872 (Suleymaniye, Istanbul) fols. 1–227

Classification: **GD.2 (with B-hole)**. A *Būlāq*-like manuscript containing the 'Būlāq hole' of the printed *Dīwān* (*Būlāq*) – that being an offshoot of the proto-*Būlāq* family (see [YAB]). No longer thought to date from the generation after al-Qūnawī (Yahia/Elmore) but three centuries later than that (997H according to MIAS Archive).

Folio numbering: between fol.2b and fol.3a there is an unnumbered folio (corresponding to *Būlāq*, pp. 5–6)

Omissions: on fol.80b a poem from *Būlāq*, p.166; fol.81b a poem from *Būlāq*, p.169; fols.63a–b three poems from *Būlāq*, p.134; fol.87a seven+ poems from *Būlāq*, pp.179–82; fol.197b five+ poems from *Būlāq*, pp.282–6; fol.226a a poem from *Būlāq*, p.467; and on fol.226b two poems from *Būlāq*, p.469. Fol.113b is blank but no poems appear to be missing (*Būlāq*, p.340). On fol.132b two poems from *Būlāq*, pp.378–9, are concatenated. On fol.138a two poems from *Būlāq*, p.388, are concatenated.

Repeats: two poems from *Būlāq*, pp.216–17, appear partially or not at all on fols.164a–b, but are found in full on fols.164b–165a (just prior to the '10-liners').

Mis-binding: around 200 poems from *Būlāq*, pp.206–310, mis-bound prior to folio numbering (these should appear before fol.99a rather than as fols.160a–209b).

'Būlāq hole': the manuscript is from the family which contains the hole on fol.24b (cf. [GNL] [LDN] and the *Būlāq* print edition itself). Thus it is missing almost 50 poems (and prose) found in the equivalent place in proto-*Būlāq* [YAB].

Total: around 850 poems.

[FTM] – Fatih 5322 (Suleymaniye, Istanbul) fols. 214–15

Classification: **OD5**. This fragment contains the Prologue to the *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif* (GD.1) in a similar form to that in the Paris manuscript [PBN]. Also contains the same initial six poems as [PBN] after the Prologue. However, the eleven poems which follow (up to the end of this fragment) differ from [PBN], and we have found no parallels for these eleven poems elsewhere. Thus we classify this as a distinct *Dīwān*.

Total: 20 poems. Contains a sequence of eleven poems not found elsewhere.

[GNL] – Genel 53 (Inebey, Bursa) fols. 1–314

Classification: **GD.2 (with B-hole)**. A *Bülāq*-like manuscript containing the ‘*Bülāq* hole’ of the printed *Dīwān* (*Bülāq*) – that being an offshoot of the proto-*Bülāq* family (see [YAB]).

Of the three *Bülāq*-like manuscripts we have studied, there are a few places where [GNL] appears to be closer to *Bülāq* than do [LDN] and [FTH], while the latter two are somewhat closer to proto-*Bülāq* [YAB]. However, the situation is complicated:

- LDN fol. 18b = FTH fol. 21b = GNL fol. 30b is in all three *Bülāq*-like manuscripts and is in proto-*Bülāq* (YAB p. 224) but is not in *Bülāq*
- LDN fol. 64b = FTH fol. 138b is in proto-*Bülāq* (YAB p. 459) but not *Bülāq* and not [GNL]
- LDN fol. 101b = FTH fol. 92b is in proto-*Bülāq* (YAB p. 391) but not *Bülāq* and not [GNL] (where two poems are collapsed into one with the first hemistich of one poem followed by the second of the next)
- LDN fols. 141a and 141b distinct poems in [LDN] just as in *Bülāq*, but these are concatenated in [FTH] and [GNL] (part of ‘YAB hole’ in [YAB])
- LDN fol. 176b = FTH fol. 138a = GNL fol. 252b is a single poem corresponding to two poems in both proto-*Bülāq* and *Bülāq*
- GNL fol. 306a is a single poem corresponding to two poems in [LDN], *Bülāq* and proto-*Bülāq* (neither appears at all in [FTH])
- FTH fol. 87b is a single poem corresponding to two poems in [LDN] [GNL] *Bülāq* and proto-*Bülāq*
- LDN fol. 172b = FTH fol. 132b is a single poem corresponding to a concatenation of two poems in proto-*Bülāq* (YAB pp. 454–455) and in *Bülāq* and in [GNL]
- LDN fol. 169a = FTH fol. 128b is a single poem corresponding to a concatenation of two poems in proto-*Bülāq* (YAB p. 451) and in *Bülāq* and in [GNL]
- LDN fol. 134a = FTH fol. 195a does not appear in either proto-*Bülāq* or *Bülāq* or [GNL]

Digital reproduction: our reproduction is missing opening fols. 29b–30a (five+ poems from Būlāq, pp. 45–6) and also opening fols. 35b–36a (five+ poems from Būlāq, pp. 53–4) and also opening fols. 60b–61a (one+ poems from Būlāq, pp. 91–3) and also opening fols. 67b–68a (two+ poems from Būlāq, pp. 103–5) and fols. 80b–81a (one+ poems from Būlāq, pp. 124–26).

‘Būlāq hole’: the manuscript is from the family which contains the hole on fol. 34b (cf. [FTH] [LDN] and the Būlāq print edition itself). Thus it is missing almost 50 poems (and prose) found in the equivalent place in proto-Būlāq [YAB].

Total: around 860 poems.

[HME] – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2510 (Suleymaniye, Istanbul)
fols. 31–6

Classification: OD4. RG 102.1 (MIAS Archive classification). Contains 23 or 24 poems, all of which are found elsewhere in printed works of other manuscripts (with the exception of one which might be rhyming prose).

Of interest is a six-verse poem in ‘n’ on fol. 35a. This poem is found in *Shujūn al-masjūn wa-funūn al-maftūn* [RG 692] – a work thought by some not to be by Ibn ‘Arabī.

Total: 24 poems.

[KHL] – Khalili 225 (Khalili, London) fols. 1–180

Classification: WD.2. A late central part of the WD, in the author’s hand (cf. [VEL]). Alternates block of poems in a given rhyme letter with (thematic?) block in mixed rhyme. This manuscript covers the following rhyme letters from the Maghribi alphabetical order: {z, ṭ, z, k, l, m, n}. Contains note by Ibn ‘Arabī approving this very manuscript and indicating that it represented the fourth part of his (greater) Dīwān, which contained five (more?) parts.

Total: around 670 poems.

See Hirtenstein, ‘Some Preliminary Notes’ for more on this ms.

[LDN] – Leiden Or. 2687 (Leiden) fols. 1–176

Classification: GD.2 (with B-hole). A Būlāq-alike manuscript containing the ‘Būlāq hole’ of the printed Dīwān (Būlāq) – that being an offshoot of the proto-Būlāq family ([YAB]). This manuscript contains the hole at a folio break (fols. 20b–21a), suggesting it could be directly

related to the manuscript with which the Būlāq family broke away from the proto-Būlāq (cf. [YAB]). See [GNL] for some variations indicating how the three Būlāq-alike manuscripts [LDN] [FTH] and [GNL] relate to proto-Būlāq and to Būlāq: [LDN] and [FTH] seem closer to the former, while [GNL] seems closer to the latter.

Mis-binding and omission: fols. 64a–92b (Būlāq, pp. 389–475) should appear after the final folio, fol. 176b. With this mis-binding corrected, only the final folio of the original manuscript is missing (containing the final four poems, Būlāq pp. 472–5). Thus, contrary to appearances, this ms. is almost complete as a representative of the Būlāq-alike sub-family of GD.2.

Total: around 870 poems.

[PBN] – Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 2348 (Paris) fols. 35–273

Classification: **GD.1**. First part of *al-Dīwān al-kabīr* (minimally alphabetical, includes blocks containing the poems from major works, *Fuṣūṣ*, *Futūḥāt*, *Tanazzulāt* and *Isrāʾ*, *Tarjumān*, in part accompanied by the commentary of *Dhakhāʾir* – see table of contents on p.86. Yahia lists under RG 101.

The manuscript seems to be a copy of a mis-bound exemplar: at fol. 110a a block of poems from *Fut.* chaps. 360–9 appears to be missing. This is found later, at fols. 130b–134b (inserted among a section of poems from *Fut.* chap. 558). It is clear from the numbering of sections that this mis-binding took place after the sections were numbered in the exemplar. Nevertheless, the Paris copyist made no attempt to correct the error (or adjust the section numbers to cover it over).

Digital reproduction: our reproduction is missing fols. 64b–65a.

See Addas, 'À Propos' for the first detailed description of this important ms., and thereafter 'Ship of Stone' and 'L'Œuvre' (pp. 29–31, pp. 35–6).

Total: around 2,580 poems.

[SHA] – Shehit Ali 1375 (Suleymaniye, Istanbul) fols. 117–21

Classification: **OD6**. RG 102.1 (MIAS Archive classification). Contains 19 poems, only one of which is not found elsewhere (at least in manuscript form) – the rest occur in GD.1 or GD.2. These poems are grouped by rhyme letter: d (5), t (5), j (4), th (2), j (2), r (1).

Total: 19 poems.

[UNI] – University A1438 (University, Istanbul) fols. 1–200

Classification: ED.1. Fully alphabetical Dīwān (standard Eastern alphabet) with poems selected and reordered from the Great Dīwān. Covers letters alif through ghayn in standard (Eastern) alphabetical order. Probably represents only the first half of a 2-part Dīwān (ED), which would cover all of the letters (ED.1 and ED.2). There are indications that a ms. stolen from Konya, YA 5502 (said by Yahia and Elmore to have been an autograph), was that slightly shorter second part, while YA 5501 would have been a direct parallel to [UNI]. If so, then Ibn ‘Arabī knew of and presumably constructed this 2-part ‘Eastern Dīwān’ (our title).

Binding errors and omissions: fols. 50a–51a, 53a–54a, 56a–59a (4% of the manuscript) are all missing from this manuscript. Furthermore, the remaining folios in the same section of the manuscript have been mis-bound into the following order: 45, 55, 52, 46–9, 60. It seems these losses and reshuffles occurred *after* the folios had been correctly numbered.

See Hirtenstein, ‘Some Preliminary Notes’ for more on this ms.

Total: around 700 poems.

[VEL] – Veliyuddin 1681 (Suleymaniye, Istanbul) fols. 1–237

Classification: WD.1–2. A central part of the WD (cf. [KHL]). This manuscript contains binding problems (see below). Due to partial overlap with [KHL] and reconstructions of the WD based upon the GD-to-WD mapping, we can state that the ms. includes, alternating with mixed rhyme blocks, blocks of poems in the following rhyme letters, following the Maghribi alphabetical order: {d (final 40%), dh, r, z, ṭ, z, k, l}. If [KHL] were the fourth part (as it claims), then [VEL] would be the end of the third and the start of the fourth. However, at the end of [VEL] the copyist states that this is the ‘third part’.

Mis-binding: a major binding problem could be corrected by switching fols. 115a–124b with fols. 135a–142b (as a result of this mis-binding the ‘r’ group of poems is currently split into three parts).

There is no opening labelled 127 (fols. 126b–127a), which is due to a blank page in the original.

Fols. 16b–17a contain a jump from the middle of one *Tarjumān* poem to the middle of another (Nos. 26, 57). Reconstruction of the letter block suggests intervening *Tarjumān* poems in ‘d’ were also omitted: Nos. 34, 36, 53 and 56, for a total of 33 skipped verses. Since this occurs at a page-break the most likely explanation is that a single folio has been lost here (prior to folio numbering).

Total: around 750 poems.

See Hirtenstein, 'Some Preliminary Notes' for more on this ms.

[YAB] – Yusuf Ağa 5463 (Yusuf Ağa, Konya) pp. 306–492

Classification: GD.2. Proto-Bülāq = the second part of the Great Dīwān. Currently the only manuscript known to fill the 'Bülāq hole' found in all other Bülāq-alike manuscripts and in the printed Dīwān (Bülāq). It is very likely that Istanbul University A3028 is a partial copy of the same (up to YA 5463, p. 332, part-way through the Bülāq hole). Its final poem is one of the 'Sulṭāniyyāt' poems.

'Bülāq hole': at pp. 326–36 a sequence of almost 50 poems and significant prose from *Nasab al-khirqā* is missing from Bülāq (p. 52) and all Bülāq-alike manuscripts ([FTH], [GNL], LDN). Hence the name 'proto-Bülāq' applies to [YAB] alone.

'YAB hole': at pp. 428–9 (a page break) a section of 40+ poems in Bülāq (pp. 287–315) is missing from this ms. – most likely due to a loss of around ten folios (which we call the 'YAB hole').

Other anomalies: at p. 310, three Bülāq poems (pp. 11–12) are differently ordered around the section break (as in Bülāq-alike manuscripts, [FTH], [GNL], [LDN]). At p. 391 we find a 3-verse poem effectively skipped in Bülāq due to jump-concatenation (p. 193).

Ends (p. 492) with a reference to this being the 'second volume' of the Dīwān (i.e. GD.2). Three section headings missing from within the 'YAB hole' mean that the complete GD.2 would contain a total of 52 *basmalah*-sections.

Total: around 880 poems (and another 40+ known to be missing).

See Hirtenstein, 'Some Preliminary Notes' for more on this ms.

Appendix 2

Proposed reclassification of Ibn ‘Arabī’s Dawāwīn

In the following four tables (Great Dīwān, Western Dīwān, Eastern Dīwān, Other Dawāwīn) we give a shorthand code and a working title to each Dīwān, or part of a Dīwān, and we indicate by another code [in square brackets] the manuscript(s) whose poetry we have catalogued. Where there is no manuscript yet examined (indicated by ‘??’), a Dīwān part is hypothetical. With some important exceptions we do not mention manuscripts whose poems we have yet to catalogue and cross-match.

Great Dīwān

| | | | | |
|------|---|--|---------|-----------------------------------|
| GD | Great Dīwān | ~3500 poems In two manuscript- parts; Non-alphabetical | | |
| GD.1 | Part I. <i>Dīwān al-ma‘ārif</i> | ~2580 poems | (RG101) | [PBN] |
| GD.2 | Part II. Proto-Būlāq | ~920 poems in its complete form | (RG102) | [YAB], missing 40+ poems |
| | Būlāq-alike family (subset of part II) | Represented by Būlāq print edition (1271/1855) in addition to several mss; all contain the 'Būlāq hole' | (RG102) | [LDN] [GNL] [FTH] |

'Western Dīwān'

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--|---------|-----------------------------------|
| WD | 'Western Dīwān' (our title) | Predict: ~2000 poems In multiple parts Thematic–alphabetic Western alphabetical order | (RG102) | |
| WD.1 | Initial part(s) | Predict: ~890 poems Rhyme letters: {alif, hamza, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r} | ?? | [VEL] (part: d (final 40%) dh, r) |
| WD.2 | Central part | ~670 poems Rhyme letters: {z, ṭ, z, k, l, m, n} | [KHL] | [VEL] (part: up to l) |
| WD.3 | Final part(s) | Predict: ~440 poems Rhyme letters: {ṣ, ḍ, 'ayn, gh, f, q, s, sh, h, w, lām-alif, y} | ?? | |

'Eastern Dīwān'

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---|---------|-------|
| ED | 'Eastern Dīwān' (our title) | Predict: ~1400 poems in 2 parts Fully alphabetic Eastern alphabetical order | (RG102) | |
| ED.1 | Part I | ~700 poems Rhyme letters: {alif, hamza, b-gh} Probably also represented by stolen ms. YA 5501 | (RG102) | [UNI] |
| ED.2 | Part II | Predict: ~700 poems Rhyme letters: {f-y} perhaps with lām-alif prior to y Probably represented by stolen ms. YA 5502 | (RG102) | ?? |

Other *Dawāwīn*

| | | | | |
|-----|--|---|----------|-------|
| OD1 | <i>Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā' al-amjad 'alā ḥurūf al-abjad</i> | ~300 poems Alphabetic in Eastern abjad order Compiled by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn | (RG 103) | [BOD] |
| OD2 | 'Early poems <i>Dīwān</i> ' (our title) or <i>Dīwān murtajalāt</i> | ~290 poems 'Anthology' (with fragment of GD.1 Prologue) | (RG 101) | [BLN] |
| OD3 | (untitled) | ~150 poems | (RG 100) | [BLB] |
| OD4 | (untitled) | 24 poems | | [HME] |
| OD5 | (untitled) | 20 poems Diverges from GD.1 after Prologue + 6 poems | (RG 101) | [FTM] |
| OD6 | (untitled) | 19 poems | | [SHA] |

Appendix 3
Contents of GD.1 *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif* [PBN]
and use in the WD

| Part | Title | Folio start in [PBN] | No. of <i>basmalah</i> -sections | Section numbers | Use in WD (see Appendix 5: mapping) |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 0 | Prologue | 35a | [1] | [#0] | <i>(ignored)</i> |
| 1 | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 38a | 1 | #1 | [M1] |
| | Fuṣūṣ | 40a | 1 | #2 | <i>(ignored)</i> |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 41b | 12+ | #3–14 | [M2] |
| | Futūḥāt | 70b | 31 | #15–45 | <i>(ignored)</i> |
| 2 | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 139b | 2 | #46–7 | [M3] |
| | Tanazzulāt / Isrā’ | 144b | 3 | #48–50 | <i>(ignored)</i> |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 151a | 7 | #51–7 | [M4a] |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 168a | 4 | #58–61 | [M4b] |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 178a | 1 | #62 | [M4c] |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 180a | 1 | #63 | [M4d] |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 182b | 9 | #64–72 | [M4e] |
| 3 | Rūḥ transition | 203b | 0 | (#73) | <i>(ignored)</i> |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 203b | 11 | #73–83 | {theta 1} thematic - details below |
| | ‘Ghazaliyyāt’ | 226a | 1 | #84 | [GZL] |
| | ‘Zaynabiyyāt’ | 228a | 2 | #85–6 | [ZNB] |
| 4 | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 232a | 5 | #87–91 | {theta 2} thematic - details below |
| | <i>(mostly untraced)</i> | 243a | 3 | #92–4 | [M5] |
| | Dhakā’ir / Tarjumān | 249b–273a | 9* | #95–103 | [TRJ] |

Detailed breakdown of two regions of [PBN] supplying thematic blocks to the WD

{theta 1} contains a total of 237 poems in fols. 203b–225b.

{theta 2} contains a total of 134 poems in fols. 232a–243a.

| Letter blocks in WD in between which thematic block appears | Folio in [PBN] | No. of poems in [PBN] |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|
| [z-ṭ] | 203b | 1 |
| [?-?]** | 203b | 64 |
| [d-dh]* | 209b | 5 |
| [d-dh] | 209b | 12 |
| [dh-r] | 211a | 24 |
| [z-ṭ] | 213a | 13 |
| [?-?]** | 215a | 68 |
| [ṭ-z] | 220b | 25 |
| [z-k] | 223b | 20 |
| [?-?]** | 225b | 5 |

| Letter blocks in WD in between which thematic block appears | Folio in [PBN] | No. of poems in [PBN] |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|
| [k-l] | 232a | 44 |
| [l-m] | 235a | 20 |
| [m-n] | 237a | 6 |
| [?-?]** | 237b | 49 |
| [k-l] | 242a | 3 |
| [z-k] | 242a–243a | 12 |

* All 5 poems rhyme in ‘d’ so this could be regarded as the tail end of the alphabetic ‘d’ block.

** We hypothesise that these regions would supply poems for thematic (mixed rhyme) blocks in between alphabetic blocks in those parts of the WD for which we have not seen manuscripts (WD.1 and WD.3).

Appendix 4

Contents of GD.2 proto-Būlāq [YAB] and use in WD

| Title | Būlāq page range | Folio start in [YAB] | No. of <i>basmalah</i> -sections | Section numbers | Use in WD (see Appendix 5: 'mapping') |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| Early Works (<i>Isrā'</i> , <i>Mawāqī'</i> , ' <i>Anqā'</i> , <i>Ittihād</i>) | 1–39 | 306b | 4 | #1–4 | (<i>ignored</i>) |
| (<i>mostly untraced, ending with the 6 poems from K. al-Muqni'</i>) | 40–52 (incl. start of B/H) | 322b | 1.5 + 0.5 | #5–6 | [B1] |
| ' <i>Sultāniyyāt</i> ' | 52 (within B/H) | 329a | 2 | #7–8 | (<i>ignored</i>) |
| Initiation | 52–60 (after B/H) | 337a | 1 | #9 | [INV] |
| (<i>mostly untraced</i>) | 60–137 | 340b | 8 | #10–17 | [B2a] |
| (<i>mostly untraced</i>) | 137–8 | 369a | 0 | | [B2b] |
| (<i>mostly untraced</i>) | 139–214 | 370b | 9 | #18–26 | [B2c] |
| (<i>mostly untraced</i>) | 215–17 * | 399a | 0 | (#27) | [B2d] |
| Mu'ashsharāt | 218–32 | 400b | 1.5 | #27–8 | (<i>ignored</i>) |
| (<i>mostly untraced</i>) | 232–475 | 406b– 492b | 24.5 ** | #28–52 | [B3] |

B/H = 'Būlāq hole': this region is not found in Būlāq-alike manuscripts but is found in proto-Būlāq, [YAB].

* Būlāq p.215 corresponds to the start of the 2nd half of proto-Būlāq (section #27 follows the unique *zajal* 'strophic poem')

** includes a region of around 50 poems missing from the [YAB] (due to mis-binding) but found in all other Būlāq-family manuscripts.

The 'strophic poems' (*Muwashshahāt* and a single *zajal*) are scattered across proto-Būlāq, but are ignored in the construction of WD.

[B2a] includes a region identified by Elmore: Būlāq, pp.60–8 (poems rhyming in alif).

[B2a]–[B2c] include a region identified by Elmore: Būlāq, pp.135–78 are Quranic poems.

Appendix 5

The mapping by which alphabetical blocks in the WD are constructed from poems in the GD

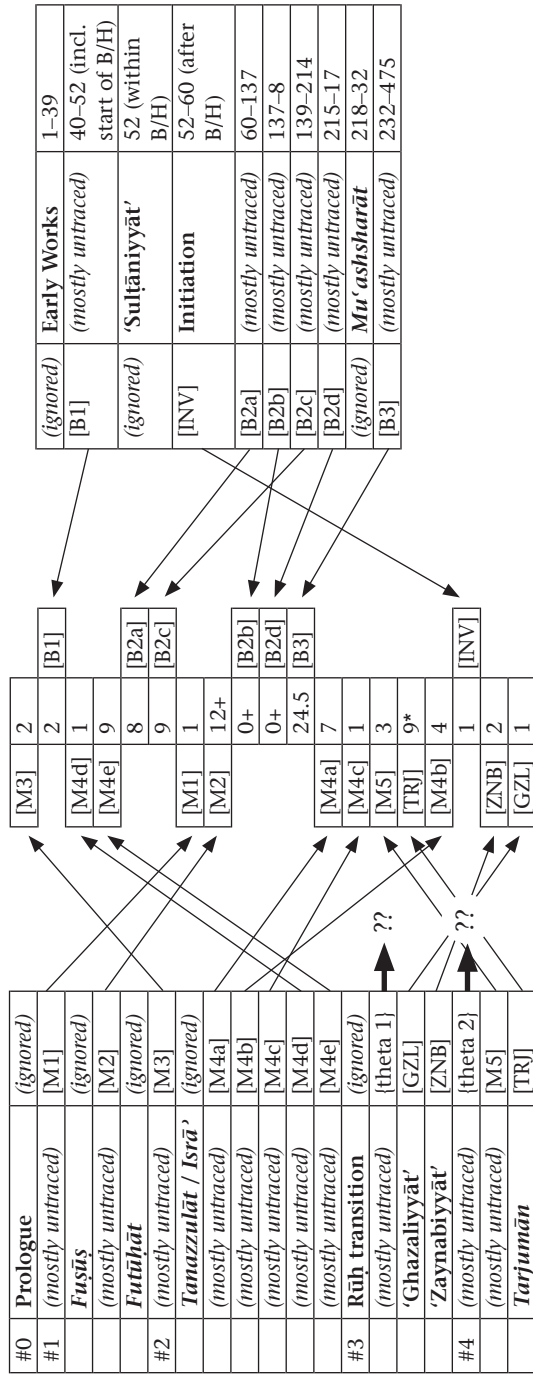
Poems rhyming in a given letter are ‘combed out’ sequentially from distinct regions of the GD. The resulting strands are ‘woven’ together with exactly the same pattern in every alphabetic block.

(GD.1) *Dīwān al-ma‘ārif*

Typical alphabetical block
in ‘Western *Dīwān*’

GD.2 ‘proto-Būlaq’ [YAB]

‘comb and weave’



In [M4d] all poems rhyme in 'd'.
'?' indicates that {theta 1} and {theta 2}
supply poems NOT to alphabetic blocks,
but to thematic (mixed rhyme) blocks
which occur in between alphabetic
blocks in WD.

Numbers along spine indicate
relative size (*basmalah*-sections
in ED).

* these 9 sections are equivalent
to less than 4 in terms of actual
verse (*Dihakā'ir* commentary
ignored in WD).

Numbers indicate pages ranges in Būlāq.
'Early works' includes poems from *Isrā'*,
Manwāqī', *'Aniqā'*, and *Itfīlīād*.

B/H = 'Būlāq hole' [YAB] pp. 326–36
missing from Būlāq (p. 52)

The 'strophic poems' (*Muwashshahāt*) are
scattered across proto-Būlāq – they, too, are
ignored in the construction of WD.

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