

Geographie, Ethnographie, Religion, Kultur und Geschichte. Man machte darauf aufmerksam, dass es eine wertvolle Erkenntnisquelle für Geschichte der Herrschaft vom König Fasiladas ist. Aber die Forscher lenkten keine Aufmerksamkeit auf dieses Werk aus dem Gesichtspunkt seines literarischen Werts.

Man kann sagen, dass al-Haymī ein guter Literat war. Er konnte schön beschreiben und interessant erzählen. Sein Werk trug ihm Erfolg ein, dies beweisen zahlreiche Abschriften⁹ dieses Werks und nicht nur in Jemen. Aber al-Haymī's Reisebeschreibung besitzt gewisse Mängel. Manchmal ist seine Reiseroute unklar, weil er die Namen von Orten, Bergen, Flüssen nicht immer erwähnte. Auch nicht immer notierte er die Zeit der durchgeführten Abschnitte des Weges. Ähnlich ist es mit Personen, manche von ihnen bleiben namenlos. Trotzdem kann man feststellen, dass al-Haymī's Werk einen grossen literarischen Wert besitzt, obwohl es in der Zeit des Verfalls der arabischen Literatur entstanden ist.

F u s s n o t e n

¹ C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I-II, Weimar 1898, Berlin 1902; Supplementband I-III, Leiden 1937-1942; GAL II, S. 402, N^o -; SB II, 550-551. I. K r a č k o v s k i j, *Izbrannyye Sochineniya*, Moskwa - Leningrad 1957, Band IV. S. 712-714.

² F. Praetorius, *Ein arabisches Document zur äthiopischen Geschichte*, ZDMG 49 /1885/ S. 403-10.

³ F.E. Peiser, *Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Ahmed El-Haimi /sic/. Arabic Text*, Berlin 1894. F.E. Peiser, *Zur Geschichte Abessinien im 17. Jahrhundert. Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Ahmed El-Haimi /sic/. Deutsche Übersetzung*, Berlin 1898.

⁴ Murād Kāmil, *Sīrat al-Habasha. Ta'li'f al-Haymī al-Hasan b. Ahmad. Bitabkik al-duktur Mu'ad Kamil*, Kairo 1958. Zweite Auflage Kairo 1972.

⁵ E.J. van Donzel, *A Jemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647-1649. Al-Haymī's Sirat al-Habasha. Newly Introduced, translated and Annotated*. Stuttgart 1986. Manfred Kropp, Rezension des oben erwähnten Buches, Schwetzingen 1988.

⁶ Handschrift - MS Leiden Or 2600, 8 August 1650.

⁷ M. Kowalska, *Średniowieczna arabska literatura podręczna*. Kraków 1973. S. 25-35.

⁸ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murū' ad-dahab wa ma'adin al-yawāhir*. B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille, Macoudi, Les Prairies d'or. Texte et traduction. Paris 1861-1877, 9 Vols. V.2. S. 393-394.

⁹ E.J. van Donzel, *op.cit.*, S.75-82 - The Manuscripts.

Józef BIELAWSKI

MUḤYĪ AD-DĪN I B N ʿA R A B Ī
ARAB MYSTIC-PHILOSOPHER

/born at Murcia 1165, died in Damascus 1240/

His life and works

Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, Al-Sayḥ al-Akbar - Doctor Maximus is certainly the most significant thinker of Islam, and he takes justly a central and special place in Arabic-muslim thought. He is a mystic endowed with a rich creative imagination and an original philosopher. He has a definite philosophical doctrine of pantheism or rather an existential monism, the bearing of which is shown in every part of his mystico-philosophical system. There is in his works also a formal dialectic which dominates the whole of his thought. We should also underline that Ibn ʿArabī is one of the greatest and most original thinkers of Arab Nation - he is of Arab origin as Ibn Rusd and Ibn Ḥaldūn.

Ibn ʿArabī is famous in Orient, in Arabic and Islamic World. Yet he is far less widely known in the Western World than Ibn Sīnā /Avicenna/ d. 1038/, Al-Ghazali /d. 1111/ or Ibn Rusd /Averroes/ /d. 1198/. It is because of his numerous works /circa 900/ dispersed in numerous libraries of Islamic World and also in Europe, obscurity of his style, and, besides, nowhere in his numerous works can we find his mystical philosophy expressed as a whole, a construction of thought with any degree of coherence and order. Especially the way he often tries to reconcile the Islamic dogmas with his philosophical principles increases difficulties. And one

should remember - there is no possibility of reconciling his philosophy, his central monistic doctrine of the "Unity of Being" - Wahdat al-Wuḡūd, with the teachings of Islam.

However, the importance of the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī, not only in relation to the development of Islamic Mysticism alone, but in relation to the general history of thought in the Middle Ages, can hardly be overrated. It is no exaggeration to say that the doctrine and example of Ibn 'Arabī, i.e. as thinker and mystic, have been a great source of inspiration to every pantheistic ṣūfī that came after him, whether in Arabic speaking countries or in Persia, and also in Turkey and India. Even the great mystic poet, Galāl ad-Dīn Rumī /XIII century/ is supposed to be in his philosophical doctrine under the influence of Ibn 'Arabī through attending the lectures of Sadr ad-Dīn al-Kunāwī on Ibn 'Arabī's master work *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam* /The Bezels of Wisdom/. Many of Persian poets and writers as 'Irakī /d. 1287/, Gāmī /d. 1492/, Gīlī /d. 1408/, author of his famous work *Al-Insān al-Kāmil*, Sabistārī /d. 1320/, and the great Persian commentator of Ibn 'Arabī: *Al-Kasānī* /d. 1329/, and many others are among the ṣūfī whose doctrines, terminology and mode of thought bear evidence of the influence they received from the books of Ibn 'Arabī, or of the books of his disciples.

A fair critical account of the life and thought of Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī presents certain difficulties. Biographical material is not lacking, but we can find it in many biographical and historical books, both in Arabic and in Persian. Some whole books or chapters of books have been written in defence of his orthodoxy or against his alleged heterodoxy. Just it is interesting to say that in the East many authors have discussed Ibn 'Arabī's teaching and have written treatises on him. But what concerned them most was the question of his orthodoxy and not so much his mysticism or philosophy as such, i.e. rather the problem how far his philosophy agrees or disagrees with Islamic dogmas. Controversies on this subject occupied the minds of the muslims for centuries, and many books were written to defend Ibn 'Arabī's orthodoxy or prove his heterodoxy, his kufr /infidelity/. So, he has been regarded by some people as one of the greatest saints of Islam As-Sayḥ al-Akbar, and by others as a heretic of the worst type.

Many of his own works, particularly, his great mystico-philosophical encyclopedia: *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, *Risālat al-Kuds*, and the "Memorandum" *Fihris al-muṣannafāt* in which he enumerates his works and describes the conditions under which they were written, throw abundant light on some obscure aspects of his life as a man - for instance his diwan *Targumān al-aswāk* - and above all as an eminent ṣūfī and mystic thinker. In his own works just mentioned above we have firsthand information about his mental and spiritual progress. There are abundant details concerning his early masters in the ṣūfī path, his personal contact with men and women he encountered on his vast travels. Here and there we come across a vivid description of his mystical experiences, visions and dreams. Without the help of such material Ibn 'Arabī's true personality, both as a thinker and a mystic, would remain considerably unknown. The task is by no means easy. It means hunting through his voluminous encyclopaedia, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, and other works for all biographical details.

Life. Abū Bakr Muḥammed ibn 'Alī Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī al-Ḥatīmī at-Tayyī al-Aṇḍalusī - commonly known as Ibn 'Arabī /or Ibnū'ls 'Arabī/ was born at Murcia - South East of Spain - on 1165 /560 A.H./, two years after the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, the Muwahhid ruler of North Africa and Spain. His nisba : *Al-Ḥatīmī at-Tayyī*' shows that he was a descendent of the ancient Arabian tribe Tayyī'. This fact proves that muslim mysticism was not the exclusive domain of the Persian mind only.

When Ibn 'Arabī was born in Murcia /in South Spain/ A.D.1164 Arab dominance in the Iberian Peninsula had passed its peak - these were the last years of glorious development of Arab science and philosophy with famous philosophers and physicians like Ibn Tufayl and Ibn Rusd /Averroes/ and was declining towards extinction. But Arab-Spanish intellectual life was still illuminated by the afterglow of the muslim-moorish civilization. Indeed, during preceding three centuries the intellectual bloom and material refinement was proverbial, and the splendour of Cordova and Sevilla surpassed those of Constantinople and Paris. The Arab-muslims of Spain had transmitted to Europe science and philosophy, much of the wisdom of the Greeks, and with their coreligionists in Syria, Iraq and Persia had produced a corpus of philosophical and scientific

tific knowledge that has to leave a deep imprint upon European civilization in XII and XIIIth centuries.

So, at the beginning of the XII century an Arab student in Andalusia had practically the whole of the knowledge available spread before him - in the schools and rich libraries in southern Spain. Greek philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and every kind of muslim intellectual achievement in the East and Maghreb were by then formulated in Arab manuscripts.

It seems that Ibn 'Arabī, with his exception intellectual curiosity and rich imagination grasped every opportunity to profit from all available sources. Besides, it should be mentioned that Ibn 'Arabī came from a well known family of sūfīs, among them was his father and two of his uncles.

At the age of eight, i.e. in 1172, Ibn 'Arabī left his native town - Murcia and went to Lisbon where he received the rudiments of Muslim traditional education: in addition to learning the Qur'ān, he studied the principles of Islamic Law. A few years later we find him in Seville, since 1170 the capital of the great Arab-moorish empire of the Almohad dynasty. Seville was at that time a great centre of learning, and the famous centre of sūfīs. He remained there for thirty years, continually studying various branches of Islamic learning: Islamic Law, Tradition and Theology, under some great scholars of that city. At Seville he also met a number of his early spiritual masters. He refers to such men in terms of admiration and gratitude in his Futūḥāt and Risālat al-Ḳuds and acknowledges his debt to them for the initiation he had received from them in to the path of sufism.

While making Seville his permanent place of residence, he travelled widely throughout Spain and Maghrib, establishing whenever he went fresh new relations with eminent sūfīs and men of learning. He also visited Cordova, while still a lad, and made acquaintance with famous Arab philosopher and physicist, Ibn Rusd who was then the judge of the City.

In 1194 he visited Morocco and Fez, where was the University of Karawiyyīn /from IX century/; he also visited Tunis in the same year, where he was three times; all these cities were important centres of muslim traditional learning. At that time, at the age of 30, he went to Tunis to join a certain 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mahdāwī. In the next year he went to Fez, where in 1198 he wrote his impor-

tant treatise Kitāb al-Isrā' /The Book of Ascension/. In 1199 he was once more in Cordova, where he attended the funeral of the last great Arab philosopher, Ibn Rusd.

But the atmosphere in Maghreb and Spain was not favorable for Ibn 'Arabī. The sultans of the Murabit and Muwahhid dynasties who ruled Maghreb and Spain during XI-XIII centuries feared of the influence of men like Ibn 'Arabī, who had many followers, because it was the possible danger of using these followers for political purposes. And, besides, the Malikite theologians of Maghreb and Spain were most intolerant towards the new school of thought that was beginning to take shape at that time. Even Al-Ghazālī's /d. 1111/ teaching was rejected and his books committed to flames; and al Ghazali, "Huḡḡat al-Islam" was the pillar of Islamic creed. Thus he may have thought to escape from the vigilant eyes of the learned fanatic ulema, who looked askance of the suf scholar of distinctly unorthodox views. The East, on the other hand, was more tolerant and more ready to accept new ideas and movements. So, Ibn 'Arabī set out for the East in 1201 during the reign of the Muwahhid sultan Ya'qūb ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Abb al-Mu'min. His apparent intention was to perform his pilgrimage to Mecca, as was the custom of most pious men of the West, but his real aim was to seek settlement in another Muslim country far away from the very troubled muslim West. Arab-muslim Spain as the whole of the Maghreb at that time was the region of great political and religious disturbances, and the atmosphere, religious and political, was stifling for men of more independent thinking like Ibn 'Arabī.

Ibn 'Arabī visited Egypt in 1201-2 and lived there for a time, but was not too well received by some people. After having left Egypt he travelled far and wide throughout the Middle East visiting Jerusalem, Mecca, Higāz, Aghad, Aleppo, Asia Minor and finally Damascus, where he settled down until the end of his life.

In Mecca, where he went to perform the pilgrimage, he was deep impressed and stayed for two years at this spiritual centre of Islam, frequently performing the tawāf, reading and enjoying many mystic visions and dreams. He studied and taught Hadīth for a time. It was there that he wrote some of his treatises, as Rūḥ al-Ḳuds, and began in 1202 his greatest work: Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya /The Revelations of Mecca/. Here too he addressed to 'Ayn as-Sams Nizām, the extremely beautiful daughter of an Isfahani resident in

Mecca, the poems collected in the diwan entitled Targuman al-as-wāk /The Interpreter of Desires/.

It is interesting to mention that he met at Mecca, in 1204, a number of Anatolian pilgrims from Konya and Malatya, led by Sadr ad-Dīn al-Kunawī's father, Magd ad-Dīn Ishāk, who was then living in Syria; he accompanied them on their homeward journey via Baghdad and Mosul, reaching Malatya /June - July 1205/. The sultan of Konya, Kay-Husraw I invited Magd ad-Dīn to rejoin him and the latter brought Ibn 'Arabī with him, and the sultan loaded both with gifts.

In the next years we find Ibn 'Arabī again travelling to Jerusalem, Cairo and Mecca - but in 1209-1210 he was back in Konya, and in 1211 he was again in Baghdad. In the following years he visited Aleppo /where he began his commentary to Targumān al-aswāk, and Siwas, but from 1216 onwards he lived mainly in Malatya.

It is not known why, or when, Ibn 'Arabī finally left Anatolia to settle in Damascus, where he was living in 1230. Here he probably experienced some discomfort, exposed to the criticisms of the orthodox ulema, but found protectors in the Ibn Zakī family of kādīs and also in members of the Ayyubid ruling family.

He led a quiet life of reading and teaching; he wrote his most influential work Fusus al-hikam /The Bezels of Wisdom/ revising from 1233 onwards his philosophical encyclopaedia Al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyya.

Sadr ad-Dīn, his disciple, who was with him in his last days, spent his life in teaching and commenting his master's works.

Ibn 'Arabī died in 1240 /638 A.H./ in the house of the Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn ad-Dakī family and was buried in the private sepulchre of that family on the slopes of Mount Kāsyūn.

Let us also mention that Ibn 'Arabī married several times and has presumably many children, but only two of his sons are known: Sa'ad ad-Dīn Muhammad /d. in Damascus 1258/ a poet, and 'Imād ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh /d. 1267 in Damascus/.

Ibn 'Arabī's works and style

As we have said just above Ibn 'Arabī is one of the most prolific authors in muslim history. He was adequately described by C. Brockelmann, /GAL, vol. I, p. 44/ as a writer of colossal fecundity, but he enumerates only 150 of Ibn 'Arabī's extant works,

varying from short treatises of some few pages to voluminous books like Al-Futuhāt. Till recent years the extant number of his works was uncertain and much differing. So his known Egyptian follower, As-Sa 'Crānī gives the figure of 400, and the Persian poet and sūfī, Gāmī - a figure of 500 titles. But, what is very important for the authenticity of his works, Ibn 'Arabī himself drew up in his "Memorandum" /Fihris al-Musannafāt/ in the year 1234, six years before his death, he gave titles of 251 of his writings, saying that was as far as he could remember. This "Memorandum" provides a written evidence against anyone who might attempt to forge books in his name; and there must have been many of his enemies in the East who made such attempts. Besides his "Memorandum" he wrote another work entitled: Igāza li'l-Malik al-muzaffar, King of Damascus, in 1227, where he also enumerates his works. Of great importance is also that he mentions very often his works in his writings especially in his Futuhāt. So, in his bibliographical writings and others he enumerates himself 534 titles.

To establish the number, the identity and the authenticity of all his works that have been ascribed to him is a task which has not been undertaken by any scholar - until last time, i.e. the publication of Osman Yahya his bibliographical work: "Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī". Étude critique /Damas 1964, 2 vol./ - a result of many years of investigation in the libraries of Arab and non-Arab muslim countries especially in Istanbul and Anatolia, Egypt etc. and also in the libraries of Europe. Osman Yahya lists no fewer than 846 items /eventually 945/. To establish the exact number of his works is not easy. It is necessary to mention that many works or parts of works ascribed to I.A. were written by later disciples of Ibn 'Arabī's school and attributed to him; and many, very often were extracted from his larger works /for instance from his Futuhāt/ and given independent titles. All these exhibit the same strain of thought and technique which characterize his genuine works. Such facts account, partly at least, for the enormous number of works which are usually attributed to him. Apparently there seems to be no certainty about the exact number of his works or even the size of many of them. Thus his commentary to the Koran has been described by some authors as consisting of ninety five volumes, by others as consist-

ing of 64 volumes, and by others as being only two. The Futūḥāt with which we are acquainted is in 4 great size vols, but some authors mention the Futūḥāt in twenty volumes. And the new Cairo edition of Osman Yahya and Ibrahim Madkour has till now /1984/ 8 volumes /beginning from 1972/.

Although his literary output was mainly in the field of sufi philosophy, esoterism, nevertheless his writings seem to have covered the entire range /domain/ of muslim scholarship. He wrote on the theory and practice of sufism, first of all, on Kur'anic exegesis, Ḥadīṭ /Tradition of the Prophet/, the biography of the Prophet, philosophy and literature, including the ḡufī poetry; he also wrote on natural sciences. In dealing with these diverse subjects he never lost sight of mysticism, esoterism. So we often see some aspects of his mystical system coming into prominence while dealing with a theological, juristic, or even scientific problem. His mystical ideas are imperceptibly woven into his writings on other sciences.

With the exception of a few works like Mawāḳīʿ an-nugūm, At-tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya..., and Kitāb al-Isrā' most of his important works were written in the East, especially in Mecca and Damascus; and his greatest and maturest works were written during the last fifteen to twenty years of his life. His earlier works were more of the nature of monographs dealing with special subjects, and show no sign of a comprehensive philosophical system. It seems that it is his contact with resources and men of the East that gave to his theosophical speculations their wide range, and his mystical philosophy his finality.

Two are the most important works of Ibn ʿArabī, which contain his comprehensive mystico-philosophical system: Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya fī asrār al-mālikiyya wa'l-mulkiyya, Fusus al-hikam wa ḥuṣṣ al-kilām. Al-Futūḥāt ... was begun in Mecca 1201, and finished in Damascus 1231. It contains a full exposition of the author's doctrine - Waḥdat al-Wuḥūd /The Unity of all Being/. A commentary of its difficult passages was written by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Gīnī /d. 1428/. And there are abridgements by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as-Sa'rānī /d. 1565/. Lawākiḥ al-anwar, Al-Kibrīt al-ahmar, Al-yawākīt wa'l-gawāḥit.

His opus magnum is the celebrated Fusus al-hikam - Gems of Philosophy or Bezels of Wisdom, which has been finished in 1230, ten

years before his death. This summary of the teaching of 28 prophets, from Adam to Muhammad, dictated to the author - as says Ibn ʿArabī himself - at Damascus by the Prophet Muhammad in a dream, has been frequently printed and many times commented. For instance C. Brockelmann lists no less than 35 commentaries of which the most important is the commentary of ʿAbd ar-Razzāk al-Ḳasānī /d. 1335/. It is one of the most difficult of his works to understand and without the Futūḥāt, which may be looked upon as a large commentary on the Fusus, the work would be, even with such an excellent commentary as that of Al-Kasānī, most unintelligible and obscure. The general theme of the Fusus was foreshadowed in the Futūḥāt /e.g. Futūḥāt, old edition II, pp. 357-77/. There is partial French translation of T. Burckhardt: "La sagesse des prophètes" /Paris 1955/, and from French English translation of Angela Culme-Seymour: "The Wisdom of the Prophets" /1975/.

It would be rather tiresome to enumerate the titles of many works of Ibn ʿArabī. Only to give an example I name some of them: Kitāb al-Isrā' ilā makām al-asrā /The Book of Ascension.../. It is a short allegorical treatise written in rhyming prose /sagʿ/ in Fez 1198. It describes Ibn ʿArabī's miʿrāḡ from the world of being /kawn/ to the station in God's presence. Muḥadarāt al-abrār wa musāmārat al-aḥyār /Conversations of pious /saints/ .../ two volumes /printed Cairo 1305, 1324 H./, a collection of anecdotes illustrated with poetry. Tag ar-rasā'il wa-minḥāḡ al-wasā'il /The crown of message.../ Cairo 1328 H./. A set of eight letters recounting his spiritual conversations with Kaʿba, while in Mecca in 1203. Risālat Ruh al-Kuds fī munāsahat an-naft /Message: Spirit of Saintity.../.

A letter written from Mecca to his Tunis friend ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Mahdāwī with criticisms of the worldly ways of ṣufīs he had met and much information on the sayḡs whom he had known in Spain. At-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya fī asrār at-taḥārāt... /Sendings-Revelations of Mosul on the secrets of ablutions/ composed at Mosul, dealing with the "inner" significance of religious duties. Kitāb al-asfar /The Book of journeys/ - on the three "journeys" - to, from, and in God.

Dīwān of his poetry, an MSS written during the author's life, printed Būlāḡ 1271 A.H. and another, famous collection of his ero-

ico-mystical poems entitled: Targumān al-aswāk /The Interpreter of Desires/ with the commentary: Fatḥ /Kasf/ ad-dahāʿir wa'l-a'-lāk an wagh Targumān al-aswāk /Unveiling of treasures and preciousness of the Interpreter of Desires/ - English translation of the text and part commentary by R.A. Nicholson: The Targumān al-aswāk, a collection of mystical odes /London 1911/ - The surviving text of the poems contains 61 short love odes, preceded by completely contradictory prefaces: according to the first, the poems were written in love for Nizām bint Makīn ad-Dīn, residing in Mecca; according to the second, they are to be interpreted allegorically /But to this problem we shall return presenting Ibn ʿArabī as a poet/.

For all the details concerning the works of Ibn ʿArabī, their number, their categories and so on one should refer to the special bibliographical study of Osman Yahya mentioned above.

On the whole, Ibn ʿArabī may be described as a philosopher of very deep metaphysical ideas, but of a desultory type; his style is ambiguous, probably of a set purpose. There are at least two possible ways of understanding him on any given point - the orthodox way and the pantheistic, monistic way, although in reality there is only one way in which he means to express himself, and this is the latter. And it is not so the subject about which Ibn ʿArabī writes that is difficult to understand, it is rather the way he expressed it and peculiar type of the mentality of man. One feels that there is a conscious effort made by him to complicate the simple /not always/ and conceal the meaning of whatever he wishes to say, or try to render it utterly unintelligible, particularly when he indulges in his mystical ravings.

Ibn ʿArabī's style, generally speaking, may be described as rampant, discursive and badly lacking form and cohesion. And the following are the other causes of the ambiguity and unintelligibility of his writings:

1/ the fact that he uses an extraordinary number of terms borrowed from various sources, sometimes completely altering their original meaning, sometimes using them metaphorically;

2/ the fact that he is always trying to reconcile the orthodox dogmas of Islam with his pantheistic-monistic ideas. He uses Qur'ānic terms in their usual sense in one passage, and explains them mystically or rather pantheistically in another;

3/ much of his style is too poetical, artistic and fantastic - to convey strict logical thought. Ibn ʿArabī's great power of thinking works through his extraordinary imagination, creative imagination.

Let us say in conclusion that the study of Ibn ʿArabī's works is not an easy task, but after deeper acquaintance with his language, style and mystico-philosophical terms, special for his new ideas, one can enjoy an extraordinary richness of his religious and philosophical teachings and ideas, beautiful allegories and symbolical images.

B i b l i o g r a p h y

I. Most important works of I. ʿA. published

Three minor treatises of I. ʿA. under the title:

Kleinere Schriften des Ibn ʿArabī ed. by H.S. Nyberg with an Introduction in German, Leiden 1919.

Al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya. Edition of Cairo 1329 A.H. /1941 - a reproduction of the edition of Algerian Emir Abdelkader.

New edition of Cairo prepared by Osman Yahya, text revised by Ibrahim Madkur with indices. I vol. 1972, and II vol. 1972; III vol. 1974, IV vol. 1975, V vol. 1977, till now published eight volume. This first critical edition of Al-Futūhāt is of great importance for the study of Ibn ʿArabī's philosophy.

Fuṣūṣ al-hikam wa'ta'likāt - text and commentaries ed. Abul ʿAlā

ʿAfīfī. Bayrūt 1365 A.H. /1946, Text 228 p., commentary 346 Classical commentaries of this work: Abd ar-Razzāk al-Kasani /XIII century/, ʿAbd al-Ghānī an-Nābususi /XII/XIII cent./, ʿAbd ar-Rahmān al-Gāmī /XV cent./.

French translation under the title: La sagesse des prophetes by Titus Burshardt /Paris 1955/; translated from French to English by Angela Culme-Seymour /1975/.

K. Muḥādarat al-abrār wa musāmarat al-agyar fi'l-adabiyyāt wa'n-nawādir wa'l-aḥbār. Ta'līf as-Sayḥ al-Akbar... Al-Kāhira-Bulak 1282 A.H. Part I - II.

Targumān al-aswāk. /The Interpreter of Desires./ A collection of poems of love with esoteric commentaries. Arabic text with English translation. First ed. 1911, reprint 1978.

This erotico-mystical *Diwān* had two new editions, in Cairo and Beyrouth /1966/ - not critical rather "commercial" editions.

Rasā'il Ibn 'Arabī. Based on the Compendium of the tracts in the Aasafiyah Library, Hyderabad. Edited and published by Dairatu'tu'l-Ma'ārif - Osmania. Hyderabad - Deccan. 1948. /29 treat./

Reedition in Beyrouth of Rasā'il of Ibn 'Arabī on the basis of partly critical edition of Hyderabad-Deccan 1948//29 treatises or messages/, among them two more important: K. al-Isrā' and Tagallīyyāt.

II. Most important studies on Ibn 'Arabī

M. ASIN PALACIOS, Islam and the Divine Comedy, London 1926.

- El Islam cristianizado, Madrid 1931.

- La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia, 3-d ed. 1961.

A.E. AFFIFI, The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī. Cambridge 1938.

Rom LANDAU, The Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī, London 1959.

Henri CORBIN, L'Imagination creatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī. Paris 1958. There is an English transl.

R.A. NICHOLSON, Studies in Islamic Mysticism. Cambridge 1921, reprint 1967.

Osman YAHYA, Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī. I - II Damas 1964.

- Translation of the treatise: Kitāb at-Tagallīyyāt /Theophanies/. L'Etablissement d'un texte arabe et une traduction française. Damas 1964.

Ahmed ATEŞ, Ibn 'Arabī, article in E. of I. /New Edition/.

Studies in Arabic language

Collective work: Al-Kitāb at-tidkārī Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, Cairo 1969.

'Abd al-Azīs Sayyid al-Ahl-Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, Bayrut 1970.

'Alī 'Abd al-Galīl Rādī - Ar-Ruhāniyya 'inda Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī. Cairo 1975.

F O L I A O R I E N T A L I A
Tome XXVIII 1991
PL ISSN 0015-5675

Edward Szymański

The Rise and Development of Trade Centres in the Arab-Persian Gulf

From the earliest times until nowadays the Gulf has been one of the great highways of Asiatic trade.¹ Along it passed the wares of the Far East, India and the Indonesian Islands, bound for markets in the Middle Near East, Arabia, the eastern coasts of Africa, and back flowed the merchandise of Europe, the Levant, Syria and Egypt to India and China.² Scattered references in classical authors provide occasional information on some of the Gulf sites. The region extending from the Shatt al-Arab to the straits of Hormuz, as well as the Arab side of the Gulf and its Persian side are virtually *terra incognita* both in the ancient sources and in terms of archaeological exploration. Both older and some more recent finds help compensate for the sparsity of textual evidence for the Arabian side. Some historians had believed that Phoenicians had lived in Bahrain (ancient Tylus, Niduk-ki in Accadian, and Tilmun, Dilmun or Tilvun in Assyrian) before they emigrated to the historical Phoenicia on the Levantine coast of the Mediterranean.

In ancient times, the venture was not the one of conquest and occupation of land. The natural conditions of the region did not favour the direct exploitation of existing resources which are limited and mainly useful for the inhabitants of the desert and the rare oases. The nomadic population in the region, whose prime economic activities were the pastoralism of camels, sheep and goats as well as the caravan-trade, resisted any attempts at foreign and centralised control. The study of the archaeological material and some written references indi-