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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AIEO** *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (Algiers)
- BSOAS** *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- Buhl** F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, transl. H. H. Schaefer, Leipzig 1930
- EI** *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 vols. and Supplement, Leiden and London 1913-38; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Leiden and London 1960 ff.
- GAL** C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*<sup>2</sup>, 2 vols., Leiden 1943-9; *Supplementbände*, 3 vols., Leiden 1937-42
- Guillaume** A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (transl. of the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq), O.U.P. 1955
- HKh** Ḥājji Khalifa, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, ed. and transl. G. Fluegel, 7 vols., Leipzig 1835-58
- IAU** Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. E. Müller, text i. ii, Cairo 1299/1882, introduction and indexes, Königsberg 1884
- Ibn Sa'd** *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau and others, Leiden 1905 ff.
- Ibn Taghribirdi** *Nujūm, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vii, Cairo 1357/1938
- JAOs** *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- Jeffery** A. Jeffery, *A Reader on Islam*, Hague 1962
- Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Tārīkh** By Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḳḳisī, ed. and transl. Cl. Huart, 6 vols., Paris 1899 ff.
- Luciani** J.-D. Luciani, *El-Irchad par Imam el-Haramēin*, édité et traduit, Paris 1938
- Manhal al-Ṣāfī** (Wiet) G. Wiet, *Les Biographies du Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (of Ibn Taghribirdi), Cairo 1932
- RSO** *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
- Shadharāt** Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 8 vols., Cairo 1351
- Stieglecker** H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Paderborn 1962
- Zād al-Ma'ād** Ibn Ḳayyim al-Jawziyya, *Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, 4 vols., Cairo 1347/1928
- ZDMG** *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*



## INTRODUCTION

'ALĀ' AL-DĪN 'ALĪ IBN ABI L-ḤARAM, called for short Ibn al-Nafīs, born and educated in Syria, but later chief physician in Cairo, is an outstanding figure in the Arab medical world of the 7th/13th century. He is well known in the history of Arab medicine as a compiler of and commentator on the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), and has recently won fame on the discovery of his description of the lesser circulation of blood in the human body, three centuries before Servetus and Colombo, who probably knew the theory of their predecessor through the intermediary of Andrea Alpago, physician and Orientalist. M. Meyerhof published the texts in question, with a German translation, commentary, and biography of the author, in 1933.<sup>1</sup> An old biography of Ibn al-Nafīs edited and translated there mentions a small book of his with the title *Kitāb Fādil ibn Nāṭik*, which it states to be a counterpart to Ibn Sīnā's philosophical tale of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. Professor H. Ritter of Istanbul kindly informed us that the treatise in question, which was thought to have perished, is preserved in a manuscript in Istanbul and is identical with the same author's *al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya fil-Sira al-Nabawiyya*, a copy of which was known to exist in the Egyptian Library at Cairo. We are very much indebted to Professor Ritter for a photograph of the Istanbul manuscript. Having in the meantime published two studies on philosophical, and especially Greek, learning among medical men in Egypt in the Middle Ages, the first on the famous controversy between the Muslim Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo and the Christian Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad, both reputed practitioners of the 5th/11th century,<sup>2</sup> and the second on a polemic of the celebrated Jewish theologian, philosopher, and physician, Mūsā ibn Maymūn (Maimonides, A.D. 1135-1204), against the Greek physician Galen who, a thousand years before him, had

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 11 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo*, Cairo 1937 (The Egyptian University, The Faculty of Arts, Publication no. 13).



attacked the cosmogony of the Old Testament,<sup>1</sup> we now return to the treatise of Ibn al-Nafis. It appeared that it was a counterpart not to Ibn Sinā's *Hayy ibn Yaqẓān* but to the philosophical novel, bearing the same title, of the Hispano-Moorish philosopher Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik, known as Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185). If Ibn Ṭufayl's aim is to show the discovery of philosophical and mystical truths by an individual created by spontaneous generation on a desert island, or exposed there immediately after his birth, that of Ibn al-Nafis is to describe the same discovery with regard to the main tenets of Islamic religion, the life-story of the last Prophet, and the subsequent fate of his community. Edward Pocock the Younger (1648–1727), who first printed Ibn Ṭufayl's book in 1671,<sup>2</sup> gave it the name of *Philosophus Autodidactus*; so we are entitled to call Ibn al-Nafis's treatise *Theologus Autodidactus*. Its fourth and last part deals, without mentioning names, with the condition of the sultanate of Egypt and Syria under the powerful Mamlūk ruler Baybars al-Bunduqḏārī, called al-Malik al-Zāhir (658/1260–676/1277); we therefore found it appropriate to give a short survey of the historical and scientific background of the author's period, followed by his biography according to the best available sources, as well as some remarks on his literary output.

### I. THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

EGYPT, Palestine, and Syria—with parts of Arabia—were nearly always united under the rule of the Fātimid caliphs (356/969–567/1171), the Ayyūbids (564/1169–648/1250), and the Mamlūks (648/1250–922/1517). Ibn al-Nafis lived from 607/1210 to 687/1288, and we will consider the main events of the 7th/13th century. At the beginning of that century, Egypt and Syria were under the vigorous rule of the Ayyūbid, al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr, brother and successor of the celebrated Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladdin).<sup>3</sup> Around his realm sprang up petty kingdoms under his sons and relatives, in Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ (Emesa), northern

<sup>1</sup> See J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, 'Maimonides versus Galen', in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, v/1 (May 1937), Cairo 1939.

<sup>2</sup> E. Pocock, *Philosophus Autodidactus*, etc. (with a Latin translation), Oxford 1671; the same, *An Account of the Oriental Philosophy*, etc., Oxford 1674.

<sup>3</sup> On Egypt and Syria under the Ayyūbids, see H. A. R. Gibb, chapter xx in K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, ii, Philadelphia 1962; on the Mamlūks, see M. M. Ziyada, *ibid.*, chapter xxxii.

Mesopotamia, and Yemen. The heirs of Saladdin were contending bitterly among themselves, while the Crusaders continued to hold the Syro-Palestinian coast. About the middle of the century, the Ayyūbids in Egypt were superseded by the Mamlūks, the generals of the army, which had been recruited from slaves. The weak caliphs of Baghdad had to defend their limited possessions against the shahs of Khwārizm, and from about 617/1220 to face the ever-growing danger of the Mongols or Tartars (*Tatar*), as the Arab historians call them, from the east. Nevertheless, during the first half of the century there was comparative peace in Baghdad, learning flourished, and schools and libraries were patronized. 'It was but the lull before the fatal storm.'<sup>1</sup>

Having conquered the whole of inner Asia and south Russia, the Mongols at last besieged, took, and sacked Baghdad, where the last Caliph, al-Musta'ṣim, found his death in 656/1258. They immediately proceeded westward, swept away the small Ayyūbid kingdoms, temporarily occupied Damascus, and threatened the boundaries of the Syro-Egyptian realm. Here they were stopped by the third Mamlūk sultan, Kutuz, who defeated them in the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt.<sup>2</sup> Immediately afterwards Kutuz was murdered by his general, Baybars al-Bunduqḏārī, who succeeded him on the throne of Egypt and Syria.<sup>3</sup> This remarkable man was originally a slave from the Turkish people of the Kipchak in south Russia, tall and blue-eyed but with a white spot in one of his eyes so that, when he was sold for the modest sum of 800 dirham in Damascus, the buyer returned him. He was then bought by the Mamlūk emir 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydekin al-Bunduqḏārī, from whom he took his surname. When part of the property of this emir was confiscated by the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣālīḥ, Baybars came into the possession of this last, who later set him free and started him on his

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new and revised edition by T. H. Weir, reprinted, Edinburgh 1924, 589.

<sup>2</sup> On the events preceding the battle, see G. Levi Della Vida, 'L'invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 nei ricordi di un testimone oculare', in *Orientalia*, iv (1935), 353–76, reprinted in his *Aneddoti e svaghi*, Milan and Naples 1959, 58–72. On the battle itself, see B. Lewis, art. 'Ayn Djālūt', in *EP*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> On the Arabic sources for the biography of Baybars and of his successor Kalawun, see J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman*, new and revised edition by Cl. Cahen, Paris 1961, 180f. For a recent account of the reign of Baybars see S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, iii, Cambridge 1954, 315–48; on Kalawun, *ibid.*, 387–423. On his religious policy, see H. Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 251–4.



military career. Having risen to ever higher positions, Baybars was acclaimed sultan after he had murdered his predecessor, and ruled from 658/1260 to 676/1277. He was the real founder of Mamlūk power. He was not only a military leader of indomitable courage, but a superior organizer who rebuilt the navy, constructed fortresses, bridges, and religious buildings, dug canals, improved harbours, and connected Cairo and Damascus, the two capitals of his realm, by a swift postal service taking a week or less. Several of his architectural monuments have survived in Egypt and Syria. In his numerous campaigns against the Crusaders he broke the backbone of the power of the Franks in Palestine and Syria and conquered the fortresses of the dreaded Assassins, whilst his generals extended his dominion westwards over Libya and southwards over Nubia, which was now permanently conquered for Egypt. He exchanged embassies with Berke, the khan of the Golden Horde in south Russia, who was the first great Mongol ruler to convert himself to Islam, and allied himself with this prince against Hülägü and his successor Abaka, the pagan Mongol Il-Khans of Persia.<sup>1</sup> Three times he defeated the Mongols in Syria and Mesopotamia. For reasons of political expediency, he recognized as caliph an alleged member of the 'Abbāsīd family who had escaped the blood-bath of Baghdad; this last invested him with the government of Egypt, of Syria, and of other countries to be conquered.<sup>2</sup> When the caliph showed pretensions to independence, Baybars sent him at the head of an insufficient force against the Mongols, who promptly annihilated him. The sultan then appointed to the caliphate another pretended member of the 'Abbāsīd family, who gave, of course, every proof of docility. 'His religious orthodoxy and zeal, together with the glory he brought to Islam, combined to make his name a rival to that of Hārūn al-Rashīd. In

<sup>1</sup> See W. Barthold and J. A. Boyle, art. 'Berke', in *EP*. Baybars also exchanged embassies with King Manfred of Sicily (see below, p. 76, Excursus A, para. o), with King Alfonso X, 'the Sage', of Castille (see P. Martínez Montávez, 'Relaciones de Alfonso X de Castilla con el Sultán mameluco Baybars y sus sucesores', *Al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962), 343-76), and with the Byzantine emperor (see M. Canard, 'Un traité entre Byzance et Égypte au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les Sultans Musulmans Baibars et Qalā'ūn', in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 197-224).

<sup>2</sup> See R. Brunschwig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, i, Paris 1940, 46 f.; R. Hartmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte des 'abbāsīdischen Schein-Chalifats von Cairo* (Abh. d. Deutschen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1947, ix), Berlin 1950; D. Ayalon, 'Studies on the Transfer of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate from Bagdād to Cairo', *Arabica*, vii (1960), 41-59.

legendary history it looms even higher than that of Saladdin. His romance and that of 'Antar remain to the present day more popular in the Arab Orient than the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>1</sup> His great qualities to a certain degree outweighed his brutal cruelty, his treacherous behaviour to his sovereigns and rivals, and the merciless taxation he imposed on his subjects. One of the rare humane traits in the character of this sultan is the respect which he always kept for his former master, the emir Aydekin, and even for the former master of this last, after both had become his subjects.

After two years of inefficient government under two young sons of Baybars, he was followed on the throne by his general, Kalawun, who took on the throne name of al-Malik al-Manṣūr and ruled from 678/1279 to 689/1290. A worthy successor of Baybars in energy and organizing power, he was, like that ruler, originally a Turkish slave from Kipchak, purchased for no less than 1,000 gold dinars by the Mamlūk emir Aksunkur, and later by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. He had distinguished himself in the wars of Baybars before he ascended the throne of Egypt and Syria; he was the only Mamlūk in whose line the succession continued, though not without interruptions, to the fifth generation. His first great deed was to inflict a heavy defeat near Ḥimṣ in 679/1280 on the superior armies of the Mongol Il-Khan Abaka who had received help from Crusaders and Christian Armenians and Georgians. Shortly after, the Mongols of Persia adopted Islam under their new ruler, a brother of Abaka, who took the name of Aḥmad. Kalawun then reduced the Crusaders' castles in Syria, destroyed the town of Tripoli, and prepared the extinction of Frankish rule in the Near East. He renovated on a grand scale the citadels of Damascus, Aleppo, and Baalbeck, and constructed many fine buildings. The most famous of these is the combination of tomb-mosque, school, and hospital in Cairo, completed in 683/1284, important parts of which still exist.<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Nafīs must have witnessed the building of this hospital, to which he bequeathed his house and his library. The sultan Kalawun died two years after Ibn al-Nafīs.

<sup>1</sup> P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1937, 676. See R. Paret, art. '(sirat) Baybars', in *EP*.

<sup>2</sup> The foundation of this Manṣūrī hospital is described in detail by Shāfi' ibn 'Alī al-'Asḳalānī (d. 730/1330), *al-Faḍl al-Ma'thūr min Sirat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, MS. Marsh 424 (Bodleian i. 766), fols. 121<sup>v</sup> ff. (*GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 389, to be transferred to the *Suppl.* ii. 35); also by Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), *Tārikh*, ed. C. K. Zurayk, viii, Beirut 1939, 9-11.



## II. THE SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND

WE do not intend to discuss here all the scientific institutions of the period in question, e.g. all the theological schools (*madrasa*) in which there was given occasional instruction in philosophy, medicine, and science also. The hostility of some sectors of Islamic orthodoxy, and of the Ḥanbalī school in particular, towards the 'sciences of the ancients'<sup>1</sup> was but one aspect of the intellectual life of the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th century. We shall see how highly the educated Muslims in the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk period regarded the medical profession. It might have been thought that medicine, as one of the 'sciences of the ancients' and therefore essentially non-Islamic, would have suffered from the revulsion of popular sentiment which was one of the effects of the Crusades and inspired a number of literary productions hostile to the Christians. It is in this literature that there had appeared recently, in the time of Saladdin, the legend of the caliph 'Umar's having ordered the destruction of the library of Alexandria; it was intended as an example of how a good Muslim ought to behave towards the 'sciences of the ancients'. Conscious policy had perhaps a share in creating and spreading this kind of sentiment among the masses,<sup>2</sup> but educated people, including the specialists in Islamic religious sciences, as a rule held aloof. There were religious scholars who took an interest in philosophy and medicine, and medical men who were active in the field of religious scholarship; Ibn al-Nafīs himself, we shall see, was one of these. The tension which nevertheless existed between Islamic and Hellenistic thought is exemplified in the person of the blind philosopher and poet al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Najā, known as al-'Izz al-Irbilī, who died in Damascus in 660/1262.<sup>3</sup> He held reading sessions on the

<sup>1</sup> H. Laoust, in his introductions to his *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de . . . B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, *Traité de droit public d'Ibn Taimīya*, Beyrouth 1948, and *Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beyrouth 1950.

<sup>2</sup> Anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamlūk empire served purposes of internal rather than of external politics; see M. Perlmann, 'Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire', *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 843-61. See also E. Strauss, 'L'inquisition dans l'état mamlouk', *RSO*, xxv (1950), 11-26.

<sup>3</sup> See Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268), *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. Kawtharī, Cairo 1366/1947, 216 (to be corrected after the MS. Oriental 1539 of the British Museum, fol. 130<sup>v</sup>); Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), *Dhayl Miw'āt al-Zamān*, i, Hyderabad 1374/1954, 501; Kutubī (d. 764/1362), *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, s.v. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad; Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, Cairo 1351-8/

'sciences of the ancients' for people of all persuasions who came to his house, Sunnī and Shi'a Muslims and unbelievers, Jews, Christians, Samaritans, philosophers, and others. Though highly esteemed by all, including the last Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, he was regarded as irreligious, but on his death-bed, according to the report of an eyewitness, quoted *sura lxvii. 14*: 'Doth He not know those whom He hath created, while He is the Subtile, the Aware?' and added: 'Allah is right and Ibn Sīnā is wrong.' Whereas the Ḥanbalī biographer, Yūnīnī, gives him a lengthy, purely laudatory biography from which every mention of his alleged lack of religious faith is omitted, with extensive quotations from his poetry, the somewhat later Ḥanbalī sympathizer, Ibn Kathīr, in his short obituary notice denigrates even his undoubted intelligence and, comparing him to the sceptical and pessimistic poet Abul-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, curses both.

We will now speak of the medical learning and of the hospitals in Damascus and Cairo, where Ibn al-Nafīs received his training and was later a teacher. After a long series of hospitals created by former princes,<sup>1</sup> two powerful rulers of the 6th/12th century founded two great new hospitals in the two capitals of the Syro-Egyptian realm. The Turkish prince Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zengi, of the family of the Atabegs of Mosul, established himself in Damascus in 549/1154, and founded a well-equipped hospital which was called after him the Nūrī Hospital (*al-bimāristān al-nūrī*).<sup>2</sup> His Kurdish general, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, or Saladdin, followed his example and in 567/1171, three years after becoming master of Egypt, founded a hospital in Cairo which was called the Nāṣirī Hospital (*al-bimāristān al-nāṣirī*). Both establishments gained great fame in the world of Islam, and over several centuries continued to attract

1932-9, xiii. 235. See also E. Strauss, loc. cit., 11f. On some inter-Islamic controversies of the period, see L. Massignon, in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii. 662-77.

<sup>1</sup> See Ahmad Issa Bey, *Histoire des bimaristans (hôpitaux) à l'époque islamique*, Cairo 1928; new and revised Arabic edition, *Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt fi l-Islām*, Damascus 1357/1939. On hospitals and medical teaching, partly in connexion with mosques and *madrasas*, see Johs. Pedersen, art. 'Masjid', section F.4.c, in *EP*; on hospitals in Syria from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th century, see N. A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamlūks*, Beirut 1953, 158 ff. For the plan of a small typical hospital which was founded in 745/1344 and has remained unaltered, see J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris 1941, album, plate lxi.

<sup>2</sup> On this hospital, see J. Sauvaget, *Les Perles choisies d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, i, Beyrouth 1933, 168f.



numerous patients and medical scholars.<sup>1</sup> We know the names and activities of many of the practitioners and teachers attached to these benevolent institutions from the historian of Arab medicine, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270), who was himself an oculist and the private physician of an emir in Syria.<sup>2</sup> The stimulus to this revival of medical learning in Syria and Egypt in the 7th/13th century came in the last resort from the great 'Aḍudī Hospital in Baghdad, a foundation of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the powerful Buwayhid sultan and viceroy of the caliph in the 4th/10th century. He founded this model institution in 371/981, a year before his death. Generations of skilled medica lmen practised in it, the most prominent of whom was the Christian Amin al-Dawla Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Tilmīdh, who died in 560/1165 at the age of 95.<sup>3</sup> He was Chief Physician (*ra'is al-aṭibbā'*), i.e. the principal medical officer, of Baghdad, and had many pupils. He instructed them in Greek medicine and philosophy and read with them Ibn Sīnā's enormous medical encyclopedia *al-Kānūn fi l-Ṭibb*. Several of these disciples left Baghdad after the death of the master and came to Damascus, where they were appointed to the Nūrī Hospital, in their turn educating medical practitioners. The most eminent among them was Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, long-lived like Ibn al-Tilmīdh and teacher of numerous medical men. He died in 631/1233, and his son continued his work.<sup>4</sup> Other doctors later left Baghdad, probably on account of the growing political disorder, for Damascus, and increased the reputation of the medical school there. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a gives the biographies of some twenty distinguished representatives of the medical school of Damascus, of whom we will mention only Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī who died in 594/1198 after successful work as a teacher,<sup>5</sup> and Ibn al-Maṭrān, a converted Christian who became a favourite of Saladdin, collected a great library, and died in 587/1191.<sup>6</sup> Both had

<sup>1</sup> J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 126 n. 1, has pointed out that only the insane and patients suffering from certain special diseases (e.g. of the eyes) were actually treated in this kind of hospital; the other patients came to consult the doctors and receive medicines which they took at home.

<sup>2</sup> *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. E. Müller, 2 vols., Cairo 1299/1882, introduction and indexes, Königsberg 1884 (referred to hereafter as IAU). Chapters 14 and 15, at the end of vol. ii, treat of the physicians of Egypt and of Syria.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Meyerhof, art. 'Ibn al-Tilmīdh', in *EP*, *Suppl.*

<sup>4</sup> IAU, ii, 192-201.

<sup>6</sup> IAU, ii, 175-81.

<sup>5</sup> IAU, i, 299-301.

been disciples of Ibn al-Tilmīdh. On account of the close links between Egypt and Syria under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, there was a continuous two-way traffic of teachers and students between the great hospitals of the two capitals.

The Syro-Egyptian school of medicine in the 7th/13th century reached its zenith with Muhadhhib al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī, called Dakhwār;<sup>1</sup> he enjoyed the highest reputation and influenced the majority of the prominent physicians of Syria and Egypt. Dakhwār was born in Damascus, the son of an oculist, was at first an oculist himself, and afterwards studied medicine with Ibn al-Maṭrān. He became the personal physician of the sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn, the brother of Saladdin, and accompanied him from Syria to Egypt, where he witnessed the terrible plague of 612/1216. When the son of the sultan, al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, later on himself sultan of Egypt, was attacked by the disease, Dakhwār treated him with great devotion and saved his life. Thereupon the sultan appointed him Chief Physician of Egypt and Syria. Three years later the sultan died, and his successor in Syria was his other son, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā; he confirmed Dakhwār in his office. Numerous princes and important persons consulted him, and he became a rich man. At the same time, he was attached to the Nūrī Hospital, where his now very old teacher, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, and an eminent Jewish physician, 'Imrān ibn Ṣadaqa,<sup>2</sup> were his colleagues. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a was their disciple, and he could not find words enough to express his admiration of the useful collaboration of these three practitioners. It inspired him to write the verses:

Then passed away those years and their team,  
And they vanished away like a dream.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding his numerous occupations, Dakhwār never ceased to give instruction to his pupils, in his house or at the hospital. He was a devoted student of Galen's works, and when one of the disciples read, during his lectures, a remarkable passage about the theory or practice of the treatment of some disease or other, Dakhwār would exclaim: 'This is Medicine!' He was a great lover of books, copied with his own hand numerous medical and philosophical works, and formed a considerable library. During his lectures he used to have with him, besides medical books, the

<sup>1</sup> IAU, ii, 239-46.

<sup>2</sup> IAU, ii, 213 f.

<sup>3</sup> IAU, ii, 243.



*Siḥāh* of Jawharī, the *Mujmal* of Ibn Fāris,<sup>1</sup> and the *Kitāb al-Nabāt* ('Book of Plants') of Abū Ḥanifa al-Dīnawarī.<sup>2</sup> At the end of his life he became partly paralysed of by stroke, and he died childless in 628/1230, having left his house in Damascus, together with the revenues of his estates and other donations, as a pious foundation (*wakf*) for the benefit of a medical school which he had founded.<sup>3</sup> This school, the *Madrasa al-Dakhwāriyya*, was still in existence in 820/1417, when part of it was repaired. The first director of this school, appointed by Dakhwār himself, was Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, son of his old teacher Raḍī al-Dīn.

Several of Dakhwār's disciples gained a high reputation. One of his most eminent pupils was Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, the historian of Arab medicine mentioned before, and another was Ibn al-Nafīs. The two men were near contemporaries, and although they may never have met, it is impossible to believe that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a should not have known of Ibn al-Nafīs. But whereas he devotes the last part of his work to the biographies of his contemporaries in Egypt and in Syria and paints a vivid picture of the intense intellectual life there in the 7th/13th century, he does not give the biography of Ibn al-Nafīs and does not mention his name even incidentally.<sup>4</sup> This strange silence must be the result of personal enmity or professional jealousy or both. Fortunately there are other sources for the biography of Ibn al-Nafīs.

### III. THE BIOGRAPHIES OF IBN AL-NAFĪS

WE have come across no fewer than eighteen biographies or obituary notices of Ibn al-Nafīs, and know of the existence of a few

<sup>1</sup> Two well-known dictionaries; the authors died in 393/1003 and in 395/1005 respectively; cf. *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 133, 135.

<sup>2</sup> A famous and many-sided author, d. 282/895; cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.* i. 187.

<sup>3</sup> The two relations of the foundation of the school, in *IAU*, ii. 244 f. and in Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, ii. 127 ff., are not necessarily contradictory.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript 'amm 4883(1) of the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus (cf. *Fihris Makhtūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya*, vi (*Tārīkh*), by Yūsuf al-'Ishsh, Damascus 1366/1947, 306), a late copy, is drastically abbreviated at the end but finishes with a short notice on Ibn al-Nafīs which is fulsomely laudatory in general terms but lacks all biographical details. This notice is not by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a because its author speaks of Ibn al-Nafīs at a certain distance in time (his writings are 'authoritative in the opinion of sound scholars in most countries', *maḥbūla 'ind al-muḥaqqiqīn fī akthar al-biḳā'*), but he knows several works of his which are not mentioned by the other biographers.

others. The three oldest biographies are in part based on information given by a pupil of Ibn al-Nafīs in philosophy, the famous grammarian, theologian, and linguist, Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Andalusī. This scholar was born in Granada in 654/1256, travelled through North Africa and Egypt, performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Arabia, and settled down in Cairo, where he studied with the grammarian Ibn al-Naḥḥās (whom he later succeeded), took lessons from Ibn al-Nafīs, and became himself a lecturer at several institutions. He died in Cairo in 745/1345.<sup>1</sup>

The biographical notices of Ibn al-Nafīs in European works are mostly recent and derived from the sources with which we shall now have to deal.<sup>2</sup>

The two most detailed biographies of Ibn al-Nafīs, which are also among the oldest, are nearly identical; they occur in the voluminous works of two scholars of encyclopedic learning, both of them pupils of Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī. One is the *Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349),<sup>3</sup> and the other the biographical dictionary, *al-Wafī bil-Wafayāt*, of Khalil ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363).<sup>4</sup> As the relevant part of neither work has been printed as yet, we have used manuscripts; for the work of 'Umarī, the copy 8 *M Ma'ārif 'Āmma* (formerly 99 *M Tārīkh*), part 8, of the Egyptian Library in Cairo,<sup>5</sup> collating the text with the photostatic copy, preserved in the

<sup>1</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 133 f.; *Suppl.* ii. 135 f.; S. Glazer, art. 'Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī', in *EP*<sup>2</sup>; E. García Gómez, 'A propósito de Ibn Ḥayyān. Resumen del estado actual de los estudios . . .', *Al-Andalus*, xi (1946), 395-423; Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, index s.v. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf.

<sup>2</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 649; *Suppl.* i. 899 f.; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840, 146 f.; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii. 207-9; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, Baltimore 1931, 1099-1101; M. Meyerhof, 'Ibn an-Nafīs und seine Theorie des Lungenkreislaufs', in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iv (Berlin 1933), 37-88; abridged versions in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xvi (1934), 33-46, and in *Isis*, xxii (1935), 100-20; idem, art. 'Ibn al-Nafīs', in *EP*<sup>2</sup>, *Suppl.*; J. Schacht, 'Ibn al-Nafīs et son Theologus Autodidactus', in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallcriosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 325-45.

<sup>3</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 177 f.; *Suppl.* ii. 175 f.; D. S. Rice, 'A Miniature in an Autograph of Shihābal-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī', *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 856-67; G. Deverdun, 'Un nouveau manuscrit des *Masālik al-Absār* d'Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umarī', *Hespéris*, 1954, 475-8.

<sup>4</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 39 ff.; *Suppl.* ii. 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya al-Mahfūza bil-Kutubkhāna al-Khidwiyya*, v. 149 f.; *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Fihris al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, v. 344.



same library (2568 *Tārīkh*, part 5, vol. iii), of a manuscript of the library of Aya Sofya in Istanbul,<sup>1</sup> and for the work of Şafadī, the manuscript Oriental 6587 in the library of the British Museum, which contains the fifth part of the work.<sup>2</sup> As Şafadī, who is known as a compiler, died fifteen years after 'Umarī, it is probable that he copied the biography from his older contemporary. But as the text of Şafadī, in the manuscript of the British Museum, is better than that of 'Umarī in both manuscripts at our disposal, we have taken the former as the basis of our edition and translation, and give a supplement from 'Umarī's text.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Biography of Ibn al-Nafīs according to Şafadī*, al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt (MS. British Museum, Or. 6587, 20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>).

'Alī ibn Abil-Ḥaram: he is the excellent *imām*, the most learned doctor, 'Alā' al-Dīn ibn al-Nafīs al-Ḳurashī al-Dimashkī.<sup>a</sup> The learned Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān<sup>4</sup> gave me the following information:

He grew up in Damascus and there occupied himself with medicine under Muhadhhib al-Dīn al-Dakhwār. Al-Dakhwār was an excellent scholar and had many pupils, among them al-Raḥbī,<sup>b</sup> Ibn Ḳāḍī Ba'labakk,<sup>c</sup> and Shams al-Dīn al-Kullī.<sup>d</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīn was a unique leader in the science of medicine, in which no one equalled or approached him in ready knowledge and thorough investigation. He worked hard into his old age and wrote outstanding works and excellent books. He composed 'The Comprehensive Book on Medicine' (*Kitāb al-Shāmil fil-Ṭibb*), the plan of which shows that it was to consist of three hundred volumes, so I was told by one of his friends. He made a fair copy of eighty of them; they are now a bequest to the Maṣṣūrī Hospital in Cairo. He also wrote 'The Well-Arranged Book on Ophthalmology' (*Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab fil-Kuḥl*), a Commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā in a number of volumes, and others on medicine. Someone who saw him composing<sup>e</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Fihris*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to Professor F. Gabrieli for a copy of this text from the photograph of the manuscript in the Fondazione Caetani in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> The two texts are printed as introductory matters, nos. 1 and 2, in the Arabic part of this publication. References to the persons mentioned in these two texts will be found in Excursus A, below, pp. 75 ff., and notes (a)-(x) in the text refer to the paragraphs of the excursus.

<sup>4</sup> The two manuscripts of 'Umarī which we have consulted have Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a instead of Abū Ḥayyān, but this is obviously a mistake (see above, p. 10), and Abū Ḥayyān occurs not only in Şafadī but also in Dhahabī (see below, p. 18). That the name of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a did slip in emphasizes how confidently the mention of Ibn al-Nafīs by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a could be expected and how strange his omission is.

told me that he used to write from memory without consulting a book while composing.

He also knew logic and wrote a compendium on this subject and a commentary on the *Hidāya* of Ibn Sīnā on logic.<sup>1</sup> In this science he leaned exclusively towards the method of the earlier authors, such as Abū Naṣr (al-Fārābī) and Ibn Sīnā, and was averse to the method of al-Afḍal al-Khūnajī<sup>f</sup> and of al-Athīr al-Abharī.<sup>g</sup> I studied quite a part of this book *al-Hidāya* of Ibn Sīnā under him, and he explained it in the best possible way. I learned from him, too, something of medical science. He also wrote on the principles of jurisprudence and on applied law, on Arabic language, traditions, rhetoric, and other subjects; but in these sciences he did not stand in the front rank, he only took part in them. (In grammar) he prepared a book in two volumes in which he put forward causes (for grammatical reactions) different from those the specialists give. In this science he had studied only the *Unmūdhaj* ('Specimen') of Zamakhsharī<sup>2</sup> under the Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḥḥās,<sup>h</sup> and yet he dared to write about that science.

By him and by our Professor 'Imād al-Dīn al-Nābulusī<sup>i</sup> the physicians in Egypt and Cairo were formed. He was an elder of very tall stature with an oval face, slender, and of polite manners. I was told that during the illness of which he died some of his medical friends advised him to take some wine because, as it is claimed, his illness would be likely to be cured thereby. But he refused to take anything of it and said: 'I will not meet Allah, the Most High, with any wine in my body.'<sup>3</sup>

He built himself a house in Cairo and had it paved with marble, even its hall, and I have never seen a marble hall save in this house. He did not marry,<sup>4</sup> and he bequeathed his house and his books to the Maṣṣūrī Hospital.<sup>5</sup> He loathed the style of Galen and described it as weak and profuse with nothing in it, and this in contrast with our Professor 'Imād al-Dīn al-Nābulusī, who valued it highly and encouraged the reading of Galen's works. 'Alā' al-Dīn had been entrusted with the teaching of religious law at the Maṣrūriyya School in Cairo,<sup>6</sup> and it was reported

<sup>1</sup> See G. C. Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicinienne*, Cairo 1950, no. 24. Ḥajji Khalifa (*Lexicon*, ed. G. Fluegel, vi. 478, no. 14363) is wrong when he calls it a work on medicine.

<sup>2</sup> A grammatical compendium of one of the most celebrated Arab philologists, who died in 538/1144. See *GAL*<sup>3</sup>, i. 34-50; *Suppl.* i. 507-13; *ET*<sup>1</sup>, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> The Almohade prince al-Manṣūr (580/1184-595/1199) enforced the prohibition of wine so strictly that his court physician, Abū Ja'far ibn al-Ghazzāl, could not even procure the few drops which he needed for making a theriac; see *IAU*, ii. 80.

<sup>4</sup> He may, of course, have had concubines.

<sup>5</sup> The hospital founded by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Kalawun in 683/1284; see above, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> According to Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), ii. 378, this school had been founded by the eunuch Shams al-Khawāṣṣ [*sic*] Maṣrūr, one of Saladdin's



that he explained the *Tanbīh*<sup>1</sup> from the beginning to the chapter on *sahw*<sup>2</sup> in an excellent manner. He was ill for six days, beginning on a Sunday, and died on the morning of Friday, 21ST Dhul-Ḳa'da 687,<sup>3</sup> in Cairo. May Allah the Most High have mercy on him!

Al-Ṣafī Abu l-Faṭḥ ibn Yūḥannā ibn Ṣalīb ibn Murjī ibn Mawhūb, the Christian,<sup>4</sup> recited to me the following verses which he composed himself and in which he lamented 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafīs (metre *kāmīl*):

'Many a one asked: Is there still a learned or an excellent man,  
Or a man with a share of high qualities (*al-'ulā*) left after al-'Alā'?'  
Then I answered, while fire was burning in my heart:  
Stop! At the death of al-'Alā' high qualities (*al-'ulā*) died with him.'  
End of the report of Athīr al-Dīn.

The learned imām, the Master Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Rashīdī,<sup>5</sup> preacher at the mosque of Amīr Ḥusayn in Cairo, told me the following: When al-'Alā' Ibn al-Nafīs wanted to write, they laid ready-cut (reed) pens before him; he turned his face towards the wall and began to compose without consulting a book, writing like a torrent in spate, and when the pen became blunt and used up, he threw it away and took another one so as not to lose time in pen-cutting.

I was told by the Master Najm al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī<sup>6</sup> (may Allah the Most High have mercy on him!): The Professor Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḥḥās<sup>m</sup> used to say: 'In grammar I am not satisfied with anyone's style in Cairo except that of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafīs', or words to that effect. I have seen a small book of his which he opposed to the *Treatise of Ḥayy ibn Yaqṣān* of Ibn Sīnā and which he called the *Book of Fāḍīl ibn Nāṭiq*. In it he defends the system of Islam and the Muslims' doctrines on the missions of Prophets, the religious laws, the resurrection of the body, and the transitoriness of the world. And—by my life!—he has produced something wonderful, and this proves his competence, the soundness of his intelligence, and his capability in the intellectual sciences.

I was told by al-Sadīd al-Dumyāṭī, the physician of Cairo,<sup>7</sup> who was one of his pupils: One night he and the cadī, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Wāṣil,<sup>8</sup> were together whilst I was sleeping in their company. When they had ended the last evening prayer, they began a learned discussion and courtiers. The foundation of the *Madrasa al-Masrūriyya* in Damascus was also attributed to him (Nu'aymī, *Dāris*, i. 455).

<sup>1</sup> A well-known treatise of Islamic religious law, according to the Shāfi'ī school, by the celebrated jurist, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083). See *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 484–6; *Suppl.* i. 669 f. French transl. by G.-H. Bousquet, i–iv, Algiers 1949–52 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Alger, ii, xiii, xi, xv).

<sup>2</sup> Unmindfulness during ritual prayer.

<sup>3</sup> Corresponding to 17 December, A.D. 1288.

passed from one science to another. During all this, the Master 'Alā' al-Dīn conversed with self-control and without becoming heated; whereas the cadī Jamāl al-Dīn became excited, his voice grew loud, his eyes went red, and the veins of his neck swelled. Thus they continued until dawn. When they came to an end, the cadī Jamāl al-Dīn said: 'O Master 'Alā' al-Dīn, I know of problems and subtleties and rules, but you possess treasures of learning.'

The same [al-Sadīd al-Dumyāṭī] said further: I told him: 'Sir, if you were to write a commentary on the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā,<sup>1</sup> that would be better than commenting on the *Ḳānūn*, because people are in need of it.' He replied: 'I have still got some passages in the *Shifā'* which need putting right.' By this he meant that he did not understand those passages because the style of the Chief (Ibn Sīnā) in the *Shifā'* is difficult.

Another informant told me: The Master 'Alā' al-Dīn once went to the public bath which is situated at Bāb al-Zuhūma.<sup>2</sup> Whilst he was in the middle of washing himself, he went out to the dressing-room (*maslakh*) of the bath, asked for ink, pen, and paper, and wrote down a treatise on the pulse from beginning to end. Afterwards he returned to the bath and finished his ablutions.

It is reported that he once said: 'If I did not know that my works would last for ten thousand years after me, I should not have written them.' But the responsibility for this must be borne by those who have related it. To sum up, he was a great leader, and many excellent men said: 'He is a second Ibn Sīnā.'

I copy the following from a biography of his, the author of which I do not know: He wrote a commentary on the *Ḳānūn* in twenty volumes, in which he elucidated the scientific problems, pointed out the logical conclusions, and explained the medical difficulties. No one had previously written such a commentary because the utmost all previous commentators had done was to content themselves with the explanation of the general part (the *kullīyyāt*), as far as the pulse of the pregnant woman,

<sup>1</sup> Avicenna's great philosophical treatise, comprising logic, physics, mathematics and astronomy, and theology (*GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 592, no. 18; *Suppl.* i. 815, no. 18; F. Rahman (ed.), *Avicenna's De Anima. Being the psychological part of Kitāb al-Shifā* O.U.P. 1959; French transl. by J. Bakoš, *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā d'après son œuvre aš-Šifā'*, Prague 1956); there are several recent editions of other sections. On Avicenna and his *Shifā'* in general, see F. M. Pareja, *Islamologie*, Beyrouth 1957–63, 986 f.

<sup>2</sup> Originally one of the gates of the great Fātimid palace in Cairo (*Sefer Nameh. Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 44 (text), 129 (transl.); ed. M. Ghanī-zāde, Berlin 1341/(1923), 62), and later the name of a gateway of the central town (Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), i. 435); today, a lane near the Khan al-Khalīlī Bazaar still bears the name of *Ḥārat Bāb al-Zuhūma*.



and in that part medicine is rarely discussed. He also commented on all the books of the excellent Hippocrates, and on most of them he wrote two commentaries, a detailed and a concise one. He commented also on the *Ishārāt*.<sup>1</sup> He knew the *kulliyāt* of the *Ḳānūn* by heart, and esteemed the style of Hippocrates.<sup>2</sup> He used to refer students only to the *Ḳānūn*, and this is what encouraged the (medical) public to study that book. He was always ready to give information by day or by night. To seek his company in his house came a number of emirs, as well as the Chief Physician, Muhadhhib al-Dīn Ibn Abi Ḥulayḳa,<sup>3</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Ṣaghīr,<sup>4</sup> and the great physicians. The persons were seated according to their rank. To his prominent pupils belonged the Chief Physician, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan,<sup>5</sup> Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Ḳuff,<sup>6</sup> al-Sadīd,<sup>7</sup> Abul-Faḍl Ibn Kūshak,<sup>8</sup> and Abul-Futūḥ al-Iskandarī.<sup>9</sup>

2. *Supplement to the biography of Ibn al-Nafīs from 'Umarī, Masālik al-Abṣār* (MS. Egyptian Library 8 *M Ma'ārif 'Amma*, formerly 99 *M Tārīkh*, part 8, 119<sup>r</sup>).

Several of his disciples, for example our Professor Abu l-Faḥ al-Ya'murī,<sup>10</sup> told me the following: Ibn al-Nafīs possessed an enormous knowledge of (theoretical) medicine and had mastered its branches and principles. But he had not so much insight into (practical) treatment. When he had made prescriptions, he never departed from the method to which he was accustomed; he did not prescribe a remedy as long as he could prescribe a diet, and he did not prescribe a compound remedy as long as he could content himself with a simple drug. He used to prescribe dishes of wheaten flour (*ḳamḥiyya*) for sufferers from ulcers, noodle soup (*tutmāj*)<sup>3</sup> for sufferers from vapours, carobs and parched chick-peas for sufferers from diarrhoea, and so on, choosing for everyone

<sup>1</sup> Avicenna's main work on logic (*GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 592 f., no. 20; *Suppl.* i. 816 f., no. 20; French transl. by A.-M. Goichon, *Livre des directives et remarques*, Beyrouth and Paris 1951).

<sup>2</sup> [*Sic*], also in 'Umarī, probably a mistake of the anonymous biographer for Ibn Sīnā; cf. above, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Meyerhof, in his previous publications on Ibn al-Nafīs (see above, p. 11 n. 2), had proposed to correct the reading of the manuscript, *taṭumāh*, which is impossible, into *tabāḥaj*, a kind of meat ragout (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., and the Persian dictionaries). It is, however, the arabicized form (also written *tutmāj*, *ṭutmāj*, *ṭutmāj*) of Turkish *tutmaç*, a kind of noodle soup. The word occurs in numerous Turkish-Arabic glossaries, including those in the dialect of the Mamlūks; see, e.g., Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i, Istanbul 1333, 377; M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, 70 n. 1; A. Caferoğlu, *Kitāb al-Idrāk li-lisān al-Atrāk* (a work of Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī), Istanbul 1931, 108; A. Zajaczkowski, *Manuel arabe de la langue des Turcs et des Kiptchaks*, Warsaw 1938, 53 (the three last items contain further references). There exists in Syria a dish called *ṭutmāk*, a kind of bread soup (information given by the late Aḥmad Zakī Pasha).

the diet which agreed with and corresponded to his usual food, until the druggist and syrup-merchant in whose shop he held his consultations<sup>1</sup> told him: 'If you intend to go on making prescriptions of this kind, you had better go and sit in a butcher's shop, but as long as you are with me, please prescribe sugar, syrup, and remedies only.'

Our professor, Abu l-Thana' al-Ḥalabī, the Secretary,<sup>2</sup> told me the following: I complained to Ibn al-Nafīs of a ganglion<sup>3</sup> on my wrist. He told me: 'By Allah, I have got a ganglion myself.' Thereupon I asked him: 'And how shall I treat it?' He replied: 'By Allah, I do not know myself how to treat it.' And after that he did not speak to me any more about this matter.

These are the two most important biographies of Ibn al-Nafīs. They give us many details about his personality and his manner of living and working, but no record of the course of his life. The study of those of his books which have come down to us confirms much of this information, for instance, that he must have written down (or, as we shall see presently, dictated) most of his works from memory, because he rarely quotes any previous author. On the other hand his style, at least in the treatise which forms the subject of this book, does not seem to deserve the praise which his professor in grammar, Ibn al-Naḥḥās, bestowed upon it (see below, pp. 34 f.). Moreover, if Ibn al-Nafīs is praised by his admirers as a second Avicenna, the criticism of Abu l-Faḥ al-Ya'murī, related by 'Umarī, shows that notwithstanding his modern ideas on treatment he was a learned theorist rather than a practical physician. Nevertheless, the range and depth of his general culture are impressive.

3. Still older but shorter than the two preceding biographies of Ibn al-Nafīs is that in the *Tārīkh al-Islām* ('History of Islam') of the historian and traditionist, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, who was born in Damascus in 673/1274, while Ibn al-Nafīs was still alive, and died in Cairo in 748/1348.<sup>3</sup> We have used the manuscript Laud Or. 279 of the Bodleian Library (*Catalogus*, i. 656), where the biography of Ibn al-Nafīs occurs on fol. 170<sup>r</sup>, collating the text with two manuscripts of the British

<sup>1</sup> Doctors in the medieval tradition used to, and in places still do, hold their consultations in druggists' stores.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic term in the text, '*uḳḳāl*', means a shackle or tether; medically it probably means a ganglion or some other affection of the articulation hindering free movement. The modern term is '*uḳda*' (knot).

<sup>3</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 57-60; *Suppl.* ii. 45-47.



Museum: *Catalogus*, 1641 (Or. 53) and *Supplement* (Rieu), 468 (Or. 1540). The second half of this biography reproduces a written communication from Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, which corresponds to about the first half of the information given by Ṣafadī and 'Umarī on the authority of this scholar. The first half of Dhahabī's biography, however, contains some additional details, as will appear from the following extract.

'Alī ibn Abil-Ḥaram, the most learned 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafīs al-Ḳurashī al-Dimashkī, the physician, the prince of physicians in his time. He studied under the Shaykh Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn al-Dakhwār and became excellent in (theoretical medical) art and (practical) treatment. . . . He used to dictate his works from memory, and did not need to consult a book because he was thoroughly familiar with the subject. He became the Chief Physician of Egypt (*wa-ntahat ilayhi ri'āsat al-ṭibb bil-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*). He left a vast fortune and bequeathed his house, his (landed) property, and his books to the Maṣūri Hospital. He died on 21st Dhul-Ḳa'da (687), more than eighty years old, and left no one like him behind.<sup>1</sup>

Dhahabī mentions the important fact that Ibn al-Nafīs became Chief Physician of Egypt. The office of Chief Physician (*ra'īs al-aṭibbā'*, of which the expression *ri'āsat al-ṭibb*, in Dhahabī, is the abstract) was an important appointment. Ibn Kāḍī Ba'labakk (see Excursus A, paragraph c, below, p. 75) was appointed by an 'open decree' (*manshūr*) of the governor of Damascus in 635/1238,<sup>2</sup> and the letter of appointment of three sons of Abū Ḥulayḳa, one of whom was to have precedence,<sup>3</sup> was drafted by one of the secretaries of state, the famous philologist Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manzūr,<sup>4</sup> in Cairo in 684/1285. It is quoted in full by Ibn al-Furāt,<sup>5</sup> and we see from it that the appointment was not merely honorific but conferred disciplinary powers over the physicians, oculists, and surgeons. In view of Dhahabī's explicit statement, there can be no doubt that Ibn al-Nafīs held this appointment, and as it is clear from the implications of the *Theologus Autodidactus*

<sup>1</sup> Dhahabī's short extract from his own work, called *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām*, contains a brief mention of the death of Ibn al-Nafīs in 687 (2nd ed., Hyderabad 1364-5, ii. 143).

<sup>2</sup> See IAU, ii. 244, ult.; for the date, see E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, 30 and table H.

<sup>3</sup> This is Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn, on whom see Excursus A, paragraph p, below, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 14 f.; *Suppl.* ii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Tārīkh*, viii. 22-25.

that he was the personal physician of Baybars,<sup>1</sup> it is likely that he was appointed by this sultan. As Ibn al-Nafīs must have been near eighty years old when the three sons of Abū Ḥulayḳa were appointed in 684/1285, it is natural to assume that they were his (direct or indirect) successors. Sultan Baybars died in Damascus in 676, on the return journey from one of his military expeditions; so it is not surprising that Ibn al-Nafīs is not mentioned in the various reports on his last illness and death.<sup>2</sup>

The other short biographies or obituary notices of Ibn al-Nafīs of which we know, are, with one exception (below, no. 6), almost completely derived from the three preceding ones. They occur in the following works:

4. 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'i (d. 768/1367), *Mir'āt al-Ḳanān*, iv, Hyderabad 1339, 207. A short obituary notice.

5. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1324, v. 129. A very competent, concise biographical notice which contains all the essential data. The inclusion of Ibn al-Nafīs in this biographical compendium of the Shāfi'i scholars of religious law shows the reputation which he had gained in the subject. Subkī reports that he was considered unequalled in medicine since Avicenna, and even regarded as stronger than Avicenna in (practical) treatment. There are several mistakes to be corrected in the printed text, particularly concerning the date of the death of Ibn al-Nafīs (A.H. 687) and his age (about 80).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn Shaddād, transl. M. Şerefüddin Yaltkaya, *Baybars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941, 112 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir*, MS. Fatih 4367, 193<sup>v</sup>-194<sup>f</sup>, in Abdul Aziz al-Khowayter, *A critical edition*, etc., unpublished thesis, London, SOAS, 1960; 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad al-Muẓaffarī, *Dhayl Muḥarrij al-Kurūb li-bn Wāsil*, MS. Paris, Arabe 1703, 187<sup>v</sup>; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, MS. British Museum, Add. 23325, 87<sup>f</sup>, v; Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, iii, Hyderabad 1380/1960, 245; Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāḳib al-Sariyya* (an extract from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir), MS. Paris, Arabe 1707, 144<sup>f</sup>; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, MS. Paris, Arabe 1578, 94<sup>f</sup>, v (quoting Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir); and of later historians: Dhahabī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām*, ii. 134; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, xiii. 274 f.; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, vii, 85-88; Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i/2, 635 f.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vii, Cairo 1357/1938, 175, 177, 178 f.

<sup>3</sup> According to the catalogue of the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, iv, Calcutta 1910, no. 28, Ibn al-Nafīs occurs also in the biographical works on Shāfi'i scholars by Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin (d. 804/1401) and by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448, below, no. 11).



6. Asnawī (d. 772/1370), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā' al-Shāfi'iyya*, MS. Or. 3037 of the British Museum (Rieu, *Supplement*, 643), a copy of 773. This short biographical notice, the sources of which are not apparent and which in its formulation differs somewhat from its predecessors, contains some additional information most if not all of which is erroneous. The author attributes to Ibn al-Nafis a book called *al-Ṣāfi* on applied law and on the principles of jurisprudence which is not mentioned in the other sources. He is certainly mistaken when he asserts that Ibn al-Nafis lived in the Manṣūriyya School (which itself is a mistake for the Masrūriyya School) in Cairo and that he died in his lodgings there, whereas his disciple Abū Ḥayyān describes the luxurious house which he built for himself (above, p. 13). He also gives wrongly as the date of his death the 25th (instead of the 21st) Dhul-Ḳa'da 687 (see above, p. 14).

7. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, 313. A short obituary notice.

8. Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 779/1377), *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*, MS. Marsh 591 of the Bodleian Library (*Catalogus*, i. 819); *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, MS. Add. 7335 of the British Museum (*Catalogus*, 315); two short obituary notices, both under the year 687; in the second, the verses of Ibn Mawhūb (above, p. 14) are quoted.

9. [Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), *Tārīkh*, ed. Costi K. Zurayk, viii, Beirut 1939. There is a big lacuna in the biographies of the year 687 (see p. 75 n. 2), and this accounts no doubt for the absence of a biographical notice of Ibn al-Nafis.]

10. Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. M. Mustafa Ziada, i/3, Cairo 1939, 746. A very short obituary notice in which Ibn al-Nafis is called Chief Physician (*ra'īs al-aṭibbā'*).

11. Ibn Kādī Shuhba (d. 851/1448), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, MSS. Or. 3039 (Rieu, *Supplement*, 644) and Add. 7356 (*Catalogus*, 370) of the British Museum, both of 843. A biographical notice derived from Subkī, Dhahabī, and Asnawī (whose mistakes do not recur here).

12. Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451), *Ikḍ al-Ḥumān*. We are indebted to Professor H. Ritter for a copy of the biography of Ibn al-Nafis in the manuscript Beṣir Aḡa 457, under the year 687. This biography alone contains, apart from data derived from Abū Ḥayyān, the information that Ibn al-Nafis composed a commentary on the famous 'Questions on Medicine' (*Masā'il fil-Ṭibb*) of the celebrated physician and translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāḳ (see below, p. 24).

13. Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1469), *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, MS. Cairo, *Tārīkh III*, vol. ii, fol. 383 (index by G. Wiet, *Les Biographies du Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Cairo 1932): a biography derived from Abū Ḥayyān, quoting the verses of Ibn Mawhūb; *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vii, Cairo 1357/1938, 377: a notice derived from the first half of the biography by Dhahabī, and mentioning his office as a Chief Physician with a slightly different wording (*wa-ntahat ilayhi ri'āsat fannih fī zamānūh*).

14. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, Cairo 1299, 313 (section on Philosophers, Physicians, and other representatives of the Sciences of the Ancients): a short notice, carelessly compiled; the title of his work, *Mūjiz*, 'Epitome' (of Avicenna's *Ḳānūn*), has been transformed into a description of his works in general as being concise. The commentator of the *Mūjiz* of Ibn al-Nafis, Nafis ibn 'Iwaḍ (below, p. 25), quotes this notice at the beginning of his commentary.

15. 'Abd al-Ḳādir ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'aymī (d. 927/1521), *al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, ii, Damascus 1370/1951, 131. A short notice, derived from Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr.

16. Tashköprüzāde (d. 968/1560), *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, i, Hyderabad 1328/1910, 269. Reproduces the notice of Subkī.

17. Ibn al-'Imād (d. 1089/1679), *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, v, Cairo 1351, 401 f. An obituary notice with quotations from Dhahabī, Subkī, the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya* of Asnawī, and the *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, an alternative title of Dhahabī's *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām*.

18. Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Khwānsārī (d. 1313/1895), *Rawḍāt al-Ḥannāt*, Teheran 1304-6, 494 f. = vol. iii, 145 f. This biography



occurs in a section devoted to non-Shiite authors; the author quotes Ṣafadī's biography in full and adds two lines on the *Mūjiz* of Ibn al-Nafīs.<sup>1</sup>

This uninterrupted series of biographical or obituary notices of Ibn al-Nafīs shows the high regard in which he has always been held in the tradition of medieval Islamic scholarship.

#### IV. THE LITERARY OUTPUT OF IBN AL-NAFĪS

FOR a review of the works of Ibn al-Nafīs we are limited to the indications in his biographies and in the bibliographical compendium of Ḥājji Khalifa,<sup>2</sup> and to the existing manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> They certainly do not give an even approximately complete list of the output of such a profuse writer as Ibn al-Nafīs. We will begin with his works on medicine.

1. *Kitāb al-Shāmil fil-Ṣinā'a al-Ṭibbiyya*, 'The Comprehensive Book on the Art of Medicine' (ḤKh, iv. 10, no. 7397; *GAL, Suppl.*, no. 15). According to Abū Ḥayyān, this encyclopedia of medicine was to have consisted of three hundred volumes, eighty of which were completed by the author. Apart from the two partial copies, Pocock 248 (of 687/1288) and 290-2 of the Bodleian Library,<sup>4</sup> which are anonymous and have therefore been of uncertain attribution so far, there have recently become known three volumes, the 33rd, 42nd, and 43rd of the original division of the work, in the Lane Medical Library, Stanford University, Stanford, California.<sup>5</sup> It appears that these volumes, of 94, 96, and 97 folios respectively, are in the handwriting of the author, the typically cursive hand of a scholar; volume 43 was completed in the year 641/1243-4, and volumes 42 and 43 partly coincide with the

<sup>1</sup> According to Ahlwardt, catalogue Berlin, no. 6224, Ibn al-Nafīs is also mentioned in the *Dustūr al-I'lām bi-Ma'ārif al-A'lām* of Muḥammad Ibn 'Azam (d. 891/1486; *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 173; *Suppl.* ii. 222 f.) and in the *Tārikh* of Yāsīn ibn Khayr Allāh al-'Umarī (wrote after 1226/1811; *GAL, Suppl.* ii. 781 f.).

<sup>2</sup> *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, ed. and transl. G. Fluegel, 7 vols., Leipzig 1835-58. (Referred to hereafter as ḤKh.)

<sup>3</sup> The references to *GAL* and *GAL, Suppl.* in this section, followed by a number, refer to the entries in the paragraphs devoted to Ibn al-Nafīs in *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 649, § 37, and in *Suppl.* i. 899 f., § 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogus*, i. 539 and 536-8.

<sup>5</sup> See N. Heer, 'Thalāthat Mujalladāt min Kitāb al-Shāmil li-bn al-Nafīs', *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, vi (1960), 203-10 (with three plates).

manuscript Pocock 290, which makes the identification certain. According to the biographical notice on Ibn al-Nafīs in the manuscript 'āmm 4883(1) of the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus (see above, p. 10 n. 4), this work of Ibn al-Nafīs contained an account of 'the different schools of thought of the scholars and the various beliefs of the groups of sages in the several sciences and (systems of) philosophy, together with the substance and quintessence of their arguments and opinions, accompanied by a simple, exhaustive, efficacious, and satisfactory explanation'. But the manuscripts do not seem to contain anything of the kind.

2. *Al-Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab fil-Kuḥl*, 'The Well-Arranged Book on Ophthalmology' (*GAL, Suppl.*, no. 12). It is a comprehensive but not very original record of the whole knowledge of the Arabs in ophthalmology. It was quoted by several later authors, e.g. by Ṣadaqa ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shādhilī, the Egyptian, who lived in the second half of the 8th/14th century, in his 'Umda al-Kuḥliyya.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Al-Mukhtār min al-Aghdhiya*, 'The Choice of Foodstuffs', on dietetics (*GAL*, no. 1).

4. *Risāla fī Manāfi' al-A'ḍā' al-Insāniyya*, 'Treatise on the Functions of the Organs of Man', MS. *majāmi'* 209(3) of the Egyptian Library, Cairo.<sup>2</sup> According to the catalogue, which quotes the expanded form of the title of this treatise which describes its contents in detail, it was dedicated to a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl, presumably a prince of the dynasty of the Hazāraspids in Luristan in the first half of the 7th/13th century,<sup>3</sup> and the manuscript was completed in 672/1273, during the lifetime of Ibn al-Nafīs. Considerations of the functions of the organs play an important part in the *Theologus Autodidactus* (see below, p. 41).

5. 'The Treatise on the Pulse', mentioned in 'Umarī's and Ṣafadī's biographies (above, p. 15), does not seem to have been preserved.

<sup>1</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 171; J. Hirschberg, *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1908, 81, 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, etc., vii. 257 f. (not mentioned in *GAL* or in *GAL, Suppl.*). The form of the name of the author, 'Alī ibn Abil-Ḥasan al-Ḳurashī, is a printing mistake for ibn Abil-Ḥaram, i.e. Ibn al-Nafīs, as appears from the context of the catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, 235. The title *Amir al-Mu'minin* which the catalogue gives to this person is certainly a mistake and perhaps a misreading of the manuscript.



More numerous and important are Ibn al-Nafīs's commentaries on medical works of the Greek and Islamic periods.

6. A Commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* (*Fuṣūl*). It exists in numerous manuscripts (*GAL* and *Suppl.*, no. 4, where the reference to a manuscript in Meyerhof's collection ought to be deleted; the manuscript in question contains no. 13 below; also Aya Sofya 3644,<sup>1</sup> and Manisa 1814).<sup>2</sup>

7. A Commentary on Hippocrates' *Prognostics* (*Taqdimat al-Ma'rifa*), of which there exist several manuscripts (HKh, ii. 386, no. 3454; *GAL* and *Suppl.*, no. 5).

8. A Commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* (*GAL*, *Suppl.*, no. 5a).

9. A Commentary on the *De Natura Hominis* of Hippocrates. Meyerhof saw a manuscript in the possession of Professor A. S. Yahuda in London in 1933; this copy had at the end an *ijāza* (licence to teach the text) written by Ibn al-Nafīs himself for a physician, Abu l-Faḍl.<sup>3</sup>

It is unlikely that Ibn al-Nafīs should have commented on *all* the books of Hippocrates, and written two commentaries, a detailed and a concise one, on *most* of them, as his anonymous biographer, quoted by 'Umarī and by Ṣafadī, asserts (above, p. 16); in any case, nothing of all this has survived.<sup>4</sup>

10. A Commentary on the *Masā'il fil-Ṭibb*, 'Questions on Medicine', of Hunayn ibn Ishāq (*GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 225; Ritter and Walzer, *ibid.*, 836).

<sup>1</sup> H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken* (Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1934, xxvi), 808. See also F. Rosenthal, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, xl (1966), 240 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Une Liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les bibliothèques de Manisa, Akhisar* (publiée à l'occasion du XXII. Congrès International des Orientalistes), Istanbul 1951, no. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the physician, Abu l-Faḍl Ibn Kūshak, mentioned in Ṣafadī's biography (above, p. 16 n. u).

<sup>4</sup> In the introduction of his Commentary on the *Aphorisms* Ibn al-Nafīs says that the previous copies of his work—i.e. those taken down by students in the course of his lectures—differed according to the different interests of the students, and that he will now give the (complete) text which he considers adequate (MS. Berlin (Ahlwardt), no. 6224); it is possible that the existence of different texts like these might have contributed to the statement of the anonymous biographer.

11. *Mūjiz al-Ḳānūn*, 'Epitome of the *Ḳānūn*' (of Ibn Sīnā), an extract from all parts of the *Ḳānūn* but omitting anatomy and physiology.<sup>1</sup> It is a concise manual of the whole of medicine, particularly useful for the practitioner, and among the works of Ibn al-Nafīs it has met with the greatest success in the Oriental medical world. It exists in numerous manuscripts and was printed or lithographed in India alone six times or more between 1828 and 1906; it was the subject of a series of commentaries and super-commentaries, the most reputed of which is that by Nafīs ibn 'Iwaḍ al-Kirmānī (completed 841/1437), the personal physician of the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449), which was lithographed in India for the last time as recently as 1328/1910; it was also translated into Turkish and into Hebrew. (HKh, vi. 251–3, no. 13399; *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 598; *Suppl.* i. 825 f.; also Florence, Laurentiana 229; Brit. Mus., Or. 12142; Rabat, *Awḳāf* 270, 421).

12. A Commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā in a number of volumes.<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Nafīs says in the introduction that he followed the arrangement of the subject-matter in the *Ḳānūn*, except that he collected the passages relating to anatomy from the first three sections and commented on them in a separate section which he placed after the first section (the *kullīyyāt*) of the original work, and that he placed the section on pharmacology (*aḳrābādihīn*), the fifth section of the original, after that on simple drugs (*al-adwiya al-mufrada*), which is the second section of the original; this makes the arrangement of the subject-matter much more logical. (*GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 597; *Suppl.* i. 824; needs several additions and corrections.) The individual sections of the commentary, however, continued to exist more or less independently of one another, and therefore we find, apart from general references to the 'Commentary on the *Ḳānūn*':

(a) references to a Commentary on the *Kullīyyāt* of the *Ḳānūn* (Subkī's biography; HKh, iv. 435, no. 9082; 497, no. 9354),

<sup>1</sup> HKh, iv. 497, no. 9354, erroneously calls it an extract from his commentary on the *Kullīyyāt* of the *Ḳānūn*. Cf. M. J. L. Young, 'Some observations on the use of Arabic as a scientific language as exemplified in the *Mūjiz al-Qānūn* of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)', *Abr Nahrain*, i (1959–60), 68–72.

<sup>2</sup> This is the expression of Abū Ḥayyān as quoted by 'Umarī and Ṣafadī (above, p. 12); the anonymous biographer, also quoted by both, says 'twenty volumes' (above, p. 15). They were presumably of the same size as the autograph volumes of the *Kitāb al-Shāmīl* (see above, no. 1).



and the separate existence of this section in manuscripts (e.g. Berlin (Ahlwardt), no. 6273);

- (b) the separate existence of a Commentary on the 'Section on Simple Drugs' (*Sharḥ Mufradāt al-Kānūn*) in manuscripts of the Library of Aya Sofya (nos. 3659, 3660);
- (c) the separate existence of a Latin translation of the Commentary on the Fifth Section of the *Kānūn*;<sup>1</sup>
- (d) the existence of the Commentary on Avicenna's *Anatomy* as a separate book.

13. This Commentary on the *Anatomy* of Ibn Sīnā exists in numerous manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> In this work Ibn al-Nafīs sets out his theory of the lesser or pulmonary circulation of the blood through heart and lungs, against the erroneous theories of Galen and Avicenna, three hundred years before it was reformulated in Europe by Michael Servetus, who most probably knew of the work of the Arab physician in translation, and by his contemporaries, Realdo Colombo and Joan de Valverde, who developed and elaborated his ideas in the light of their observations.<sup>3</sup>

14. An anonymous Commentary on Galen's *Anatomy* (*GAL, Suppl.*, no. 5b), tentatively attributed to Ibn al-Nafīs, is probably not by him because 'he loathed the style of Galen'.<sup>4</sup> But he knew Galen's *Anatomy* very well, as he made extensive use of it in explaining the *Anatomy* of Ibn Sīnā.

Another part of Ibn al-Nafīs's literary activity is concerned with philosophy. To this group of writings belong:

15. a Commentary on Ibn Sīnā's main work on logic, *al-Ishārāt*, mentioned by the anonymous biographer (above, p. 16), and

<sup>1</sup> *Ebenefis philosophi expositio super quintum Canonem Avicenne*, in a miscellany beginning with *Avicenne libellus de removendis nocumentis quae accidunt in regimine sanitatis*. . . . *Ab Andrea Alpago ex arabico in latinum versa*, Venice 1547; cf. M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Avicenne et les médecins de Venise', in *Medioevo e Rinascimento, studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, I, Florence 1955, 177-98 (p. 195 n. 46).

<sup>2</sup> For a list of these manuscripts see *Al-Andalus*, xxii (1957), 221 n. 15.

<sup>3</sup> See, in addition to the writings of M. Meyerhof, mentioned above, p. 11 n. 2, G. Wiet, 'Ibn al-Nafīs et la circulation pulmonaire', *JA*, 1956, 95-100; J. Schacht, 'Ibn al-Nafīs, Servetus and Colombo', *Al-Andalus*, xxii (1957), 317-36.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 13.

16. a Commentary on the *Hidāya*, another work of Ibn Sīnā on logic, mentioned by Abū Ḥayyān (above, p. 13).<sup>1</sup>

17. Abū Ḥayyān mentions further a *Compendium* (*mukhtaṣar*) on logic (*ibid.*), and this is probably identical with his *Kitāb al-Wuraykāt* or with his own commentary on it which exists in the manuscript Hunt 469 of the Bodleian Library (*GAL*, no. 8). This is a summary of the contents of the *Organon* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, and the author says at the beginning that it is a commentary on his own *Kitāb al-Wuraykāt*, although it does not show the usual characteristics of a commentary. The section summarizing the *Analytica Priora* includes a discussion of the legal proofs admitted in Islamic law and of the limited value of the reasoning by analogy (*kiyās*) from the point of view of logic. This excursus shows the same kind of original reasoning as the *Theologus Autodidactus*, and the attribution of the work to Ibn al-Nafīs on the title-page is no doubt correct.<sup>2</sup>

In the fields of grammar and rhetoric we have:

18. a book called *Ṭarīḥ al-Faṣāḥa*, 'The Path of Eloquence' (*HKh*, iv. 165, no. 7973, without any details), and it is doubtful whether it is identical with the 'book in two volumes' on grammar of which Abū Ḥayyān speaks somewhat critically (above, p. 13); and

19. a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*, an anthology, by the famous philologist Ṣā'id ibn al-Ḥasan al-Raba'ī al-Baghdādī (d. 417/1026; *HKh*, iv. 424, no. 9071; *GAL, Suppl.* i, 254).

Islamic religious sciences are represented by:

20. a Commentary on the *Tanbīh* of Shīrāzī, a treatise of Islamic religious law—unless its mention in Subkī's biographical notice on Ibn al-Nafīs (and in *HKh*, ii. 433, no. 3639) results from an erroneous interpretation of the statement of Abū Ḥayyān that Ibn

<sup>1</sup> *HKh*, vi. 478, no. 14363, errs when he calls it a work on medicine.

<sup>2</sup> Alfarabi (d. 339/950), in his *Kitāb al-Kiyās al-Ṣaghīr*, had 'interpreted the arguments of the theologians and the analogies (*kiyāsāt*) of the jurists as logical syllogisms in accordance with the doctrines of the ancients' (cf. A. I. Sabra, in *J.AOS*, 1965, 242). The treatise in question was edited, with an introduction and Turkish translation, by Mille Mubahat Türker in *Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (University of Ankara), xvi (1958), 165-286, the text on pp. 244-86.



al-Nafis explained the first chapters of this work in his lectures at the Masrūriyya School in Cairo (above, p. 14).

21. A *Mukhtaṣar fi 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, 'Compendium on the Principles of the Science of Tradition', exists in a manuscript copy in the Egyptian Library (GAL, no. 9).

22. There is, finally, *al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya fil-Sira al-Nabawiyya*, 'The Treatise relating to Kāmil on the Life-History of the Prophet', also called the *Book of Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ* or, in short, the *Theologus Autodidactus*, which forms the subject of the present publication (ḤKh, iii. 432, no. 6296; above, p. 14).<sup>1</sup>

#### V. IBN AL-NAFIS'S THEOLOGICAL NOVEL *AL-RISĀLA AL-KĀMILIYYA*

THERE are two precedents to the work of Ibn al-Nafis in Arabic literature, the philosophical allegories of the great Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 428/1037) and of the Andalusian physician and philosopher, Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185), both of which bear the title of *Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*. The parallel between Ibn Sīnā's book<sup>2</sup> and the treatise of Ibn al-Nafis is very slight; it does not go beyond the fact that both authors introduce the figure of a narrator, called Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān by Ibn Sīnā (and by Ibn Ṭufayl), and Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ by Ibn al-Nafis. But whereas the Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān of Ibn Sīnā (and likewise of Ibn Ṭufayl) is the person whose teachings (or, in the case of Ibn Ṭufayl, reflections) are related in the book, the Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ of Ibn al-Nafis plays only the part of a quite superfluous transmitter of the tale of the hero, who is called Kāmil. Whereas this feature proves that Ibn al-Nafis was aware of the works of his two predecessors, it is quite

<sup>1</sup> For a few other, doubtful or not identified, items see GAL and *Suppl.*, nos. 3, 13, 16; the biographical notice in the manuscript 'amm 4883(1) of the Zāhiriyya Library mentions, at the end, the titles of five items which have not survived, among them a book on triplets and a treatise on children's ailments. Ibn al-Nafis himself in the present treatise (below, p. 43, p. 8 of the Arabic text) refers to a book of his, apparently on astronomy, of which we have found no other trace.

<sup>2</sup> See GAL<sup>2</sup>, i. 593, no. 26; *Suppl.* i. 817, no. 26; A.-M. Goichon, art. 'Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān', I, in *ET*<sup>2</sup> (with bibliography); G. Vajda, 'Notes philologiques en marge du "Récit de Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳẓān"', in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 85-87; Muḥammad Ṣaghīr Ḥasan al-Ma'sūmi, 'Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān ma'a sharhihā li-bn Sīnā', *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī*, xxix/3-xxx/3 (1373/1954-1374/1955).

out of the question that he should have written his book in opposition to the *Treatise of Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān* of Ibn Sīnā, as Najm al-Dīn al-Ṣafādī asserts;<sup>1</sup> perhaps Najm al-Dīn was a prey to the common error by which the book of Ibn Ṭufayl was attributed to Ibn Sīnā.<sup>2</sup> Much closer is the relationship between Ibn al-Nafis and Ibn Ṭufayl.<sup>3</sup> The main idea of both treatises is the same; a human being originated by spontaneous generation on an uninhabited island comes to know by his own reasoning the natural, philosophical, and theological truths. In the story of Ibn Ṭufayl, Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān as a small baby is adopted and brought up by a gazelle, and growing up discovers, through observation and logical deduction, the whole body of essential human knowledge, arriving finally at the deepest truths of mysticism. One day a visitor in search of solitude and retirement arrives on the island and, having taught Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān to speak, finds that the teachings of his own revealed religion are symbols of Ḥayy's mystical insights. Together they set out for the island of the visitor where the king is his friend, but Ḥayy is unable to convert the people from a perfunctory performance of the outward duties of their religion to his higher ideas. So both return to the desert island and spend the rest of their lives in contemplation of the mystical truths. The subject of this book could not possibly have occurred to any but an Islamic philosopher, and the same is true of the treatise of Ibn al-Nafis.

Among the many parallels in particulars, we cite: several points of detail in the story of spontaneous generation; the description of the working of the sense organs; the idea of the helplessness of

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> This confusion exists, for example, in Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), *Muḳad-dima*, section v, § 28 (ed. Būlāḳ 1284, i. 346).

<sup>3</sup> See GAL<sup>2</sup>, i. 602 f.; *Suppl.* i. 831 f.; A.-M. Goichon, art. cit., II; add to the bibliography: A. González Palencia, *Historia de la Literatura árabe-española* (Colección Labor), 1928, 216-20; Antonio Pastor, *The Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, i, Watford 1930; 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Falsafat Ibn Ṭufayl wa-Risālatuh* . . . , Cairo (n.d.); W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, Edinburgh 1962, 138 f.; idem, 'Philosophy and Theology under the Almohads', in *Actas del Primer Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 102-7 (pp. 104-6); H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 327-33; H. Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 326 f.; see also J. D. Pearson, *Index Islamicus 1906-1955*, Cambridge 1958, no. 5071 f.; idem, *Supplement 1956-1960*, 1962, nos. 1461 ff. The first English translation made from the Arabic is by Simon Ockley (1678-1720), *The Improvement of Human Reason, established in the life of Hai ebn Yokdhan*, London 1708; this translation was revised, with an introduction, by A. S. Fulton, *The History of Hayy Ibn Yaḳẓān*, London 1929.



individual man as compared with the animals which are provided with natural covering and weapons; the hero's arriving at the knowledge of anatomy by dissecting the bodies of dead animals with primitive instruments; his proceeding from the observation of the animals to that of the plants, then that of the meteorological phenomena, then that of the celestial bodies, and finally, by the same reasoning in both books, to the knowledge of the Creator and of His attributes;<sup>1</sup> his feeling the obligation to conform to the commands of the Supreme Being; the linking of certain ages of the hero with the achievement of certain stages of reasoning; the arrival of a stranger (or of strangers) on the island, from whom the hero accepts food and learns the language; his visit to an inhabited country; the reason why the Divine Law, in addressing the common people, makes use of allegories.<sup>2</sup> In two respects both books go, essentially, against normal, orthodox Islamic doctrine: in the assumption of spontaneous generation, and in the assumption that man may arrive at the knowledge of religious truths by independent reasoning.<sup>3</sup> All these coincidences and, still more, the general parallelism between the two books, prove beyond any doubt that Ibn al-Nafīs knew the work of Ibn Ṭufayl and composed his own treatise with it in view.

This fact only adds to the significance of the divergences which we observe between the works and which show the originality of the thought of Ibn al-Nafīs. Ibn Ṭufayl mentions an alternative theory to account for the origin of the hero, apparently taken from a popular tale; according to it, he had been put 'into a little Ark' and confided to the waves by his mother, who feared for his safety, immediately after birth; this has no parallel in Ibn al-Nafīs. Ibn Ṭufayl, as we have just seen, makes him start his career as a newborn baby, whereas in the treatise of Ibn al-Nafīs he is generated as a youth of 10-12 years of age; therefore Ibn Ṭufayl has to provide for his upbringing by a gazelle, whereas Ibn al-Nafīs can dispense with that. In Ibn Ṭufayl the hero finds out for himself the use of fire, especially for preparing food, and also the adoption of clothing as well as other practical inventions; in Ibn al-Nafīs he learns this only from his visitors. In this context Ibn al-Nafīs elaborates the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Vajda, 'La Connaissance naturelle de Dieu selon al-Ġāhiz critiquée par les Mu'tazilites,' *Studia Islamica*, xxiv (1966), 19-33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I. Goldziher, introduction to *Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert*, Algiers 1903, 74 f.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 43 f., and *passim*.

idea, which is lacking in Ibn Ṭufayl, that life becomes civilized only in human society. On the other hand, he develops the philosophical reflections of the hero in much less detail than Ibn Ṭufayl, and he does not touch at all the reasonings which lead to mysticism, including the idea that man by his acts can assimilate himself to the Supreme Being. Whereas Ibn Ṭufayl makes his hero arrive at his insight into the nature of the soul by his own unaided reasoning, Ibn al-Nafīs makes it part of his speculations on the doctrines likely to be taught by the prophets, that is to say, after he had been confronted by the problems posed by human society (although there are parallels in details). In the book of Ibn Ṭufayl, it is the visitor who communicates to the hero the positive rules of Religious Law concerning ritual and social life, whereas in the work of Ibn al-Nafīs the hero deduces them by reasoning. As regards the allegorical explanation of the contents of revelation, Ibn Ṭufayl applies it to religious duties, but Ibn al-Nafīs applies it to points of theology and the description of the future life, of which, as of the doctrine of the Last Things, he is the only one of the two authors to speak. The arrival of visitors from the outside world has a different function in each story; it serves in Ibn Ṭufayl to confirm and complete the results of the hero's independent reasoning, but in Ibn al-Nafīs only to acquaint him with the existence of a human society outside his island, from which he goes on to draw conclusions by solitary thinking, their confirmation by comparison with the existing religion being left to the reader. Thus the hero of Ibn al-Nafīs discovers for himself not only the duties of man in worship and social relations, but also the periodical development of prophecy, the life-history of the last Prophet, the subsequent fate of the community of this Prophet, and the end of this world with the signs preceding it. All this has no parallel in the work of Ibn Ṭufayl, and it forms the, to us, most interesting part of the book of Ibn al-Nafīs, with its highlight in the chapters on contemporary history. The community of believers which the hero of Ibn Ṭufayl encounters follows the doctrine of some ancient Prophet; the work of Ibn al-Nafīs is not explicit on the religion in question, but as it is the religion of the last of the prophets there can be no doubt in the mind of the reader that Islam is meant.<sup>1</sup> The hero's visit to an inhabited part of the world is an integral

<sup>1</sup> The word Islam escapes the author once, and there are some other instances where his fiction of abstract reasoning breaks down; see below, p. 35.



element of the treatise of Ibn Ṭufayl, but only an episode, soon forgotten in its implications, in the tale of Ibn al-Nafis. Finally, the essential part played by the visitor in the book of Ibn Ṭufayl, and the final return of the hero with his companion to his island, have no parallel in Ibn al-Nafis. This brings us to the fundamental difference in the tendency of both works: Ibn Ṭufayl wants to establish the fundamental accord between traditional religion, fit for the masses, and philosophical mysticism, reserved for the *élite*, at the same time claiming pre-eminence for this last;<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Nafis, writing here as an Islamic theologian, intends to prove not only, in the first place, the reasonableness of the main tenets of Islamic religious sciences,<sup>2</sup> but also the appropriateness of the historical incidents in the life of the Prophet, and of the history and the actual situation of the Muhammadan community.

In order to express this idea of appropriateness, Ibn al-Nafis uses the term *aṣlah*, 'that which is most right and proper'. The concept and the term were introduced into Islam by the theological school of the Mu'tazila and taken over, in a somewhat mitigated form, by Islamic orthodoxy;<sup>3</sup> they have left their imprint on the sciences of Islam, and even the grammar of classical Arabic was represented by some of its masters as a system of cogent conclusions drawn from undeniable principles.<sup>4</sup> By adopting for his hero the name of Kāmil, 'The Perfect One', Ibn al-Nafis does homage to the Islamic idea of the Perfect Man,<sup>5</sup> although the only

<sup>1</sup> This remains true, however the final purpose of Ibn Ṭufayl's treatise is interpreted. The attitudes of Ibn Ṭufayl and of Ibn al-Nafis are typical of two distinct but complementary currents of Islamic thought.

<sup>2</sup> An anonymous treatise which presents itself as an extract from Plato's *Laws*, although it has nothing to do with true Platonic tradition (MSS. Escorial 883(8), Golius 169, Ouseley 95; cf. A. Éthé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, i, no. 1422; F. Gabrieli, *Alfarabius, Compendium Legum Platonis*, London 1952, xiii, no. 12), contains in its third part numerous sections on subjects where the doctrines of philosophy are shown to agree with those of Islamic religion, which is not mentioned explicitly but whose technical terms are freely used.

<sup>3</sup> See Excursus C, below, pp. 78 f.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, G. Weil, *Die grammatischen Streitfragen*, Leiden 1913, 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See R. A. Nicholson, art. 'al-Insān al-Kāmil', in *EP*; H. H. Schaefer, 'Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen', *ZDMG*, lxxix (1925), 192-268; L. Massignon, 'L'Homme parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique', *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xv (1948), 287-314; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fil-Islām*, Cairo 1950. For the ancient Arabian background of the idea, see H. Lammens, *Mo'āwia Ier*, 330 (*Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, iii, 194).

individual features which may be traced back to that concept are the hero's abnormal bodily size and his outstanding intelligence.<sup>1</sup> The conclusions at which Ibn al-Nafis makes his hero arrive are, naturally enough, those generally accepted in the natural, philosophical, religious, and historical sciences of the Muslims. The *Theologus Autodidactus* is, no doubt, an intellectual *tour de force*, but it is pertinent to observe that the reasoning which Ibn al-Nafis uses in this book is essentially the same as that which led him to his theory of the pulmonary circulation of the blood. There, too, he uses abstract reasoning of a teleological kind, inspired above all by Galen's book *De Usu Partium*, which seeks to show the usefulness of all the organs. This book was greatly appreciated in the Middle Ages, both in the Islamic East and in the Christian West, because its thesis fitted in perfectly with the concepts of the wisdom and providence of the Creator.<sup>2</sup> It also fitted in with the theological idea of *aṣlah* which had been developed by the Muslims before the works of Galen became known to them. The influences of Greek and of Islamic thought, themselves closely connected, cannot be separated from each other in the mind and in the literary production of Ibn al-Nafis, theologian, physician, and philosopher.

The most original parts of Ibn al-Nafis's account of the reasonings of his hero are the chapters relating to contemporary history (sections 4-8 of the Fourth Part of his work). In these chapters he describes how the followers of the last prophet are punished for their sins by being conquered by infidels coming from the north-eastern countries; how a complete victory of the infidels is prevented by a mighty sultan who is able to stem their advance because he comes from a country adjoining theirs; and how the invaders themselves begin to adopt the religion of the Last Prophet, so that the final result is the spread of this religion farther than before. This clearly refers to a time when the Mongols had attacked and overrun the eastern and central parts of the world of Islam; they had taken Baghdad in 656/1258 but were checked in their progress by the Egyptian Mamlūk sultans of Turkish origin, and they began to adopt Islam themselves. It remains to be seen whether the sultan to whom Ibn al-Nafis refers was Baybars (658/1260-676/1277) or Kalawun (678/1279-689/1290), both of whom were

<sup>1</sup> This last detail, it is true, appears already in Ibn Ṭufayl. On the other hand, Ibn Ṭufayl emphasizes the state of perfection which his hero reaches in the end.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 43 n. 1.



his contemporaries. The question is settled by Part IV, Section 7, where the sultan is described as brownish-red (*aḥmar ila l-sumra*) of complexion, whereas the complexion of Kalawun was light (*durri*),<sup>1</sup> and he is described as cruel and exacting heavy taxes from his subjects in order to finance his armies. Now these are exactly the characteristics which are mentioned of Baybars,<sup>2</sup> whereas Kalawun is remembered for his clemency, his justice, and his abolition of excessive taxation.<sup>3</sup> This is materially confirmed by the fact that the Cairo manuscript of the *Theologus Autodidactus* (from which, it is true, the Fourth Part has been deliberately omitted) is dated 673/1274, thus before the death of sultan Baybars. The conversion to Islam of some infidels therefore cannot be the conversion of Aḥmad, Mongol ruler of Persia, which took place under Kalawun, but it must be that of Berke, khan of the Golden Horde, who had become a Muslim not later than 651/1253 and with whom Baybars was in diplomatic relations from 660/1262 onwards.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that Ibn al-Nafīs does not mention, among the adversaries of Islam, the Franks, whom Baybars fought no less strenuously than the Mongols. Ibn al-Nafīs gives a detailed description, obviously first-hand, of the physical features and the personal tastes of this sultan, which can only be explained by the assumption that Ibn al-Nafīs was his personal physician, although the sources are silent on this. This gives us a detail for the biography of the author which is unfortunately almost completely lacking in concrete facts, and, in addition, a unique portrait of the sultan Baybars by the hand of his physician.

The Professor Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḥḥās is reported to have said: 'In grammar I am not satisfied with anyone's style in Cairo except that of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafīs.'<sup>5</sup> Whatever may have been the quality of his style in grammar, his style in the present treatise does not deserve a similarly favourable judgement; on the contrary, it is inelegant and clumsy, and so profuse and repetitious that we

<sup>1</sup> Ibrāhīm Ibn Waṣīf Shāh (wrote about the end of the 7th/13th century [sic]), *Ḥawāḍir al-Buḥūr*, etc. (*GAL*<sup>1</sup>, i. 335 f.; *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 409; *Suppl.* i. 574 f.); MS. 1496 (Add. 25731) of the British Museum, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> We must, of course, discount the official propaganda in Ibn Shaddād (d. 682/1284), *Baybars Tarihi*, 133 ff., and elsewhere, which praises his justice, clemency, loyalty, generosity, and good deeds in general.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 67 f., and the extracts from the biographies of the two sultans in Ibn Taghribirdī's *Manḥal al-Ṣāfi*, printed as introductory matters, nos. 3 and 4, in the Arabic part of this publication.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 4 f.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 14.

have translated in full only a few sections, contenting ourselves with a summary of the rest. His language, too, presents several peculiar features.<sup>1</sup> Instead of *lā budda an*, 'necessarily', he always says *lā budda wa-an*;<sup>2</sup> he says *min khārij* for 'from outside' (p. 7) and *ilā fawḥ* for 'upwards' (p. 51); he forms the plural *ḥasanūn* of *ḥasan* used as an adjective (p. 47); he construes *dakhala* with *ilā* (p. 18) and *inhāza* with *bi* (p. 38). To his lexicographical peculiarities belong the use of *za'ūra* instead of *za'arra*, 'ill-nature', and of *barāka* for 'inspiring fear' (p. 46). As an extreme example of prolixity, we may quote *latīfa jiddan kathīran jiddan* (p. 53).

As regards the general plan of the work, Ibn al-Nafīs, as mentioned above, refrains from pointing out himself the concordance between the results of the reasoning of his hero and the actual facts, but leaves that to the reader; nevertheless the word *Islām* escapes him on p. 42, and the word *kiyāma* for resurrection, in the place of which he usually uses *ma'ād*, on p. 51;<sup>3</sup> it is also inconsistent, given his premisses, that he should mention Abraham, Ishmael, Jacob, and Jesus, the Jews, the Christians, and the Zoroastrians, as well as the Banū Hāshim, in connexion with the genealogy of the Last Prophet on pp. 14 f., Mecca and the Ka'ba on p. 16, and Yemen in connexion with the Last Things on p. 51, apart from other minor facts of this kind. A positive contradiction in the argument, though not in the result, exists between p. 42 and p. 45; in the first context, the people of the north-west are eliminated from playing a certain part on account of their small number and their dispersal on islands, whereas the suitability of their temperaments is admitted; in the second context, the unsuitability of their temperaments is alleged as a reason. There is also a discrepancy between the heading of Part IV, Section 8, and the actual contents of this chapter, which are much more restricted; there is no reason to suppose the accidental omission of the second half of this chapter from the unique

<sup>1</sup> The page references in this and in the following paragraph are to the Arabic text.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore we have retained this construction on p. 11 n. 6, following the Istanbul copy against the Cairo manuscript, although this last is generally much better. In his commentary on the *Anatomy* of Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Nafīs uses the ordinary construction throughout.

<sup>3</sup> The term *al-nabī*, 'the prophet', however (p. 11 and further on), designates not only Muhammad but generically each one in the series of prophets.



manuscript in which it exists, but we must acknowledge an oversight on the part of the author. Once or twice Ibn al-Nafis lapses from his assumed part as the recorder of the report of Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ on the reasonings of Kāmil; he refers to another book of his own and comments on his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this, we may subscribe to the judgement of Najm al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī:<sup>2</sup> 'He defends the system of Islam and the Muslims' doctrines on the missions of Prophets, the religious laws, the resurrection of the body, and the transitoriness of the world. And—by my life!—he has produced something wonderful, and this proves his competence, the soundness of his intelligence, and his capability in the intellectual sciences.'

#### VI. THE MANUSCRIPTS

ONLY two manuscripts of the *Theologus Autodidactus* are known, one in Cairo and one in Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> The Cairo copy exists in the manuscript 209 *majāmi'* of the Egyptian Library,<sup>4</sup> a collection of four treatises the first three of which, all by Ibn al-Nafis,<sup>5</sup> are written in a neat but very cursive scholar's hand, almost completely lacking punctuation, and dated 673/1274 at the end of the third treatise (fol. 77<sup>r</sup>); the *Theologus Autodidactus* is the second treatise, occupying fols. 27<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>r</sup>. Although not an autograph, the manuscript was written during the lifetime of Ibn al-Nafis, probably by one of his disciples. This copy unfortunately contains only the first three parts (*fann*) of the book, the fourth, though known by the copyist to exist, having been omitted on purpose; we read in fact in the short preamble of the author that the book is to consist of four parts, but in the description of the contents of the parts which follows, the fourth part is not mentioned, and at the end the scribe uses a formula which shows that he breaks off deliberately.<sup>6</sup>

The Istanbul copy is manuscript 461 of the Muṣṭafā Efendi collection, formerly in the Library of 'Āshir Efendi,<sup>7</sup> now pre-

<sup>1</sup> Below, pp. 43, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 649, § 37, no. 10, and *Suppl.* i. 900, § 37, nos. 10 and 14 (needs correction).

<sup>4</sup> *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya al-Mahfūza bil-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīviyya*, vii. 257 f.; *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Fihris al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, v. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 21, 22, and 4 of the list in Section IV, above.

<sup>6</sup> 'And here we will finish the book' (Arabic text, p. 36).

<sup>7</sup> *Defter-i Kutubkhāne-i 'Āshir Efendi*, Istanbul 1306, p. 30, no. 461. Here the book is called, after a notice in a late hand on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, *Risāla fi Takawwun-i Insān al-Kāmil* [sic].

served in the Süleymaniye Library. This manuscript, of much later date than the preceding one, is written in the pleasing hand of a professional scribe, but is much less correct than the older manuscript. Apart from the omission of a few single words and some copyist's errors of no importance in the Cairo manuscript, there are only seven places, two of which are identical, where the Istanbul copy presents a better text.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless both copies go back to a common original, other than that of the author, as appears from six errors common to them (not counting those which could have happened independently). Parts of fols. 21, 23, 26, 28, 32, and 37 of the Istanbul manuscript are more or less illegible, owing to the ink's having affected the paper all around it. Professor H. Ritter, to whom we are indebted for a photograph of this manuscript, kindly had the pages in question copied out for us once again, a copy which we were able to correct from the Cairo manuscript in a number of places. In the first three sections, we only ran the risk of omitting a few irrelevant variants of the Istanbul copy; it is all the more regrettable that, as regards the fourth section (starting on fol. 32<sup>v</sup> of the Istanbul manuscript), we not only had to rely, for the illegible passages, on a modern copy, but in general had to content ourselves with one late and faulty manuscript; we have therefore been unable to settle the text definitely in a few places.

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the first impression, the reading of the Cairo manuscript is preferable to the Istanbul variant at p. 9, notes 1 and 2, of the Arabic text. As to note 1: Kāmil having, according to p. 8, come through the period of puberty, thereby entering mature age, and having subsequently gained a number of new impressions, one should be inclined to prefer the reading *fāraḳ* to *kārab*; but p. 26, referring to a later period, informs us that he had only then reached the end of his full manly vigour. As to note 2: the singular '*abdih*' is no doubt more logical than the plural '*ibādih*', but this last reading is nevertheless to be retained as one of the instances where the author forgets his fiction that Kāmil is an isolated thinker out of touch with historical facts (see above, p. 35).



## TRANSLATION

The numbers in the margin refer to the pages of the Arabic text.

### THE TREATISE RELATING TO KĀMIL ON THE LIFE-HISTORY OF THE PROPHET

by

IBN AL-NAFĪS

(۳) IN the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

'Alī ibn Abil-Ḥaram al-Ḳurashī, the medical practitioner, who is in need of Allah's help and whom may Allah pardon, says:

After the Praise of Allah and the Blessing on the Best of the Prophets and Messengers, Muhammad, and on his Family and Companions, (I say):

My intention in this treatise is to relate what Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ transmitted from the man called Kāmīl concerning the life-story of the Prophet and the ordinances of religious Law in a concise manner, endeavouring to omit verbosity, abstaining from obscurity, and explaining the points as far as possible and in a manner concordant with the size of this book. I have arranged it in four parts:

the first part (*fann*) explaining how this man called Kāmīl came to be formed and how he came to know the (natural) sciences and the missions of the prophets;

the second on how he came to know the life-story of the Prophet; the third on how he came to know the ordinances of religious Law;

the fourth on how he came to know the happenings which will take place after the death of the Last of the Prophets—may the Blessings of Allah be on him and on them all.

#### THE FIRST PART

*On how this man called Kāmīl came to be formed and how he came to know the (natural) sciences and the missions of the prophets*

It consists of three sections.

*The First Section:* on how the man called Kāmīl came to be (ε) formed.

Says Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ:

There happened to be a big flood on an island of moderate climate and rich in herbs, trees, and fruits. With this flood became mixed a great quantity of clay of various nature, because the kinds of clay over which the flood had streamed were different. A part of this flood entered a cave situated on the slope of a mountain and filled it. Because the movement of the flood-water was strong, it afterwards brought to the opening of this cave still more clay and herbs which closed it. Then this flood receded and this cave remained full of its contents. This happened in spring, and when summer came the contents of the cave became hot and fermented; they had by then been saturated with the clay contained in them, and they did not cease to boil on account of the heat generated in them until they became mixed and achieved a mixture (temperament, *miṣāj*) very near to equilibrium. Their consistency became viscous and capable of having organs formed from them; their single parts were differentiated because the kinds of clay with which they had been mixed were different. Therefore some of them were hot and dry, similar to the temperament of the human heart; others were hot and moist, similar to the temperament of the human liver; others cold and dry, similar to the temperament of human bones; others cold and moist, similar to the temperament of the human brain; others were similar in temperament to that of human nerves, and others to that of human flesh. To sum up: those parts contained something similar to the temperaments of all the organs, and other parts were similar in temperament to the aforementioned parts; every part was similar in temperament to the temperament of an organ, and its consistency was capable of having this organ formed out of it. Therefore these (ο) parts were prepared to be transformed into the organs of a man.<sup>1</sup> Allah in His generosity does not withhold his right from anyone who deserves it, and grants to everyone who is prepared for something that for which he is prepared. Therefore He created out of those parts the organs of a man, and out of their whole the body of a man. When this clay had become hot, there had evaporated from

<sup>1</sup> This passage follows entirely the ideas of the Greek philosophers and physicians; the most detailed record of them is found in *Galenī De Temperamentis Libri III*, ed. Helmreich, Leipzig 1904.



it many vapours, some of which were refined and airlike and similar in temperament to that of the human spirit (*rūh*); so human spirit became formed out of them, and in this manner the formation of a man was completed.

This man was different from a man formed in the womb in several respects. Firstly, the formation of this man resembled that of the chicken in the egg, as the cave resembled the shell of the egg, its material contents the yolk and the white of the egg, the parts similar to the temperaments of the organs those parts from which the chicken is formed, and the other parts similar in their temperaments to the aforementioned parts, those from which the chicken feeds during its formation. Secondly, this man had to have a very big body, because the part from which each organ of his body was formed had to be voluminous, in contrast with the particles of sperm from which the organs of the foetus are formed in the womb. Thirdly, this man found the matter from which he fed during his stay in the cave in plenty and abundance, and he equally found the air which gave the spirit (*rūh*) to his heart in plenty.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he was able to remain in the cave until his organs became strong, and his perception and his movements vigorous. For this reason he was, when he left the cave, like a youth of ten or twelve years in his movements and his perception, unlike the man who is formed in the womb. The coming out of this man from the cave resembled the hatching of a chicken from the egg. It happened that when he moved his hands and feet, wishing to get out of the cave, some of the clay filling the entrance of the cave had crumbled and fallen down; therefore it was easily pierced by the movement of this man, and when it was pierced, this man did not cease to creep and crawl until he emerged.<sup>2</sup>

(7) *The Second Section:* on how the so-called Kāmil came to acquire sciences and wisdom.

When the so-called Kāmil emerged from the cave, he noticed the space, the light, and the trees of that island, heard the voices of the birds, the roar of the sea, the murmur of the river, and the whistling

<sup>1</sup> According to the Arab physicians, following Galen, the vital spirit is created from a mixture of air and refined blood.

<sup>2</sup> For the idea of spontaneous generation in the history of Islamic thought, see P. Kraus, *Ībīr Ibn Ḥayyān* (Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, 45), Cairo 1942, 97-134 (particularly 121 n. 3, partly containing information supplied by the present authors); F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology*, O.U.P. 1952, 24, 71 (note).

of the winds; he smelled the flowers and plants, ate from the fruits which had fallen from the trees, perceived their taste, and felt the heat and cold of the air, and he wondered very much about it. When he closed his eyes, the visible things disappeared from him, and when he opened them afterwards he perceived them again. Likewise, when he stopped his ears with his fingers, the sounds disappeared, and when he opened them he perceived them again. When palatable things entered his mouth, he perceived their taste, and when he removed them he did not perceive it. The same happened to his nose concerning smells, and to palpable things when they came into contact with his skin. This occurred repeatedly and he knew that these parts are the organs for these perceptions, and that perceiving them is a function of these parts.

Likewise he saw that his hands were there for seizing and his feet for walking and so on. In this manner he became acquainted with many functions of the external limbs, and he desired to know the functions of the organs in the interior of the abdomen and the thorax. He saw that he could observe this in others; so he began to split open the abdomens of animals of which he could get hold and which he found dead. He did this with his nails, with sharp-edged stones, splinters of reeds, and similar things which he found. In this way he observed the stomach, and that the food is fermented in it, and that the food enters it through the channel which runs to it from the mouth, and that the intestine is connected with the farthest part of the stomach, and that the refuse of the food is rejected from the intestine, as it is connected with the anus. He saw that the pure parts of the food penetrate into the blood-vessels which are connected with the stomach and the intestines and then penetrate into the concavity of the liver, and in the liver are transformed into a mixture (humour, *khalt*), which then penetrates from there into the vessel which rises from the attracting part (*majdhab*) of the liver, and is distributed within the branches of this vessel, until it is discharged into the organs from the pores of these branches. So he came to know the functions of these organs. (v) He also observed the heart within the thorax, its right ventricle full of blood, its left ventricle full of spirit, and that this ventricle contracts so that the spirit penetrates by the arteries into the organs, then expands again, so that the spirit returns to it, and at the same time air is attracted from the lung, which, in its turn, attracts the air from outside, so that it penetrates into the hollow of the lung



from the nose and mouth by the larynx and the wind-pipe, and this happens when the lung is extended.<sup>1</sup> Then the part of the air which is warm is expelled to the outside, and this happens when the lung is in contraction. The contraction and expansion of the lung is provoked by its being moved by the diaphragm and the muscles of the thorax, and this is caused by the contraction and expansion of the thorax. In this manner respiration and voice are effected, so he knew that those things are the functions of those organs. He continually inquired into every single organ until he became acquainted with a great part of the science of anatomy. Besides this he used to observe the conditions of the animals and saw that some of them are courageous, aggressive, and carnivorous, such as the lion, the leopard, and the wolf; and he saw that others are timid and fly from those who try to devour or catch them; and similar things, until much of the conditions of the animals became clear to him.

Afterwards he began to think about the plants, and observed how the plant grows from the seed. He saw how the pulp of the seed swells when matter from the soil comes into contact with it, how this effects the splitting up of the husk, how a vessel-like shoot comes forth which sucks the matter from the soil, how this sprout shoots off perpendicularly and emerges from the soil. He also observed the leaves of the plants and saw that from the base of the leaf to its tip there extends a thing like an axis from which threads radiate to both sides, in which the nourishment penetrates all parts of the leaf and by which the leaves are supported. He further observed the fruits, and saw that some of them are openly exposed, as for instance the fig, whereas others are within a cover, be it a husk, as for instance the bean, be it shell-like, as for instance the acorn, be it a membrane, as for instance the grain of wheat, and some in more than one cover, as for instance the nut and the almond; moreover that some fruits have one seed, such as the apricot and the almond, and some many seeds, such as the pomegranate and the pumpkin; moreover that some fruits are single, (A) such as the citron and the nut, and some conglomerated, such as the bunch of grapes. He observed the grapes and found that the seed of a single grape is double, and likewise the seed of all fruits.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Nafis does not mention here his discovery of the lesser circulation of the blood in the heart and lung, a discovery which he probably made after the completion of the present book.

He understood that this is for the purpose that one of the two parts may accomplish the generation in case a mishap befall the other. Further he saw that on every grape and even on every fruit there is a skin which preserves the position and form of its parts and prevents its humidity from being easily evaporated; moreover that the pulp of the grape has vessels in which the nourishment flows from its base, and that between these vessels there is humidity filling up the interstices, and that this is in order to nourish the kernel of the seed. From this he understood that all parts of the animals and plants exist for certain purposes and uses, and that nothing of them is superfluous and useless.<sup>1</sup>

Then he passed on from the plants and observed the conditions of meteorological phenomena such as rain, cold, and snow; and he reflected about thunder and lightning and the like. Then he passed on to the celestial bodies and observed their movements, their respective positions, and their revolutions and the like, as we have explained in another book.<sup>2</sup>

By then he had passed the time of puberty, his face had become covered with down, his intellect strong, and his reasoning power excellent. He then reflected whether those beings, showing as they do a soundly and judiciously arranged existence, subsist by themselves or through something else which brings them into existence; and if they subsist by something else, what it may be that brings them into existence, and what its qualities may be, and he desired to know it. He had observed that many bodies exist sometimes and do not exist at other times, and he understood that neither the existence nor the non-existence of these bodies was (logically) absurd, and this is what we call contingent; he saw that the existence or non-existence of something contingent cannot come about by itself, because then this mode of existence would never

<sup>1</sup> This is the teleological conception of the universe expressed by Aristotle in philosophy and by Galen in medicine. It found easy acceptance in Islam because the Koran expressed a similar idea in general terms (sura lxxv. 36 and elsewhere). See, for example, H. A. R. Gibb, 'The Argument from Design', *Ignace Goldwiler Memorial Volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 149-62; G. Vajda, 'La Finalité de la création de l'homme selon un théologien juif du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Oriens*, xv (1962), 61-85. The same concept is discussed by Maimonides in his *Medical Aphorisms* (*Fuṣūl Mūsā fil-Ṭibb*); see J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, 'Maimonides against Galen, on Philosophy and Cosmogony', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University*, v/1 (1939), 53-88 (esp. 70f.).

<sup>2</sup> We have not been able to find any other reference to this book of Ibn al-Nafis.



be lacking from it; therefore it must come from another thing. Moreover, on the problem of whether the agent which determines the existence of the contingent things is (itself) contingent or not, (he saw that) if it is contingent its existence must equally come from another cause, and so on *ad infinitum*; therefore the things cannot dispense with a cause for their existence which (itself) is not contingent, for otherwise causes and caused things would accumulate *ad infinitum*, and their sum would still be contingent; therefore the things cannot dispense with a cause of their existence which is different from them, and what is different from the sum of contingent things is (itself) not contingent; therefore it must be absolute. Therefore these beings must necessarily have a cause for their existence which is necessarily existent, and this is Allah.<sup>1</sup> He must necessarily know everything, for otherwise His action (9) would not be exact; and He must necessarily take the greatest care of everything, for otherwise everything would not be in its best possible condition. Therefore it became obvious to Kāmil that these existing things must have a cause for their existence which is necessarily existing, knows everything, and takes care of everything.

*The Third Section:* on how the so-called Kāmil came to know the existence of prophets.

When the so-called Kāmil had reached in his knowledge the degree described by us, whilst his mind had become refined as he approached full manly vigour, he desired to know what are the claims of the Creator on His servants, and he reflected whether it was convenient that the Creator should be worshipped and obeyed, and which was the method of knowing the worship concordant with His Majesty, and he continued to think about this for some time. Then it happened that the winds threw upon that island a ship in which was a great number of merchants and other people. They stayed there for some time in order to repair the damage caused to that ship by the strong winds. Its passengers walked about the island in order to get firewood and to collect fruits.

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the classical arguments of Muslim theology for the existence of God. Cf. J.-D. Luciani, *El-Irḥād par Imam el-Ḥaramēin*, édité et traduit, Paris 1938, 36 f.; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Paderborn 1962, §§ 41-59. See also A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 274 f.; M. Fakhry, 'The Classical Islamic Arguments for the Existence of God', *MW*, xlvii (1957), 132-45.

Kāmil saw them and avoided them at first, then went ever nearer to them with caution until they saw him. The size of his body caused them fear, they called him but he flew from them. They threw him some bread and food which they had with them, and when he ate it he found it very good because he had never eaten prepared food before. Then he became friendly with them; they covered him with clothes, he ate their food and was pleased with them. They endeavoured to teach him their language and he learned much of it. They informed him of the condition of their cities and what was eaten in them. He was astonished at that because he thought that there existed no other country but this island, and he desired to travel with them. So they took him to a city near to that island. He ate of the food of the inhabitants, and put on their clothes and it gave him enormous pleasure. He remembered how miserable his life had been because he was always naked in cold and heat, and had to confine himself to natural foodstuffs, and the animals always attacked and bit him.

So he knew that man, because he was lacking a natural weapon (10) and needed artificial food and artificial clothes, could not live well if he was alone, but that man was in need of being social, so that he could be with a community some members of which sowed, others ploughed, others made bread, others transported things, others sewed clothes and so on.<sup>1</sup> Then he reflected and told himself: As man is in need of all this in order to live well, he is, no doubt, in need of concluding contracts such as sale, hire, and so on, these contracts (11) leading to disputes as everyone thinks that his claims are true and his obligations non-existent; therefore man can live well only if he is with a community who keep between them a law by which all disputes are settled. This is possible only if that law is met with obedience and acceptance, and this is the case only if it is believed to come forth from Allah, and this is the case only if it emanates from a person whom they regard as truthful when he informs them that it comes from Allah. This person cannot be a being other than a man, because the animals have no speech at all, still less could they transmit a law, and he cannot be somebody whom most men are not able to perceive, such as an angel<sup>2</sup> or a Jinn, for

<sup>1</sup> See Excursus B, below, pp. 77 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 4, ll. 14 f.: 'I am not an angel but the son of a woman from Quraysh who used to eat sliced, dried meat (*ḥadīd*)' (a saying attributed to the Prophet).



then the majority would not be able to hear the law from him; therefore this person must necessarily be a man.

Then he reflected and said: As this transmitter is a man, he must be distinguished by a quality on account of which the majority and others regard him as truthful when he informs them that what he brings them comes from Allah. This is the case when he is distinguished by a quality which one knows he would not have if he were not in relation with Allah, and trustworthy in what he relates from Him; and this is what is called a miracle.<sup>1</sup> Therefore this person must perform miracles by which the soul knows that what he brings is not a lie and not vain, but is truth from Allah. A person who has this quality is a prophet. Therefore Kāmil knew that the good life of man becomes complete only through the existence of this prophet, and his existence is a great good for man and of general benefit.<sup>2</sup> Allah knows this and therefore, because of His care, the existence of this prophet is necessary (*wājib*);<sup>3</sup> for it is unthinkable that Allah should have omitted to create this prophet although he is of general benefit, if He did not omit to create pubic hair and similar things which are only of little benefit. Therefore Kāmil understood that the creation of this prophet was necessary (*lā budda minhu*).<sup>4</sup>

(12) Then he reflected on the beneficial role of this prophet, and found it threefold. Firstly, he transmits to mankind Allah's law, as we have stated before; secondly, he makes known to mankind the majesty and the other attributes of Allah; thirdly, he makes known the resurrection and the happiness and unhappiness which are prepared for them in the world to come. Then Kāmil reflected

<sup>1</sup> *Mu'jiz*. Although the author avoids the slightly different term, *mu'jiza*, of Islamic theology, he uses the classical argument of the Muslims for the veracity of the Prophet. For lists of miracles relating to Muhammad, before and after his call to prophecy, see Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 96 ff., 112 ff. For the orthodox theory of miracles, see, for example, Luciani, 270-6; Stieglecker, §§ 255-62.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) went even further and declared that man could not have acquired the sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, language, and arts and crafts, by his own unaided efforts, and that this implied the existence of one or more individuals, i.e. the prophets, who had been taught all that by Allah; he found this reasoning confirmed by the fact that the deaf-mute from birth, the inhabitants of the Sudan and of the Slavonic countries, most savage tribes, and the bedouins had never succeeded and would never succeed in acquiring a science or craft which they had not been taught. *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, i, Cairo 1317, 71-73; transl. M. Asín Palacios, *Abenḥāzam de Córdoba*, i, 1927, 161-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stieglecker, § 278.

<sup>4</sup> See Excursus C, below, pp. 78 f.

and said: These things are accepted only with difficulty by the natures of many people, as many admit only with difficulty the existence of something which is no body, nor a power in a body, is in no direction, and cannot be pointed at,<sup>1</sup> and many can imagine only with difficulty the circumstances of the prophetic missions and sendings; many can acknowledge only with difficulty the resurrection, the return after death, and the eternal subsistence 'either in pleasure or in Hell',<sup>2</sup> and other things which are included in those beneficial functions. Had not men in our time become acquainted with the precepts of the law, and accustomed to its doctrines, they would at once disapprove of it and disbelieve the prophets. As the acceptance of these things is difficult, men would, if the prophet revealed them at once, without having been preceded by other prophets who had brought most of (all) that near to the understanding of man, be very much deterred from him and would strongly declare him to be a liar. Therefore it is fitting that at first some prophets should reveal that part of these things which is most easily accepted and most urgently needed for the preservation and the good life of mankind, namely the transmission of Allah's law to men.<sup>3</sup> He who appears first reveals those things which are near to the understanding, in order that their acceptance be easier and opposition to them less strong. Every time another prophet comes, he gives something more than his predecessor, until the law which is needed is completed. Then, when men have come to know Allah to some degree, and desire to know His qualities and attributes, it becomes easy for them to accept what the later prophets reveal in this respect. Then, when men know the qualities and majesty of Allah, and realize His perfect power, it is not difficult for them to believe the description of the life to come and the eternal happiness and unhappiness which it brings with it. Therefore it becomes easy for them to believe the prophets who bring them this teaching later on. (13)

Kāmil for this reason believed that the purpose of prophecy cannot be realized by one prophet, but that there must be several

<sup>1</sup> By this the author alludes to the attributes of Allah, according to orthodox Muslim doctrine; see, for example, Stieglecker, §§ 64-66.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion to sura lii, 17 f.

<sup>3</sup> With this idea of development, going beyond the simple chronological sequence of the prophets, Ibn al-Nafīs anticipates the reasoning of Muhammad 'Abduh. Cf. B. Michel and M. Abdel Razik, *Cheikh Mohammed Abdou*, Paris 1925, 112-15.



prophets of whom the first bring the (doctrines) which prepare men for the understanding of those (doctrines) which the later prophets bring. Every one of the later prophets must repeat what his predecessor brought and add to it until the beneficial function of prophecy is completed with the last prophet. Therefore the last one must know all that his predecessors brought, and must be able to reveal all that his predecessors had revealed. Therefore the prophet who is the Seal of the Prophets must be the most excellent of them<sup>1</sup> and must fulfil better than any other of them the requirements of prophecy. Likewise it is appropriate that every successive prophet should be more excellent than his predecessors, but only provided no change has taken place in mankind which makes the opposite necessary, because it may happen that a prophet coming at any time may nearly approach the degree of him by whom the beneficial role of prophecy is to be completed, and then the people of that period are suddenly swept away, be it by a general deluge or by a general plague or by something similar, so that the people who appear after them are, from the point of view of religion, as if no prophets had ever been sent before their time. For this reason, then, it is necessary to repeat the gradual preparation of men towards an easy acceptance of the truth; this is effected, in the first place, by the coming of a prophet who among his people holds a place similar to that of the prophet who had come in the very beginning; thus this prophet must be weaker than his immediate predecessor. In this manner it is not necessary that every prophet should be more excellent than his predecessors, with the exception of the last prophet, who is the Seal of the Prophets. He must in any case be more excellent than the others, because prophecy comes to an end after him. Therefore he must teach everything which is necessary for the completion of the beneficial role of prophecy. Therefore the prophet who is the Seal of the Prophets must be the most excellent of the prophets altogether.

(14)

## THE SECOND PART

*On how Kāmil came to know the life-story of the Prophet*

Our discourse in this part comprises ten sections.

*The First Section:* on the genealogy of this prophet who is the Seal of the Prophets.

<sup>1</sup> This is the generally accepted Muslim doctrine.

(Summary) As this prophet must be the most excellent of all the prophets, it is desirable for him to be of the noblest stock possible<sup>1</sup> in order that people may respect him and adopt his doctrine. The noblest possible genealogy is that going back to the great prophets, especially to one who is held in equally high esteem by all religions, and that is Ibrāhīm (Abraham). This prophet must not have belonged first to another religious community, so that he should not (10) be considered an apostate by his former co-religionists when he comes forth with his own doctrine. Therefore he ought not to belong to the descendants of Ya'qūb (Jacob) or al-'Īsā,<sup>2</sup> as these had to be Jews or Christians; but he ought to be a descendant of Ismā'il (Ishmael), and in particular a Hāshimite, as these are the noblest among the descendants of Ismā'il.

*The Second Section:* on the birthplace of this prophet who is the Seal of the Prophets.

(Summary) As this prophet has to be the most excellent and learned prophet, he cannot come from the desert, as the intellect (16) of its inhabitants is not well developed, but he ought to come from the noblest of townspeople. He ought not to come from a miserable town but from a town the inhabitants of which enjoy all urban facilities; and especially a town which is renowned from the point of view of religion, i.e. possessing a sanctuary worshipped from olden times. The oldest sanctuary is the Ka'ba;<sup>3</sup> therefore this prophet should be born in Mecca. On the other hand this prophet ought not to die in his birthplace, as the visit to his tomb contributes to maintaining interest in his doctrine, especially as he is the last of the prophets. Now had he died in Mecca, the visit to his (17) tomb would be considered a simple appendix to the visit to the

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 2, ll. 2 ff.: "The Prophet said: Among the children of Abraham, Allah has chosen Ismā'il; among the children of Ismā'il, He has chosen the Banū Kināna; among the Banū Kināna, He has chosen Quraysh; among the Quraysh, He has chosen the Banū Hāshim, and He has chosen me among the Banū Hāshim." See also *Zād al-Ma'ād*, i. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This, or rather 'Īsū, is the usual Arabic name for Esau, but it is evident from the context that the author really means Jesus whose Arabic name is 'Īsā and who is referred to under this name in the Arabic text a few lines before. It was perhaps his inclination to cryptic language which led the author into this confusion.

<sup>3</sup> According to one version of the Muslim tradition, the Ka'ba was originally built by Adam and reconstructed by Abraham and Ishmael. See Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 15, 25; A. J. Wensinck, art. Ka'ba, in *EI*.



Ka'ba (and not an independent religious ceremony), the tomb and the prophet himself would be forgotten, and his religious law would come to nothing. Therefore his tomb ought to be situated in another place. The transfer of his residence cannot have been occasioned by any material consideration or have happened of his own free will, as this would have meant changing the best possible place for another one; so he must have been forced to it, not by banishment or defeat in battle, as this would diminish his rank, but as a consequence of a conspiracy of a great number of infidels to kill him.<sup>1</sup> From this (the number of the conspirators) the meanness of his enemies becomes evident, and the superiority of the prophet and the help of Allah who informed him of the plans made against his life. Afterwards this prophet ought to recapture Mecca, in order to be able to perform the duty of pilgrimage and to prescribe this duty to his adherents.<sup>2</sup> As to the town to which the Prophet should transfer his residence and in which he should die, it is most fitting that it should be the town in which his father had died.<sup>3</sup> This is Yathrib (Medina), and it is most proper that he should become the ruler of this town.

(18)

*The Third Section:* on what the upbringing of this prophet, who is the Seal of the Prophets, should be.

(19) (*Summary*) As this prophet is to be the last of the prophets, he should be of the most balanced temperament and character,<sup>4</sup> so as to satisfy everyone. Therefore it is appropriate that his father

<sup>1</sup> Tradition relates that the heathen Quraysh decided to have the Prophet killed by a group of young men, one from each clan, so that retaliation by his relatives should be impossible; but warned by Gabriel, the Prophet escaped and went to Medina. See, for example, A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (transl. of the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq, d. 151/768), O.U.P. 1955, 222; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, transl. H. H. Schaeder, Leipzig 1930, 192; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 150.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the famous *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, the 'farewell pilgrimage' of the Prophet in the year 10/632. See, for example, Guillaume, 649-52; Buhl, 340-3.

<sup>3</sup> The father of the Prophet is said to have died on a trade journey in Medina. See, for example, Ibn Sa'd, 1/1. 61 f.

<sup>4</sup> The balanced character of the Prophet is mentioned, with reference to Galen's concept of the balanced temperament, by 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231) in his *Maḳālat al-Tāj fī Ṣīfat al-Nabī*, an extract of which is preserved in the manuscript 59 *majāmi'* of the Egyptian Library, Cairo, fols. 165<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup> (*GAL*, i. 481, § 11, no. 3; *Suppl.* i. 881, no. 14; both entries refer to the same manuscript). On the character of the Prophet in general, see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, 1/2. 89 ff.; Stieglecker, §§ 737 ff.

should die first, then his mother,<sup>1</sup> that furthermore he should be suckled by another woman outside Mecca,<sup>2</sup> and that finally after the death of his mother he should be brought up by his near male relatives such as his grandfather and uncles.<sup>3</sup> For the temperament of each person is near to that of his parents, therefore something must happen which makes it more balanced, and to this belongs suckling. Furthermore, his first upbringing should be outside Mecca, so that the different climate should act as a balancing factor. This nurse should be very devoted to him in order that her milk should agree with him. This is assured when his nursing is a blessing to the nurse. Also he should be brought up from the beginning not by his father but by others, so that his character (20) might become balanced by imitation of the educator; and for this one educator is not sufficient, as the influence of education on the character is weaker and requires a longer time than modification by nursing. Also, in contrast with educators, nursing by several women is harmful. The mother of the prophet can live longer than his father, because the influence of mothers on their male children is weaker than that of fathers.

*The Fourth Section:* on the desires of this prophet.

(*Summary*) As the temperament of this prophet is well balanced, his desires ought to be balanced, too. His desires in general should be of medium strength, but it is appropriate that some of his desires should be weak, such as the desire for food,<sup>4</sup> as eating little

<sup>1</sup> The death of the father of the Prophet is said to have happened before (or, according to another tradition, not long after) he was born (see Ibn Sa'd, 1/1. 61 f.), and that of his mother when he was six years old (Ibn Sa'd, 1/1. 73 f.; Guillaume, 73; Buhl, 116).

<sup>2</sup> There is a tradition, generally known, that the Prophet was nursed in the country during his first two years by a woman of the Banū Sa'd ibn Bakr, called Ḥalīma, who immediately after taking him, and for the whole of the period of nursing, experienced a number of material blessings so that she was loath to part with him. But we are told, too, that another woman called Thuwayba, a freed slave of one of the Prophet's uncles, nursed him for the first few days. See, for all this, Guillaume, 70-73; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1. 67 ff.; Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḳḳīsī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Tārīkh*, v. 8; *Zād al-Ma'ād*, i. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Tradition informs us that the Prophet, after the death of his mother, was taken care of first by his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and when he died in his turn, by his uncle Abū Ṭālib. See, for example, Guillaume, 73, 79; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1. 74 ff. See also *Zād al-Ma'ād*, i. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Many traditions about the frugality of the life of the Prophet are related, e.g. by Ibn Sa'd, 1/2. 108 ff.; see also the following note.



(۲۱) is the characteristic of saints, while eating much is the characteristic of gluttons. Other desires should be strong, such as the desires for perfumes, for worship, and for sexual intercourse.<sup>1</sup> As to the desire for perfumes, (that is) because their use makes an agreeable impression on those with whom a man comes into contact so that they think highly of him, whereas people of bad smell are detested. As to the desire for sexual intercourse, (that is) because its strength is appreciated in men as a sign of virility.<sup>2</sup> And as to the desire for acts of worship, this prophet is necessarily in a very near relationship to Allah and perfectly immersed in His worship, so that he derives from it a perfect pleasure. The form of worship which provides this most is ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), because it gives the most direct access to Allah.

As the desire of this prophet for sexual intercourse is strong, and as it is unthinkable that he should desire persons other than women—because this is a characteristic of bad and dissolute men—he must have taken a number of wives and have had frequent intercourse with them.<sup>3</sup>

*The Fifth Section:* on the outward appearance of this prophet.

(Summary) In the outward appearance of this prophet there cannot have been anything calling for disapproval; he cannot have been exceedingly short, for such people are despised, nor exceedingly tall, for such people are considered to be of weak intelligence; nor can there have been in his body any defect, for such people are disregarded and considered to be of evil omen. There cannot have been in his face or limbs a deformity or an illness on account of which people are disregarded and avoided. His limbs cannot have been anything but harmonious because the opposite quality

<sup>1</sup> In the section which Ibn Sa'd (i/2. 112f.) devotes to the Prophet's liking for women and perfumes, he quotes the classical tradition: 'Of this world I have come to like women and perfumes, and my consolation is prayer (*ṣalāt*)', as well as the following: 'The Prophet of Allah used to like of this world three things: perfumes, women, and food; he partook of two and abstained from one: he partook of women and perfumes and abstained from food.'

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'd (i/2. 96f.) has devoted a special section to the sexual potency of the Prophet.

<sup>3</sup> According to the most widely held opinion, the Prophet had nine wives when he died; altogether he had concluded marriage thirteen times but had not consummated it in two cases; he had also had three concubines. For lists of the wives of the Prophet, see Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834), *Sīra*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, ii, Göttingen 1859, 1001-5; *Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Tārīkh*, v. 8-15; *Zād al-Ma'ād*, 26-29; Stieglecker, §§ 752 ff.

comes from a lack of balance. For the same reason his abdomen cannot have been exceedingly fat, nor his neck exceedingly thick, nor his fingers exceedingly short, nor his face exceedingly long, nor his jaws (exceedingly) big; but he must have harmonious limbs, be of medium colour, neither exceedingly fat nor exceedingly thin, smiling and cheerful, of good and strong digestion, of acute senses and intelligence, and of eloquent tongue; because these are the qualities of people of balanced temperament.<sup>1</sup>

*The Sixth Section:* on the condition of this prophet as regards illness and length of life.

(Summary) There are some diseases which cannot happen to this prophet, such as madness and epilepsy, because those who are afflicted by them are considered unfit to be spoken to (or: to address others), let alone to convey the message and the religious law of Allah. Neither can he have white leprosy (*baraṣ*), because people avoid coming into contact with a sufferer from it, nor leprosy (*judhām*), nor can he be crippled nor blind in one eye or both. But hot diseases such as fevers, and those cold diseases which are not hated and detested, such as coryza (*zūkām*) and catarrh (*nazla*), may well happen to him. This prophet must even have many diseases, but his diseases must be short and easily healed, as people of balanced temperaments respond equally well to (۲۳) external infections (*wāridāt*), to which only one-sided temperaments are strongly resistant, and to the action of mild remedies.<sup>2</sup>

As to the length of life of this prophet, he must reach the limit in which to develop fully his intelligence, so that he may be invested with his prophetic mission, and this is the mature age (*kuhūla*); but he must not live on to a limit at which there appear in him senility and lack of judgement. Therefore he must die after having reached maturity but before old age has got a hold on him,

<sup>1</sup> All this agrees with the traditional picture of the Prophet, on which see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, i/2. 120 ff.; *Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Tārīkh*, v. 1 f.; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. Muhammad; Buhl, 364 f.; Stieglecker, §§ 815-17.

<sup>2</sup> There are Islamic parallels to the saying, 'Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth'. Prophets are said to be the persons most afflicted in this world, and 'A'isha reportedly did not know a person who suffered more from pains than the Prophet; see, for example, Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), *al-Īmī'*, chap. 34 (*Kitāb al-muḥāḍa*), § 57 (*Bāb mā jā' fil-ṣabr 'alal-balā'*). On the afflictions suffered by the Prophet, see also M. Asín Palacios, *Abenḥázam de Córdoba*, iv, 1931, 74 f.



and this happens in persons of balanced temperament about the sixty-second or sixty-third year.<sup>1</sup>

*The Seventh Section:* on the children of this prophet.

(Summary) As this prophet had frequent sexual intercourse, it would have been lack of perfection if he had been childless, and as (٢٤) his temperament was well balanced he had to have both sons and daughters. His sons ought not to survive him because, if they did, they ought to become prophets, as was the case of former prophets whose sons succeeded them; but this was impossible since he was the Last Prophet. His daughters, on the contrary, could live long.<sup>2</sup>

*The Eighth Section:* on the manner in which this prophet would call for adherents.

(Summary) As this prophet was already highly esteemed when he received his prophetic mission, his mission could not have been to a king, such as that of Moses to Pharaoh, as his dignity would have suffered had he addressed the king in the appropriate reverent manner, and he would have been considered impolite had he not done so. Therefore his mission had to be to the whole of mankind, without distinction.<sup>3</sup>

His propaganda had to be done in the beginning by mild and peaceful means, and only later on, when his adherents were more (٢٥) numerous, by force and with the sword.

<sup>1</sup> According to most traditions, the Prophet died at the age of sixty-three, according to others, at the age of sixty or sixty-five; see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, ii/2. 81-3. When the prophetic vocation came to him, he was about forty years old; see Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 126f.

<sup>2</sup> From his first wife, Khadija, the Prophet had four daughters, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima, and Umm Kulthūm, of whom only Fāṭima survived him. As to his sons from Khadija, the oldest tradition is unanimous only with regard to one, al-Ḳāsim, who died before the prophetic vocation of Muhammad. The traditions further agree that the Prophet had a son, called Ibrāhīm, from his Coptic concubine Māriya, but he, too, died at a tender age. See, on all this, Guillaume, 83; Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 85ff.; *Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Tārikh*, v. 16-20; *Zād al-Ma'ād*, i. 25; Buhl, 120f. The remark of Ibn al-Nafīs about the reason for the early death of the Prophet's sons refers not only to cases such as that of Abraham and Ishmael, but also to the reported saying of the Prophet, when Ibrāhīm had died: 'Had he lived he would have become a righteous one (*siddīk*) and a prophet' (Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 90, ll. 15f.).

<sup>3</sup> According to the doctrine of Islam, the message of Muhammad, in contrast with the missions of the former prophets, was addressed to the whole of mankind. Ibn al-Nafīs does not seem to have realized the inconclusive character of his argument.

*The Ninth Section:* on the name of this prophet.

(Summary) His name and that of his father and grandfather<sup>1</sup> could not be a name referring to something despicable, such as Zibla ('manure'), or Kalb ('dog'), or Thawr ('ox'),<sup>2</sup> neither could it be a diminutive form, such as Humayd, Sulaym, or 'Ubayd. On the other hand, his name ought not to have an overbearing meaning, such as Shāhanshāh (Persian: 'King of Kings').<sup>3</sup>

*The Tenth Section:* on the Scripture of this prophet.

(Summary) In order not to be inferior to the other prophets who had Scriptures revealed to them, this prophet ought to have a Scripture, too. On account of the especially strong need for the (٢٦) preservation of his law, it was particularly important that his book should be remembered. Therefore the style of this book had to be most perfectly eloquent.<sup>4</sup>

### THE THIRD PART

*On how Kāmil came to know the religious practice of the Prophet*

Our discourse in this part comprises two chapters.

*Chapter One:* on the doctrinal obligations which this prophet imposes.

*The First Section:* on the attributes of Allah taught by this prophet.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Muslim tradition, the name of the Prophet's father was 'Abd Allāh, and that of his grandfather, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

<sup>2</sup> The custom of the Arabs of giving their sons disagreeable names, or of calling them after animals, is well known. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1904, 73f.; L. Caetani and G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, i, Rome 1915, 64f. The names Kalb and Thawr are actually attested, and although we have not been able to find any bearer of the name Zibla, the dictionaries mention other derivatives of the same root, Zabāla and Zubāla, as proper names.

<sup>3</sup> On the several names of the Prophet, see Ibn Sa'd, i/1. 64-67; *Zād al-Ma'ād*, i. 20f.

<sup>4</sup> This has always been the thesis of Muslim orthodoxy, and the fact that the Koran defies imitation, a claim already put forward in the Holy Book itself (sura ii. 23; x. 38; xi. 13; xvii. 88; xxviii. 49; lii. 34), is regarded as the greatest miracle and the final proof of the veracity of the Prophet. See Luciani, 297-302; A. Guillaume, *The Summa Philosophiae of Al-Shahrastānī*, O.U.P. 1934, 142-5; Stieglecker, §§ 661-90.

<sup>5</sup> The whole of this section corresponds to orthodox doctrine; see, for example, Luciani, 38ff.; Jeffery, 348, 386. The differentiation between common people



Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiḳ says: When, in his lifetime, the so-called Kāmil had come near to the end of his full manly vigour, he reflected on the attributes of the Creator which this prophet ought to teach. He concluded that he ought to teach men that they had a Creator, and that this Creator is possessed of splendour and majesty in an infinite degree, that He must be obeyed and worshipped, and that there is no God but Him, and that there is nothing like Him;<sup>1</sup> that He is the hearing and knowing one;<sup>2</sup> and other qualities which (۲۷) are in keeping with Allah's majesty, such as complete power and perfect might. At the same time this prophet would not make it clear that there is behind all that something which he had concealed, and he would not oblige men (to believe) something of which they could not easily become aware and which they could imagine only with difficulty: for instance if he told them that Allah is neither inside nor outside the world, that He is not a body and cannot be perceived by the senses, that He is not in any direction and that one cannot point at Him with a sign perceptible by the senses. Should the prophet explain these and similar things they would be as it were meaningless for those who did not make a (special) study to understand them; and if they made a (special) study to understand them they would become confused and bewildered, and their study would prevent them from seeking their livelihood and following their occupations, and the harmony of them all would be destroyed. This would be contrary to the primary aim of the prophetic mission. Therefore the prophet ought to mention these things only in a general, and not in an explicit, detailed manner; and, moreover, he ought not to make it clear that there is a detailed explanation. Still, he ought not to omit any essential part of the details, but ought to introduce in his speech allegories and allusions sufficient to make the select ones understand all the details, whereas the general public remains confined to as much of their outward meaning as they are able to understand.

*The Second Section:* on the teaching of the Seal of the Prophets concerning the life to come.<sup>3</sup>

(*amma*) and learned specialists (*khāṣṣa*) is generally made, and it is an essential part of the conclusion of the treatise of Ibn Ṭufayl (see above, pp. 30, 32).

<sup>1</sup> Sura xlii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Passim* in the Koran.

<sup>3</sup> The problem, already alluded to in the preceding section, of the literal or allegorical explanation of the text of the Koran and of the sayings of the Prophet,

(*Summary*) This prophet must necessarily mention the life to come and explain it in detail, because this is the most difficult part (۲۸) of a prophet's teaching which cannot be omitted from the doctrine of this Last Prophet. He cannot have represented the life to come as spiritual because the intellects of most people fall short of appreciating spiritual pleasures and pains.

(*Translation*) If a common man were told: 'You have performed the worship properly, you have abstained from forbidden pleasures and have acted with justice towards men; therefore Allah will transfer you to a world where you will neither eat nor drink, nor have sexual intercourse, nor be clothed, nor sleep, but continually will praise and glorify; and will not even be recompensed for that nor brought to another condition', then this common man would prefer to miss that happiness. But if he were told: 'If you do those things, you will be transferred to a place where you will eat appetizing meals, and have splendid sexual intercourse, where there are streams of wine, honey, and so forth', that would be quite different. (The prophet) cannot represent the future life as purely corporeal either, because the body without the soul is without feeling, like a piece of wood, as everyone knows; therefore he would have neither pleasure nor pain, and neither happiness nor unhappiness, and the whole future life would be meaningless. Therefore this prophet must represent future life as composed of body and soul.

Then Kāmil reflected on the nature of this future life and how it would be, and he told himself: There is no doubt that man is composed of body and soul; the body is this thing which can be perceived, but the soul is that to which one refers when one says 'I'. That to which one refers in this case cannot be the body or its parts, because everyone knows with inevitable certainty (*bi-l-ḍarūra*) that it remains the same from the beginning to the end of his life, whereas the body and its parts are not so, because the body of man as an infant is different from his body as an old man, (۲۹) and likewise the parts of the body, because both the body and its parts are continuously in dissolution and reconstruction, and unavoidably in constant change. But that to which man refers when he says 'I' is not so, because it remains constantly the same.

runs through the whole history of Muslim dogmatics. Cf. Stieglecker, §§ 1470-6. The author follows a middle course.



Another argument is that man may often be unconscious of his body and its parts, such as the heart, the brain, etc., but it is impossible for him to be unconscious of his soul, which is the thing to which he refers when he says 'I'. Therefore the soul must be something different from the body. The body is, no doubt, material and perceptible by the senses, but not so the soul, which is pure substance because it is impossible that it should be an accident. The body subsists by itself, whereas accidents subsist only by substances. Therefore the soul must be a substance, and it must be free from corporeal matter; otherwise it would be a body or in a body, and if it were so, the things taking place in it would have a position and a form and could be divided, because everything which takes place in a body or in a power within a body is subject to that. Now, among the things which take place within the soul of man are the perceptions and the notions, and if the soul were a body or had bodily qualities these notions could, in consequence, necessarily become divided and there could be no individual notion at all, which is absurd. Therefore the soul of man must be free of corporeal matter.

If this is so, it cannot exist before the existence of the mixed matter from which the body of man comes forth, because, if it existed before that matter, it could be neither one nor manifold, and could not possibly subsist at all. It could not be manifold because the individuals of each species are differentiated on account of the matter from which they are dependent; therefore they are not manifold earlier than the genesis of this matter. It could not be single because, if it were single, all the manifold bodies dependent on it would have one single and individual soul (in common), and the notions acquired by every one of them would be acquired by the whole, and this is absurd. Therefore the soul of man can exist only after the existence of matter mixed in a manner corresponding to (the nature of) man, and the existence of this matter is a prerequisite for the existence of the soul of man.

This matter is generated from sperm and similar things, and when the soul becomes attached to it and then begins to feed and to produce the organs, the body is generated from it. This matter is called coccyx.<sup>1</sup> It is absurd that this should become lost as long

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic term is '*ʿaḡb al-dhanab*', 'the root of the tail', meaning the extremity of the spine, an organ which is declared by traditions to be the nucleus of the creation of the human body and of its resuscitation as well, and not

as the soul subsists, because otherwise the soul would be independent of it in its existence and its existence would not be dependent on it, and this is a contradiction. So it is absurd that this matter should perish as long as the soul of man subsists. The soul of man is imperishable, and it is imperishable because everything that is perishable has a matter in which it may sometimes subsist and sometimes be absent, but as the soul of man possesses no matter it is imperishable. This matter which is the coccyx is imperishable (too). Therefore it remains after the death and decomposition of the body, and the soul with which it remains continues to be perceiving and noticing, and at that time it experiences pleasure or pain; these are the pleasures and pain in the tomb.<sup>1</sup>

Then when the time for resurrection (*maʿād*) comes, the soul stirs again and feeds this (nucleus of) matter by attracting other matter to it and transforming it into something similar to it; and therefrom grows a body a second time. This body is the same as the first body inasmuch as this (nucleus of) matter in it is the same, and the soul is the same. In this way the resurrection takes place. After that the soul never ceases to feed, and therefore the body never becomes non-existent again, be it in the pleasure (of Paradise)—this is evident—or in Hell; because every time this hellfire burns the newly produced parts in this body, this soul generates again another body from the matter from which this (nucleus of) matter is fed. These bodies surround, as it were, that (nucleus of) matter and are therefore called skins.<sup>2</sup> These skins replace each other during the sojourn in Hell.

subject to decomposition in common with the rest of the body. Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, s.v. *dhanab*.

<sup>1</sup> A current feature in Muslim dogmatics; see, for example, Jeffery, 349; Stieglecker, §§ 1344-55; A. J. Wensinck and A. S. Tritton, art. 'Adhāb al-Kābr', in *ET*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This is an allusion to the wording of sura xli. 19 ff.: 'And the day when the enemies of Allah are gathered unto the fire; they are driven on (20) until, when they come to it, their hearing and their eyes and their skins testify against them to what they used to do, (21) and they say to their skins: Why have you testified against us? They reply: Allah, Who gives speech to everything, has given us speech . . . (22) and you could not hide yourselves lest your hearing and your eyes and your skins should testify against you.' Also to sura iv. 56: ' . . . As often as their skins are well done, We will exchange them for fresh skins, so that they may taste the torment', and to sura xxii. 20: 'Whereby that which is in their bellies, and their skins (too), will be melted.' One of the traditional explanations of these passages is that 'skins' here means 'bodies'.



(۳۱) *Chapter Two*: on the practical obligations which this prophet imposes.

*The First Section*: on the duties concerning worship which this prophet prescribes.

(Summary) When Kāmil had reached nearly forty years of age, he reflected that this prophet, being the Last Prophet, had every reason to provide for his doctrine's being remembered until the end of time. He ought to assure this by prescribing that he, his function, and his doctrine should be often remembered, this remembrance being prescribed either directly or in connexion with another thing; and if directly, then independently or as part of the duty of worship. Examples of these different kinds of remembering are fasting, alms-tax, ritual prayer and pilgrimage, and the profession of faith. Therefore the religious system of this prophet ought to be based on five things,<sup>1</sup> either words only, such as the profession of faith, or actions of the body only, such as ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*),<sup>2</sup> or (۳۲) bodily abstentions such as fasting, or financial obligations such as the alms-tax, or a joint bodily and financial obligation such as pilgrimage. Some of these obligations are very exacting and should therefore be prescribed once in a lifetime only. Others are very easy to accomplish and may therefore be fulfilled several times every day, such as worship, and this, therefore, reminds man more directly of Allah and His Prophet. Others stand between the two extremes, such as fasting and the alms-tax, and are therefore prescribed once a year. But the belief in (the truth of) the profession of faith is faith itself, and faith must be permanent.

(۳۳) *The Second Section*: on the transactions which this prophet prescribes.

(Summary) Society and intercourse of mankind can come to perfection only if their transactions are just, if nobody is harmed, and if nothing is allowed which leads to the neglect of common utility or contentment with laziness; for in human society everyone must fulfil a useful part, except those who are prevented by illness.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The traditional five main duties or 'pillars' of Islam.

<sup>2</sup> The author has emphasized the spiritual significance of *ṣalāt* above, p. 52; it is therefore surprising that he should define *ṣalāt* here as mere movements of the body. Individual prayer (*du'ā'*) does not figure among the official main duties of the religious law of Islam.

<sup>3</sup> See Excursus B, below, pp. 77 f.

Therefore everything which prevents the individual from being useful to the community should be prohibited, such as usury, pimping, etc., all of which nullify the production of useful work. He ought to show them a way which they might follow to avoid disputes, be it about the transfer of useful goods, either by necessity, as in the case of inheritance, or by choice, as in the case of sale or lease, or about the permanent setting up of useful goods, as in the case of *wakf*, or about the abandonment of the possession of useful goods, as in the case of manumission; and for all these cases he ought to establish a just procedure. He ought to make the share in the inheritance of the males bigger than that of the females, because the males, although more easily able to earn, have (۳۴) to provide for their wives.<sup>1</sup>

*The Third Section*: on the rules which the prophet ought to introduce with respect to domestic economy (*tadbir al-manzil*), and provision for spouses, slaves, and relatives.

(Summary) As there are so many human beings,<sup>2</sup> and as spontaneous generation can happen only by exception, sexual intercourse is necessary in order to produce most of the human beings. Therefore this prophet should encourage it, but in a way which guarantees a numerous progeny; therefore he ought to prohibit male and female homosexuality. Normal intercourse should happen in a way that leaves no doubt about paternity; therefore the prophet should prohibit adultery and fornication, although this might multiply the progeny, because it has as a consequence making heirs of those who ought not to inherit, and precluding from inheritance those who have a right to it. Therefore, too, he ought to make marriage a public contract, so that there can be no doubt about paternity; and this should be done by the calling of witnesses.

As polyandry leads to uncertainty of paternity, the prophet ought to prohibit it, but not polygamy. As a man and wife may find life together impossible, provision should be made for separation, especially as their temperaments may differ in such a manner that they can have no children from their union, whereas this might well happen if either of them were married to another partner. The power to pronounce a separation should be given to (۳۵)

<sup>1</sup> Similar reasonings are often found in the works on the religious law of Islam.

<sup>2</sup> It ought to be remembered that Kāmil has seen human society on another island.



the more reasonable partner, who at the same time incurs financial obligations by marriage, and that is the man. But the wife should not be completely denied the right to divorce; for instance, if the husband is unable to provide for her. As men are better able to earn money, and women to manage the household, the man should have to provide for the wife, and the wife to stay in the house of the husband.

As slaves are under the guardianship of their masters who provide for them, the masters should have the right to demand service of them to the degree of their ability.

Relatives who are in need ought to be provided for by their wealthy relatives.<sup>1</sup>

*The Fourth Section:* on the punishments which the prophet ought to introduce.

(*Summary*) Since some men are inclined to wickedness and not restrained by their knowledge alone that the divine law has forbidden something, but restrained only by a major force which everyone obeys, such as a king, there should be in every town a king or his representative; but the kings should not be left to their whims as they are often inclined to tyranny, and therefore there should be a ruler over them who is the caliph.<sup>2</sup>

(۳۶) The Prophet ought to forbid everything which is conducive to a bad state of the soul, of material goods, and of intelligence. Therefore he should prohibit murder, theft, usurpation, and drunkenness, and should lay down for every one of these and other crimes a punishment deterring the people from it. Therefore he ought to prescribe retaliation for deliberate murder; but in the case of accidental manslaughter retaliation would be unjust, and leaving it completely unpunished would mean that blood could be shed with impunity; therefore he ought to prescribe something like blood-money in this case.<sup>3</sup> The punishment indicated for theft would be something like cutting off the hand. So for every mischief the appropriate punishment should be fixed, for adultery and fornication as well as for drinking wine, because drunkenness

<sup>1</sup> All this corresponds to the rules of the religious law of Islam, except for the assumption that it is the wife's duty to run the household; this, however, reflects actual practice.

<sup>2</sup> This reflects not the original but the later political organization of the Muslim world.

<sup>3</sup> This reflects the categories of Islamic law.

makes reason cease and is a source of mischief.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he should be intent on raising the prestige of his religion, and should introduce a treatment of his opponents in accordance with the (degree of) badness of their belief; those who are strongly opposed to his divine law should be ordered to be killed, but those who are nearer to truth he should oblige only to pay poll-tax.<sup>2</sup> The produce of this tax taken from the infidels, as well as the alms-tax taken from believers, he should devote to purposes which are useful to the community, such as providing for the soldiers who protect the country, for the imams and muezzins,<sup>3</sup> for the poor and the needy, for travellers, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE FOURTH PART

*On how Kāmil came to know the events which were going to happen after the death of the Last Prophet*

Our discourse in this part comprises ten sections.

*The First Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the struggle for the caliphate between the companions of this prophet after his death.

(*Summary*) As the Last Prophet came forth on his mission only (۳۷) after his fortieth year and died at something more than sixty, his message could not have reached all men. As there can be no other prophet after him, there must, in order to extend the call to his religion to all mankind, be after him a successor (caliph), and this at all times in order to preserve his religion. This caliph must necessarily be highly esteemed by the people, and therefore he should come from among his companions in the period immediately following this prophet's death. Had the prophet designated any single person from among his companions as his successor, this would have given rise to jealousy among his other followers, and he would have been held responsible for the errors of this caliph; therefore that prophet could not designate his presumptive (۳۸)

<sup>1</sup> This is the classical rational justification of the Koranic prohibition of wine.

<sup>2</sup> This reflects the distinction made by Islamic law between two classes of infidels: the heathens and the followers of former revealed religions.

<sup>3</sup> This and the preceding item reflect actual practice in later times, whereas the two following items are taken from the relevant passages of the Koran.

<sup>4</sup> Here ends the Cairo manuscript.



successor explicitly.<sup>1</sup> As men are inclined to love power, there must needs arise a struggle, even amounting to a fight, for the caliphate among his companions, not immediately after his death, as this would have led to the victory of the infidels and the disappearance of his religious law, but somewhat later, while there were still suitable candidates.<sup>2</sup>

*The Second Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the struggle and fight after the death of this prophet.

(*Summary*) It was unavoidable that every claimant to the caliphate should gather around himself a faction which was fervently biased in his favour and opposed to his adversaries, so that there were many partisanships and fights. Therefore provision had to be made for the law of this prophet to be remembered, and this could be done only by the scholars of his community who drew their knowledge not from revelation like the prophets, but from thought and personal opinion.<sup>3</sup> As the natures of men are different, the rise of many opinions concerning the religion of this prophet was inevitable, and everyone out of his love of authority and originality<sup>4</sup> had to try his best to make his view prevail. Therefore the community of this prophet had to become divided into sects which differed with regard to the principles and details of his religion, and were hostile to one another.<sup>5</sup> In order to gain

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the main points of contention between the Sunnis, whom the author follows, of course, and the Shiites who claimed that the Prophet had expressly designated 'Alī as his successor. There are many indications in Sunni traditions for the indirect, more or less conclusive, designation by the Prophet of Abū Bakr as his successor; see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, iii/1. 126-8.

<sup>2</sup> The fight for the caliphate started with the assassination of 'Uthmān, the third caliph, in 35/656.

<sup>3</sup> *ra'y*, a technical term much discussed during the systematic elaboration of Islamic religious law.

<sup>4</sup> The ambition of the specialists in religious law has often been described and castigated, e.g. by Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820), *Umm*, vii. 250 (*Kitāb Jimā' al-'Ilm*); by Ibn Qūṭayba (d. 276/889), *Kitāb Ta'wil Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, 16; by Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in the introduction of his *Ihyā'*; by Averroes (d. 595/1198; cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli (1887), 85 n. 2); and by Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), an admirer of Ghazālī, in his *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, 31 n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> Although the conciliatory view, expressed in a tradition declaring that 'differences of opinion in my (i.e. Muhammad's) community are a concession (from Allah)', had prevailed in Islam long before the author's time, there still existed in practice a great deal of keen competition between the several schools of religious law. It is remarkable that the author explicitly acknowledges the element of professional jealousy entering into that competition.

adherents, the followers of each head of a school (*imām*) had to compose many books and to build colleges (*madāris*) and places which were reserved for the adherents of that particular doctrine, and to provide for material advantages for the inhabitants of these academies.<sup>1</sup> (۳۹)

As this prophet was the last of the prophets, every attention had to be paid to preserving his words and his acts,<sup>2</sup> and his holy book, and also their explanation; therefore there would be need for the science of tradition (*ḥadīth*) and for the science of interpretation (*tafsīr*) and other religious sciences; and this would necessitate the composition of many books some considerable time after the death of the prophet.<sup>3</sup>

*The Third Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the sins which had to be committed in the community of this prophet.

(*Summary*) As this prophet had prohibited the drinking of wine, and the appearance of women in public in the presence of strangers, because jealousy is a noble and praiseworthy quality, two consequences were inevitable: firstly, the transgression of the prohibition of wine, because the soul strongly desires it, apart from its being indispensable as a remedy for preserving health and fighting many diseases;<sup>4</sup> secondly, an increase of homosexuality in his community, because many people were unable to marry at all or to take their wives with them when travelling.<sup>5</sup> (۵۰)

*The Fourth Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the punishment which was to befall the community of this prophet on account of their sins.

(*Summary*) It was inevitable that those sins should be punished, so that men should not think lightly of transgressing the prescriptions of this prophet nor omit to repent. This punishment could

<sup>1</sup> The author alludes to the creation of pious foundations for the benefit of the professors and students of some particular doctrine or other, and even uses the technical term *wakaf*.

<sup>2</sup> The Traditions, reports on the model behaviour of the Prophet, are often arranged according to whether they refer to his words (*aḳwāl*) or his acts (*aḳ'āl*).

<sup>3</sup> There was a theoretical objection, though not corresponding to the facts, to writing down Traditions in the early period of Islam.

<sup>4</sup> Personally, Ibn al-Nafīs objected to the use of wine as a remedy; see above, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> The author ignores, of course, the institution of temporary marriage (*mut'a*), admitted by the Shiites.



(٤١) not be a catastrophe, such as being swallowed up by the earth or being destroyed by a deluge, as this would prove the violent wrath of Allah against this community and be in contradiction with the dignity of this prophet. Therefore this punishment could only be by bloodshed, and this had to be done by way of attack from infidels, as internal political strife within the community would not have provoked penitence and reform.<sup>1</sup> This at the same time would give believers who took part in the struggle the opportunity of gaining religious merit.

*The Fifth Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the condition of the infidels who had to punish this community.

(٤٢) *(Summary)* These infidels should not belong to any religious community, because in this case their success would be regarded as the success of their religion, and that would be contrary to the aim of this punishment. This condition is fulfilled if the message of the prophet has not yet reached those infidels, that is to say, if they live on the outskirts of the inhabited world, far from the civilization of the temperate zone. They could not live in the utmost southern parts because the people there are weak of heart on account of the great heat, so they would not have strength enough to shed the blood of this community. Therefore they must come from the northernmost parts, because the people there are courageous, strong of heart, and merciless on account of the cold. But they could not come from the north-west, because the inhabitants there are few and distributed over islands,<sup>2</sup> separated by many seas; therefore they are divided and cannot unite sufficiently to overcome the people of this community. Those infidels must come, moreover, from open plains because townspeople are less courageous. They must have broad chests and big heads, slender lower limbs, narrow eyes, and big buttocks; their upper limbs must be big because heat is prevalent inside their bodies on account of the intense cold of their climate, and therefore their lower limbs must be somewhat slender; this also

<sup>1</sup> See Excursus D, below, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> On the opinions of the Arab geographers concerning the islands of the north, see O. J. Tallgren-Tuulio and A. M. Tallgren, *Idrisi. La Finlande et les autres pays baltiques orientaux* (*Géographie*, VII, 4), Helsingfors 1930; H. Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*, Oslo 1954. The idea goes back to classical antiquity, and is found in Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, and Tacitus.

because it is a quality of courageous beings, as can be observed in the lion. That their eyes are narrow comes from the excessive moisture of their brains, generated by the lack of its dissolution on account of the cold; for the same reason their noses are inclined to be flat. The size of their buttocks is due to the fact that they ride horses from childhood, as there are many horses in those regions and they transport themselves often on horseback.<sup>1</sup>

These infidels cannot occupy the whole of the countries of Islam, because this would lead to the destruction of this religion, but only some, especially those in which the sins mentioned above have become prevalent, and they are the countries which are near to them. Therefore these infidels should occupy the northern (٤٣) countries (of the religion of the Last Prophet). After occupying them, they should abstain from provoking a change of religion there, because they themselves have no religion; on the contrary, they should feel inclined to adopt this religion and to be counted among its adherents, and not only their original countries but the countries of other infidels which they might conquer should be added to the area of this religion, and therefore this religion should spread even without the help of military power.<sup>2</sup>

*The Sixth Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the condition of the countries which those infidels could not conquer.

(٤٤) *(Summary)* Once the countries which (originally) were far from those conquered by the infidels had become as it were their neighbours, it would be necessary that their people should go into battle and defend themselves against them. This requires two things: firstly a big army, and secondly a courageous sultan; these are indispensable prerequisites for a successful fight against those powerful and numerous infidels. Formerly those people had not been in need of a big army; therefore the army of these border countries had to become much stronger than before. This implies a much greater expenditure on it. As this expenditure cannot be (٤٤) covered by the ordinary revenue of the country, the additional amount must be taken from the possessions of its inhabitants by force, and this is possible only if the sultan of that country is

<sup>1</sup> The author clearly describes the Mongols. See Excursus E, below, pp. 80f.

<sup>2</sup> For the historical facts alluded to in this section, see above, pp. 3 ff. Juwaynī, too, points out the advantages which accrued to Islam from the Mongol invasion (*Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, i. 9-11; transl. i. 13-16; cf. C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i. xxi-xxiii).



obeyed implicitly, as no one would lend himself to it voluntarily.<sup>1</sup> This confiscation, whilst serving to defend that country, also serves as a means of purifying the inhabitants, because their sins are not so considerable as to necessitate their being killed, but only their being deprived of part of their possessions. This has the consequence that the country is impoverished, the number of poor persons is increased, and the resources of livelihood are restricted. This in its turn produces an increase in thefts and a bad state of affairs.<sup>2</sup>

*The Seventh Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the condition of the sultan of the country who protects this community which adjoins the empire of those infidels.

(Summary) This sultan must doubtless be very much inferior to those infidels as regards his country, his army, and his means, because the infidels have occupied the greater part of the territory of the community of this prophet and have, in addition, control (εο) over other countries. If this sultan were not so very courageous as to confront, singlehanded, a whole army in battle, he could not oppose the infidels and prevent them from occupying his country. Therefore he must be very courageous, and acknowledged as courageous by his people, which will be the case if heroic deeds are known of him. He must be stout-hearted, and be cruel and merciless.<sup>3</sup> Therefore he must order many punishments such as cutting off limbs, crucifying (*ṣalb*), and nailing (*tasmīr*),<sup>4</sup> and this accords with the fact that, as stated previously, thefts and other crimes

<sup>1</sup> The army in Egypt, which under al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad (see above, p. 9) had consisted of 10,000 horsemen, was quadrupled in size by Baybars, their equipment was much more elaborate, and the drain on the treasury considerable (Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujūm*, vii. 195). The annals of Baybars (and of his predecessor Kutuz) are punctuated by reports of illegal exactions (illegal from the point of view of Islamic religious law), and of the unavailing protests of religious scholars. Two of the more notorious episodes are the confiscation of the gardens of the people of Damascus in 666/1268 which led to the temporary banishment of the famous Shāfi'i scholar Nawawī (see W. Heffening, in *EI*, s.v.; idem, in *Der Islam*, xxiv (1937), 131-50), and the imposition of taxes in breach of a formal promise given to the same Nawawī in 676/1277, the last year of the life of Baybars (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, vii (1942), 85).

<sup>2</sup> This description fits the condition of Egypt and Syria under Baybars.

<sup>3</sup> The historian Dhahabī, quoted by Ibn Taghribirdi (*Nujūm*, vii. 178; *al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfi*, extract printed on p. 9 of the Arabic part of this publication), though naturally admiring Baybars as a great champion of Islam, says of him: 'He deserved to be king, only he had a streak of cruelty in him.'

<sup>4</sup> See Excursus F, below, pp. 81 f.

deserving such punishments are prevalent in this country. Therefore this sultan cannot come from townspeople who have not got such a hard character, but from the people of the open country; therefore he must come from the north, and especially from the north-east, as the people of the north-west are weak and their character is not in agreement with the afore-mentioned qualities. For the same reason the sultan must come from the country of those infidels or from a country near to them.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he must have narrow eyes, a broad chest, a big skull, broad shoulders, slender legs, not very dark eyes,<sup>2</sup> and not too narrow a nose. His body must not be very big, as in this case his spirits would expand and disagree with the heat of his heart and his character. His body cannot be too small either, because then he would have little determination and be of no firm resolution and would be unfit to (ετ) rule the country and to fight the infidels. His temperament must incline to heat, otherwise he could not be very courageous. His complexion must be brownish-red, and his hair not very scarce but, on the contrary, thick. He cannot be bald unless he uses a medicine which causes this, because he comes from a very cold country. His body must be compact and solid; therefore, on account of the heat of his temperament, the smoky vapours which rise in his body are not easily dissolved. Therefore he must be of a harsh character, nay, an evil and threatening one. He must make much swift movement and hate rest, loving movement, especially in the sun; he must like sweating, hate the cold, and like to wrap himself in many covers, although liking to breathe cold air; must like cold and heavy food and hate eating very hot dishes;<sup>3</sup> feel well in winter and when sleeping in a cool place, and although liking to cover himself heavily must expose his feet to the cool air. He must blink rarely with his eyelids and have no hair on his back, but rather on his chest and abdomen though it be very little. His sleep cannot be very deep or long; he would often rouse himself suddenly from his sleep and often have frightening dreams. His appetite for food would not be very strong, and his sexual intercourse not very frequent. Most of his children would be sons. He would mostly

<sup>1</sup> The author alludes to the Turks from whom the Mamlūks were recruited. See Excursus G, below, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> The blue colour of the eyes of sultan Baybars is actually mentioned in the sources.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the medicinal property of the dishes and not to the temperature at which they are served.



enjoy sour dishes and sometimes prefer sweets, but not be much inclined to tasteless dishes, and he would like fruit. He would be subject to frequent fits of nausea, and it would be easy to purge him.<sup>1</sup>

*The Eighth Section:* on how Kāmil came to know the condition of the assistants of the above-mentioned king whose (territory) borders on (that of) the infidels, and of his helpers and neighbours among the kings of the community of the prophet.

- (٤٧) (*Summary*) As the king must be famous among his people for his energy, impetuosity, and power, he must necessarily keep them in fear and fright, and they on their part must obey his orders. Therefore he must treat them outwardly in the best possible manner.<sup>2</sup> This king differs from the other kings in that he is busy fighting those infidels; therefore he has to move to their country often in order to impress them with his might, and to fight those who are within his reach. This necessitates many absences from his capital; therefore he needs a man to replace him, and this deputy of his must also be very courageous and interested in good administration because he often has to run the country by himself.<sup>3</sup> Therefore he, too, must inspire fear and be obeyed. He must also keep very closely to the prescriptions of the religious law and therefore must be knowledgeable concerning them,<sup>4</sup> so that they may not be transgressed in his country which would lead to deserved killing and conquest by the infidels. This minister<sup>5</sup> must be patient in collecting the taxes needed for the upkeep of the army in a way compatible with the religious law, and least harmful to the inhabitants. Therefore he must be of a balanced character and possess as much clemency and compassion as impetuosity and force. He

<sup>1</sup> All these details, for which Ibn al-Nafis does not adduce any *a priori* reasoning, are obviously derived from his observations as personal physician of Baybars.

<sup>2</sup> The author refers perhaps to the arrangements which Baybars made for the feeding of the poor during the famine of the year 662/1264. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujūm*, vii. 213f.

<sup>3</sup> The choice of their deputy was always a matter of concern for the Mamlūk sultans. Frequent absences on campaigns were not peculiar to the reign of Baybars; they were frequent in the reign of Kalawun, too.

<sup>4</sup> This implies that this was not the case of the sultan himself.

<sup>5</sup> *wazīr*, 'vizier'. This is not to be taken literally (unless the author amalgamated two different offices), because it would not agree with the functions attributed to a deputy who in the same context is called *hākīm* and *wālī*, 'governor'. Baybars had two viziers in succession; see Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit., 179.

must enjoy the confidence of this sultan, of Allah, of the subjects, and of the army.<sup>1</sup>

*The Ninth Section:* on how Kāmil came to know what was going to happen in the upper world after the death of the Last Prophet.

(*Summary*) Kāmil observed the movement of the sun, and found that the sun, together with the moon and the other planets, has, in addition to its daily movement from east to west, a lateral deviation to the north and south. The daily east-western movement must be produced by the highest sphere, which possesses a very quick movement and makes all the lower spheres partake in it. The poles of the different spheres cannot be identical, as in this case the movement of the highest sphere would not be transmitted to the lower spheres. Then he observed that the lateral deviation of the sun is continually decreasing, until it becomes nil, so that the sun is moving in the largest circle, even if it is not in the equinox. This has several consequences: (1) the lateral deviation of the moon from the sun must become much greater, as the latitude of the moon is constant; (2) the poles of the second sphere, below the highest one, must coincide with those of the highest sphere; and the movements of the highest sphere will not be transmitted any more to the lowest sphere, so that the movement of the planets (including sun and moon) from west to east becomes apparent; therefore the sun is bound to rise one day in the west; (3) the days and nights will be of equal length in all countries; only the night preceding the rise of the sun in the west will be longer; (4) there will be no difference between the seasons, and

<sup>1</sup> On his numerous absences from Cairo, Baybars appointed various Mamlūk emirs as his deputies (see, e.g., Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit. 114 for the year 658/1260; 141f. for the year 665/1267; 166 for the year 673/1275). From 664/1266 onwards, however, he appointed his son, who was to be his ephemeral successor with the title of al-Malik al-Sa'id, and whom he had appointed sultan in his own lifetime, as his shadow deputy, whereas the real power was to be held by one of the emirs. This is why Ibn Taghribirdi (op. cit. 138 for the year 664/1266) can say that Baybars appointed al-Malik al-Sa'id his deputy in Egypt, with the army and the vizier under his command, whereas Maḳrīzī (*Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i/3, Cairo 1939, 550), referring to the same year, can speak of a Mamlūk emir as the deputy of the sultan in Egypt. (See also Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit. 166 for the year 673/1275.) Whereas the qualities mentioned by the author are not ascribed to al-Malik al-Sa'id in the contemporary sources, they were certainly absent from the Mamlūk emirs appointed as the sultan's deputies, and it is at least possible that the description of the author applies, as a pious wish, to al-Malik al-Sa'id.



(○ .) the regions far from the equator will become exceedingly cold, and those near it intensely hot; this will make the climate unsuitable for the human temperament. The characters of men will change, and crimes and troubles will become prevalent.<sup>1</sup>

*The Tenth Section:* on how Kāmil came to know what was going to happen in the lower world after the death of the Last Prophet.

(Summary) In consequence of the diminution and disappearance of the lateral deviation of the sun, it will constantly remain in the zenith on the equator. The countries near to the equator will therefore become intensely hot, and those of any appreciable latitude intensely cold, so that most localities will deviate very much from equilibrium. Therefore the temperaments of men in most countries will become evil and bad, their hearts will become weak, and they will often die suddenly. So their characters and relationships will become bad, and evil deeds and litigation will prevail. Their characters will also become widely different as the natures of their climates will be widely different, and this will cause many wars, troubles, and bloodshed; the bad people will be to the fore and the good people in the background. As bad temperaments produce bad intelligence, the intelligence of those people will become bad, too, and they will be little inclined to science and wisdom; sciences will therefore become very rare.

(○ 1) When the lateral deviation of the sun becomes nil, the heat in the regions near the equator will become very intense and there will be many fires, especially in those countries which are cavernous and sulphurous. Then a fire will start in Yemen and spread over all the regions near the equator. There will be much smoke and this will produce unhealthy winds, thunderstorms, and terrific lightning, and there will be many frightening signs in the air. On account of the abundant smoke the air will become hazy and opaque, and in consequence of this the soil there will lose many of its earthy and watery parts and its substance will be very much reduced, so that the soil in the regions near the poles will become very heavy in comparison. Therefore great parts of the surface of the earth will break down, the mountains will collapse and become flat, and water will become very scarce, as it will flow near to the equator on account of the subsidence there, and will evaporate by the power of the heat. Consequently many trees will become dry,

<sup>1</sup> See Excursus H, below, pp. 82 f.

and the (surface covered by) soil will be reduced because a great part of it will evaporate and go up. Therefore the hidden treasures of the earth will become manifest.

When the absence of a lateral deviation of the sun has continued for some time, the deviation from equilibrium will become excessive, and the temperaments of animals and plants will become corrupt. Then the last day will arrive. Before that, there must be many earthquakes and subsidences (of the soil) on account of the winds and smoke in the interior of the earth. In the very hot regions this will be because the heat is moving the earthy parts upwards, and in the very cold regions, because the surface of the earth becomes thick and excessively solid, so that the smoke and winds cannot find a way out.

On account of the difference in the temperaments of men their appearance will be different, too, and their looks ugly. Therefore there may possibly appear a man who is able to speak to his fellow men but has the external appearance of (a composite of) beasts.<sup>1</sup> On account of the many wars many men will be killed, and women (○ 2) will be in the majority. Therefore they will become lustful and lecherous as they cannot find enough men to satisfy them, and there will be much female homosexuality. Fruit and crops will become very scarce, in the hot regions on account of the diminution of matter inside the earth, because the cold which retains it for the purpose of ripening is lacking; and in the cold regions because the heat which attracts matter and makes it ripen is lacking. The regions of balanced climate will be few, fruit and crops will be very scarce, the means of livelihood will be restricted, and prices will rise. For this reason there will be many thefts, robbery, and waylaying, and similar things which happen in times of drought and dearth.

When the lateral deviation of the sun is nearly or completely eliminated, the first climate and the adjoining regions will become exceedingly hot, and the seventh climate and the adjoining regions exceedingly cold, and both conditions will make health and life impossible. Therefore the inhabitants of those two climates will be forced to emigrate, those of the first climate, who are the Sudanese, to the north, and those of the seventh climate, who are the Turks, the Tatars, the Russians, and (the tribes) Ya'jūj and

<sup>1</sup> On this 'Beast of the Earth', see Excursus H, below, p. 83, and A. Abel, art. 'Dābba' in *EI*<sup>2</sup>.



Ma'jūj,<sup>1</sup> to the south, with their kings, armies, and mounts. Therefore the inhabitants of the near temperate zones which lie between both will fight and try to repel them, but they will conquer part of those zones and there, too, prices will rise and fortunes become small as is bound to happen when people are crowded together.

(٥٣) After the lateral deviation of the sun has become nil another deviation must come into existence, as those fixed points continue their very slow movement from the north to the south. When this movement becomes appreciable, the earth will return to its first condition and the air become fit again for animal life. As there will be many rains in winter and the earth will become full (of water), so that it becomes mixed with dust, and as fermentation takes place on account of the heat of the sun, this mixture becomes capable of being the base of the formation of bodies of men and other animals. Then the soul is able to feed that small part which is the coccyx, to which, as we mentioned, the human soul is attached,<sup>2</sup> and so this clay becomes an aliment for (that) exceedingly fine matter, and from this complete human bodies come into being and are resuscitated as they were before. This is the rising of the dead—praise be to Allah the Powerful and All-Knowing.

Herewith we conclude the book, seeking help from Allah alone and praising his Best Prophet, Muhammad, his Family, his Companions, and his Elect ones.

End of the Treatise relating to Kāmil on the Life-History of the Prophet. May Allah bless our Lord Muhammad and his Family and give them peace.

<sup>1</sup> On the tribes Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj (Gog and Magog), see Excursus H, below, p. 83, and Stieglecker, §§ 1363-5.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 59.

## EXCURSUS A

(for pp. 12-17)

(a) 'Alī ibn Abil-Ḥaram, and not Ḥazm, is the form of the name explicitly stated (with full vocalization and *ihmāl* sign) in the photographic copy of the parallel biography of 'Umarī, and the *z* is not pointed in any other old manuscript, especially not in the copy of three of Ibn al-Nafis's works which was written during the lifetime of the author (see above, p. 36). The proper name Ḥaram is mentioned in Firūzābādī's *Ḳāmūs*. Several authors vocalize the *nisba* al-Ḳarshī, for instance the commentator Nafis ibn 'Iwaḍ al-Kirmānī (9th/15th century), who derives the name from a village al-Ḳarsh in Egypt. But such a village is not known, and Ibn al-Nafis was born not in Egypt but in Syria, where there existed a village al-Ḳurashiyya near Damascus (Yāḳūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, iv. 57). Cf. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 153 f. The word is also expressly vocalized with a *ḍamma* twice (fols. 25<sup>v</sup> and 49<sup>r</sup>) in the contemporary manuscript mentioned in the preceding note. The manuscript of IAU in the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus (above, p. 10 n. 4) vocalizes al-Ḳarashī, and states that Ḳarash is a place near Damascus, but this is unknown to the works on geography which we have been able to consult.

(b) This is Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, the first director of the medical school founded by Dakhwār (above, p. 10). The *nisba* al-Raḥbī is corrupt both in Ṣafadī and in 'Umarī (as well as in some other sources), and Ibn al-'Imād (*Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, v. 147, year 631) asserts that it should be al-Rukhkhī, after Rukhkh, a quarter of Nisābūr in Eastern Persia; but IAU (ii. 193) explicitly states that his family came from Raḥba, a village near Damascus (Yāḳūt, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 763).

(c) The name of this 'Son of the Cadi of Baalbeck' was Badr al-Dīn al-Muzaffar. He was a distinguished practitioner, was appointed Chief Physician and professor at the *Madrasa al-Dakhwāriyya* in 637/1239, and at his own expense had the Nūrī Hospital in Damascus rebuilt, enlarged, and supplied with running water. See IAU, ii. 244 f., 259-63; Gregorius Abul-Faraj, Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, Beyrouth 1890, 480.

(d) His name was Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm; his father was a Hispano-Moorish Muslim who came to Damascus and settled there. He acquired such an intimate knowledge of the first part of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn*, containing the general principles (*kulliyāt*) of medicine, that he finally knew it by heart and received the surname al-Kullī. (See IAU, ii. 263.) He lived, according to the *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* of Ibn Taghribirdi (G. Wiet, *Les Biographies*, no. 1984), from 575/1179 to 675/1276.

(e) According to the parallel text in 'Umarī, this was Abul-Thanā' al-



Ḥalabī; see on him below, paragraph *x*. A similar story is related by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Rashīdī, below, paragraph *k*.

(f) Afḍal al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāmwar ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Khūnajī (sometimes spelt al-Khawinjī), of Persian origin, was a *caḍi* in Cairo, where he died in 646/1249. See *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 607; *Suppl.* i. 838.

(g) Athīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal ibn ʿUmar al-Abharī (sometimes spelt al-Abahrī) was a philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician at the court of the ruler of Mosul, where he died in 663/1265. He is the author of a much famed 'Introduction' (*ʿIsāghūjī*, after the work of Porphyry) to logic. See *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 608–10; *Suppl.* i. 839–44.

(h) Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Naḥḥās was a Syrian philologist who came to Cairo, where he was appointed professor at the Maṣūriyya School. He died in 698/1299. See *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 363; *Suppl.* i. 527; see also above, p. 11.

(i) ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Nābulusī, d. 711/1311, is mentioned by Ibn al-ʿImād (*Shadharāt*, vi. 27 f.) as a pious traditionist but not as a medical man.

(j) We have been unable to find another reference to this person.

(k) A many-sided Shāfiʿī scholar, successor of Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān in one of his teaching posts, whose full name was Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Lājīn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Rashīdī; he died in Cairo in 749/1349. See *Shadharāt*, vi. 158; *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* (Wiet), no. 88.

(l) Najm al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī, Friday-preacher in Ṣafad in Palestine; he died there in 723/1223, more than eighty years old. See *Shadharāt*, vi. 61; *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* (Wiet), no. 918.

(m) See above, paragraph *h*.

(n) A Jewish physician who became one of the practitioners at the court of the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Kalawun (693/1293–741/1341, with interruptions). According to the *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* (Wiet), no. 1054, he died in 740/1339, but according to Ṣafadī, who knew him personally, in 743/1342, very old. See B. R. Sanguinetti, 'Notices biographiques de quelques médecins, tirées d'un ouvrage arabe d'Assafady' [i.e. his *Wāfi bil-Wafayāt*], *JA*, 5th series, tome ix (1857), 392–423 (pp. 410 f.).

(o) His full name was Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sālim ibn Waṣīl al-Ḥamawī. He taught Shāfiʿī law, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy in his home town, Ḥamā in Syria. In 659/1261 Sultan Baybars sent him as an ambassador to the court of King Manfred of Sicily, where he stayed some considerable time. (See F. Gabrieli, 'Le Ambascerie di Baibars a Manfredi', in *Studi Medievali in onore di Antonino de Stefano*, Palermo 1956, 219–25.) After his return he became chief *caḍi* and professor in Ḥamā, where he died in 697/1298. He is best known as an historian of the Ayyūbid sultanate and author of *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār*

*Banī Ayyūb* (ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, 3 vols., Cairo 1953–60). See *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 393; *Suppl.* i. 555; G. Levi Della Vida, in *Orientalia*, iv (1935), 356; *Shadharāt*, v. 438 f.

(p) A son of a distinguished disciple of al-Dakhwār, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayka. On the father, see IAU, ii. 123–30; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārikh*, vii. 112; on the son, see *ibid.* viii. 22–25.

(q) A hitherto unknown physician.

(r) He is the previously mentioned Ibn Ḳāḍī Baʿlabakk (above, paragraph *c*).

(s) Abul-Faraj ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāk ibn al-Ḳuff, a Christian from Karak, was also a disciple of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, who devoted to him the last biography in his work (IAU, ii. 273 f.) He lived from 630/1233 to 685/1286. He composed a treatise on surgery, *al-ʿUmda fil-ḡirāḥa*, which has been printed (Hyderabad 1356, 2 vols.). Cf. *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i. 649; *Suppl.* i. 899.

(t) He is al-Sadīd al-Dumyāṭī, as explicitly stated in ʿUmarī; see above, paragraph *n*.

(u) Not mentioned in ʿUmarī; see above, p. 24 n. 3.

(v) An otherwise unknown Egyptian physician. ʿUmarī calls him Abul-Faraj al-Iskandarī, and adds Abul-Faraj Ibn Ṣaghīr to the list of the disciples—an obvious mistake.

(w) His full name was Faṭḥ al-Dīn Abul-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Yaʿmuri; he was a traditionist and man of letters, belonging to a reputed family of scholars; born in Seville, he settled in Cairo and died there in 734/1334. See Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi. 29–31; *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* (Wiet), no. 2387.

(x) Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Salmān al-Ḥanbalī, of Damascus, historian, poet, and man of letters; he was an official in Cairo and in Damascus, and died in Damascus in 725/1325. See *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 54; *Suppl.* ii. 42 f.

## EXCURSUS B

(for p. 45 n. 1)

By a note in Bichr Farès, 'Makārim ul-Aḥlāq' (in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Scienze Morali, series 6, vol. xiii, Rome 1938, 420 n. 4; reprinted in the same author's *Mabāḥith ʿArabīyya*, Cairo 1939, 48 n. 47), our attention was drawn to a treatise preserved in the manuscript 1353 *ṭaṣawwuf* of the Egyptian Library in Cairo (a second copy, 994 *ṭaṣawwuf*, is copied from this very manuscript but adds a profuse introduction), which contains a close parallel to this passage (see the text in the Arabic part of this publication, p. 1, note). The title of the treatise in question is given at the beginning of manuscript 1353 as *Kitāb Makārim al-Aḥlāq wal-Siyāsa*, 'Book on the Eminent Virtues and



on the Conduct of Policy', and at the end with the following addition: *wal-Zuhd wa-mā ashbah dhālik*, 'and on Abstemiousness and Kindred Subjects'. Its attribution to al-Tustarī (i.e. Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān al-Tustarī al-Madanī, d. 785/1383; see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Duwar al-Kāmina*, iii. 338; *Shadharāt*, vi. 288 f.) seems to be erroneous, as Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Akhlāq* is quoted at the beginning; in any case, the treatise must be earlier than 858/1454, the date of MS. 1353.

The whole reasoning that civilized life is possible only in an organized society built on collaboration, where everyone has his specified task to perform, and which is governed by a religious law (*sharī'a*) which protects the individual and at the same time assigns to him his duty, is based on Greek thought. Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), in discussing his *Model State*, stressed the necessity of society, in which alone the individual could attain physical and moral satisfaction. 'By his very nature man is not equipped to attain all that is necessary for his needs without the help of others. . . . If man is ever to achieve the perfection of his nature, he must belong to a society (*qaum*) and co-operate with his fellow men' (*al-Madīna al-Fāḍila*, ed. Dieterici, 53). In another treatise al-Fārābī argues that not only man but certain species of the animal and vegetable kingdoms cannot sustain life without living together in groups (*jamā'a*; *Kitāb al-Siyāsāt al-madaniyya*, Hyderabad 1346, 38 f.). A contemporary of Ibn al-Nafīs, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), in his *Akhlāq-i Naṣīrī* expresses similar reasoning (A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, London 1954, 3 n. 1). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) calls man 'social by nature' (*madanī bil-tab*). The social function of the prophets is again emphasized by Muḥammad 'Abduh.

### EXCURSUS C

(for p. 46 n. 1)

Whereas the school of the Mu'tazila considers that realizing the 'most proper' thing (*aṣlah*) is necessarily incumbent upon Allah (see I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, 105; 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1925, 99; Luciani, 255-65; Al-Shahrastānī, *The Summa Philosophiae*, ed. and transl. A. Guillaume, O.U.P. 1934, 405-10; Albert N. Nader, *Le Système philosophique des Mu'tazila*, Beyrouth 1956, 77 f., 81; Stiegler, §§ 213, 217), orthodox doctrine makes a point of differentiating between the two, and denies that Allah can be properly bound to do anything; but whereas the school of the Ash'arīs affirms that both contingencies are completely equal in the sight of Allah, that of the Māturīdīs recognizes that the *aṣlah* corresponds to divine wisdom, and can therefore be termed, in a certain sense, *wājib* (necessary). Ibn al-Nafīs was brought by the whole trend of his argument to adopt the Māturīdī opinion, which is that followed by the Ḥanafī school of religious law, although he himself belonged to the Shāfi'ī school which generally followed the Ash'arī doctrine. Shāfi'ī himself did not hesitate to use the expression *kāna*

*ma'kul<sup>an</sup> 'an Allāh* 'it is reasonable to suppose of Allah (*Umm*, vii. 272, ll. 14, 16, 24). In his opinion, too, that man can come to know of the existence of Allah unaided Ibn al-Nafīs follows the opinion of the Māturīdīs against that of the Ash'arīs. On the Islamic doctrine of *aṣlah*, see W. M. Watt, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v.; L. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, ii, Paris 1922, 617; M. Asín Palacios, *Abenḥázam de Córdoba*, iv, 1931, 62-89; L. Gardet, *La Mesure de notre liberté*, Tunis 1946, 45-48; G. Vajda, 'La Finalité' (above, p. 43 n. 1), 72 ff.; and on the modernist theologian Muḥammad 'Abduh, B. Michel and M. Abdel Razik, *Cheikh Mohammed Abdou*, Paris 1925, 37-41; C. C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, London 1933, 140.

For a detailed discussion of *aṣlah*, *wājib*, and related concepts from the point of view of the Mu'tazila, see Kāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), *al-Mughnī*, xiv, Cairo 1385/1965, 7-180.

### EXCURSUS D

(for p. 66 n. 1)

Sura vi. 65 reads: 'Say: He is the one who is able to send punishment upon you from above or from beneath your feet, or to bewilder you with (dissension of) parties and make you taste the violence one of another.' Punishment from above is generally interpreted as destruction by stones falling from the sky or by a deluge, punishment from below as being swallowed up by the earth. Although the verse is, on the face of it, addressed to unbelievers, it has given rise to a group of traditions which make it apply to the community of Muslims, too. One well-known version makes the Prophet say: 'I asked Allah not to send upon my community punishment from above or from beneath their feet, and he granted me that; then I asked Him not to subject them to violence between themselves, but he refused me that, and Gabriel informed me that my community would perish by the sword.' This group of traditions and the commentators of the Koran regard bloodshed caused by civil war as less serious than natural catastrophes. (See, e.g., Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ad loc., and for further variants of the traditions, Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *ba's* and *adhāb*, where, however, several references are wrong.) Both Ibn al-Nafīs and his contemporary, the historian Juwaynī (d. 681/1283) in his *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* (ed. M. M. Qazwīnī, Leyden and London 1912; transl. J. A. Boyle, Manchester 1958), applied this tradition, by giving it a new interpretation, to the bloodshed which accompanied the invasion of the Mongols. Juwaynī, too, intends to show that the devastation of many Islamic countries by the Mongols was a necessary evil (i. 8 ff.; transl. i. 11 ff.); in connexion with this, he quotes the tradition, in the version translated above, from Zamakhsharī's commentary on the Koran (i. 12; transl. i. 17), and relates that Chingis Khan reputedly described himself in a speech as 'the scourge of God sent to men as a punishment for their sins' (i. 81; transl. i. 105). (See also the summary, still useful, in C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Hague and Amsterdam 1834, i, xxi-xxiv.)



## EXCURSUS E

(for p. 67 n. 1)

The Mongols (or Tatars) were more or less identified with the Turks by the Muslim authors of the middle ages; see D. Ayalon, 'The European-Asiatic Steppe: a major reservoir of power for the Islamic world', in *Trudy XXV Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov*, Moscow 1963, ii, 47-52. This was also done by Ibn al-Nafīs (see above, p. 69), and by Juwaynī (*Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, i, 11, transl. i, 16; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, xxiii). One of the rare exceptions is the physician and scientist 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231), quoted by Dhahabī in his *Tārīkh al-Islām* (year 605/1208-9; see J. von Somogyi, 'Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren', *Der Islam*, xxiv (1937), 105-30), but Dhahabī himself, in his short extract called *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām*, makes no such distinction (on Dhahabī, see above, pp. 17 f.).

The most detailed reference to the Turks in ancient Arabic literature occurs in Jāhīz (d. 255/868), *Risāla fī Manāḳīb al-Turk*, in G. van Vloten, *Tria opuscula auctore . . . al-Djahiz*, Leiden 1903, 47 ff.; it contains praise of the warlike character and ability of the Turks, but no physical description. There is a description of the small eyes and the broad faces of Turks in the *Kāmil* of Mubarrad (d. 285/898; ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1874 ff., 361, l. 5), in a saying attributed to 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās: 'This power will, by Allah, certainly stay with my descendants until they are ruled by their slaves, (persons) with small eyes and broad faces, whose faces are like doubly-covered shields.' A similar description of the Turks in a comparable context was put into the mouth of the Prophet; this version is secondary to the preceding one, although it is attested considerably earlier in collections of traditions, starting with the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), v, 348 f. (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. Turks). Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) writes in the *Murūj al-Dhahab* (ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, iv, Paris 1864, 32f.): 'The uniform character which is noticeable in the appearance of the Turks comes from the uniformly cold character of the climate of their country; therefore their appearance is uniform and similar. . . . Because cold is prevalent among the Turks and the heat is insufficient to absorb the moisture of their bodies, the Turks become very fat and soft in their bodies, similar to women in many of their characteristics. Their desire for intercourse is weak and they have few children, because their temperament is cold and moisture is prevalent in them. The weakness of their lust comes also from the frequency of their riding horses. In their women, too, the plumpness and moisture of (the temperament of) their bodies weakens the power of attracting the sperm into their genitals. Their red complexion comes from the cold, as we have mentioned, because if persistent cold is applied to a white complexion it becomes red, witness the tips of the fingers, the lips, and the nose, which become red if severe cold is applied to them.' (On the relation of climate and body with regard to heat and cold, see also

J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The Medico-philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo*, Cairo 1937, 95.)

A detailed physical description of the Tatars by a contemporary of Ibn al-Nafīs is found in U. Monneret de Villard, *Il libro della peregrinazione nelle parti d'Oriente di Frate Rinaldo da Montecroce* (dated 1289-90), Rome 1948, 41: 'habent magnas et latas facies et oculos parvos, quasi fissuras quasdam per transversum in media facie, et parvam barbam, ita quod multi eorum similes sunt simie, et maxime senes.' . . . Temono il gran freddo, che ritengono provocato da uomini. E allora se incontrano persone ben coperte di pellicie, ne spogliano, accusandole di essere state loro a provocarlo con le loro coperture ed i panni superflui. Stimano l'ubbrichezza ed il vomito che questa procura come un onore che è dato dal hān.'

See also I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1889-90, i, 270 f.; ii, 127 n. 2; E. Mainz, 'Die Türken in der klassischen arabischen Literatur', *Der Islam*, xxi (1933), 279-85.

## EXCURSUS F

(for p. 68 n. 4)

Cruel methods of execution were commonplace during the Mamlūk period, and Baybars is commonly credited with having introduced them. They are considered strictly forbidden (*ḥarām*) by the Muslim scholars, e.g. by Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī (d. 1276/1860) in his *Hāshiyā* on the *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* of Ibn al-Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512) (*Kitāb al-ḥudūd, Faṣl fī aḥkām al-bughāt*; quoted by C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, Bonn and Leipzig 1923, 198). The usual method of execution was *tawsīṭ*, 'cutting into half' at the waist, sometimes accompanied by nailing to a wooden contraption in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, which was also used as an independent method of putting to death. (See W. M. Brinner, *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397 by . . . ibn Ṣaṣrā*, University of California Press 1963, i (transl.), 12 n. 77; for descriptions of executions, see pp. 83 f., 139-42, 158, 293-5.) The traveller Ibn Faḍlān (310/922; *GAL*<sup>2</sup>, i, 261) describes *tawsīṭ* as a mode of execution customary among the Oghuz and the Bulgars of the Volga (see M. Canard, in *AIEO*, xvi (1958), 106 n. 238).

It so happens that *tawsīṭ* is not prominently reported in the annals of the reign of Baybars, but nailing (*tasmīr*) is. Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332) in the 28th part of his *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, among the events of the year 665/1266-7, devotes a special section to the executions by *tasmīr* which were carried out in Cairo (MS. Paris, *Arabe 1578*, 36'), among them that of a Mamlūk who pretended to be a prophet, and of an administrator who had become too powerful, together with his Christian associate. Abū Shāma (d. 665/1267) in his *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn* (ed. Kawtharī, Cairo 1366/1947, 221 f.) describes in detail the execution by *tasmīr*, in 661/1262,



of a robber and murderer; he remained alive on the wooden contraption during two nights and one day and was strangled on the second day; his wife and accomplice, who had enticed his victims to him, had been strangled and hung in a sack from the contraption to which he was nailed. The *tasmīr* of a group of mass murderers and robbers in 662/1264 is reported by Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442) in his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i/3, 521.

Another method of execution was by 'splitting lengthwise' (*shaḳḳ*). This was the way in which a former favourite eunuch was put to death (Nuwayrī, op. cit. 55').

There was, finally, burning to death. This was the punishment awarded to the Christian secretary Badr ibn al-Nafīs, who was found drinking wine with a Muslim woman, by the governor Ḥusām al-Dīn in Damascus in 687/1288, not under Baybars, it is true, but under Kalawun. The woman had part of her nose cut off and was released. (On Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī, see H. Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1952, 6.)

Cutting off limbs and crucifying belong, of course, to the Islamic *ḥadd* punishments for theft and highway robbery.

## EXCURSUS G

(for p. 69 n. 1)

The respect which the Muslims of Arabic language felt for the Turks from an early period onwards is attested by an alleged saying of the Prophet: 'Leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone, because they are very valiant', a saying applied by Juwaynī to the Mongols (*Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā*, i. 11, transl. i. 16; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, xxiii). In the generation of Ibn al-Nafīs it is expressed in a celebrated passage of Abū Shāma in the *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, year 658/1260 (ed. Kawtharī, 208): 'It is remarkable that the Tatars were broken and destroyed by their own kinsmen, the Turks. Concerning that event, I composed the following verses:

The Tatars conquered the lands, and there came to them  
From Egypt a Turk, unmindful of his life.  
In Syria he destroyed and scattered them.  
To everything there is a bane of its own kind.'

The idea of fighting like with like is expressed in Arabic proverbs; cf. Maydānī, *Athāl*, ed. Freytag, i. 520; ed. Bülāḳ 1284, i. 252; Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abdu, 2nd ed., 95 (*al-Maḳāma al-Kazwīniyya*).

From a different angle, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) is of the opinion that the Turkish Mamlūks were the saviours of Islam, thanks to their strong and virile natures (*Kitāb al-'Ibar*, Bülāḳ 1284, v. 371).

## EXCURSUS H

(for p. 72 n. 1)

The Islamic ideas of the Last Things, which the author seeks to derive by reasoning *a priori*, in part go back to the Koran. Perhaps the best account of these ideas in English is still that in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, London 1896, s.v. 'Resurrection'. Prominent among them are the sun rising in the west, prevalence of evil, wars, troubles, and bloodshed, fire spreading from Yemen, smoke and winds, mountains collapsing and seas drying up, the earth giving up its treasures, the appearance of the talking 'Beast of the Earth' and of the tribes Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj (Gog and Magog) from the north, finally torrential rains and the reconstitution of the human bodies, starting with the coccyx, for the resurrection. For the Muslim these events are, of course, real in the same sense in which events of past history are real, and they provide a natural conclusion for the treatise. The historian, jurist, and traditionist Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), too, concludes his *Kitāb al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, 'Account of the First and Last Things', which starts with the creation of the world and is essentially a history of Islam, with a section on the end of the world and the bloody events which will accompany the resurrection. This last section has not been included in the printed edition, presumably because it was regarded as lacking in sufficient immediate interest; cf. H. Laoust, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 64 n. 1.

The naturalistic explanation of seemingly supernatural events which Ibn al-Nafīs provides is in no way incompatible with Islamic orthodoxy; on the contrary, it fits in with the thesis of Islamic theology which denies the existence of 'laws of nature' (cf. Stieglecker, §§ 161, 253).







وذلك انما يكون في الرجال فلذلك تكثر النساء جدا بالنسبة الى من يبقى من الرجال ويلزم ذلك كثرة شهوتهن وافراط شبقهن اذ لا يجدن من يقوم بما يحتجن اليه من الرجال ويلزم ذلك كثرة المساحقة . وتقل الثمار والزرورع جدا وذلك اما في البقاع الشديدة الحرارة فلاجل نقصان المادة جدا (ع ص ٤٩ ظ) في باطن الارض لاجل فقدان البرد الحابس لها في الباطن لتنضح واما في البقاع الشديدة البرد فلاجل فقدان الحرارة الجاذبة للمادة والمنضجة لها ويقل حينئذ ما يوجد من البقاع المعتدلة الهواء فلذلك يقل جدا تكوّن الثار والزرورع فلذلك تقل الارزاق جدا وتغلو الاسعار ويلزم ذلك ان تكثر السرقة والنهب وقطع الطريق ونحو ذلك مما يحدث في اوقات القحط والجذب . واذ ميل الشمس اذا قل جدا او بطل لزم ذلك شدة افراط الحر في الاقليم<sup>(١)</sup> الأول وما يقرب منه وشدة افراط البرد في الاقليم السابع وما يقرب منه وكلا هذين يمنع من الحياة والصحة فلذلك يضطر سكان هذين الاقليمين وما يقرب منهما الى الانتقال فيحتاج<sup>(٢)</sup> اهل الاقليم الاول وما يقرب منه وهم السودان الى الانتقال<sup>(٣)</sup> الى ما هو عندهم شمالي ويحتاج اهل الاقليم السابع وما يقرب منه وهم الترك والتتار والروس ويأجوج ومأجوج الى الانتقال (ع ص ٥٠ و) الى ما هو عندهم جنوبي وذلك بان ينتقل كل واحد من سكان هذين الاقليمين مع ملوكهم وعساكرهم ومواشيهم ونحو ذلك الى البلاد التي بينهما وذلك مما يلزم منه وقوع المقاتلة والمدافعة من سكان تلك البلاد فلذلك لا بد وان يحدث لسكان الاقليم القريبة من الاعتدال قبل القيامة تمال مع السودان وقتال مع الترك والتتار ويأجوج ومأجوج ولا بد لسكان هذين الاقليمين من الاستيلاء على بعض هذه الاقليم القريبة من الاعتدال فلا بد وان يحدث فيها غلاء في سائر الاسعار ونقصان من الاموال ونحو ذلك مما يحدث عند ازدحام الناس وكثرتهم . ثم بعد بطلان ميل الشمس لا بد وان يحدث لها ميل آخر وذلك لاجل استمرار حركة تلك الثوابت الحركة البطيئة جدا وهي التي من الشمال الى الجنوب واذا

(١) ع : الاقليم (٢) - (٢) ن ع

كثر (ع ص ٥٠ ظ) الميل عادت الارض الى الارض<sup>(١)</sup> الاول وصلح الهواء لان يعيش فيه الحيوان فاذا حدثت في الشتاء امطار كثيرة وامتلأت الارض حتى امتزج التراب بالماء وحدثت له من حرارة الشمس العفوية صار ذلك صالحا لان<sup>(٢)</sup> يتكون منه<sup>(٣)</sup> بدن الانسان وغيره من الحيوان فلذلك يتمكن حينئذ النفس الانسانية من تغذية الجزء<sup>(٤)</sup> الصغير جدا وهو المسمى بعجب الذنب الذي ذكرناه اولاً وبيننا ان النفس الانسانية تكون متعلقة به فلذلك يحدث من ذلك الطين ما يغتذى به مادة<sup>(٤)</sup> لطيفة جدا كثيرا جدا وحينئذ يكمل من ذلك ابدان الناس ويبعثون كما كانوا اولاً وذلك هو البعث سبحانه الله التقدير العليم .

١٠ وون ههنا فلنختم الكتاب مستعينين بالله وحده ومصليين على خير انبيائه محمد وآله وصحبه واصفيائه .

تمت الرسالة الكاملية في السيرة النبوية ،  
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم .

(١) كذا في ع ، ولعله : العرض (٢) - (٢) ن ع (٣) ع : الاسم (٤) ع : مده



وما يقرب منه شديد الحر دائماً ، وفي ذلك الزمان وقبله بسنين يكون لا محالة طبيعة الهواء غير ملائمة لمزاج الانسان فلذلك يكون الناس حينئذ خارجين عن الاعتدال جدا فلذلك تسوء اخلاقهم وتكثر الشرور والفتن ونحو ذلك .

### الفصل العاشر

في كيفية تعرف كامل لما يحدث في العالم السفلى بعد وفاة خاتم النبيين صلوات الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين

ثم ان المسمى (ع ص ٤٧ ظ) بكامل تفكر بعد ذلك في الحوادث التي تحدث في ظاهر الارض بعد وفاة خاتم النبيين صلوات الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين فقال واذا ثبت ان ميل الشمس الى الشمال والجنوب يتناقض دائماً فاذا بطل هذا الميل او قرب من البطلان صارت الشمس دائماً المسامحة لخط الاستواء وما يقرب منه جدا فلذلك يحدث في تلك البقعة حرارة شديدة جدا ويحدث في تلك البقاع التي لها عرض يعتد به برد مفرط جدا ويلزم ذلك ان يكون اكثر المواضع خارجة جدا عن الاعتدال فلذلك تكون امزجة الناس في اكثر البلاد رديئة فاسدة فلذلك تضعف قلوبهم ويكثر منهم الموت الفجأة وتكون اخلاقهم ومعاملتهم رديئة<sup>(١)</sup> فلذلك يكثر حينئذ الشرور والمخاضات خاصة وامزجة الناس تكون حينئذ شديدة الاختلاف وذلك لشدة اختلاف طبائع اهوية البلاد فلذلك يحدث بين الناس اختلاف (ع ص ٤٨ و) شديد جدا وتكثر الحروب والفتن وسفك الدماء ونحو ذلك ولذلك يتقدم الاشرار ويتأخر اهل الخير ، ولان سوء المزاج يلزمه فساد الذهن فلذلك تفسد اذهان الناس حينئذ وتصير بحال رديئة وذلك ينافي قبولها للعلوم والحكمة فلذلك ترتفع العلوم كلها وتقل جدا في الناس ثم اذا بطل ميل الشمس البتة اشتد الحر جدا في البقاع القريبة من خط الاستواء وكثرت النيران واللهب خاصة في

(١) ن ع

البلاد العوروية<sup>(١)</sup> والكبريتية<sup>(٢)</sup> الارض فلذلك يحدث حينئذ نار بارض اليمن وتمتد حتى تعم الاراضي التي عند خط الاستواء وما يقرب منه ويكثر حينئذ الادخنة وتولد من ذلك رياح رديئة وصواعق وبروق هائلة وتكثر العلامات الهائلة في الجو وذلك قبل بطلان ميل الشمس وذلك اذا تناقص ميلها جدا ، ولاجل كثرة الادخنة حينئذ يظلم الجو .  
ويكدر ويلزم ما يرتفع (ع ص ٤٨ ظ) من الاجزاء الارضية والمائية اللتان<sup>(٣)</sup> في خط الاستواء وما يقرب منه فلذلك يقل جرم الارض هناك جدا فيصير ما تحت القطبين وما يقرب من ذلك ثقيلًا جدا بالنسبة الى وسط الارض فلذلك لا بد وان يسقط كثير من ظاهر الارض هناك ويلزم ذلك سقوط الجبال واندكاكها ويقل الماء جدا .  
لاجل ميلانه الى قرب خط الاستواء بسبب انخساف ذلك الموضوع ثم تبخره بقوة الحرارة التي تكون هناك فلذلك يحف كثير من الاشجار وكذلك تقل الارض جدا لكثرة ما يتصعد منها متدخنا فلذلك تظهر الكنوز وما يكون في باطن الارض واذا دام فقدان ميل الشمس مدة افراط<sup>(٤)</sup> الخروج عن الاعتدال حتى افسد الامزجة الحيوانية والنباتية وكان من ذلك القيامة وقبل ذلك لا بد وان تكثر الزلازل والحسوف وذلك لاجل كثرة ما يحدث حينئذ في باطن الارض من الرياح والادخنة وذلك اما في المواضع الحارة جدا فلاجل شدة تحريك هذه (ع ص ٤٩ و) الحرارة للاجزاء الارضية الى فوق واما في المواضع الشديدة البرد<sup>(٥)</sup> فلاجل تكاثف وجه الارض حينئذ بكثرة الجمد فلذلك تحتبس الرياح والابخرة ونحوهما في باطن تلك الارض ويلزم ذلك حدوث ما قلناه .

ولاجل شدة اختلاف الامزجة حينئذ تختلف صور الناس ايضا ويسمج خلقهم فلذلك ربما وجد انسان يخاطب الناس ويكلمهم كما في غيره من الناس ومع ذلك فانه يكون في صورة مخالفة لصورة الانسان حتى يكون على صورة تشبه صور الدواب . ولاجل كثرة الحروب حينئذ يكثر القتل

(١) لعله : العوروية (٢) ع : والكبريتية (٣) ع : اللتين (٤) ع : افراط (٥) ن ع



الاخلاق حتى ما يكون عنده من الرقة والرحمة يعادل ما عنده من السطوة والقوة وبالجملة فانه يحتاج ان يكون متمكنا من رضى هذا السلطان ورضى الله تعالى ورضى الرعية والاجناد وغير ذلك اذ لو كان على وجه يسخط الله عز وجل لجعل البلاد مستحقة لقتل اهلها واستيلاء اولئك الكفار عليها كما في البلاد المجاورة فكان مؤديا الى زيادة استيلاء اولئك الكفار لا الى دفعهم<sup>(١)</sup> ومقاومتهم ولو كان على وجه يسخط السلطان لم يسع للسلطان الاعتماد عليه ولا استخلافه ولو كان على وجه يسخط الاجناد وحفدة السلطان ورعيته لكان ذلك يدعو هؤلاء الى الخروج (ع ص ٤٥ ظ) عن حسن طاعة السلطان فكان في ذلك فساد المملكة فلذلك لا بد وان يكون هذا الوزير على الوجه الذى قلناه .

### الفصل التاسع

في كيفية تعرف كامل لما يحدث في العالم العلوي بعد وفاة خاتم النبيين صلى الله عليه وسلم وعليهم اجمعين

١٥ ولما كان كامل دائم التصفح والتفكر في احوال الموجودات تأمل حركة<sup>(٢)</sup> الشمس فوجدتها في الصيف تدنو من الشمال وفي الشتاء تبعد كثيرا من الجنوب ومع ذلك فانها تدور كل يوم دورة موازية الدائرة العظيمة التي بعدها عن ميل الشمس الشمالى والجنوبى بعد<sup>(٣)</sup> واحد<sup>(٤)</sup> وكذلك الكواكب المسيرة جميعها تميل الى هاتين الجهتين مع الدورة اليومية فعلم لذلك ان جميع هذه الكواكب لها بدورانها دورات تصير بها تارة شمالية وتارة جنوبية مع ان جملة السموات تدور في كل يوم دورة مشرقية اى تأخذ (ع ص ٤٦ و) من المشرق الى المغرب وانما يمكن ذلك بفلك له هذه الحركة السريعة تكون الدائرة المتوسطة بين المنزلة الشمالية والجنوبية هي منطقتة ويكون له ادارة جميع افلاك الكواكب كلها بهذه الدورة وانما يكون ذلك بان تكون هذه الكواكب

(١) ع : دفعهم (٢) ع : الحركة (٣) - (٣) ع : بعدا واحدا

يثبت<sup>(١)</sup> قطبا<sup>(٢)</sup> كل سافل منها بنقطتين من العالى اشيا<sup>(٣)</sup> قطبيه فيلزم من دوران ذلك العالى<sup>(٤)</sup> دوران السافل فلذلك اذا دار الفلك العالى هذه الدورة السريعة دار ما يماسه من تحته ولذلك كل فلك يدور ما تحته حتى يدور الكل بهذه الدورة وهذا انما يمكن اذا كانت اقطاب الافلاك مختلفة فان قطبي العالى اذا حاذيا قطبي السافل لم يتحول السافل بحركة العالى .

ثم ان المسمى بكامل وجد مقدار بعد الشمس في الشمال والجنوب عن منطقة الفلك الاعلى يتناقص فعلم انه لا بد وان تبطل حتى يصير مدار الشمس في منطقة الفلك العالى وان كانت الشمس (ع ص ٤٦ ظ) في غير العقدتين ويلزم ذلك امور: احدها ان يصير بعد القمر عن الشمس ازيد مما هو الآن بكثير اعنى بعده منها شمالا وجنوبا وذلك لان ميل القمر الذى هو عرضه لا يتغير فلذلك تكون الالهة لا محالة اعظم كثيرا مما هي الآن اعنى مما هي حين كان<sup>(٥)</sup> ميل الشمس كثيرا ولذلك اذا نقص ميل الشمس فلا بد وان تعظم الالهة بقدر دون ذلك ؛ وثانيها ان الفلك الذى دؤن العالى تصير قطباه حينئذ محاذية لقطبي العالى فيبطل لذلك استصحاب<sup>(٦)</sup> العالى له في الدورة اليومية فتبطل هذه الدورة عن الافلاك السافلة كلها وتظهر حركتها من المغرب الى المشرق وهي حركتها الخاصة التي بها يكون الميل المذكور فلذلك تطلع الشمس وسائر الكواكب من المغرب الا ان غير الشمس والقمر لا يظهر ذلك فيها لجمهور الناس لاجل زيادة بطوء حركتها فلذلك ٢٠ تطلع الشمس في يوم من (ع ص ٤٧ و) المغرب اللهم الا ان يمنع من ذلك فلك<sup>(٧)</sup> آخر ؛ وثالثها<sup>(٨)</sup> ان دوران الشمس يصير حينئذ دائما في خط الاستواء فلذلك يستوى النهار والليالى في جميع البلاد وانما يحدث حينئذ طول في الليل في ليلة واحدة وهي الليلة التي يتبعها طلوع الشمس من المغرب ؛ ورابعها ان الفصول حينئذ تبطل وتكون ٢٥ المواضع الزائدة البعد عن خط الاستواء شديدة البرد دائما وخط الاستواء

(١) ع : نسب (٢) ع : بطنا (٣) كذا في ع (٤) ع : العالى (٥) ن ع (٦) ع : استحصات (٧) ع : فلذلك (٨) ع : ومثالها



لم يصلح لتدبير المملكة فلا يكون صالحا لمقاومة هؤلاء الكفار ولا بد  
 وأن يكون (ع ص ٤٣ و) مزاجه الى حرارة والا لم يكن شديد الجراءة  
 فلا بد وان يكون لونه احمر الى السمرة<sup>(١)</sup> وشعره ليس بقليل جدا بل  
 يكثر شعره ولا يحدث له صلح الا ان يتدبر تدبيرا مخففا لانه<sup>(٢)</sup> من  
 ارض باردة جدا فلا بد وان يكون بدنه متكاثفا مستحصفا فلذلك يقل  
 تحلل ما يحدث في بدنه من الانجزة الدخانية لاجل حرارة مزاجه  
 فلذلك لا بد وان يكون حاد الاخلاق الى زعورة وبراقة ولا بد وان  
 يكون كثير الحركة سريعها يكره<sup>(٣)</sup> السكون ويحب الحركة خاصة في  
 الشمس ويؤثر<sup>(٤)</sup> التعرق<sup>(٤)</sup> ويكره البرد ويميل الى كثرة الدثار مع  
 اثاره استنشاق الهواء البارد ويؤثر الاطعمة الباردة والغليظة ويكره  
 تناول الاطعمة الشديدة السخونة وينتفع بالشتاء والنوم في موضع بارد  
 مع انه يؤثر كثرة الدثار ويكشف رجليه للهواء البارد وتتأخر حركة  
 اجفانه ولا (ع ص ٤٣ ظ) يوجد على ظهره شعر بل ربما وجد ذلك  
 على صدره وبطنه وان كان قليلا جدا ونومه ليس بشديد الاستغراق  
 ولا بكثير<sup>(٥)</sup> ويثب في نومه كثيرا ويرى احلاما هائلة في كثير من  
 الايام وشهوته للاكل ليست بقوة جدا ولا جماعه بكثير جدا واكثر  
 اولاده البنون<sup>(٦)</sup> واكثر شهوته الاطعمة الحامضة ويؤثر الحلالات في  
 اوقات ولا يشتد ميله الى الاطعمة التفتة ويجب الفواكه ويحدث له الغثى  
 كثيرا ويسهل اسهاله .

### الفصل الثامن

في كيفية تعرف كامل باحوال حفدة الملك المتأخم للكفار  
 وهو الذي تقدم ذكره واحوال اعوانه وجيرانه من ملوك ملة  
 النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ثم ان المسمى بكامل تفكر في احوال هؤلاء المذكورين فقال<sup>(٧)</sup>  
 في نفسه ان الملك لما تبين انه لا بد وان يكون عند الناس مشهورا  
 (١) ع : النمرة (٢) ع : ولانه (٣) ع : بكثرة (٤) - (٤) ع :  
 ونور التعرف (٥) ع : يكثر (٦) ع : البنين (٧) ع : يقال

بالشهامه والسطوة والقدرة فلا بد وان يكون عند جميع (ع ص ٤٤ و)  
 الناس مهيبا مخوفا فلذلك لا بد وان يكون جميع هؤلاء حسنى<sup>(١)</sup>  
 الطاعة له والانقياد لاوامره<sup>(٢)</sup> خائفين من سطوته فلذلك لا بد وان  
 يكون معاملتهم في الظاهر على اجود الوجوه واتمها وهذا الملك يخالف  
 غيره من الملوك فان هذا مشغول بمقاومة<sup>(٣)</sup> هؤلاء الكفار ومهتم بأمرهم  
 فلذلك يحتاج في كثير من الاوقات الى الحركة الى جهة اولئك ليظهر لهم  
 القدرة على المقاومة ومع ذلك فانه يقاتل جميع من يتمكن من قتاله ممن  
 يقرب منه من<sup>(٤)</sup> الكفار ليظهر لاولئك ما فيه من الشهامة والقدرة  
 فلذلك يحتاج كثيرا ان يفارق محل مملكته ويبعد<sup>(٥)</sup> عنها الى جهات  
 الكفار ليرهبهم<sup>(٦)</sup> فيزيد في خوفهم فلذلك يحتاج ان يكون له من يخلفه  
 في محل المملكة ليقوم فيها مقامه وانما يمكن ذلك اذا كان هذا الذي  
 (ع ص ٤٤ ظ) يستخلفه شديد البأس ايضا مهتما جيد التدبير ايضا  
 لان هذا الوزير يحتاج كثيرا ان يستقل بتدبير المملكة لاجل كثرة  
 غيبة هذا السلطان عن البلاد وكذلك ايضا يحتاج الى ان<sup>(٧)</sup> يكون مهيبا  
 مطاعا اذ لولا ذلك لاختل امر المملكة بسبب كثرة غيبة السلطان ،  
 ويحتاج ايضا ان يكون شديد التمسك باحكام الشرع وانما يمكن ذلك  
 اذا كان عالما بتلك الاحكام وانما وجب ذلك ليكون تصرفه على  
 الوجه المرضي شرعا فلا يكثر الفساد في هذه البلاد فيصير اهلها  
 مستحقين للقتل كالذين كانوا بجوارهم فيكون ذلك سببا لتسليط اولئك  
 الكفار على تلك البلاد ولذلك ايضا يجب ان يكون حاكم هذه البلاد  
 ووالها نحو ذلك من المتصرفين فيها ويحتاج هذا الوزير ان يكون عنده  
 من الفكر<sup>(٨)</sup> اللطيف وحسن التأني ما<sup>(٩)</sup> يتمكن بهما من جودة اخذ  
 الاموال<sup>(١٠)</sup> (ع ص ٤٥ و) التي بيننا انها لا بد وان تؤخذ من الرعية  
 لتصرف في الجيش حتى يكون اخذه لها على وجه يحلله الشرع وعلى  
 وجه يقل معه تضرر اهل هذه البلاد فلذلك يحتاج ان يكون متوسط

(١) ع : حسى (٢) ع : لا وامرأة (٣) ع : بمقاومته (٤) ن ع  
 (٥) ع : والبعده (٦) ع : لبرههم (٧) ن ع (٨) ع : الكفر  
 (٩) ع : ما (١٠) ع : المال



فلذلك يحتاج ملك هذه البلاد ان يصرف الى الاجناد ازيد مما كان  
اولا ولا يمكن ان يكون له ذلك من مغل هذه البلاد فان هذا المغل  
لا يمكن ان يكون ازيد مما كان اولاً مغل تلك البلاد فاذا زادت  
هذه العساكر بقدر كثير اضطر لا محالة الى نفقة تزيد على مغل  
تلك البلاد فلا بد وان يكون ذلك الزائد من اموال اهلها وليس يسمح  
بذلك احد اختياراً فلذلك لا بد وان يؤخذ من اموال اهل هذه البلاد  
ما<sup>(١)</sup> يزيد كثيراً على ما كان يؤخذ منهم قبل (ع ص ٤١ و) مجاورة هؤلاء  
الكفار لهم بقدر كثير وهذا الاخذ لما كان لا بد وان يكون على سبيل  
القهر لانه خلاف ما يؤثره المأخوذ منه . . . . .<sup>(٢)</sup> وانما يمكن  
ذلك بان يكون الآخذ له مطاعاً مستولياً وذلك هو السلطان حينئذ ،  
وهذا الاخذ مع انه نافع في حفظ هذه البلاد فانه كالمطهر لأهلها  
اذ<sup>(٣)</sup> لم يكن معصيتهم بقدر يستحقون به القتل بل بقدر يستحقون  
به اخذ شيء من اموالهم ونحو ذلك، واذ اهل هذه البلاد يؤخذ من  
اموالهم اكثر مما كانوا عليه<sup>(٤)</sup> اولاً فلا بد وان تقل الاموال في هذه  
البلاد ويكثر فيها الفقراء ونقصان المعيشة وقلة الارزاق ونحو ذلك مما يلزم  
قلة الاموال ، ويلزم ذلك كثرة السرقات ورداعة المعاملات ونحو ذلك .

### الفصل السابع

في كيفية تعرف كامل بحال سلطان البلاد الذي يتقى لهذه  
الملة المجاورة<sup>(٥)</sup> لما ينتهي اليه ملك اولئك الكفار

ان المسمى (ع ص ٤١ ظ) بكامل تفكير<sup>(٦)</sup> بعد ذلك في حال سلطان  
البلاد المتاخمة لبلاد هؤلاء الكفار فقال ان هذا السلطان لاشك ان يكون  
في بلاده واجناده وامواله دون ما لهؤلاء الكفار بكثير وكيف لا واكثر  
بلاد ملة هذا النبي عليه السلام يكون اولئك الكفار قد استولوا عليها  
ومع ذلك فلهم لا محالة بلاد اخر من بلاد غير هذه الملة وهذا السلطان

(١) ع : ما (٢) بعض الكلام ناقص هنا (٣) ع : اذا (٤) ن ع (٥) ع :  
مجاورة (٦) ع : تكفر

انما معه بعض الباقي من بلاد هذه الملة وهي البلاد المتاخمة لهؤلاء  
الكفار فلذلك لو لم يكن هذا السلطان شديد البأس جدا حتى يكون  
وحده في مقابلة جيش كثير لم يتمكن من مقاومته هؤلاء الكفار  
ومنعهم من الاستيلاء على بلاده فلذلك لا بد وان يكون هذا السلطان  
شديد البأس جدا ولا يكفي ان يكون كذلك في نفسه فقط بل لا بد  
وان يكون عند الناس بهذه الصفة وانما يكون ذلك اذا (ع ص ٤٢ و)  
كان قد اشتهر عنه انه جرىء مقدام شجاع سمي<sup>(١)</sup> الاخلاق وانما  
يكون ذلك اذا عرفت منه جرأة شديدة جدا كالجرأة على الملوك  
والاقدام على قتل اكابرهم ويلزم ذلك ان يكون قوى القلب جدا  
فلذلك لا بد وان يكون قاسياً فلذلك تقل رحمة فلذلك يكثر منه  
صدور العقوبات وقطع الاطراف والصلب والتسمير ونحو ذلك مما انما  
يكثر مع القساوة فلذلك لا بد وان يكثر في بلاده<sup>(٢)</sup> هذه الامور  
كلها خاصة ، وقد بينا انه لا بد وان يكثر في البلاد السرقة ونحو ذلك  
مما يوجب هذه العقوبات فلذلك لا بد وان يكون هذا السلطان قد  
صدرت عنه هذه الامور فلذلك هذا السلطان لا يجوز ان يكون من  
اهل المدن فان اهل المدن بعيدون عن هذه الاخلاق فلا بد وان يكون  
من اهل البر ولا بد وان يكون من اهل برهم اقوياء القلوب (ع ص ٤٢ ظ)  
شجعان فلذلك لا بد وان يكون شمالياً كما قلناه ولا بد وان يكون  
ايضاً من شمالي المشرق لان شمالي المغرب كما تقدم انما يوجد فيه قوم  
خائرون<sup>(٣)</sup> فتكون امزجتهم غير ملائمة للاخلاق المذكورة فلذلك لا بد  
وان يكون هذا السلطان اما من ارض اولئك الكفار او من ارض تقرب  
منهم فلذلك لا بد وان يكون ضيق العينين واسع الصدر عظيم الهامة  
عريض الاكتاف دقيق الساقين ليس بشديد سواد العينين ولا انفه  
شديدة الحدة ولا بدنه<sup>(٤)</sup> بعظيم<sup>(٥)</sup> جدا فتكون ارواحه شديدة  
الانبساط والتبث<sup>(٥)</sup> فان ذلك ينافي شدة حرارة القلب وحرارة الخلق  
ولا ايضاً بدنه بصغير جدا فيكون قليل التثبت غير عميق الفكرة والا

(١) ع : سمى (٢) ع : بلاد (٣) ع : حريرون (٤) - (٤) ع :  
بد به بعظم (٥) ع : والسبب



وسلم فلذلك لا بد وان يكون هؤلاء الكفار الذين<sup>(١)</sup> يقتلون اهل ملة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم تطهيرا لهم عن عصيانهم ليسوا ذوى ملة وانما يكون هؤلاء كذلك (ع ص ٣٨ ظ) اذا كانوا بمن لم<sup>(٢)</sup> تبلغهم بعد الدعوة بلوغا تاما وانما يكون كذلك اذا كانوا من اطراف الارض ونائين<sup>(٣)</sup> عن العارة التي في البلاد المعتدلة ولا يمكن ان يكونوا من سكان الاطراف الجنوبية لان هؤلاء لاجل شدة حرارة ارضهم هم ضعفاء القلوب فلذلك لا يقوون على سفك دماء هذه الامة مع شجاعة اصحابها فلذلك لا بد وان يكونوا من الاطراف الشمالية لان هذه الاطراف لاجل شدة بردها يكون اهلها شجعانا اقوياء القلوب قساة ولا يمكن ان يكونوا من غربى الشمال فان الناس هناك قليلون جدا ومع قلتهم فانهم في جزائر فلذلك يكونون متفرقين فلا يجتمع منهم كثرة تقوى على قهر اصحاب هذه الملة وسبب ذلك ان البحار في شمالي الغرب كثيرة<sup>(٤)</sup> جدا بخلاف شمالي الشرق (ع ص ٣٩ و) ولا بد وان يكونوا هؤلاء الكفار من اهل البر لان اهل المدن اقل شجاعة ولا بد وان يكونوا عظام الصدور والرؤس دقاق الاسافل ضيقى العيون كبرى الاعجاز ، اما كبر اعاليهم فلاجل توفر الحرارة على بواطنهم لاجل شدة برد هوائهم ولذلك تدق اسافلهم قليلا ولان هذه الصفات هى صفات الشجعان ولذلك كان الاسد خلقته كذلك ، واما ضيق اعينهم فلاجل كثرة رطوبة ادمعتهم لاجل قلة التحلل منها بقوة البرد ولذلك تكون انوفهم الى الفطوسة ، واما كبر اعجازهم فلاجل كثرة ركوبهم الخيل من الصغر وذلك لان الخيل في هذه المواضع كثيرة مع انهم لاجل انهم سكان البرارى ينتقلون كثيرا وانتقالهم انما يكون على الخيل . وهؤلاء الكفار ليسوا (ع ص ٣٩ ظ) يملكون بلاد الاسلام جميعها والا لكان ذلك يؤدى الى انقراض هذا الدين وذلك مما يحوج الى نبي آخر وهو بعد ذلك النبي محال فلذلك لا بد وان يكون ملكهم لبعض بلاد اهل هذه الملة وتلك هذه البلاد التي كثرت هذه المعاصى فيها جدا وهى البلاد القريبة من هؤلاء فان استيلاء هؤلاء على البلاد

(١) ن ع (٢) ع : لا (٣) ع : ونائين (٤) ع : كثيرا

البعيدة عنهم دون القرية كانه متعذر فلذلك انما يكون ملك هؤلاء الكفار للبلاد الشمالية واذا ملكوها فهم لا يغيرون ملة هذا النبي ولا يأمرؤن الناس بتغيير دينه اذ لا دين لهم يحوج الى ذلك فلذلك يبقى اهل هذه الملة في بلادهم كما كانوا وانما يزول عنهم الملك فقط فلذلك يكون في هؤلاء الكفار نفع لاهل ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك لان هؤلاء لم يكن لهم دين ينافى دين هذه (ع ص ٤٠ و) الملة ومخالطتهم لهذه الملة مما يدعو<sup>(١)</sup> الى دخولهم فيها فلذلك يعدون<sup>(٢)</sup> آخر الامر من اهلها وينضاف الى<sup>(٣)</sup> ما كان هؤلاء من البلاد ما يفتحه هؤلاء من بلاد الكفار الاخر فلذلك في آخر<sup>(٤)</sup> الامر تتسع بلاد هذه الملة وان لم يوجد لها من ينتصر لها ويأخذ البلاد من هؤلاء، ١٠ فكيف اذا وجد ذلك .

### الفصل السادس

في كيفية تعرف كامل بحال البلاد التي لا يتمكن هؤلاء الكفار من الاستيلاء عليها

فقال في نفسه اما ما يكون من هذه البلاد بعيدا جدا عن البلاد التي<sup>(٥)</sup> ينتهى اليها استيلاء هؤلاء الكفار فانها تكون كالمجاورة لهم فلذلك يحتاج اهلها الى مقاومتهم<sup>(٦)</sup> ومدافعتهم وانما يتمكنون من ذلك اذا حصل لهم امران وهما كثرة الجيوش وسلطان منهم شجاع اذ بدون ذلك لا يتمكنون من مقاومة هؤلاء الكفار مع عموم استيلائهم على (ع ص ٤٠ ظ) كثير جدا من البلاد وكثرة رجالهم وجيوشهم فلذلك اهل هذه البلاد انما يتم لهم ذلك بهذين الامرين وهم قبل ذلك لم يكونوا محتاجين الى كثرة الجيش جدا فلا بد وان يصير جيش هذه البلاد المجاورة لما انتهى اليه ملك اولئك الكفار ازيد مما كان اولا بكثير وانما يمكن ذلك بان تكون النفقة على الاجناد ازيد مما كانت بكثير

(١) ع : يدعون (٢) ع : يعوون (٣) ن ع (٤) ع :

الاخر (٥) ع : الذى (٦) ع : معاومتهم



كثير جدا من الامراض وثانيها ان يكثر في ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اللواط وذلك لانه لما امر بحب النساء وعسر الزواج على كثير من الناس وعسر على من له زوجة ان (ع ص ٣٦ ظ) يستصحبها معه في الاسفار والغزوات ونحو ذلك فلذلك يحتاج كثير من اهل هذه الملة الى معاملة من يشبه النساء من الرجال كما يعامل النساء وذلك لاجل شدة الشبق وقوة شهوة الجماع على الناس وتعذر مخالطة النساء على كثير من اهل هذه الملة فلذلك يكثر<sup>(١)</sup> في هذه الملة اللواط ومخالفة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في اجتناب الخمر .

### الفصل الرابع

١٠ في كيفية تعرف كامل لما يحدث لملة هذا النبي لاجل عصيانهم من العقوبة

ثم ان المسمى بكامل تفكر فقال واذا عصت هذه الملة للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فهل يحدث لها بذلك في الدنيا عقوبة او لا يحدث لها ذلك فرأى انها لا بد وان تعاقب على هذا العصيان وذلك لان هذه الملة لو لم تعاقب على ذلك وقع عند الناس ان معصية هذا النبي غير ضارة في (ع ص ٣٧ و) الدنيا وذلك مما لا يشتد معه الحرص على التوبة وعلى ترك هذه المعصية فلذلك يكثر لا محالة ويلزم ذلك شدة الفساد وكثرة المعاصي وقلة المبالاة بمخالفة امر هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وفي ذلك تصغير لقدره وتطريق الى قلة المبالاة بمخالفة اوامره وذلك مما يبطل فائدة بعثته صلى الله عليه وسلم فلذلك لا بد وان يعرض لهذه الملة عند كثرة عصيانهم عقوبة . . . . .<sup>(٢)</sup> ذلك وهذه العقوبة ليس يجوز ان تكون الخسف او الطوفان ونحو ذلك مما يدل على شدة غضب الله تعالى فان ذلك ينافي زيادة عظمة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اذ يجوز ان يكون امته مبجلين عند الله تعالى فلذلك لا بد وان تكون هذه العقوبة بسفك الدماء ونحو ذلك مما لا يحط من المنزلة

(١) ع : كثر (٢) بياض في ع

. . . . .<sup>(١)</sup> وهذا القتل انما يكون من الكفار وبالقتال . . . . .<sup>(٢)</sup> الكفار فلان هذه العقوبة انما تكون (ع ص ٣٧ ظ) اذا عم العصيان في هذه الملة اذ لو كان في طائفة منهم قليلة لم يكن ذلك مفضيا الى منقصة شأن هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ولم يكن ذلك مما يلزم معه حدوث العقاب اذا كان العصيان عاما واذا كان كذلك لم يكن مما يحدث بين الملة من القتال لاجل ذلك العصيان وذلك لاجل اشتراكهم فيه بل يكون ذلك لاجل المنازعة في الممالك ونحو ذلك ولا يكون مما يوجب عند الناس التوبة والرجوع عن المعصية فلا بد وان يكون هذا القتل من غير هذه الملة وغيرها كافل لا محالة لان شرع هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قد تبين انه عام فاذا لا بد وان يكون وقوع القتل في هذه الملة من الكفار وانما يمكن ذلك بالقتال فان القتل الذي يكون خفية ونحو ذلك لا يكاد ان يعم الناس حتى يظهر البلية المحوجة الى . . . . .<sup>(٣)</sup> فلذلك لا بد وان تكون عقوبة هذه الملة . . . . .<sup>(٤)</sup> (ع ص ٣٨ و) هذا العصيان العام بقتل الكفار لهم وهذا القتال لا شك ان لهذه الملة غزاة والمقتول فيه مثاب<sup>١٥</sup> فلذلك كان هذا القتل والقتال لا يقل بان يكونا عقوبة لهذه الشريعة .

### الفصل الخامس

في كيفية تعرف كامل بحال الكفار الذين يكون<sup>(٥)</sup> لهم عقوبة هذه الملة

٢٠ ان هؤلاء الكفار يجب ان يكونوا غير ذى ملة اذ لو كانت لهم ملة لكانوا لا محالة يدعون الناس الى الدخول في دينهم وذلك مع الاستيلاء وسفك الدم مما يوجب للناس الرجوع الى ما يدعون اليه وذلك موجب للخروج عن ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك مناف للغرض من هذه العقوبة ومنقص جدا من ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

(١) خرم في ع (٢) خرم في ع (٣) خرم في ع (٤) خرم في ع (٥) ع : يكونون



صلى الله عليه وسلم فلذلك وجب ان لا يعين احدا منهم لذلك. وفي طبع الناس حب الرئاسة فلا بد وان يقع بين الصحابة السابقين بالايمن من التنازع والخلافة الى ان يقع بينهم مقاتلة على الخلافة وذلك لا يمكن ان يكون عقيب وفاته والا كان ذلك مؤديا الى استيلاء الكفار على تباعه لاجل قتلهم حينئذ وذلك يؤدي الى بطلان شريعته وذلك يحوج الى قيام شرع آخر (ع ص ٣٤ ظ) وذلك بعد هذا النبي وهو خاتم النبيين محال فلذلك لا بد وان تكون هذه المقاتلة بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بمدة يكثر فيها تباعه والمؤمنون به وقبل موت المرتجين للخلافة وهم السابقون بالايمن بهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

### الفصل الثاني

في تعرف كامل لما يقع بعد موت هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من (١) تنازع ومقاتلة (١)

١٥ فلا بد وان ينحاز كل مدع للخلافة (٢) فيهم بطائفة تتعصب له وتنازع مخالفه فلذلك لا بد وان يكثر الاهواء والانتصارات في ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بعد موته ، وان هذا النبي لا نبي بعده فلذلك لا بد وان يوجد بعده شيء يحفظ شريعته ويمنع من نسيانها (٣) فلذلك لا (٤) بد (٤) وان تقوم بذلك علماء امته وهؤلاء ليسوا يتلقون العلم بالوحي كما في الانبياء بل بالفكر والرأى ، وطباع (ع ص ٣٥ و) الناس كثيرة الاختلاف فلذلك لا بد وان تكثر الآراء في دين هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وتفنن الاقوال والمذاهب وكل واحد لا بد وان يحرص على نصرة رأيه ويدعو الناس اليه ويرغبهم في الميل الى قوله لاجل محبة الرئاسة والاختراع فلذلك لا بد وان تنقسم ملة هذا النبي عليه السلام الى طوائف مختلفة الآراء في اصول دينه وفروعه فلذلك يتعادون ويتنازعون فلذلك لا بد وان ينتصر لكل امام طائفة ممن يرغب

(١) - (١) ن ع (٢) ع : الخلافة (٣) ع : نسائها (٤) - (٤) ن ع

الناس في موافقة ذلك الامام فلذلك لا بد وان يكثر الكتب المصنفة في آراء هذه الملة ولا بد وان تبني مدارس ومواضع توقف للمشتغلين بأراء اولئك الأئمة ولا بد وان يجعل لكل مشتغل برأى امام ما يرغبه في ملازمة رأى ذلك الامام وتعظيم قوله (ع ص ٣٥ ظ) ونحو ذلك فلذلك لا بد وان يوقف لسكان المدارس والمشتغلين بها مواضع يتحصل منها ما يصرف اليهم من المال، كل ذلك لاجل اختلاف اهل الملة في الآراء ونصرة مبتدعيها (١) وفي التعصب لكل من المتنازعين في الخلافة ونحو ذلك .

ولما كان هذا النبي خاتم النبيين فلا بد وان تكون شريعته محفوظة دائما وانما يمكن ذلك بحفظ اقواله وافعاله وبحفظ كتابه ومعرفة معانيه ومعاني كلام هذا النبي فلذلك احتيج الى تعرف علم الحديث وعلم التفسير ونحو ذلك من العلوم الشرعية فلذلك لا بد وان تكثر الكتب والتصانيف في ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك بعد وفاته بمدة طويلة .

### الفصل الثالث

١٥ في كيفية تعرف كامل المعاصي التي لا بد وان تقع لملة هذا النبي عليه السلام

ثم ان المسمى (ع ص ٣٦ و) بكامل تفكر فقال واذ قد ثبت ان هذا النبي لا بد وان يحرم شرب الخمر لانه يذهب صحة العقل كما بيناه اولاً ولا بد ايضا وان يحرم ظهور النساء وتكشفهن للاجانب وذلك لان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لا بد وان تكون اخلاقه فاضلة جدا محمودة كما بيناه اولاً ومن جملة هذه الاخلاق ان يكون غيورا فلا بد وان يمنع النساء من التمسك والانكشاف للاجانب وانما يمكن ذلك بسترهن ومنعهن من زيادة البروز ويلزم ذلك امران احدها ان يكثر من ملة هذا النبي مخالفته في تجنب الخمر وذلك لاجل شدة ميل النفوس اليها مع انها مما لا يستغنى عنه في حفظ الصحة وفي دفع

(١) ع : مبتدعيها



وذلك اذا كان عمدا اما اذا وقع خطأ فان القصاص عليه ظلم وتركه ولا شيء على الجاني اذاعة للدم فلذلك ينبغى ان يسن على ذلك مثل الدية ، واما السرقة فيجعل فيها مثل قطع اليد فانها هي التي تنسب اليها السرقة ، وكذلك يجعل على كل مفسدة ما يناسبها فيجعل على الزاني عقوبة تليق به وعلى شارب الخمر عقوبة تليق به فان الخمر (ع ص ٣٢ ظ) يذهب العقل باحداثه السكر وذلك منشأ المفسد فلذلك ينبغى ان ينهى عنه ؛ وينبغى ان ينوّه بتعظيم دينه فيسن على مخالفه ما يدل على سوء معتقدهم<sup>(١)</sup> فيجعل على بعضهم القتل وهم الشديديو المنافة للشريعة وعلى بعضهم الجزية وهم الذين يقاربون الحق ؛ ويجعل لما يؤخذ من اموال الكفار ولما يؤخذ من المؤمنين زكاة ونحوها مصارف<sup>(٢)</sup> لما ينتفع به الناس مثل رزق الاجناد الحافظين للبلاد<sup>(٣)</sup> وكذلك الأئمة والمؤذنين<sup>(٤)</sup> ونحوهم وكذلك الفقراء والمساكين وابن السبيل ونحو ذلك<sup>(٥)</sup> .

### (الفن الرابع) في كيفية<sup>(٦)</sup> وصول كامل الى معرفة الحوادث

التي تكون بعد وفاة خاتم النبيين صلوات الله وسلامه عليه وعليهم اجمعين ، وكلامنا في هذا<sup>(٦)</sup> الفن يشتمل على عشرة فصول .

### الفصل الاول

في كيفية تعرف كامل لما يقع بين اصحاب هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من المنازعة على الخلافة بعد وفاته

٢٠ قال فاضل بن ناطق ولما تحقق كامل ما يحدث لخاتم النبيين من السيرة وما يسنه من الشريعة اراد ان يعرف ما (ع ص ٣٣ و) يحدث لاصحابه بعد وفاته فقال في نفسه لما كان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه

(١) ع : معتقده (٢) ع : مضافا (٣) ع : البلاد (٤) ع : والمؤذنون (٥) ز م : ومن هاهنا فلنختم هذا الكتاب مستعينين بالله وحده ؛ انتهى م (٦) - (٦) ن ع

وسلم انما يتنبأ بعد ان يمضي من عمره اربعون سنة وانه يموت بعد ان يمضي من عمره ما يزيد على ستين سنة زيادة يسيرة فلا بد وان يكون مدة نبوته قصيرة فلا محالة انه ليس يتمكن في هذه المدة من تبليغ شريعته الى جميع الناس فلا بد وان يكون بعده من يدعو الناس الى دينه ويلزمهم اتباعه والا بقى كثير من الناس بلا شرع واحتاجوا الى حدوث نبي آخر وذلك بعد هذا النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين محال . فلذلك لا بد وان يكون بعد هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من يدعو الى دينه فلذلك هو خليفته وينبغى ان يكون ذلك في كل زمان ليكون دينه محفوظا دائما اذ لا يمكن بعده حدوث نبي آخر فلذلك لا بد وان يكون كل واحد من هؤلاء الخلفاء ممن يعظمه الناس (ع ص ٣٣ ظ) ١٠ جدا واولى الناس بان يعظم بعد هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من يدعو الى دينه فلذلك هو خليفته . وينبغى<sup>(١)</sup> ان يكون ذلك في كل زمان ليكون دينه محفوظا دائما اذ لا يمكن بعده حدوث نبي آخر فلذلك لا بد وان يكون بعد كل خليفة خليفة آخر ولا بد وان يكون كل واحد من هؤلاء الخلفاء ممن يعظمه الناس جدا واولى الناس بان يعظم بعد هذا النبي من كان من اقاربه وذلك لان هذا النبي لما وجب ان يكون عند الناس بغاية العظمة فأقاربه واصحابه لا بد وان يكونوا عطاء عند الناس والخلفاء الذين يكونون من عقب موتة او بعد ذلك بزمان لطيف لا بد وان يكونوا ممن صحبه هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وعظمه جدا لان من يكون كذلك فانه عند الناس لا محالة اعظم من غيره فيكون اولى ٢٠ بالخلافة .

ولما كانت دعوة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (ع ص ٣٤ و) للناس اولا باللين وذلك انما يمكن بان يمدح من اطاعه ومن آمن به قبل تمكنه من الدعوة بالسيف وهذا المدح مما يعظم به جدا<sup>(٢)</sup> الممدوح ويعده للقيام بالخلافة بعده.....<sup>(٣)</sup> وليس يمكنه ان يجعل ذلك<sup>(٤)</sup> في كل واحد منهم بتعيينه له والا كان ذلك اثملا وتنفيرا للباقيين وانه لو عين واحدا لكان ما يصدر من ذلك الواحد من الخطأ منسوبا الى هذا النبي

(١) في هذا الكلام تكرار واضح (٢) ع: حد (٣) بعض الكلام ناقص هنا (٤) ع: كذلك



فانهم عند التزواج<sup>(١)</sup> ينفقون على انفسهم وعلى زوجاتهم فلذلك حاجتهم الى المال اكثر من الاناث.

### الفصل الثالث

في الاشياء التي ينبغي ان يسنها النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في تدبير المنزل ونفقة الزوجات والعييد والاقارب

ثم ان هذا المسمى بكامل فكر في امر النكاح وقال في نفسه ان هذا امر لا بد منه في كثرة وجود الاشخاص الانسانية فان وجود الانسان بالتولد نادر جدا فاذاً الجماع أمر لا بد منه في كثرة اشخاص الناس فلذلك يجب ان يحث هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (ع ص ٣٠ ظ) على وقوعه ولكن على وجه يكثر له<sup>(٢)</sup> النسل فلذلك يجب ان يحرم اللواط والمساحقة لان ذلك يؤدي الى الاستغناء عن الجماع المحبل ويجب ان يكون وقوع هذا الجماع المحبل على وجه يثبت به النسب فلذلك يجب ان ينهى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الزناء وان كان مكثراً<sup>(٣)</sup> للنسل<sup>(٤)</sup> لانه يؤدي الى فساد حال النسب والى ان يأخذ المال بالارث غير مستحقه ويحرمه المستحقون، وينبغي ان يجعل عقد النكاح على وجه ظاهر فلذلك يمنع من وقوعه<sup>(٥)</sup> ستره لان (م ص ٤٧ و) ذلك<sup>(٥)</sup> يؤدي الى تعذر ثبوت النسب لاجل الارث والنفقة ونحو ذلك فلذلك ينبغي الاعلان في الزواج ولذلك ينبغي فيه الاشهاد؛ ولما كان تكثير الازواج يؤدي الى فساد حال النسب ولا كذلك تكثير الزوجات فلذلك ينبغي للنبي ان يجوز (ع ٣١ و) للرجال كثرة الزوجات ولا يجوز للنساء كثرة الازواج؛ ولما كان الزوجان قد يكون بينهما نفرة فلا تجوز<sup>(٦)</sup> عشرتهما يجب ان يجعل هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الى الفرقة سبيلا، بل قد يكون الزوجان على مزاج لا يحدث من اجتماعها ولد ولو تزوج كل واحد بغير الآخر يحدث الولد فلذلك يجب ان يشرع

(١) ع : التزوج (٢) ع : به (٣) - (٣) ع : يكثر النسل (٤) ع : وقوع (٥) ع : ليلا (كذا ، فتامل) (٦) ع : يجوز

الى الفرقة سبيلا، ويجب ان يجعل هذه الفرقة لآتمتها عقلا ولن يلزمه في الزواج كلفة وغرامة وذلك هو الرجل، وليس تمنع المرأة من ذلك بالتام وقد يكون الزوج معسرا عن النفقة فاذا لم تتمكن الزوجة من الفسخ تعذر عليها الاغتداء. ولما كان الرجال اقدر على كسب المال والنساء اقوم بتدبير المنزل وجب ان تكون النفقة على الزوج وعليه<sup>٥</sup> المرأة الاقامة بمنزل الزوج. واما العبيد (ع ص ٣١ ظ) فلما كانوا في حجر مواليتهم وجب ان تكون نفقتهم على مواليتهم ولمواليهم مطالبتهم بالخدمة بحسب (م ص ٤٧ ظ) الامكان. واما الاقارب فن كان منهم لا مال له فينبغي ان تكون نفقته على الموسر من اقاربه.

### الفصل الرابع

فيما يسنه النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من العقوبات

ثم ان المسمى بكامل تفكر بعد ذلك فقال في نفسه واذا سن النبي صلى<sup>(١)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(١)</sup> الشرع فهل يحتاج ان يجعل من جملة هذا الشرع ان يكون للناس ملك يحكم عليهم بذلك الشرع ويلزمهم اتباعه ام يكفي تفصيل احكام المعاملات وغيرها والناس يرجعون<sup>١٥</sup> الى ذلك بانفسهم فرأى ان من الناس من<sup>(٢)</sup> تشد محبته للظلم فلا يردعه عنه علمه بنهى الشرع عنه فقط بل انما ينتهي عى ذلك بقاهر يقهره عليه، وذلك القاهر انما يتمكن من ذلك اذا كان مطاع الامر عند (ع ص ٣٢ و) الناس وذلك هو الملك ويجب ان يكون لكل مدينة ملك او<sup>(٣)</sup> قائم مقامه وهو نائب الملك، ولا يترك الملوك وطباعهم فقد<sup>٢٠</sup> يكثر فيهم الجور فلذلك يجعل امرهم الى واحد يحكم عليهم وذلك هو الخليفة؛ ويجب ان ينهى عن كل امر يؤدي الى فساد حال النفس او فساد حال المال او فساد حال العقل فلذلك يحرم القتل والسرقة والغصب والسكر ويجعل لكل واحد من ذلك ونحوه عقوبة تردع (م ص ٤٨ و) الناس عن الاقدام عليه، فيجعل على القتل القصاص<sup>٢٥</sup>

(١) - (١) ن م (٢) ع : ان (٣) ن ع



عليه وسلم فلذلك هو سبب حفظها ، وكذلك الزكاة فان (ع ص ٢٨ ظ) المزكى لا بد وان يخطر بباله ان اخراجه المال لغيره انما هو ابتغاء لرضى الله تعالى كما وعده به رسوله<sup>(١)</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم .

واما الذكر الذى هو فى ضمن عبادة فكما يكون فى الصلاة والحج فان هذين مع<sup>(٢)</sup> اشتمالهما على حركات واعمال فانهما يشتملان على ذكر الله تعالى وذكر رسوله .

واما الذكر المفرد وهو المقصود بنفسه وليس بلازم لامر آخر ولا داخلا فى ضمن آخر فهو (م ص ٤٥ ظ) ككلمة الشهادتين . فلذلك لا بد وان يكون شرع هذا النبي صلى<sup>(٣)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٣)</sup> مبنيًا على خمسة اشياء : منها قول مفرد كالشهادتين ومنها فعل بدنى محض وهو كالصلاة<sup>(٤)</sup> ومنها ترك بدنى محض وهو<sup>(٤)</sup> كالصوم ومنها مالى محض وهو كالزكاة ومنها مجتمع من<sup>(٥)</sup> الامرين اعنى به<sup>(٦)</sup> انه بدنى ومالى وهو كالحج ؛ وهذه الاشياء تختلف فنها ما اتيانه مشق جدا كالحج فينبغى ان لا يكلف الناس تكرار<sup>(٧)</sup> فعله<sup>(٧)</sup> بل يكفى اتيانه فى العمر مرة ، (ع ص ٢٩ و) ومنها من اتيانه سهل جدا فيحتمل<sup>(٨)</sup> الناس تكراره فى اليوم مرارا كالصلاة فلذلك كانت الصلاة<sup>(٩)</sup> اكثر تذكارا بالله تعالى وبرسوله فلذلك كانت تنهى عن الفحشاء والمنكر ، ومنها ما هو بين هذين فى المشقة كالصوم والزكاة فلذلك ينبغى ان يجعل فى العام مرة واحدة

واما الشهادتان فان اعتقادهما هو الايمان والايمان لا ينبغى فقدانه طرفة واحدة فلذلك اعتقادهما<sup>(١٠)</sup> يجب ان يكون مستمرا .

### الفصل الثاني

فى المعاملات<sup>(١)</sup> التى يأتى<sup>(٢)</sup> بشرعها<sup>(٣)</sup> النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ثم ان هذا المسمى بكامل تفكر فيما<sup>(٤)</sup> ينبغى ان يسنه النبي<sup>(٥)</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٥)</sup> من المعاملات فرأى ان اجتماع الناس وتعاشرهم<sup>(٦)</sup> انما يتم بان تكون معاملتهم على الوجه<sup>(٧)</sup> العدل (م ص ٤٦ و) فلذلك يجب ان يمنع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من كل جور<sup>(٨)</sup> ومن كل<sup>(٨)</sup> غرر لا يمكن البتة من حيف على (ع ص ٢٩ ظ) احد فلذلك يجب ان ينهى عن الظلم وأخذ مال<sup>(٩)</sup> بغير حق وبالباطل ويأمر بالمعروف وينهى عن المنكر<sup>(١٠)</sup> وكل<sup>(١٠)</sup> امر يؤدى الى الاستغناء عن نفع الناس ولى القناعة بالبطالة فانه يجب ان يكون اجتماع الناس على وجه يكون لكل احد نفع فلا يكون فيهم من لا نفع له الا ان يكون عاجزا بمرض او زمانة ونحو ذلك فلذلك<sup>(١١)</sup> جميع ما يغنى عن تكلف نفع الناس يجب ان يكون ممنوعا كالربا فان كسبه يغنى عن الاكتساب باحداث ما ينتفع به الناس وكذلك القيادة ونحو ذلك . ويجب ان يسن لهم طريقة يتواطئون عليها لينقطع النزاع بينهم ، وهذه منها ما يكون فى نقل ما<sup>(١٥)</sup> ينتفع به من واحد الى غيره سواء كان ذلك الانتقال اضطراريا كما فى الارث او غير اضطرارى وهو فى عين كما فى البيع او فى منفعة كما فى الاجارة ، ومنها ما يكون (ع ص ٣٠ و) فى استقرار ما ينتفع به كما فى الوقف ، ومنها ما يكون فى رفع الاستيلاء على ما ينتفع به كما فى العتق ، ويجعل لكل واحد من هذه طريقه على الوجه<sup>(١٢)</sup> العدل ؛ وينبغى ان يجعل ارث الذكور ازيد من ارث الاناث وان<sup>(١٣)</sup> كان الذكور اقدر على الاكتساب (م ٤٦ ظ) من الاناث<sup>(١٣)</sup> وذلك لان الاناث عند التزواج<sup>(١٤)</sup> تكون بفقتهن على ازواجهن واما الذكور

(١) ع : العائلات (٢) ن ع (٣) زع : هذا (٤) ع : بما (٥) - (٥) ن م (٦) ع : ومعاشرتهم (٧) ع : وجه (٨) - (٨) ن م (٩) ع : المال (١٠) - (١٠) م : كل (١١) ع : فكذلك (١٢) ع : وجه (١٣) - (١٣) ن ع (١٤) ع : التزوج

(١) ع : رسول الله (٢) ن ع (٣) - (٣) ن م (٤) - (٤) ن ع (٥) ع : بين (٦) ن م (٧) - (٧) ع : تكرارها (٨) ع : فيحمل (٩) ن ع (١٠) ع : اعتقاده



(ع ص ٢٦ ظ) بها مع تكثرها ذوات نفس واحدة بالشخص فما يحصل لكل واحد من العلوم يحصل للكُل، هذا محال ، فإذًا نفس الانسان انما يمكن وجودها بعد وجود المادة الممتزجة مزاجا انسانيا فوجود هذه المادة شرط في وجود نفس الانسان وهذه (م ص ٤٤ و) المادة تحدث من المني ونحوه واذا تعلق بها النفس ثم اخذت في الاغتذاء وتخليق<sup>(١)</sup> الآلات حدث من ذلك البدن وهذه المادة تسمى عجب<sup>(٢)</sup> الذنب ومحال ان يفقد ما دامت النفس موجودة والا كانت النفس مستغنية عنها<sup>(٣)</sup> في وجودها فلا يكون وجود النفس<sup>(٤)</sup> متوقفا عليها ، هذا خلف ، فإذًا يستحيل فقدان هذه المادة مع وجود نفس الانسان ، ونفس الانسان غير قابلة للعدم لان كل شيء يقبل العدم فله مادة يكون فيها تارة موجودا وتارة معدوما واذا نفس الانسان لا مادة لها فهي غير قابلة للعدم فهذه (ع ص ٢٧ و) المادة التي هي<sup>(٥)</sup> عجب<sup>(٦)</sup> الذنب لا يمكن عدمها فلذلك هي تبقى بعد موت البدن وبلاعه وتكون النفس عند بقاءها مدركة عالمة فيحدث لها حينئذ نعيم والم وهما اللذان يكونان في القبر ؛ فاذا جاء الوقت الذي يكون فيه المعاد نهضت النفس حينئذ وغذت هذه المادة بجذب المواد اليها واحالتها الى مشابهاها<sup>(٧)</sup> فيحدث من ذلك البدن<sup>(٨)</sup> كرة<sup>(٩)</sup> اخرى ويكون هذا البدن هو<sup>(١٠)</sup> ذلك البدن<sup>(١١)</sup> الاول بمعنى وحدة هذه المادة فيه مع وحدة<sup>(١٢)</sup> هذه النفس وبذلك يكون المعاد وتكون النفس بعد ذلك غير تاركة للاغتذاء<sup>(١٣)</sup> البتة فلذلك لا يعدم البدن حينئذ البتة إما اذا كان (م ص ٤٤ ظ) في نعيم<sup>(١٤)</sup> فظاهر واما اذا كان في<sup>(١٥)</sup> النار فلان تلك النار كلما احترقت الاجزاء الحادثة التي في ذلك البدن عادت تلك النفس وولدت من المواد التي تغذو بها تلك المادة<sup>(١٦)</sup> بدنا آخر (ع ص ٢٧ ظ) وهذه الابدان كالحبيطة بتلك المادة فلذلك تسمى جلودا وتبدل<sup>(١٧)</sup> هذه الجلود بدوام البقاء في النار .

(١) ع : او تخليق (٢) م : عجو (٣) اي عن المادة (٤) ع : الانسان (٥) ع : تسمى (٦) م : عجو (٧) ع : مشابها (٨) م : للبدن (٩) ع : كثره (١٠) - (١٠) ن ع (١١) ن ع (١٢) ع : الاغتذاء (١٣) - (١٣) ن ع (١٤) ع : المواد (١٥) ع : وتبدل

الباب الثاني فيما يأتي به هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من التكليف العملية<sup>(١)</sup> ، وكلامنا في هذا الباب يشتمل على اربعة فصول .

### الفصل الاول

في العبادات التي يأتي بشرعها هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ان المسمى بكامل حين<sup>(٢)</sup> كان قد بلغ سنه قرب<sup>(٣)</sup> الاربعين سنة تفكر فقال في نفسه ان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما كان خاتم النبيين وجب ان تكون الحاجة الى حفظ جلالته وشريعته اكثر اذ نسيان ذلك يوجب الى حدوث شرع وهو معتذر بعد انقطاع النبوة فلذلك لا بد وان يدبر هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لبقاء ذلك ودوامه ما دامت السموات والارض وجها ينحفظ<sup>(٤)</sup> به ذلك وانما يمكن الحفظ بتكرار (ع ص ٢٨ و) الشيء الذي يرام حفظه في الاجيال<sup>(٥)</sup> فلذلك لا بد لهذا النبي من ان يسن تكرار ذكره حتى ينحفظ<sup>(٦)</sup> هو وعظمته (م ص ٤٥ و) وشريعته بذلك وهذا الذكر قد يكون لازما لامر آخر يسنه وقد يكون مقصودا بنفسه واذا كان مقصودا بنفسه فقد يكون في ضمن عبادة<sup>(٧)</sup> وقد لا يكون كذلك .

اما الذكر اللازم لغيره فكما يكون في حال الصوم فان الصوم وان لم يكن فيه ذكر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فانه يلزمه ذكره وذلك لان الصائم اذا ترك الطعام والشراب وهما معتادان فلا بد وان يكون في نفسه ان فعله لذلك<sup>(٨)</sup> ليس<sup>(٩)</sup> لا لفائدة بل لفائدة وهي<sup>(١٠)</sup> التي وعده بها النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من رضی<sup>(١١)</sup> الله تعالى وثوابه ونحو ذلك فلذلك كان الصوم يلزمه ذكر الله تعالى وذكر رسوله صلى الله

(١) ع : العلمية (٢) ع : حتى (٣) ع : قريب (٤) ع : يحفظ (٥) م : ع : الاجيال (٦) ع : يحفظ (٧) ع : عبارة ، وفي الهامش : لعله عبادة (٨) ع : ذلك (٩) - (٩) ع : انما يكون لاجل الاجور (١٠) ع : ربنا



قد<sup>(١)</sup> كَمَل الكلام في الشرع وفي صفات البارئ تعالى لانا بينا ان الكلام في المعاد انما يكون بعد ذلك (ع ص ٢٤ ظ) ولو كان كذلك لما كان الى هذا النبي حاجة ، وان لم يكن فعله نبي قبله (م ص ٤٢ ظ) فلا بد من نبي يأتي بعد ذلك ويفصل الكلام في المعاد فلا يكون هذا النبي خاتم النبيين ، هذا خلف ، فاذا لا بد لهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من ذكر المعاد وتفصيل احكامه. ثم فكر كامل بعد ذلك فرأى ان هذا النبي لا يجوز ان يجعل المعاد روحانيا فان اذهان اكثر الناس تقصر عن درك اللذات والآلام الروحانيين فانه لو قيل للعامي انك فعلت العبادات على ما ينبغي واعرضت<sup>(٢)</sup> عن هذه<sup>(٣)</sup> اللذات المحرمة وكانت معاملتك للناس على العدل فان الله تعالى ينقلك الى عالم لا تأكل فيه ولا تشرب ولا تنكح ولا تلبس ولا تنام بل تكون دائما في تسبيح وتقديس ومع ذلك فلا توجر على ذلك ولا تنقل الى حالة اخرى لكان ذلك العامي يرى ان فقدان هذه السعادة اولى ؛ ولا كذلك اذا قيل له انك اذا فعلت ما قلناه فانك تنتقل الى ما كل شهى (ع ص ٢٥ و) ومنكح بهي وان<sup>(٤)</sup> هناك من الخمر انها<sup>(٥)</sup> وكذلك من العسل ونحو ذلك ؛ ولا<sup>(٦)</sup> يجوز ايضا ان يجعل المعاد بدنيا فقط وذلك لان البدن بدون النفس معلوم عند الناس انه انما يكون كالحشبة لا شعور له بشيء واذا كان كذلك لم تكن له لذة ولا ألم فلا تكون له سعادة ولا شقاوة فلا يكون للمعاد جدوى فلذلك لا (م ص ٤٣ و) بد وان يجعل هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم المعاد مركبا من البدن والنفس معا. ثم فكر كامل في حقيقة هذا المعاد وكيف هي فقال في نفسه لا شك ان الانسان مركب من بدن ونفس فالبدن هو هذا الشيء المحسوس<sup>(٧)</sup> واما النفس فهي التي يشير الانسان اليها بقوله انا وهذا المشار اليه لا يجوز ان يكون هو البدن او اجزائه فان كل احد فانه<sup>(٨)</sup> يعلم بالضرورة انه هو من اول عمره الى آخره والبدن واجزائه كل منهما ليس كذلك فان بدن الانسان وهو

(١) ن ع (٢) ع : او اعرضت (٣) م : هذا (٤) ع : فان  
(٥) م : ع : انهار (٦) ع : لا (٧) ع : الحسود (٨) ن ع

(ع ص ٢٥ ظ) طفل ليس هو بدنه وهو شيخ وكذلك اجزاء البدن فان البدن واجزائه كل منهما كل وقت في تحلل واغتذاء<sup>(١)</sup> فهذا لا محالة متبدلان دائما ولا كذلك ما يشير الانسان اليه بقوله انا فانه ثابت على حاله دائما، وكذلك ايضا فان الانسان يغفل كثيرا عن بدنه وعن اجزائه كالقلب والدماغ ونحوهما ومحال انه<sup>(٢)</sup> يغفل عن نفسه ٥ وهي<sup>(٣)</sup> التي يشير اليها بقوله انا فلذلك لا بد وان تكون النفس شيئا<sup>(٤)</sup> غير<sup>(٥)</sup> البدن والبدن لا شك انه جسم محسوس<sup>(٦)</sup> ولا كذلك النفس فانها جوهر مجرد اذ يستحيل ان تكون عرضا فان البدن انما يتقوم بنفسه والاعراض لا تكون متقومة<sup>(٧)</sup> الا<sup>(٨)</sup> بالجواهر<sup>(٩)</sup> فلذلك لا بد وان تكون<sup>(١٠)</sup> النفس جوهر، ولا بد وان تكون مجردة عن المادة ١٠ الجسمانية ، (م ص ٤٣ ظ) والا<sup>(١١)</sup> كانت جسما او في جسم ، ولو كانت كذلك لكان ما يحل فيها له وضع وشكل وانقسام لان كل (ع ص ٢٦ و) جسم او قوة في جسم فان الحال فيه يعرض له ذلك وبما<sup>(١٢)</sup> يحل في نفس الانسان الادراكات والعلوم فلو كانت<sup>(١٣)</sup> نفسه وجسما او جسمانية لكانت تلك العلوم لا بد وان تنقسم بانقسامها<sup>(١٤)</sup> ١٥ فلا يوجد علم مفرد البتة ، هذا محال ، فاذا لا بد وان تكون نفس الانسان مجردة عن المواد الجسمانية ، واذا<sup>(١٥)</sup> كانت كذلك فهي لا توجد قبل وجود المادة الممتزجة التي يكون منها بدن الانسان لانها لو وجدت قبل هذه المادة لم يمكن ان تكون واحدة ولا كثيرة فلا يكون وجودها اذًا ممكنا<sup>(١٦)</sup> اما انها لا يمكن ان تكون حينئذ كثيرة فلان ٢٠ جميع الانواع انما تتكثر افرادها لاجل المادة التي تتعلق بها فلذلك يكون قبل حدوث هذه المادة غير متكثرة، واما<sup>(١٧)</sup> انها<sup>(١٧)</sup> لا يمكن ان تكون واحدة فلانها لو كانت واحدة لكانت الابدان المتعلقة

(١) ع : او اغتذاء (٢) ع : ان (٣) ع : وهو (٤) م : شي  
(٥) ع : عن (٦) ع : محسوس (٧) م : مقومة (٨) ن م ع  
(٩) م : الجواهر ؛ ع : للجواهر (١٠) ن م (١١) ع : وان (١٢) ع :  
وبما (١٣) ع : كان (١٤) ع : بانقسامها (١٥) ع : فاذا  
(١٦) م : ع : ممكن (١٧) - (١٧) ع : وانها



حفظ شريعته أكثر وذلك لان النبوة بعده منقطعة فلو نسي شرعه لفقد الشرع اصلا لتعذر حدوث شرع جديد فلذلك لا بد وان تكون الحاجة الى حفظ شرع هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أكثر من حفظ شرع غيره وانما يكون ذلك اذا كان كتابه مما تتوفر<sup>(١)</sup> الدواعي على حفظه (ع ص ٢٣ و) وانما يكون ذلك اذا كان تأليفه<sup>(٢)</sup> لذيذا جدا وانما يكون ذلك اذا كان<sup>(٣)</sup> من الفصاحة والبلاغة على افضل الوجوه فلذلك كان القرآن العزيز في غاية الفصاحة .

**(الفن الثالث)** في بيان كيفية تعرف كامل لسنة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وكلامنا في هذا الفن يشتمل على باين :

الباب الاول فيما يأتي به هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من التكاليف العلمية ، الباب<sup>(٣)</sup> الثاني فيما يأتي به هذا النبي (م ص ٤١ ظ) صلى الله عليه وسلم من التكاليف العملية<sup>(٣)</sup> .  
اما<sup>(٤)</sup> الباب الاول فان كلامنا فيه يشتمل على فصلين .

### الفصل الاول

١٥ فيما يأتي به هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من صفات الله تعالى

قال فاضل بن ناطق ان المسمى بكامل حين<sup>(٥)</sup> بلغ في العمر قرب<sup>(٦)</sup> آخر الشيبية فكر فيما ينبغي ان يأتي به خاتم النبيين صلى<sup>(٧)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٧)</sup> من صفات الصانع تعالى فرأى أنه ينبغي ان يعرف الناس ان لهم صناعا وان هذا الصانع من البهاء والجلالة الى حد لا نهاية له وانه يجب ان يطاع ان يعبد وانه لا اله الا هو وانه « ليس كمثلته شئ »<sup>(٨)</sup> وهو (ع ص ٢٣ ظ) السميع العليم ونحو ذلك مما يليق بجلال

(١) ع : تؤمن (٢) - (٢) ن ع (٣) - (٣) ن م (٤) ع : واما (٥) ع : حتى (٦) ع : قريب (٧) - (٧) ن م (٨) راجع سورة الشورى [٤٢] ، ١١

الله تعالى من<sup>(١)</sup> القدرة<sup>(١)</sup> التامة والقوة الكاملة، ومع ذلك فان هذا النبي لا يظهر ان وراء ذلك شيئا<sup>(٢)</sup> اخفاه ولا يكلف الناس ما لا يسهل عليهم الوقوف عليه مما يعسر قبول الوهم له كما قال ان الله تعالى ليس في داخل العالم ولا هو في خارجه وانه ليس بجسم ولا محسوس ولا هو في جهة ولا اليه اشارة حسية فان هذه الاشياء ونحوها لو صرح بها ٥ النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٣)</sup> فان لم يشتغل الناس بفهمها<sup>(٤)</sup> كانت عندهم كالاشياء التي ليس لها<sup>(٥)</sup> معان وان اشتغلوا بفهمها تشوشوا وتحيروا واشتغلوا بذلك عن معاشهم وتديير احوالهم (م ص ٤٢ و) واختل عليهم نظام شملهم فكان ذلك منافيا للمقصود الاولى من النبوة فلذلك ينبغي ان يكون ذكر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لهذه الاشياء ذكرا مجملا من ١٠ غير تفصيل ظاهر ومع<sup>(٦)</sup> ذلك فلا يظهر ان (ع ص ٢٤ و) هناك تفصيلا<sup>(٧)</sup> ومع ذلك فلا يهمل من التفصيل اصلا بل يجعل في كلامه من الرموز والاشارات ما يفهم الخواص منه تفصيل ذلك كله<sup>(٨)</sup> مع افتقار العامة على ما يفهمونه من ظاهره.

### الفصل الثاني

١٥ فيما يأتي به خاتم النبيين من امر المعاد

ثم شرع كامل في امر المعاد ففكر في ان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم هل يخبر به او ليس واذا اخبر<sup>(٩)</sup> به فهل يخبر به على انه روحاني او على انه بدني او على انه من<sup>(١٠)</sup> مجموع الامرين وكيف كان فهل يذكر أحكامه مفصلة او ليس فرأى انه لا بد لهذا النبي ٢٠ صلى<sup>(١١)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(١١)</sup> من ذكر المعاد ومن تفصيل الكلام فيه وذلك لانه لو لم يفعل ذلك فلا يخلو اما ان يكون قد فعله نبي او<sup>(١٢)</sup> لا يكون كذلك فان كان فعله نبي<sup>(١٢)</sup> قبله فذلك النبي لا بد وان يكون

(١) - (١) ع : والقدرة (٢) م ع : شئ (٣) ن م (٤) ع : بمفهومها (٥) ن ع (٦) ع : مع (٧) م : تفصيل (٨) ن ع (٩) ع : خبر (١٠) ن ع (١١) - (١١) ن م (١٢) - (١٢) ن م



ولا ايضا يمكن ان يكون اولاده ذكورا فقط لان ذلك انما يكون بجماعة<sup>(١)</sup> المزاج ولما كان مزاج هذا النبي معتدلا فيجب ان يكون له بنون<sup>(٢)</sup> وبنات وبنوه<sup>(٣)</sup> يجب ان لا يطول اعمارهم لان اعمارهم اذا طالت بلغوا الى سن النبوة وحينئذ فلا يخلو اما<sup>(٤)</sup> ان يكونوا انبياء او لا يكون<sup>(٥)</sup> كذلك: لا جائز ان يكونوا<sup>(٦)</sup> انبياء والا لما كان هو خاتم النبيين<sup>(٧)</sup> ولا يجوز ان يكونوا غير انبياء (ع ص ٢١ ظ) والا كان ذلك نقصا في حقه وانحطاطا عن درجة كثير من الانبياء فان كثيرا من الانبياء كان اولادهم ايضا انبياء، واما بنات هذا النبي فيجوز ان تطول اعمارهن اذ النساء لسن<sup>(٨)</sup> باهل النبوة<sup>(٩)</sup>.

### الفصل الثامن

في كيفية دعوة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم للناس الى اتباعه

ثم ان المسمى بكامل فكر في ان هذا النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين كيف ينبغي ان تكون دعوته للناس الى الحق والى متابعتها فقال في نفسه ان هذا قد ثبت انه لا بد وان يكون عظيم القدر<sup>(١٠)</sup> جدا عام الرسالة واذا كان كذلك لم يجز ان تكون رسالته الى ملك كما ارسل موسى عليه<sup>(١١)</sup> السلام<sup>(١١)</sup> الى فرعون اذ لو ارسل الى ملك فلا يخلو اما ان يخاطبه بالخطاب الذي يليق بالملك او لا يكون كذلك فاذا كان الاول (م ص ٤٠ ظ) كان ذلك حطا لمزنته ونقصا في حقه واذا كان الثاني عدس في الادب واستجهل فلذلك (ع ص ٢٢ و) جعلت رسالته الى الناس كلهم وعلى<sup>(١٢)</sup> السواء. وينبغي ان تكون دعوته اياهم اولاً بلين ورفق واحتمال لما يصدر منهم من مكروه<sup>(١٣)</sup>، واما اذا كثرت اصحابه واحسن<sup>(١٤)</sup> من نفسه بالقوة على المقاتلة فيجب ان تكون دعوته للناس حينئذ بالقهر والسيوف وذلك لان دعوته لو كانت اولاً بالسيوف

(١) ع : لحرارة (٢) م : بين (٣) م : وبينه (٤) ن ع  
(٥) ع : يكونوا (٦) ع : يكون (٧) م : النبيين (٨) م : ليسو  
(٩) ع : النبوة (١٠) ن ع (١١) - (١١) ن ع (١٢) ع :  
علي (١٣) ع : مكرره (١٤) ع : واحسن

لتعذر عليه ذلك لقلة عدده ولو استمرت دعوته على وجه اللين لكان<sup>(١)</sup> زمانه يضيق عن تعميم ذلك للناس كلهم فلذلك يجب ان تكون دعوته<sup>(٢)</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٣)</sup> للناس اولاً باللين واخيراً بالسيوف.

### الفصل التاسع

في اسم هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ولما<sup>(٤)</sup> ثبت عند كامل وجوب عظمة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٤)</sup> عند الناس وجب ان لا يكون في اسمه او<sup>(٥)</sup> اسم<sup>(٥)</sup> ابيه او جده ما يحط<sup>(٦)</sup> قدره وينقص منزلته فلذلك لا يجوز ان<sup>(٧)</sup> يكون<sup>(٧)</sup> اسمه اسم شيء محقر مثل زبلة او كلب او ثور ونحو<sup>(٨)</sup> ذلك مما جرت عادة العرب بالتسمية به بل ولا يجوز ان يكون اسمه اسماً مصغراً (ع ص ٢٢ ظ) مثل حميد او سليم او عبيد فان ذلك ايضا مما يستصغر معه المنزلة ولا يجوز ايضا ان يكون اسمه (م ص ٤١ و) مما فيه كبر وزيادة تعاضم كشاهنشاه<sup>(٩)</sup>، وشاه ملك، ونحو ذلك.

### الفصل العاشر

في كتاب هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ثم ان المسمى بكامل فكر في ان هذا النبي صلى<sup>(١٠)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(١٠)</sup> هل ينبغي ان يكون له كتاب او ليس واذا كان له كتاب فكيف ينبغي ان يكون ذلك الكتاب فرأى<sup>(١١)</sup> انه ينبغي ان يكون له كتاب لان من يأتي من الانبياء بغير كتاب فهو اصغر منزلة ممن له كتاب، ولما كان هذا النبي خاتم النبيين وجب ان تكون الحاجة الى

(١) ع : لكانه (٢) ز ع : للناس (٣) ن م (٤) - (٤) ن ع  
(٥) - (٥) ع : واسم (٦) ع : يحيط (٧) - (٧) ن ع (٨) ع :  
او نحو (٩) م : كشاهشاه ؛ ع : كشاه ، وفي الهامش : لان معناه سلطان السلاطين  
(١٠) - (١٠) ن م (١١) ع : في أي



لا يجوز البتة ان يكون في (ع ص ١٩ ظ) وجهه او في اعضائه الاخرى<sup>(١)</sup> شين او مرض آخر مما به يستقل به او ينفر عنه ولا يجوز ايضا ان يكون اعضاؤه غير متناسبة لان ذلك انما يكون بخروج الاعضاء عن الاعتدال فلذلك لا يجوز ان يكون بطنه مفرط العظم ولا رقبته شديدة الغلظ ولا اصابعه مفرطة القصر ولا ان يكون وجهه مفرط الطول ولا ان يكون فكاه كبيرتين<sup>(٢)</sup> بل يجب ان يكون متناسب الاعضاء متوسط الخضب فلا يكون مفرط السمن ولا مفرط النحافة ويكون بساها هشا بشا جيد الهضم والاستمرار قوى الحواس والدهن فصيح اللسان لان هذه الصفات هي صفات المعتدلى الامزجة .

### الفصل السادس

في حال هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في الامراض ومقدار العمر

ثم ان الرجل المسمى بكامل فكر في (م ص ٣٩ و) ان هذا النبي صلى<sup>(٣)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٣)</sup> كيف ينبغي ان يكون حاله في الامراض فقال في نفسه ان من الامراض ما (ع ص ٢٠ و) لا يجوز حدوثها لهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك كالجنون والصرع فان صاحب ذلك يستقل عن ان يخاطب فضلا عن ان يؤخذ عنه خطاب الله تعالى وشرعه وكالبرص فان صاحبه ينفر من مخالطته<sup>(٤)</sup> ويستقل وكذلك الجذام والزمانة والعمى ، واما الامراض الحارة كالحميات وكذلك الامراض الباردة التي لا غائلة<sup>(٥)</sup> لها ولا تستقيح كالزكام والنزلة فكل ذلك قد يكثر حدوثه له ويجب ان يكون هذا النبي كثير الامراض وتكون امراضه قصيرة المدة غير شديدة جدا وذلك<sup>(٦)</sup> لان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لا بد وان يكون معتدل المزاج وذلك يقتضى ان تكون امراضه كما قلناه<sup>(٧)</sup> وذلك لان المعتدل ليس فيه ما

(١) ع : الاخر (٢) ع : كبيرين (٣) - (٣) ن م (٤) ع : مخاطبته (٥) ع : غاية (٦) ع : وكذلك (٧) ع : قلنا

يقاوم الواردات مقاومة<sup>(١)</sup> شديدة لان شدة المقاومات انما تكون لقوة القوة على احالة الواردات<sup>(١)</sup> الى طبيعة البدن وانما يكون ذلك اذا كان للبدن كيفية غالبية وذلك مما لا يوجد مع الاعتدال (ع ص ٢٠ ظ) فلذلك لا بد وان يكون البدن<sup>(٢)</sup> المعتدل ضعيف المقاومة للواردات وجمع الواردات هي لا محالة خارجة عن الاعتدال فلذلك تكون قوتها على (م ص ٣٩ ظ) احالة البدن المعتدل الى طبيعتها شديدة ويلزم ذلك حصول المرض ، واما ان هذه الامراض يسهل بروها وتفارق بسرعة فلانه يكفى في ازالة امراض<sup>(٣)</sup> المعتدل<sup>(٣)</sup> المزاج ما هو ضعيف القوة من الادوية وذلك لاجل سهولة قبوله للانفعال لما قلناه. واما عمر هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فيجب ان يبلغ فيه الحد الذي يكمل فيه العقل ليتمكن حينئذ حدوث النبوة وذلك هو سن الكهولة ولا يجوز ان يبلغ الى حد يظهر فيه الخرف ونقصان الرأى فان ذلك مما يستقل معه الانسان فلذلك يجب ان يموت هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بعد انقضاء سن الكهولة وقيل استحكام الشيخوخة وذلك يكون في<sup>(٤)</sup> (ع ص ٢١ و) الابدان المعتدلة الامزجة بعد الستين بستين او<sup>(٥)</sup> ثلاث والله<sup>(٦)</sup> اعلم<sup>(٦)</sup> .

### الفصل السابع

في اولاد هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ثم<sup>(٧)</sup> ان المسمى بكامل فكر في ان هذا النبي صلى<sup>(٨)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٧)</sup> هل ينبغي ان يكون له اولاد او ليس فقال في نفسه ان هذا لما كان كثير الجلاج فلو كان مع ذلك غير مولد لكان ذلك نقصا فلذلك لا بد وان يكون مولدا ولما كان مزاجه شديد الاعتدال لم يمكن ان يكون اولاده اناثا فقط لان ذلك انما يكون لبرد المزاج (م ص ٤٠ و)

(١) - (١) ن ع (٢) ع : البدل (٣) - (٣) ع : المرض لمعتدل (٤) ع : افي (٥) ن م (٦) - (٦) ن م (٧) - (٧) ن ع (٨) - (٨) ن م



غير ابيه فليعتدل بذلك خلقه فان الانسان يستفيد بذلك الاخلاق من اخلاق معاشره ومحاطه لان نفس الانسان من شأنها المحاكاة فاستفادة الاخلاق من المرئي اولى ولو عاش ابو النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لكان هو المرئي له فكان يفيد الخلق بالابوة والتربية معا<sup>(١)</sup> فلذلك كان الأصلح للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ان يموت ابوه لتعتدل اخلاقه بتعديل<sup>(٢)</sup> اخلاق المرين<sup>(٣)</sup> له ولا يكفي في ذلك واحد فان الاخلاق كثيرة النفس فيندر ان يفي بتعديلها معدل واحد بخلاف المرصعة لان تغير الاخلاق بالرضاعة شديد فيكفي فيه معدل واحد وفي مدة قصيرة ولا كذلك المرئي فان تغيير<sup>(٤)</sup> (م ص ٣٧ ظ) المرئي للاخلاق ضعيف (ع ص ١٨ و) فلذلك انما يفي بالتغيير<sup>(٥)</sup> اذا طال الزمان خاصة وتكثر<sup>(٦)</sup> المراضع يضر بالمرضع ولا كذلك تكثر<sup>(٧)</sup> المرئي، وانما تاخر موت ام النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لان بقاءها لا يغير الخلق<sup>(٨)</sup> تغييرا<sup>(٩)</sup> يزيد<sup>(١٠)</sup> على ما توجه الامومة زيادة كثيرة وذلك لان الرجال بالطبع ينفرون عن اخلاق النساء فهم لا يحاكون اخلاق<sup>(١١)</sup> امهاتهم كثيرا ولا كذلك الاب فان الابن يحاكي اخلاقه كثيرا.

### الفصل الرابع

في حال هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في شهواته

ثم ان المسمى بكامل فكر في الحال التي ينبغي ان يكون عليها خاتم النبيين صلى الله عليه وسلم في امر الشهوات فقال في نفسه ان هذا لاجل اعتدال مزاجه ينبغي ان يكون جميع<sup>(١٢)</sup> احواله باعتدال فكذلك ينبغي ان تكون شهواته فلذلك ينبغي ان تكون<sup>(١٣)</sup> شهواته بجملة متوسطة لكن بعضها الاثيق<sup>(١٤)</sup> بهذا النبي ان تكون خامدة والى ضعف كشهوة الاكل وذلك لان قلة الاكل (ع ص ١٨ ظ) من سنة

(١) ن ع (٢) ع : بتبديل (٣) م ع : المرين (٤) م ع :  
تغير (٥) م : بالتغير (٦) ع : وتكثر (٧) ن ع (٨) ع :  
الاخلاق (٩) م : تغيرا (١٠) ع : زايديا (١١) ع ن (١٢) - (١٢) ن ع  
(١٣) ع : لا يليق

الاولياء وكثرته من سنن اولى الشره وبعضها الاثيق به ان يكون قويا كشهوة الطيب وشهوة العبادات وشهوة الباه ، اما شهوة الطيب فلان زيادة الطيب مما ينتفع به الجلوس والمخالطون ويستعظم صاحبه (م ص ٣٨ و) كما يكره<sup>(١)</sup> الذي رآه كريمة ويستقل ، واما شهوة الباه فلان زيادة هذه الشهوة في الرجال محمودة لانها تدل على قوة الرجولية ، واما شهوة العبادات فلان<sup>(٢)</sup> هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لا بد وان يكون اتصاله بالله تعالى شديدا<sup>(٣)</sup> جدا فاذا كان في العبادة كان استغراقه فيها شديدا واتصاله بالله تعالى<sup>(٣)</sup> حينئذ تاما وذلك موجب لزيادة اللذة بخلاف غير هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم واول العبادات بذلك الصلاة لان التوجه فيها الى الله تعالى اشد واذا<sup>(٤)</sup> كانت<sup>(٥)</sup> شهوة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم للباه<sup>(٦)</sup> قوية وهو منزه عن ان تكون شهوته هذه لغير النساء ، فان ذلك (ع ص ١٩ و) من سيرة المفسدين والرعا ، فلا بد وان يكون شهوته هذه انما هي للنساء فلذلك يجب ان يكون عنده نساء كالزوجات وان يكون مباشرته لهن كثيرة .

### الفصل الخامس

في هيئة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ثم ان المسمى بكامل فكر في ان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كيف ينبغي ان يكون في خلقته فقال في نفسه ان هذا لا يجوز البتة ان يكون في هيئة بدنه امر مستنكر فلا يكون قصيرا جدا لان من يكون كذلك يستحقر فلا يكون (م ص ٣٨ ظ) في انفس الناس عظما وكذلك لا يجوز البتة ان يكون مقرط الطول فان من يكون كذلك لا بد وان ينسب الى<sup>(٧)</sup> نقص في العقل ولا يجوز ايضا ان يكون في بدنه عاهة لان من يكون كذلك يستقل ويظير به وجميع ذلك يناهى الحال التي يجب ان يكون عليها هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وكذلك

(١) ع : يشكره (٢) ع : فان (٣) - (٣) ن ع (٤) ع : واذا  
(٥) ن م (٦) ع : الباه (٧) ع : اليه



النبي صلى عليه وسلم اذ لم يحسر عليه واحد او اثنان فقط، وثالثها<sup>(١)</sup> اطلاعه على الامر (ع ص ١٥ ظ) المغيب الذي قصده الكفار خفية وذلك من جملة المعجزات فلذلك يجب ان يكون خروج النبي صلى عليه وسلم من مكة شرفها الله تعالى على وجه يجتمع<sup>(٢)</sup> عدة من الكفار ليقتلوه خفيه فيخرج هو باطلاع الله له على كيدهم . واذا خرج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من مكة فلا بد وان يعود اليها وان<sup>(٣)</sup> يملكها<sup>(٣)</sup> لانه كما تعلمه بعد لا بد وان يوجب الحج اليها فيكون حجها واجبا عليه ايضا ولا يمكن دخوله فيها وهي<sup>(٤)</sup> في ايدى الكفار والا كان دخوله فيها<sup>(٣)</sup> على وجه يكون كأنه في ذمتهم وذلك مما لا يليق بمنصبه فلذلك لا بد وان يدخل<sup>(٥)</sup> اليها وهي ملكه وايضا (م ص ٣٦ و) لو لم يملكها لكان لاصحابه اذا اوجب الحج اليها ان يقولوا وكيف يجب علينا التوجه الى موضع لعلة لا يؤذن لنا في الدخول فيه فلذلك يجب ان يعود النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الى مكة بعد خروجه منها وان يكون ذلك على وجه يكون هو (ع ص ١٦ و) ملكها . ثم بعد ذلك فكر كامل في المدينة التي ينبغى ان يكون انتقال النبي صلى<sup>(٦)</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>(٦)</sup> اليها فرأى ان الاولى ان تكون هذه المدينة مختصة بامر لاجله يلدق بهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ان يكون قبره فيها وذلك كما اذا كانت هي المدينة التي مات فيها والده لكون قبره اذا مات بالقرب من قبر والده وتلك المدينة هي يثرب ، ورأى ان الاولى ان يكون مقام هذا النبي فيها هو<sup>(٧)</sup> على وجه يعظم فيها شأنه وذلك بان يكون ملكها ونحو ذلك .

### الفصل الثالث

في انه كيف ينبغى ان تكون تربية هذا النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين صلوات الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين .

ثم ان<sup>(٨)</sup> المسمى بكامل فكر بعد ذلك في ان هذا النبي كيف ينبغى ان يربى بعد مولده<sup>(٨)</sup> فقال في نفسه ان هذا لما كان خاتم  
 (١) ع : ثالثا . (٢) ع : مجتمع (٣) - (٣) ع : ويملكها (٤) - (٤) ع :  
 (٥) ع : يعود (٦) - (٦) ع : (٧) ن ع (٨) - (٨) ن ع

النبيين وفاضلهم وسيدهم وبه تكمل<sup>(١)</sup> الشريعة وبعده ينقطع الوحي فلا بد وان يكون رسولا الى الناس كلهم حتى لا تبقى طائفة يحتاجون (ع ص ١٦ ظ) الى بعثة نبي آخر فلا يكون (م ص ٣٦ ظ) هذا النبي خاتم النبيين وانما يكون هذا النبي صالحا لذلك اذا كان في اخلاقه بغاية الاعتدال حتى يمكنه ان لا ينافر احدا من الناس مع اختلاف  
 اخلاقهم وامزجتهم وانما يكون<sup>(٢)</sup> ذلك اذا كان هذا النبي بغاية الاعتدال في المزاج فان انحراف المزاج الى اى جهة كان يلزمه انحراف الخلق الى ما يناسب ذلك المزاج فلذلك يجب ان يكون هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بغاية الاعتدال في المزاج والاخلاق واذا كان كذلك وجب ان يموت ابوه اولاً ثم يموت امه وان يرضعه غير امه وان يكون رضاعته في غير مكة شرفها الله تعالى وان يربيه بعد ذلك وبعد موت امه اقاربه المقارنون منزلة ابيه في الحرمة<sup>(٣)</sup> وهؤلاء كالجدة والاعمام . وانما قلنا ذلك لان مزاج كل شخص قريب (ع ص ١٧ و) من مزاج ابويه فلا بد وان يكون مزاج هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في اول حدوثه كذلك فلا يكون بالاعتدال الذي ينبغى ان يكون له فلا بد من حدوث امر  
 آخر يقربه الى الاعتدال ومن جملة ذلك الرضاع فانه يغير الطباع وينبغى ان تكون مرضعته من غير مكة شرفها<sup>(٤)</sup> الله تعالى<sup>(٤)</sup> لتكون مخالفة لأمزجة<sup>(٥)</sup> المكيات فيكون مزاجها شديد المخالفة (م ص ٣٧ و) لمزاج ام النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فيكون تعديلها لمزاجه اكثر وكذلك ينبغى ان تكون تربيته اولاً في غير مكة لتكون في هواء يخالف<sup>(٦)</sup> هواءها  
 فيكون معدلاً لما يقتضيه هواء مكة فهذا هو السبب في ان تكون مرضعته اولاً غير امه ويجب ان تكون هذه المرضعة شديدة الشفقة عليه والحببة له ليكون ما يدر من لبنها عليه محموداً نافعاً<sup>(٧)</sup> له<sup>(٧)</sup> وانما يكون ذلك اذا (ع ص ١٧ ظ) حصل لتلك المرضعة به انتفاع كثير فلذلك يجب ان يظهر<sup>(٨)</sup> عندها البركة بعد اخذه . واما وجوب ان يربيه اولاً

(١) ع : تحمل (٢) ع : يمكن (٣) ع : الحرفة (٤) - (٤) ن ع  
 (٥) ع : الامزجة (٦) ع : مخالف (٧) - (٧) ع : فاعاله (٨) ن ع :  
 عنه



فقال في نفسه انه يجب ان لا يكون من اهل البر كالاعراب ونحوهم فان سكان البرارى يجب ان يكون عقولهم وآراؤهم انقص مما يكون في اهل المدن فان اهل البر لا يجدون من<sup>(١)</sup> يتشبهون به من العقلاء بخلاف اهل المدن فاذا لا بد وان يكون هذا النبي من اهل المدن ويجب<sup>(٢)</sup> ان يكون من اهل المدن<sup>(٣)</sup> الاشرف فان اهل المدن الخسيسة يستقلون عند الناس وفضيلة المدن تكون بامور منها اعتدال الهواء ومنها رخاء الاسعار ومنها كثرة الثار ومنها كثرة المياه ونحو (ع ص ١٣ ظ) ذلك ومنها العظمة الدينية في نفوس الناس وهذا هو اول الامور التي بها ترجح المدينة التي تكون منها هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وانما تتحقق العظمة الدينية لمدينة<sup>(٤)</sup> اذا كانت تلك<sup>(٥)</sup> المدينة<sup>(٦)</sup> مشتملة على معبد عظيم عند الناس وافضل المعابد التي هي كذلك ما تواتت عليه الاحقاب لان ما يكون من المعابد كذلك تكون عظمته قد استقرت في نفوس الناس من زمان طويل جدا واقدم (م ص ٣٤ ظ) المعابد هو البيت العتيق شرفه الله تعالى فانه اول بيت وضع للناس فلذلك كانت المدينة المشتملة عليه وهي مكة شرفها الله تعالى اشرف البلاد فلذلك يجب ان يكون خاتم النبيين مولده مكة<sup>(٧)</sup>. ولما ثبت ذلك عند كامل تفكير<sup>(٨)</sup> بعد ذلك في ان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم هل يقيم بمكة الى وفاته او يهاجر عنها الى مدينة اخرى يموت بها فقال في نفسه ان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (ع ص ١٤ و) لما كان خاتم النبيين صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين فالنبوة لا محالة منقطعة بعده واذا كان كذلك وجب ان يكون شرعه<sup>(٩)</sup> وعظمته محفوظين جدا عند الناس فان نسيان ذلك يلزمه بطلان فائدة النبوة فلذلك يجب ان تدون شريعته وان يكثر الاشتغال بها وبكلامه واحواله وسيرته ونحو ذلك اكثر مما في باقي الانبياء ومما لا بد منه في حفظ عظمته ان تسن الزيارة الى قبره حتى يرغب الناس في ذلك ويسافرون الى قبره من اطراف البلاد واذا كان كذلك وجب ان يكون قبره في غير مكة اذ

(١) ع : ما (٢) - (٢) ن ع (٣) ع : لمدينته (٤) - (٤) ن م  
(٥) ع : بمكة (٦) ع : تكفر (٧) ع : شريعته

لو كان بمكة لكانت<sup>(١)</sup> زيارته تقع كالتبع لزيارة البيت فكان يظن على طول الزمان ان الحج لاجل البيت فقط وينسى قبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فيؤدى ذلك (م ص ٣٥ و) الى نسيانه صلى الله عليه وسلم ويلزم ذلك بطلان الشريعة (ع ص ١٤ ظ) فلذلك ينبغي ان يكون قبره في بلد آخر حتى يكون السفر اليه لقصده فقط فيدوم حفظ عظمته وانما يكون قبره في بلد آخر اذا حصل هو في ذلك البلد ومات فيه . ففكر بعد ذلك كامل في ان حصول هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في البلد الذي يموت فيه ما الذي ينبغي ان يكون سببه فرأى ان ذلك لا يمكن ان يكون لاجل طلب المال بالتجارة ونحوها ولا لطلب<sup>(٢)</sup> طيب هواء ذلك البلد او كثرة فاكهته او رخاء سعره او كثرة المياه فيه ونحو ذلك فان ذلك كله مما لا يليق قصده بمنصب النبوة خاصة هذا<sup>(٣)</sup> النبي العظيم بل فلا<sup>(٤)</sup> يجوز ايضا ان يكون خروجه من مكة شرفها الله تعالى عن اختيار منه والا كان مختارا للخروج من الموضع الافضل الى ما هو دونه وذلك مما لا يليق بالعلاء فضلا عن هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فلا بد وان يكون خروجه (ع ص ١٥ و) من مكة اضطرارا، ولا يمكن ان يكون ذلك على سبيل النفي فان ذلك لا يليق بعطاء الناس ويحط<sup>(٥)</sup> من المنزلة ولا يمكن ايضا ان يكون على سبيل الهزيمة في<sup>(٦)</sup> القتال<sup>(٧)</sup> ونحو ذلك فان ذلك يحط<sup>(٨)</sup> منزلته فلذلك انما يمكن ذلك بان<sup>(٩)</sup> يكون على وجه يدل على عظمته (م ص ٣٥ ظ) في نفسه ومهانة الكفار وذلك بان<sup>(١٠)</sup> يجتمع عدد كثير منهم ويتفقون على قتله سرقة وخفية وفي حال نومه ويخرج هو كالفار من ذلك، فان هذا الخروج يدل على امور احدها ذل الكفار ومهانتهم حتى يكون القاصد لقتل واحد خلق كثير منهم مجتمعين فان هذا انما يفعل غالبا اذا كان القاتلون ضعفاء جدا وكان المقصود قتله عظيم الشأن كالمملك العظيم او الشجاع القوى البأس، وثانيها<sup>(١١)</sup> عظمة شأن

(١) ع : لكان (٢) ع : بطلب (٣) ع : فاكهة (٤) ن ع  
(٥) ع : ولا (٦) ع : ويحيط (٧) - (٧) ع : من الكفار (٨) ع :  
يحبط (٩) ع : ان (١٠) ع : ان (١١) ع : ثانيها



(ع ص ١١ ظ) (الفن الثاني) في كيفية توصل كامل الى معرفة السيرة النبوية ، وكلامنا في هذا الفن يشتمل على عشرة فصول .

### الفصل الاول

في نسب هذا النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين صلى الله عليه وسلم .

قال فاضل بن ناطق ولما تبين للرجل المسمى بكامل ان هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يجب<sup>(١)</sup> ان يكون افضل (م ص ٣٣ و) النبيين<sup>(٢)</sup> واعلمهم تفكر بعد ذلك فقال في نفسه ان هذا يجب ايضا ان يكون عند<sup>(٣)</sup> الناس بهذه المنزلة لانه لو لم يكن كذلك لم يكن في نفوس الناس من استعظامه ما يسهل عليهم الازعان لقبول ما يخبر به لان هذا يشتمل اخباره عن اشياء كثيرة مما لا يقبلها اوهام الناس لانه يخبر بتفاصيل الشريعة ويجمع صفات الله تعالى وبتفاصيل احوال المعاد فلو لم يكن عند الناس بالمنزلة العظيمة جدا لم يتقادوا لقوله ولا كذلك باقى الانبياء عليهم السلام (ع ص ١٢ و) وانما يكون هذا<sup>(٤)</sup> النبي عند الناس كذلك<sup>(٥)</sup> اذا كان نسبه شريفا جدا واشرف النسب ما كان الى اولى الدين واشرف ذلك ما كان الى النبيين واشرف ذلك ما كان الى العطاء من الانبياء وافضل ذلك ما كان الى نبي قد اتفقت الملل على تعظيمه لانه لو كانت له ملة تعاديه لكانت تلك الملة تنفر عن المنسوب اليه فكانت تحمل الناس على<sup>(٧)</sup> الامتناع من قبول اخباره والنبي الذي<sup>(٨)</sup> هو كذلك<sup>(٨)</sup> هو ابراهيم عليه الصلاة والسلام لانه مع جلالته في نفسه قد اتفقت الملل على تعظيمه فلذلك يجب ان يكون خاتم النبيين منسوباً الى ابراهيم صلوات الله على الجميع ، ويجب ان يكون هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم غير منتسب

(١) ع : وجب (٢) ع : الانبياء (٣) ع : عنه (٤) ع : هنا (٥) ع : بذلك (٦) ع : تعاونه (٧) ع : عن (٨) ع : صلى الله عليه وسلم وكذلك

اولا الى ملة غير (م ص ٣٣ ظ) ملته فلا يكون اولاً يهودياً ولا نصرانياً ولا مجوسياً ونحو ذلك لانه لو كان من اهل ملة لكان عند دعواه النبوة ودعاء<sup>(١)</sup> الناس<sup>(١)</sup> الى الدين (ع ص ١٢ ظ) الذى يحدثه كافراً عند<sup>(٢)</sup> تلك الملة لانه يكون قد خرج عن دينهم فيكون عندهم مبتدعاً كافراً<sup>(٢)</sup> وذلك مما يدعوهم الى تنفير<sup>(٣)</sup> الناس عنه . ولو كان مقرراً لدين تلك الملة كما جرى لعيسى عليه السلام مع اليهود فكيف<sup>(٤)</sup> اذا<sup>(٥)</sup> نسخ دين تلك الملة وبدله فلذلك يجب ان يكون خاتم النبيين ليس منسوباً في اول امره الى ملة اخرى فلذلك يجب ان لا يكون من نسل يعقوب او العيص عليهما السلام لان من ينتسب الى يعقوب عليه السلام ان لم يكن يهودياً فهو كافر خارجي . اعنى بذلك قبل بعثة خاتم النبيين وان كان يهودياً كان منسوباً الى ملة اليهود وقد تبين ان خاتم النبيين صلى الله عليه وسلم لا يجوز ان يكون كذلك فلذلك لا يجوز ان يكون منسوباً الى يعقوب<sup>(٦)</sup> عليه السلام ولمثل هذا لا يجوز ان يكون منسوباً الى العيص عليه<sup>(٧)</sup> السلام<sup>(٧)</sup> لان المؤمنين من المنسوبين اليه قبل البعثة نصارى فلذلك يجب ان يكون خاتم النبيين صلى الله عليه وسلم منسوباً الى اسماعيل عليه السلام فلذلك<sup>(٨)</sup> يجب<sup>(٨)</sup> ان (م ص ٣٤ و) يكون (ع ص ١٣ و) منسوباً<sup>(٩)</sup> الى اشرف الفقراء في الانتساب الى اسماعيل عليه السلام فلذلك يجب ان يكون<sup>(٩)</sup> هاشمياً .

### الفصل الثاني

في موطن هذا النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين صلى الله عليه وسلم

ان هذا النبي لما ثبت عند كامل انه يجب ان يكون اعلم الانبياء وافضلهم فكرر في انه اى المواضع من الارض ينبغي ان يكون منها<sup>(١٠)</sup>

(١) - (١) ن م (٢) - (٢) ن ع (٣) ع : تنفر (٤) ن ع (٥) ع : اذ (٦) - (٦) ن ع (٧) - (٧) ن م (٨) - (٨) ع : ويجب (٩) - (٩) ن م (١٠) كذا في م ع



ان له ثلاث منافع احداها<sup>(١)</sup> انه يبلغ الناس شرع الله عز وجل كما ذكرناه ثانيها<sup>(٢)</sup> انه يعرف الناس بجلال الله تعالى<sup>(٣)</sup> وبسائر صفاته وثالثها<sup>(٤)</sup> انه يعرفهم حال المعاد وما هو معد لهم في الدار الآخرة من السعادة والشقاوة. ثم تفكر بعد ذلك كامل وقال ان هذه الاشياء مما يعسر على طبائع كثير من الناس (م ص ٣١ ظ) قبولها اذ كثير من الناس يعسر عليهم تسليم وجود ما هو ليس بجسم ولا قوة في جسم ولا هو في جهة ولا اليه اشارة وكثير منهم يعسر عليه تصور<sup>(٥)</sup> كيفية<sup>(٥)</sup> الرسالة وكيفية بعثه الانبياء صلوات الله عليهم وسلامه وكثير منهم يعسر عليه تسليم<sup>(٦)</sup> (ع ص ١٠ و) امر المعاد وتسليم العودة<sup>(٧)</sup> بعد الموت<sup>(٨)</sup> وتسليم البقاء الابدى في النعيم او في الجحيم ونحو ذلك مما تتضمنه تلك المنافع ولولا ان الناس في هذا الزمان قد اعتادوا ما جاءت به الشريعة والعوا اقولها لبادروا بالاستنكار<sup>(٩)</sup> والرّد على الانبياء صلوات الله عليهم وسلامه واذا كان قبول هذه الاشياء عسرا فلو ورد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بها دفعة من غير ان يتقدمه انبياء اخر يقربون اكثر ذلك الى اذهان الناس لنفر الناس عنه جدا وكان تكذيبهم له شديدا فلذلك ينبغي ان يرد اولا انبياء<sup>(١٠)</sup> بما هو من هذه الاشياء اسهل قبولا<sup>(١١)</sup> والحاجة اليه في جودة بقاء الانسان وجودة عيشته امس وذلك هو تبليغ الناس شرع الله عز وجل ويكون الوارد اولا واردا بما هو من ذلك قريب الى<sup>(١٢)</sup> العقل ليكون قبوله اسهل والنفرة عنه اقل وكلما جاء نبي آخر زاد على المتقدم حتى يستوفى ما يحتاج اليه (ع ص ١٠ ظ) من الشرع (م ص ٣٢ و) وحينئذ يكون الناس قد عرفوا الله بوجه ما واشتاقوا الى تعرف صفاته<sup>(١٤)</sup> وخصائصه فيسهل عليهم قبول ما يرد به الانبياء المتأخرون من ذلك ثم اذا عرف الناس<sup>(١٤)</sup> صفات الله تعالى وجلاله وتحققوا قدرته التامة لم يعسر عليهم التصديق باحوال المعاد وما

(١) ع : احدا (٢) م ع : ثانيها (٣) ن ع (٤) ع : ثالثها (٥) - (٥) ع : كيفية تصور (٦) ن ع (٧) ع : العود (٨) ع : المات (٩) ع : في الانكار (١٠) ن ع (١١) ع : قولاً (١٢) ع : من (١٣) ع : من (١٤) - (١٤) ن ع

يشتمل عليه من السعادة والشقاوة الابديتين<sup>(١)</sup> فلذلك يسهل عليهم تصديق من يأتي بعد ذلك من الانبياء بذلك، فلذلك اعتقد كامل انه ليس يمكن الغرض من النبوة بنبي واحد بل لا بد من انبياء يأتي سابقهم بما يدرج الناس الى معرفة<sup>(٢)</sup> ما يأتي به المتأخر ولا<sup>(٣)</sup> بد وان يكون كل متأخر منهم يأتي بما اتى به السابق وزيادة حتى يكمل فائدة النبوة عند آخرهم فلذلك يحتاج الآخر منهم ان يكون عالما بجميع ما اتى به السابقون ومتمكنا من تبليغ جميع ما بلغه السابقون فلذلك لا بد وان يكون النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين افضل الانبياء واقومهم بما يحتاج اليه في امر النبوة وكذلك ينبغي ان يكون كل متأخر من النبيين افضل ممن<sup>(٤)</sup> قبله ولكن ذلك انما يلزم (ع ص ١١ و) اذ لم يعرض للناس تغيير يقتضى خلاف ذلك فانه قد<sup>(٥)</sup> يبلغ الامر بالنبي الآتى في زمان ما<sup>(٦)</sup> الى ان (م ص ٣٢ ظ) يقارب<sup>(٧)</sup> درجة الذي يكمل به فائدة النبوة ثم بعد ذلك ينقرض اهل ذلك الزمان بغتة<sup>(٨)</sup> اما بطوفان عام<sup>(٩)</sup> او بوباء عام ونحو ذلك فيكون القوم الذين يردون<sup>(١٠)</sup> بعد ذلك في حكم الذين كأهم<sup>(١١)</sup> قبل بعثة الرسل اولا فلذلك يحتاج حينئذ الى اعادة تدريج الناس الى سهولة قبول الحق وذلك بان يرد اولا نبي يكون في قومه كالنبي الذي جاء في اول الامر فلذلك يحتاج حينئذ ان يكون هذا النبي اضعف من السابق عليه فهذا الوجه لم يلزم ان يكون كل نبي افضل ممن سبقه الا النبي الاخير وهو خاتم النبيين فانه على كل حال يجب ان يكون افضل ممن سواه لان النبوة بعده تنقطع فلا بد وان يأتي بجميع ما يحتاج اليه في تكميل فائدة النبوة فلذلك يجب ان يكون النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين افضل الانبياء جميعهم.

(١) ع : الابديين (٢) ع : معرفته (٣) ع : فلا (٤) ع : ما (٥) ن ع (٦) ن ع (٧) ع : يقرب (٨) ع : بفتنة (٩) ن م (١٠) ع : يريدون (١١) م ع : كانوا



وقت فعلم ان الانسان لاجل فقدانه السلاح الطبيعي واحتياجه الى غذاء صناعي وملبس صناعي ليست تجود عيشته اذ انفرد بنفسه بل لا بد وان يكون (م ص ٣٠ ظ) الانسان مدنيا (\*) حتى يكون مع جماعة يكون لبعضهم ان يزرع وللآخر (١) (ع ص ٨ و) ان يحرق وللآخر (٢) ان يخبز وللآخر (٣) ان ينقل المادة وللآخر (٤) ان يخطط الثوب ونحو ذلك . ثم تفكر فقال في نفسه واذا الانسان يحتاج في جودة (٥) معيشته الى ذلك فهو لا محالة محتاج الى وقوع معاملة كبيع واجارة ونحوهما وهذه المعاملة تؤدى الى المنازعة وكل احد يرى ان ما له

(\*) نقلنا من الرسالة المسماة في اولها « كتاب مكارم الاخلاق والسياسة » وفي آخرها « كتاب مكارم الاخلاق والسياسة والزهد وما اشبه ذلك » المنسوبة الى التستري (وهو شمس الدين ابو عبدالله محمد بن احمد بن عثمان التستري المدني المتوفى سنة ٧٨٥) الموجودة في نسخة « ١٣٥٣ تصوف » من دار الكتب المصرية ما نصه : (ص ٨ و) فصل في وجه الحاجة الى التمدن وشرح ماهيته وفضيلته . الانسان محتاج في تحصيل ضرورياته (ص ٨ ظ) من الغذاء والسكن والملبس والسلاح وغيرها الى معاونة بني نوعه فان الشخص الواحد لو اراد ترتيب ذلك بنفسه لازدحم على الواحد كثير من الامور ولامتنع صدور ذلك منه او عسر ذلك جدا ان امكن ... والمعاونة انما تكون بالمعاونة . . . عناية من الله تعالى بنظام العالم . . . واذا تقرر ان الانسان محتاج الى معاونة من بني نوعه والمعاونة بدون الاجتماع محال ثبت ان الانسان محتاج بالطبع الى الاجتماع وهذا الاجتماع يسمى تمدنا ... فصل ولما كانت دواعي افعال الناس مختلفة وحركاتهم انما تتوجه الى مقاصد مختلفة فلو اهملوا طبائعهم لم يتصور منهم التعاون ... ويقع التنارع المؤدى الى الفئائى فلذلك احتاجوا الى تدبير ينزل بكل (في الاصل : لكل) واحد منزلته ويعطيه حقه ويشغله بصناعة يكفلها ويصرف عنه شر الباقين وذلك التدبير هو السياسة والسياسة محتاجة الى الشريعة لمعرفة قوانين توجب نظام معاش الانسان ومعاونه ... (ص ٩ و) ... واذا كان الله سبحانه وتعالى قادر تأليف اهل العالم على هذا الوجه فالذى يتفرد ويميل الى الوحدة فيكون عازبا عن فضيلة العدالة فان عزله واعراضه عن معاونة ابناء نوعه مع احتياجه الى مقتنياتهم وصناعاتهم محض الجور والظلم فانه يأكل ارزاقا لهم اكتسبوها بالمعاونة وكذا يلبس ملبوسا لهم ويسكن مساكن بنوها بالمعاونة ولا يعرضهم عن ذلك كلمة شيئا اصلا .

(١) ع : ولآخر (٢) ع : ولآخر (٣) ع : ولآخر (٤) ع : ولآخر (٥) ع : جميع وجود

حق وما عليه باطل فلذلك انما تجود معيشة (١) الانسان (١) بان يكون مع جمع (٢) بينهم شرع محفوظ تنقطع به المنازعة وانما يمكن (٣) ذلك بان يكون ذلك الشرع مما يتلقى بالطاعة والقبول وانما يكون ذلك اذا اعتقد انه من الله تعالى وانما يكون ذلك اذا كان وروده من شخص يصدقه الناس في اخباره انه من الله تعالى وهذا الشخص ليس يمكن ان (٤) يكون (٤) حيوانيا غير انسان فان غير الانسان من الحيوانات لا نطق له البتة فضلا عن ان يكون مبلغا لشرع ولا يمكن ان يكون مما لا يقوى اكثر الناس على الاحساس به كالمملك (ع ص ٩ و) او (٥) الجن (٥) والال لم يتمكن الجمهور من سماع الشرع منه فلذلك لا بد وان (٦) يكون هذا الشخص انسانا ، ثم تفكر فقال واذا كان هذا المبلغ انسانا فلا بد وان يكون مختصا بامر لاجله يصدقه الجمهور (٧) وغيرهم في اخباره (م ص ٣١ و) ان ما جاء به هو من عند الله وانما يكون كذلك (٨) اذا كان مختصا بامر يعلم معه (٩) انه لولا اتصاله بالله تعالى وصدقه (١٠) فيما يخبر به (١١) عنه لم يكن له ذلك وهذا الامر هو الذى يسمى بالمعجز ، فاذا (١٢) لا بد وان يكون هذا الشخص ذا معجز ١٥ يشعر الانفس معه ان ما جاء به ليس بزور ولا باطل بل هو حق من عند الله تعالى والشخص الذى له ذلك هو النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم . فعلم لذلك كامل ان جودة عيشة الانسان انما تتم بوجود هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فوجوده خير عظيم للانسان (١٣) ونفع عام والله تعالى يعلم ذلك فواجب بحسب عنايته (١٤) وجود هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اذ ٢٠ من (ع ص ٩ ظ) المستحيل ان يترك الله تعالى خلقه هذا النبي مع نفعه العام ومع ذلك فانه لا يهمل خلقه شعر العانة ونحوه مما يقل نفعه ، فلذلك علم كامل ان خلقه هذا (١٥) النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم مما لا بد منه . ثم تفكر بعد ذلك في منفعة النبي صلى (١٦) الله عليه وسلم (١٦) قرأى

(١) - (١) ع : معيشته (٢) ع : جمعهم (٣) ع : يكون (٤) - (٤) ن ع (٥) - (٥) ع : والجن (٦) م : ان (٧) ع : الناس (٨) ع : ذلك (٩) ع : منه (١٠) ع : وتصديقه (١١) ن م (١٢) ع : واذا (١٣) ن ع (١٤) ن ع (١٥) ن م (١٦) - (١٦) ن م



والجوز وبعضها مجتمعاً كما في العنب وتأمل العنب فوجد العنبه بزرها مضاعف وكذلك بزر كل ثمرة فعلم ان ذلك ليقوم احد الجزئين بالتوليد اذا حدثت للاخرى آفة ثم رأى على كل عنبه بل على كل ثمرة غشاء يحفظ وضع اجزائها وشكلها ويمنع رطوبتها من سهولة التحلل ولحم العنبه ذو عروق ينفذ فيها الغذاء من اصل العنبه (م ص ٢٩ و) وبين تلك العروق رطوبة تملأ (ع ص ٦ ظ) الخلل الذى بينها وذلك لغذاء لب البزرة فعلم من ذلك ان وجود جميع اجزاء الحيوان<sup>(١)</sup> والنبات انما هو لغايات ومنافع وانه ليس شىء منها معطلا وموجودا سدى. ثم انتقل عن النبات فتأمل احوال الأجسام العلوية كالمطر والبرد والتلج وتفكر في الرعد والبرق ونحوها. ثم انتقل بعد ذلك الى الاجسام السماوية وشاهد حركاتها ونظام بعضها مع بعض ودورانها ونحو ذلك على ما بيناه في غير هذا الكتاب. وحينئذ كان قد تعدى مدة الحلم وبقل وجهه وقوى عقله وجاد فكره ففكر في ان هذه الموجودات هل هى مع اتقان وجودها وإحكامه<sup>(٢)</sup> موجوده<sup>(٣)</sup> بذواتها<sup>(٤)</sup> او بموجد<sup>(٥)</sup> آخر واذا كانت لموجد<sup>(٥)</sup> فما ذلك الموجد وكيف حاله فتشوق<sup>(٦)</sup> الى معرفة ذلك وكان قد شاهد كثيرا من الاجسام توجد تارة وتعدم اخرى فعلم ان وجود تلك الاجسام وعدمها كل منهما (ع ص ٧ و) غير مستحيل وذلك هو الذى نسميه بالممكن فرأى ان هذا الممكن ليس يجوز ان يكون وجوده او عدمه من ذاته والا لم يفارقه ذلك الامر الذاتى فهو اذاً من غيره فهل الفاعل لوجود الممكنات ممكن او ليس كذلك فان (م ص ٢٩ ظ) كان ممكنا كان وجوده من غيره ايضا وتسلسل ذلك فلا بد من الاشياء الى موجد غير ممكن اذ لولا ذلك لاجتمعت علل ومعلولات لا نهاية لها وكانت يجملتها ممكنة ايضا فكانت محتاجة الى موجد غيرها والذى هو غير جميع<sup>(٧)</sup> الممكنات فهو غير ممكن فلا بد وان يكون واجبا فاذاً لا بد وان يكون لهذه الموجودات موجد هو واجب الوجود وذلك هو الله تعالى ولا بد وان يكون عالما بكل شىء والا لم يكن فعله

(١) ع : الحيوانات (٢) - (٢) ن ع (٣) ع : بذاتها (٤) ع : لموجد (٥) ع : لموجود (٦) م ع : فتشوق (٧) ع : جمع

متقنا ولا بد وان يكون في غاية الاعتناء بكل شىء والا لم يجب ان يكون كل شىء على افضل الاحوال الممكنة له فظهر لكامل اذاً ان لهذه الموجودات (ع ص ٧ ظ) موجدا واجب الوجود عالما بكل شىء ومعتميا بكل شىء.

### الفصل الثالث

في بيان كيفية وصول المسمى بكامل الى تعرف امر النبوات

ان المسمى بكامل لما بلغ في المعرفة الى الحد الذى ذكرناه وكان اذ ذلك قد تهذب ذهنه وقد قارب<sup>(١)</sup> الشبية فاراد ان يعرف ما حق الخالق على عبادته<sup>(٢)</sup> ففكر هل الخالق تعالى مما ينبغي ان يعبد وان يطاع وما الطريق الى تعرف العبادة اللائقة بجلاله وبقي يفكر<sup>(٣)</sup> في ذلك مدة. واتفق ان الريح التقت الى تلك الجزيرة سفينة فيها خلق (م ص ٣٠ و) كثير من التجار وغيرهم واقاموا هناك مدة لاجل اصلاح تلك السفينة مما نالها بقوة<sup>(٤)</sup> ضرب الرياح لها وانتشر اهلها في تلك الجزيرة يحتطبون ويحنون من ثمارها فلحظهم كامل ونفر منهم اولاً ولم يزل يدنو منهم قليلاً قليلاً مع حذر حتى يشاهدوه فهالهم عظم بدنه<sup>(٥)</sup> واستدعوه ففر<sup>(٥)</sup> منهم فالتقوا اليه<sup>(٦)</sup> شيئاً من الخبز ومن طعام كان معهم (ع ص ٨ و) فلما اكله استطابه جدا لانه لم يكن قبل ذلك اكل غذاء صناعياً ثم تأنس بهم فالبسوه ثوباً واكل من اطعمتهم فاعجبه ذلك واجتهدوا في تعليمه اللغة فتعلم كثيراً منها واخبروه باحوال مدنهم وما يؤول فيها فتعجب من ذلك اذ كان يظن انه ليس سوى تلك الجزيرة<sup>(٧)</sup> ارض واحب السفر معهم فحملوه الى مدينة بالقرب من تلك الجزيرة فاكل من اطعمة اهلها ولبس ملبوسهم فالتذ بذلك لذة عظيمة وتذكر ما كان عليه من سوء العيش لاجل دوام التعرى في البرد والحر والاقتصار على الاغذية الطبيعية ووصول الحيوانات اليه ونهشها له كل

(١) ع : فارق (٢) ع : عبده (٣) ع : مفكراً (٤) ع : من قوة (٥) ع : نفر (٦) ع : له



## الفصل الثاني

في كيفية تعرف المسمى بكامل للعلوم<sup>(١)</sup> والحكمة

ان المسمى بكامل حين خرج من المغارة شاهد الفضاء والضوء  
 واشجار تلك الجزيرة وسمع اصوات الطيور وخرير ماء البحر والانهار  
 وحفيف الرياح وشم روائح الزهور والنبات واكل من الثمار التي تساقطت  
 من الاشجار فاحس بطعومها وادرك حر الهواء وبرده (ع ص ٤ ظ) فكبر  
 تعجبه من ذلك وصار اذا غمض عينيه<sup>(٢)</sup> تغيب<sup>(٣)</sup> عنه المرئيات واذا  
 فتحها بعد ذلك ادركها وكذلك اذا سد اذنيه باصبعيه غابت عنه  
 الاصوات واذا فتحها ادركها واذا حصلت ذوات الطعوم في فيه ادرك  
 طعومها (م ص ٢٧ ظ) واذا بعدها<sup>(٤)</sup> من فيه لم يدرك ذلك وكذلك  
 اعتبر الانف في الروائح وملاقة الملموسات للبشرة في اللمس وتكرر  
 له ذلك فعلم ان هذه الاعضاء هي آلات لهذه الادراكات وان هذه  
 الادراكات هي منافع هذه الاعضاء وكذلك رأى ان يديه للبطش  
 ورجليه للمشي ونحو ذلك فوقف بذلك على كثير من منافع الاعضاء  
 الظاهرة وتشوق<sup>(٥)</sup> الى تعرف منافع ما في داخل البطن<sup>(٦)</sup> والصدر من  
 الاعضاء ورأى ان يكون اعتباره لذلك في غيره فصار يشق بطون  
 الحيوانات التي يتمكن من امساكها والتي يصادفها ميتة ويفعل ذلك  
 باظفاره وبما يجده من الاحجار الحادة الاطراف<sup>(٧)</sup> وبشظايا القصب  
 ونحو ذلك فشاهد المعدة وان الغذاء ينطبخ فيها وانه ينفذ اليها من المري  
 النافذ (ع ص ٥ و) اليها من الفم ثم يتصل باسفل المعدة الامعاء<sup>(٨)</sup>  
 وان منها يخرج ثفل الغذاء اذ هي متصلة بالخرج ورأى صفاوة الغذاء  
 ينفذ في العروق المتصلة بالمعدة والامعاء النافذة الى مقعر الكبد وفي  
 الكبد يستحيل خلطا ثم ينفذ منها في العرق<sup>(٩)</sup> الصاعد من مجذب<sup>(١٠)</sup>  
 الكبد وينقسم في اقسام ذلك العرق حتى ينبت في الاعضاء من افواه

(١) ع : العلوم (٢) ع : عينه (٣) م : تنب (٤) ع : فقدها  
 (٥) ع : وتشوف (٦) ع : الباطن (٧) ن ع (٨) ع : للامعا  
 (٩) ع : العروق (١٠) ع : مجذب

تلك الاقسام فعلم لذلك منافع هذه (م ص ٢٨ و) الاعضاء وشاهد  
 القلب في الصدر وبطنه الايمن مملوء من الدم وبطنه الايسر مملوء من  
 الروح وهذا البطن ينقبض فتنفذ تلك الروح في الشرايين الى الاعضاء  
 ثم ينسبط فترجع تلك<sup>(١)</sup> الروح اليه وحينئذ يتجذب اليه الهواء من  
 الرئة وهي تجذب الهواء من خارج فينفذ اليها من الانف والفم مارا في  
 الحنجرة وقصبة الرئة الى تجاويف الرئة وذلك<sup>(٢)</sup> اذا انبسطت الرئة<sup>(٣)</sup>  
 ثم يندفع ما يسخن من ذلك الهواء الى خارج وذلك اذا انقبضت الرئة  
 وانقباضها وانبساطها بسبب تحريك (ع ص ٥ ظ) الحجاب وعضلات  
 الصدر لها وذلك بان ينقبض لذلك الصدر وينسبط وبذلك يتم النفس  
 والصوت فعلم ان هذه الاشياء هي منافع هذه الاعضاء ولم يزل كذلك  
 يستقصى حال عضو عضو حتى وقف على جملة كثيرة من علم  
 التشريح . وكان مع ذلك يتصفح احوال الحيوانات فيرى منها ما هو  
 جرىء مقدام مفترس كالاسد والنمر والذئب ومنها جبان يهرب امام  
 من يطلب اقتراسه او قبضه ونحو ذلك حتى اتضح له احوال كثيرة  
 من احوال الحيوانات . ثم بعد ذلك اخذ في التفكير في امر النبات  
 وتأمل كيف يتبدئ النبات من البذر (م ص ٢٨ ظ) فرأى البذر  
 ينتفخ<sup>(٣)</sup> لبه اذا وصلت اليه المادة من الارض فيلزم ذلك انشقاق  
 القشر<sup>(٤)</sup> وتبرز شعبة غرقية تمتص المادة من الارض ويأخذ النبات الى  
 جهة فوق فيبرز من الارض وتأمل اوراق النبات فرأى انه يمتد من  
 اصل الورقة الى رأسها شيء كالخوص ويمتد منه<sup>(٥)</sup> خياطات من الجانبين  
 ينفذ فيها (ع ص ٦ و) الغذاء الى جميع اجزاء الورقة وبها تتقوم الاوراق  
 وتأمل الثمار فرأى<sup>(٦)</sup> بعضها بارزا كما في التين وبعضها في غلاف اما  
 قشرى كما في الباقلي او صدفى كما في البلوط او غشائى كما في الحنطة  
 وبعضها في اكثر من غلاف واحد كما في الجوز واللوز وايضا بعض  
 الثمار له بزر واحدة كما في المشمش واللوز وبعضها له بزر كثير  
 كما في الرمان والقرع وايضا بعض الثمار يكون منفردا كما في الاترج

(١) ن ع (٢) (٢) - (٢) ن ع (٣) ع : ينفخ (٤) ن ع  
 (٥) ع : ذلك (٦) ع : في اى



(الفن الأول) في (١) بيان كيفية تكون هذا الانسان المسمى بكامل  
وكيفية وصوله الى تعرف العلوم والنبوات (١) يشتمل على ثلاثة فصول .

### الفصل الاول

في (٢) بيان كيفية تكون الرجل المسمى بكامل

٥ قال فاضل بن ناطق انه اتفق حدوث سيل كبير في جزيرة معتدلة  
الهواء كثيرة العشب والاشجار والثمار (٣) وخالط هذا السيل تراب كثير  
مختلف الطبائع لاجل اختلاف (ع ص ٢ ظ) التراب (٤) التي مر  
هذا السيل بها ونفذ شيء من هذا السيل في مغارة في ذيل جبل هناك  
فألأها (م ص ٢٦ و) ولجل قوة حركة هذا السيل نقل بعد ذلك الى  
باب هذه المغارة من التراب والاعشاب ما سد به بابها ثم انحط ذلك  
السيل فبقيت تلك المغارة مملوءة مما دخل اليها وكان ذلك في فصل  
الربيع فلما جاء الصيف سخن ما في داخل تلك المغارة وعفن وقد صار  
حينئذ خائرا بما فيه من التراب ولم يزل ينطبخ بما حدث فيه من الحرارة  
حتى امتزج وصار له مزاج قريب جدا من الاعتدال وصار قوامه  
١٥ لزجا قابلا لان يتكون منه الاعضاء واختلفت اجزائه لاجل اختلاف (٥)  
طبائع التراب المخالط له ، فلذلك كان بعضها حارا بابسا شبيها بمزاج  
قلب (٦) الانسان (٦) وبعضها حارا رطبا شبيها بمزاج كبد الانسان وبعضها  
باردا يابسا شبيها بمزاج عظام الانسان (ع ص ٣ و) وبعضها باردا  
رطبا شبيها بمزاج دماغ الانسان وبعضها يشبه مزاجه مزاج عصب  
٢٥ الانسان وبعضها يشبه مزاجه مزاج لحم الانسان . وبالجملة (٧)  
كان في تلك الاجزاء ما يشابه امزجة الاعضاء جميعها واجزاء اخر  
تشابه في امزجتها لتلك الاجزاء الاول وكان كل جزء يشبه بمزاجه  
مزاج عضو فان قوامه يكون صالحا لتكون ذلك العضو منه ،

(١) - (١) ن م (٢) ن ع (٣) ع : والاثمار (٤) ع : التراب  
(٥) ن ع (٦) - (٦) م : القلب (٧) ع : فالجملة

فلذلك كانت هذه الاجزاء مستعدة لان يتكون (١) منها اعضاء (م ص  
٢٦ ظ) الانسان . والله تعالى لكرمه (٢) لا يمنع مستحقا مستحقه ويعطى  
كل مستعد ما يستعد له فلذلك خلق من تلك الاجزاء اعضاء انسان  
ومن جعلها بدن انسان . كان يتبخر من ذلك الطين عند تسخينه انجرة  
كثيرة فكان (٣) بعضها لطيفا هوائيا شبيها في مزاجه بمزاج روح  
٥ الانسان فتكون من ذلك روح انسانية فكمثل بذلك تكون انسان .  
(ع ص ٣ ظ) وخالف هذا الانسان الانسان المتكون في الرحم بامور  
احدها ان هذا الانسان يشبه تكونه تكون الفرخ في البيضة اذ المغارة  
بمنزلة قشر البيضة وما في داخلها من المادة بمنزلة مح البيضة وبياضها  
والاجزاء الشبيهة بامزجة الاعضاء بمنزلة الاجزاء التي يتكون (٤) منها  
١٥ الفرخ والاجزاء الاخرى (٥) الشبيهة (٦) في امزجتها بتلك (٧) الاجزاء بمنزلة  
الاجزاء التي يغتذى منها الفرخ مدة تكونه وثانها ان هذا الانسان  
لا بد وان يكون عظيم البدن جدا وذلك لان الجزء الذي يتكون منه (٨)  
كل عضو لا بد وان يكون مقداره كبيرا بخلاف الاجزاء المنوية (٩)  
التي يتكون منها اعضاء الجنين في الرحم وثالثها ان هذا الانسان يجد  
١٥ المادة التي يغتذى منها وهو في المغارة كثيرة متوفرة وكذلك يجد الهواء  
المروح لقلبه هناك كثيرا (م ص ٢٧ و) فلذلك يتمكن من البقاء  
في داخل المغارة حتى يشتد اعضاؤه (ع ص ٤ و) ويبقى ادراكه  
وحركته فلذلك يكون عند خروجه كالصبي المترعرع في حركته وادراكه  
ولا كذلك الانسان المتكون في الرحم وخروج هذا الانسان من المغارة  
٢٥ شبيه بخروج الفرخ من البيضة . واتفق لهذا عند اضطرابه بيديه ورجليه  
عند ارادة الخروج من المغارة ان كان التراب الساد لبابها قد تفتت  
بعضه وانهدم فلذلك انخرق بحركة هذا الانسان بسهولة وعند انخراقه لم  
يزل هذا الانسان يزحف ويدب حتى خرج (١٠) .

(١) ع : يكون (٢) ع : بكرمه (٣) ع : وكان (٤) ع :  
يكون (٥) ع : الاخر (٦) ع : المشابهة (٧) ع : لتلك (٨) ع :  
منها (٩) ع : في الهامش : اى المتكونة من المني (١٠) ع : يخرج



(م ص ٢٥ ظ، ع ص ١ ظ) **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ**

قال الفقير الى الله تعالى علي بن ابي الحرَم القرشي المتطبب (١)  
عفا الله عنه وبعد حمد الله تعالى والصلاة على خير انبيائه ورسوله محمد  
وعلى آله وصحبه

فان قصدي في هذه الرسالة اقتصاص ما ذكره فاضل بن ناطق  
عن الرجل المسمى بكامل فيما يتعلق بالسيرة النبوية والسنن الشرعية على  
طريق الاجمال ملتزما ترك (٢) الاسهاب ومعرضا عن الاغماض وموضحا  
للمطالب (٣) بقدر الامكان وعلى الوجه اللائق بحجم هذا الكتاب ومرتبيا  
فيه كلامي (ع ص ٢ و) على اربعة فنون :

الفن الاول في كيفية تكون هذا الانسان المسمى بكامل وكيفية  
وصوله الى تعرف العلوم والنبوات

الفن الثاني في كيفية وصوله الى تعرف السيرة النبوية

الفن الثالث في كيفية وصوله الى تعرف السنن الشرعية

الفن (٤) الرابع في كيفية وصوله الى معرفة الحوادث التي تكون بعد  
وفاة خاتم النبيين صلوات الله وسلامه عليه وعليهم اجمعين (٤) . ١٥

(١) ن ع (٢) ع : ما اطرق ؛ ولعل الصواب هو «ترك ما اطرق الى  
الاسهاب» (٣) ع : الطالب (٤) - (٤) ن م



# الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

لعلاء الدين علي بن أبي الحرم القرشي

ابن النفيس



## من ترجمة السلطان بيبرس البندقدارى

من كتاب المنهل الصافى لابن تغرى بردى نقلا عن  
نسخة « ١١١٣ تاريخ » المحفوظة فى دار الكتب المصرية

( ج ١ ص ٣٦١ و ) سلطان الديار المصرية والبلاد الشامية  
والاقطار الحجازية والنغور الاسلامية .

( ص ٣٦٣ ظ ) وسافر الى دمشق غير مرة وفتح الفتوحات الهائلة  
وكسر التتار .

( ص ٣٦٧ و ) قال الحافظ الذهبى ... اتفق حضور ركن الدين  
بيبرس هذا من بلاده مع تاجره وكان الملك المنصور صاحب حماة اذ  
ذاك صبيا وكان اذا اراد شراء دقيق تبصره صاحبة والدته فاحضر  
بيبرس هذا مع خجداشه فرأتها من وراء الستر فأمرت بشراء خجداشه  
وقالت هذا الاسمر تعنى الملك الظاهر بيبرس لا يكون بينك وبينه معاملة  
فان فى عينيه شرا لأتعا فردهما الملك المنصور جميعا .

ثم قال (يعنى الذهبى) واشتهر يعنى الملك الظاهر بالشجاعة والاقدام  
ولما سارت الجيوش المنصورة من مصر لحرب التتار كان هو طليعة ،  
ثم قال وكان غازيا مجاهدا مرابطا خليقا للمملكة لولا ما كان فيه من  
الظلم ...

قلت وكان الملك الظاهر ... ملكا شجاعا (ص ٣٦٧ ظ) مقداما  
خبيرا بالحروب ذا رأى وتدبير وسياسة ومعرفة وكان سريع الحركات  
كثير الاسفار نالته السعادة والظفر فى غالب حروبه .

## من ترجمة السلطان قلاوون

من كتاب المنهل الصافى لابن تغرى بردى نقلا عن  
نسخة « ١١١٣ تاريخ » المحفوظة فى دار الكتب المصرية

( ج ٣ ص ٤٠ و ) وكان ملكا كريما حلما شجاعا عادلا عفيفا  
غير سفاك للدماء يميل الى خير ودين .

( ص ٤١ و ) وابطل مظالم<sup>(١)</sup> كثيرة ، منها انه كان يؤخذ من  
كل من عرف عنده مال زكاته ولو هلك ماله او مات تؤخذ من  
ورثته بالضرب والحبس ، ومنها انه كان يؤخذ من اهل الذمة عن كل  
واحد دينار غير الجالية برسم نفقات الجند ، ومنها انه كان يؤخذ من  
التجار عند سفر العسكر للغزاة عن كل تاجر دينار ، فابطل ذلك  
جميعه .

(١) فى الاصل: مظالما



واخبرني آخر قال دخل الشيخ علاء الدين مرة الى الحمام التي في باب الزهومة فلما كان في بعض تغسيله خرج الى مسلخ الحمام واستدعى بدواة وقلم وورق وأخذ في تصنيف مقالة في النبض الى ان انهاها ثم عاد دخل<sup>(١)</sup> الحمام وكمل تغسيله .

وقيل انه قال لو لم اعلم ان تصانيفي تبقى بعدى عشرة آلاف سنة ما وضعتها ، والعهد في ذلك على من نقله عنه . وعلى الجملة كان<sup>(٢)</sup> اماما عظيما وكثير من الافاضل قال هو ابن سينا الثاني .

ونقلت من ترجمته في مكان لا اعرف من هو الذي وضعها : قال شرح القانون في عشرين مجلدة شرحا حل فيه المواضع الحكمية ورتب فيه القياسات المنطقية وبيّن فيه الاشكالات الطبية ، ولم يسبق الى هذا الشرح لان قصارى كل من شرحه ان يقتصر على فسر الكليات الى نبض الحبالى ولا يجرى فيه ذكر الطب الا نادرا، وشرح كتب الفاضل بقراط كلها ولاكثرها شرحان مطول ومختصر، وشرح الاشارات ، وكان يحفظ كليات القانون وكان يعظم كلام بقراط ولا يشير على مشتغل بغير القانون وهو الذى جسّس الناس على هذا الكتاب . وكان لا يحجب نفسه عن الافادة ليلا ولا نهارا وكان يحضر مجلسه في داره جماعة من الامراء ومهذب الدين بن ابى حليقة رئيس الاطباء وشرف الدين بن صغير واكابر الاطباء ويجلس الناس على طبقاتهم . ومن تلاميذه الاعيان بدر الدين حسن رئيس الاطباء وأمين الدولة ابن القف والسديد وابو<sup>(٣)</sup> الفضل بن كوشك وابو الفتوح الاسكندرى . انتهى .

(١) كذا في الاصل وفي مسالك الابصار للعمري ايضا

(٢) في الاصل : وكان

(٣) في الاصل : ابو

### من ترجمة علاء الدين ابن النفيس

من كتاب مسالك الابصار لابن فضل الله العمري  
نقلًا عن نسخة « ٩٩ م تاريخ » قديما ، « ٨ م معارف عامة »  
حديثاً ، المحفوظة في دار الكتب المصرية

(الجزء الثامن ، ص ١١٩ و) وحدثني عنه غير واحد منهم شيخنا ابو<sup>(١)</sup> الفتح اليعمرى قال كان ابن النفيس على وفور علمه بالطب واتقانه لفروعه وأصوله قليل البصر بالعلاج ، فاذا وصف لا يخرج بأحد عن مألوفه ولا يصف دواء ما امكنه ان يصف غذاء ولا مركبا ما امكنه الاستغناء بمفرد وكان ربما وصف القمحية لمن شكا القرحة والتطهاج لمن شكا هواء والخروب والقضامة لمن شكا اسهالا ومن هذا ومثله ولكل بما يلائم ماأكله ويشاكلها حتى قال له العطار الشرايى الذى كان يجلس عنده اذا اردت انك<sup>(٢)</sup> تصف مثل هذه الوصفات اقعده على دكان اللحم واما اذا قعدت عندى فلا تصف الا السكر والشراب والادوية . وحكى لى شيخنا ابو الثناء الحلبي الكاتب قال شكوت الى ابن النفيس عقالا فى يدى فقال لى وانا والله بى عقال فقلت له فبأى شيء ادوايه فقال لى والله ما اعرف بأى شيء ادوايه ثم لم يزدنى على هذا .

(١) في الاصل : ابى

(٢) كذا في الاصل وفي نسخة ٢٥٦٨ الفوتوغرافية ايضا



الابهرى ، قرأت عليه من كتاب الهداية لابن سينا جملة وكان يقررها احسن تقرير ، وسمعت عليه من علم الطب ، وصنف في اصول الفقه والفقه والعربية والحديث وعلم البيان وغير ذلك ولم يكن في هذه العلوم بالمتقدم انما كان له فيها مشاركة تما . وقد احضر من تصنيفه كتابا في سفرين ابدى فيه عللا تخالف كلام اهل الفن ، ولم يكن قرأ في هذا الفن سوى الامتوزج للزخشرى قرأه على الشيخ بهاء الدين بن النحاس وتجاسر به على ان صنف في هذا العلم . وعليه وعلى شيخنا عماد الدين النابلسى تخرج الاطباء بمصر والقاهرة . وكان شيخنا طوالا اسيل الخدين نحيفا ذا مروة . وأخبرت انه في علته التي توفي فيها اشار عليه بعض اصدقائه الاطباء بتناول شيء من الخمر اذ كانت علته تناسب ان يتداوى بها على ما زعموا فأبى ان يتناول شيئا من ذلك وقال لا التى الله تعالى وفي باطنى (ص ٢١ و) شيء من الخمر . وكان قد ابنتى دارا بالقاهرة وفرشها بالرخام حتى ايوانها وما رأيت ايوانا مرخما في غير هذه الدار ، ولم يكن متزوجا ووقف داره هذه وكتبه على البيارستان المنصورى . وكان يبغض كلام جالينوس ويصفه بالعمى والاسهاب الذى ليس تحته طائل وهذا بخلاف شيخنا عماد الدين النابلسى فانه كان يعظمه ويحث على قراءة كلام جالينوس . وكان علاء الدين قد تولى تدريس المسرورية بالقاهرة في الفقه وذكروا انه شرح من اول التنبيه الى باب السهو شرحا حسنا . مرض<sup>(١)</sup> رحمه الله تعالى ستة ايام اوله يوم الاحد وتوفى سحر يوم الجمعة الحادى والعشرين من ذى القعدة سنة سبع وثمانين وستمائة بالقاهرة . وانشدنى الصنى ابو الفتوح بن يوحنا بن صليب بن مرجى بن موهوب النصرانى لنفسه يرثى علاء الدين ابن النفيس

وُمسائل «هل عالم او فاضل او ذو محلّ في العُلَى بعد العَمَلَا»  
فاجبتُ والنيران تضرم في الحشا اقصر فدمات العلامات العُلَى .

انتهى كلام اثير الدين .

(١) ناقص من الاصل ، وبالهامش : لعله مرض

اخبرنى الامام العلامة الشيخ برهان الدين ابراهيم الرشيدى خطيب جامع امير<sup>(١)</sup> حسين بالقاهرة قال كان علاء ابن النفيس اذا اراد التصنيف توضع له الأقلام مبريّة ويدير وجهه الى الحائط ويأخذ في التصنيف املاء من خاطره ويكتب مثل السيل اذا تحدر فاذا كلّ القلم وحفى رمى به وتناول غيره لئلا يضع عليه الزمان في بري القلم .

واخبرنى الشيخ نجم الدين الصفدى رحمه الله تعالى ان الشيخ بهاء الدين ابن النحاس كان يقول لا ارضى بكلام احد في القاهرة في النحو غير كلام علاء الدين ابن النفيس او كما قال ، وقد رأيت له كتاباً صغيراً عارض به رسالة حى بن يقظان لابن سينا ووصفه بكتاب فاضل بن ناطق وانتصر فيه لمذهب الاسلام وآرائهم في النبوات والشرائع والبعث الجسمانى وخراب العالم ولعمري لقد ابدع فيه ودل ذلك على قدرته وصحة ذهنه وتمكّنه في العلوم العقلية .

واخبرنى السديد الدياتي الحكيم بالقاهرة وكان من تلاميذه قال اجتمع ليلة هو والقاضي جمال الدين ابن واصل وانا نائم عندهما فلما فرغا من صلاة العشاء<sup>(٢)</sup> الآخرة شرعا في البحث وانتقلا من علم الى علم والشيخ علاء الدين في كل ذلك يبحث برياسة ولا انزعاج وأما القاضي جمال الدين فانه ينزعج ويعلو صوته وتحمرّ عيناه وتنتفخ عروق رقبته ولم يزالا كذلك الى ان اسفر الصبح (ص ٢١ ظ) فلما انفصل الحال قال القاضي جمال الدين يا شيخ<sup>(٣)</sup> علاء الدين اما نحن فعندنا مسائل ونكت وقواعد واما انت فعندك خزائن علوم . وقال ايضا قلت له يا سيدي لو شرحت الشفاء لابن سينا كان خيرا من شرح القانون لضرورة الناس الى ذلك فقال الشفاء على فيه مواضع تريد تسديدا<sup>(٤)</sup> ، انتهى . قلت يريد انه ما فهم تلك المواضع لان عبارة الرئيس في الشفاء غلقة .

(١) كذا في الاصل وفي مسالك الابصار للعمري ايضا

(٢) في الاصل : عشا

(٣) كذا في الاصل وفي مسالك الابصار للعمري ايضا

(٤) في الاصل : تسويد



## التراجم

- ١ -

### ترجمة علاء الدين ابن النفيس

من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات لخليل بن ايبك الصفدى نقلا  
عن نسخة «اورينتال ٦٥٨٧» المحفوظة في المتحف البريطاني

(ص ٢٠ ظ) علي بن ابي الحرّم هو الامام الفاضل الحكيم  
العلامة علاء الدين ابن النفيس القرشي الدمشقي . اخبرني العلامة  
اثير الدين ابو حيان قال نشأ المذكور بدمشق واشتغل بها في الطب  
على مذهب الدين الدخوار وكان الدخوار منجبا تخرج عليه جماعة منهم  
الرحي<sup>(١)</sup> وابن قاضي بعلبك وشمس الدين الكلي . وكان علاء الدين اماما  
في علم الطب اوحدا لا يضاهاى في ذلك ولا يدانى استحضارا واستنباطا  
واشتغل على كبر وله فيه التصانيف الفائقة والتوايف الرائقة ، صنف  
كتاب الشامل في الطب يدل فهرسته على انه يكون في ثلاثمائة سفر  
هكذا ذكر لى بعض اصحابه وبيض منها ثمانين سفرا وهى الآن وقف  
بالبيمارستان المنصوري بالقاهرة وكتاب المهذب في الكحل وشرح القانون  
لابن سينا في عدة اسفار وغير ذلك في الطب وهو كان الغالب عليه ،  
واخبرني من رآه يصنف انه كان يكتب من صدره من غير مراجعة  
حال التصنيف . وله معرفة بالمنطق وصنف فيه مختصرا وشرح الهداية  
لابن سينا في المنطق وكان لا يميل في هذا الفن الا الى طريقة المتقدمين  
كأبي<sup>(٢)</sup> نصر وابن سينا ويكره طريقة الافضل<sup>(٣)</sup> الخونجي والاثير

(١) في الاصل : المرحي

(٢)-(٣) هذا الكلام ناقص من الاصل ونقلناه من مسالك الابصار للعمري  
طبقا للنسخة الفوتوغرافية المحفوظة في دار الكتب المصرية (٢٥٦٨ تاريخ ، الجزء الخامس ،  
ص ٦١٨) ومن ترجمة ابن النفيس في المهل الصافي لابن تغري بردى (١١١٣ تاريخ ،  
ج ٢ ، ص ٣٨٣ و)

### هل الرموز

- ج : مجلدة  
ز : زائد في ...  
ص : صحيفة  
ظ : ظهر الصحيفة  
ع : مخطوط ٤٦١ مصطفى افندي في مكتبة عاشر افندي  
بالاستانة .  
م : مخطوط ٢٠٩ مجاميع في دار الكتب المصرية بالقاهرة  
ن : ناقص من ...  
و : وجه الصحيفة



# الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

تأليف

علاء الدين علي بن أبي الحرم القرشي

أبن النفيس

تحقيق

الدكتور ماكس مايرهوف

(المتوفى ٢٠ نيسان ١٩٤٥)

والدكتور يوسف شحبت