

Sa'd b. Manṣūr Ibn Kammūna's Writings and Transcriptions in the Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya, Najaf

*Preservation, Loss, and Recovery of the Philosophical Heritage of Muslims
and Jews*

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Abstract

This paper attempts to reconstruct the corpus of writings by Ibn Kammūna as well as his transcriptions of works by others that were kept in the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya in Najaf during the early twentieth century. Additionally, the paper discusses a slim codex, which was sold by Dreweatts in 2019 ("Lot 69") and resurfaced on the market in October 2020 when it was offered for auction by Sotheby's as "Lot 406". A tentative suggestion is made that the codex still belonged to the Rawḍa at the beginning of the twentieth century. The appendix includes a facsimile of the codex, which contains Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, comprising excerpts from a work by Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjiwānī, in order to support future scholarship on Ibn Kammūna and al-Nakhjiwānī.

Keywords

Sa'd b. Manṣūr Ibn Kammūna – al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya – Najaf – Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjiwānī – *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* – Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī – Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb al-Samāwī – Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī

1 The Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya and the Ibn Kammūna Corpus

Founded in the fourth/tenth century in close vicinity to the mausoleum (*marqad*) of Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in Najaf, the Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya (alternatively known as al-Khizāna al-Gharawiyya, al-Khizāna al-‘Alawiyya, al-Maktaba al-Gharawiyya, al-‘Ataba al-‘Alawiyya, and al-Maktaba al-‘Alawiyya) is one of the oldest libraries in Iraq to have survived until today. Over more than a thousand years, the library and its collection have gone through periods of neglect and destruction, alternating with times of growth and flourishing.¹ Whereas Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), for example, regularly consulted the library and occasionally described codices he had seen there,² the library is reported to have been largely destroyed by fire in 755/1354. In 760/1358 Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Khalifa al-Kafī al-Āwī assumed responsibility for the library and began to rebuild its collections through the acquisition of books and entire private libraries. Others bequeathed their personal collections to the library; such donors included the eighth/fourteenth-century Imāmī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Atā’iqī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī,” d. after 786/1384–85), whose personal library included many holographs of his own writings, and Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Sharafshāh al-Ḥusaynī, who died in the early ninth/fifteenth century.³ Over the following centuries, there is ample evidence that the Rawḍa was regularly consulted by leading Imāmī scholars, who often referred in their own writings to the codices they had seen in the library.⁴ The Rawḍa experienced another period of decline during the twentieth century. Under the auspices of al-Sayyid ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Sistānī (b. 1930), the library was revived at the beginning of the twenty-first century and reopened in July 2005.⁵

1 For a history of the library, see Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, pp. 148–152; ‘Awwād, *Khazā’in al-kutub al-qadīma*, pp. 130–137; al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 105–107; al-Khalīlī, *Mawsū‘at al-‘Atabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 224–239; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 60–76.

2 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 155–156 no. 130, 159–160 no. 137, 249 no. 354. See also Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, p. 150; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 68–69.

3 Both Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī and ‘Abd Allāh b. Sharafshāh were students of Naṣīr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī (al-Kāshī) al-Ḥillī (b. ca. 675/1276, d. 755/1354). See Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 36 n. 163. A fair number of Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī’s writings have been published (see bibliography). See also the introductions by the respective editors on Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī and his oeuvre.

4 For examples, see Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, pp. 150–151; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 77–84.

5 See the library’s website at <https://www.haydarya.com/> [accessed December 24, 2020].

The oldest extant codices held in the library date to the fourth/tenth century, although the majority of the still extant manuscripts were copied during the eighth/fourteenth century or later, among them a significant number of holographs. The total number of books held in the library at any point in time cannot be established. No inventory is known to have been compiled during the premodern period, and the information provided by scholars who visited the library prior to the twentieth century is invariably limited to a few codices. In his description of manuscript libraries in Iraq, completed in 1992, Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqshabandī (b. 1938) states that the total number of Islamic manuscripts held in the library at the time of his writing was 1,253 (1,214 Arabic and 39 Persian),⁶ whereas Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, writing in 1971, speaks of “more than 750 codices.”⁷

Among the former precious holdings of the library is a collective manuscript containing writings by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (b. 355/967, d. 436/1044), which was transcribed in Dhū l-Qa‘da 574 (April–May 1179). Although the codex is no longer found in the library and may have been lost, it is regularly referred to in later copies that were produced during the eleventh/seventeenth century.⁸ Other noteworthy items of the seventh/thirteenth century that still existed in the library at the beginning of the twentieth century are several codices containing holographs and early copies of writings by the Jewish philosopher ‘Izz al-Dawla Sa‘d b. Maṣṣūr Ibn Kammūna (d. in or after 683/1284).⁹ In addition, the library also owned copies in his hand of some of the philosophical works of the seventh/thirteenth-century scholar Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Nakhjiwānī (or al-Nakhjuwānī), whose oeuvre has only partly come down to us. Al-Nakhjiwānī had written several critiques of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037): first his most comprehensive work, *Naqḍ qawā‘id al-Ishārāt wa-kashf tamwīh al-Shifā’ wa-l-Najāt* (lost) and then a summary of the *Naqḍ*, entitled *Lubāb al-mantiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*. Later, he wrote a concise commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s *Ishārāt*, entitled *Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*.¹⁰ An

6 Al-Naqshabandī, “Iraq,” p. 45.

7 Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 7.

8 See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, vol. 1, ch. 2.1.

9 On Ibn Kammūna, his thought, and his writings, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*.

10 *Zubdat al-naqḍ* is preserved as MS Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmed III, A3264. While the codex was not accessible to me, I am relying on the author’s introduction to the *Zubda* as cited in Wisnovsky, “Towards a Genealogy,” pp. 339–340. Al-Nakhjiwānī discussed all three works in his introduction, indicating their relative chronology. For al-Nakhjiwānī’s *Lubāb al-mantiq*, see al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 101–104. For a biography of al-Nakhjiwānī and description of his extant oeuvre, see the entry “Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjuwānī” in Gacek, Pourjavady, and Wisnovsky, *Commentaries on Avicenna’s*

attempt to trace the fate of the Rawḍa's Ibn Kammūna corpus over the last one hundred years illustrates the vicissitudes the library was exposed to during the twentieth century.

The first modern scholar to encounter Ibn Kammūna's writings and transcriptions in the Rawḍa was the Iraqi Shi'i scholar and politician Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī (b. 1889 in Najaf, d. 1965), who visited the library in 1911. Al-Shabībī's interest in Ibn Kammūna was apparently prompted by the biographical entry on the author in the chronicle *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmi'a wa-l-tajārib al-nāfi'a*, which had erroneously been attributed to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (b. 642/1244, d. 723/1323).¹¹ The entry, which focusses on Ibn Kammūna's polemical tract, *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*, and the violent reactions the work triggered among his Muslim contemporaries led al-Shabībī to search for a copy of the *Tanqīḥ*. With the help of a friend he eventually got hold of the book, though the identity of the witness at his disposal remains unknown.¹² During his 1911 visit to Najaf, al-Shabībī encountered in the Rawḍa several codices containing some of Ibn Kammūna's philosophical writings. In addition, al-Shabībī, who had an interest in the history of Islamic philosophy, was intrigued by the writings of Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjiwānī, some of which he also encountered in the Rawḍa among the Ibn Kammūna material. Later, in 1920,¹³ al-Shabībī found a partial manuscript of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's authentic *Talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb fī mu'jam al-alqāb*, which includes another biographical entry on Ibn Kammūna that focusses on his philosophical oeuvre and in the course of which Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quotes his correspondence with Ibn Kammūna.¹⁴ Al-Shabībī included detailed descriptions of the codices he had inspected in the Rawḍa back in 1911 in his two-volume monograph on Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, published in 1958,¹⁵

"*Ishārāt*." I am grateful to Reza Pourjavady for making the manuscript of the entry available to me. A study of al-Nakhjiwānī's thought on the basis of his extant writings remains a desideratum.

11 Al-Shabībī quotes the passage in *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 105–106 n. 2.

12 See al-Shabībī, *Mu'arrikh al-'Irāq*, vol. 2, p. 122 (*ilā anna 'athara 'alayhi aḥad al-aṣḍiqā' al-aḥdīl min al-ma'nīyyīn bi-l-tanqīb 'an turāthinā al-thamīn min al-makḥṭūṭāt ...*); al-Shabībī cites here (pp. 122:9–123:6) Ibn Kammūna's introduction to the work. See also idem, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, p. 106 n. 1, where al-Shabībī refers to manuscripts of the work in Berlin, Tehran, and Oxford, as well as to the partial edition by Leo Hirschfeld (1893). For details on the *Tanqīḥ*, its manuscripts, and the available editions, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 106–114 no. 1.4.1.

13 See al-Shabībī, *Mu'arrikh al-'Irāq*, vol. 1, p. 3.

14 Al-Shabībī cited the entry in his *Mu'arrikh al-'Irāq*, vol. 2, p. 123:7–17; see also idem, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, p. 105 n. 1.

15 See al-Shabībī, *Mu'arrikh al-'Irāq*, vol. 2, pp. 124–125.

as well as in his 1965 monograph, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*.¹⁶ Some of the notes he took during his visit to the Rawḍa may also have been included in his *Falāsifat al-Yahūd fī l-Islām*, which was never published and may or may not have survived in manuscript form.¹⁷

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb al-Samāwī (b. 1876, d. 1950), who hailed from Samāwa in southern Iraq, spent several decades in Najaf in pursuit of scholarship. Al-Samāwī was an avid collector of manuscripts, and he transcribed numerous Shiʿi and non-Shiʿi texts for his personal library. Many of his transcriptions are apographs of copies held by the Rawḍa, which suggests that he had unrestricted access to its holdings and was regularly granted permission to borrow individual codices from the Rawḍa for the purpose of copying them, in accordance with centuries-old practice in the library.¹⁸ This may explain why some manuscripts that originally belonged to the Rawḍa were later part of al-Samāwī's personal collection—he may just have forgotten to return them or he may have died before he was able to do so.¹⁹

The Iranian scholar and bibliographer Āghā Buzurg al-Tihirānī (b. 1876, d. 1970) also inspected the holdings of the Rawḍa during his sojourn in Najaf around 1931–32.²⁰ The data that Āghā Buzurg recorded in his personal

16 See al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 100–109.

17 The title is recorded in Āghā Buzurg, *Dharīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 304 no. 1337. Al-Shabībī later discussed possibilities to support the library in maintaining and appropriately storing its holdings with the *mudīr al-awqāf* at the time in Baghdad. However, the offer of support was declined by the local authorities in charge of the Rawḍa; see al-Amin, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 106–107.

18 See Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-hāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, p. 151; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 76–77. An example is al-Samāwī's copy of the 'Allāma al-Ḥillī's *al-Asrār al-khafīyya fī l-ʿulūm al-ʿaqlīyya*, an autograph of which, in three volumes, was held by the Rawḍa; see al-Khalilī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, p. 234. Al-Samāwī transcribed volume 1, on *manṭiq*, on the basis of the autograph (dated Saturday, 5 Shaʿbān 1338 [April 24, 1920]), but his transcriptions of volumes 2 (dated end of Ramaḍān 1335 [July 1917]) and 3 (dated 14 Shawwāl 1335 [August 3, 1917]) were based on different, later copies of the work. It is possible that when al-Samāwī transcribed volumes 2 and 3 he had no access to the autograph or did not yet know about it, and the situation had changed when he embarked on transcribing volume 1 a few years later. Eventually, al-Samāwī must have had all three volumes of the holograph in his library, where they remained when he died in 1950. Today, the autograph belongs to the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-ʿAmmā in Najaf. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, vol. 1, ch. 2.4.

19 That this happened regularly is also mentioned by al-Amin, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 105–106.

20 See al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 12. For Āghā Buzurg's brief description of the Rawḍa, see Āghā Buzurg, *Dharīʿa*, vol. 8, pp. 298–299 no. 59. For Āghā Buzurg and his bibliographical enterprise, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 7, pp. 35–36 (Etan Kohlberg); *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Roswitha Badry), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7548 [accessed January 11, 2021].

handlist²¹ were for the most part later incorporated into his *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, his *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, and his *Dhayl Kashf al-ẓunūn*. During his visit to Najaf Āghā Buzurg also consulted the library of al-Samāwī,²² occasionally mentioning books that belonged to the Rawḍa but that he had seen in al-Samāwī's library.²³

A few decades later, in 1957, the Iraqi Shiʿi scholar Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ (b. 1926, d. 2009) also spent some time in the library. Using the information provided by Āghā Buzurg as his point of departure, Maḥfūẓ prepared a partial handlist of eighty-two particularly valuable individual works (*ṭāʾifa min nawādirihi*) held by the Rawḍa, which was published a year later.²⁴ His handlist is arranged alphabetically by title without indicating whether an individual title was included in a multitext manuscript or constituted a separate codex.²⁵

In 1970 the Iranian scholar Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī visited the library and prepared a catalog containing brief descriptions of a total of 153 codices. His handlist records shelfmarks, and multitext manuscripts are identified and briefly described. Al-Ḥusaynī relates that he was working under immense time pressure and that the library holds significant additional material that he was unable to inspect, including bound and unbound codices as well as several boxes of unbound leaves.²⁶ In 2008, al-Sayyid Hāshim al-Milānī published a monograph entitled *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya: Juhūd wa-jihād*, which consists of a brief history of the library²⁷ and an inventory of its holdings to the extent that he could reconstruct them on the basis of the data provided by the aforementioned twentieth-century scholars. Al-Milānī was not aware

21 Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, *Fihris makhtūṭāt al-Khiṣāna al-Gharawiyya bi-l-Najaf*. While the whereabouts of this unpublished manuscript are unknown to me, the catalog is listed in al-Naqshabandī, "Iraq," p. 46.

22 See Āghā Buzurg, *Dharīʿa*, vol. 6, p. 402, where Āghā Buzurg relates that the library held some 2,000 printed books and some 1,000 manuscripts, among them many that were transcribed by al-Samāwī, as well as a number of particularly precious manuscripts (*wa-fihā kutub nafīsa*).

23 Among the scholars who visited the Rawḍa during the early twentieth century and commented on the library's situation, mention should also be made of Kāẓim al-Dujaylī (b. 1884, d. 1970), who visited the Rawḍa in 1914, and Kūrīs ʿAwwād (b. 1908, d. 1992); see al-Khalīlī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 228–229. In 1933–34, Muḥsin al-Amīn paid a visit to the Rawḍa; see al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 105–107.

24 Maḥfūẓ, "Fihris."

25 For Maḥfūẓ's personal collection of manuscripts, see al-Shibālī, "Fihrist makhtūṭāt maktabat al-Duktūr Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ."

26 Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, pp. 13–15.

27 Al-Milānī relied heavily on Āl Maḥbūba's account of the Rawḍa in *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, pp. 148–152, as well as on other earlier accounts on the library's history.

of the existence of al-Shabībī's descriptions of codices originating with or containing writings by Ibn Kammūna, as he fails to mention him.

Whereas none of these partial handlists reflects the entire scope of the books that were kept in the library when the handlists were compiled, the library recently commissioned the preparation of a new, comprehensive catalog of its current holdings (henceforth New Catalog), which is forthcoming.²⁸ Juxtaposing the information included in the New Catalog with the details provided by the earlier scholars who visited the library makes it evident that the Ibn Kammūna corpus has shrunk considerably over the course of the twentieth century. The following overview discusses (A) works authored or transcribed by Ibn Kammūna that are still extant in the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya, followed by (B) a work that was still found in the library in 1957 but of which no trace remains today and finally (C) works that were recorded in the Rawḍa by al-Shabībī and/or Āghā Buzurg during the early decades of the twentieth century but that are no longer part of the library, concluding with some tentative thoughts as to what may have happened to them.

A. Works by Ibn Kammūna, as well as works by others copied in his hand, that are still extant in the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya today:

- A.1. *al-Jadīd fī l-ḥikma* [MS Najaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 24²⁹], Ibn Kammūna's most comprehensive philosophical summa, arranged in seven *abwāb*, each containing seven *fuṣūl*; composed at the request of Dawlat-shāh b. Sanjar al-Ṣāhibī and completed on 19 Dhū l-Qa'da 676/April 13, 1278 (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 87–92 no. 1.3.1.)

28 I thank the authorities of the Rawḍa for providing me with the relevant entries on the writings by Ibn Kammūna and Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjīwānī, and Hassan Ansari for establishing the connection with the library for me.

29 The New Catalog indicates no shelfmarks, and I do not know whether the shelfmarks mentioned by al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī in his 1970 catalog are still in use or whether they have been replaced by a new system. The entries on the individual codices are numbered throughout the New Catalog, and those numbers have been used in the present publication instead of shelfmarks. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī explained that the shelfmarks he mentioned reflect the *raqm al-tasalsul ḥasba mā huwa mawjūd fī l-khizāna wa-musajjal rasmiyyan fī dafātīr al-jard*; see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 16. Some of the manuscripts of the Rawḍa described in this study are also listed in al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'jam al-makhṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya* (published in 2019). The information includes the following details: *raqm al-makhṭūṭ*, *al-tasalsul al-makhzanī*, and the number of a microfilm or digital surrogate. Occasionally, al-Dirāyatī mentions that a copy is kept in the Ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya in Cairo. For the codices listed by al-Dirāyatī, the relevant information has been added. The shelfmarks that are recorded in al-Dirāyatī disagree with those provided by al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī.

According to the New Catalog, the codex is missing folios in the beginning and is heavily damaged throughout, which may be the reason why the work was not identified by either Āghā Buzurg or al-Shabībī as a book by Ibn Kammūna. The copy, consisting of 177 folios, is dated 13 Jumādā [sic] 713 [1313], and the scribe is not identified. Throughout the codex there are collation notes and marginal comments (*ta'ālīq*), and at the end there is a collation note stating: *qūbila bi-nuskha muqābala bi-nuskhat al-muṣannif maqrū'a 'alayhi qadr al-jahd wa-l-ṭāqa wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh*.

- A.2. *Sharḥ al-Talwīḥāt* [MS Najaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 43], Ibn Kammūna's commentary on the *Talwīḥāt* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, produced in response to a request by some unidentified person and completed at the beginning of 667/1268 (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 63–77 no. 1.1.2.)

According to the New Catalog, the library owns only part 2 of the book, on physics (*ṭabī'yyāt*), consisting of sixty-eight folios, copied by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Balad b. Aḥmad b. Mu'arrāf b. 'Alī b. Thābit in al-Ḥilla (al-Ḥilla al-sayfiyya), and completed on 9 Rabī' I 669 [October 26, 1270], i.e. still during Ibn Kammūna's lifetime. Throughout the copy, there are numerous collation notes and marginal comments in the hand of Ibn al-'Atā'iḳī, including an *inhā'* in the end, which is only incompletely preserved. The codex was nonetheless not part of Ibn al-'Atā'iḳī's bequest to the Rawḍa.

Āghā Buzurg consulted the codex and mentioned that the Rawḍa held only part 2 of the commentary, on physics; see *Dharī'a*, vol. 4, pp. 467–468 no. 2072; vol. 13, pp. 152–153 no. 519; see also Āghā Buzurg, *Dhayl Kashf al-ẓunūn*, [re. p. 482 line 33]. See also Maḥfūz, "Fihris," p. 25 no. 24; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 144 no. 64. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī does not record this codex. See also al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'jam al-makhṭūṭāt al-'irāqiyya*, vol. 9, pp. 343–344 no. 37077 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 703; *al-tasalsul al-makhzanī*: 9/5/174; f: 243-2)

- A.3. *Fawā'id min Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* [MS Najaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 92], Ibn Kammūna's excerpts from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) critical commentary on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-muta'akkkhirīn* (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 79–83 no. 1.2.1.)

According to the New Catalog, this is a holograph, dated to the middle decade of the month of Dhū l-Qa'da 670 [June 1272], and consisting of nineteen folios. On the first page, the title is indicated as follows: *Kitāb min Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal li-Mawlānā Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn ṭāba tharāhu wa-raḥimahu llāh ta'ālā*. The title page also has an ownership statement

(*al-ʿabd raḥimahu llāh yathiq bi-llāh wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh*), which may refer to the author and scribe, i.e. Ibn Kammūna. Moreover, an old call number, 23, is indicated on the title page.

Āghā Buzurg inspected this codex in the Rawḍa, and he briefly describes it in *Dhariʿa*, vol. 2, pp. 357–358 no. 1444, and vol. 22, p. 196 no. 6669; see also Maḥfūz, “Fihris,” p. 24 no. 10; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 25 no. 15 [MS 572]; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 122–123 no. 22, 215–216 nos 241, 242; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūʿāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 15, pp. 603–604 no. 67214 (*raqm al-makhṭūʿ: 674; al-tasalsul al-makhzanī: 9/3/100; f: 484-2*); *ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 438 no. 66411 (*raqm al-makhṭūʿ: 10; Maḥad al-makhṭūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya: 24-5*)

A.4. **Multitext manuscript** [MS Najaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 71] consisting of the following works:

- a. fols 1–18: *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*, a concise tripartite philosophical summa by Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1264), containing in this copy only the sections on physics and metaphysics, with metaphysics preceding physics

Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī was unable to identify the text, which he describes as *kitāb ṣaghīr azunnu annahu min muʿallafāt Ibn Kammūna*, without citing incipit or explicit; see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 64 no. 125 [MS 717/1]. The text accordingly remains unidentified in Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 99 no. 1.3.6., and al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 197 no. 196.

- b. fols 18v–41: *al-Maṭālīb al-muhimma*, a concise treatise on philosophy by Ibn Kammūna, consisting of seven *fuṣūl* with seven *abḥāth*, respectively, completed in Shaʿbān 657/July–August 1259 (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 92–93 no. 1.3.2.)

The codex is unbound and in its original form also included the *K. al-Nikāt* by Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī (al-Kāshī) al-Ḥillī³⁰ and the *Tajrīd al-niyya min al-Risāla al-Fakhriyya* by Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī, a commentary on Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī’s (d. 771/1369–70) *al-Risāla al-Fakhriyya fī maʿrifat al-niyya*, on the legal concept of intention (*niyya*).³¹ A note to this effect was added by al-Samāwī on the first folio of this multitext manuscript. That the Rawḍa owns a

30 A critical edition of this work is currently being prepared by a group of editors under the guidance of Hassan Ansari.

31 Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī’s work is available in an edition by Shaykh Qāsim al-Khāqānī (*non vidī*).

holograph of the *Tajrīd al-niyya* is mentioned by Āghā Buzurg (*Dharīʿa*, vol. 3, p. 356 no. 1283), though it is uncertain whether Āghā Buzurg refers to this copy of the text or to another one. A.4.b. is dated (giving the year 679 [1280–81]), whereas A.4.a. is not. Although the handwriting of A.4.b. is smaller than that of A.4.a., both texts seem to have been written by the same hand, according to the New Catalog, and the hand is certainly not Ibn Kammūna's.

See also al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 64 no. 125 [MS 717/2]: *al-majmūʿa kutibat fī ḥayāt Ibn Kammūna wa-jāʿa baʿda ismihi adāma llāh ayyāmahu*; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 211 no. 229. Al-Shabībī also saw these two additional items of the codex by al-Kāshī and Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī; see al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, p. 108 n. 1. See also al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makḥṭūʿāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 68 no. 59477 (*raqm al-makḥṭūʿ*: 329; Maʿhad al-makḥṭūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya: 231-2), for a codex described as *majmūʿ ʿaqlī*, by Ibn Kammūna, copied by an anonymous scribe and dated 657 AH. Whether this refers to the same multitext manuscript cannot be decided.

See below, C.4., for a holograph of Ibn Kammūna's *al-Maṭālib al-muḥimma*, which Āghā Buzurg saw in the library of al-Samāwī.

A.5. Multitext manuscript [MS Najaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 91], consisting of the following works:

- a. *Ittiqāṭ al-ʿitirāḍāt min Kitāb Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*, excerpts selected by Ibn Kammūna in Shawwāl 679/January–February 1281 from al-Nakhjiwānī's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*, *Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf* (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 85–86 no. 1.2.6.)
- b. *al-Lumʿa al-juwayniyya fī l-ḥikma al-ʿilmiyya wa-l-ʿamaliyya*, by Ibn Kammūna, written following the order of a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muʿmin al-Qazwīnī and dedicated to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, one of the sons of Ṣāḥib al-Diwan al-Juwaynī. The autograph of the manuscript in the Rawḍa is dated Shawwāl 679/January–February 1281, but the work itself was most likely completed before Shaʿbān 678/December 1279, when Bahāʾ al-Dīn died. The book consists of two parts (*jumla*), on *ʿilm* and *ʿamal*, each containing two *abwāb*, and each *bāb* consists of five chapters (*fuṣūl*) (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 95–98 no. 1.3.4.).

According to the New Catalog, this copy, consisting of sixty-three folios, is a holograph. Both tracts are dated Shawwāl 679/January–February 1281.

Each item is preceded by a title page. For A.5.a. the title page reads: *Kitāb Naqḍ al-Zubda wa-lubāb al-kashf li-mu'alliqihi raḥimahu llāh wa-nafā'a bihi man yastahiqquhu wa-l-muwaffiq huwa llāh lā siwāhu*. The title page of A.5.b. reads: *Kitāb fī l-ḥikma li-l-shaykh kātibihi raḥimahu llāhu wa-ʿafā ʿanhu wa-ʿannā*. Both title pages have ownership statements featuring the same formula we have previously seen for A.3. (*al-ʿabd raḥimahu llāh yathiq bi-llāh wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh*), which may again refer to Ibn Kammūna, according to the New Catalog.

The codex is also listed by al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist*, p. 54 no. 94 [MS 686/1] (*Multaqaṭ min Kitāb Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*), p. 54 no. 94 [MS 686/2] (*Risāla fī l-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal ... al-majmūʿa bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Kammūna, katabahā sanat 679*). For A.5.a., see also al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūʿāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 440 no. 66418 (*raqm al-makhṭūʿ: 718; al-tasalsul al-makhzanī: 10/1/207; f: 478-2*). See also *ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 202 no. 36278 (*raqm al-makhṭūʿ: 4; Maʿhad al-makhṭūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya: 23-5*), which, according to al-Dirāyatī, is a holograph of al-Nakhjiwānī's *Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*, dated Shawwāl 679 AH, possibly a confusion with Ibn Kammūna's *Ittiqāt al-iʿtirāḍāt min K. Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*. For A.5.b., see also al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 157–158 no. 97 (*Risāla fī l-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*), pp. 200–201 no. 207 (*al-Lumʿa al-juwayniyya fī l-ḥikma al-ʿilmīyya wa-l-ʿamaliyya*); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūʿāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 271 no. 46104 (*raqm al-makhṭūʿ: 3; Maʿhad al-makhṭūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya: 23-5*).

Āghā Buzurg likewise inspected this codex, quoting Ibn Kammūna's introduction to his *Ittiqāt al-iʿtirāḍāt min Kitāb Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*, as well as his concluding words. He adds that he saw another codex, also in Ibn Kammūna's hand, that comprised both Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-mantiq* and his *Ittiqāt al-iʿtirāḍāt min Kitāb Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf* (*Dharīʿa*, vol. 2, pp. 286–287 no. 1161; see also below, C.5.). For A.5.b., see Āghā Buzurg, *Dharīʿa*, vol. 18, p. 351 no. 438; Maḥfūz, "Fihris," p. 23 no. 3. Al-Shabībī also quotes extensively from Ibn Kammūna's introduction to his *Ittiqāt al-iʿtirāḍāt min Kitāb Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf* (*Turāthunā al-falsafī*, p. 101), but it is unclear from his description which of the two holographs he consulted.

A.6. **Multitext manuscript** [MS Najaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 93], consisting of the following works:

- a. *al-Risāla al-kalāmīyya*, a treatise on theology by Ibn Kammūna, arranged in chapters (*abwāb*), completed between 21 and 30 Dhū l-Qaʿda 679/March 14–23, 1281 (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 99–100 no. 1.3.7.); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam*

- al-makhṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 13, p. 348 no. 56528 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 9; Ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya: 24-5)
- b. *Fāʿida min Kitāb al-Hayʾa* (two pages), excerpts from the *K. al-Hayʾa*, a work on astronomy, by Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Urdī (d. 664/1266) (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 84 no. 1.2.3.); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 49 no. 66416 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 7; Ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya: 24-5)
 - c. *Fāʿida min Kitāb al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī fī l-hayʾa wa-l-nujūm* (two pages), excerpts from the *Qānūn al-Masʿūdī fī l-hayʾa wa-l-nujūm* by Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050) (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 85 no. 1.2.5.); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 439 no. 66415 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 6; Ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya: 24-5)
 - d. *Fāʿida min Kitāb al-Āthār al-bāqīya ʿan al-qurūn al-khālīya* (four pages), excerpts from the *Āthār al-bāqīya ʿan al-qurūn al-khālīya* by Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 84 no. 1.2.4.); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 436 no. 66402 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 6; Ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya: 24-5)
 - e. *Taʿālīq mustafāda min al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya fī l-manṭiq* (two pages), excerpts from the *Risāla al-Shamsiyya* by Najm al-Dīn al-Dabīrān al-Kātībī al-Qazwīnī (d. 675/1277) (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 83 no. 1.2.2.); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-makhṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 438 no. 66412 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 8; Ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya: 24-5)
 - f. *Aṭwāl al-bilād min Kitāb al-Zīj al-muqannan* (one page), excerpts from an astronomical work by Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī³²

According to the New Catalog, this is a holograph consisting of sixty-six folios. A.6.a., which is heavily damaged, is dated *al-ʿashr al-ukhar* [21–30] Dhū l-Qaʿda 679 [March 14–23, 1281]. A.6.b. through A.6.f. are preserved as loose pages, which were kept separately on the shelves of the library. The assumption that A.6.a. through A.6.f. were originally part of one and the same codex, which is also suggested by Āghā Buzurg's description in *Dharʿa*, vol. 18, pp. 109–110 no. 903, and vol. 2, p. 286 no. 1160, is tentative and based exclusively on the texts' identical dimensions. Cf. also Maḥfūz, "Fihris," p. 25 nos 5, 6, 7, 8.

32 For al-Abharī's engagement with astronomy, see Mimura, "Too Many Arabic Treatises" (with further references).

B. Work listed by Ḥusayn ‘Alī Maḥfūz (1959) but missing from the New Catalog:

- B.1. *Maqāla fī anna l-naḥs laysat bi-mizāj al-badan wa-lā kā’ina ‘an mizāj al-badan*** (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 102–103 no. 1.3.9.)

This title, which is still recorded in Maḥfūz, “Fihris,” p. 27 no. 49, is no longer extant in the Rawḍa. See, however, al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’jam al-makhṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 13, p. 393 no. 56736 (*raqm al-makhṭūṭ*: 49; Ma’had al-makhṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya: 27-5), for a tract by Ibn Kammūna entitled *Kamāl naḥs al-insān*. Whether this is the same work as seen and described by Maḥfūz is uncertain. According to Āghā Buzurg, who also describes this copy in some detail, it is a holograph that was found in a codex together with Ibn Kammūna’s *al-Lum’a al-juwayniyya* (*Dharī’a*, vol. 21, p. 406 no. 5709; *ra’aytuhu bi-khaṭṭihi munḍamman ilā l-Lum’a al-juwayniyya fī mujallad fī l-Khizāna al-Gharawiyya*). Unless B.1. was originally part of the multitext codex A.5., Āghā Buzurg refers here to a different copy of *al-Lum’a al-juwayniyya* from the one described above as A.5.b. See also al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 215 no. 239.

C. Works and codices described by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī and/or Āghā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, but missing from the New Catalog:

- C.1. *Maqāla fī anna wujūd al-naḥs abadi wa-baqā’uhā sarmadī*** (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 103–106 no. 1.3.10)

Āghā Buzurg inspected this text during his visit to the Rawḍa but was unable to identify its author. He adds that al-Samāwī had transcribed this text for his own collection (*Dharī’a*, vol. 11, p. 131 no. 813; *Risāla fī baqā’ al-naḥs al-insāniyya.... li-ba’ḍ qudamā’ al-aṣḥāb ... ra’aytuhā fī l-Khizāna al-Gharawiyya wa-kataba ‘anhā al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Samāwī li-naḥsihi nuskha wa-kānat al-nuskha ‘atīqa fī l-ghāya fa-yaẓhur annahā min ta’līf al-qudamā’*). A comparison of the incipit as cited by Āghā Buzurg with the opening words of Ibn Kammūna’s *Maqāla fī anna wujūd al-naḥs abadi wa-baqā’uhā sarmadī* proves its identity. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the original codex or of al-Samāwī’s copy of the work.

- C.2. *Maqāla fī tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth***, an overview of the polemical arguments for and against Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, with an introductory chapter on the notion of prophecy (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 106–114 no. 1.4.1.)

Āghā Buzurg relates that he saw a holograph of the book in the Rawḍa (see *Dharī’a*, vol. 4, p. 460 no. 2054); see also al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 143–144 no. 63. Nothing is known about the codex’s

current whereabouts. See, however, al-Dirāyatī, *Muḥjam al-makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 59 no. 17286 (*raqm al-makḥṭūṭ*: 1064; f: 103-1). Whether this copy of the text is identical with the one Āghā Buzurg saw, cannot be verified. According to al-Dirāyatī this witness is apparently not a holograph.

- C.3. *Maqāla fī l-taṣdīq bi-anna naḥs al-insān bāqīya abadan*, a work consisting of ten chapters (*fuṣūl*) on the human soul and its eternity (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 100–101 no. 1.3.8.)

Āghā Buzurg saw a copy of the text in the Rawḍa and concluded that it was a holograph. He further relates that al-Samāwī had transcribed the work on the basis of this copy, adding that al-Samāwī had also copied numerous other works by Ibn Kammūna, including his *al-Lumʿa al-juwayniyya*, all on the basis of holographs held by the library; see *Dharīʿa*, vol. 11, pp. 131–132 no. 815. See also al-Mīlānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 155 no. 92.

- C.4. Āghā Buzurg reports having seen a codex containing holographs of Ibn Kammūna's *al-Maṭālib al-muḥimma* as well as other works of his among the books of al-Samāwī, without providing further details. He estimates that the codex belonged to the Rawḍa and had been borrowed by al-Samāwī (*Dharīʿa*, vol. 21, p. 141):

والنسخة بخط المؤلف ضمن مجموعة كلها بخطه عند الشيخ محمد السماوي والمظنون أنه استعاره من كتب الخزنة الغروية

The copy Āghā Buzurg describes is evidently different from A.4.b., another copy of Ibn Kammūna's *al-Maṭālib al-muḥimma*, which is not a holograph.

- C.5. *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-mantiq li-l-Nakhjiwānī* or *Khulāṣat mā taḍammanathu Khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, Ibn Kammūna's summary of Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-mantiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, completed in Dhū l-Qa'da 675 [April–May 1277] (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 86 no. 1.2.7.)

Al-Shabībī describes this copy, which is, according to him, entitled *Khulāṣat mā taḍammanathu Khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, and he quotes in full Ibn Kammūna's colophon at the end of the copy (*al-Muʿarrikh al-ʿirāqī*, vol. 2, pp. 124–125; see also al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 86, 108 [containing an abbreviated quotation of the colophon, with some very minor variations]):

والواقف على الأصول يتمكن من استكناه هذه الفوائد في كتاب الله وسنة رسوله، فهذا زبدة ما تتضمنه خلاصة الحكمة المضمومة إلى لباب المنطق المشتغل عليها كتاب واحد تصنيف الإمام نجم الدين أحمد بن محمد النخجواني ووقع الفراغ من اختيار هذا القدر منه

في ذي القعدة من سنة 675 هجرية والذي اختار ذلك العبد الفقير إلى رحمة الله تعالى سعد بن منصور بن سعد بن الحسن بن هبة الله بن كونه عفى الله عنه

In addition to Ibn Kammūna's abridgment, al-Shabībī continues, the codex concluded with autograph notes and comments (*ta'ālīq laṭīfa*) by Ibn Kammūna on the writings of a number of earlier Muslim philosophers and mathematicians, including al-Bīrūnī and al-'Urḍī (*wa-fī ākhīr al-nuskha ta'ālīq laṭīfa 'allaqahā Ibn Kammūna bi-khaṭṭihī 'an mu'allafāt farīq min mashāhīr al-falāsifa aw al-riyāḍiyyīn fī l-Islām ka-Abī Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī wa-Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḍī al-riyāḍī al-falakī al-mashhūr wa-yulāḥaẓ annahā ta'ālīq mufīda*). This most likely refers to A.6.b. through A.6.f., although al-Shabībī characterizes them as *ta'ālīq*, comments, rather than *fawā'id*. As has been previously mentioned, A.6.b. through A.6.f. were kept in the library as loose leaves, and it is uncertain whether they were part of any of the Ibn Kammūna codices and, if yes, which one.

The codex was also inspected by Āghā Buzurg; see Āghā Buzurg, *Dhayl Kashf al-ẓunūn*, [re. p. 479 line 28]. Āghā Buzurg describes the codex in some more detail in *Dharī'a*, vol. 4, p. 425 no. 1876, where he states that it consisted of Ibn Kammūna's *talkhīṣ* of al-Nakhjīwānī's work, followed by his *Ittiqāṭ al-i'tirādāt min Kitāb Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf*; see also al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Haydariyya*, pp. 142–143 no. 61.

- C.6. *Taqrīb al-maḥajja wa-tahdhīb al-ḥujja*, a concise text (*mukhtaṣar*) by Ibn Kammūna on logic and philosophy (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 94–95 no. 1.3.3.)

According to al-Shabībī, the work concludes with an authorial colophon, which reads as follows (*al-Mu'arrikh al-'irāqī*, vol. 2, p. 124):

وقع الفراغ من نسخه في القسم الأول من ذي الحجة سنة 657 كتبه مؤلفه الفقير إلى رحمة الله تعالى وعفوه وغفرانه سعد بن منصور بن سعد بن الحسن بن هبة الله بن كونه وفقه الله لطاعته واعانه على مرضيه انه جواد كريم

Al-Shabībī also briefly mentions the work in *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, p. 107. Āghā Buzurg, too, inspected the tract and states that it was part of a *majmū'a* in the hand of Ibn Kammūna, which also contained his epitome of al-Nakhjīwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq* and his *al-Maṭālib al-muhimma*. He may be referring to the aforementioned copy of the *Maṭālib* (C.4.). However, that copy (C.4.), Āghā Buzurg states, was in the library of al-Samāwī, whereas C.6. he reports having seen in the Rawḍa. See *Dharī'a*, vol. 26, p. 225 no. 1133:

رأيتُه ضمن مجموعة من تصانيف منها لباب المنطق الذي ألفه سنة 33 675 والمطالب المهمة الذي فرغ منه سنة 657 وكلها بخطه كانت في الخزانة الغروية من جملة من تصانيفه الأخر.
See also al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 141–142 no. 59.

- C.7. *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, by Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjiwānī, copied in the hand of Ibn Kammūna

Al-Shabībī inspected this copy, dated Ṣafar 680 [May–June 1281], in the Rawḍa, and he describes it in detail; see al-Shabībī, *al-Muʿarrikh al-ʿirāqī*, vol. 2, p. 124. See also idem, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 101–104, where al-Shabībī quotes extensively from the book (see also below). In his notes on his personal copy of Ḥājji Khalīfa's *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (*Dhayl Kashf al-ẓunūn*, [re. p. 954 line 15]), Āghā Buzurg records that a codex in the hand of Ibn Kammūna containing his transcription of al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, followed by his epitome of al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq* (dated 675 AH), was held in the library of al-Samāwī. This suggests that the Rawḍa owned two copies of Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ* at the time, one in a codex that also contained Ibn Kammūna's *Taqrīb* and his *Maṭālib* (C.6.), and another in a codex together with al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq* and Ibn Kammūna's *talkhīṣ* of al-Nakhjiwānī's work.

The New Catalog of the Rawḍa confirms in its entry on Ibn Kammūna's *al-Jadīd fī l-ḥikma* (see above, A.1.) that the codex containing Ibn Kammūna's copy of al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* and his *talkhīṣ* of the work is no longer extant in the Rawḍa.

The codices described in sections B and C are no longer found in the Rawḍa, but the pieces of information provided by al-Shabībī, Āghā Buzurg, and Maḥfūz offer important details about these codices and allow, in most cases, for a tentative reconstruction of their contents. These reconstructions may help identify some of the former possessions of the Rawḍa if and when they resurface. Moreover, although it is unknown when and how the works by Ibn Kammūna became part of the Rawḍa,³⁴ it seems that a fair number of them had been borrowed by al-Samāwī, who for some reason never returned them to the library. Al-Samāwī's library was dispersed after his death in 1950, when its holdings

33 Since he describes the tract as composed by Ibn Kammūna, it is evident that Āghā Buzurg here refers to Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq* rather than al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq*.

34 A.2. and A.4. suggest that these codices were somehow related to Ibn al-ʿAtāʾīqī, indicating that they became part of the library during the late eighth/fourteenth or early ninth/fifteenth century.

were sold by his heirs. Most of his books ended up in the Imām al-Ḥakīm library, al-Ya‘qūbī library, the library of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, and the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, all of which are located in Najaf, and some also found their way to the library of the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad.³⁵ Whereas the holdings of the libraries of Imām al-Ḥakīm and Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm have been cataloged,³⁶ those of the Ya‘qūbī library have not.³⁷ The library of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ family has been cataloged only partially,³⁸ and the same is true of the manuscript holdings of the National Museum of Iraq.³⁹ The latter were transferred in 1988 to the Dār Ṣaddām li-l-Makhṭūṭāt (nowadays Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya). A large portion of the manuscript holdings of the libraries of Iraq, including the Dār Ṣaddām li-l-Makhṭūṭāt, was either destroyed or looted in 1991 and in 2003.⁴⁰ Since neither the Imām al-Ḥakīm library nor the library of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm own any of the codices containing Ibn Kammūna’s or al-Nakhjiwānī’s writings, the fate of these books remains uncertain. However, the case of manuscript B.1., which was still in the Rawḍa in 1959, when Maḥfūz visited it, suggests that some codices also left the library after al-Samāwī’s demise for reasons that are at present unknown.

2 Heritage Lost after 1991

In the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, Dr. Mu‘ayyad Sa‘īd al-Dāmarjī (b. 1942), Director General of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Heritage, Iraq, prepared a preliminary list of some 2,000 items stolen from various regional

35 For al-Samāwī’s engagement in collecting and transcribing Imāmī classics, as well as for information on the library he founded, see also al-Khalīlī, *Mawsū‘at al-‘Atabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 293–297; al-Khafājī, “al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī.”

36 The first and last pages of the manuscripts and individual texts of the Imām al-Ḥakīm library are accessible through <http://alhakeemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx> [accessed December 31, 2020]. The online catalog lists 263 individual titles transcribed by al-Samāwī. For the Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm library, see ‘Alī Majīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*.

37 For the Ya‘qūbī library, see al-Khalīlī, *Mawsū‘at al-‘Atabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 301–304.

38 A new comprehensive catalog of the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ is currently in preparation by Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī. So far, volume 1 has been published (see bibliography for details).

39 Only some portions of it have been cataloged by Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqshabandī and others. For references, see al-Naqshabandī, “Iraq.”

40 See Johnson, “Impact on Libraries and Archives”; Kam, “Cultural Calamities”; al-Tikriti, “Stuff Happens.”

museums in Iraq during the insurrection following the war. His list was published in the series *Lost Heritage: Antiquities from Iraq's Regional Museums*, which was “designed to aid in recovery of antiquities stolen from Iraq's regional museums during the insurrection following the Gulf War, 1991.”⁴¹ Fascicle 3, prepared by Hideo Fujii and Kazumi Oguchi and published in 1996, lists two codices containing works by Ibn Kammūna as having been looted from the Kirkuk Museum (Makhtūtāt Dār Ṣaddām). The two codices are described as follows:⁴²

- 1) manuscript no. 14757 (no. 263 in Fujii and Oguchi, *Lost Heritage*), a multitext volume containing *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* by al-Nakhjiwānī, *Talkhīṣ al-kitābayn al-madhkūrayn*, *al-Maṭālib al-muhimma min 'ilm al-kalām wa-ghayruhā*, and other tracts
- 2) manuscript no. 14780 (no. 285 in Fujii and Oguchi, *Lost Heritage*), containing a holograph of Ibn Kammūna's *Maqāla fī anna naḥs al-insān abadiyat al-wujūd*

The first item matches Āghā Buzurg's description of a multitext manuscript containing those three works—*Lubāb al-manṭiq* by al-Nakhjiwānī plus two of Ibn Kammūna's writings, *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* and *al-Maṭālib al-muhimma*—as given in *Dharī'a*, vol. 26, p. 225 no. 1133 (see above, C.6. and C.7.). That the codex ended up among the Makhtūtāt Dār Ṣaddām suggests that it became at some stage part of al-Samāwī's library, where it remained until his death, and that it was among the manuscripts that subsequently came into the possession of the National Museum of Iraq.

The second item may tentatively be identified as C.3. The codex was inspected by Āghā Buzurg, who remarked that al-Samāwī had transcribed the work for his own collection. It is again possible that al-Samāwī failed to return to codex to the Rawḍa and that after his death it wound up in the National Museum of Iraq, from where it was transferred to the Dār Ṣaddām li-l-Makhtūtāt.

Neither of the two codices has resurfaced since.

3 Heritage Lost and Found (2019 and 2020)

A few years ago the UK auctioneer Dreweatts offered for sale a slim codex, identified as “Lot 69” in its web-based catalog, together with a brief, mostly

⁴¹ For the publications in the series *Lost Heritage: Antiquities from Iraq's Regional Museums*, see <http://oi-archive.uchicago.edu/OI/IRAQ/lh.html> [accessed December 31, 2020]. See the introduction to fasc. 1 for more detailed information on the genesis of the list.

⁴² See Fujii and Oguchi, *Lost Heritage*, pp. 26, 27, 40, 41.

incorrect identification.⁴³ The item was sold on October 22, 2019, to an unidentified buyer for £2,500. I corresponded with Dreweatts in November 27, 2019, providing a proper identification and tentatively suggesting that the codex originally belonged to the Rawḍa.⁴⁴ Since Lot 69 had been sold at this point, the auctioneer kindly offered to pass the information on to the codex's new owner. The codex resurfaced on the market in October 2020, when it was offered for auction by Sotheby's as "Lot 406," with an estimated value of £40,000–£60,000.⁴⁵ I again notified Sotheby's about the likely provenance of the codex. Sotheby's kindly provided me with digital images of the entire lot and closed the bidding.⁴⁶ The future fate of the codex is uncertain at this point.

The codex consists of a quire of ten leaves (quinion), 17.4 × 13 cm, and is both paginated (in Indian numerals, written in ink by an Eastern hand) and foliated (in Arabic numerals, written in pencil by a Western hand). Page 1 is a title page, which reads: *Kitāb Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma li-mu'allifihi kātibihi 'afā Allāh 'anhu*. The upper left corner bears the notation *awwal*, possibly indicating that this is the first quire of a codex that originally consisted of several quires.⁴⁷ Over the course of the first three lines on p. 2, right above the main text, a slightly different title for the work appears, written by the same hand as the main text: *Talkhīṣ mā taḍammanat Khulāṣat al-ḥikma li-l-Imām Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Nakhjiwānī mim mā ikhtārahu al-'abd al-faqr ilā raḥmat Allāh Ta'ālā Sa'd b. Maṣṣūr b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Kammuna 'afā llāh 'anhu*. The *Talkhīṣ* ends on p. 16:8 and is followed by an extended authorial colophon (pp. 16:8–17:5). In the colophon, Ibn Kammūna mentions Dhū l-Qa'da 675 [April–May 1277] as the date on which he completed the epitome. The wording of the colophon agrees verbatim with that of the Rawḍa copy of the *Talkhīṣ* as cited by al-Shabībī (see above, C.5.), and

43 <https://auctions.dreweatts.com/past-auctions/blooms1-10007/lot-details/4a002e48-3a81-45ea-b2ac-aac00ffdoc8an> [accessed December 31, 2020].

44 See Schmidtke, "Lot 69." See also Tzvi Langermann's intervention, "Ibn Kammuna Manuscript Sold to Unknown Buyer."

45 <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2020/arts-of-the-islamic-world-india-including-fine-rugs-and-carpets/sad-ibn-mansur-ibn-kammuna-baghdadi-al-israili> [accessed December 31, 2020].

46 Nickolas McBurney also inspected the codex and kindly provided me with additional images.

47 In its present form the quinion is bound in a cover that could be dated to the seventeenth century, although it was used for the codex at some later time. I thank Arnoud Vrolijk and Karin Scheper for their comments on the cover on the basis of the images at my disposal. The thread in the middle of the quire is still visible, and there is some damage to be observed throughout the quire [figs 1 through 4].

the same applies to the title of the work as given on p. 2 of the manuscript. On p. 17:6–7, the second tract is introduced as follows: *Ta'liq min Lubāb al-mantiq min al-kātib al-madhkūr li-Najm al-Dīn al-Nakhjiwānī wa-huwa muqaddam fī l-aṣl 'alā l-Khulāṣa al-madhkūra*. Although Ibn Kammūna describes what follows as a *ta'liq* (“commentary”), this part is an epitome of the first portion of al-Nakhjiwānī’s work on logic. The last four lines of p. 20 contain again Ibn Kammūna’s colophon. Since the last line has been mostly cut off, only parts of the colophon have been preserved: *tamma l-ta'liq min al-kitāb al-madhkūr wa-lam altazim irād alfāz | ṣāhib al-kitāb wa-waq'a ta'liq al-'abd al-faqīr ilā raḥmat Allāh Ta'ālā Sa'd b. Maṣṣūr b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥasan | b. Hibat Allāh b. Kammūna 'afū Allāh 'anhu li-dhālika fī Dhī l-Qa'da min sanat khams wa-sab'in wa-sittim'a | ...* It is fairly certain that the codex that was first auctioned by Dreweatts and is nowadays in the hands of Sotheby’s is the same as the copy of Ibn Kammūna’s *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-mantiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* inspected in the Rawḍa in 1911 by al-Shabībī.

In his *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, al-Shabībī describes al-Nakhjiwānī’s *Lubāb al-kashf wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* in some detail.⁴⁸ The work consists of three sections (*jumla*), the first section being devoted to logic and consisting of a *muqaddima* and five chapters (*fuṣūl*). Section 2, *fī khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, seems less structured than section 1, containing a number of individual discussions, as well as doubts that the author refutes (*al-jumla al-thāniya fī khulāṣat al-ḥikma wa-hiya tashtamilu 'alā irād jumla min al-nukat wa-l-shubah wa-daf'ihā wa-ibṭālihā*). Section 3, *fī l-maqāṣid*, is arranged in a similar manner (*al-jumla al-thālitha fī l-maqāṣid wa-hādhihi l-jumla tashtamilu ka-dhālika 'alā nukat wa-irād awhām ma'a daf'ihā wa-shubah ma'a ḥallihā wa-as'ila ma'a ajwibatihā*). In addition to outlining the work’s structure, al-Shabībī quotes selected passages from the work. These are taken from section 2 and possibly also section 3 of the work. Juxtaposing those passages, which are concerned with the issue of theodicy and the human soul, with the wording found in Ibn Kammūna’s *Talkhīṣ* suggests that the latter work consists of excerpts from al-Nakhjiwānī’s work with occasional paraphrastic renderings—similar to his selections from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*.⁴⁹

48 Al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 103–104.

49 For a detailed description of Ibn Kammūna’s *Fawā'id min Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, see Pourjavady and Schmidtkne, *Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, pp. 79–83 no. 1.2.1.

al-Nakhjiwānī, *Lubāb al-kashf wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* [quoted in al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 103–104; parallels in Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ* are rendered in red, comments by al-Shabībī are enclosed in {curly brackets}]

Ibn Kammūna, *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*

شبهة: إذا كان الخالق مريداً للخير طالباً للمصلحة وكان الكل منه أو مضافاً إليه وما سواه فهو من الوسائط المسخرة فالشر ممن؟
حل: الأقسام بحسب القسمة الفعلية خمسة: الخير المحض، والغالب فيه الخير، وما يتساوى فيه الخير، والشر والشر المحض، والغالب فيه الشر، والثلاثة الأخيرة يتمتع بإيجادها من الخالق والقسمان الأولان يجب إيجادهما ولا يجوز الإخلال بشيء منهما إذ لا يجوز ترك ما كثر خيره لأجل شريسيه فيه وخالفه يكون خيراً وتاركه يكون مفوتاً للخير وشريراً في الحقيقة والشر على غير هذا الوجه ممتنع الوجود، ثم أنه في الزوال والانعدام إلى أن لا يبقى منه شيء ثم أنه من نفس المخلوق ولوازمه عند التأمل لا من الخالق الحكيم فالخالق لم يخلق الشر أصلاً بل خلق المشوب بالشر وأخلصه مما شوب الشر وإنما ذلك الشر الذي يضاف إلى الخالق ففي أوهم غير العارفين بالقياس إلى الأمور البدنية ومخالفة أهوائهم فيحسبون الخير شراً وأما العارف فليس يرى الشر من الخالق أصلاً ولا يجد الشر وهذا معنى قول أساطين الحكمة الشر لا وجود له والكلام في هذا طويل. [تراثنا الفلسفي، ص 103: 2-16]

ولا يترك الباري ما كثر خيره لأجل شريسيه فيه إذ في تركه تفويت للخير والشر على غير هذا الوجه ممتنع منه، ثم أن الشر في الزوال والانعدام إلى أن لا يبقى منه شيء ثم أنه من نفس المخلوق ولوازمه عند التأمل لا من الخالق الحكيم فلم يخلق الشر بل خلق المشوب به وأخلصه عنه. [ص 8: 2-5]

(cont.)

al-Nakhjiwānī, *Lubāb al-kashf wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* [quoted in al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 103–104; parallels in Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhūṣ* are rendered in red, comments by al-Shabībī are enclosed in {curly brackets}]

Ibn Kammūna, *Talkhūṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*

نكتة: لا بد من أن الخالق تعالى محيط العلم بالغ
الحكمة كامل القدرة وأنه خلق الإنسان على ما
يعلم من الإحسان والإتقان ومواتاة أعضائه للفعل
والانفعال **تبين أن الغاية المطلوبة منه ليس** هو التمتع
بالحياة الدنيوية فقط فإنها مشوبة مكبرة سريعة
الزوال **ولا أمراً زائلاً** منقطعاً فإن الزائل المنقطع
كلما كان أحلى كان خوف زواله أمر فلا تصلح غاية
لمثل هذا الحكيم بل الغاية نعيم دائم وسعادة سرمدية
فلا بد للإنسان من نفس باقية قابلة للاحتياج بالنعيم
الدائم فهي غير البنية المتغيرة الفانية والبنية آتية في
الاستكمال وهي الإنسان بالحقيقة وسمي نفساً وروحاً
وقلباً

{هذا ما قاله في النكتة المذكورة وقد ألحق فيها
إيضاحات تحت عنوان "تفريع" صرح فيه:}
بأن البدن الواحد تستكمل فيه نفوس كثيرة متفاوتة
في رتبة الاستكمال وتنتهي الرتب إلى نفس واحدة
وهي الحاكمة الآمرة لغيرها، وكون الإنسان علماً بأن
نفسه واحدة لا ينافي أن يكون لها أعوان وخدم
وأن تكون تلك هي الآمرة الناهية وهي النفس
المطمئنة والخوف في كيفية سياسة هذه النفس لسائر

ومن تحقق ما قيل إلى هاهنا تبين أن الغاية المطلوبة
من خلق الإنسان ليس أمراً زائلاً لأنه كلما كان
أحلى كان خوف زواله أمر فلا تصلح غاية لمثل هذا
الحكيم بل الغاية نعيم دائم فلا بد للإنسان من نفس
باقية قابلة للاحتياج به فهي غير هذه البنية المحكمة
الفانية بل البنية آتية في الاستكمال والبدن الواحد
تستكمل به نفوس كثيرة متفاوتة في رتبة الاستكمال
وتنتهي الرتب إلى نفس واحدة وهي الآمرة لغيرها،
وكيفية سياسة هذه النفس لسائر النفوس التي
في كفالها ورعايتها وتسلطها عليها أو انخداعها
بتسويات بعض هذه النفوس أمر صعب لا يتأتى
إلا للمطلعين على أسرار الكتب الإلهية وحينئذ يسهل
عليه علاج أدواء النفوس [ص 9: 10-10: 1]

(cont.)

al-Nakhjiwānī, *Lubāb al-kashf wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* [quoted in al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 103–104; parallels in Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhūs* are rendered in red, comments by al-Shabībī are enclosed in {curly brackets}]

Ibn Kammūna, *Talkhūs Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*

النفوس التي في كفالتها ورعايتها وسلطتها عليها أو
انخداعها واغترارها بتسويات بعض هذه النفوس
أمر صعب الملتقى لا يتأتى إلا للراخين المطلعين
على أسرار الكتب الإلهية، ومن حصر عليه ذلك
سهل علاج أدواء النفوس [تراثنا الفلسفي، ص
103: 104–17]

{هذا نص ما قاله في القسم الثاني من هذه الجملة وربما
كان ظاهر كلامه هنا هو الباعث على غمزه بالميل إلى
مذهب التناسخ كما ورد في كلمة ابن العبري في تاريخ
مختصر الدول، وللمؤلف نجم الدين النخجواني أقوال
شبيهة بهذا القول في هذا الكتاب فقد قال في موضع
آخر: }

إن النفس تتعلق ببدن آخر إذا فارقت هذا البدن
ولكن لا يكون ذلك البدن على تأليفه بعينه بل البدن
حال الحياة في هذه الدنيا دائم التبدل فكيف إذن
حل بالكلية وتفرقت أجزاءه.
{ثم قال: }

ونحن لا نتشدد في ذلك بل الذي نجزم به أنه لا بد
للنفس من بدن آخر.

ولا بد للنفس من بدن آخر [ص 10: 10]

(cont.)

al-Nakhjiwānī, *Lubāb al-kashf wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* [quoted in al-Shabībī, *Turāthunā al-falsafī*, pp. 103–104; parallels in Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ* are rendered in red, comments by al-Shabībī are enclosed in {curly brackets}]

Ibn Kammūna, *Talkhīṣ Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*

{إلى أن قال:} والخالق هو العالم بصلاحية الأبدان للأرواح في أحوالها وامتناع حشر الأجساد باطل وهو يقتضي أن يكون الشر في الوجود أكثر من الخير [ص 10: 14–13]

والخالق هو العالم بصلاحية الأبدان للأرواح في أحوالها والمناسبات التي بينها وأنه من أي الأجزاء التي يؤلفها وللقدماء والحكماء الراشدين في تفصيل النشأتين خوض ما لكن ذلك بحر عظيم من العلم إنما يخوض فيه من عرف الاطلاع على طرف من علم تأويل التنزيل فاجتهد أن يكون منهم وقد بينا أن ما ذكره القوم في امتناع حشر الأجساد باطل وأن ذلك يقتضي أن يكون شرط [كذا] الوجود أكثر من الخير. [تراثنا الفلسفي، ص 104: 11–21]

4 Some Hope Remains

A full assessment of the codex can only be made if and when al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-Khulāṣat al-ḥikma* resurfaces and a distinction can be made between al-Nakhjiwānī's original wording and Ibn Kammūna's selections and interventions. Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīṣ* may also help identify additional copies of al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*, which are extant but have so far not been identified.⁵⁰ If and when additional material from the

⁵⁰ A copy of al-Nakhjiwānī's *Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma* is preserved in the library of al-Sayyid Ṣādiq b. Hāshim Kammūna (b. 1907, d. 1985) in Baghdad. See <https://www.alkawthartv.com/news/71550> [accessed January 7, 2021]. The work's title is erroneously rendered here as *Kitāb [sic] al-manṭiq wa-khulāṣat al-ḥikma*. However, Ṣādiq Kammūna reportedly purchased many manuscripts from the al-Samāwī library, and this codex may in fact be one of them. If this is the case, the Ṣāqīd Kammūna codex may be the same

Rawḍa's Ibn Kammūna corpus becomes available, the question whether the present codex is indeed a holograph may be settled. That some of the lost codices are recorded in the *Lost Heritage* series and that another one has resurfaced in 2019 in London gives hope that more material will eventually reappear. For the benefit of future scholarship on Ibn Kammūna and al-Nakhjiwānī and in an attempt to repatriate some of the lost heritage at least digitally, a facsimile of the codex containing Ibn Kammūna's *Talkhīs Lubāb al-manṭiq wa-Khulāṣat al-ḥikma* is included in the appendix to this article (Figs. 5–24). The facsimiles have been prepared on the basis of images kindly provided to me by Sotheby's.

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Facsimiles



FIGURES 1–4

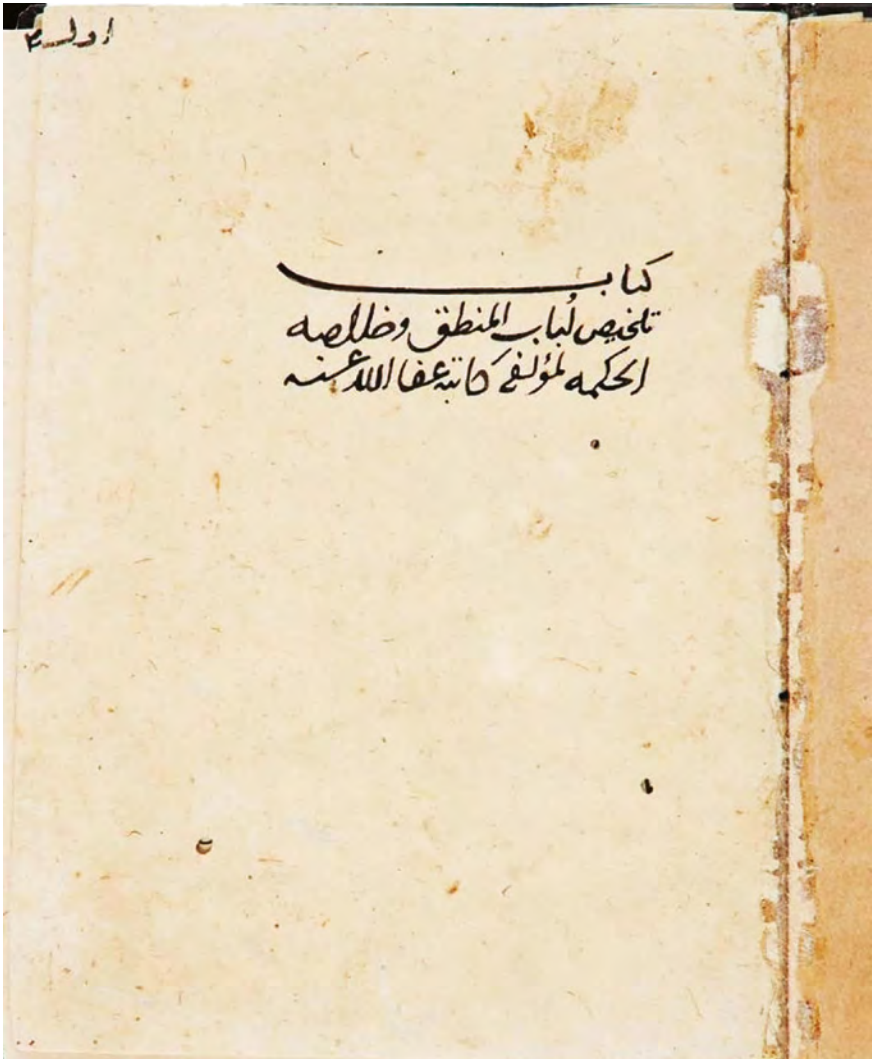


FIGURE 5

٢
 المختص ما يصفه خلاصة الحديث للإمام محمد بن أبي حمزة
 ما أحاط به العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى في هذا الكتاب
 عما الله عنه
 الوارد منه ما يصفه وهو الذي لا يرفعه في العيان أو الخيال
 الملمس من مصادرها أو أصله وصد ما والحرية ما ما يداه البعض
 ما عداه وما وصل به صفة فهو من وجهة نظر صفة ولا يجوز وهو
 شتر في ذلك منها ما هو أصلها ما يصفه بالآخر لا يدرى العمل الحسن
 العمل الحسن أو في العمل بالعلم كمال إذا كاله والمجمل فرع العمل
 والتمس والمعارف التي على معارف الموضوع للعلم وقد يكون العلم
 الذي في العمل الحسن في الخارج كالوادر من اللون فصله ولو بعدد
 المعارف لما طلت عليه فلا اشتغال بالصفة من مصادرها أو في
 صفة في الخارج والاشتغال بالصفة من مصادرها ما وصل به صفة
 فالشتر النوع لا يكون بالصفة التي يصفه علمه بميزة وان لا
 منها لا يدرى في العمل الحسن فرع لما شتر في العمل الحسن الذي
 صفة ويركز على الصفة الجدية أو النوعية المذكورة في العلم
 ما يصفه في علم يشترط الأفراد المجملية أو علم على شتر الخاص على
 بعضها في العلم على ذلك ولو لا أن النفس شتر في ما يصفه في آخر

FIGURE 6

٢
 ١٥ / قال الاسود والجره صليبا والحمان في هذا العالم عمر معلومه
 ثلاثه فلهذا العلم في ظل الكون هو داو امدا على شيا متكره
 ١٦ / اما ما هو صعبه دلاله التي وليس كل ذي وضع سر بالوضع
 ١٧ / السوط والصولي وكل جسم ينسب الي حيث لا يسل اليهم راراد الاتصال
 عليه وهو المراد من الجواهر المراد الي السحر السبع والخم الذي يعمو شيطا
 اما العمل الاقسه فلهذا اوصلها الي عمر النهايه اما محله بالحق
 او عمر محله وهو حصول كل ما في الامان بالتعل عند ملافاه
 الست الحرفه للفتنه لان الاوامت به ونبه الموهب عليه
 ١٨ / التل على التواو واد وهد الاقام سطل مدهم ايضا
 ما الجسم ان ينقسم الي السولى والصوره ولم ينقسم الي غنما والافوا
 لنهم اتصال الصماء الاف وان انقسم الي غنما ما الاخرافيه هو من قبل
 النفس والالم مل افواه ملود حله اعتباره والحمان كاحصان بعد
 اتصال الجسم ان كان اول الاتصال بليس وحد جسمه والامل ينقسم اليها
 ٢٠ / ايضا بعد الاتصال ان العلم بالديه فليس مباله سولى مشتركه
 وان لم يكن شي بعد زال العوض من الجسم وان في الامان وادامه الاتصال
 وان بعدد المولى وحد جسمه واذا اصل الحمان فان حصل المحر بما وجد

FIGURE 7

رده الصور الزاوية للجلد عند محاولة التخي وان كان هذا اللبنة خارجة
 اللبنة الخارجة ادلتها على اساسها الى واحد منها هو ما ظل واضح
 تقسيم المراج الى التفتة المدور اما الاول وظاهره اما الثاني فمطلوع
 سوا المراج ولا ملامحها بالحدود عند ان اللبنة في حصول هذه اللبنة
 المتوسطة المتخرج فالللم في حصول صور الصور والصوره وان كان
 وطلان المراج عند الحمى الحارة لا تفتا في اللبنة المتوسطة عند ان
 سطل المراج المدور عند ذبانه فان كان في طلان الصور لمخلاف في
 العالم اختلف ما يركب من ذلك الا احوال اختلفت وهو مرادها بالاقبال
 وذلك هو المراج واسعد لان الاجسام مستفاد من هو الكسوف
 من هذه الاخر انقلبها بعد ما يفيت على معصلي الجمل والغاية ومعرفة
 اما ان ذلك الفصل لا يتيسر في عالم الشان وطلاب ينسب المحررون
 لا الطابع هو منسوب الى الزاوية البدا ولو كان المخرج الحرة والكمية
 في المخرج ما كان هو ما هو بحر الروطاني وحده وجهه من افراسه والى
 ما ظل وان كان عضا هو جاني من الجنب وجهه حارقه اما ان سطل
 عند افعال الجنب او سطل سعاله وهو محال وهو ما كان له اختصارا وان
 فان كان الجنب حارقه في غمره افعر الغرة الى بلان وجهه وان ذلك في النحال

FIGURE 9

وخصصهم الحان السطح الحاوي الحية لسطح جسم مخصص فليس ذلك
 ما يسمونه الجسم فثبت هو جسم كل مواعيد اعتبارية مخصص من الأجسام
 واضحا وهو اعتباري مني وليس في الاعتبار ولولاه الموصوف من
 الحدة في الاعتبار لكان غرضه فاعرفوا لكون الحدة حرة في مصادره
 الحدة في جسم محدود لا نهاية لها دفعه هو متغير العلم والكم والعلم
 الصوري هو الجسم مقوما العلم الفروزي يكون الحدة موهون ولذا التوهم
 والربان فان يسمي الزمان بالعلم والسعة زمان آخر فوهو الزمان
 لا نهاية لها دفعه فالحدة هي اعتبارا لفعال الجسم في الزمان
 اعتبار السعة والحر والعلة والسعة في الأمور للوهون والحدوة
 في الوهم وكل طائفة محتاج الى موجد فان مفعول الصفة موهون عالم
 بالفاصل مبدع فاصد للتعلم طالع للقاء صليم قادر ولا يدعي للباطل
 ما يستلزم العمل فان العلم يستدعي علم الناس اعلم العلم ومن امل الحلة
 في مدر النشأ واطوار ظله جرم بان حاله عالم بملك الدرار التي هي الهيول
 الاولي ويؤمن برائتها وانه مبدع فاصد طالع للقاء صليم قادر فان استغنى
 عن الموجد هو الاله وان احاج الى موجد هو مثلدر الان في الاختراع
 الى الموجد والاسمال على الاصنام فان موجد الاثر الحكم الملح في الاصنام مائة

FIGURE 10

والهدى إليها إلى المرحى المحط عليه التام قدرته البالغ حكمة
 وسوالة تعالى وهو قد علم عدم إماره لانه موجود بالصدق والاحسان
 والارادة على الوجه الاصلي ومثل هذا الامر اعم من كونها ولعل الاصلي
 هو الامارة الالهية المخصوصة علمه كل شئ بوضوح وليس الوفاة
 من هودا حتى يكون الدلالة فيه بل هو معلوم له على الفصل في العاشر في الاله
 الاصلي في الجاد المشا بالعدم والناظر ولو كان لا جئنا اصلا الى الرب
 ولو كان في اوج الجسم لما طوى اجزا العالم وهو هوداها والارواح والاشياء
 والافراد وصورها والكل وانما الجسم عرعى وهو استعلاء العر
 ولا لاله العالم ككل الخليفة ليسعدهم بلقاء والاطلاع على السماء والار
 صور ذلك مثل هذا الجرحفة وليس الادرا انما طاع المدرك
 في المدرك وعلم البارى على عنه ثبات التقدير وهو القريب
 والعلم المحط على المسعرات تغيرها وارسلها على الدوام لا سغير
 وانما هو المعلوم والامل في الكمال في السعة العلم الاستعلاء
 النابعة لهودا التي وزواله والطالك التي قد طلبه ليسعد في البحر
 نقصانه وطلو اهدى الطلبة المطلوب اولى به وقد طلبه شخ الخبير
 وقال على العر وما بنا الطلبة والارادة اولى به واذا كان كذلك ادبنا له
 ان يكون باعصا بل هو كمال لهودا اولى له والعزم والاعمال في كماله

FIGURE 11

٨
 وحصول المطلوب لأن هذا الحال الذي قالوه الطلب الذي على
 في كون هذا الأمر مطلوباً من جهة الإسناد الذي في الحقيقة لا يلزم تغييره
 إلا في تركه تنقيباً للحق والشرع على هذا الوجه ممتنع ثم إن الشرع
 في الرؤال والإعداد إلى ذلك سعي من شيء ثم إنه من نفس المخلوق ولو أنه
 عند التأمل في الحال التي الخلق لم يخلو الشرع بل خلق المخلوق به واطمأنه
 والشرع الصادر من جهة أخرى مملو له بوساطة مسخرة وورد
 دفعها بالدرج شافياً بتسليط الخلق والخبر عليها فالمراد بالمراد
 على كل حال ودرج بعض الشرع علمه فالله والخالق أو صاحبها ليس
 عنه هذا وما يمثّل الخلق والوجود والخلق والخلق فلهذا أسباب حرار
 مع بعضها كلها للفرع حجاب الدرج بعضها منها لها على شكل
 الشرائط المسماة بتلك ما عكس على هو ما وظيفته خير إذا
 وليس في اليهودية الخالق وإماره وإذا أضف أثر إلى غيره فعلى التميز
 أمالي الخوارق تلكها محل الإرادة ودرج مملو فيها هي محارة
 مع كونها متحركة ولا تطلق حواراً من الدور يدعه غيبة عن الموجد ولا
 أن يكون فيها ما يكون غشاعه في ذاته وصفاً فإن ما مل اليهود والخلق
 في أن الله جرم ناهي المخلوق في اليهودية وخلق وسع المعرف في نفسها
 بالسل والإعانة للوجه اله وانه لا حس ولا مال ولا حان ولا أو موصف فيها

FIGURE 12

للموجود المصنف او فناءه واثاره واحسانه وان لم يبق له نص
 وانما علم قدره هو كونه لم يزل يوصف ولا يلاعن عن الموجد المعبر
 وذل ما سواه معبر اليه دابة ولا اله الا هو تعالى واحده من صفاته
 وهذه النعمت انباء وتعد ما في الانبياء من الاحسان وهو يرى
 ان كل شيء وان لم يكن شيء والعلم والقدرة والارادة المتعدي كلها
 من حيث المعنى بل يتعد من حيث اللط والصفه/ها وصفت لمعاني
 توضح الاشياء وتسوق لغرضها منها اسم مع المغايرة في الاعيان
 والادمان بالباقي وما خفي في المحرقة في الدار في الخارج فلا يسمع كلامه عند
 من حيث هذا المجمع هذه الاشياء للموجد ولغيره اشباحا وهو النور الجملي
 وذل ما سواه عكس نوره ومنه من اصل الالهة من ان العالم المطلب
 وطول الانسان ليس امرار الالهة كما ان اصله من جوهره والامر
 فلا يصح اعطاء المثل هذا الخلق بل الغاية نعم دائم فلا بد للانسان من نفس
 ماضية فالله لا يحتاج به هي غير هذه البنية المحلقة الغائبة بل البنية التي
 في الاستقبال والدرج الواحد شمل في نور شمس متعاود في الاستقبال
 وهي الرسل التي تشرع في الارض لغرضها وشعوبها في هذه النفس
 لتبصر العروس التي في عالمها ورعاها وتسلطها عليها او احكامها
 مسؤولا عن هذه العروس امر صعب لاسيما في الانظار على استمرار

FIGURE 13

١٠
 الملك الالهه وحيد يهتلى علمه علاج ادوا العصور وما دام النفس
 تحت مهي سلطان الوهم وهو الملك كما صلب لها من مشاهد اليهود دار
 معارفه المحسوسات والمحمولات حتى صلت بحصر اليهود فيها فلا تدرك المعارف
 وادار اول العلم الربانية اعرفه من وجود المعارف وامليها اشار
 النفس المعروفة التي تصلح للشعاع التي هي عاينها عند التامل الشريد ومن
 مامل الملكات التي لا يحرمها الحيرة الاصله بل يكون لها اشتداد وصعود مثل
 الشجاعة والجبر والتهور وملة القطعة والعلم علم اهل الاصل للعلم
 والا انفس من بالحرية الاصله والحرية والحرور الختم
 في الجتم ولا بد للنفس من العلل سداخر فان نعمه ليس بقصير على
 ما يحصل للنفس المحررة وانواع العذاب المأجبة للذنوب والآثار والنتائج
 الملهمة للنفس الموصلة لها الى الال معلمة بالدين لادمنه والحال هو
 العالم بصلاته الابدان الارواح في احوالها وامتناع حشر الاحياء
 ما طرد وهو منصف ان يكون الشرع اليهودية والجنه والسعارة التي
 هي عاينها الحساد الخسيسة والفسه لاندوان الثور ورانيا معان ولك
 مصنوعة عن مثابه الفصص صافه عن شوائب البعد وليس ذلك الا
 بالادب والوع على حال الكالو وماهد بناء ومطالع خفته والتمتع

FIGURE 14

١١
 به وباحتانه ادمه فاعده لاله وافثانه و (استغفر على درك الاحسان
 لانه متوكل الى ادراك الحاشي الحش وان الافان انما يملك ان يحل
 للمفهم به ورايدرك لاله الله يلعنه ودرك الاحسان هو المعدل المام
 لذرا الحش سمع ان يحصل وشده ارباط العالم بحفه بعض
 درك على صله حاله والا لميزه كل واحد صنفه عن صنع عمره لسره
 بهاله واثانه اذ الحلي يهداه المصور درك الاحاد وعلى هذا
 سطع الارباط والمعاون من احوال العالم مفقود وتخل الرطام
 واما العالم والراطام والامعان ملك على ان لاخره الامان الاو علن
 به علم الحالى الواحد واران به قدره وحده سفي احبانه ولا شره
 الامان الاو علن به علمه ودرجه سفي دفعه فلو امل وجوده بحال له
 لحاله لها رطله والموجود الاله افوا الاله المانع والنهارض
 المسموع على انه لما سئل العايد ادراك لاله المصور بالحش والاحسان
 فصل الاستعاني الوصايه عن جمع هذا وجود الاحال لا
 بهل على رطله واربعه من شغل خطه وصيغ المعرفه اما
 في اول العظمه وعبره واسطه وهو عالم الجفر والملايكه المعرفه
 او سوه على انساب ما به صنفه رطله او شغل به وهو عالم ملايكه

FIGURE 15

١٢

السماوات ابواباً إلى الملوك منهم الصفوة والبشر أو لا يستغنى
 في الالتفات وتلك الطرق والبشر ومنهم المبعوث إليهم النبي
 بجميع النعمان كما ينبغي ذلك في حق الله ولا ينبغي وبعد ما هدد
 النبي وعلم سدود الكاظم إلى وجوده وبعث خلقه وعمل الأرباب
 الالتفات وإدراك المعارف إلى أن يستعد لوصول الخبر
 بعرواظة ولا منسية المعاد وفي الجوه الدرس للفتوح النبوية
 في بعض المعارف وبعض الأحوال بعد إتمام النبي على ما منه وفي تفاصيل
 ما أجمل بالنبي هو المعروف في الحجة التي هي حسن ^{الطريق والعلامة} العالم ومحمد
 رسول الله إلى الخلق لإحصاءه من منقول المعارف ^{وعبر} ^{بواسطة}
 في حق الله وعبره في الحجة وإحصاءه من قول الوان العظيم عليه وطهر
 أعجاز الخاصة عليهم بأن ما من علم محقق مقبول وأنه عليه ما في
 الصحف الأولى وفيه إتمام الحجة ولم يزل على غيره مثله وللعامه
 لا شذوذاً لهم ما لو أن واحد لسوره ومثله لتوفر دواعي إعداده
 في رماه وبعد على إظهار ذلك واشتهار وانه بلغ الدعوى والشرع
 المصلحة للعاشر والمعاد إلا إتمامه من حيث هو وطرا إلى حدود
 الحال وبعثه له في إتمام الحجة وهو طام النبى لأن كل ما يصلح

FIGURE 16

١٣ ٧
 من الشايات كانه من الامم وان كان من الارض فاصول سياسته
 كافية فيه ولوط السور وان قبل الحصر فعدا من به ماضع
 حصصه فالوط الكايم لطايعه الاملاط لاله الاعلى الاخر من كل
 رجال تلك الطائفة بعد شيان فواحد هذا الشروع ورفض مواجها
 تنقضي الرحمة انما حاطوا طاعها لعلوا للخلق العام بمواجها ولا
 يكون بها الاستعلاء وادار الاشتا لا هي هوسه معاني ومعه وتقبل
 العوس من به ساقا تحت كحد الا شعرا دار والعوى
 المعصية الى الارض وطاره ومطامير وهي الحواشي التي به صور
 وما تبع الصور من المعاني في صور الصور وطارقه وذلك حال بدنه
 ورمطه به المعاني فاساه الصور وان لم يكن بها صور
 خارج وذلك بعد النوم في الحاله وقلما الجمع استعمال الاليس
 وبلش استعمالها بعد استعدا دار العوس وبرد ادونها على
 الدورج لطايعه فعانوا الاشتا فاداعروا الاله عرض او غيره
 ارنه الاشتا معلومه معصيه كانه في النوم والعظم وان كانت عليه
 كان عليها ما زنا وادانها الفسقه من جمع من الاليس استعمالا بدي
 في العظم ما راء التام في نومه من الصور الداله على المعاني وان لم يكن
 الصور من خارج ولا تحس بها جلبسته وزمانا في نفس المعنى مع

FIGURE 17

١١٤

موسطا الامه والصور فالشيء موه نفسه رما زان في القطة شها
 هي المظهر على هبة مخصوصه بسمه دلاها وعمل انه و ظلام الله و رما
 سمع منه وعمر ان يوراه ظلام الله وهو النفث في الروح و رما فالح
 المعنى وعمر ان يوراه لا استباط معول حديثي الى و شانه ما سمعه
 الله و المعاني و شند طم و صرته و سمع عليه هو المسمى بالاحاديث
 النبويه و هذا اسم الله و الاخبار العصور و الافعال الحارثه
 و معنى قولنا ان هذا الظلام ظلام الله و انه نغته لاه نغته امضا
 حليمته و صور لاصواب الروايع الغفليه بالاورام و اصدار المواع
 العليه بالنواهي و اصدار العلم و المختار بهم بالنصير و الاحصار
 و المسفل و المحر و امضا الحله من الامور و ما ان الشا و الصر
 هو اعتبارا طاعه علمه بالمصراع و المشيخه و بعد نغته و يجب
 المصدر من كل ما ورد في الشريعه المحقه و نور اهل الحق و عمار اهل البار
 على السبب الذي و ربه اذ ليس مع صبح العدل ما منع منه و قد صر
 عنه مروه و صرعه و مزرر للبررا انطو و صر ما و ل و حمله على
 المعنى المحار و و ما مل ما مل و صر الاحاد و عطيه سار الحال و مال
 رحمه حرم ما مل ما مل و صر الاحاد و عطيه سار الحال و مال

FIGURE 18

١٥
 العمل الصريح هو دور ما سوي في الحاد ادا الحاد ان كان
 ليس واما حاد للرس اول الحاد لم يسر ولا يعلم الاستعداد
 فان الدور الحقيق لم يزل يعمل شغلته الى العالم الثقل الامع حجب
 شئ منبغة ونفس العالم الثقل ولم يزل الشغاع في رفع الحجر
 وطرد الظلام ووقع الساطع حتى يصير الارواح دموع
 على مقابلة السعاج الاول من مع الدور الحقيق وان يعجز الحجر
 ورا الاطلاع والحمد للدور و استصاها الموجد ورا الشغاع
 الاول وانقلب الام لدار ولا مابع ان جعل للبحر الذي كان المشغور
 ودار من حجبهم محطى تقسط من شعاع نور الحق بالعدر
 الممل فلا يبقى هال حمل الامانة بل ليس عبر الهال والذنه
 والاسباح والاشان مادام في هذه الدنيا فلا تدرك شأنا الاشاه
 حتى ولا كف بحسبها ولا ما يلبذ به ويتالم بل له ما يشاهد
 من الاشياء المشرك عليها خيال بعد وهالك مع الصبح ويطالع
 من الهال والها الداني والحدود والحكمة في الاعمال طامع من صفة
 والدار والمشركون معذبون مادام النور والتركضهم فان ارضهم
 سردهم بالدمر وسماوهم رسل عليهم الصواعق والنيران فهم

FIGURE 19

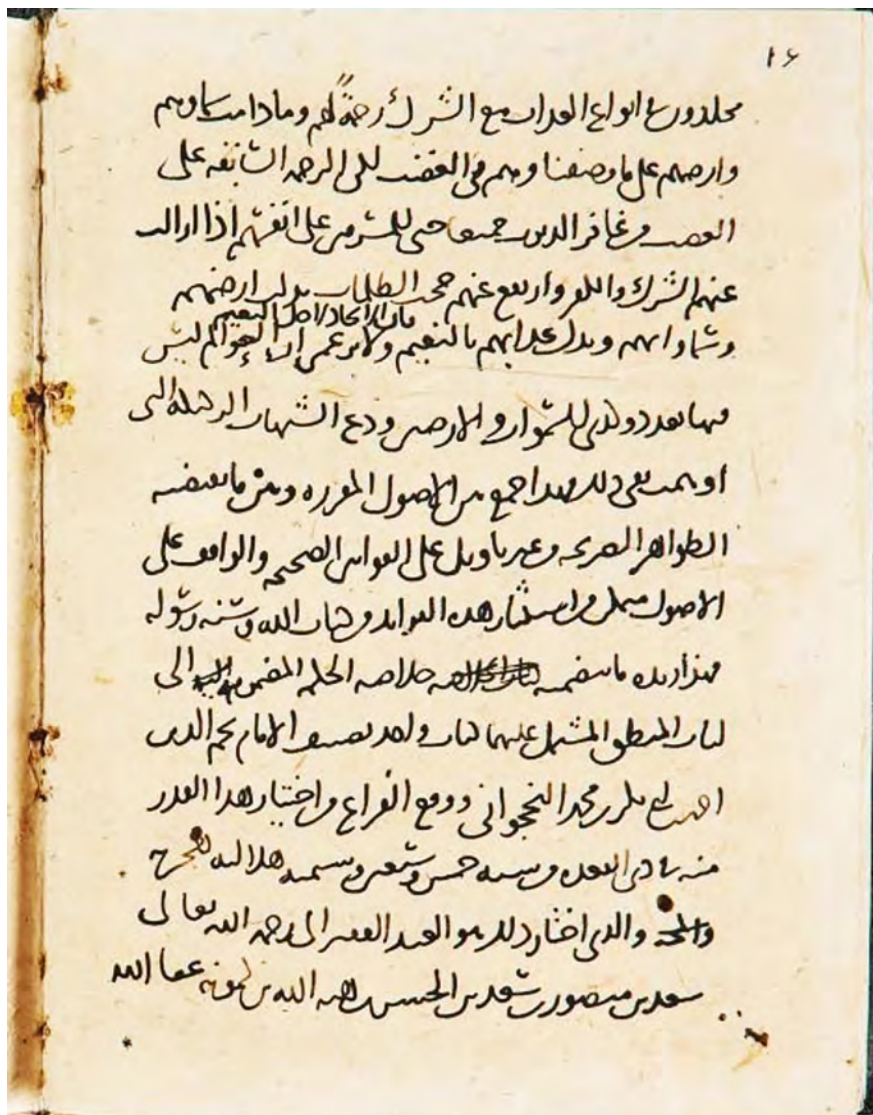


FIGURE 20

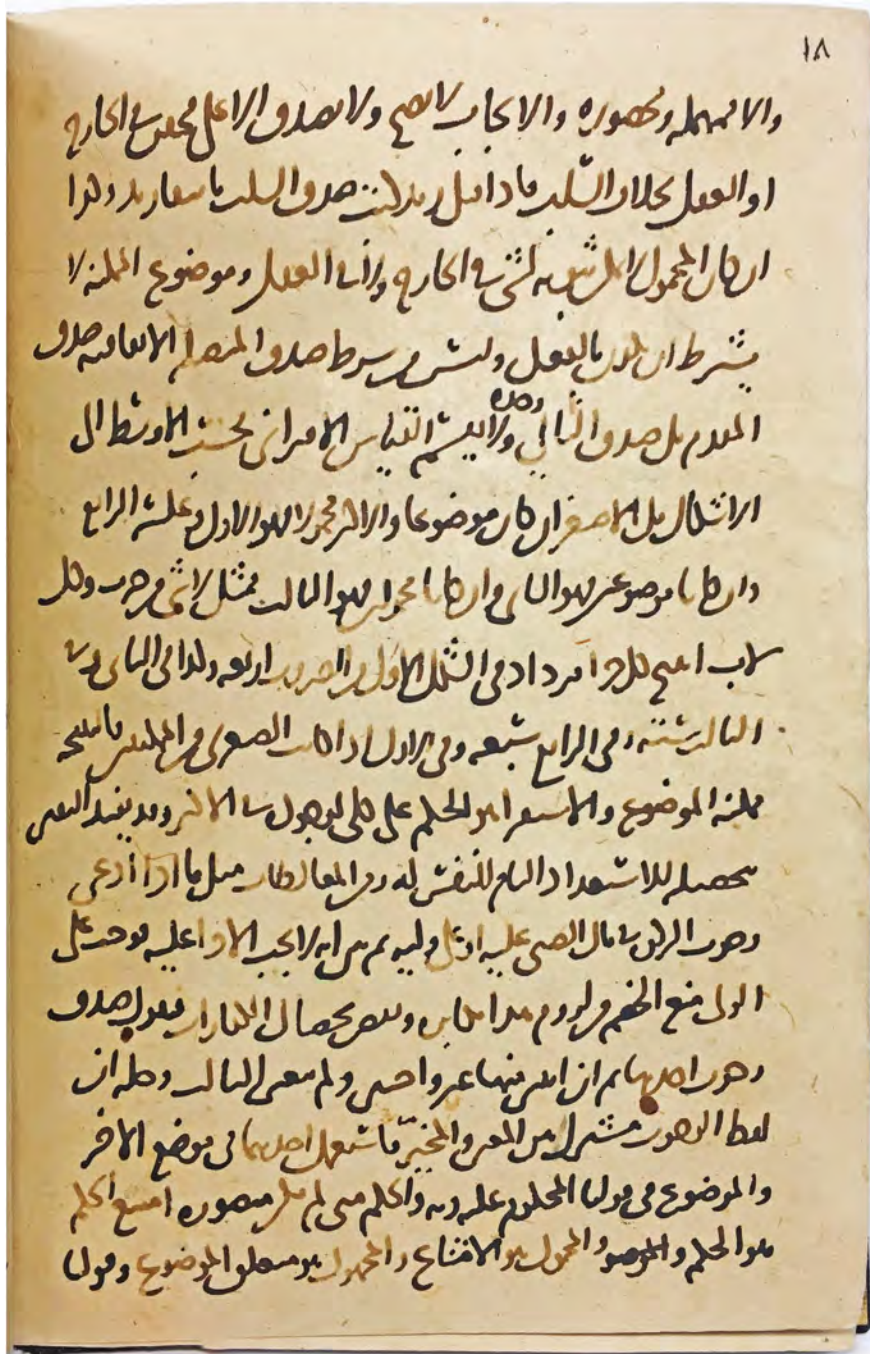


FIGURE 22

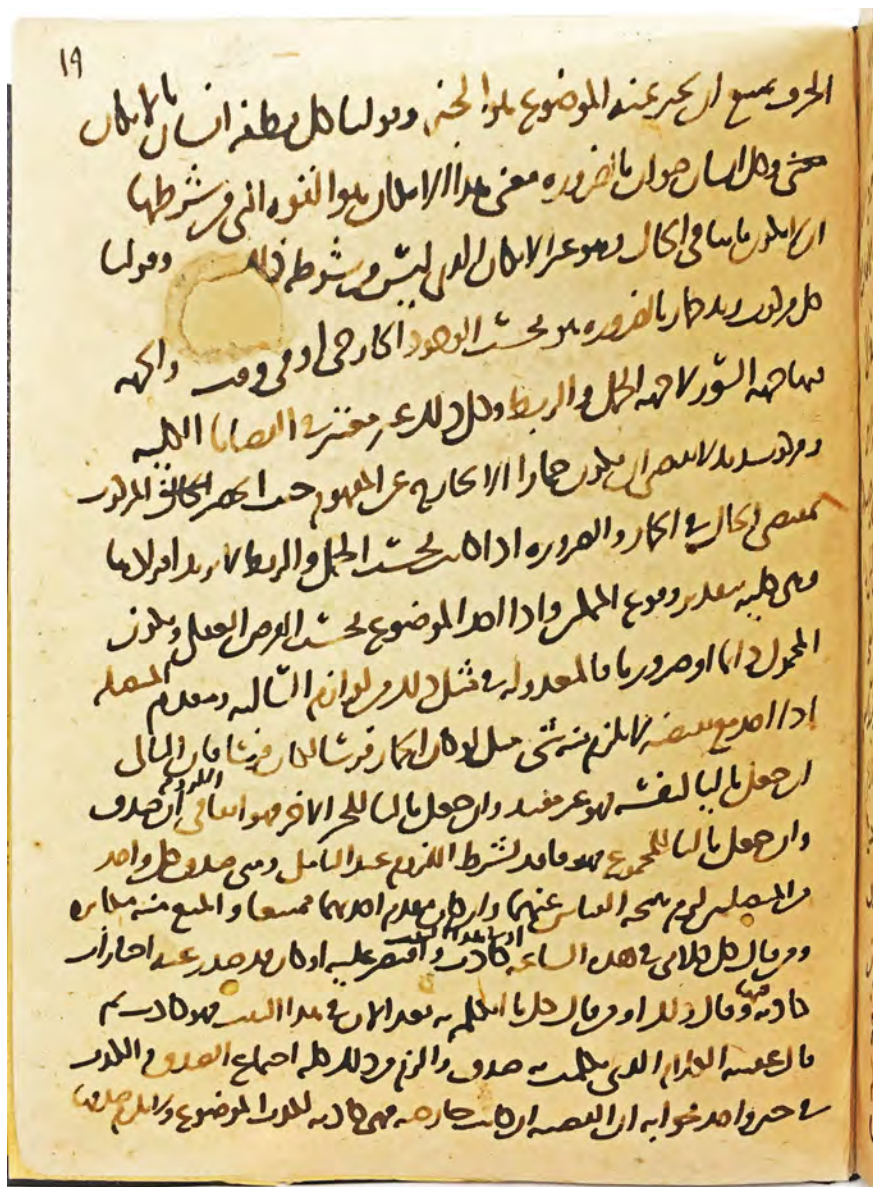


FIGURE 23

