



Hypotheses

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"Oriental" Studies during the 19th and 20th Centuries

Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī and His Transactions with Members of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' Family in Najaf



Introduction

On 25 January 1930, **[1]** the Cairene book dealer and publisher Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (1865–1938) set out from Cairo on his journey to Iraq, via Haifa and Beirut, arriving in Baghdad on 1 February 1930. The purpose of the trip was to purchase books and manuscripts, most of which would eventually be sold to Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951), al-Khānjī’s principal client during those years. **[2]** Al-Khānjī kept a notebook, including a detailed account of his trip until August 1930, his excursions to Najaf, Karbala, al-Hilla, Mosul, Kirkuk etc., his expenses for books and manuscripts, food (incl. coffee and tobacco) and accommodation, postal services (parcels, letters, telegrams), and the sums he paid for the various merchandise and products. Most important perhaps, he records the titles of manuscripts and printed books he purchased from his various interlocutors, library owners and brokers (and occasionally their respective sources), thus adding another layer to the study of the provenance of manuscripts that later on reached mostly Western libraries through Yahuda. The notebook is part of the Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive that has recently been purchased by a consortium of North American academic institutions and is now kept at the American University of Cairo. **[3]** During his sojourn in Najaf in April 1930, al-Khānjī records his “acquisitions” from two descendants of the renowned scholar Ja‘far b. Khaḍīr b. Yaḥyā al-Janāḥī al-Ḥillī al-Najafī “Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’” (1743–1812), namely Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ (1877–1954) and his cousin Muḥammad Riḍā b. Hādī b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Alī b. Ja‘far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ (1887/88–1946/47). **[4]** Their transactions with al-Khānjī are the focus of the present essay. As will be seen, in some cases at least, it turns out that al-Khānjī did not “purchase” the manuscripts in question.

Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’

Both Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā sold a fair number of manuscripts to al-Khānjī, according to the 1930 notebook. The purchases from Muḥammad Riḍā are recorded on pp. 23–24 (my pagination) of the notebook, those from Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn on two occasions, pp. 24–25 (**figs. 1 and 2**) and pp. 64–65 (**fig. 3**). **[5]** While the titles given on these two occasions are identical, al-Khānjī adds some codicological details in the second list.

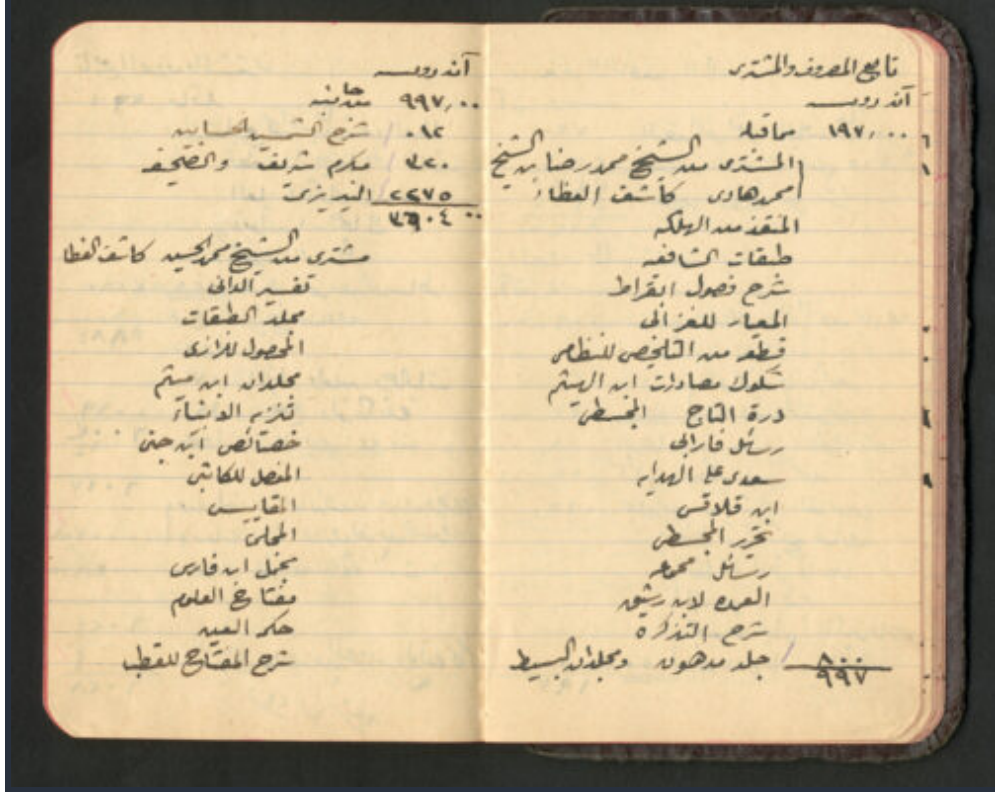


Figure 1: Al-Khānjī's 1930 notebook, pp. 23–24; The American University of Cairo, Rare Books & Special Collections Library, Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive, Folder 15, File 5, image 13

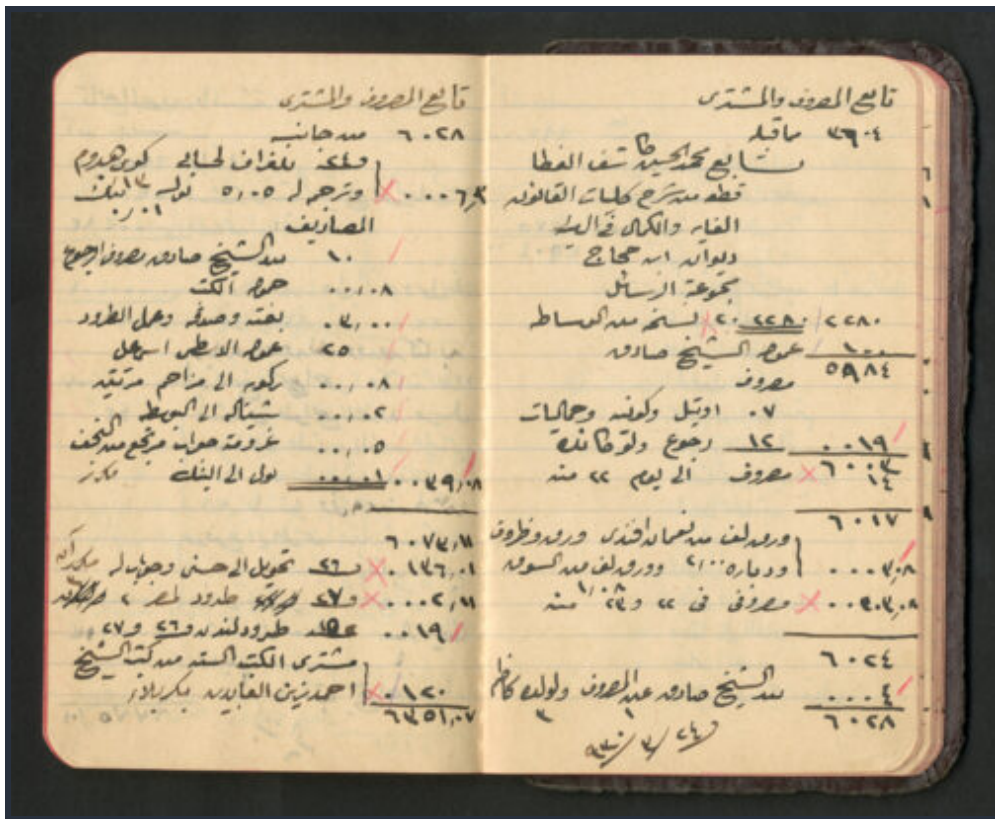


Figure 2: Al-Khānjī's 1930 notebook, pp. 24–25; The American University of Cairo, Rare Books & Special Collections Library, Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive, Folder 15, File 5, image 14

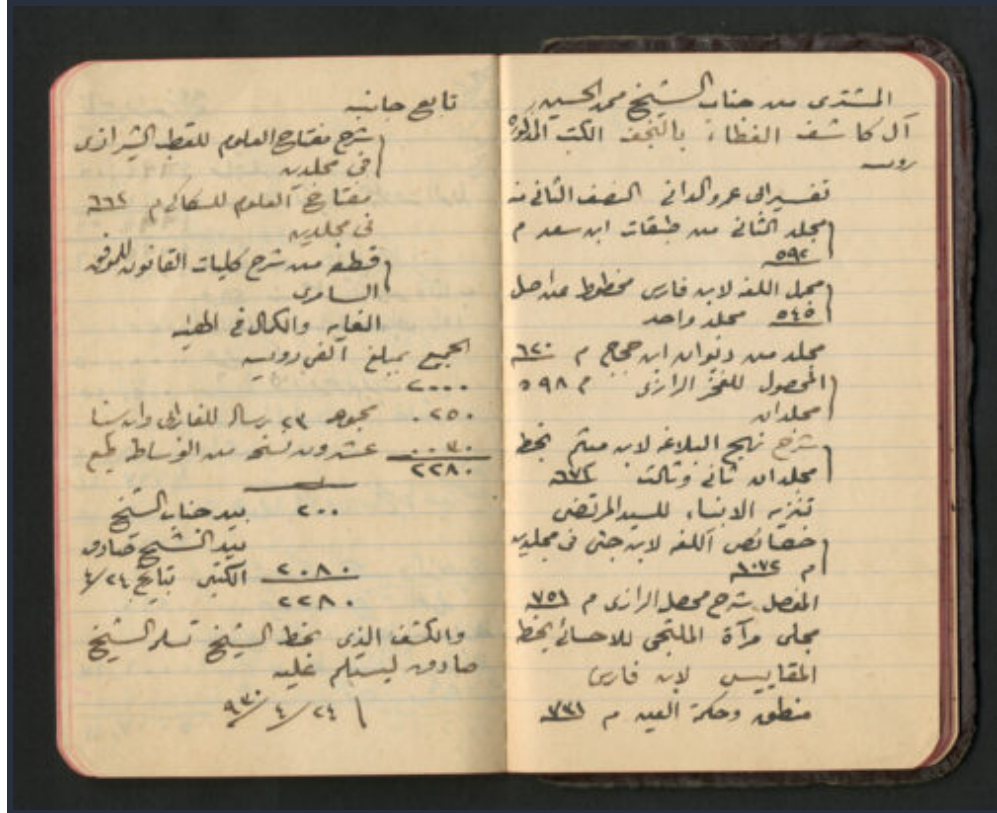


Figure 3: Al-Khānjī's 1930 notebook, pp. 64–65; The American University of Cairo, Rare Books & Special Collections Library, Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive, Folder 15, File 5, image 33

As far as can be established, the manuscripts al-Khānjī received from Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad al-Riḍā originated with the libraries of their respective fathers, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā (1850–1931) and al-Hādī b. ‘Abbās (ca. 1869/70–1942). ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā, the author of the renowned biographical work *al-Ḥuṣūn al-manī‘a fī ṭabaqāt al-shī‘a* (hence his nickname *ṣāḥib al-Ḥuṣūn*),^[6] was an avid collector of books and founder of one of the largest and most important private libraries in Najaf. Besides purchasing manuscripts he encountered in Iraq and elsewhere on his numerous trips throughout the Middle East, he commissioned copies of works he was interested in having and he transcribed a fair number of manuscripts himself.^[7] On the basis of his library, ‘Alī compiled a comprehensive list of annotations and additions to Kātib Çelebī’s (1609–1657) *Kashf al-zunūn*, this essentially being a partial catalog of his personal library.^[8] After his death in 1931, ‘Alī’s son, Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, inherited the library. In view of ‘Alī’s advanced age in 1930, when al-Khānjī visited Najaf, and the fact that according to the latter’s notebook al-Khānjī dealt with Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn rather than with his father, it can be assumed that Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn was already in charge of the library prior to his father’s death. Like his father, Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn also transcribed a number of manuscripts in his hand^[9] and continued to add books and manuscripts to the library.

Al-Hādī b. ‘Abbās, the father of Muḥammad Riḍā, was a renowned author and scholar, who is also known for his precious collection of manuscripts many of which he had inherited from his ancestors, in

addition to others that he had purchased or commissioned. Moreover, al-Hādī is also known to have copied several texts in his hand,[\[10\]](#) as did his son, Muḥammad Riḍā.[\[11\]](#) Although the library of this branch of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' family was smaller than that of 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā and his son Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, it still counts among the most significant libraries of Najaf. This library is today part of the Mu'assasat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', whereas the library founded by 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā remained independent and is today the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' in Najaf.[\[12\]](#)

At least four of the codices al-Khānjī received from Muḥammad Riḍā certainly originated with the library of the latter's father as is evident by the ownership statements by al-Hādī b. 'Abbās found in them. Three among these are nowadays kept at Princeton University Library (PUL) (**fig. 4**), while one is part of the Chester Beatty Library (CBL) collection (**fig. 5**):[\[12a\]](#)

Collection of texts on philosophy and <i>kalām</i>	al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) et al.	Ms. PUL, Garrett 605Y (ownership note al-Hādī b. 'Abbās)
<i>Ḥāshiyat Sa'dī Chalabī 'alā l-'Ināya fī sharḥ al-Hidāya</i>	Sa'd Allāh b. 'Īsā Sa'dī Chalabī (d. 944/1538–39)	Ms. PUL 842Y (ownership note al-Hādī b. 'Abbās)
<i>Tahrīr al-Majisṭī</i>	Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274)	Ms. PUL, Garrett 34Y (ownership note al-Hādī b. 'Abbās)
<i>Mi'yār al-'ilm</i>	al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111)	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3809 [13] (dated 10 Jumādā 609) (ownership note al-Hādī b. 'Abbās on fol. 1)

سنة الفجر الحرام
من كتب الفقه الى ابي الفتح
العماد المدعو بالهادي
الكاتب الفقيه
منجى
١٣٣٤

Figure 4: Ms. PUL, Garrett 34Y (ownership note al-Hādī b. ‘Abbās)

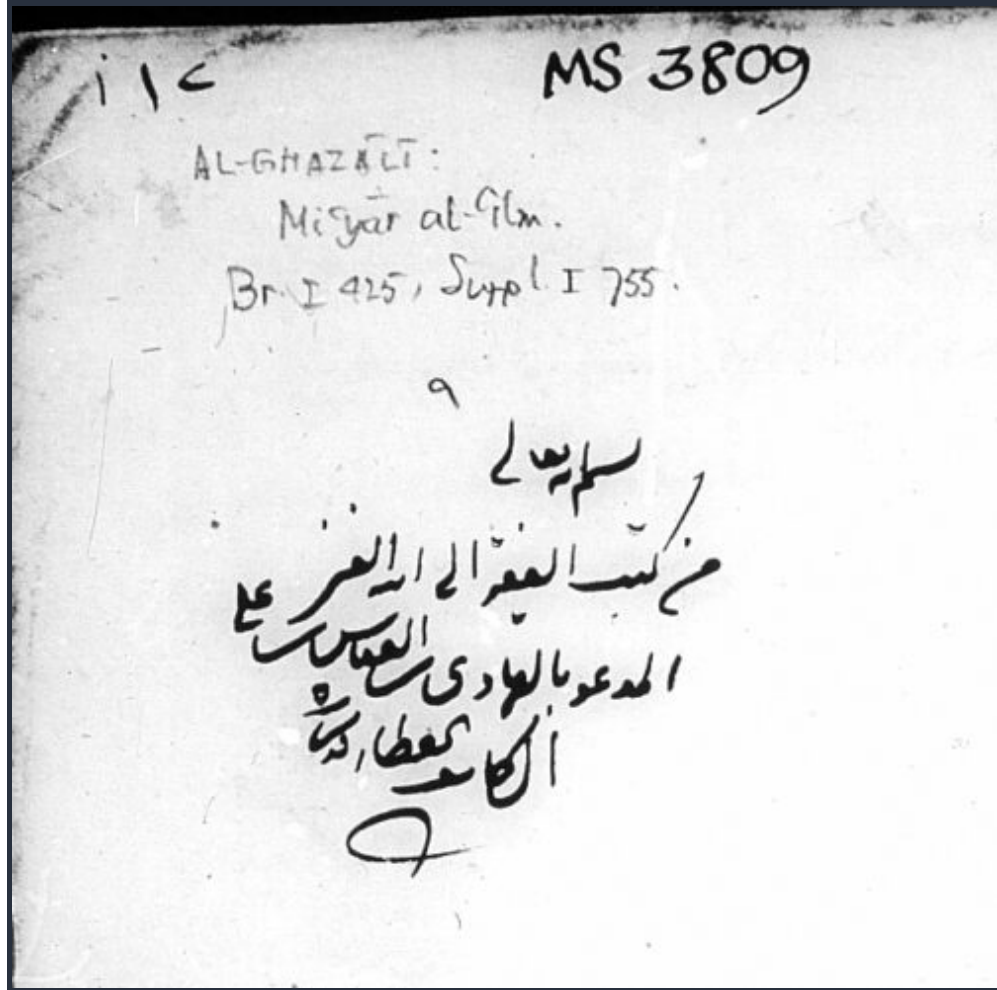


Figure 5: Ms. CBL, Ar. 3809 (ownership note al-Hādī b. ‘Abbās)

The question is what prompted the cousins Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā to “sell” manuscripts from their respective family libraries to al-Khānjī, what were the terms each one of them had agreed upon with al-Khānjī, and whether there is documentary material complementing the details provided by al-Khānjī in his notebook on the transactions. While Muḥammad Riḍā’s motives to hand some of the manuscripts in his father’s library to al-Khānjī, and the terms the two had agreed upon, are mostly unknown (see, however, below), there is documentary evidence suggesting that Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn never intended simply to *sell* any manuscript to al-Khānjī. The relevant document is a contractual agreement between Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and al-Khānjī, in the form of a letter of commitment, signed by al-Khānjī on 21 Dhū l-Qa‘da 1348 (20 April 1930).^[14] The document reads as follows (the original Arabic is followed by an English translation):

قد استلمت من جناب الشيخ محمد حسين آل كاشف الغطاء النجفي كتاب مجموعة رسائل الحكماء خط قديم صفحاته عدد 624 وعدد رسائله 23. وتاريخ خطه سنة 677 هجرية، ومؤلفوها المعلم الأول أرسطو، والمعلم الثاني أبو نصر، والرئيس ابن سينا وغيرهم من الحكماء وقد أخذناها من بصفة الأمانة والتزمنا بإعادتها إليه بعد شهرين أو ثلاث محفوظة خالصة الأجرة، وقد دفعنا له مائتين وخمسين روية أيضاً بصفة الأمانة، فإذا أرجعنا الكتاب المزبور نسترجع المبلغ ونستحقه عليه وألزمنا له إزاء ذلك أيضاً أن ندفع له برسم الهدية كتاب مسند أحمد ابن حنبل، والأم

للإمام الشافعي، والمسالك والممالك المطبوع منه للعمري، والأحكام لابن حزم، وفهرست المكتبة الخديوية تماماً، وكتاب الأخلاق تعريب لطفي السيد جزءان، والأخلاق لضموئيل [كذا، ولعله وأخلاق الصموئيل]. نرسل إليه هذه الكتب في البريد خالصة الأجرة أو بطريق معتمد، والتزمنا له أن كل كتاب نطبعه في مطبعتنا أو يطبع كتاب على حساب المكتبة الخديوية من الكتب التي أخذناها منه أو من غير ذلك نرسل له نسخة هدية إلى مكتبته. أما المسند فهو على حسب الجهد تحصيل ثمنه من المكتبة الخديوية. وقد أعطيناه هذه الورقة مستمسكاً في يده لوقت الحاجة بتاريخ 21 ذي القعدة الحرام سنة 1348 هـ. والتزمنا له بإرسال نسخة فوتوغرافية على الجزء من ديوان الحسين بن الحجاج طبق الأصل الذي أخذناه منه. ونسخة كذلك من المجلي لابن جمهور والمجمل لابن فارس. والتزمنا لجناب الشيخ لو تليف كتاب رسائل الحكماء ولم أرجعه إليه أدفع له عوضه ألف ومائتين روية بغير ملاحظة. وقد أخذنا منه أيضاً نسخة خط المقاييس لابن فارس ونسخة الخصائص لابن جنبي، والمجمل لابن فارس، والتزمنا له بطبع هذه النسخ الثلاث، وأن نرسل له من كل نسخة خمس نسخ هدية من كل واحد، والتزمنا له أنه إذا لم تبطل الكتب المزبورة إلى سنتين نعيد أعيان تلك الكتب إليه ونسترجع أثمانها إذا لم تطبع ولم نأخذ صورتها بالتصوير الفوتوغرافي على هذا صح الالتزام. وأمضينا ذلك بذلك التاريخ

[Translation:]

"I received from the Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āl-Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' al-Najafī [i.i] a collective manuscript consisting of epistles by the philosophers, an old manuscript consisting of 624 pages and 23 epistles. The book is dated 677 AH and its authors are the first teacher Aristotle, the second teacher Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī], the foremost [among the philosophers] Ibn Sīnā, and other philosophers. We took it on trust and committed to returning it to him after two or three months, with the fee preserved intact. We also paid him 250 rupees in good faith, and if we return the aforementioned book, we will get our money back and we are entitled to it. We also committed ourselves to provide him as a gift [ii.i] the *Musnad* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, [15] [ii.ii] *al-Umm* by Imām al-Shāfi'ī, [16] a printed version of [ii.iii] *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* by al-'Umarī, [17] as well as [ii.iv] *al-Iḥkām* by Ibn Ḥazm, [18] [ii.v] the complete catalog of the Khedivial Library, [19] [ii.vi] the Arabic translation of [Aristotle's] *al-Akhlāq* by [Aḥmad] Luṭfi al-Sayyid in two volumes, [20] and [ii.vii] *al-Akhlāq* by Ṣamaw' al. [21] We will send him these books by post, free of charge, or by a trusted courier, and we have committed to him that for every book we print in our printing press or print at the expense of the Khedivial Library from the books we have taken from him or otherwise, we will send him a copy as a gift to his library. As for the *Musnad*, we will endeavor to collect its price from the Khedivial Library. We have given him this paper to keep in his possession until it is needed, dated 21 Dhū al-Qa'da, 1348 AH. We further promised to send him a photographic surrogate of [i.ii] the part of *Dīwān* al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥajjāj that we had taken from him. We also promised to send him a photographic surrogate of [i.iii] *al-Mujlī* by Ibn [Abī] Jumhūr and [i.iv] *al-Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris. We also promised the Shaykh that if the collective manuscript consisting of epistles by the philosophers [i.i] was damaged and I did not return it to him, I would pay him a compensation of one thousand two hundred rupees without delay. We also took from him a

copy of [i.v] *al-Maqāyis* by Ibn Fāris, a copy of [i.vi] *al-Khaṣā' is* by Ibn Jinnī, and [i.iv] *al-Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris. We promised him that we would print these three manuscripts and send him five copies of each as a gift. We also promised him that if the aforementioned books were not printed within two years, we would return the original codices to him and refund their price if they were not printed and that we would not take photographs of them. This is the agreement, and we signed it on that date."

The letter shows that Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn did lend the manuscripts mentioned in it to al-Khānjī so that the latter might use them to produce critical editions and that afterwards, once the editions had been produced, he would dispatch copies of the published books. This stipulation is explicitly made for [i.i] the multiple text codex dated 677 AH that contains 23 philosophical epistles, for [i.v] *Mu'jam al-Maqāyis fī l-lugha* by Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīni (d. 395/1004), [i.vi] *al-Khaṣā' is al-lugha* by Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002), and [i.iv] *al-Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris. Only with respect to the [i.i] multiple text codex it is explicitly stated that al-Khānjī would return the physical copy to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn within two or three months. For the remaining titles, i.iv, i.v, and i.vi, al-Khānjī only committed himself to publishing the books within two years and to send five copies of each to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn. Only in case he would be unable to do so, the letter stipulates that al-Khānjī would need to return the physical codices to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn. In the case of the *Dīwān* al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001), the theological summa *Kitāb al-Mujlī mir'āt al-munjī* of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. after 906/1501), and *al-Mujmal* of Ibn Fāris, the wording of the letter suggests that al-Khānjī would keep the physical manuscripts and send photographic surrogates of them to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn.^[22] Moreover, al-Khānjī committed himself to dispatch to Najaf some books that had been published in Cairo (ii.i through ii:vii) as well as copies of those he would publish in the future. This arrangement would have resulted in the growth of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' library, and Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn may have seen this as a welcome opportunity to exchange books with a Cairene publisher.

The contractual arrangement between Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and al-Khānjī is not reflected in the latter's notebook: the phrase that is used is the regular one al-Khānjī has for any purchase, *mushtarā min al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'*. A comparison of the titles mentioned in the letter of commitment with the list of books al-Khānjī records as "purchased" from Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' shows that all those listed in the letter of commitment are included in the notebook. As for the remaining titles that are listed in al-Khānjī's notebook but are not mentioned in the letter of commitment, it is unknown what terms al-Khānjī and Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn had agreed upon.

None of the codices al-Khānjī had received from Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn were ever returned to the latter,^[23] and it is unknown whether al-Khānjī ever dispatched the photographic surrogates of the *Mujlī*, the *Dīwān*, and the *Mujmal* as he had promised. It is also unknown whether al-Khānjī ever paid

anything to recompense Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn for those volumes if indeed he failed to provide the promised photographic surrogates. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that al-Khānjī intended to publish some of the texts he had received from Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and other library owners in Iraq. These were to be published in the “Āthār al-‘Irāq” series issued by al-Khānjī’s press. Volumes 4 and 5 of the series were devoted to two texts included in the multitext volume of philosophical texts, namely *Tafṣīl al-‘ulūm* (or *Iḥṣā’ al-‘ulūm*) by al-Fārābī and *Risālat al-Firdaws fī māhiyyat al-insān* by Ibn Sīnā. Al-Fārābī’s work was published by the Maktabat al-Khānjī in 1931 in an edition prepared by the philosopher ‘Uthmān Muḥammad Amīn (1905–1987). For some unclear reason, the publication was issued without the designation Āthār al-‘Irāq. It is also unclear why the editor does not refer to the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ library but rather mentions that his edition is based on a photographic surrogate of the manuscript that is kept in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya.^[24] The other edition al-Khānjī had announced in his 1930–1931 catalog to be published in the “Āthār al-‘Irāq” series, Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Firdaws*, was apparently never published. Nor is there anything that would suggest that any of the other three works al-Khānjī had committed himself to publishing, *al-Maqāyis* by Ibn Fāris, *al-Khaṣā’iṣ* by Ibn Jinnī, and *al-Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris, or any of the other texts included in the 677 AH multitext volume, ever appeared in print. Unlike Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Firdaws*, their publication was never even announced.

The Codices’ Current Whereabouts

In the following, a list of titles as recorded by al-Khānjī in his notebook under the heading *mushtarā min* al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ will be given, including the codicological details al-Khānjī provides for them. These allow us to determine the codices’ current whereabouts. Moreover, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā’s stamp that is typically found in books from his library corroborates the respective codices’ provenance.

Most of the codices al-Khānjī had received from Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn are kept today in the CBL in Dublin. None of them is mentioned in the letter of commitment, with the exception of the *K. al-Mujlī* and the *Dīwān*, of which al-Khānjī had promised to send a photographic surrogate back to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn but did not commit himself to use for an edition. This suggests that Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn had indeed sold these codices to al-Khānjī. None of the codices al-Khānjī intended to use for editions are kept in the CBL, suggesting that al-Khānjī did not sell them to Yahuda upon his return from Iraq. However, rather than returning the precious 677 AH codex of philosophical texts to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, al-Khānjī eventually sold it to Yahuda, and thus it ended up in Princeton. The current whereabouts of the three texts by Ibn Fāris and Ibn Jinnī are uncertain, but it is possible that they ended up in one of the libraries of Cairo, perhaps the Dār al-Kutub that also holds a

photographic surrogate of the 677 AH codex or parts of it. There is another codex from the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' library that is today in Princeton, Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *al-Mufaṣṣal sharḥ al-Muḥasṣal*. Whether al-Khānjī had planned to publish this as well or whether Yahuda's offer of the codex to Beatty was turned down is unknown.

<i>Sharḥ Kulliyāt al-Qānūn</i> (fragment)	[Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī ?]		Ms. CBL, Ar. 3789, [26] incomplete copy, undated (‘Alī’s stamp, min kutub ‘Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja’far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, dated 1334 AH, on fol. 1r)
<i>Khaṣā’ iṣ al-lugha</i> [see letter of commitment, i.vi]	Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002)	1072 AH, 2 vols.	
<i>Maqāyis al-lugha</i> [see letter of commitment, i.v]	Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī (d. 395/1004)		
<i>Tafsīr</i> [i.e., <i>Tahdhīb qirā’at Abī ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’</i> , or <i>al-Taysīr fī l-qirā’āt al-sab’</i>]	Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī (d. 444/1053)	pt. 2	
<i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā’</i>	al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044)		
<i>al-Maḥṣūl</i>	Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209)	598 AH, 2 vols.	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3784, [27] dated 22 Jumādā II 598 (‘Alī’s stamp, min kutub ‘Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja’far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, dated 1334 AH, on the margin of vol. 1, fols. 2r, 49v, 50r, 132v, and vol. 2, fol. 1)
<i>Mujlī mir’āt al-munjī</i> [see letter of commitment, i.iii]	Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā’ī (d. after 906/1501)	autograph	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3810, [28] dated 8 Rabī’ II 896; handwritten ownership statement on the title page (fol. 1), crossed out, indicating that the codex became property of Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ in Rajab 1326 [August

			1908]; prior to this the codex belonged to Muḥammad Bāqir al-Iṣfahānī, better known as Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Āqā Najafī (d. 1332/1914), who became the owner of the manuscript in Muḥarram 1325/February-March 1907; ‘Alī’s stamp, min kutub ‘Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja’far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, [date illegible], on the title page, and fol. 17r, 203v, 327v, 329v.
<i>Mujmal al-lugha</i> [see letter of commitment, i.iv]	Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī (d. 395/1004)	545 AH	
<i>Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn li-Nahj al-balāgha min kalām amīr al-mu’minīn</i>	Ibn Maytham al-Baḥrānī	autograph, vols. 2 & 3	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3779, [29] third volume, autograph, dated Jumādā I 674 AH [no surrogate available at cbl.aces.preservica.com]
<i>K. al-Ṭabaqāt [al-kabīr]</i>	Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845)	592 AH, vol. 2	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3794, [30] second volume, undated, 6th century AH. (‘Alī’s stamp, min kutub ‘Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja’far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, date illegible, on the title page)

<i>al-Mufaṣṣal sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal</i>	Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī	751 AH	Ms. PUL, Garrett 3748Y ('Alī's stamp, min kutub 'Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja'far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', dated 1334 AH, at the beginning and end of the codex)
<i>Ḥikmat al-'ayn</i>	Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī	731 AH	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3792, [31] dated 12 Rabī' I 731 AH (handwritten ownership note on the title page, <i>fi mulk Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'</i> , that was apparently attempted to be erased; 'Alī's stamp, min kutub 'Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja'far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', dated 1334 AH (?), on fol. 1v).
<i>Miftāḥ al-'ulūm</i>	al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229)	662 AH, 2 vols	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3804, [32] dated 662 AH, 'Alī's stamp, min kutub 'Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja'far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', dated 1334 AH (?), on fols. 1r, 2r, 128v
<i>Sharḥ Miftāḥ al-'ulūm</i>	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1310)	2 vols.	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3777, [33] undated, 8th century AH; 'Alī's stamp, min kutub 'Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja'far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', dated 1334 AH (?), on fol. 1r
<i>Dīwān</i>	al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001)	620 AH, 1 vol.	Ms. CBL, Ar. 3782, [34] copyist 'Umar b. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī, dated 620 AH; 'Alī's stamp, min kutub 'Alī b. al-Riḍā b. Mūsā

			b. Ja'far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', date illegible, on the title page.[35]
Majmū' a rasā'il [see letter of commitment, i.i.]	al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā et al.		Ms. PUL, Garrett no. 308Y ('Alī's stamp, dated 1334 AH, at the beginning of the codex).[36]

That al-Khānjī hoped to fulfil his commitment is evident from correspondence between himself and Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn following al-Khānjī's visit to Iraq. On 7 Jumādā I 1350/ (?) AH, that is 14 September 1931, al-Khānjī dispatched a letter to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn. In it he thanks Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn for his letter and mentions that the binding of volume six of *Tārīkh Baghdād* is about to be completed and that he would send a copy of this one, as well as all future publications, to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn. On the letter, Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn scribbled his instructions (presumably to his secretary) as to how to reply—clearly impatient, he urges the reply to be phrased kindly.^[37] As is well known, al-Khānjī's publication of *Tārīkh Baghdad* during the years 1931–1932 ended in a financial fiasco and bankruptcy, not least since the police confiscated all copies in July 1932. The confiscation was only reversed in November 1932 after al-Khānjī had a supplementary volume printed, *al-Radd 'alā l-Khaṭīb*.^[38] It is likely that this situation prevented al-Khānjī from further pursuing the publication of books he had brought from Iraq and it may have prompted him to sell the remaining codices he had received from Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' to overcome the bankruptcy of his business.

Earlier Visits by al-Khānjī to Najaf

There is evidence that al-Khānjī had already visited Najaf and interacted with members of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' family prior to April 1930. This is a description of parts six and eight of the *Dīwān* of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥajjāj that had been part of 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā Kāshif al-Ghiṭā''s library until 1324/1906–1907, when al-Khānjī visited Najaf and asked to be given those manuscripts in order to publish these portions of the *Dīwān*. 'Alī al-Khāqānī writes as follows in his "al-Āthār al-makḥṭūṭa fī l-Najaf: Fihris makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Imām Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' al-'amma":^[39]

ديوان الحسين بن الحجاج لأبي عبد الله الحسين بن أحمد بن محمد بن جعفر بن محمد بن الحجاج الكاتب البغدادي المتوفى 391، نقل أن ديوانه في عشرة أجزاء ولم يوجد كاملاً، بل وجد منه الجزء السادس والثامن بخط عمر الموصلي كتبه عام 620 هـ. وفي عام 1324 هـ [1906–1907] زار النجف أمين الخانجي فطلب من صاحب المكتبة الشيخ علي كاشف الغطاء أن يطبعهما فقدّمها إليه، غير أنه لم يبيّر بالوعد، وبعث بدهما نسخة مصوّرة، وقد نسخ [17 December 1934] الشيخ محمد السماوي هذين الجزئين السادس في 228 ص فرغ من كتابته عاشر رمضان 1353 هـ ... والثامن في 224 ص 26 س، ويوجد الجزء الثالث بمكتبة الأستاذ صالح الجعفري، [1934]

If indeed the date al-Khāqānī provides is correct, al-Khānjī would have visited Najaf already in 1906–1907 and he would have received those two parts of the *Dīwān* from ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā. The entry in the 1930 notebook would then indicate that al-Khānjī received yet another portion of the *Dīwān* from Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn during his 1930 visit. Moreover, al-Khāqānī’s statement also suggests that already in 1906–1907, al-Khānjī did not fulfil the commitment he had given. It is noteworthy that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā mentions in his *ta’ālīq* to the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* that he had a copy of part seven in his library.^[40] It is this portion of the *Dīwān* (*al-juz’ al-sābi’*) that is today kept in the CBL (Ms. Ar. 3782). Al-Khāqānī’s mention of parts six and eight of the *Dīwān* seems to refer to another codicological division of the *Dīwān* that consisted of ten parts, unlike Ms. CBL, Ar. 3782, which is the final part of the *Dīwān* following a different division of the work. Al-Khāqānī’s above-cited account is corroborated by Āghā Buzurg al-Tihirānī’s (1876–1970) entry for the *Dīwān Ibn Ḥajjāj* in volume 9/1 his *Dharī‘a ilā taṣānīf al-shī‘a* that appeared in print in 1955.^[41] He states that a portion (*qit‘a*) of the *Dīwān*, a work that according to him consisted of ten parts, was kept in the Maktaba Ḥusayniyya Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, i.e. the library of Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, and that two parts of the work (*juz’ ān*) are kept in the library of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb al-Samāwī (1876–1950). Āghā Buzurg’s account thus roughly reflects the situation between the two visits of al-Khānjī to the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ library in 1906–1907 and again in 1930. Parts six and eight of the *Dīwān* were no longer kept in the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ library, while another portion of the work, namely *al-juz’ al-sābi’*, was still there. At the same time Āghā Buzurg mentions al-Samāwī’s copy of two parts of the *Dīwān*, certainly referring to his transcription of parts six and eight on the basis of a photographic surrogate. However, according to al-Khāqānī al-Samāwī completed his transcription of part six on 17 December 1934 only, more than four years after al-Khānjī’s second visit to Najaf. It is possible that Āghā Buzurg added this information later.

Muḥammad Riḍā’s Transactions with al-Khānjī Revisited

Although there is no first hand documentary evidence, Āl Maḥbūba relates in *his Mādī al-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā* that Muḥammad Riḍā had given a manuscript of the literary anthology *Nathr al-durar* by Abū Sa‘d Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (d. 422/1030) to al-Khānjī so that he would publish the work on its basis. However, the codex, which for some reason al-Khānjī did not list among his purchases from Muḥammad Riḍā in his notebook, is said to have got lost on its way from Najaf to Cairo:^[42]

هذا الكتاب اخذه محمد امين الخانجي المصري عند مجيئه النجف ليطلبه في مصر فلما وصل محله راجع بضياع الكتاب. هكذا فليكن الأمين

[Translation:]

“This book was taken by Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī al-Miṣrī when he came to Najaf to print it in Egypt, but when he arrived at his shop, he realized that the book was missing. So let the Trustworthy be trustworthy.”

The possibility should not be excluded that Muḥammad Riḍā had also agreed on similar terms for some of the other codices that he handed to al-Khānjī. This is corroborated by the fact that three out of the four so far identified copies from Muḥammad’s Riḍā’s (or rather his father’s) library are nowadays kept in Princeton while only one ended up in the CBL (see above).

Interestingly, Muḥammad Riḍā’s copy of the *Nathr al-durar* did not get lost but was apparently shipped, together with other books, from Iraq directly to London in May 1930. The title is mentioned on p. 16 of al-Khānjī’s notebook, between other expenses and singled out as a distinguished codex in one of the two boxes shipped to London. The codex was evidently sold by al-Khānjī to Yahuda, who in turn offered it to Beatty. The manuscript is preserved today as Ms. CBL, Ar. 3814—the ownership statement of al-Hādī b. ‘Abbās, Muḥammad Riḍā’s father, identifies its provenance beyond doubt (**fig. 6**).

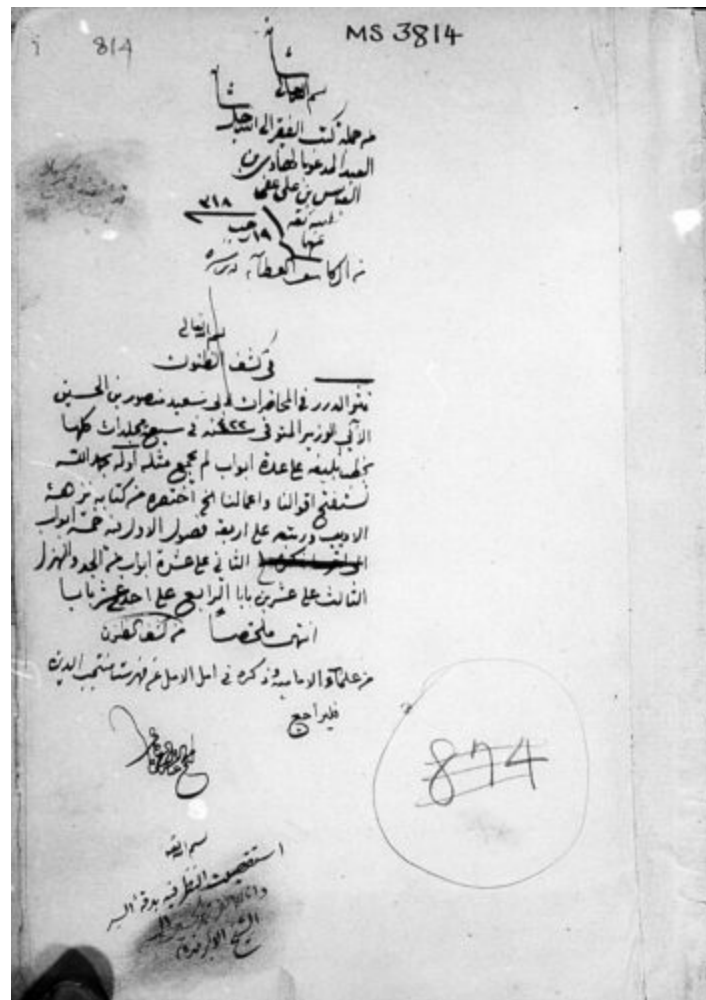


Figure 6: Opening page of Ms. CBL, Ar. 3814, with ownership statement by al-Hādī b. ‘Abbās Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’

One of the codices al-Khānjī was handed by Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn for publication, Ibn al-Fāris's *Maqāyis*, is already mentioned by Aḥmad Taymūr Pāshā (1871–1930) in his 1919 publication, *Nawādir al-makḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya wa-amākin wujūdihā*. Here he writes that a unique copy of the work is preserved in the family library of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' in Najaf and that he was able to inspect some of its leaves together with Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' in Egypt.^[43] It is likely that the two scholars met during Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn's three-months sojourn in Egypt in 1912 or 1913. Alas, Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn's diary, in which he recorded his time in Egypt and the scholars he met with, is lost.^[44]

^[1] A draft version of this essay was presented during the Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive workshop, held at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ, September 4–5, 2025, under the title "Al-Khānjī and His Journey to Iraq in 1930: The Case of Najaf." For the workshop, see

<https://albert.ias.edu/20.500.12111/9908> < <https://albert.ias.edu/20.500.12111/9908> > . I thank Rana Mikati, Camilla Adang, and Hassan Ansari for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper and for having provided me with some of the source material cited in this essay.

^[2] For Yahuda as a collector and dealer of manuscripts, see the contributions to *A. S. Yahuda as Cultural Broker: Between Near Eastern Philology and the Manuscript Trade*, edited by Stephanie Luescher, Marina Rustow, and Samuel Thrope, Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming.

^[3] Garrett Davidson, Rana Mikati, and Sabine Schmidtke, "A Window into Early Twentieth-Century Arabic Manuscripts Transactions: The Archive of the Cairo-based publisher and manuscript dealer Muhammad Amin al-Khanji (d. 1939)" (November 7, 2024), <https://www.ias.edu/ideas/window-early-twentieth-century-arabic-manuscripts-transactions>. For a digital copy of the notebook, see The American University of Cairo, Rare Books & Special Collections Library, Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive, Folder 15, File 5. For a structural analysis of the notebook, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi's presentation during the aforementioned workshop (n. 1), "Al-Khānjī's Notebook on Manuscript Transactions." For Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī, see Rana Mikati and Garrett Davidson, *Shaykh al-kutubiyyīn*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2025.

^[4] For the Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', see Ja'far Bāqir Āl Maḥbūba, *Mādī l-Najaf wa-ḥādiruhā*, 3 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1986, vol. 3, pp. 126–216. For Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, see the two introductory volumes (*al-madkhal al-awwal / al-madkhal al-thānī*) to *Mawsū'at al-Imām Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'*, Tehran: Markaz Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1439/2018. For Muḥammad Riḍā, see Muḥammad

Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt a' lām al-Shī'a: Nuqabā' al-bashar fī l-qarn al-rābi' 'ashar*, edited by Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Bihbahānī et al., vols 1–4, Mashhad: Dār al-Murtaḍā; vol. 5, Tehran: Maktaba wa-Muthāf wa-Markaz Wathā'iq Majlis al-Shūrā al-Islāmī, 1388–1395/2011–2017, vol. 2, pp. 775–776 no. 1259.

[5] The American University of Cairo, Rare Books & Special Collections Library, Maktabat al-Khānjī Archive, Folder 15, File 5, images 14, 15, and 33.

[6] 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', *al-Ḥuṣūn al-munī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-Shī'a*, edited by Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt li-lḥyā' al-Turāth, 7 vols., Qum: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1438–1441/2017–2019. For the edition, see also 'Ammār 'Ubūdī Naṣṣār, "Mashrū' taḥqīq Kitāb al-Ḥuṣūn al-munī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-Shī'a," *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013–14), pp. 683–698.

[7] See Muṣṭafā al-Dirāyatī, with Mujtabā al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'jam al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, 20 vols, Tehran: Sāzmān-i Asnād wa Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān, 1398sh/2019, vol. 20, p. 439; Ṣalāḥ al-Khāqānī, "Ishāmāt al-Shaykh 'Alī ṣāḥib al-Ḥuṣūn fī ḥifẓ al-turāth wa-ṣiyānatihi wa-naskhihi," *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013–14), pp. 637–681. For 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā and his library, see the other contributions to the special issue of *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013–14) devoted to him, edited by Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī (Najaf: Dār al-Turāth); further 'Abbās Hānī al-Jarrākh, "al-Shaykh 'Alī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (ṣāḥib al-Ḥaṣṣūn al-munī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-Shī'a): Sīratuhu wa-āthāruhu," *Turāthunā* 125–126 (1437/2016), pp. 251–314; Ja'far Bāqir Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1986, vol. 1, pp. 163–164.

[8] Ḥusayn Hādī Wanās al-Sīlāwī, "Ta'ālīq al-Shaykh 'Alī ṣāḥib al-Ḥuṣūn fī Kitāb Kashf al-ẓunūn," *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013), pp. 885–913. For the many cases of *ta'ālīq* to the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Guy Burak's presentation during the aforementioned workshop (n. 1), "Al-Khānjī's Supplement on *Kashf al-ẓunūn* and His Publisher Catalog."

[9] Al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'jam al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 20, p. 7.

[10] Al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'jam al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 20, p. 7.

[11] Al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'jam al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 20, p. 7.

[12] For al-Hādī's library, see in al-Shaykh Amīr al-Shaykh Sharīf Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', "al-Ta'rif bi-Maktabat al-Imām Kāshif al-Giṭā'," *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013), pp. 553–622, here pp. 557–558; Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, pp. 164–166.

[12a] I consulted the CBL manuscripts cited in this essay through <https://cbl.access.preservica.com/> < <https://cbl.access.preservica.com/> >, and the Princeton manuscripts in situ.

[13] Arthur J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*, 8 vols, Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1955–1966, vol. 4, p. 18.

[14] A transcription of al-Khānjī's letter of commitment is included in al-Shaykh Amīr al-Shaykh Sharīf Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', "al-Ta'rif bi-Maktabat al-Imām Kāshif al-Giṭā'," pp. 586–587, followed by a hardly legible facsimile on p. 588. A shortened version of the letter of commitment with some few variants is quoted in Muṣṭafā al-Qaysī, "Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' . . . Khizāna min nawādir al-kutub ḥaqa'iq wa-qīṣaṣ," *al-Nuqṭa* 2, no. 5 (2013), pp. 96–101, here p. 100. I was unable to verify whether the version cited by al-Shaykh Amīr al-Shaykh Sharīf Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' is a faithful and complete reproduction of al-Khānjī's letter. The archive of the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' holds apparently additional documentary material on Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn's transactions with al-Khānjī, which I was unable to access. See *Mawsū'at al-Imām Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', al-madkhal al-awwal: al-Imām Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruhu*, Tehran: Markaz Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1439/2018, p. 608:

تدوين اتفاقية حول استعارة وتبادل بعض نسخ كتب المكتبة. هناك بين الوثائق الموجودة بخط كاشف الغطاء ورقتان بخطه تشتملان على مجموعة من الاتفاقات والضمانات في ما يخص الاستعارة وتبادل عدد من المخطوطات وغيرها من الالتزامات الأخرى، مكتوبة بتاريخ 21 ذي القعدة 1348 هجرية. والاتفاقية معقودة بين الشيخ ومحمد أمين الخانجي صاحب مكتبة الخانجي الذي يوجد في أسفل كلتا الصفحتين.

[15] Referring perhaps to the publication of the *Musnad* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in six volumes, Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Maymaniyya, 1895.

[16] Referring to the following publication: Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm fī furū' al-fiqh bi-riwāyat al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān al-Murādī. Wa-bi-hāmishihi mukhtaṣar Abī Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl b. Yahyā al-Muzanī al-Shāfi'ī*, 7 vols., Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya, 1321/1903–1904.

[17] Referring to the following publication: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, edited by Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, [1924]. On this edition, see Franz Taeschner (ed.), *Al-'Umarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem werke Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, I. Text, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929, 3.

[18] Referring to the following publication: Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, 8 vols. In 2 vols., Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1345–1347/1926 or 1927–1928 or 1929.

[19] Referring to the following publication: *Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-maḥfūza bi-l-Kutubkhāna al-Khadīwiyya al-kā’ina bi-Sarā’ Darb al-Jamāmīz bi-Miṣr al-maḥrūsa al-mu‘azziyya*, 7 vols., Miṣr [Cairo]: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Uthmāniyya, [1884–1891].

[20] Referring to the following publication: *‘Ilm al-akhlāq ilā Niqūmākhūs, ta’līf Aristūṭālīs*, translated into Arabic by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, 2 vols., Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1343/1924. Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872–1963) served from 1915 until 1918 as director of the Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya.

[21] This may refer to the pre-Islamic poet Samaw’al b. Gharīḍ b. ‘Ādiyā’ b. Rifā‘a b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī. However, it is unclear to which text he is referring here as only his *Dīwān* was published in 1909 by Louis Cheikho in Beirut; see Yūsuf Ilyās Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam al-maṭbū‘āt al-‘arabiyya wa-l-mu‘arraba*, 2 vols., Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, n.d., vol. 1, columns 1053–1054.

[22] For the beginnings of photography and photocopying of Islamic manuscripts as a means of transmission, see Sabine Mangold-Will, “Photo-Kopieren als wissenschaftliche Praxis? Technische Innovation und gelehrte Distinktion in der Orientalischen Philologie des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts,” *Kolossale Miniaturen: Festschrift für Gerrit Walther*, edited by Matei Chihaia and Georg Eckert, Münster: Aschendorff, 2019, pp. 59–68.

[23] The holdings of the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ have so far only partly been catalogued in a published catalog. The first part, covering Qur’ān and Qur’ānic sciences, was published as Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ al-‘amma (Maktabat ‘Alī wa-l-Ḥusayn), al-Najaf al-ashraf, ‘Irāq*. Al-Juz’ al-awwal. Najaf 1435 AH. The Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ also published a handlist with records for 1618 codices under the title *Dalīl Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ al-‘amma*, Najaf: Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, [1423/2002]. See also ‘Alī al-Khāqānī, “al-Āthār al-makḥṭūṭa fī l-Najaf: Fihris makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Imām Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ al-‘amma,” *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013–14), pp. 915–996.

[24] See the editor’s introduction to al-Fārābī, *Iḥsā’ al-‘ulūm*, edited by ‘Uthmān Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1350/1931, p. 17.

[26] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, p. 12.

[27] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, pp. 10–11.

[28] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, p. 18. For the codex, see also Sabine Schmidtke, “New sources for the life and work of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā’ī.” *Studia Iranica* 38 (2009), pp. 49–68.

[29] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, p. 9.

[30] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, pp. 13–14.

[31] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, p. 13. ‘Alī mentions this copy in his *ta‘ālīq* on the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*; see al-Sīlāwī, “*Ta‘ālīq al-Shaykh ‘Alī ṣāhib al-Ḥuṣūn fī Kitāb Kashf al-ẓunūn*,” p. 904 no. 177: “*fī khizānat kutubinā minhu nuskha qalamiyya qadīma*”.

[32] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, pp. 16–17.

[33] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, pp. 8–9.

[34] Arberry, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, p. 10.

[35] This is the final volume of the *Dīwān* that consists of the remaining part of *qāfiyat al-mīm*, followed by *qāfiyat al-nūn*, *qāfiyat al-hā’*, *qāfiyat al-wāw*, and *qāfiyat al-yā’*, followed by the scribe’s colophon concluding the work.

[36] For the codex, see James Kritzeck, “*Avicenniana: Une majmu‘a philosophique à Princeton*,” *Mélanges de l’Institut dominicain d’études orientales* 3 (1956), pp. 374–380.

[37] A facsimile of the letter that is hardly legible is included in al-Shaykh Amīr al-Shaykh Sharīf Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, “*al-Ta‘rīf bi-Maktabat al-Imām Kāshif al-Giṭā’*,” p. 631.

[38] For details, see Mikati and Davidson, *Shaykh al-kutubiyyīn*.

[39] ‘Alī al-Khāqānī, “*al-Āthār al-makhtūṭa fī l-Najaf: Fihris makhtūṭāt Maktabat al-Imām Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ al-‘amma*,” *Dīwān al-turāth* 1 (1435/2013–14), pp. 915–996, here pp. 939–940 no. 12.

[40] See al-Sīlāwī, “*Ta‘ālīq al-Shaykh ‘Alī ṣāhib al-Ḥuṣūn fī Kitāb Kashf al-ẓunūn*,” p. 906 no. 206: “*fī khizānat kutubinā minhu al-mujallad al-sābi‘ nuskha qalamiyya qadīma*”.

[41] Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharī‘a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, 25 vols, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1403–1406/1983–1986, vol. 9/1, pp. 18–19 no. 136. For the *Dharī‘a* and the dates of publication of each volume, see Sabine Schmidtke, “*Manuscript Treasures from Najaf in Carl Brockelmann’s Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*,” *Shii Studies Review* 7 (2023), pp. 78–126.

[42] Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī al-Najaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, p. 165 n. 2.

[43] Aḥmad Taymūr Pāshā, *Nawādir al-makḥūṭāt al-‘arabiyya wa-amākin wujūdihā*, edited by Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Jadīd, 1980, 20, no. 66: “. . . wa-kuntu ra’aytu awrāqa minhu ma’a l-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusan min afrād hādhihi l-usra al-karīma [i.e., Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’] bi-Miṣr”.

[44] See Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, *‘Uqūd ḥayātī*, pp. 96–100.

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