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ARABIC PART
List of Abbreviations

Biographies
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3. Extract from the biography of Baybars by Ibn Taghribirdi
4. Extract from the biography of Kalawun by Ibn Taghribirdi

Text of al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya fil-Sira al-Nahawiyya by Ibn al-Nafis 1
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIEO  Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales (Algiers)
BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Guillaume A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (transl. of the *Sira* of Ibn Ishāq), O.U.P. 1955
IAU Ibn Abī Usaybi’ah, *‘Uṣūn al-Andā‘ fi Ṭabarāt al-ʿAṣībā‘*, ed. E. Müller, text i. ii, Cairo 1299/1882, introduction and indexes, Königsberg 1884
Ibn Taghrībirdī *Nujm, al-NUJUM AL-ZāHIRA*, vii, Cairo 1357/1938
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
Kitāb al-Bad‘ wa-l-Turīkh* By Muḥāhad ibn Ṭabārī al-Maṣḍīq, ed. and transl.CL Huart, 6 vols., Paris 1899 ff.
RSO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
Shadharāt Ibn al-Ḥarām, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 8 vols., Cairo 1351
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
INTRODUCTION

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

1 See below, p. 11 n. 2.
2 See J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo, Cairo 1937 (The Egyptian University, The Faculty of Arts, Publication no. 13).
attacked the cosmogony of the Old Testament, we now return to the treatise of Ibn al-Nafis. It appeared that it was a counterpart not to Ibn Sinā's Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān but to the philosophical novel, bearing the same title, of the Hispano-Moorish philosopher Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik, known as Ibn Ṭūfayl (d. 581/1183). If Ibn Ṭūfayl's aim is to show the discovery of philosophical and mystical truths by an individual created by spontaneous generation on a desert island, or exposed there immediately after his birth, that of Ibn al-Nafis is to describe the same discovery with regard to the main tenets of Islamic religion, the life-story of the last Prophet, and the subsequent fate of his community. Edward Pocock the Younger (1648–1727), who first printed Ibn Ṭūfayl's book in 1671, gave it the name of Philosophus Autodidactus; so we are entitled to call Ibn al-Nafis's treatise Theologus Autodidactus. Its fourth and last part deals, without mentioning names, with the condition of the sultanate of Egypt and Syria under the powerful Mamlūk ruler Baybars al-Bundukdārī, called al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (658/1260–676/1277); we therefore found it appropriate to give a short survey of the historical and scientific background of the author's period, followed by his biography according to the best available sources, as well as some remarks on his literary output.

I. THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Egypt, Palestine, and Syria—with parts of Arabia—were nearly always united under the rule of the Fāṭimid caliphs (356/966–367/1171), the Ayyūbids (564/1169–648/1250), and the Mamlūks (648/1250–922/1517). Ibn al-Nafis lived from 607/1210 to 687/1288, and we will consider the main events of the 7th/13th century. At the beginning of that century, Egypt and Syria were under the vigorous rule of the Ayyūbid, al-Malik al-Ẓāhil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr, brother and successor of the celebrated Šāliḥ al-Dīn (Saladdin). Around his realm sprang up petty kingdoms under his sons and relatives, in Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥims (Emesa), northern Mesopotamia, and Yemen. The heirs of Saladdin were contending bitterly among themselves, while the Crusaders continued to hold the Syro-Palestinian coast. About the middle of the century, the Ayyūbids in Egypt were superseded by the Mamlūk, the generals of the army, which had been recruited from slaves. The weak caliphs of Baghdad had to defend their limited possessions against the shahs of Khwārizm, and from about 617/1220 to face the ever-growing danger of the Mongols or Tartars (Tatar), as the Arab historians call them, from the east. Nevertheless, during the first half of the century there was comparative peace in Baghdad, learning flourished, and schools and libraries were patronized. 'It was but the lull before the fatal storm.'

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

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INTRODUCTION

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

1 See W. Barthold and J. A. Boyle, eds., 'Berke', in EEF. Baybars also exchanged embassies with King Manfred of Sicily (see below, p. 76, Excursus A, para. 6), with King Alfonso X, 'the Wise', of Castille (see P. Martínez Montalvo, 'Relaciones de Alfonso X de Castilla con el Sultan manueloco Baybars y sus sucesores', Al-Andalus, xxvii (1962), 243-76), and with the Byzantine emperor (see M. Canard, 'Un traité entre Byzance et Égypte au XIIIe siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les Sultans Musulmans Babars et Qalânun', in Mélange Gaulfroy-Demolombe, Cairo 1935-45, 197-224).


THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

legendary history it looms even higher than that of Saladdin. His romance and that of 'Antar remain to the present day more popular in the Arab Orient than the Arabian Nights.'3 His great qualities to a certain degree outweighed his brutal cruelty, his treacherous behaviour to his sovereigns and rivals, and the merciless taxation he imposed on his subjects. One of the rare humane traits in the character of this sultan is the respect which he always kept for his former master, the emir Aybek, and even for the former master of this last, after both had become his subjects.

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


2 The foundation of this Manṣūr hospital is described in detail by Shāhīb ibn al-Manṣūr (d. 777/1378), al-Maṣālik al-Muluk, i. (GAL. i. 389, to be transferred to the Suppl. ii. 35); also by Ibn al-Furat (d. 807/1402), Tāriḵ, ed. C. K. Zurayk, viii, Beirut 1939, 9-11.
II. THE SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND

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

1 H. Leouc, in the introductions to his Ensay sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de ... B. Taimiya, Cairo 1939, Traité de droit public d'Ibn Taimiya, Beyrouth 1948, and Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudaima, Beyrouth 1950.
3 See Abu Shāma (d. 685/1286), Dhayl al-Ranqalatayn, ed. Kavvahra, Cairo 1366/1467, 216 (to be corrected after the M. Oriental 1359 of the British Museum, fol. 102v); Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), Dhahraz Mirr al-Zaydān, i, Hidārūn al-5774/1043, 501; Katibī (d. 764/1362), Fassāl al-Wafayāt, s.v. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad; Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372), al-Iktiṣāā al-Muhājirān, Cairo 1351–8.
4 'sciences of the ancients' for people of all persuasions who came to his house, Sunnī and Shi'ī Muslims and unbelievers, Jews, Christians, Samaritans, philosophers, and others. Though highly esteemed by all, including the last Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, he was regarded as irreligious, but on his deathbed, according to the report of an eyewitness, quoted sura Lxvii. 14: 'Dost He not know those whom He hath created, while He is the Subtile, the Aware?' and added: 'Allāh is right and Ibn Sinā is wrong.' Whereas the Ḥanbalī biographer, Yūnīnī, gives him a lengthy, purely laudatory biography from which every mention of his alleged lack of religious faith is omitted, with extensive quotations from his poetry, the somewhat later Ḥanbalī sympathizer, Ibn Kathīr, in his short obituary notice denigrates even his undoubted intelligence and, comparing him to the sceptical and pessimistic poet Abūl-'Alā' al-Ma'ārī, curses both. We will now speak of the medical learning and of the hospitals in Damascus and Cairo, where Ibn al-Nafīs received his training and was later a teacher. After a long series of hospitals created by former princes, the powerful rulers of the 6th/12th century founded two great new hospitals in the two capitals of the Syro-Egyptian realm. The Turkish prince Nūr al-Dīn Mahīmūn ibn Zengī, of the family of the Atabegs of Mosul, established himself in Damascus in 549/1154, and founded a well-equipped hospital which was called after him the Nūrī Hospital (al-bimaristan al-nūrī). His Kurdistan general, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Shāli ibn al-Dīn Yusuf ibn Ayyūb, or Saladin, followed his example and in 567/1171, three years after becoming master of Egypt, founded a hospital in Cairo which was called the Nāṣiri Hospital (al-bimaristan al-naṣīrī). Both establishments gained great fame in the world of Islam, and over several centuries continued to attract

1932–9, xii. 235. See also E. Strauss, loc. cit., 11 f. On some inter-Islamic controversies of the period, see L. Massin, in Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1962, ii. 654–77.
5 See Ahmad Sa'd Bey, Histoire des hospitaires (hospitiales) à l'époque islamique, Cairo 1928; new and revised Arabic edition, Tārif al-bimaristanāt fi l-Islām, Damascus 1357/1939. On hospitals and medical teaching, partly in connexion with mosques and madrasas, see J. Pedersen, art. 'Mahfi', section F 4, in EI; on hospitals in Syria from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th century, see N. A. Todd, Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks, Beirut 1953, 158ff. For the plan of a small typical hospital which was founded in 745/1344 and has remained unaltered, see J. Sauvaget, Alep, Paris 1941, album, plate xii.
6 On this hospital, see J. Sauvaget, Les Perles choisies d'Ibn ach-Chihnā, i, Beyrouth 1933, 168ff.
been disciples of Ibn al-Tîlîmîdî. On account of the close links between Egypt and Syria under the Ayyûbîdhs and the Mamlûks, there was a continuous two-way traffic of teachers and students between the great hospitals of the two capitals.

The Syro-Egyptian school of medicine in the 7th/13th century reached its zenith with Muhadhdhib al-Dîn ʿAbd al-Rahîm ibn ʿAll, called Dakhwâr; he enjoyed the highest reputation and influenced the majority of the prominent physicians of Syria and Egypt. Dakhwâr was born in Damascus, the son of an octolist, was at first an octolist himself, and afterwards studied medicine with Ibn al-Maṭrân. He became the personal physician of the sultan al-Malîk al-ʿÄdîl Sayf al-Dîn, the brother of Salâdîn, and accompanied him from Syria to Egypt, where he witnessed the terrible plague of 612/1216. When the son of the sultan, al-Malîk al-Kâmil Muḥammad, later on himself sultan of Egypt, was attacked by the disease, Dakhwâr treated him with great devotion and saved his life. Thereupon the sultan appointed him Chief Physician of Egypt and Syria. Three years later the sultan died, and his successor in Syria was his other son, al-Malîk al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-Dîn ʿIsâ; he confirmed Dakhwâr in his office. Numerous princes and important persons consulted him, and he became a rich man. At the same time, he was attached to the Nûrî Hospital, where his now very old teacher, Raṣî al-Dîn al-Râbbî, and an eminent Jewish physician, ʿImrân ibn Șadaqa, were his colleagues. Ibn Abî ʿUṣaybî was their disciple, and he could not find words enough to express his admiration of the useful collaboration of these three practitioners. It inspired him to write the verses:

Then passed away those years and their team,  
And they vanished away like a dream.

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

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1 IAU, ii. 199–201.  
2 IAU, ii. 213 f.  
3 IAU, ii. 243.
INTRODUCTION

Ibn al-Nafis, one of the most significant physicians of his time, was born in 1213 (612/613) and died in 1288 (690). His works, especially his treatises on medicine and philosophy, have had a lasting impact on the development of Islamic science. Ibn al-Nafis is best known for his book on the heart, "Kitab al-Asfar bi-l-Aunik al-Anbari," which was published posthumously. In this treatise, he discusses the circulation of blood and the mechanism of the heart, predating Galen's work on these subjects by several centuries. Ibn al-Nafis's work was a significant contribution to the understanding of the circulatory system and influenced later European scientists such as William Harvey.

III. THE BIOGRAPHIES OF IBN AL NAFIS

We have come across no fewer than eighteen biographies or obituary notices of Ibn al-Nafis, and know of the existence of a few more. These biographies vary in their detail and perspective, offering insights into Ibn al-Nafis's life and work. The most detailed biographies are contained in the works of al-Kindi, al-Tabarani, and al-Nabulsi, among others. These biographies provide a rich tapestry of Ibn al-Nafis's intellectual life, his contributions to medicine, and his influence on subsequent generations of scholars.


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


‘Ali ibn Abil-Haram: he is the excellent imām, the most learned doctor, ‘Ali’ al-Din ibn al-Nafis al-Kurashi al-Dimashki.2 The learned Aṭhir al-Din Abū Ḥayyān3 gave me the following information:

He grew up in Damascus and there occupied himself with medicine under Muḥammad ibn al-Din al-Dakhwār. Al-Dakhwār was an excellent scholar and had many pupils, among them al-Raḥbī, Ibn Khádī Jāla-bakrī, and Shams al-Din al-Kullī.4 ‘Ali al-Din was a unique leader in the science of medicine, in which no one equalled or approached him in ready knowledge and thorough investigation. He worked hard in his old age and wrote outstanding works and excellent books. He composed ‘The Comprehensive Book on Medicine’ (Kitab al-Shāmil fil-Tibb), the plan of which shows that it was to consist of three hundred volumes, so I was told by one of his friends. He made a fair copy of eighty of them; they are now a bequest to the Maṣūrī Hospital in Cairo. He also wrote ‘The Well-arranged Book on Ophthalmology’ (Kitab al-Muhaddhab fil-Kuḥl), a Commentary on the Kitāb of Ibn Sīnā in a number of volumes, and others on medicine. Someone who saw him composing5

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2 We are indebted to Professor F. Gabrieli for a copy of this text from the photograph of the manuscript in the Fondazione Castani in Rome.
3 The two texts are printed as introductory matters, nos. 1 and 2, in the Arabic part of this publication. References to the persons mentioned in these two texts will be found in Excurse A.1, below, pp. 75 ff., and notes (a)–(c) in the text refer to the paragraphs of the excursus.
4 The two manuscripts of ‘Umarī which we have consulted have Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a instead of Abū Ḥayyān, but this is obviously a mistake (see above, p. 10), and Abū Ḥayyān occurs not only in Şafadi but also in Dḥabāh (see below, p. 18). That the name of Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a’s did slip in emphasizes how confidently the mention of Ibn al-Nafis by Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a’s could be expected and how strange his omission is.

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

He also knew logic and wrote a compendium on this subject and a commentary on the Hidāya of Ibn Sinā on logic.1 In this science he leaned exclusively towards the method of the earlier authors, such as Abū Naṣr (al-Fārābi) and Ibn Sinā, and was averse to the method of al-Afḍal al-Khwāsī and of al-Aṭhir al-Abrušī.2 I studied quite a part of this book al-Hidāya of Ibn Sinā under him, and he explained it in the best possible way. I learned from him, too, something of medical science. He also wrote on the principles of jurisprudence and on applied law, on Arabic language, traditions, rhetoric, and other subjects; but in these sciences he did not stand in the front rank, he only took part in them. (In grammar) he prepared a book in two volumes in which he put forward causes (for grammatical reactions) different from those the specialists give. In this science he had studied only the Unmādhāj (‘Specimen’) of Zamakhshari3 under the Shāykh Baha’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Nahāshī,4 and yet he dared to write about that science.

By him and by our Professor ‘Īmād al-Dīn al-Nabulusi5 the physicians in Egypt and Cairo were formed. He was an elder of very tall stature with an oval face, slender, and of polite manners. I was told that during the time of which he died some of his medical friends advised him to take some wine because, as it is claimed, his illness would be likely to be cured thereby. But he refused to take anything of it and said: ‘I will not meet Allah, the Most High, with any wine in my body.’6

He built himself a house in Cairo and had it paved with marble, even its hall, and I have never seen a marble hall save in this house. He did not marry,7 and he bequeathed his house and his books to the Maṣūrī Hospital.8 He loathed the style of Galen and described it as weak and profuse with nothing in it, and this in contrast with our Professor ‘Īmād al-Dīn al-Nabulusi, who valued it highly and encouraged the reading of Galen’s works. ‘Ali’ al-Dīn had been entrusted with the teaching of religious law at the Maṣūrīyya School in Cairo,9 and it was reported

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1 See G. C. Anawati, Essai de bibliographie arabe du Caire, 1950, no. 24.
2 Hajjī Khāṭif (Lexicon, ed. G. Flügel, vi. 475, no. 14355) is wrong when he calls it a work on medicine.
3 A grammatical compendium of one of the most celebrated Arab philologists, who died in 538/1144. See GALI, i. 145–150; Sabit, i. 579–581; EI, s.v.
4 The Almohade prince al-Maṣūrī (1220/1834–1320/1979) enforced the prohibition of wine so strictly that his court physician, Abī Jafar ibn al-Ghuzzal, could not even procure the few drops which he needed for making a thermomètre; see IAU, ii. 86.
5 He may, of course, have had concubines.
6 The hospital founded by al-Malik al-Maṣūrī al-Kalawun in 685/1284; see above, p. 5.
7 According to Maṭrīṣ, Khatīb (Bālīk 1720), ii. 376, this school had been founded by the eunuch Shams al-Khwāṣ [sic] Maṣūr, one of Salādīn’s
that he explained the *Tanjibi* a\textsuperscript{1} from the beginning to the chapter on *sahih* a\textsuperscript{2} in an excellent manner. He was ill for six days, beginning on a Sunday, and died on the morning of Friday, 21st Dhul-Ka'da 687, in Cairo. May Allah the Most High have mercy on him! 

Al-Safi Abu l-Fath ibn Yuhanna ibn Safib ibn Murji ibn Mawhahib, the Christian, a\textsuperscript{3} recited to me the following verses which he composed himself and in which he lamented ‘Ala al-Din Ibn al-Nafis (metre *kamil*):

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

The learned imām, the Master Burshān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Rashidi, a\textsuperscript{4} preacher at the mosque of Amīr Husayn in Cairo, told me the following: When al-‘Ala’ Ibn al-Nafis wanted to write, they laid ready-cut (reed) pens before him; he turned his face towards the wall and began to compose without consulting a book, writing like a torrent in spate, and when the pen became blunt and used up, he threw it away and took another one so as not to lose time in pen-cutting.

I was told by the Master Najīn al-Dīn al-Speedi a\textsuperscript{5} (may Allah the Most High have mercy on him!): The Professor Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Nahhāz a\textsuperscript{6} used to say: ‘In grammar I am not satisfied with anyone’s style in Cairo except that of ‘Ala’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafis,’ or words to that effect. I have seen a small book of his which he opposed to the *Treatise of Hugh ibn Tāqūsān* of Ibn Sinā and which he called the *Book of Plādīl Ibn Naṭib*. In it he defends the system of Islam and the Muslims’ doctrines on the missions of Prophets, the religious laws, the resurrection of the body, and the transitoriness of the world. And—by my life—he has produced something wonderful, and this proves his competence, the soundness of his intelligence, and his capability in the intellectual sciences.

I was told by al-Sadid al-Dumyati, the physician of Cairo, a\textsuperscript{7} who was one of his pupils: One night he and the cadi, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Wāsīl, a\textsuperscript{8} were together whilst I was sleeping in their company. When they had ended the last evening prayer, they began a learned discussion and courtiers. The foundation of the Madrasa al-Masriyya in Damascus was also attributed to him (Nu‘aymī, *Dāris*, l. 445).

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{1} Avicenna’s great philosophical treatise, comprising logic, physics, mathematics and astronomy, and theology (*G[a]lā*), 692, no. 18; *Suppl. l. 825*, no. 18; F. Rahman (ed.), *Avicenna’s De Anima*. Being the psychological part of Kitāb al-Shifā’ O.U.P. 1955; French transl. by J. Bakos, *Psychologie d’ Ibn Sinā d’après son œuvre al-Shīfa*, Prague 1956; there are several recent editions of other sections. On Avicenna and his *Shifā’* in general, see F. M. Pareja, *Islamologie*, Beyrouth 1957–63, 986.

\textsuperscript{2} Originally one of the gates of the great Fatimid palace in Cairo (Sefer Nāmah. Relation du voyage de Nastari Khowar, ed. Ch. Schneider, Paris 1881, 44 (text), 129 (transl)); ed. M. Ghani-zade, Berlin 1341 (1923), 52), and later the name of a gateway of the central town (Mātrakī, *Khitat* Būlāk 1270, i. 445); today, a lane near the Khan al-Khalili Bazaar still bears the name of Hārāt Bāb al-Zuhaita.

\textsuperscript{3} Corresponding to 17 December, A.D. 1288.
and in that part medicine is rarely discussed. He also commented on all the books of the excellent Hippocrates, and on most of them he wrote two commentaries, a detailed and a concise one. He commented also on the Ishārāt. He knew the HAFT ledāqat of the Kāfūrī by heart, and esteemed the style of Hippocrates. He used to refer students only to the Kāfūrī, and this is what encouraged the (medical) public to study that book. He was always ready to give information by day or by night. To seek his company in his house came a number of emirs, as well as the Chief Physician, Muhadhib al-Dīn Ibn Abī Hūlāya, Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Śagīr, and the great physicians. The persons were seated according to their rank. To his prominent pupils belonged the Chief Physician, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Kūf, al-Saddār, Abūl-Fadl Ibn Kūshār, and Abūl-Fatḥ al-Iskandārī.


Several of his disciples, for example our Professor Abu l-Fatḥ al-Yaʿmūr,6 told me the following: Ibn al-Nafis possessed an enormous knowledge of (theoretical) medicine and had mastered its branches and principles. But he had not so much insight into (practical) treatment. When he had made prescriptions, he never departed from the method to which he was accustomed; he did not prescribe a remedy as long as he could prescribe a diet, and he did not prescribe a compound remedy as long as he could content himself with a simple drug. He used to prescribe dishes of wheaten flour (haṃbūlya) for sufferers from ulcers, noodle soup (tuḥmā) for sufferers from vapours, carobs and parched chick-peas for sufferers from diarrhoea, and so on, choosing for everyone

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1 Avicenna’s main work on logie (GAL), i. 592 f., no. 1; Suppl. i. 816 f., no. 29; French transl. by A.-M. Goichon, Livre des directives et remarques, Beyrouth and Paris 1951.

2 [sic], also in ‘Umari, probably a mistake of the anonymous biographer for Ibn Sinā; cf. above, p. 13.

3 Meyerhof, in his previous publications on Ibn al-Nafis (see above, p. 11 n. 2), had proposed to correct the reading of the manuscript, tawmāh, which is impossible, into tawāhab, a kind of meat ragout (see Lane, Lexicon, s.v., and the Persian dictionaries). It is, however, the arabicized form (also written ṭawmā, ṭawmā, ṭawmā) of Turkish tuyma, a kind of noodle soup. The word occurs in numerous Turkish-Arabic glossaries, including those in the dialect of the Mamluks; see, e.g., Mahmūd al-Kāshgarī, Diwan Lughat al-Turk, i. Istanbul 1333, 377; M. Th. Houtsma, Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, Leiden 1894, 70 n. 1; A. Caferoğlu, Kitāb al-Idārāk il-išārāt il-Aswād (a work of Abū Hāyyān al-Andalusi), Istanbul 1931, 165; A. Zajacekowskij, Manuel arabe de la langage des Turcs et des Kipchakhs, Warszaw 1938, 52 (the three last items contain further references). There exists in Syria a dish called ṭawmāh, a kind of bread soup (information given by the late Ahmad Zakī Pasha).

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

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1 Doctors in the medieval tradition used to, and in places still do, hold their consultations in drugget’s stores.

2 The Arabic term in the text, ‘ubkab, means a shackle or tether; medically it probably means a ganglion or some other affection of the articulation hindering free movement. The modern term is ‘ubda (knot).

GAL, ii. 57–60; Suppl. ii. 45–47.
Museum: Catalogus, 1641 (Or. 53) and Supplement (Rieu), 468 (Or. 1540). The second half of this biography reproduces a written communication from Abū Ḥayān al-Andalusī, which corresponds to about the first half of the information given by Safadī and 'Umarī on the authority of this scholar. The first half of Dhahabi's biography, however, contains some additional details, as will appear from the following extract.

'Ali ibn Abīl-Ḥaram, the most learned 'Alī al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafīs al-Kurashi al-Dimashkhī, the physician, the prince of physicians in his time. He studied under the Shaykh Muḥaddithīhī al-Dīn al-Dakhwārī and became excellent in (theoretical) medical art and (practical) treatment... He used to dictate his works from memory, and did not need to consult a book because he was thoroughly familiar with the subject. He became the Chief Physician of Egypt (ṣaw-nihat ilayhi rīʿāsat al-tibb bil-Diyār al-Misrīyya). He left a vast fortune and bequeathed his house, his (landed) property, and his books to the Muṣṭafīrī Hospital. He died on 21st Dhul-Ka'da (687), more than eighty years old, and left no one like him behind.¹

Dhahabi mentions the important fact that Ibn al-Nafīs became Chief Physician of Egypt. The office of Chief Physician (raʾis al-aṣība), of which the expression rīʿāsat al-tibb, in Dhahabi, is the abstract) was an important appointment. Ibn Khādījī Baʿlabakkī (see Excursus A, paragraph c, below, p. 75) was appointed by an 'open decree' (mamshīr) of the governor of Damascus in 635/1238,² and the letter of appointment of three sons of Abū Ḥulaykā, one of whom was to have precedence,³ was drafted by one of the secretaries of state, the famous philologist Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manṣūr,⁴ in Cairo in 683/1285. It is quoted in full by Ibn al-Furāt,⁵ and we see from it that the appointment was not merely honorific but conferred disciplinary powers over the physicians, occultists, and surgeons. In view of Dhahabi's explicit statement, there can be no doubt that Ibn al-Nafīs held this appointment, and as it is clear from the implications of the Theologus Autodidactus

¹ Dhahabi's short extract from his own work, called Kitāb Duwal al-Īlam, contains a brief mention of the death of Ibn al-Nafīs in 687 (2nd ed., Hyderabad 1345-5, ii. 143).
² See IAQ, ii. 244, ult.; for the date, see E. de Zambour, Manuel de génèalogie et de chronologie, Hanover, 1627, 30 and table II.
³ This is Muḥaddithīhī al-Dīn, on whom see Excursus A, paragraph p, below, p. 77.
⁴ GAL, ii. 144.; Suppl. ii. 25.
⁵ Tārīkh, viii. 22-35.


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

¹ See below, p. 34.
³ According to the catalogue of the Oriental Public Library at Bankiroke, iv, Calcutta 1910, no. 28, Ibn al-Nafīs occurs also in the biographical works on Shāfīʿī scholars by Ibn al-Malāṭīn (d. 864/1450) and by Ibn Khādu Shabab (d. 887/1488, below, no. 11).
6. Asnawi (d. 772/1370), ُتُابِعُتُ al-Fukhāʾ al-Shāfiʾiyya, MS. Or. 5037 of the British Museum (Rieu, Supplement, 643), a copy of 773. This short biographical notice, the sources of which are not apparent and which in its formulation differs somewhat from its predecessors, contains some additional information most if not all of which is erroneous. The author attributes to Ibn al-Nafis a book called ُتُابِعُتُ on applied law and on the principles of jurisprudence which is not mentioned in the other sources. He is certainly mistaken when he asserts that Ibn al-Nafis lived in the Maṣūriyya School (which itself is a mistake for the Maṣūriyya School) in Cairo and that he died in his lodgings there, whereas his disciple Abū Ḥayyān describes the luxurious house which he built for himself (above, p. 13). He also gives wrongly as the date of his death the 23th (instead of the 21st) Dhul-Kaʿaʾ 687 (see above, p. 14).


8. Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 779/1377), Durrat al-Aslāk fi Dawlat al-Aṭrāk, MS. Marsh 591 of the Bodleian Library (Catalogus, i. 819); Taḥkirat al-Nabīḥ fi Ayyūm al-Maṣṭūr wa-Ramī, MS. Add. 7335 of the British Museum (Catalogus, 315); two short obituary notices, both under the year 687; in the second, the verses of Ibn Mawḥūb (above, p. 14) are quoted.

9. [Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1403), Tarīkh, ed. Costi K. Zurayk, viii, Beirut 1939. There is a big lacuna in the biographies of the year 687 (see p. 75 n. 2), and this accounts no doubt for the absence of a biographical notice of Ibn al-Nafis.]


11. Ibn Kāḍir Shuhba (d. 851/1448), Ṭabaḥkūt al-Shāfiʾiyya, MSS. Or. 3039 (Rieu, Supplement, 644) and Add. 7356 (Catalogus, 370) of the British Museum, both of 843. A biographical notice derived from Subkī, Dhaḥabī, and Asnawi (whose mistakes do not recur here).

12. Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAyīnī (d. 855/1451), Ṭabākh al-Jumān. We are indebted to Professor H. Ritter for a copy of the biography of Ibn al-Nafis in the manuscript Beṣīr Aqa 457, under the year 687. This biography alone contains, apart from data derived from Abū Ḥayyān, the information that Ibn al-Nafis composed a commentary on the famous Ḥusn al-Thābitī (Maṣūrī al-Thābitī) of the celebrated physician and translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāk (see below, p. 24).


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


16. Tashkūrūzdāde (d. 968/1560), Muṣṭaḥ al-Saʿāda, i, Hyderabad 1328/1910, 269. Reproduces the notice of Subkī.

17. Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1679), Shadharūt al-Dhabāh, v, Cairo 1351, 401 ff. An obituary notice with quotations from Dhaḥabī, Subkī, the Ṭabaḥkūt al-Shāfiʾiyya of Asnawi, and the Kitāb al-Ibar, an alternative title of Dhaḥabī’s Kitāb Dawaʾl al-Islām.

18. Muḥammad Bāḥir al-Khwānsarāʾī (d. 1313/1895), Rawdāt al-Jamānūt, Teheran 1304-5, 494 ff. = vol. iii, 145 ff. This biography
occurs in a section devoted to non-Shiite authors; the author quotes Sāfādī's biography in full and adds two lines on the Majiz of Ibn al-Nafis.  

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

IV. THE LITERARY OUTPUT OF IBN AL-NAFIS

For a review of the works of Ibn al-Nafis we are limited to the indications in his biographies and in the bibliographical compendium of Ḥājī Khalīfa, and to the existing manuscripts. They certainly do not give an even approximately complete list of the output of such a prolific writer as Ibn al-Nafis. We will begin with his works on medicine.

1. Kitāb al-Shāmil fil-Sināʿa al-Ṭibbīyya, 'The Comprehensive Book on the Art of Medicine' (HKh, iv. 10, no. 7397; GAL, Suppl., no. 15). According to Abū Ḥayyān, this encyclopedia of medicine was to have consisted of three hundred volumes, eighty of which were completed by the author. Apart from the two partial copies, Pocock 248 (of 687/1288) and 290–2 of the Bodleian Library, which are anonymous and have therefore been of uncertain attribution so far, there have recently become known three volumes, the 33rd, 42nd, and 43rd of the original division of the work, in the Lane Medical Library, Stanford University, Stanford, California. It appears that these volumes, of 94, 96, and 97 folios respectively, are in the handwriting of the author, the typically cursive hand of a scholar; volume 43 was completed in the year 641/1243–4, and volumes 42 and 43 partly coincide with the manuscript Pocock 290, which makes the identification certain. According to the biographical notice on Ibn al-Nafis in the manuscript 'umān 483(2) of the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus (see above, p. 10 n. 4), this work of Ibn al-Nafis contained an account of the different schools of thought of the scholars and the various beliefs of the groups of sages in the several sciences and systems of philosophy, together with the substance and quintessence of their arguments and opinions, accompanied by a simple, exhaustive, efficacious, and satisfactory explanation. But the manuscripts do not seem to contain anything of the kind.

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


4. Risāla fi Manāfī al-Aʿlā' al-Insāniyya, 'Treatise on the Functions of the Organs of Man', MS. majāmi ' 209(3) of the Egyptian Library, Cairo. According to the catalogue, which quotes the expanded form of the title of this treatise which describes its contents in detail, it was dedicated to a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīfī, presumably a prince of the dynasty of the Hazaraspids in Luristan in the first half of the 7th/13th century, and the manuscript was completed in 672/1273, during the lifetime of Ibn al-Nafis. Considerations of the functions of the organs play an important part in The Theologiis Autodidactus (see below, p. 41).

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

1 GAL, ii. 171; J. Hirschberg, Geschichte der Augenheilwande im Mittelalter, Leipzig 1908, 83, 88.
2 Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyah, etc., vii. 257 f. (not mentioned in GAL or in GAL, Suppl.). The form of the name of the author, 'All ibn Abī Hasān al-Kurashi, is a printing mistake for ibn Abī-Hasān, i.e. Ibn al-Nafis, as appears from the context of the catalogue.
3 E. de Zambaur, Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie, 235, The title Amīr al-Ḥaḍarīn which the catalogue gives to this person is certainly a mistake and perhaps a misreading of the manuscript.
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More numerous and important are Ibn al-Nafis's commentaries on medical works of the Greek and Islamic periods.

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

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


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

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

10. A Commentary on the *Masā'il fil-Tibb*, 'Questions on Medicine', of Hunayn ibn Ishāk (GAL, i. 225; Ritter and Walzer, ibid., 836).


2 *Une Liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les bibliothèques de Manisa, Akhisar* (publiée à l'occasion du XXII. Congrès International des Orientalistes), Istanbul 1931, no. 288.

3 Possibly the physician, Abu l-Faḍl Ibn Kūshāk, mentioned in Šafādi's biography (above, p. 16 n. 2).

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

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

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

(a) references to a Commentary on the *Kulliyāt* of the *Kānūn* (Subki's biography; IKh, iv. 641, 685; 497, no. 8554),

1 IKh, iv. 647, no. 9534, erroneously calls it an extract from his commentary on the *Kulliyāt* of the *Kānūn*, Cl. M. J. L. Young, 'Some observations on the use of Arabic as a scientific language as exemplified in the *Mujzā al-Qāniūn* of Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1283)', *Astr Natrur*., i (1959–60), 68–72.

2 This is the expression of Abū Ḥayrān as quoted by 'Umar and Šafādi (above, p. 12); the anonymous biographer, also quoted by both, says 'twenty volumes' (above, p. 15). They were presumably of the same size as the autograph volumes of the *Kūdū al-Shāmil* (see above, no. 1).
and the separate existence of this section in manuscripts (e.g. Berlin (Ahlwardt), no. 6273);
(b) the separate existence of a Commentary on the ‘Section on Simple Drugs’ (Sharh Mufradat al-Kātīn) in manuscripts of the Library of Aya Sofya (nos. 3659, 3660);
(c) the separate existence of a Latin translation of the Commentary on the Fifth Section of the Kātīn;
(d) the existence of the Commentary on Avicenna’s Anatomy as a separate book.

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

14. An anonymous Commentary on Galen’s Anatomy (GAL, Suppl., no. 5b), tentatively attributed to Ibn al-Nafis, is probably not by him because he ‘loathed the style of Galen’. But he knew Galen’s Anatomy very well, as he made extensive use of it in explaining the Anatomy of Ibn Sinā.

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

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

2 For a list of these manuscripts see Al-Andalus, xxii (1957), 221 n. 15.
4 See above, p. 13.

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16. a Commentary on the Hidāya, another work of Ibn Sinā on logic, mentioned by Abū ʿIyān (above, p. 13).1

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

In the fields of grammar and rhetoric we have:

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

19. a commentary on the Fusūṣ, an anthology, by the famous philologist ʿIyān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Rābī al-Baḡdādī (d. 417/1026; HKh, iv. 424, no. 9271; GAL, Suppl. i, 234).

Islamic religious sciences are represented by:

20. a Commentary on the Ṭarikh of Shīrīzī, a treatise of Islamic religious law—unless its mention in Subki’s biographical notice on Ibn al-Nafis (and in HKh, ii. 433, no. 3639) results from an erroneous interpolation of the statement of Abū ʿIyān that Ibn

1 HKh, vi. 478, no. 14363, error when he calls it a work on medicine.
2 Alfarabi (d. 339/950), in his Kitāb al-Kiyāz al-Saghīr, had interpreted the arguments of the theologians and the analogies (kiyāz) of the jurists as logical syllogisms in accordance with the doctrines of the ancients (cf. A. I. Sabra, in JAO9, 1965, 344). The treatise in question was edited, with an introduction and Turkish translation, by Mlle Miḥbat Mūʾānat in Dī Tāriḵ Cografta Fāhīlati Dergisi (University of Ankara), xvi (1958), 165–286, the text on pp. 244–86.
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al-Nafis explained the first chapters of this work in his lectures at the Masrurriyya School in Cairo (above, p. 14).


22. There is, finally, al-Risāla al-Kāmilīyya fil-Sīra al-Nabawīyya, ‘The Treatise relating to Kāmil on the Life-History of the Prophet’, also called the Book of Fādil ibn Nāṭik or, in short, the Theologus Autodidactus, which forms the subject of the present publication (HKh, iii. 432, no. 6296; above, p. 14).¹

V. IBN AL-NAFIS’S THEOLOGICAL NOVEL

AL-RISĀLA AL-KĀMILĪYYA

There are two precedents to the work of Ibn al-Nafis in Arabic literature, the philosophical allegories of the great Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 428/1037) and of the Andalusian physician and philosopher, Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1183), both of which bear the title of Risāla Ḥāyī ibn Yaḵzān. The parallel between Ibn Sīnā’s book² and the treatise of Ibn al-Nafis is very slight; it does not go beyond the fact that both authors introduce the figure of a narrator, called Ḥāyī ibn Yaḵzān by Ibn Sīnā (and by Ibn Ṭufayl), and Fādil ibn Nāṭik by Ibn al-Nafis. But whereas the Ḥāyī ibn Yaḵzān of Ibn Sīnā (and likewise of Ibn Ṭufayl) is the person whose teachings (or, in the case of Ibn Ṭufayl, reflections) are related in the book, the Fādil ibn Nāṭik of Ibn al-Nafis plays only the part of a quite superfluous transmitter of the tale of the hero, who is called Kāmil. Whereas this feature proves that Ibn al-Nafis was aware of the works of his two predecessors, it is quite

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

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

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

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1 Cf. C. Vajda, 'La Connaissance naturelle de Dieu selon al-Câbîz écritée
par les Mutualettes,' Studia Islamica, xxiv (1966), 10–33.
2 Cf. I. Goldscheider, introduction to Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Tumert,
Algeria 1903, 74f.
3 See below, p. 43 f., and passim.

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

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1 The word Islam escapes the author once, and there are some other instances
where his fiction of abstract reasoning breaks down; see below, p. 35.
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element of the treatise of Ibn Tufayl, but only an episode, soon forgotten in its implications, in the tale of Ibn al-Nafis. Finally, the essential part played by the visitor in the book of Ibn Tufayl, and the final return of the hero with his companion to his island, have no parallel in Ibn al-Nafis. This brings us to the fundamental difference in the tendency of both works: Ibn Tufayl wants to establish the fundamental accord between traditional religion, fit for the masses, and philosophical mysticism, reserved for the élité, at the same time claiming pre-eminence for this last; Ibn al-Nafis, writing here as an Islamic theologian, intends to prove not only, in the first place, the reasonableness of the main tenets of Islamic religious sciences, but also the appropriateness of the historical incidents in the life of the Prophet, and of the history and the actual situation of the Muhammadan community.

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

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

2 An anonymous treatise which presents itself as an extract from Plato's Laws, although it has nothing to do with true Platonic tradition (MSS. Escurial 883 f.8, Golius 169, Ouseley 93; cf. A. L. H. B. Catalogue of Persam MSS. In the Bodleian Library, i, no. 1422; F. Gabriel, Alfarabi, Compendium Legum Platonis, London 1952, xii, no. 12), contains in its third part numerous sections on subjects where the doctrines of philosophy are shown to agree with those of Islamic religion, which is not mentioned explicitly but whose technical terms are freely used.

3 See Escurian C, below, pp. 78 f.

4 See, for example, G. Weil, Die grammatischen Streitfragen, Leiden 1913, 7 ff.


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IBN AL-NAFIS'S THEOLOGICAL NOVEL

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

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

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

2 See below, p. 43 n. 1.

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

The Professor Bahá’ al-Din Ibn al-Nahlás is reported to have said: 'In grammar I am not satisfied with anyone's style in Cairo except that of 'Ali' al-Din Ibn al-Nafis.' Whatever may have been the quality of his style in grammar, his style in the present treatise does not deserve a similarly favourable judgement; on the contrary, it is inelegant and clumsy, and so proseful and repetitious that we

1. Ibn Shihab al-Sabili, (wrote about the end of the 7th/13th century) Iṣā’ al-Muṣāfa, etc. (KAL), i. 335 ff.; (KAL), i. 409; Suppl. i. 274 ff.; MS. 1496 (Add. 19571) of the British Museum, fol. 132.

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

3. See above, pp. 4 ff., and the extracts from the biographies of the two sultans in Ibn Taghribirdi's Mawākul al-Rāfi, printed as introductory matters, nos. 3 and 4, in the Arabic part of this publication.


6. The page references in this and the following paragraph are to the Arabic text.

7. Therefore we have retained this construction on p. 11 n. 6, following the Iṣā’ al-Muṣāfa of the Cairo manuscript, although this last is generally much better. In his commentary on the Anjuman of Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Nafis uses the ordinary construction throughout.

8. The term 'Al-nabi, 'the prophet', however (p. 11 and further on), designates not only Muhammad but generically each one in the series of prophets.
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manuscript in which it exists, but we must acknowledge an oversight on the part of the author. Once or twice Ibn al-Nafis lapses from his assumed part as the recorder of the report of Fâdil ibn Nâîçâk on the reasoning of Kâmil; he refers to another book of his own and comments on his contemporaries. Notwithstanding this, we may subscribe to the judgement of Najm al-Dîn al-Šafâdî: ‘He defends the system of Islam and the Muslims’ doctrines on the missions of Prophets, the religious laws, the resurrection of the body, and the transitoriness of the world. And—by my life!—he has produced something wonderful, and this proves his competence, the soundness of his intelligence, and his capability in the intellectual sciences.’

VI. THE MANUSCRIPTS

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

The Istanbul copy is manuscript 461 of the Muṣṭâfî Efendi collection, formerly in the Library of ‘Ashir Efendi, now pre-

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

Contrary to the first impression, the reading of the Cairo manuscript is preferable to the Istanbul variant at p. 9, notes 1 and 3, of the Arabic text. As to note 1: Kâmil having, according to p. 8, come through the period of puberty, thereby entering mature age, and having subsequently gained a number of new impressions, one should be inclined to prefer the reading fārāb to hârab; but p. 26, referring to a later period, informs us that he had only then reached the end of his full manly vigour. As to note 2: the singular ‘ādāh is no doubt more logical than the plural ‘ādāth, but this last reading is nevertheless to be retained as one of the instances where the author forgets his fiction that Kâmil is an isolated thinker out of touch with historical facts (see above, p. 35).
TRANSLATION
The numbers in the margin refer to the pages of the Arabic text.

THE TREATISE RELATING TO KĀMIL ON THE LIFE-HISTORY OF THE PROPHET
by
Ibn al-Nafīs

(*) In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

ʿAli ibn Abī-Harām al-Kurashī, the medical practitioner, who is in need of Allah’s help and whom may Allah pardon, says:

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

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

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

the second on how he came to know the life-story of the Prophet;

the third on how he came to know the ordinances of religious Law;

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

THE FIRST PART
On how this man called Kāmil came to be formed and how he came to know the (natural) sciences and the missions of the prophets.

It consists of three sections.

The First Section: on how the man called Kāmil came to be (fā'at) formed.

Says Fāḍil ibn Nāṭik:

There happened to be a big flood on an island of moderate climate and rich in herbs, trees, and fruits. With this flood became mixed a great quantity of clay of various nature, because the kinds of clay over which the flood had streamed were different. A part of this flood entered a cave situated on the slope of a mountain and filled it. Because the movement of the flood-water was strong, it afterwards brought to the opening of this cave still more clay and herbs which closed it. Then this flood receded and this cave remained full of its contents. This happened in spring, and when summer came the contents of the cave became hot and fermented; they had by then been saturated with the clay contained in them, and they did not cease to boil on account of the heat generated in them until they became mixed and achieved a mixture (temperament, misāḥ) very near to equilibrium. Their consistency became viscous and capable of having organs formed from them; their single parts were differentiated because the kinds of clay with which they had been mixed were different. Therefore some of them were hot and dry, similar to the temperament of the human heart; others were hot and moist, similar to the temperament of the human liver; others cold and dry, similar to the temperament of human bones; others cold and moist, similar to the temperament of the human brain; others were similar in temperament to that of human nerves, and others to that of human flesh.

To sum up: those parts contained something similar to the temperaments of all the organs, and other parts were similar in temperament to the aforementioned parts; every part was similar in temperament to the temperament of an organ, and its consistency was capable of having this organ formed out of it. Therefore these parts were prepared to be transformed into the organs of a man.1 Allah in His generosity does not withhold his right from anyone who deserves it, and grants to everyone who is prepared for something that for which he is prepared. Therefore He created out of those parts the organs of a man, and out of their whole the body of a man. When this clay had become hot, there had evaporated from

1 This passage follows entirely the ideas of the Greek philosophers and physicians; the most detailed record of them is found in Galeni De Temperamentis Libri III, ed. Helmreich, Leipzig 1924.
it many vapours, some of which were refined and airylike and similar in temperament to that of the human spirit (ruḥ); so human spirit became formed out of them, and in this manner the formation of a man was completed.

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

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

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

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

2 For the idea of spontaneous generation in the history of Islamic thought, see P. Kraus, ʿAbū ʿIbād Ḥuyyūnī (Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, 43), Cairo 1944, 97-134 (particularly 121 n. 3, partly containing information supplied by the present author); F. Rahman, Ascenius’s Psychology, O.U.P. 1954, 24, 71 (note).

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

Likewise he saw that his hands were there for seizing and his feet for walking and so on. In this manner he became acquainted with many functions of the external limbs, and he desired to know the functions of the organs in the interior of the abdomen and the thorax. He saw that he could observe this in others; so he began to split open the abdomens of animals of which he could get hold and which he found dead. He did this with his nails, with sharp-edged stones, splinters of reeds, and similar things which he found. In this way he observed the stomach, and that the food is fermented in it, and that the food enters it through the channel which runs to it from the mouth, and that the intestine is connected with the farthest part of the stomach, and that the refuse of the food is rejected from the intestine, as it is connected with the anus. He saw that the pure parts of the food penetrate into the blood-vessels which are connected with the stomach and the intestines and then penetrate into the concavity of the liver, and in the liver are transformed into a mixture (humour, khaṣf), which then penetrates from there into the vessel which rises from the attracting part (majdhab) of the liver, and is distributed within the branches of this vessel, until it is discharges into the organs from the pores of these branches. So he came to know the functions of these organs.

He also observed the heart within the thorax, its right ventricle full of blood, its left ventricle full of spirit, and that this ventricle contracts so that the spirit penetrates by the arteries into the organs, then expands again, so that the spirit returns to it, and at the same time air is attracted from the lung, which, in its turn, attracts the air from outside, so that it penetrates into the hollow of the lung.
from the nose and mouth by the larynx and the wind-pipe, and this happens when the lung is extended. Then the part of the air which is warm is expelled to the outside, and this happens when the lung is in contraction. The contraction and expansion of the lung is provoked by its being moved by the diaphragm and the muscles of the thorax, and this is caused by the contraction and expansion of the thorax. In this manner respiration and voice are effected, so he knew that these things are the functions of those organs. He continually inquired into every single organ until he became acquainted with a great part of the science of anatomy. Besides this he used to observe the conditions of the animals and saw that some of them are courageous, aggressive, and carnivorous, such as the lion, the leopard, and the wolf; and he saw that others are timid and fly from those who try to devour or catch them; and similar things, until much of the conditions of the animals became clear to him.

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

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

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

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

By then he had passed the time of puberty, his face had become covered with down, his intellect strong, and his reasoning power excellent. He then reflected whether those beings, showing as they do a soundly and judiciously arranged existence, subsist by themselves or through something else which brings them into existence; and if they subsist by something else, what it may be that brings them into existence, and what its qualities may be, and he desired to know it. He had observed that many bodies exist sometimes and do not exist at other times, and he understood that neither the existence nor the non-existence of these bodies was (logically) absurd, and this is what we call contingent; he saw that the existence or non-existence of something contingent cannot come about by itself, because then this mode of existence would never
be lacking from it; therefore it must come from another thing. Moreover, on the problem of whether the agent which determines the existence of the contingent things is (itself) contingent or not, (he saw that) if it is contingent its existence must equally come from another cause, and so on *ad infinitum*; therefore the things cannot dispense with a cause for their existence which (itself) is not contingent, for otherwise causes and caused things would accumulate *ad infinitum*, and their sum would still be contingent; therefore the things cannot dispense with a cause of their existence which is different from them, and what is different from the sum of contingent things is (itself) not contingent; therefore it must be absolute. Therefore these beings must necessarily have a cause for their existence which is necessarily existent, and this is Allah. He must necessarily know everything, for otherwise His action would not be exact; and He must necessarily take the greatest care of everything, for otherwise everything would not be in its best possible condition. Therefore it became obvious to Kāmil that these existing things must have a cause for their existence which is necessarily existing, knows everything, and takes care of everything.

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

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

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1 See Excursus B, below, pp. 77 f.
2 Ibn Su'd, *Al-Insaf*, 4, II. 14 f.: 'I am not an angel but the son of a woman from Kuraysh who used to eat sliced, dried meat (bulūd)' (a saying attributed to the Prophet).
then the majority would not be able to hear the law from him; therefore this person must necessarily be a man.

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

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

1 Mu’âsir. Although the author avoids the slightly different term, mu’âsir, of Islamic theology, he uses the classical argument of the Muslims for the veracity of the Prophet. For lists of miracles relating to Muhammad, before and after his call to prophecy, see Ibn Sa’d, 1/1, 96 ff., 112 ff. For the orthodoxy theory of miracles, see, for example, Luciani, 579–6; Stiegelecker, §§ 255–62.
2 Ibn Hazm (d. 568/1074) went even further and declared that man could not have acquired the sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, language, and arts and crafts, by his own unaided efforts, and that this implied the existence of one or more individuals, i.e. the prophets, who had been taught all that by Allah; he found this reasoning confirmed by the fact that the deaf-mute from birth, the inhabitants of the Sudan and of the Slavonic countries, most savage tribes, and the bedouins had never succeeded and would never succeed in acquiring a science or craft which they had not been taught. Kitâb al-Fiqûl, i, Cairo 1317, 71–73; transl. M. Asîn Palacios, Abanûlazâm de Córdoba, i, 1927, 161–4.
3 Cf. Stiegelecker, § 278.
4 See Excursus C, below, pp. 78 ff.

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

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

(18)

THE SECOND PART

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

Our discourse in this part comprises ten sections.

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

1 This is the generally accepted Muslim doctrine.

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

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

(Summary) As this prophet has to be the most excellent and learned prophet, he cannot come from the desert, as the intellect of its inhabitants is not well developed, but he ought to come from the noblest of townspeople. He ought not to come from a miserable town but from a town the inhabitants of which enjoy all urban facilities; and especially a town which is renowned from the point of view of religion, i.e. possessing a sanctuary worshipped from olden times. The oldest sanctuary is the Ka'ba; therefore this prophet should be born in Mecca. On the other hand this prophet ought not to die in his birthplace, as the visit to his tomb contributes to maintaining interest in his doctrine, especially as he is the last of the prophets. Now had he died in Mecca, the visit to his tomb would be considered a simple appendix to the visit to the
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Ka’ba (and not an independent religious ceremony), the tomb and the prophet himself would be forgotten, and his religious law would come to nothing. Therefore his tomb ought to be situated in another place. The transfer of his residence cannot have been occasioned by any material consideration or have happened of his own free will, as this would have meant changing the best possible place for another one; so he must have been forced to it, not by banishment or defeat in battle, as this would diminish his rank, but as a consequence of a conspiracy of a great number of infidels to kill him. From this (the number of the conspirators) the meanness of his enemies becomes evident, and the superiority of the prophet and the help of Allah who informed him of his plans made against his life. Afterwards this prophet ought to recapture Mecca, in order to be able to perform the duty of pilgrimage and to prescribe this duty to his adherents. As to the town to which the Prophet should transfer his residence and in which he should die, it is most fitting that it should be the town in which his father had died. This is Yathrib (Medina), and it is most proper that he should become the ruler of this town.

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

Summary: As this prophet is to be the last of the prophets, he should be of the most balanced temperament and character, so as to satisfy everyone. Therefore it is appropriate that his father

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

The Fourth Section: on the desires of this prophet.

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

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

2 There is a tradition, generally known, that the Prophet was nursed in the country during his first two years by a woman of the Banû Sa’d ibn Bakr, called Halima, who immediately after taking him, and for the whole of the period of nursing, experienced a number of material blessings so that she was lavish in part with him. But we are told, too, that another woman called Thawâyah, a freed slave of one of the Prophet’s uncles, nursed him for the first few days. See, for all this, Guillaume, 70–73; Ibn Sa’d, i/1, 67 ff.; Mutâhhar ibn Tâhir al-Malikî, Kitâb al-Hadî’ wal-Tarîkh, v. 8; Zidd al-Ma’add, i. 19.

3 Tradition informs us that the Prophet, after the death of his mother, was taken care of first by his grandfather ‘Abd al-Mutâblî, and when he died in his turn, by his uncle Abû ‘Ayyâb. See, for example, Guillaume, 73, 70; Ibn Sa’d, i/1, 74 ff. See also Zidd al-Ma’add, i. 17.

4 Many traditions about the frugality of the life of the Prophet are related, e.g. by Ibn Sa’d, i/2, 108 ff.; see also the following note.
(r1) is the characteristic of saints, while eating much is the characteristic of gluttons. Other desires should be strong, such as the desires for perfumes, for worship, and for sexual intercourse.1 As to the desire for perfumes, (that is) because their use makes an agreeable impression on those with whom a man comes into contact so that they think highly of him, whereas people of bad smell are detested. As to the desire for sexual intercourse, (that is) because its strength is appreciated in men as a sign of virility.2 And as to the desire for acts of worship, this prophet is necessarily in a very near relationship to Allah and perfectly immersed in His worship, so that he derives from it a perfect pleasure. The form of worship which provides this most is ritual prayer (salâh), because it gives the most direct access to Allah.

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

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

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

1 In the section which Ibn Sa'd (1/2, 132f.) devotes to the Prophet’s liking for women and perfumes, he quotes the classical tradition: ‘Of this world I have come to like women and perfumes, and my consolation is prayer (salâh),’ as well as the following: ‘The Prophet of Allah used to like of this world three things: perfumes, women, and food; he partook of two and abstained from one: he partook of women and perfumes and abstained from food.’

2 Ibn Sa'd (1/2, 90f.) has devoted a special section to the sexual potency of the Prophet.

3 According to the most widely held opinion, the Prophet had nine wives when he died; altogether he had concluded marriage thirteen times but had not consummated it in two cases; he had also had three concubines. For lists of the wives of the Prophet, see Ibn Hishâm (d. 218/833), Sîra, ed. F. Wustenfeld, ii, Göttingen 1859, 1001-5; Kitâb al-Balâs' al-Târikh, v. 8-15; Zâdi al-Madât, 26-29; Stieglitzzcker, §§ 752 ff.

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

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

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

As to the length of life of this prophet, he must reach the limit in which to develop fully his intelligence, so that he may be invested with his prophetic mission, and this is the mature age (khuflâ); but he must not live on to a limit at which there appear in him senility and lack of judgement. Therefore he must die after having reached maturity but before old age has got a hold on him,
and this happens in persons of balanced temperament about the sixty-second or sixty-third year.1

The Seventh Section: on the children of this prophet.

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

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

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

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

1 According to most traditions, the Prophet died at the age of sixty-three, according to others, at the age of sixty or sixty-five; see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, ii/5, 81–1. When the prophetic vocation came to him, he was about forty years old; see Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 126f.
2 From his first wife, Khadija, the Prophet had four daughters, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fatima, and Umm Kalthum, of whom only Fatima survived him. As to his sons from Khadija, the oldest tradition is unanimous only with regard to one, al-Kasim, who died before the prophetic vocation of Muhammad. The traditions further agree that the Prophet had a son, called Ibrâhim, from his Coptic concubine Mâriyâ, but he, too, died at a tender age. See, on this, Guillaume, 85; Ibn Sa'd, i/5, 85ff.; Kitâb al-Bad' wa-l-Tariq, v. 16–20; Zâd al-Ma'âd, i. 25; Buhl, 120f. The remark of Ibn al-Nafis about the reason for the early death of the Prophet's sons refers not only to causes such as that of Abraham and Enoch, but also to the reported saying of the Prophet that Ibrâhim had died: 'Had he lived he would have become a righteous one (ṣâlih) and a prophet' (Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 90, II. 15f.).
3 According to the doctrine of Islam, the message of Muhammad, in contrast with the missions of the former prophets, was addressed to the whole of mankind. Ibn al-Nafis does not seem to have realized the inconclusive character of his argument.

The Ninth Section: on the name of this prophet.

(Summary) His name and that of his father and grandfather could not be a name referring to something despicable, such as Zibla ('manure'), or Kalb ('dog'), or Thawr ('ox'), nor could it be a diminutive form, such as Humayd, Sulaym, or 'Ubayd. On the other hand, his name ought not to have an overbearing meaning, such as Shâhâshâh (Persian: 'King of Kings').4

The Tenth Section: on the Scripture of this prophet.

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

THE THIRD PART

On how Kâmîr came to know the religious practice of the Prophet

Our discourse in this part comprises two chapters.

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

The First Section: on the attributes of Allah taught by this prophet.5

1 By Muslim tradition, the name of the Prophet's father was 'Abd Allâh, and that of his grandfather, 'Abd al-Mu'tâlîb.
2 The custom of the Arabs of giving their sons disagreeable names, or of calling them after animals, is well known. Cf. Th. Noellese, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg 1904, 35 f.; L. Caetani and G.Gabrichi, Onomastica Arabica, i, Rome 1915, 64 f. The names Kalb and Thawr are actually attested, and although we have not been able to find any bearer of the name Zibla, the dictionaries mention other derivatives of the same root, Zâbila and Zabîla, as proper names.
3 On the several names of the Prophet, see Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 64–67; Zâd al-Ma'âd, i. 20ff.
4 This has always been the thesis of Muslim orthodoxy, and the fact that the Koran defies imitation, a claim already put forward in the Holy Book itself (sura ii. 23; x. 38; xii. 93; xvi. 98; xxxii. 91; lii. 34), is regarded as the greatest miracle and the final proof of the veracity of the Prophet. See Luciani, 307–309; A. Guillaume, The Summa Philosophiae of Al-Shahrastâni, O.U.P. 1934, 124–45; Stieglecker, §§ 68–90.
5 The whole of this section corresponds to orthodox doctrine; see, for example, Luciani, 38ff.; Jeffery, 34f., 356. The differentiation between common people
Fādil ibn Nāṭik says: When, in his lifetime, the so-called Kāmil had come near to the end of his full manly vigour, he reflected on the attributes of the Creator which this prophet ought to teach. He concluded that he ought to teach men that they had a Creator, and that this Creator is possessed of splendour and majesty in an infinite degree, that He must be obeyed and worshipped, and that there is no God but Him, and that there is nothing like Him; that He is the hearing and knowing one; and other qualities which are in keeping with Allah's majesty, such as complete power and perfect might. At the same time this prophet would not make it clear that there is behind all that something which he had concealed, and he would not oblige men (to believe) something of which they could not easily become aware and which they could imagine only with difficulty: for instance if he told them that Allah is neither inside nor outside the world, that He is not a body and cannot be perceived by the senses, that He is not in any direction and that one cannot point at Him with a sign perceptible by the senses. Should the prophet explain these and similar things they would be as it were meaningless for those who did not make a (special) study to understand them; and if they made a (special) study to understand them, they would become confused and bewildered, and their study would prevent them from seeking their livelihood and following their occupations, and the harmony of them all would be destroyed. This would be contrary to the primary aim of the prophetic mission. Therefore the prophet ought to mention these things only in a general, and not in an explicit, detailed manner; and, moreover, he ought not to make it clear that there is a detailed explanation. Still, he ought not to omit any essential part of the details, but ought to introduce in his speech allegories and allusions sufficient to make the select ones understand all the details, whereas the general public remains confined to as much of their outward meaning as they are able to understand.

The Second Section: on the teaching of the Seal of the Prophets concerning the life to come.

(*tawhid) and learned specialists (khatija) is generally made, and it is an essential part of the conclusion of the treatise of Ibn Tufayl (see above, pp. 30, 32).  
1 Suras xxii. 17.  
2 Pasus in the Koran.  
3 The problem, already alluded to in the preceding section, of the literal or allegorical explanation of the text of the Koran and of the sayings of the Prophet, runs through the whole history of Muslim dogmatics. Cf. Stiglecker, §§ 1479-6. The author follows a middle course.
Another argument is that man may often be unconscious of his body and its parts, such as the heart, the brain, etc., but it is impossible for him to be unconscious of his soul, which is the thing to which he refers when he says 'I'. Therefore the soul must be something different from the body. The body is, no doubt, material and perceptible by the senses, but not so the soul, which is pure substance because it is impossible that it should be an accident. The body subsists by itself, whereas accidents subsist only by substances. Therefore the soul must be a substance, and it must be free from corporeal matter; otherwise it would be a body or in a body, and if it were so, the things taking place in it would have a position and a form and could be divided, because everything which takes place in a body or in a power within a body is subject to that. Now, among the things which take place within the soul of man are the perceptions and the notions, and if the soul were a body or had bodily qualities these notions could, in consequence, necessarily become divided and there could be no individual notion at all, which is absurd. Therefore the soul of man must be free of corporeal matter.

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

This matter is generated from sperm and similar things, and when the soul becomes attached to it and then begins to feed and to produce the organs, the body is generated from it. This matter is called coccycy. It is absurd that this should become lost as long as the soul subsists, because otherwise the soul would be independent of it in its existence and its existence would not be dependent on it, and this is a contradiction. So it is absurd that this matter should perish as long as the soul of man subsists. The soul of man is imperishable, and it is imperishable because everything that is perishable has a matter in which it may sometimes subsist and sometimes be absent, but as the soul of man possesses no matter it is imperishable. This matter which is the coccyc is imperishable (too). Therefore it remains after the death and decomposition of the body, and the soul with which it remains continues to be perceiving and noticing, and at that time it experiences pleasure or pain; these are the pleasures and pain in the tomb.

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

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

1 A current feature in Muslim dogmatists; see, for example, Jeffery, 349; Stiegllecker, §§ 1344-55; A. J. Wensinck and A. S. Tritton, art. 'Ahdah al-Kahr', in EP.

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

3 The Arabic term 'ajb al-dhinaab, 'the root of the tail', meaning the extremity of the spine, an organ which is declared by traditions to be the nucleus of the creation of the human body and of its reanimation as well, and not
Chapter Two: on the practical obligations which this prophet imposes.

(First Section) on the duties concerning worship which this prophet prescribes.

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

Second Section: on the transactions which this prophet prescribes.

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

1 The traditional five main duties or ‘pillars’ of Islam.
2 The author has emphasized the spiritual significance of salāt above, p. 53; it is therefore surprising that he should define salāt here as mere movements of the body. Individual prayer (du‘ā‘) does not figure among the official main duties of the religious law of Islam.
3 See Excursus B, below, pp. 77 f.

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

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

As polyandry leads to uncertainty of paternity, the prophet ought to prohibit it, but not polygamy. As a man and wife may find life together impossible, provision should be made for separation, especially as their temperaments may differ in such a manner that they can have no children from their union, whereas this might well happen if either of them were married to another partner. The power to pronounce a separation should be given to...
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the more reasonable partner, who at the same time incurs financial obligations by marriage, and that is the man. But the wife should not be completely denied the right to divorce; for instance, if the husband is unable to provide for her. As men are better able to earn money, and women to manage the household, the man should have to provide for the wife, and the wife to stay in the house of the husband.

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

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

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

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

The Prophet ought to forbid everything which is conducive to a bad state of the soul, of material goods, and of intelligence. Therefore he should prohibit murder, theft, usury, and drunkenness, and should lay down for every one of these and other crimes a punishment deterring the people from it. Therefore he ought to prescribe retaliation for deliberate murder; but in the case of accidental manslaughter retaliation would be unjust, and leaving it completely unpunished would mean that blood could be shed with impunity; therefore he ought to prescribe something like blood-money in this case.³ The punishment indicated for theft would be something like cutting off the hand. So for every mischief the appropriate punishment should be fixed, for adultery and fornication as well as for drinking wine, because drunkenness makes reason cease and is a source of mischief.⁴ Furthermore, he should be intent on raising the prestige of his religion, and should introduce a treatment of his opponents in accordance with the (degree of) badness of their belief; those who are strongly opposed to his divine law should be ordered to be killed, but those who are nearer to truth he should oblige only to pay poll-tax.⁵ The produce of this tax taken from the infidels, as well as the alms-tax taken from believers, he should devote to purposes which are useful to the community, such as providing for the soldiers who protect the country, for the imams and muezzins,⁶ for the poor and the needy, for travellers, and so on.⁷

THE FOURTH PART

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

Our discourse in this part comprises ten sections.

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

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

¹ All this corresponds to the rules of the religious law of Islam, except for the assumption that it is the wife's duty to run the household; this, however, reflects actual practice.
² This reflects not the original but the later political organization of the Muslim world.
³ This reflects the categories of Islamic law.
⁴ This is the classical rational justification of the Koranic prohibition of wine.
⁵ This reflects the distinction made by Islamic law between two classes of infidels: the heathens and the followers of former revealed religions.
⁶ This and the preceding item reflect actual practice in later times, whereas the two following items are taken from the relevant passages of the Koran.
⁷ Here ends the Cairo manuscript.
successor explicitly. As men are inclined to love power, there must needs arise a struggle, even amounting to a fight, for the caliphate among his companions, not immediately after his death, as this would have led to the victory of the infidels and the disappearance of his religious law, but somewhat later, while there were still suitable candidates.\footnote{1}

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

(Summary) It was unavoidable that every claimant to the caliphate should gather around himself a faction which was ferociously biased in his favour and opposed to his adversaries, so that there were many partisanship and fights. Therefore provision had to be made for the law of this prophet to be remembered, and this could be done only by the scholars of his community who drew their knowledge not from revelation like the prophets, but from thought and personal opinion.\footnote{2} As the natures of men are different, the rise of many opinions concerning the religion of this prophet was inevitable, and everyone out of his love of authority and originality had to try his best to make his view prevail. Therefore the community of this prophet had to become divided into sects which differed with regard to the principles and details of his religion, and were hostile to one another.\footnote{3} In order to gain

\footnote{1} This is one of the main points of contention between the Sunnis, whom the author follows, of course, and the Shiites who claimed that the Prophet had expressly designated ‘Alī as his successor. There are many indications in Sunni traditions for the indirect, more or less conclusive, designation by the Prophet of Abu Bakr as his successor; see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, iii/116-117.

\footnote{2} The fight for the caliphate started with the assassination of Uthmān, the third caliph, in 56 (65).

\footnote{3} ra', a technical term much discussed during the systematic elaboration of Islamic religious law.

\footnote{4} The ambition of the specialists in religious law has often been described and castigated, e.g. by Shafi'i (d. 204/820), Umm. vii. 250 (Kitāb 'Jimā' al-‘Imām); by Ibn Khayyāb (d. 276/889), Kitāb Ta'wil Makhlūf al-Hadith, 16; by Ghazālī (d. 555/1161) in the introduction of his Ḥiyād; by Averroes (d. 597/ 1198); cf. J. Goldziher, in ZDMG, xxix (1879), 85 n. 2); and by Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240), an admirer of Ghazālī, in his Futūḥat al-Makbūya (cf. Goldziher, Strasschutz des Gesetzes gegen die Būtāmija-Sekte, Leiden 1916, 31 n. 3).

\footnote{5} Although the conciliatory view, expressed in a tradition declaring that ‘differences of opinion in its (i.e. Muhammad’s) community are a concession (from Allāh)’, had prevailed in Islam long before the author’s time, there still existed in practice a great deal of keen competition between the several schools of religious law. It is remarkable that the author explicitly acknowledges the element of professional jealousy entering into that competition.

adherents, the followers of each head of a school (imām) had to compose many books and to build colleges (madāris) and places which were reserved for the adherents of that particular doctrine, and to provide for material advantages for the inhabitants of these academies.\footnote{4}

As this prophet was the last of the prophets, every attention had to be paid to preserving his words and his acts,\footnote{5} and his holy book, and also their explanation; therefore there would be need for the science of tradition (hadith) and for the science of interpretation (tafsīr) and other religious sciences; and this would necessitate the composition of many books some considerable time after the death of the prophet.\footnote{6}

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

(Summary) As this prophet had prohibited the drinking of wine, and the appearance of women in public in the presence of strangers, because jealousy is a noble and praiseworthy quality, two consequences were inevitable: firstly, the transgression of the prohibition of wine, because the soul strongly desires it, apart from its being indispensable as a remedy for preserving health and fighting many diseases;\footnote{7} secondly, an increase of homosexuality in his community, because many people were unable to marry at all or to take their wives with them when travelling.\footnote{8}

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

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

\footnote{7} There was a theoretical objection, though not corresponding to the facts, to writing down Traditions in the early period of Islam.

\footnote{8} Personally, Ibn al-Nafis objected to the use of wine as a remedy; see above, p. 13.

\footnote{4} The author alludes to the creation of pious foundations for the benefit of the professors and students of some particular doctrine or other, and even uses the technical term mawaf.

\footnote{5} The Traditions, reports on the model behaviour of the Prophet, are often arranged according to whether they refer to his words (mawādī) or his acts (mawādīl).
not be a catastrophe, such as being swallowed up by the earth or being destroyed by a deluge, as this would prove the violent wrath of Allah against this community and be in contradiction with the dignity of this prophet. Therefore this punishment could only be by bloodshed, and this had to be done by way of attack from infidels, as internal political strife within the community would not have provoked penitence and reform.¹ This at the same time would give believers who took part in the struggle the opportunity of gaining religious merit.

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

(Summary) These infidels should not belong to any religious community, because in this case their success would be regarded as the success of their religion, and that would be contrary to the aim of this punishment. This condition is fulfilled if the message of the prophet has not yet reached those infidels, that is to say, if they live on the outskirts of the inhabited world, far from the civilization of the temperate zone. They could not live in the utmost southern parts because the people there are weak of heart on account of the great heat, so they would not have strength enough to shed the blood of this community. Therefore they must come from the northernmost parts, because the people there are courageous, strong of heart, and merciless on account of the cold. But they could not come from the north-west, because the inhabitants there are few and distributed over islands,² separated by many seas; therefore they are divided and cannot unite sufficiently to overcome the people of this community. Those infidels must come, moreover, from open plains because townspeople are less courageous. They must have broad chests and big heads, slender lower limbs, narrow eyes, and big buttocks; their upper limbs must be big because heat is prevalent inside their bodies on account of the intense cold of their climate, and therefore their lower limbs must be somewhat slender; this also because it is a quality of courageous beings, as can be observed in the lion. That their eyes are narrow comes from the excessive moisture of their brains, generated by the lack of its dissolution on account of the cold; for the same reason their noses are inclined to be flat. The size of their buttocks is due to the fact that they ride horses from childhood, as there are many horses in those regions and they transport themselves often on horseback.¹

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

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

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

¹ See Excursus D, below, p. 79.
² On the opinions of the Arab geographers concerning the islands of the north, see O. J. Tallgren, "Tuulio and A. M. Tallgren, "Iðrið. La Finlande et les autres pays baltes et orientaux" (Geographie, vii, 4), Helsingfors 1930; H. Birkeland, "Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder", Oslo 1954. The idea goes back to classical antiquity, and is found in Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, and Tacitus.
³ The author clearly describes the Mongols. See Excursus E, below, pp. 80f.
⁴ For the historical facts alluded to in this section, see above, pp. 3 ff. Juwaini, too, points out the advantages which accrued to Islam from the Mongol invasion (Täriih-i bâbâr-Quâhid, i. 9-11; transl. i. 13-16; cf. C. d'Ossian, Histoire des Mongols, i. xxii-xxiii).
obeyed implicitly, as no one would lend himself to it voluntarily. This confiscation, whilst serving to defend that country, also serves as a means of purifying the inhabitants, because their sins are not so considerable as to necessitate their being killed, but only their being deprived of part of their possessions. This has the consequence that the country is impoverished, the number of poor persons is increased, and the resources of livelihood are restricted. This in its turn produces an increase in thefts and a bad state of affairs.

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

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

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

2. This description fits the condition of Egypt and Syria under Baybars.

3. The historian Duhailī, quoted by Ibn Taḥhirāshī (Nujum, vii, 178; al-Manḥal al-Sūfī, extract printed on p. 9 of the Arabic part of this publication), though naturally admiring Baybars as a great champion of Islam, says of him: "He deserved to be king, only he had a streak of cruelty in him.

4. See Excursus F, below, pp. 58 ff.

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The author alludes to the Turks from whom the Mamluks were recruited. See Excursus G, below, p. 91.

1. The blue colour of the eyes of the sultans and Baybars is actually mentioned in the sources.

2. This refers to the medicinal property of the dishes and not to the temperature at which they are served.
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must enjoy the confidence of this sultan, of Allah, of the subjects, and of the army.1

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

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

1 On his numerous absences from Cairo, Baybars appointed various Mamlūk emirs as his deputies (see, e.g., Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit., 114 for the year 658/1260; 141 f. for the year 665/1267; 166 for the year 673/1274). From 664/1266 onwards, however, he appointed his son, who was to be his ephemeral successor with the title of al-Malik al-Saʿīd, and whom he had appointed sultan in his own lifetime, as his shadow deputy, whereas the real power was to be held by one of the emirs. This is why Ibn Taghribirdi (op. cit. 136 for the year 664/1266) can say that Baybars appointed al-Malik al-Saʿīd his deputy in Egypt, with the army and the vizier under his command, whereas Mū addItem (Khitāb al-Salih, i/3, Cairo 1936, 552), referring to the same year, can speak of a Mamlūk emir as the deputy of the sultan in Egypt. (See also Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit. 166 for the year 673/1274.) Whereas the qualities mentioned by the author are not ascribed to al-Malik al-Saʿīd in the contemporary sources, they were certainly absent from the Mamlūk emirs appointed as the sultan’s deputies, and it is at least possible that the description of the author applies, as a pious wish, to al-Malik al-Saʿīd.

enjoy sour dishes and sometimes prefer sweets, but not be much inclined to tasteless dishes, and he would like fruit. He would be subject to frequent fits of nausea, and it would be easy to purge him.2

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

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

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

2 The author refers perhaps to the arrangements which Baybars made for the feeding of the poor during the famine of the year 662/1264. See Ibn Taghribirdi, Nujum, vii. 243 f.

3 This implies that this was not the case of the sultan himself.

4 wāzīr, 'vizier'. This is not to be taken literally (unless the author amalgamated two different offices), because it would not agree with the functions attributed to a deputy who in the same context is called hākim and waddāl, 'governor'. Baybars had two viziers in succession; see Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit., 179.
the regions far from the equator will become exceedingly cold, and
those near it intensely hot; this will make the climate unsuitable
for the human temperament. The characters of men will change,
and crimes and troubles will become prevalent.  

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

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

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

1 See Excursus H, below, pp. 82 f.

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

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

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

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

1 On this 'Beast of the Earth', see Excursus H, below, p. 83, and A. Abel,
art. 'Dābbah' in EP.
Ma'jūj, to the south, with their kings, armies, and mounts. Therefore the inhabitants of the near temperate zones which lie between both will fight and try to repel them, but they will conquer part of those zones and there, too, prices will rise and fortunes become small as is bound to happen when people are crowded together.

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

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

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

1 On the tribes Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj (Gog and Magog), see Excursus H, below, p. 83, and Stieglecker, §§ 1363-5.
2 Above, p. 59.
Halabi; see on him below, paragraph x. A similar story is related by Burhán al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Raṣḥīlī below, paragraph h.

(f) Aḥfāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāmwar ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Khānājī (sometimes spelt al-Khawajī), of Persian origin, was a cadi in Cairo, where he died in 646/1249. See GAL², i. 607; Suppl. i. 838.

(g) Aḥṭār al-Dīn al-Muḥāḍārī ibn Ummar al-Abḥārī (sometimes spelt al-Abhārī) was a philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician at the court of the ruler of Mosul, where he died in 663/1265. He is the author of a much famed ‘Introduction’ (Isāḥāqī, after the work of Porphyry) to logic. See GAL², i. 608–10; Suppl. i. 839–44.

(h) Bābī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Nabhās was a Syrian philologist who came to Cairo, where he was appointed professor at the Muṣṭafīyīn School. He died in 698/1299. See GAL², i. 363; Suppl. i. 527; see also above, p. 11.

(i) ‘Īmād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abī ibn Muḥammad al-Nābulūsī, d. 711/1311, is mentioned by Ibn al-Īmād (Shadhrā, vi. 27 f.) as a pious traditionalist but not as a medical person.

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

(k) A many-sided Shāfī ‘i scholar, successor of Aṭhir al-Dīn Abī Ḥayyān in one of his teaching posts, whose full name was Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Lājīn ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Raṣḥīlī; he died in Cairo in 749/1349. See Shadhrā, vi. 158; Manḥal al-Sāfī (Wiet), no. 88.

(l) Naẓm al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Safadī, Friday-preacher in Safad in Palestine; he died there in 723/1323, more than eighty years old. See Shadhrā, vi. 61; Manḥal al-Sāfī (Wiet), no. 918.

(m) See above, paragraph h.

(n) A Jewish physician who became one of the practitioners at the court of the Manṣūrīn Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Kalawun (697/1297–741/1341, with interruptions). According to the Manḥal al-Sāfī (Wiet), no. 1054, he died in 749/1349, but according to al-Safadī, he knew him personally, in 743/1344, very old. See R. R. Sanguineti, ‘Notices biographiques de quelques médecins, tiraes d’un ouvrage arabe d’Assafady’ [i.e. his Wāfi bi-Wafāyāt], J.A., 5th series, tome ix (1857), 392–423 (pp. 410 f.).

(o) His full name was Jāmāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sālim ibn Wāṣil al-Tamawī. He taught Shāfī ‘i law, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy in his home town, Ḥamā in Syria. In 659/1261 Sultan Baybars sent him as an ambassador to the court of King Manfred of Sicily, where he stayed some considerable time. (See F. Gabrieli, ‘Le Ambasciere di Balbari a Manfredi’, in Studi Medievali in onore di Antonio de Stefano, Palermo 1956, 219–25.) After his return he became chief cadi and professor in Ḥamā, where he died in 677/1278. He is best known as an historian of the Ayyūbid sultanate and author of Muẓafarīj al-Kuratī fi Abhār

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**EXCURSUS B**

(For p. 45 n. 1)

By a note in Bich. Farès, ‘Mahārīm al-Aḥlāq’ (in Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Scienze Morali, series 6, vol. xiii, Rome 1938, 420 n. 4; reprinted in the same author’s Mahārīth ‘Arabiyā, Cairo 1939, 48 n. 47), our attention was drawn to a treatise preserved in the manuscript 1353 tasewuf of the Egyptian Library in Cairo (a second copy, 994 tasewuf, is copied from this very manuscript but adds a profuse introduction), which contains a close parallel to this passage (see the text in the Arabic part of this publication, p. 1, note). The title of the treatise is given at the beginning of manuscript 1353 as Kitāb Maḥārīm al-Aḥlāq wa-Tiyyās, ‘Book on the Eminent Virtues and
EXCURSUS B

on the Conduct of Policy', at the end with the following addition:

...the practice to al-Turtar (i.e. Shams al-Din, Abu-Abd Allah Muhammad ibn A' mad, ibn Uthman al-Turtar al-Madani, d. 785/1383; see Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, al-Durar al-Kama (ii. 338; Shadharat, vi. 288 f.), seems to be erroneous, as Turtar's Kitab al-Akhlaq is quoted at the beginning; in any case, the treatise must be earlier than 858/1454, the date of MS. 1353.

The whole reasoning of civilized life is possible only in an organized society built on collaboration, where everyone has his specified task to perform, and which is governed by a religious law (sharia) which protects the individual and at the same time assigns to him his duty, is based on Greek thought. Al-Farabi (d. 339/950), in discussing his Model State, stressed the necessity of society, in which alone the individual could attain physical and moral satisfaction. 'By his very nature man is not equipped to attain all that is necessary for his needs without the help of others. . . . If man is ever to achieve the perfection of his nature, he must belong to a society (geron) and co-operate with his fellow men' (al-Madina al-Fadiha, ed. Dieterici, 53). In another treatise Al-Farabi argues that not only man but certain species of the animal and vegetable kingdoms cannot sustain life without living together in groups (jamad; Kitab al-Siyasat al-madaniyya, Hyderbad 1346, 381 f.). A contemporary of Ibn al-Nafis, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 672/1274), in his Akhlaq-i Nasiri expresses similar views (A. K. S. Lambton, Islamic Society in Persia, London 1954, 3 pt. 1). Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) calls man 'social by nature' (madani bi-tah). The social function of the prophets is again emphasized by Muhammed 'Abduh.

EXCURSUS C

(for p. 46 n.1)

Whereas the school of the Mu'tazila considers that realizing the 'most proper' thing (aqlah) is necessarily incumbent upon Allah (see I. Goldziher, Vorlesungen uber den Islam, Heidelberg 1910, 105; 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1925, 99; Luciani, 255-65; Al-Shahrastani, The Sunna Philosophiae, ed. and transl. A. Guillaume, O.U.P. 1934, 405-10; Albert N. Nader, Le Systeme philosophique des Mu'tazila, Beyrouth 1956, 77 f., 81; Stieglecker, §§ 213, 217), orthodox doctrine makes a point of differentiating between the two, and denies that Allah can be properly bound to do anything; but whereas the school of the Ash'ari affirms that both contingencies are completely equal in the sight of Allah, that of the Maturidis recognizes that the aqlah corresponds to divine wisdom, and can therefore be termed, in a certain sense, wajib (necessary). Ibn al-Nafis was brought by the whole trend of his argument to adopt the Maturidi opinion, which is that followed by the Hanafi school of religious law, although he himself belonged to the Shafi'i school which generally followed the Ash'ari doctrine. Shafi'i himself did not hesitate to use the expression kama ma'hal 'an Allah 'it is reasonable to suppose of Allah (Umm, vii. 272, ll. 14, 16, 24). In his opinion, too, that man can come to know of the existence of Allah unaided Ibn al-Nafis follows the opinion of the Maturidis against that of the Ash'aris. On the Islamic doctrine of aqlah, see W. M. Watt, in EF, s.v.; L. Massignyon, Al-Hallaj, ii. Paris 1922, 617; M. Asin Palacios, Abenhusain de Cordoba, lv. 1931, 62-89; L. Gardet, La Mesure de notre libert, Tunis 1946, 45-48; G. Vajda, 'La Finalite' (above, p. 43 n. 1), 172 f.; and on the modernist theologian Muhammed 'Abduh, B. Michel and M. Abdel Ra'af, Cheikh Mohammed Abdou, Paris 1925, 37-41; C. C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, London 1933, 149.

For a detailed discussion of aqlah, wajib, and related concepts from the point of view of the Mu'tazilis, see Kadi 'Abd al-Jabbar (d. 415/1025), al-Mughir, xiv. Cairo 1385/1965, 7-180.

EXCURSUS D

(for p. 66 n. 1)

Sura vi. 65 reads: 'Say: He is the one who is able to send punishment upon you from above or from beneath your feet, or to bewilder you with (dissension of) parties and make you taste the violence of one another.' Punishment from above is generally interpreted as destruction by stones falling from the sky or by a deluge, punishment from below as being swallowed up by the earth. Although the verse is addressed to unbelievers, it has given rise to a group of traditions which make it apply to the community of Muslims, too. One well-known version makes the Prophet say: 'I asked Allah not to send upon my community punishment from above or from beneath their feet, and he granted me that; then I asked him not to subject them to violence between themselves, but he refused me that, and Gabriel informed me that my community would perish by the sword.' This group of traditions and the commentators of the Koran regard bloodshed caused by civil war as less serious than natural catastrophes. (See, e.g., Tabari, Taj'ir, ad loc., and for further variants of the traditions, Wensinck, Concordance, s.v. ba's and 'adhdh, where, however, several references are wrong.) Both Ibn al-Nafis and his contemporary, the historian Juvayni (d. 681/1283) in his Tarihi-i Tahmin-Gushah (ed. M. M. Quzwi, Leyden and London 1912; transl). J. A. Boyle, Manchester 1938) applied this tradition, by giving it a new interpretation, to the bloodshed which accompanied the invasion of the Mongols. Juvayni, too, intends to show that the devastation of many Islamic countries by the Mongols was a necessary evil (i. 8 f.; transl. i. 11 f.); in connexion with this, he quotes the tradition, in the version translated above, from Zamakshari's commentary on the Koran (i. 12; transl. i. 17), and relates that Chingis Khan reputedly described himself in a speech as 'the scourge of God sent to men as a punishment for their sins.' (i. 81; transl. i. 109). (See also the summary, still useful, in C. d'Ossieu, Histoire des Mongoles, Hague and Amsterdam 1834, i. xxi-xxiv.)
EXCURSUS E
(for p. 67 n. 1)

The Mongols (or Tatars) were more or less identified with the Turks by the Muslim authorities of the middle ages; see D. Avraam, 'The European-Asian Steppes: a major reservoir of power for the Islamic world', in Trudy XXV Mezhnaukovoj Kongressa Vostochovedov, Moscow 1963, ii, 47-53. This was also done by Ibn al-Nafis (see above, p. 69), and by Juwayni (Tariikh-i Jahan-Gushâ, i. 11, transl. i. 16; d'Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols, i. xxvi). One of the rare exceptions is the physician and scientist 'Abd al-Latif ibn Yusuf al-Baghadjî (d. 629/1231), quoted by Dihabî in his Tarihî al-Islâm (year 605/1208-9; see J. von Soden, 'Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren', Der Islam, xxiv (1937), 105-50), but Dihabî himself, in his short extract called Kitâb Duaal al-Islâm, makes no such distinction (on Dihabî, see above, pp. 17 ff.).

The most detailed reference to the Turks in ancient Arabic literature occurs in Itqân (d. 255/868), Rasûla fi Munâbat al-Turk, in G. van Vloten, Tria opuscula auctore... al-Dhahî, Leiden 1903, 47 ff.; it contains praise of the warlike character and ability of the Turks, but no physical description. There is a description of the small eyes and the broad faces of Turks in the Kâmîl of Mubarrad (d. 285/898; ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1874 ff., 361, i. 5), in a saying attributed to 'Abî ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas: 'This power will, by Allah, certainly stay with my descendants until they are ruled by their slaves, (persons) with small eyes and broad faces, whose faces are like doubly-covered shield.' A similar description of the Turks in a comparable context was put into the mouth of the Prophet; this version is secondary to the preceding one, although it is attested considerably earlier in collections of traditions, starting with the Munâmad of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855), v. 348 f. (cf. A. J. Wensinck, A Handbook of Modern Muhammadan Tradition, Leiden 1927, s.v. Turkmens). Mâdâ'î (d. 345/956) writes in the Murtuq al-Dhahab (ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, v. 186a, 230): 'The uniform character which is noticeable in the appearance of the Turks comes from the only uniformly cold character of the climate of their country; therefore their appearance is uniform and similar... Because cold is prevalent among the Turks and the heat is insufficient to absorb the moisture of their bodies, the Turks become very fat and soft in their bodies, similar to women in many of their characteristics. Their desire for intercourse is weak and they have few children, because their temperament is cold and moisture is prevalent in them. The weakness of their lust comes also from the frequency of their riding horses. In their women, too, the plumpness and moisture of the air (the temperament of) their bodies weakens the power of attracting the sperm into their genitals. Their red complexion comes from the cold, as we have mentioned, because if persistent cold is applied to a white complexion it becomes red, witness the tips of the fingers, the lips, and the nose, which become red if severe cold is applied to them.' (On the relation of climate and body with regard to heat and cold, see also

EXCURSUS E
(for p. 68 n. 4)

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

A detailed physical description of the Tatars by a contemporary of Ibn al-Nafis is found in U. Monneret de Villard, Il libro della peregrinazione nelle parti d'Oriente di Frate Roldo da Montecroce (dated 1289-90), Rome 1945, 41: 'I habent magnas et latas facies et oculos parvos, quasi fissuras causam per transversum in media facie, et parvam barbam, ita quod multi eorum simulac sunt simile, et maxime senes.'... Temono il gran fredo, che ritengono provocato da uomini. E allora se incontrano persone ben coperte di pellicie, ne sporgono, accusandole di essere state loro a provocarli con le loro coperture ed i panni superflui. Stimano l'ubriachezza ed il vomito che questa procura come un onore che è dato dal hân.'

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

EXCURSUS F
(for p. 68 n. 4)

Cruel methods of execution were commonplace during the Mamlûk period, and Baybars is commonly credited with having introduced them. They are considered strictly forbidden (harâm) by the Muslim scholars, e.g. by Brîhmîn al-Bâji (d. 1276/1866) in his Hâchiyya on the Fath al-Qarîb of Ibn al-Kâsim al-Ghazî (d. 918/1512) (Kitâb al-ḥādiq, mawâli fi ḥâkim al-aqqâhî; quoted by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Verspreide Geschriften, ii, Bonn and Leipzig 1923, 198). The usual method of execution was tawsîf, 'cutting into half' at the waist, sometimes accompanied by nailing to a wooden contraption in the form of a Saint Andrew's cross, which was also used as an independent method of putting to death. (See W. M. Brinner, A Chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397 by... Ibn Shayîrî, University of California Press 1963, i (transl.), 12 n. 72; for descriptions of executions, see pp. 83 ff., 139-42, 159, 253-5.) The traveller Ibn Fa'dân (310/922; GAL, i. 261 describes tawsîf as a mode of execution customary among the Oghuz and the Bulgars of the Volga (see M. Canard, in AİEO, xvi (1958), 106 n. 238).

It so happens that tawsîf is not prominently reported in the annals of the reign of Baybars, but nailing (tarnîm) is. Nuwayri (d. 732/1332) in the 28th part of his Nihâyât al-'Arab fi Futun al-Adâb, among the events of the year 665/1266-7, devotes a special section to the executions by tarnîm which were carried out in Cairo (MS. Paris, Arabe 1578, 36), among them that of a Mamlûk who pretended to be a prophet, and of an administrator who had become too powerful, together with his Christian associate. Abû Shâhî (d. 665/1267) in his Dhayl al-Raqqatayn (ed. Kâhirî, Cairo 1366/1947, 221 f.) describes in detail the execution by tarnîm, in 661/1262, 861/1263.
EXCURSUS F

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

Another method of execution was by ‘splitting lengthwise’ (shāhī). This was the way in which a former favourite eunuch was put to death (Nuwayry, op. cit. 55).

There was, finally, burning to death. This was the punishment awarded to the Christian secretary Badr ibn al-Nafūs, who was found drinking wine with a Muslim woman, by the governor Ḥusām al-Dīn in Damascus in 687/1288, not under Baybars, it is true, but under Kalawun. The woman had part of her nose cut off and was released. (On Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājin al-Manṣūrī, see H. Laoust, Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans, Damascus 1932, 6.)

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

EXCURSUS H

(for p. 72 n. 1)

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

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

EXCURSUS G

(for p. 69 n. 1)

The respect which the Muslims of Arabic language felt for the Turks from an early period onwards is attested by an alleged saying of the Prophet: ‘Leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone, because they are very valiant’, a saying applied by Nuwayri to the Mongols (Tārīkh-i Jalālīn Gūshā, i, 11, transl. i, 46; d’Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols, i, xxiii). In the generation of Ibn al-Nafīs it is expressed in a celebrated passage of Abū Shāmā in the Dhayl al-Rawdātayn, year 698/1296 (ed. Kawthārī, 208): ‘It is remarkable that the Ṭatars were broken and destroyed by their own kinsmen, the Turks. Concerning that event, I composed the following verses:

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


From a different angle, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) is of the opinion that the Turkish Mamlūks were the saviours of Islam, thanks to their strong and virile natures (Kitāb al-‘Ibar, Būlāk 1284, v. 374).
تلك النواحي التي تكثر النساء جدا بالنسبة إلى من يكتب أو يقرأ. فذكروا أن النساء في الأسرة الأولى، لأنهن يحملن فرحة الأمومة وسعة المحبة. فكلما كبرت أطفالهن، كبرت حبها لهن. وهكذا، فإن نساء القلوب مثمرن في الأسرة، لأنهم يقمن بأعمالهم بحترام ولين البراءة.

أعمال القلوب

وعلى كلا من المرأة والأب، أن يعملوا جهداً لبناء الأسرة. يجب أن يكون البيت مكاناً دافئاً ومحترماً، حيث يمكن للطفل التعبير عن مشاعره وของเขาشه.

الخاتمة

لذا، فإننا نرحب بوجود النساء في الأسرة، وأن يحبها كل من يعيش بها بحب واحترام.
السماحة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة. من فضلك قدم النص العربي بشكل يمكنني قراءته بشكل طبيعي.
للمتابع "الأطماع الأ kak، فإن فتى العال iا إذا حاذي قاطب الساقي لم يتحي الساقي بركة العال.

ثم إن الممسى، الكبير، وجد مقدرٍ تعدّاً في الساقي في البائع، وينصب، على تلك الاحوال التي ينسلف فملاً لا بد فإن يبقي حياله يصير مدار الشمس في منطقة تلك العال وأن كانت الشمس (ع ص. 46) في غير المقتين ويزمام ذلك، مصدراً أحدهما أن يصير بعد القمر عن الشمس أزيد مما هو الآن كثيراً، ينسلف فملاً على ذلك، لا ميل القمر الذي هو عرضه لا ينصرف، فإن ذلك تكون الاهل، لا ميلاً لعازم كثيراً ما هو الآن كثيراً، ينسلف فملاً على ذلك، لا ميل الشمس، كيف، فإن ينصرف على ذلك، لا ميل الشمس، كيف، فإن ينصرف على ذلك، ميل الشمس كثيرةً في ذلك، إذا نصع ميل الشمس فلا بد فإن ينصرف على ذلك، لا ميل الشمس، كيف، فإن ينصرف على ذلك، 10 وثانياً أن تلك الذي دون العال يصير قطباً أحياناً فتحاً لعازم في نظام القمر، الذي فتحاً لعازم في نظام القمر، الذي فتحاً لعازم في نظام القمر، الذي فتحاً لعازم في نظام القمر، الذي فتحاً لعازم في نظام القمر.

في، تكية تعق كامل ما يحدث في العال العاله بعد وفاة حاكي التبني يوصي الله عليه وسلم عليه إجلين 5 وأنا كان القمر، دائمًا التصفح، متخذاً في الأحوال والوقت تأمل مركبة؟!، الشمس، وجد مقدر، في النهر، لو أن تلك تابع أولاً لبا، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك.

تعلّم الشمس في يوم من (ع ص. 46) المغزه، المعاني، لا أن ينصح من ذلك، من ذلك، من ذلك، في ثلاث (أ) لانسحاب، عند الخميس، البائع، البائع، البائع، البائع.

وأما في خط الاستواء، فلا يكون أي بيضة في الإبل، وهو في الإبل التي تبعها طاقم الشمس في يوم، وما في الوضاءة، ما في الوضاءة، ما في الوضاءة، ما في الوضاءة، ما في الوضاءة، ما في الوضاءة، ما في الوضاءة.

لا يكون هذه الكواكب لها بدورها دورات تصير بها تأثر، الثانية، تأثر،损耗ب، مع إن مدة، ما في مدة، ما في مدة.

وكلما ذلك، هكذى هذه الدورة تأثر، تأتي الدورة، الدورة، الدورة، الدورة، الدورة، الدورة.

لا يكون هذه الدورة، إلا أن تكون هذه الكواكب، أي (ع ص. 45) من المشرقة، ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما فيما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في ما في م
يجب أن يكون النص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي معترفًا بالقواعد اللغوية واللغة العربية. إذا كانت هناك أي أسئلة أو اهتمامات محددة حول النص، يرجى الإجابة عليها من خلال الرد على الأسئلة أو الرد على المشكلات.
فلذلك يتوجب ملك هذه البلاد أن يصرف إلى الاجناد ازدي ما كان أولا ولم يكن من ذلك من مغفرة هذه البلاد فان هذا المجال لا يمكن أن يكون أزدي ما كان أولا علّى ذلك البلاد فاؤذا زادت هذه الطلقة بقدر كبير واضعت على علّى تلك البلاد فلا بد أن يكون ذلك الزائد من مغفرة اهلها وليس يسمح بذلك احترام فلذلك لا بد وأن يكون من أمور اهلها فيما لم يكن ذلك أزدي بهما خير كا أداه ولا يرى ذلك على الملوك واللقاء على نهل أحمرهم ويازد ذلك ان يكون مقدم القلب جداً.
فلذلك لا بد وأن يكون قاصياً تلق رجائه فذلك يكثر من منه صدور الطلقات وقطع الأطراف والصلب والتمسح وحو ذلك مما يكثر مع القدرة فذلك لا بد وأن يكون في البلاد(4) هذه الأمور كلها خاصة ، وقد بنى انها ما يكون فذلك التي في البلاد السرقة وحو ذلك مما يوجب هذه الطلقات فذلك لا بد وأن يكون هذا النظام قد صدرت عنه هذه الأمور فذلك هذا النظام لا يجوز أن يكون من اهل البلدان في ذلك البلدان لا يجوز أن يكون من اهل البلدان عدنين عن هذه الاعتداء فلا بد أن يكون من اهل البلدان ولا يجوز أن يكون خالياً كما قالوا ولا يجوز أن يكون أيضاً من شمال الشرق لا أن شاد العرب كما تقدم أنما يوجد فهم قوم خارج(4) فتكون ارزقته غير ملأها للاثارة المذكرة فذلك لا بد أن يكون هذا النظام لوطها ما ائمهه ملك اولئك الكفار 
في كيفية تصرف كامل بمال سلطان البلاد الذي ينتمي لهذه المملكة المباركة (5) لا يمكن أهله ملك اولئك الكفار 20. أن المسمى (ع) ص 41 يقل أنك تفكر بعد ذلك في حال سلطان البلاد الداخلي بلاد فلسطين قال ان هذا سلطان لا يتكون في بلاده وجندهه وامواله دون ما تؤلاء الكفار بكرك وكيك وراك بلاد هذه الذي عليه السلام يكون اولئك الكفار قد استولوا عليها ومع ذلك فلما لم يكون عاقل بلاد آخر من بلاد غير هذه المملكة ومؤلم اهلها

(4) : ع : ع : (2) : ع : (4) : ع : (1) : ع : (3) : ع : (4) : ع : (3) : ع : (4) : ع :
اللقاء عثمان دون القرية كانا معذوراً فذلكا ما يكون هؤلاء الكراف من البلاد البارزة وإذا ما يكون هذا النبي فلا يلزم أن يكون هؤلاء-domine. هذا النبي ولا أُهم النور تميزه دينه إذ إذا لم تخرج إلى ذلك فذلك يبقى أهل هذه الملك في بلادهما كما كانوا وما يرزق عتم الملك فقط فذلك يكون في الأسرة كنف ثالث هؤلاء دنيا النبي ما لم يكن مع ذلك دينه (تع). في ذلك والله فذلك لكل ما كان هؤلاء من البلاد ما يفتحه هؤلاء من بلاد الأثران الآخر فذلك في آخر الأمر تتسع بلاد هذه الملك وإن لم يكون لها من ينصرها واخذ البلاد من هؤلاء فكيف إذا وجد ذلك.

الفصل السادس
في كتيبة تعرف كامل جبال البلاد التي لا يمكن هؤلاء الكراف من الاستيلاء عليها
فقال في نفسه أما ما يكون من هذه البلاد بعداً جداً عن البلاد التي (1) ينتهي إليها استيلاء هؤلاء الكراف فأن تكون كاتبوا حم في ذلك يجب أن ينتهي إليها إلى مقاطعهم (2) وما يمكنهم من ذلك إذا حصل لم أمران وما كثرت الجريش وسلطان منهم شجاعة إذ بين ذلك لا يمكن من مقاطعة هؤلاء الكراف مع همهم استيلائهم على (تع) غ (4) كثير جداً من البلاد في الثانية رجلا ومن جهتهم فذلك اهل هذه البلاد بما تم لم ذلك ينسلى الأمرين وما قبل ذلك لم يكونوا معناهن إلا أن تكرت الجريش جداً فلا بد وإن يسير جيش هذه البلاد الجاوية لما انتهى إليه الملك أولئك الكراف أزيد ما كان أولاً كثير وإنما يمكن ذلك بأن تكون الفقة على الإجابة اذ ما كانت بكثير.

(1) غ: يحيى (2) م: منصور (3) غ: يحيى (4) غ: طالبون
الفصل الخامس

في كيفة تعبر كامل حال الكثار الذين يكونون
هم عقوبة هذه الملة

إن هؤلاء الكثار يجب أن يكونوا غير ذي ملة إذ لم كانت لهم ملة لذلك. لا حالة باقية للناس إلى الدخل في دينهم وذلك مع الاستياء وشذوهم مما يوجب الناس الرجوع إلى ما يدعون إليه لذلك موجب للخروج عن ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك مناف للغرض من هذه العقوبة ونتج عنه من ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه.

(1) خرم في ع (3) خرم في ع (4) خرم في ع (5) خرم في ع (6) خرم في ع (7) خرم في ع

الفصل الرابع

في كيفة تعبر كامل لما يحدث ملة هذا النبي لاجئ

عصابتهم من العقوبة

ثم أن الإنسان بكامل تفكر قال وإذا عصت هذه الملة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقيل يتحدث لها في الدنيا عقوبة أو لا يحدث لها ذلك فاذا أنها لا بيد وأن تعاقد على هذا العصيان وذلك لأن هذه الملة لو لم تعاقد على ذلك في عن الناس أن معصية هذا النبي غير ضارة في (ع ص 37) الدنيا وذلك مما لا يثبت مع الحرص على النتيجة وعلى ترك هذه المعصية فذلك لا حال ويثم ذلك شدة السادة وذكة الحالة بالحياة بالمخالفة أمر هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وفي ذلك تصبح قديرة وتدرك إلى قلة الحياة بالمخالفة أومره وذلك مما يبطل قائلة بعثت صل الله عليه وسلم فذلك لا بيد وأن يعرض لهذه المرة عند كثرة عصابتهم عقوبة...

(1) ذلك وهذه العقوبة ليس يجوز أن تكن النفس أو الطوقان وتحو ذلك مما يدل على شدة غضب الله تعالى فإن ذلك ينافي زيادة عظيمة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إذ يجوز أن يكون مجنونين عند الله تعالى فذلك لا بد من أن تكون هذه العقوبة بشفق الدماء ونحو ذلك مما لا يحتم من المنزلة

(1) خرم في ع (2) بصاص في ع
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

صلب الله عليه وسلم فلذلك وجب أن لا يعرض أحدا منهم لذلك، وفي طبع الناس حسب الرأية فلا بد وأن يكون بين الصحابة السابقين بالإيمان من التأذين والخلافة إلى أن نتقبل بينهم مقاطعة على الخلافة وذلك لا يمكن أن يكون عن قريب ولا كان ذلك مؤديا إلى استياء الناس.

10 عليه وسلم.

الفصل الثاني

في تعريف كتاب ما يقع بعد موت هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من (1) تنازع ومقاتلة (2).

فلا بد وأن ينحاز كل مدع الخلافة (3) فهم بطائفة تعصب له
وتنازع خالفه فلذلك لا بد وأن يكون الأئمة والأئمة من ملة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بعد موته، وإن هذا النبي لا يرى بعده فلذلك لا بد وأن يكون فيه شعيعة يتواجدون معه من نسبتهم (4).

15 عليه وسلم.

الفصل الثالث

في كيفية تعريف كتاب المعاصي التي لا بد وأن تكون ملة هذا
النبي صلى الله السلام

ثم أن المسئ (ع ص 31) بكمال يتكفر فقال، واللذي الذي يشتكيه إلهي على ذلك، كا
بنان أولا ولا أبدا، يحكمه في مهربة الدماء وتمكن Him وإلاقين (2).

20 وذلك لأن هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لا يرد أن تكون إلقانه
فاضلة جدا محمية كما يكونه أوه وحيدة هذه الخلافة ان يكون
غيرا فلا بد وأن نحن نحن من التسبيح المذهبي، والتنازيل للاقين إلاقين واما
يمكن ذلك بسره ومنه من زيادة البروز وبيام ذلك أمرنا جدا
ان يكون من ملة هذا النبي خلافته في تجرب الخطر وذلك لأجل شدة

100 (1) ع : مبتدئها (2) ع : الخلافة (3) ع : ناسا (4) ع

(ة) عن (د) عن (ص) عن (9) عن (6) عن (5) عن
وفيما كانت دعوة هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (ص 34) للناس إلا بالطين، فلما ازداد من الناس، تلمسهم من أمته من أجل مبادح هذا الدعوة بإيضاحه على تطوع الفقراء، ولئن يكون تطوع الفقراء بعدد محدود، فليس يمكن أن يجعل ذلك، فإن كل واحد منهم يعينه الله فلرغم الابن والباشا، لم يعنه واحداً لما صدره من الخطأ، وإنما مما هي إلى هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (ص 34) في هذا الكلام تكرار واضح (2).
الفصل الثالث

في الإشاعات التي ينبغي أن يسمع الله عليه وسلم في تبادل المنزل وتفسير الزوجات والهبات والواجبات

ثم أن هذا المسمى كله فكر في أمر النكاح فدأ في نفسه أن هذا أمر لا يد منه في كهرة وجود الأشخاص الإنسانية فان وجود الإنسان بالتأكيد نادر جداً فأنا الجاع يوم لا يد منه في كهرة الأشخاص الناس فلنذلك يجب أن يحك هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (ص 32) تفسيره لا يد فذلك يجب أن يكون تفسير هذا الجد الذي يقالون بأي نافذة عند الجغرفيا الجاهلية عليه وعلى يثبت به ذلك بأن الله لا يد في النفلس (ص 32) في تعبد أثر النسوب ذلك لأن الله لا يد في النفلس

مثلا في نسبه فإن الله عليه وسلم عن الزناء وأن كان معكراً في الأشخاص فالزواج فلنذلك يجب أن يكون في الأشخاص للناس وللكل الذي أعطاه ذلك في خلقه في الزناء في الجاهلية النفلس واللى أن كان تكرار الزواج في الأشخاص يدعو إلى النفلس وللكل الذي أعطاه ذلك في خلقه في الزناء في الجاهلية النفلس واللى أن كان تكرار الزواج في الأشخاص يدعو إلى النفلس وللكل الذي أعطاه ذلك في خلقه في الزناء في الجاهلية النفلس واللى أن كان تكرار الزواج في الأشخاص يدعو إلى النفلس وللكل الذي أعطاه ذلك في خلقه في الزناء في الجاهلية النفلس واللى أن كان تكرار الزواج في الأشخاص يدعو إلى النفلس وللكل الذي أعطاه ذلك في خلقه في الزناء في الجاهلية النفلس واللى أن كان تكرار الزواج في الأشخاص يدعو إلى النفلس وللكل الذي أعطاه ذلك في خلقه في الزناء في الجاهلية النفلس
في المعاملات (4) التي يتألف منها (3) شرعيات، (2) التي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

فثلما هو ذلك الفضيل على هذا، (3) ينبيغ أن يشبه النبي (4) صلى الله عليه وسلم

(4)farm 4 م 5 م - 6 م (7) ع : وجه (8) - (9) ع : الكل (11) ع : فكذلك (12) ع : وجه (13) - (14) ع : الزواج

وأما الذكر الذي هو في ضمن عبادة فما يكون في الصلاة والحج.

فكان هذه معناها (3) استنكار على حركات وأعمال فتلقاها يشملان على

ذكرا الله تعالى وذكر رسوله.

وأما الذكر الفردي وهو المقصود نفسه وليس بلام لامر آخر ولا

داخلاً في ضمن آخر فهو (3) ككلمة الشهادتين.

فذلك لا يبدان يكون نشأ هذا الذي صلى (3) الله عليه وسلم (3) مبنا

على خمسة أشياء: منها قول الله (3) قال لنا (3) فجعل (3) فلى (3)

بكل من لائحة إنسان (3) قال وبكل من (3) كنسل (3) كاللحم كما قال(3) وله

مع라도 من (3) الأمرين جرى (3) أن يبث (3) ونال وهو كنسل (3) هذه الأشياء من (3)

كدعتها ما أخبارت مشاً خذو (3) كنسل فيفي (3) أن (3) كنسل تكرا (3) في خذ الوصل (3)

في المصير (3) (3) (3) (3) مبنا (3) من إنسانه سلته جذاً فتحقل (3)

الناس تكره في اليوم مراة كلا الصلاة فذلك كانت الصلاة (3) أكثر

ذكراً للذكرا وعول من الصلاة فذلك كانت تهبت عن النحس والذكر،

وضمها مع ذلك ضمن الكنسلات وذكرناه Dataset:

وأما الشهادتين فإن اعتقادهما هو الإيمان والإيمان لا ينبيغ قدمان

الباب الثاني في يأته، هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من التكليف العملية، وإنما في هذا الباب يستدل على أربعة فصول.

الفصل الأول

في العبادات التي يأتي بشرعها هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

1. ان المسبي كامل حين كان قد بلغ سن إيرباع 6
من فلما تفقت ققال في نفسه أن هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما كان خالص النبيين وجب أن تكون الحجة إلى حفظ جلالة وشريعة أكثر، إذ نسأل ذلك يوجد إلى حدود شرح وهو متعمد بعد اقتطاع النبوة وذلك لا بد وأن يصدر هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لبيcket ذلك ودعاكم ما دامت السموات والأرض رجالها يتحفظون(3) وذلذاً، لا بد هنا النبي من أن ينكر ذكره حتى يحتفظ(4) هو
ومعترضه مصراً(5) وشريعة ذلك ودعاكم فلا يكون له ألا أن نحب أن نبنيه وهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان عليه ثم نحن صامتون يتحفظون(6)

2. إذا ذكرنا للربيع(7) الذي يرام حفظه في الأجيال(8) فذكرنا لا بد هذا النبي من أن ينكر ذكره حتى يحتفظ(9) هو ودعاكم مصراً(10) وشريعة ذلك ودعاكم فلا يكون له ألا أن نحب أن نبنيه وهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان عليه ثم نحن صامتون يتحفظون(11)

3. إذا ذكرنا للربيع ورد رد، وألا أن نحب أن نبنيه وهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان عليه ثم نحن صامتون يتحفظون(12) هو ودعاكم مصراً(13) وشريعة ذلك ودعاكم فلا يكون له ألا أن نحب أن نبنيه وهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان عليه ثم نحن صامتون يتحفظون(14)

4. إذا ذكرنا للربيع(15) الذي يرام حفظه في الأجيال(16) فذكرنا لا بد هذا النبي من أن ينكر ذكره حتى يحتفظ(17) هو ودعاكم مصراً(18) وشريعة ذلك ودعاكم فلا يكون له ألا أن نحب أن نبنيه وهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان عليه ثم نحن صامتون يتحفظون(19)

5. إذا ذكرنا للربيع(20) الذي يرام حفظه في الأجيال(21) فذكرنا لا بد هذا النبي من أن ينكر ذكره حتى يحتفظ(22) هو ودعاكم مصراً(23) وشريعة ذلك ودعاكم فلا يكون له ألا أن نحب أن نبنيه وهذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان عليه ثم نحن صامتون يتحفظون(24)
قد 1) كل الكلام في الشرع في صفات البراءة تعالى. لأننا بنيان الكلام في الماء. لأكان ذلك يàng (قص 34: في) ور (قص 24: في) فلا نكون القول في الفنادق فلا يكون هذا ون الحرام راجحا فان أذان أكثر الناس تكرار عن درك الذات والإيام الروحانيين فان فل من للعالمه ان كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 2) 3) من هذه الأذانات ان كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 3) عن هذه الأذانات ان كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 4) 5) فلما كل الكلام في الشرع في صفات البراءة تعالى. لأننا بنيان الكلام في الماء. لأكان ذلك يàng (قص 34: في) ور (قص 24: في) فلا نكون القول في الفنادق فلا يكون هذا ون الحرام راجحا فان أذان أكثر الناس تكرار عن درك الذات والإيام الروحانيين فان فل من للعالمه ان كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 6) 7) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 8) 9) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 10) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 11) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 12) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 13) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 14) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 15) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 16) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 17) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 18) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 19) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 20) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 21) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 22) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 23) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 24) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 25) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 26) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 27) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 28) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 29) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 30) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 31) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 32) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 33) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 34) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 35) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 36) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 37) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 38) بل كثرت العادات على ما يبتضى واعرضت. 39) بل كث...
حُفظ شريعته أكثر وذلك لِأني البيعة بعد مقطعة فلَوْ نَسُى شره لِفقد الشرع اصلاً لِلعلَّم حَدث شرع جدِيد فلذَكَر لا بَد وَان تكون الحاجة لِحَفظ شرع هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أكثر من حفظ شرع غيره فلذَكَر إذا كان كَثِيرًا ما تَنفَعُّ (11) النواحي على حَفظه (ع ص 23) وَلأنما يكون ذلك إذا كان كَثِيرًا (9) من النفَعَة والبلاغة على اصل الرجوع لذلك فلذَكَر القرآن العزيز في غاية النفعُ.

(الفن الثالث) في بيان كيفية تعرف كامل لِسنة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، وكَلامنا في هذا الفن يشتمل على بابين:

1. أباب الأول فِي أيّائي به هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من التكاليف العلمية، أباب (2) الثاني في أيّائي به هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من التكاليف العملية (3).

اما أباب الأول فكان كلامنا فيه يشتمل على فصلين:

الفصل الأول
فِي أيّائي به هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من صفات الله تعالى
قال فاضل بن نافع أن المسمى بكلام حسن (1) بلغ في العصر قرب (11) آثر الشبيبة فكر فِي أيّائي به خلاص النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (2) من صفات الصواب تعالى فأيّائي أنه ينبغي أن يعرف الناس أن هذا الصواب عن النافع فلذَكَر أنه لا نهاية له وَأيّائي يجب أن يُطَع رَب ابًة فَأيْنَ لا يَسِير دَلَّة كَثِيرًا (3) فهو (ع ص 33) في 말씀 العام وَبَعَد ذلك مما يَلم يَجَالِد.

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لا أيضا يمكن أن يكون أولاده ذكورا فقط لأن ذلك انما يكون بحوزته (1) الزواج ولا كان مراج هذا النبي معتادا فيجب أن يكون له بنين(2)، وبنتا ومراوة(3) يجب أن لا يتزوج اعمرهم 11 سنة أو أكثر فليختار امرأة(4) أن يكونوا انيباء أو هما لا يكونان(5) كذلك: لا جاءت أن يكونوا(6) انيباء ولا ما كان هو خاتم النبيين(7) غير أن يكونوا غير انيباء (ع ص 21) ولا كان ذلك نصبا في حق وانتفاخا عن درجة كثير من السلف فان كثيرا من السلف كان الأئمة أيضا انيباء، وما بات هذا النبي فيجوز ان تطول عاماهم اذ النساء لسن(8) باهل اليوة(9).

الفصل الثامن

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

ثم أن المسئي كاملا فذكر في أن هذا النبي الذي هو خاتم النبيين كيف ينبغي أن تكون دعوته ناسا للحق وفي مبادئه فقال في نفسه ان هذا قد تثبت أن لا يوجد عليه الذي(10) جدا

1- عام المسئي وإذا كان كذلك لم يجز أن تكون رسالته الى الملوك كـ.

2- ارسل رسوله علينا(11) السلاطين(12) أن يرفعوا إذا لم يوجد الى الملوك فلا يلزم

3- اما ان يختاره بالخطاب الذي يليق بالملك أو لا يجوز إذا كان ذلك حالا فلتقل، ونقص في حق وإذا كان الثاني علم إلى الآدم واستجاه فذلك (ع ص 22) وجعلت

4- رسالته الى الناس كلامهم على السلاطين(13) المسلم، ويدين أن تكون دعوته ياهم ما لا بانين وفقا واحيانا لا يصدر منهم من مكرورة(14)، وما إذا كثر

5- اعماله واحيانا(15) عن نفسه يلفظ على المقاتلة أن تكون دعوته لأن الناس بحجة بالله تعالى والسيف وذلك لأن دعوته لم أكن تارة الا في السيف.
لا يجوز أخذ اليد على من يكون في (ع ص 39) الله أو في أعضاء الآخر دون مرض آخر ما يسقيه. إذا يكون ذلك، فإن من استقل عليه، لا يجوز.

إذا كان الأعضاء غير متاسبة، فإن ذلك لا يكون. فكيف أن يكون مرتضى الأعين، ولا من استقل عليه، في ذلك. فهذا لا يكون مناسب.

وقد يكون متوضئ في الامراض، ولا يكون مرتضى الأعين، فلا يكون مرتضى الأعين، ولا يكون مرتضى الأعين.

فبذلك، يصبح النص الطلب على صفحات المطلع الأمرجة.

الفصل السادس

في حال هذا النفي على الله عليه وسلم في الامراض ومقدار العمر

ثم أن الجمل المشهورة يقال في (ع ص 39) إن هذا النفي على الله عليه وسلم (ص 39) حيث يبني الجملة في الامراض، فقال في نفسه أن من الامراض ما (ع ص 39) لا تجوز حديثاً.

لهذا النفي على الله عليه وسلم، فأظن أن صاحب ذلك يستقبل من أن ينطاب، فضلاً عن أن يوجب عليه خطاب الله تعالى، وشربه، وكابلص فإن صاحب ينطاب، فضلاً عن أن يوجب عليه خطاب الله تعالى، وشربه، وكابلص فإن صاحب ذلك.

وقد يكون النص في النفي مرتضي الأعين، ولا يكون مرتضي الأعين.

فبذلك، يصبح النص الطلب على صفحات المطلع الأمرجة.

الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

لا يجوز أخذ اليد على من يكون في (ع ص 39) الله أو في أعضاء الآخر دون مرض آخر ما يسقيه. إذا يكون ذلك، فإن من استقل عليه، لا يجوز.

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الفصل السادس

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وقد يكون النص في النفي مرتضي الأعين، ولا يكون مرتضي الأعين.

فبذلك، يصبح النص الطلب على صفحات المطلع الأمرجة.
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

غير أبي في يعتدل بذلك خلقه فإن الإنسان يستفيد بذلك الأخلاق من اخلاق معاشرته ونواته لأن نفس الإنسان من شأنها المكارة فاستفاده من الرجاء لأول وفلا عاش النبا الذي صلى الله عليه وسلم فكان هو الرجل فكان يقيد الخلق بالرعاية والتمس جعله قابلاً 
وذلك كان الأصل الذي صلى الله عليه وسلم ولما يموت أبو لتفقد الحالة

بتمد (18) 48 اخلاق أوين (2) لات ليات في ذلك واحد فإن الاعتقاد

يرفع النفس فتقدر أن يفي بتعديله معاد واحد فكل الخلق وراءه لأن

تذكرت (19) 137 اخلاق أوين (1) إذا طال الزمن

وأما تأخير موت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لان بقاءهم لا يغير

الأخلاق (19) 137 اخلاق أوين (1) على ما توجه الأمومة زادتها كبرة ذلك

لان الرجاء الطيب ينقتر من أخلاق النساء فهم لا يجداو أخلاق

10 أمهاتهم كثيراً ولا كذلك الابن فإن الابن يحاول الأخلاق كثيراً.

الفصل الرابع

في حلال هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في شوتهما

ثم إن المسمى يكامل فكر في أن هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

كيف ينبغي أن يكون في خلقه قال في نفسه أن هذا لا يجوز الابتداء

ان يكون في هيئته عند أمر مستكر فلا يكون capacità جداً لأن

يكون كذلك يستمتع فلا يكون (18) 48 اخلاق أوين (2) في نفس الناس

علمه وذل ذلك لا يجوز الابتداء لأن ما يمنغ الطول من يكون كذلك

لا بد وأن ينصب إلى (20) 69 يضيق في العقل ولا يجوز أيضاً أن يكون في

بدنه عادة لأن من يكون كذلك يستن ويطير به ويجعل ذلك تآكل

الحالة التي يجب أن يكون عليها هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وكذلك

النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، الذي يحمل عليه الامام مكي بن عبد الحي (ص 170). يذكر في أخرج الجاحظ في الصحيح عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: "لا تشركوا بالله أنبئيكم، فإنما أنا رسول لله."


15. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.


17. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

18. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.


20. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.


22. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

23. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

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27. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.


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115. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

116. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

117. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

118. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

119. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.

120. البخاري: الطبخة 2/183.
لا كان يمكّن للكاتب زiyara تقع كالحاج لزيارة البيت فكان يظن على طول الزمان أن الحفظ لاجل البيت فقط ويسى في النهاية صلى الله عليه وسلم فيديوي ذلك (ص 35) فإن أنفسهم صلى عليه وسلم وهم يطبقون الشرعية (ع ص 14) فلذلك يبقى ان يكون فيه في بلد آخر حتى ينشر الضربه اقتضاء فقط فيوم 5 حفظ علمته وإنما يكون فيه في بلد آخر إذا حصل هو في ذلك البلد وقتله فيه. ففكر بعد ذلك كمال في أن تصل إلى هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في البلد الذي يموت فيه ما لا ينبغي أن يكون عليه فإنه لا ذكر لا يكون لاجل طلب المال بالتجارة ويجده وفوى لا طلب 30 تط
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

الفصل الأول

في نسب هذا النبي الذي هو خالق اللنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

قال فاضل بن ناظم ولا تنين للجلس المسمى بمثل أن هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يجيب (1) إن يكون أفضل (م ص 33) النبيين (2) وعلمهم تفكر بعد ذلك فقال في نفسه إن هذا يجيب أيضاً إن يكون عند (3) الناس هذه المزالة لانه لا يمكن كذلك لم يكن في نفس الناس من استعجال مما يسهل عليهم الذكر لقبول ما يعبر به لأن هذا يشمل اختياره عن الشيء كثيرة مما لا يقبل إلا وهم الناس لأنه يثير بتفاصل الشريعة وجع صفات الله تعالى وتفاصيل احوال المعايد فلن يكون عند الناس المزعة المزحة جداً لم يبدوا له ولا كذلك باق الأتباع عليه السلام (ع ص 12) والأما يكون هذا النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كذلك (4) (5) نص م ص 34 و (6) يجيب أن نص م ص 13 يجيب أن ص (7) من نصوص (8) المشرف البارع في النتائج في اسامع عليه السلام.

فذلك يجيب أن يكون (9) هايها.

الفصل الثاني

في موطن هذا النبي الذي هو خالق النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

أن هذا النبي لما تثبت كلمة كمال انا يجيب إن يكون العالم العليم والفهم فكر في أنه إياه المواضع من الازرق غير أن يكون منهما (10) 

(1) - (2) - (3) - (4) - (5) - (6) - (7) - (8) - (9) - (10) و (11) - (12) - (13) - (14) - (15) - (16) - (17) - (18) - (19) - (20) - (21) - (22) - (23) - (24)...

(124)
يشتمل عليه من السعادة والشفاء والابناء (1) فلذلك يسهل عليه تصديق من يأتي بعد ذلك من الأَبَنِياء بذلًا، فلذلك اعتقدهي كمال، أنه ليس يمكن العرض من الابناء بأن يجميع من الابناء يأتي ليأتي سبيقاً بما يدرج الناس إلى معرفة (2) ما يأتي به المتأخر ولا، (3). وان يكون كل متاخر من الناس يأتي إلي فإنه ليس ليابين زBODYDAY حتى يتكلم دمائي النبأ المناقرة عندهم، فإنه ليس ليابين والمسرحي، ولقضي جمع ما يظنه السياق كيف نقلنا، أن يكون النبي الذي هو خليفة النبي، أفضل الابناء وأقومهم بما يحتاج إليه من السيان في ذلك النبي، وذلك النبي، وهو يتكلم بالنبي، الذي يأتي، أياني من البيين أفلس (4). أصل (5) ملأ، وهو يتكلم بالنبي، الذي يأتي، أياني من البيين أفلس (6).

(1) بعث الرسالة إلى هيئة قبيل الحقيقة، وذلك وقع، فليكن في قومية أياني النبي، الذي جاء في أول الأمر، فليكن حقيقة أن يكون هذا النبي اقتصاديا على سبيل، أنه لن يلزم أن يكون كل بيئين أفلس من سبقة السياق، وهو خليفة أياني النبي، بعد نتائج فلا بد وان يأتي جميع ما يحتاج إليه في تكمل دمائي النبأ، فلذلك يجب أن يكون النبي الذي هو خليفة النبي، أفضل الابناء أفلسهم.
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

ينبغي أن يكون على النحو التالي، فلا تكون معيشة الإنسان، وإن يكون
مع بعضهم شرع نفسي ضعيفًا يتطلب التنقية والذاتية. وإن يكون ذلك إذا
اعتقده من الله تعالى، ويكون ذلك إذا كان وردًا من شيخ
بصقته الناس في إخباره أنه من الله تعالى وله هذا الشخص ليس يمكن
أن يكون حيًا (10) سكان غر ضعفاء الناس في الحياة، فليس
نطاق له MOT فضلاً عن أن يكون مغايرًا لشرع ولا يمكن أن يكون مما لا
يبرر أكثر الناس على الاحسان به كمالنا (11) يجري ص (9) 10
ال يكون هذا الشخص أبا أن يكون محتاجًا من سماع الشرع منه فذلك لا يد
و(12) يكون هذا الشخص أبا أن يكون محتاجًا من سماع الشرع منه فذلك لا يد
المبكر أبا أن يكون محتاجًا من سماع الشرع منه فذلك لا يد
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و(58) يكون هذا الشخص أبا أن يكون محتاجًا من سماع الشرع منه فذلك لا يد
و(59) يكون هذا الشخص أبا أن يكون محتاجًا من سماع الشرع منهم
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

الفيصل الثالث
في بيان كيفية وصول المسنى كاملاً إلى تعرف أمر النبوت:

ان المسنى كاملاً لما يبلغ في المعرفة إلا الحد الذي ذكرناه، وكان
اذ ذك الذين تذكرون ذلك، فقد قانون (1) الشيعة فلأنهم يعبرون بما
حت في الخلق على عبادة (2)، فكأنهم عضواً في الخلق كثيراً مما يرغب
يبط ويصير إلى تعرف العبادة الثلاثة بجانبها، وهم ينفركون (3).
في ذلك مدة. وانتفق أن الريح التي أتت إلى تلك الجزيرة سفينة فيها عليل محمد
(ص 30) (4) كثير من النجاة وفيها لم يبق عديد لاجئ أصلح
تلك السفينة بما تناولها ملأ ضعف الرياح لها وانتقلوا كلهم في تلك
الجزيرة استعداداً ويعتنون من مجاوزها فهكذا كاملاً ونفر منهم واصل
 blev يبدو من هم قليلًا قليلاً بحري حتى يشادوا فهكذا تزامن بذلك
والاستدعاء (4) من هم قللوا بالله (3) شبا من الخبيش ومن طعام
(ص 8) (5) فيما أكله استطاعته جداً لأنه لم يكن قبل ذلك أكمل غذاه
صياغة لم تأثر بهم، فالسوم ثوباً وأكل من أطعمةهم فاعجه ذلك
وأيضاً في متعة الله تتغزل كثيراً من طريف، وعواناً مدنياً وما
يょكل في قلوب فتعجب من ذلك دلائل ذلك الجزيرة
ارض وأبح الجفر فمحصولاً إلى مدينة بالقرب من تلك الجزيرة
فالكل من أعظمها ولعب ليس بموضوع فانه بذلك لذة عظيمة وذكر
ما كان عليه من سوء البيشش لاجئ دوماً ضعف به في البرد والحر
والاقتصاد على الأغذية الطبيعية ووصول الحيوانات إليها ونشأها له كل

ومنتظراً ولا بد أن يكون في الاعتقاد بكل شيء ولا لا يجيب أن
يكون كل شيء على أفضل الأحوال الممكنة له فظاهر كامل إذا
ان هذه الموجودات (ع ص 7 ظ) موجوداً واجب الوجود عالم بكامل
شيء ومعتنين بكل شيء.

والجوق وبعضها جمعنا كما في اليا وتأمل الغرب في هذه العينية بزرا
مضاغف وكناذب بر كل ثمرة فعل ان ذلك ليقوم أحد الجزرين بالمثابة
إذا حذرت للآخرين Ou ثم رأيت على كل ثمرة بل على كل ثمرة شاء
يضخ رفع إجابة ويدرخ لها وطبع طريقاً من سهولة التاجول، ولم العينية
و ذو عرض يعود فيها الغفاء من أصل العينية (ع ص 39) ويدين تلك
المرور بطريق علا (ع ص 6 ظ) الخلل الذي بينها، فذك فتنهب أو
اليرة ععل من ذلك وأخلم جميع ليجاء الحيونات (1) والثوابن إذا هو
عذاب من فتحها، وتفيقها俄国 يمكنها، ووجه ذلك مشروع:
تم انتقال
عن النباتات تأمل الأحاديث الأولية كالبطر والبرد والثلج وتفرق
في الرعد والبرق وتمه. تم انتقال ذلك إلى الاستجواب السياوية.
شاهد حركاتها ونظام بعضها مع بعض ودورها، انها ذلك على ما
بناء في غير هذا الكتاب. هذا كان قد تعدد مدة الخلق ويبق
وجهه وقرياع عقل وجد فكره فكر ان هذه الموجودات هل هي مع
انسان ووحدها (1) (2) (3) بذولته، (4) (5) أخرى (6) أو أذا كتبت:
15 كانت لوحيداً، فما ذلك الموجود وكمف حالي فاشترا إلى
المعرفة ذلك. وكان قد شاهد كثيراً كثيراً في الاستجواب تُؤكَل أخرب فعلم ان
وجود تلك الجماهير وعدمتها كل منها (ع ص 7 ظ) غير مستحلل
وكذلك الذي نرى في المعرفة أن هذا الممكن ليس يجعل أن
يكون وجودها أو عدمه، إذا لم يفارق ذلك الأمر الذي فهو
اء (7) من غيره فهكذا التفاعل الموجود الممكن أو ليس كذلك فان
(ع ص 39 ظ) كان ممكنًا كان وجدواه من غيره، أيضاً ولعل ذلك
قال قد من الأشياء التي يوجد غير يمكن إذا لم لما لذلك اجتمع عقل
مع تعلقات لا نهاية لها، ولكن يسمحلها مكراً فما كافت محتاجة إلى موجود
غيرها، وذلك هو جميع (1) الموجودات فهو غير ما لم لا يوجد
واياً فذا لا بد أن يكون هذه الموجودات موجودة هو وجوب الموجود
وذلك هو الله تعالى ولا بد أن يكون عالم بكل شيء ولا لا يمكن فعله

(1) ع: الحيوانات (2) ن: ع: (3) ع: (4) ع: (5) ع: (6) ع: (7) ع:
الفصل الثاني

في كيفية تعرف المسئول بكامل العلوم (1) والحكمه

إن المسئول بكامل العلوم جزء من المعرفة شاءت القضاء والموضوع

إشعاع تلك الجريدة ومع إشارات الطيور وخارج ماء البحر والنهار.

وظيفة الرياح وتلم رواج الهواء وانتشار نباتات وأكل من الأثر التي تساهم.

وإشارتها هو شكل من أشكال في خراج وشيك قريب من (5) ظرف فكر

تعجب منه ذلك وصار إذا غضب عينيه (5) غيب (6) عن المرء و إذا

فجعته بعد ذلك ادركت وكذلما إذا ما سأذن فإن بحسب غابته عنه

الاصوات وإذا فرحها ادركت وإذا حصل ذوات الطعوم في فيه درك

(6) طاعمهما (5) والبطل (6) في فيه لم يدرك ذلك كذلما.  

اعترف الأинф في الرياح وانتشار النباتات وذهاب الماء في في درك

له فقل أن هذه الأصوات هي آتات هذه الادعاءات فإن هذه

الادعاءات هي منع هذه الأصوات وذلما رأى أن يهدى البشر

وجنبههم ذلك وكذلما فكر على كثير من منع الأصوات و

وهذته الدعاء التي لات تعرض أوراق ما في داخل البطن (6) والصدر من

الأزهار. وسمع (7) إلى تعرض منع ما في داخل البطن (6) صداع من

السهر. وأدى أن يكون اشتراك ذلك في غرة فصام يشتبه بطن

الحيوانات التي يتمكن من اصصابه ويساءد عينيه ويقلع ذلك

باظفه (6) بما يهدى هذه الإشجار الإدغام الأفكار (7) ويضطاعا القصيب

بوجع ذلك فشاع الدعاء وأن الدعاء يطير فيها فإنه ينفع الدعاء من المخل

(7) النافذ (6) إلى الرأي في نفق (6) إلى أن ينفع الدعاء من المخل.

إنها من Physiology وردما في النافذ (6) إلى أن ينفع الدعاء من المخل.

إذ انثر إلى البحث حتى يتجار بالدمعة الإبطاء (8) إن انتبه

إنها من Physiology وردما في نفق (6) إلى أن ينفع الدعاء من المخل.

تواتر القسط (7) الذي ينفع الدعاء من المخل.  

وينبع من ذلك إيجار للفنانة بكونها من الباطن (7) أو ينفع الدعاء

بوجع (8) إلى الطرق فتزعج في، فإنه ينفع الدعاء من المخل.

الدمعة الإبطاء (8) إنتبه إلى الدعاء.

(1) ع : العلوم (2) غ : عينه (3) م : تتب (4) ع : قدما

(6) ع : نصيف (7) ع : الباطن (8) نع : قدما

(9) ع : المروج (10) ع : مجرب
فلذلك كانت هذه الأجزاء مستعدة لان يتركونها 0 منها أعضاء (من ص 26) الأنسان. والله تعالى كرمه 0 لم يمنع منحقق صحة وهنا كل مستعد ما يستعد له فلذلك خلق من تلك الأجزاء أعضاء الإنسان ومن جملتها يبنين جلبه الخرجة

كتيرة فكان 0 بعضها لما تميز منها شبه منا زوج روح الأنسان فتكون من ذلك روح أنسانية فكمل ذلك تكون أنسان (ع ص 3) وخلاف هذا الإنسان الإنسان المكون في الرحم يامور احدها أن هذا الإنسان ينبئه تكون في الأجزاء بتمزج قشر البيضة وما في داخله من المادة منفصلة بل بسليحية أبيضًا وثابتًا 0

والأجزاء الشمية بامرأة الأعضاء بتمزج الأجزاء التي يتكونها 0 منها 0

الفروخ والطائرة الأخرى (الشمية) (4) في امتر趾ة بذلك الأجزاء من الأجزاء التي يغطيتها منها الفروخ مدة تكون وثابتًا أن هذا الإنسان لا يد وبأن يكون عظم الدنيا وان ذلك لأن الجزء الذي يكون منه 0

كل عضو لا بيد وأن يكون مقدار كبير بخلاف الأجزاء المنوية 0 التي يتكون منها أعضاء الجنين في الرحم وثابتًا أن هذا الإنسان بعد المادة التي يغذيها منها وهو في المغارة كثيرة متوفرة وان كل الذي يغذيها المروح كله هناك كثيرا (ع ص 27) فلذلك يمكن من الباحة في الداخل المغارة حتى يشتد عضاؤها (ع ص 4) ويقيم أداه وحركه فلذلك يكون عند عصره كالمحلي المثير في حته وفإنها ولا تكثف في الخروج من المغارة شبه خرج الفروخ من المغارة. واتفق هذا اعتباره بثيد ووجلبه عند اmere الخروج من المغارة أن كان التوأم ساد لها بما قد تقتب بعضها وانهم يبدي فلذلك خرج بجرحه هذا الإنسان بهلة وان الخراق لم يزل هذا الإنسان يشف ويدب حتى خرج 0

(1) ع : يكون (2) ع : يبنيه (5) ع : وكان (4) ع : يكون (6) ع : الآخر (7) ع : المشيمة (8) ع : تلك (8) ع :

(9) ع : زع في الماء: أي المادة من الماء (10) ع : يخرج

الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

(الفن الأول) في (1) بيان كيفية تكون هذا الإنسان المسمي بكون وبيجه وصوله إلى عرفة العلوم والذوبات (1) يشمل على ثلاثة فصول.

الفصل الأول

(1) بيان كيفية تكون الرجل المسمي بكون

قال فاضل بن نواف ان انتق الإغراء حدث سيل كبير في جريمة معتادة

إلهاء كثرة العيش والاستراحات والبيتات (3) وخلق هذا السيل تراب كثير

حتى الطائع لاجل اخلال (ع ص 2) الأنس (6) الذي مر

هذا السيل بها يتفقد شيء من هذا السيل في مغارة في ذيل جبل هناك فالأرا (ع ص 27) واجل مركبة هذا السيل تقل بمثل ذلك إلى 10 باب هذه المغارة من التراب والثائر مما يعده بأداة ثم أناط ذلك

المغارة قبله تلك المغارة للمرة ما داخل البياه ولكن ذلك الإنسان (ع ص 27) فالأرا قوية حركة هذا السيل تقل بمثل ذلك إلى 10 باب هذه المغارة من التراب والثائر مما يعده بأداة ثم أناط ذلك

ضائع الخرجة قبله تلك المغارة للمرة ما داخل البياه ولكن ذلك الإنسان (ع ص 27) فالأرا قوية حركة هذا السيل تقل بمثل ذلك إلى 10 باب هذه المغارة من التراب والثائر مما يعده بأداة ثم أناط ذلك

(1) لو قابل لابن تكمنه الأعضاء وأناطت اجتهواء لاجل اخلال.

(2) طباع التراب المحاط له فلذاك كان يعده بأداة لما تحا أن يخرج

قاب (1) الإنسان (1) وبعضها حارة ربية شبيبة تزجج في الإنسان وبعضها

بئدا وبيش ثبه شبيبة تزجج في الإنسان وبعضها بئدا وبيش ثبه تزجج

20 الأنسان وبعضها بئدا وبيش، وتزجج لح الإنسان، وبسماة (1)

كان في تلك الأجزاء ما يشوه الأمرية الامرأة جمهور جبة جبة أخرى

شبيبة في اجتهاء له تلك الأجزاء الأولى. كل جزء يشبه مزجج

مزجع عصر فان قومه يكون صالحا لتكوين ذلك العضو منه،

(1) - (2) ن م (3) ع : الآب (4) ع : التراب (5) ع : فلم يدخل (6) ع : (7) ن م (8) ع : (9) م : القلب (6) ع :
قال الفقير إلى الله تعالى على بن ابن الحرام القرشي المطbie(1)
فقال الله عنه وبعد محمد الله تعالى والصلاة على خير أتباعه ورسله محمد
وعلى آله وصحبه
قاص صديق في هذه الرسالة اقتصاص ما ذكره فاضل بن ناظم
عن الرجل المسمى بكامل فيما يتعلق بالسيرة النبوية والسنن الشريعة على
 طريق الإجابة ملتمسا ترك(2) الأصابة وعرض عن الاضاحي ووضحا
 للمطالب(3) بقدر الأمكان وعلى الوجه اللائق بحجم هذا الكتاب وورثا
 فيه كلامي (4) لخ(2 و) على ارتباط فنون:

الفن الأول في كيفية تكون هذا الإنسان المسمى بكامل وكيفية
وصوله إلى تعرف العلم والنبات

الفن الثاني في كيفية وصوله إلى تعرف السيرة النبوية

الفن الثالث في كيفية وصوله إلى تعرف السنن الشريعة

الفن الرابع بإبتكار وصوله إلى معرفة الحوادث التي تكون بعد
وفاة خامن النبيين صلى الله وسلم عليه وعليهم السلام(4).

(1) نع (2) ع : ما أطرق ; وجعل الصواب هو " ترك ما اطرق ال
(3) ع : المطالب (4) - (4) نم
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

لعلاء الدين على بن أبي الحرم القرشي

ابن النفيس
من ترجمة السلطان ببرس البندقداري
من كتاب الغليل الصاغ لابن تغرى بريئ ناقلا عن
نسخةٍ ١٩١٣ تأريخه المحفوظة في دار الكتب المصرية
(ص ٣٠، ٤٠) وكان ملكاً قريباً حاليًا شجاعاً عادلاً عفيفاً
غير شافك للدماء بخيل كثير وذين.
(ص ٤١) وابنط مظاهر كثيرة، منها أنه كان يؤخذ من
كل من عرف عنه مال زكاته ولوه ماله أو مات توخذ من
وزنه بالضرب والحبس، ومنها أنه كان يؤخذ من أهل اللغة عن كل
واحد دينار غير الجالبة برم نفقات الجند، ومنها أنه كان يؤخذ من
التجار عند سفر السكر للغزاة عن كل تاجر دينار، فابطل ذلك
جميعه.

(١) في النص: مظاماً
من تجربة علاء الدين ابن النفيس

من كتاب ممالك الإبصار لأبي سفيان الشافعي

تقرأ على نسخة 99 م تأريخها قديماً، و8 م معارف عامة.

حديثاً، الخوفة في دار الكتب المصرية.

(الجزء الثاني، ص 119 و 118) وحدثت عنه غير واحد منهم شيخنا
ابن النفيس، الفتح السامري قال كان ابن النفيس على فور علمه بالطب
وأنه عجوب واصبحه قلب البحر بالعلاج، فإذا وصاها لا يخرج
بأحد عن ماؤه ولا يصف دواء، ما ما أن يكون من صرف غداء ولا مركبا
ما إنه لا يستطيع بمائكم، ويؤم صرف القمح يتم شكا الفرحة
وانتظار من شكا هواء، والحريق والقبض من شكا السهال من هذا
وذلك ولكنه به يعاني من شأنه ويشاءلكه حتى قال له العطار الشرير
ذالذى كان عليه عند صفر هذا الدوامات، كيف ذلك كان عليه عند صفر هذا الدوامات
اقعد على وكان اللحم وما إذا فقدت عندي إلا السكر
والرطب والأدوية. وحكي لي الشيخ أبو أحمد الجزء الكتب قال
شكوى ابن النفيس عقالا في بدء فانه لي وانا والله إني عقال
قلته له فلم يأي في أداه، فقال لي والله ما أعرف بأي شيء أداه.
ثم لم يذفن علي هذا.

وأخيرى آخر قال دخل الشيخ علاء الدين مرة إلى الحمام التي في
باب الزهوة فكان في بعض تفسيره خرج إلى محل الحمام واستعدي
بدوة وركا وورق وأخذ في تصنيف مقاله في النفيس، إلى أن انها
ثم عاد دخل إلى الحمام وكلّ تفسيره.

وقيل أنه قال لما لم يصادنني لتقي بعدة عشرة آلاف
سنة ما وضعتها والمعقد في ذلك على من نقله عنه. وعلى الجملة
كان(1) أما ما عظت وكثير من الأفعال قل هو ابن سينا الثاني.

وبنفست من ترجمة في مكان لا يعرف من هو الذي وضعها.

قال شرح التفاسير في عشرين مجلدة شرا جل في低位رم الحكيمة
وتب في القواعد المظلمة ويبين فيه الإشكالات الطبية، ولم يسبق
إليه هذا الشرح لأبي سفيان كل من شرح ان يقتصر على فسر
الكلمات إلى التفسير الإبداع لا يرى فيه ذكر الطب إلا نادراً وشرح
كتب الفاسد بكره لا خيراً شرحان مطول وقصيرة، وشرح
الأعمال والكلمات، كان يحفظ كلام قراءه، ولا
يشير على مشتغل غير التفسير وهو الذي جسر الناس على هذا
الكتاب. وكان لا يجب نفسه عن الأفادة إلا ما طارا، وكان يحضر
بهبه في دار جامع من الآباء، فهذه قلبه رئيس
الأطباء، وشرف الدين، بن صغير وكبر الأطباء، وجلس الناس على
طاقمهم. ومن تلامذة الأفاعي عدد الذين حسنّ رؤية الطب، وأمين
الدولة ابن النفيس السفيان. وابو(3) الفضل بن كوشك وابو الفنح
الاسكندري. اتهي.

1. إذا في الإصل وفي مسألة الإبصار السامري إذا
2. إذا في الإصل وفي نسخة 958 الفتوwałية أيضاً
3. إذا في الإصل وفي الإبل.
الله يرزقنا من سر التنوير والتزكية وجادة والصبر والصبر ...
نشرت هذه الأخيرة، وأتمنى الأزمنة على الأتراك في هذه الأيام.}

(1) في الأصل: عنا
(2) في الأصل: عنا
(3) في الأصل: عنا
(4) في الأصل: ترميد

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الترجمة

1

ترجمة علاء الدين ابن النفيس

من كتاب الوقى بالوفيات تخليل ابن أبيك الصفذي نقلت
عن نسخة وارنتل 1758 المحفوظة في المتحف البريطاني

(ص 270 به) على يد أبي الحسن هو الإمام الفاضل الحكم
العلامة علاء الدين ابن النفيس القرشي الدمشقي . اخبار العلامه
ائي الدين أبو حيان قال نماذج المكتور بدمشق واشتكى بها في الطب
على محدث الدين الدخور وكان الدخور منجيا مخرج على جماعة منهم
الرحيق (1) وأبان قاضى ينقل وفائد الدين الكلي . وكان علاء الدين إماما
في علم الطب أوحد لا يشارك في ذلك ولا يدان استحسانا واستباطا
واستنفعل على كبير علاجه في النصابين الفائقة والعالمات الرائقة . صنع
كتاب شامل في الطب يدل فيه على أنه يكون في ثلاثة أجزاء سفر
هكذا ذكر لي بعض أصحابه وبعضا منها كتبوا منها وهم الآن قف
بالمكتور النوصوري بالقاهرة وكتب المهندس في الكحل وشرح القانون
لا يبين في عدة مقدار ونذر ذلك في الطب وهو كان غالب عليه ،
وأخيرين من زمان يصفون أنه كان يكتب من صدره من غير مراجعة
حال التجربة . وله معرفة بالطرق ووصف فيه مختصرا وشرح المشايخ
لا يبين فيها وكذالك لا يميل في هذا الفن إلا إلى طريقة المقدمين
كابث (2) نصر وإبن سينا ويكب ترجمة الاصل (3) الكذوحي والأثير

في الأصل : المرحلي

(2) - (3) هذا الكلام ناقص من الأصل ونقل من سمك الإصدار المصري
طبعا النسخة النبوانية المحفوظة في دار الكتب المصرية (18718 تاريخ ، الجزء الخامس;
(318) ومن ترجمة ابن النفيس في المجلة الصادرة لابن توري يدي (1113 تاريخ ،
ج 4 ، ص 382 ر)
الرسالة الكاملة في السيرة النبوية

تأليف
علاء الدين علي بن أبي الحرم القرشي

ابن النفيس

تحقيق
الدكتور ماكس مايهرف
(المولد 20 نيسان 1945)
والدكتور يوسف شحاتة

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