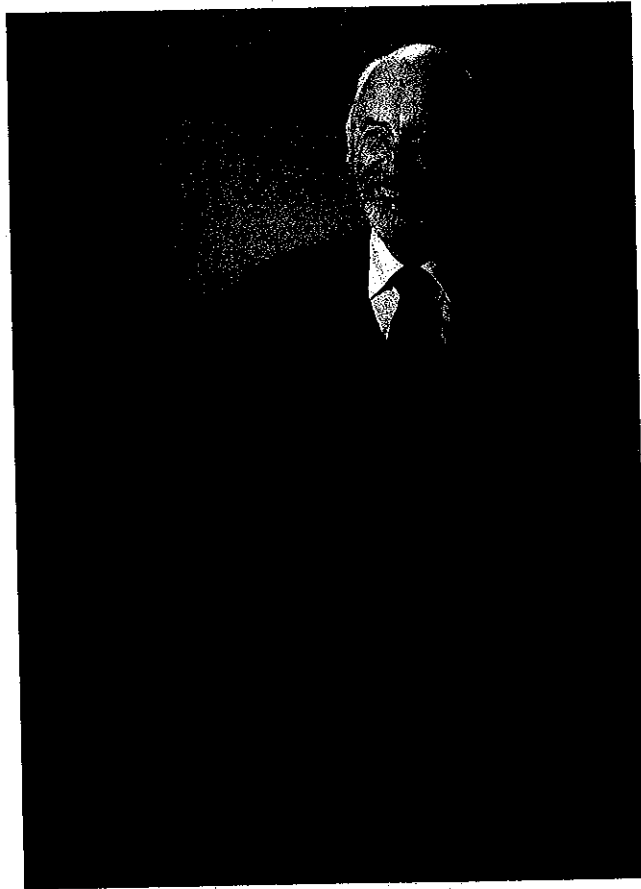


# Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages

Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation,  
in Honour of Hans Daiber

*Edited by*

Anna Akasoy and Wim Raven



Prof. Dr. Hans Daiber



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## PREFACE

An often quoted dictum of the prophet has it that one should seek knowledge even as far as China. It is often referred to as a principle which allowed medieval Islamic intellectual culture to develop its stunning intercultural traits, first and foremost in the famous translation movement under the 'Abbāsids. This spirit prevailed among medieval Muslim philosophers, starting with al-Kindī, the 'philosopher of the Arabs', who presented the first fusion of Greek philosophy and Islamic religion in ninth-century Baghdad. The giants of medieval thought, Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd, were to share the same open-minded attitude. The afterlife of their works led to equally prodigious developments in both East and West. The works of Mollā Ṣadrā, for example, in the Safawid Empire, show the impact of Avicennian metaphysics. In the extreme West of the Muslim world, the Catalan missionary Raimundus Lullus was inspired by the works of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā and fought intellectual battles with the Averroists in Paris.

Hans Daiber is one of the pioneers in the study of this field—a field which stretches from the eighth until the seventeenth century and even further, and from al-Andalus to Central Asia. What distinguishes Daiber in his approach to this massive area is his broad vision which combines the philological study of texts and their translation and transmission in different languages with a philosophical analysis and a multi-layered contextualisation involving, among others, theology, science, history and literature. Indeed, if there is a common methodological link between the classes Hans Daiber has taught at the Free University in Amsterdam and the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University in Frankfurt, it is that, even though they dealt with a great variety of subjects, there was always an attempt to trace the development of an idea as it travelled through periods and regions, fields of thought and cultures.

In his teaching as well as in his research, Hans Daiber is living up to the principle to travel as far as you can in pursuit of knowledge. He has been and still is travelling to regions not many Western scholars set foot in. His journey to India in order to explore Arabic manuscripts has opened new perspectives in the study of the Aristotelian tradition. He has shared his knowledge with students in Bosnia, Japan and

The examination of these principles belongs to one and the same science, i.e. this science which is the science of the philosopher, because

- [i] these principles are common to all genera of the entities studied by the theoretical sciences, and
- [ii] that which is common to all existing genera is one of the concomitants of being *qua* being, and
- [iii] everything which is essentially a concomitant of being is examined by him who examines being as such, and this is the philosopher.<sup>35</sup>

Hence, the examination of the first principles of demonstration is no longer exiled from the study of being *qua* being and its species and essential attributes, as outlined in the introduction of *EM*, but repatriated into this area of metaphysics ([iii]) through inclusion of the first principles under the essential concomitants of being ([i]–[ii]).

It is a matter of speculation whether that which caused the actual absence of Chapter V was in fact the unrealized plan for a revision—motivated either by this shift concerning the epistemological location of the study of the first principles or by some other consideration—or a mere omission or codicological mishap in an early stage of the transmission. We are, however, quite safe in assuming that its absence was not caused by Ibn Rushd's deliberate decision either never to compose it or to delete an early version without substitute. The version of the *Epitome of the Metaphysics* we know today is, therefore, not the one intended by Ibn Rushd for circulation, but rather either an unfinished work or a work preserved incompletely.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. Bouyges, i, p. 337, l. 18–p. 338, l. 6.

## ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ILĀHIYYĀT* OF AVICENNA'S *KITĀB AL-SHIFĀ*\*

Amos Bertolacci

In a pioneering article published in 1986, Hans Daiber has masterly shown that Indian libraries represent extremely rich, and largely unexplored, depositories of manuscripts of Arabic philosophical works.<sup>1</sup> The Arabic manuscripts discovered by Daiber in Indian libraries regard also some of Avicenna's most important works on philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

Several manuscripts of Avicenna's masterpiece on metaphysics, the *Ilāhiyyāt* ([*Science of*] *Divine Things*) of the *Kitāb al-shifā'* (*Book of the Cure*), are preserved in India: further manuscripts of the same work will predictably be discovered in other libraries worldwide by scholars that will follow the example of Daiber's ground-breaking research. In the footsteps of Daiber's aforementioned study, the present contribution tries to collect, order and update the information on the manuscript tradition of Avicenna's *Ilāhiyyāt* available in secondary literature.

The first section of the present essay will provide an inventory of the known codices of the *Ilāhiyyāt*, adding a few items to the list that can be drawn from the bibliographies of C. Brockelmann, G.C. Anawati and Y. Mahdavi,<sup>3</sup> and showing the extremely wide circulation of Avicenna's

\* I wish to thank sincerely Dr. Anna Akasoy (Oriental Institute, Oxford) for the information kindly provided on the Arabic manuscripts of the Bodleian Library of Oxford and the British Library of London, and Father René-Vincent du Grandlaunay (IDEO, Cairo) for having provided me with a digital reproduction of mss. 16–18 below. My sincere gratitude goes also to Dr. Heidrun Eichner (Universität Halle) who brought to my attention mss. 38, 41 below, and provided abundant information on the Istanbul codices of Avicenna, as well as to Dr. Hamed Naji Isfahani (Islamic Azad University, Dehagan [Iran]-Freie Universität, Berlin) who informed me of the existence, date and content of mss. 61–2, 77–8 below. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Rüdiger Arnzen (Thomas-Institut, Universität zu Köln) for his remarks on a first draft of this article.

<sup>1</sup> H. Daiber, 'New Manuscript Findings from Indian Libraries,' *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1986), pp. 26–48.

<sup>2</sup> J.L. Janssens, *An Annotated Bibliography on Ibn Sīnā (1970–1989)* (Leuven, 1991), p. 84, remarks that Daiber's article "offers a valuable complement to the bibliographies [of Avicenna's works] of Anawati, Mahdavi and Ergin".

<sup>3</sup> *GAL* i, 592 and *S* i, 815; G.C. Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicennienne* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 69–78, 430–34; Y. Mahdavi, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi musannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā* (Tehran, 1954), pp. 170–72. The data concerning the libraries of Istanbul in Anawati are mainly derived from O. Ergin, *Ibnī Sīnā Bibliografyası* (Istanbul, 1956) (see G.C. Anawati, 'La

work in the Islamic world. In the second section, the chronology of these manuscripts will be taken into account, pointing to another remarkable feature displayed by the *Ilāhiyyāt*, namely the extremely long period of time during which this work was copied. The final section will evaluate the editions of Avicenna's work presently available in light of the data discussed in the previous two sections, pointing to the necessity of a new, better grounded and more precise, critical edition.

In some cases, the manuscripts containing the *Ilāhiyyāt* preserve also all or some of the other parts of the *Shifā'*. Incidentally, thus, the information provided here will shed light also on the manuscript transmission of the sections on logic, natural philosophy and mathematics of Avicenna's philosophical *magnum opus*.

### I. INVENTORY

Excluding the manuscripts of private collections,<sup>4</sup> and without taking the fragments into account,<sup>5</sup> more than one hundred manuscripts of Avicenna's *Ilāhiyyāt* are recorded by Brockelmann, Anawati and Mahdavi; to these, some others (one manuscript preserved in Cairo—below, no. 17—and the ones in the libraries of Ankara, Damascus, Khoy and Princeton) can now be added. The available data can be provisionally arranged in the following list, with some  *caveat* . First, the indications provided by the aforementioned bibliographies are not always clear and correct: some manuscripts reported as containing the *Ilāhiyyāt*, for example, do not in fact contain it.<sup>6</sup> Second, with the progress of research new manuscripts of the *Ilāhiyyāt* from other geographical areas of the Middle East and Europe will probably be brought to light. Thus, the next step in this path of research, i.e. the systematic scrutiny of the catalogues of libraries preserving Arabic manuscripts, and of the funds

tradition manuscrite orientale de l'œuvre d'Avicenne, *Revue Thomiste* 51 [1951], pp. 407–40; also in idem, *Études de philosophie musulmane* [Paris, 1974], pp. 229–62).

<sup>4</sup> See the manuscripts of this kind mentioned below, n. 72, and the ones used by Hasanzādah al-Āmulī for his printed version of the *Ilāhiyyāt* (below, section III). Also Hans Daiber's personal library contains an Arabic manuscript of the *Ilāhiyyāt*, copied in 865/1461 (provisionally catalogued as Daiber Collection III, 131; I wish to thank Prof. Daiber for having kindly put at my disposal a copy of this codex).

<sup>5</sup> Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1604, fol. 62r, l. 11–62v, l. 6, for example, is an almost literal quotation of *Ilāhiyyāt* viii, 6, p. 357, 4–9: this fragment occurs in the *Faṣl min kalām al-shaykh*, fol. 62r–v, comprising passages from Avicenna's *Ta'liqāt*, ed. 'A. Badawī (Cairo, 1973), p. 78, 24–8 (I owe this information to D.C. Reisman).

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, below, n. 23, 56, 62.

of the libraries themselves, will probably in a way slightly reduce, and in another substantially enlarge, the proposed list.<sup>7</sup>

Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh, India) (5 mss.)

- 1) Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University 80/25–31 (+ m, t, r) (B, A)
- 2) Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University 81/41, 50–57 (+ m, t, r) (B, A)
- 3) Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University 84/26 (+ m, t, r) (B)
- 4) Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University 110/30 (+ m, t, r) (M)
- 5) Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University 110/40; 53 (M)

Ankara (1 ms.)

- 6) Milli Kütüphane (National Library) B 153 (694/1294)<sup>8</sup>

Berlin (1 ms.)

- 7) Deutsche Staatsbibliothek 5045, Minutoli 229 (İsfahān, 1083/1672) (M)<sup>9</sup>

Bihar, Patna (India) (5 mss.)<sup>10</sup>

- 8) Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Bankipur) I, 213 (+ m, t, r) (B)
- 9) Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Bankipur) I, 904/6 (+ m, t, r) (B)

<sup>7</sup> Sigla: (A) = ms. recorded in Anawati; (B) = ms. recorded in Brockelmann; (M) = ms. recorded in Mahdavi; (+ m, t, r) = ms. containing all the *Shifā'* (i.e. besides the *Ilāhiyyāt*, also *Manṭiq* [= logic], *Tabi'yyāt* [= natural philosophy] and *Riyādiyyāt* [= mathematics]); (+ m, t) = ms. containing *Ilāhiyyāt*, *Manṭiq* and *Tabi'yyāt*; (+ m) = ms. containing *Ilāhiyyāt* and *Manṭiq*; (+ t) = ms. containing *Ilāhiyyāt* and *Tabi'yyāt*.

<sup>8</sup> See *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. G. Roper, 4 vols. (London, 1992–94), iii, p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Datation in Ibn Rushd, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas enthaltend die Metaphysik, Theologie, Kosmologie und Ethik*, trans. M. Horten (Leipzig, 1907; repr. Frankfurt, 1960), p. ix and n. 1. The ms. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek 5044, reported as containing the entire *Shifā'* in GAL, 592, is reported as containing part of one section of logic (*Qiyās*) by Anawati, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Brockelmann refers to this library as both "Patna" and "Bank"; Anawati as both "Bankipur" and "Būhār".

- 10) Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Bankipur) II, 525,<sup>2822</sup> (B)  
 11) Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library VII, 284 (Bankipur) (+ m, t, r) (A)  
 12) Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library (Bankipur) XXI, 2226 (B, A, M)<sup>11</sup>

Cairo (9 mss.)<sup>12</sup>

- 13) Azhar 331 *khusūsiyya*, 2415 Bakhīt (684/1285) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>13</sup>  
 14) Dār al-Kutub 51 *falsafa* (+ m, t, r) (A)  
 15) Dār al-Kutub 144 *ḥikma* (684/1285) (A, M)<sup>14</sup>  
 16) Dār al-Kutub 262 *ḥikma wa-falsafa* (1337/1914, copy of a ms. of 992/1584) (+ m, t) (A, M)<sup>15</sup>  
 17) Dār al-Kutub, 349 *ḥikma wa-falsafa* (13th c./19th c.) [incompl.: I, 1–3 pp. 3, 4–23, 16 (fol. 68–86, 13); descendant of ms. 42].<sup>16</sup>  
 18) Dār al-Kutub, 826 *ḥikma wa-falsafa* (1084/1673) (A, M)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> According to Brockelmann, *GAL*, 815, the *Ilāhiyyāt* is contained in ms. xxi, 2226. Mahdavi, p. 170, reports mss. xxi, 2223–6 as containing the entire *Shifā'*. Anawati, p. 70, reports mss. xxi, 2223 and xxi, 2226 as containing the entire *Shifā'*.

<sup>12</sup> Photostatic reproductions of two mss. of uncertain provenance (possibly from Cairo libraries) are recorded by D.C. Reisman, 'Avicenna at the ARGE,' in R. Wisnovsky (ed.), *Aspects of Avicenna* (Princeton, 2001), pp. 131–82, ##133 and 232 (the former ms. is reported as containing mathematics and *Ilāhiyyāt*, the latter an incomplete version of the *Shifā'*).

<sup>13</sup> Description in Avicenna, *La Métaphysique du Shifā'*. Livres i à v, trans. G.C. Anawati (Paris, 1978) (henceforth: Anawati [1978]), pp. 18–19. Anawati, p. 70, reports this ms. as Azhar 331, Bakhīt 44988. Detailed table of contents in Anawati, pp. 30–66 (see Anawati, 'La tradition,' p. 418). The date of 684 A.H. is provided by F. Sayyid, *Ibn Sīnā: mu'allafātuhū* (catalogue of Avicenna's works held in Dār al-Kutub Library of Cairo; I owe this information to D.C. Reisman), whereas Anawati [1978] takes it to be written, generically, in the seventh century A.H. The *Ilāhiyyāt* covers fol. 390–427. See Ma'had lhya' al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara* (henceforth: *Fihris*), p. 226, n. 261.

<sup>14</sup> Description and datation in Anawati [1978], p. 20. Anawati, p. 72, names this ms. 144 *falsafa* and dates it to 1083 A.H. Mahdavi, p. 170, reports this ms. as containing the entire *Shifā'*.

<sup>15</sup> Description in Anawati [1978], pp. 19–20, who names this ms. 262 *ḥikma*. Anawati, p. 72, reports only the date of 1919 [sic] C.E.

<sup>16</sup> Description and datation in Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition. The Transmission, Contents, and Structure of Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥaṭāt* (The Discussions) (Leiden, 2002), p. 76, who names this ms. 349 *falsafa*. Mcrf. F 511 [399] at the Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt bi-Jāmi'a al-Duwal al-'Arabiyya (henceforth: Ma'had, see Anawati, p. 425).

<sup>17</sup> Description and datation in Anawati [1978], p. 20, who names this ms. 826 *falsafa*.

- 19) Dār al-Kutub, 894 *falsafa* (+ m, t, r) [incompl.: the first 20 folia of the *Ilāhiyyāt* are missing] (A, M)<sup>18</sup>  
 20) Dār al-Kutub, Ṭal'at 363 (1105/1693) (A, M)<sup>19</sup>  
 21) Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr 140 (535/1140) (+ t) (A, M)<sup>20</sup>

Damascus (1 ms.)

- 22) Zāhiriyya (now Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭaniyya, Asad National Library) 2905 (+ m, t, r)<sup>21</sup>

Istanbul (37 mss.)<sup>22</sup>

- 23) Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi 1596 (1098/1686) (A, M)<sup>23</sup>  
 24) Beyazıt Kütüphanesi (form.: 'Umūmī) 3966 (+ m, t, r) (A)  
 25) Beyazıt Kütüphanesi (form.: 'Umūmī) 3967 (+ m, t, r) (A)  
 26) Beyazıt Kütüphanesi (form.: 'Umūmī) 3969 (+ m, t, r) (M)  
 27) Çoban 572 (A)<sup>24</sup>  
 28) İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Üniversite 760 (1060/1650) (A, M)<sup>25</sup>  
 29) İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Üniversite 766 (1060/1650) (A)<sup>26</sup>  
 30) Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 894 (+ m, t) (A, M)<sup>27</sup>  
 31) Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1445 (1132/1719) (A, M)<sup>28</sup>  
 32) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2708 (+ m, t, a fragment of r) (A, M)<sup>29</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Description in Anawati [1978], p. 19. Mcf. F 1030 and 1031 at the Ma'had (see Anawati, p. 423); cf. *Fihris*, p. 226, n. 260.

<sup>19</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 74.

<sup>20</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71, and Mahdavi, p. 171.

<sup>21</sup> See S. al-Khīmī, 'Manuscripts of Avicennian Works in the National Library al-Zāhiriyya,' *Al-Turāth al-'arabi* 2 (1981), pp. 91–112, p. 105 (the incipit and explicit of this manuscript, reported in Al-Khīmī's catalogue under the heading '*al-Shifā'*, *al-jumla al-ūlā'*', make clear that it contains the entire *Shifā'*).

<sup>22</sup> Anawati, p. 70, maintains that he has not been able to identify a ms. Istanbul, Beşir reported by Ergin (see below, ms. 41).

<sup>23</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> I have not been able to identify the library or collection of Istanbul to which Anawati is referring.

<sup>25</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 78. The ms. Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi 1597, reported by Anawati as containing the entire *Shifā'*, does in fact contain only natural philosophy.

<sup>26</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> Anawati reports this ms. as containing also mathematics.

<sup>28</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 76; Anawati remarks that this ms. is not recorded by Ergin.

<sup>29</sup> Mcrf. F 822 [1] at the Ma'had (see Anawati p. 423); cf. *Fihris*, p. 226, n. 263.



- 33) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2709 (886/1481–897/1481) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>30</sup>
- 34) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2710 (666/1267) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>31</sup>
- 35) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2711 (+ t) (A, M)
- 36) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 4894 [incompl.: I, 1–3] (A, M)<sup>32</sup>
- 37) Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 865 (M)
- 38) Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 910 (+ m, t, r)<sup>33</sup>
- 39) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2389 (9th c./15th c.) [incompl.: I, 1–3, p. 3, 4–23, 16] (A)<sup>34</sup>
- 40) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2442 (671/1272) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>35</sup>
- 41) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Beşir Ağa (Eyüp) 102.
- 42) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1332 (882/1477) (+ t) (A, M)<sup>36</sup>
- 43) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1333 (+ t) [incompl.: it starts from III, 7] (A, M)
- 44) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1424 (693/1293) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>37</sup>
- 45) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1425 (1115/1703) (+ m) (A, M)<sup>38</sup>
- 46) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Damat Ibrahim Paşa 822 (8th c./14th c.) (+ m, t, r) (M) [incompl.: it contains X, 4, p. 447, 14–end; X, 5 (fol. 355r)] (A, M)<sup>39</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The right datation (Mahdavi, p. 170) regards logic; the second datation (Mahdavi, p. 77) mathematics. The *Ilāhiyyāt* was copied in 894/1488.

<sup>31</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 77, and Mahdavi, p. 170.

<sup>32</sup> Anawati, pp. 246–7, 452, records this ms. under Avicenna's work no. 189 (*Al-Falsafa al-ülā*). Mahdavi, p. 172, states that this ms. contains the entire *Ilāhiyyāt*. According to G.C. Anawati, 'Avicenniana. Le manuscrit Nour Osmaniyye 4894,' *MIDEO* 3 (1956), pp. 381–6, p. 383, as the part of the *Ilāhiyyāt* preserved in this ms. is i, 1, 3. On this ms. see also D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition. Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works* (Leiden, 1988), p. 87, n. 2, p. 120, n. 18, and Reisman, *The Making*, p. 44 ('Anawati produced a seriously flawed contents list').

<sup>33</sup> The ms. Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 1461 reported by Anawati as containing the entire *Shifā'*, contains in fact only a short excerpt of one section of logic (*Burhān*).

<sup>34</sup> Description and datation in Reisman, *The Making*, pp. 71–4. Anawati, p. 69, reports this ms. as complete.

<sup>35</sup> Datation in Mahdavi, p. 170.

<sup>36</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71.

<sup>37</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71, and Mahdavi, p. 170.

<sup>38</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71.

<sup>39</sup> Contrary to Mahdavi, p. 170, who contends that this ms. contains the entire *Shifā'*, Anawati, p. 72, maintains that it does not contain the *Ilāhiyyāt*. Anawati refers to the

- 47) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Damat Ibrahim Paşa 823 (697/1297) (+ m, t, r)<sup>40</sup>
- 48) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Eyüp Câmii Hz. Hâlid 883 (A)<sup>41</sup>
- 49) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hâlet Efendi 513 (A, M)
- 50) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye 795 (1066/1655) (+ m, t) (A, M)<sup>42</sup>
- 51) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 857 (1102/1690) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>43</sup>
- 52) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Kılıç Ali Paşa 673 or 689 (1185/1771) (A, M)<sup>44</sup>
- 53) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Lâleli 2546 (A, M)
- 54) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Lâleli 2550 (1023/1614) (+ m) (A)<sup>45</sup>
- 55) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa 1748 (879/1474) (+ m, t) (A, M)<sup>46</sup>
- 56) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Câmî 770 (888/1483) (+ m, t, r) (B, A, M)<sup>47</sup>
- 57) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmed III 3262 (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>48</sup>
- 58) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmed III 3263 (+ t, r) (A, M)<sup>49</sup>
- 59) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmed III 3445 (+ m, t, r) (A)

study of this ms. by H. Ritter and others, who do not take as authentic the *qirā'a* and *mubālagha* note, allegedly from Avicenna's hand, dated 3 Rajab 422, occurring at the end of the section on mathematics (music, fol. 354v), and date this ms. to the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century. Cp. Mahdavi, p. 170, bottom of page.

<sup>40</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 72, and Mahdavi, p. 170.

<sup>41</sup> The siglum *Ayub* employed by Anawati with regard to this ms. does not occur in the list of libraries at the beginning of his bibliography. It might refer also to the collection Beşir Ağa (Eyüp) of the Süleymaniye Library.

<sup>42</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71.

<sup>44</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 71. Anawati, who records it as 689, remarks that this ms. is recorded as Kılıç Ali Paşa 673 by Ergin.

<sup>45</sup> According to Anawati, this ms. does not contain logic.

<sup>46</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 74.

<sup>47</sup> Datation in Anawati, p. 77, and Mahdavi, p. 170.

<sup>48</sup> Mahdavi, p. 171, reports this ms. as containing, besides the *Ilāhiyyāt*, only logic and natural philosophy.

<sup>49</sup> Mahdavi, p. 170, reports this ms. as containing the entire *Shifā'*.

- 60) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmed III 3447 (866/1462) [incompl.: I, 1-3, p. 3, 4-23, 16 (fol. 396v-404v); descendant of ms. 42] (A, M)<sup>50</sup>

Khvoy (Khoy, Khuy) (Iran) (2 mss.)

- 61) Madrasa Nimāzī 248 (+ t) [incompl.: the end of the *Ilāhiyyāt* is missing] (7th c./13th c.)<sup>51</sup>  
 62) Madrasa Nimāzī: a further ms. of the *Ilāhiyyāt* (9th c./15th c.) is reported as preserved in this library<sup>52</sup>

Leiden (2 mss.)

- 63) Universiteitsbibliotheek 1444, Golius 4 (+ m, t, r) (B, A, M)<sup>53</sup>  
 64) Universiteitsbibliotheek 1445, Golius 84 (881-882/1476-1477) (+ m, t, r) (B, A, M)<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Description in Reisman, 'Avicenna,' pp. 136-9, and Reisman, *The Making*, pp. 74-5. Anawati, p. 247 (cf. p. 69), records this ms. under work no. 189 of Avicenna (*Al-Falsafa al-ūlā*). Mahdavi, p. 172, states that this ms. contains the entire *Ilāhiyyāt*. Mscr. F 653 [732] at the Ma'had (see Anawati p. 426); cf. *Fihris*, p. 206, n. 73; photographic reproduction at the American Research Center in Cairo.

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Hamed Naji Isfahani has kindly reported to me that, according to the catalogue of the Madrasa Nimāzī, p. 13, this manuscript (in *naskh* writing, with some folios not in order) was originally from Istanbul, and passed later into the possession of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, who stamped it with the date of 670 A.H.

<sup>52</sup> I owe this information to Dr. Hamed Naji Isfahani.

<sup>53</sup> Mahdavi, p. 171, reports this ms. as containing logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics. See C. Landberg, R.P.A. Dozy, P. de Jong, and M.J. de Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden, 1865), iii, pp. 315-19. Date uncertain. An owner's note from X c. A.H. The *Ilāhiyyāt* is contained from fol. 275 until the end. Used in Horten, *Die Metaphysik* (see p. ix and n. 1).

<sup>54</sup> Logic: 881 A.H.; other parts: 882 A.H.; the *Ilāhiyyāt* precedes the other parts (see Landberg, Dozy, de Jong, and de Goeje, *Catalogus*, iii, p. 319). Anawati, p. 76, dates the entire ms. to 881 A.H.; Mahdavi, p. 170, to 882 A.H. Anawati, p. 76, states that this ms. contains the entire *Shifā'* "except the three [first?] sections of the first part", and that "parts of this manuscript can be found in the Bodleian [Library of Oxford]"; at the end of the list of the Bodleian mss., possibly referring to the last codices mentioned (II, 281ff), he writes: "All these manuscripts are simple reproductions ([?] *mujarrad suwar*) of the manuscripts Leiden 1444-1445" (p. 71). Used by Horten, *Die Metaphysik* (see p. ix and n. 1). Brockelmann, p. 815, apparently reports mss. 63-64 as 144/5.

London (4 mss.)<sup>55</sup>

- 65) India Office (now: British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections) 477 (+ r) (M)<sup>56</sup>  
 66) British Museum (now: British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections) Suppl. 711 (+ m, t, r) (B, A)<sup>57</sup>  
 67) British Museum Or. 5592, (+ m, t, r) (B, A)<sup>58</sup>  
 68) British Museum Or. 7500 (+ m, t) [incompl.: I-IX] (B, A, M)<sup>59</sup>

Manchester (1 ms.)

- 69) John Rylands University Library 378 (B, A, M)

Mashhad (Iran) (9 mss.)

- 70) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library I,1/172 (B, A, M)<sup>60</sup>  
 71) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library I,1/182 (M)  
 72) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library I,1/183 (M)  
 73) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library I,1/184 (M)  
 74) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library IV,1/876 (M)  
 75) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library IV,1/877 (M)  
 76) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library IV,1/878 (M)  
 77) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library 5662 (1082/1671)  
 78) Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library XI, 7347 [incompl.: I-IX] (5th c./11th c.)

<sup>55</sup> A fifth ms. (India Office 114), reported by Brockelmann as containing the *Ilāhiyyāt*, is mentioned by Mahdavi, p. 171, as containing logic and mathematics.

<sup>56</sup> The *Ilāhiyyāt* is contained at fol. 179-264. Mahdavi, p. 170, mentions together with mss. 475-7 (containing, respectively, logic, natural philosophy, and mathematics plus *Ilāhiyyāt*), also ms. 474, which, however, does not contain Avicenna's *Shifā'*, but the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-safā'. Brockelmann, p. 592, reports mss. 475-6 as containing the entire *Shifā'*. Anawati, p. 76, refers exclusively to ms. 475, which he reports as identical to British Museum Or. 7500 (this latter, however, contains not only logic, but also natural philosophy and *Ilāhiyyāt*; see below, n. 59). See *Fihris*, p. 226, n. 262.

<sup>57</sup> Anawati, p. 76, apparently reports this ms. as British Museum Suppl. 7.

<sup>58</sup> Brockelmann, p. 815, reports this ms. as containing only the *Ilāhiyyāt*.

<sup>59</sup> Brockelmann, p. 815, reports this manuscript as containing only the *Ilāhiyyāt*. Anawati, p. 76, reports it as containing only logic and as identical to ms. London, India Office 475 (see above, n. 56). Description in Anawati [1978], pp. 20-21; see *Fihris*, p. 226, n. 264.

<sup>60</sup> Brockelmann, p. 815, and Anawati, p. 76, report this manuscript as I, 52,172.

Mosul (Iraq) (2 mss.)

79) University Library 43.226 (M)

80) University Library 189.16 (+ m, t, r) (B, A)<sup>61</sup>

Oxford (3 mss.)<sup>62</sup>

81) Bodleian, Pococke 125 (Uri's catalogue I, 435) (561/1166 or 571/1175) (+ t) (B, A, M)<sup>63</sup>

82) Bodleian, Pococke 110 (Uri's catalogue I, 477) (601/1204 or 604/1207) [incompl.: V-VIII, 6] (B, A, M)<sup>64</sup>

83) Bodleian, Pococke 117 (Uri's catalogue I, 482) (601/1204 or 604/1207) [incompl.: I-IV] (B, A, M)<sup>65</sup>

Paris (1 ms.)

84) Bibliothèque Nationale 6829 (+ m) (A, M)<sup>66</sup>

Peshawar (1 ms.)

85) Dār al-'Ulūm al-Islāmiyya 1672 (+ m, t, r) (B, A)

Princeton (2 mss.)

86) Princeton University Library 2(769) (1082/1671)<sup>67</sup>

87) Princeton University Library 5(2092) (12th c./18th c.)<sup>68</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The precise content of this ms. is uncertain: at p. 592, Brockelmann reports it as containing all the *Shifā'*, whereas at p. 815 as containing only the *Ilāhiyyāt*.

<sup>62</sup> The other Bodleian mss. reported by Brockelmann, p. 592, and Anawati, p. 71 (Uri's catalogue i, 452; i, 467/8; i, 471/3; i, 485/7; i, 490; i, 493; i, 495; i, 893; ii, 581ff in Brockelmann, ii, 281ff in Anawati) do not contain the *Ilāhiyyāt*, but other parts of the *Shifā'*; ms. i, 483 in Uri's catalogue, reported by Brockelmann, *ibid.*, does not contain any part of the *Shifā'*.

<sup>63</sup> The date of 571 A.H. is provided by Mahdavi, p. 171. The card catalogue of the Bodleian Library reports the dates of 1166 or 1175 C.E. (corrected from 1369).

<sup>64</sup> The date 601 A.H. of mss. i, 109-24 is reported by Mahdavi, p. 170. The card catalogue of the Bodleian Library reports the date of 1207 C.E. for mss. i, 477, 482.

<sup>65</sup> Mahdavi, p. 170, reports mss. i, 477 and i, 482 as containing, together, the entire *Ilāhiyyāt*.

<sup>66</sup> This is possibly the Paris ms. reported by Anawati, p. 70—with no indication of library and number, and the notation *nushka fā'idan* (possibly meaning "manuscript with marginal annotations", see A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition. A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* [Leiden, 2001], p. 111)—as containing only the *Ilāhiyyāt*.

<sup>67</sup> See R. Mach and J. Ormsby, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1987), p. 307, n. 1363. This ms. has 205 folios. No manuscript of the *Shifā'* is reported in R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Jahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1977).

<sup>68</sup> See Mach and Ormsby, *Handlist*, p. 307, n. 1363. This ms. has 168 folios; the date of the copy (12th c. A.H.) is estimated.

Rampur (India) (1 ms.)

88) Raza Library 397/1 (+ m, t, r) (A)

Tehran (20 mss.)

89) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī (now: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī Library) 135 (871/1466) (+ m, t) (M)<sup>69</sup>

90) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 136 (M)

91) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 144/6 (+ m, t, r) (B)

92) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī, Tabāṭābā'ī 862 (M)

93) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī, Tabāṭābā'ī 865 (+ t) (M)

94) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī, Tabāṭābā'ī 929 (M)

95) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī, Tabāṭābā'ī 1300 (M)

96) Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī, Tabāṭābā'ī 1344 (M)

97) Millī Malik Library 714 (M)

98) Millī Malik Library 715 (M)

99) Millī Malik Library 745 (M)

100) Millī Malik Library 1085 (509/1115) (M)<sup>70</sup>

101) Kitābkhānah-i Markazī va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihān (Central Library of Tehran University), Mishkāt 242 (949/1542) (A, M)<sup>71</sup>

102) Kitābkhānah-i Markazī va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihān (Central Library of Tehran University), Mishkāt 243 (1075/1664) (+ m, t, r) (A, M)<sup>72</sup>

103) Millī Library 580 (+ m, t, r) (M)

<sup>69</sup> Datation in Mahdavi, p. 171. Microfilms of several Majlis manuscripts (among others, Majlis 593 and Majlis 4547) are preserved in the Central Library of Tehran University (I take this information from Samaw'al al-Maghribī [d. 570/1175], *Iḥām al-yahūd. The Early Recension*, ed. I. Marazka, R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke [Wiesbaden, 2006], pp. 9-10).

<sup>70</sup> Datation in Mahdavi, p. 172.

<sup>71</sup> Anawati, p. 432, Mahdavi, p. 172, n. ††, and Y. al-Khachab, 'Avicenne et les manuscrits d'Iran', *Revue du Caire* 27 (1951), pp. 172-83, p. 182, report that the "Third Master" Mīr Muḥammad Baqir Dāmād Astarabādī (Mīr Dāmād, d. 1041/1631), teacher of Ṣadrā al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā), corrected and annotated this manuscript. Al-Khachab and Anawati provide the date and place (Isfahān) where the copy was accomplished.

<sup>72</sup> According to Anawati, p. 432, and Al-Khachab, 'Avicenne', p. 182, this ms. comprehends logic, natural philosophy and *Ilāhiyyāt*. Al-Khachab and Anawati report that this manuscript was written in 1075/1664 in Shīrāz by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Urdīstānī (al-Ardīstānī [?]), and corrected and annotated by Mīrzā Abū 'l-Ḥasan Jilwa (1238/1823-1314/1897) and his disciple Mīrzā Ṭāhir Tankabnī [?]. The fate of a further complete ms. of the *Shifā'* owned by Prof. Muḥammad Mishkāt of Tehran University (see Anawati, p. 432, and Al-Khachab, 'Avicenne', p. 182) is uncertain.

- 104) Kitābkhānah-i Madrasah-i 'Ālī-i Sipahsālār (now: Madrasah-i 'Ālī-i Shahīd Muṭahharī Library) 1435 (M)  
 105) Kitābkhānah-i Madrasah-i 'Ālī-i Sipahsālār 1437 (M)  
 106) Kitābkhānah-i Madrasah-i 'Ālī-i Sipahsālār 1438 (+ m, t, r) (M)  
 107) Kitābkhānah-i Madrasah-i 'Ālī-i Sipahsālār 1439 (+ m, t, r) (M)  
 108) Kitābkhānah-i Madrasah-i 'Ālī-i Sipahsālār 8331 (+ m, t, r) (M)

Tunis (2 mss.)

- 109) Ahmadiyya 5217 (+ m, t, r) (A)  
 110) Ahmadiyya 5218 (+ m, t, r) (A)

Uppsala (1 ms.)

- 111) Universitetsbibliotek 344 (+ m, t, r) (B, A)

Only a small part (15) of the entire set of manuscripts is preserved in Europe (Berlin, 1 ms.; Leiden, 2 mss.; London, 4 mss.; Manchester, 1 ms.; Oxford, 3 mss.; Paris, 1 ms.; Uppsala, 1 ms.) and U.S.A. (Princeton, 2 mss.). Surprising—and, if confirmed, instructive—is the absence of manuscripts from Spain, where the Latin medieval translation of the *Ilāhiyyāt* was accomplished, but where Avicenna's metaphysics was also fiercely opposed by Averroes. The majority of manuscripts is spread in libraries of the Near East and Central Asia. They come from all the main areas of the Islamic world: Tunisia (Tunis), Egypt (Cairo), Turkey (Istanbul; Ankara), Syria (Damascus), Iraq (Mosul), Iran (Tehran; Mashhad; Khoy), Pakistan (Peshawar) and India (Aligarh; Bihar, Patna; Rampur). The highest concentration of manuscripts is in Istanbul (37 mss.), followed by Tehran (20 mss.), Cairo and Mashhad (9 mss. each), Aligarh and Patnā (5 mss. each), Mosul and Tunis (2 mss. each), Ankara, Damascus, Khoy, Peshawar and Rampur (1 ms. each).

The high number of manuscripts, and their wide spread in Islamic countries (the place of origin of the manuscripts preserved nowadays in Europe and U.S.A.), attest the immense impact of the *Ilāhiyyāt* on subsequent Arabic philosophy.

## II. DATATION

Some of the above manuscripts are dated. In chronological order, they are:

- Ms. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library XI, 7347 (5th c./11th c.)  
 Ms. Tehran, Millī Malik Library 1085 (509/1115)  
 Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr 140 (535/1140)  
 Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 125 (561/1166 or 571/1175)  
 Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 110 (601/1204 or 604/1207)  
 Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 117 (601/1204 or 604/1207)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2710 (666/1267)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2442 (671/1272)  
 Ms. Cairo, Azhar 331 *khusūsiyya*, 2415 Bakhīt (684/1285)  
 Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 144 *hikma* (684/1285)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1424 (693/1293)  
 Ms. Ankara, Millī Kütüphane B 153 (694/1294)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Damat Ibrahim Paşa 823 (697/1297)  
 Ms. Khvoy Madrasa Nimāzī 248 (7th c./13th c.)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Damat Ibrahim Paşa 822 (8th c./14th c.)  
 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 135 (871/1466)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa 1748 (879/1474)  
 Ms. Leiden, Golius 84 (881–882/1476–1477)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1332 (882/1477)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2709 (886/1481 or 894/1488)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 770 (888/1483)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2389 (9th c./15th c.)  
 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhānah-i Markazī va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, Mishkāt 242 (949/1542)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Lāleli 2550 (1023/1614)  
 Ms. Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Üniversite 760 (1060/1650)  
 Ms. Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Üniversite 766 (1060/1650)  
 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhānah-i Markazī va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, Mishkāt 243 (1075/1664)  
 Ms. Princeton University Library 2(769) (1082/1671)

- Ms. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī Library 5662 (1082/1671)  
 Ms. Berlin 5045 (1083/1672)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi 1596 (1098/1686)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 857 (1102/1690)  
 Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Tal'at 363 (1105/1693)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1425 (1115/1703)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1445 (1132/1719)  
 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Kılıç Ali Paşa 689 (1185/1771)  
 Ms. Princeton University Library 5(2092) (12th c./18th c.)  
 Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 349 *falsafa* (13th c./19th c.)  
 Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 262 *hikma* (1337/1914, copy of a ms. of 992/1584)

The temporal distance separating the first from the last of the manuscripts in the above list is impressive: the *Ilāhiyyāt* has kept being copied for nine centuries, from the fifth until the fourteenth century of the Islamic era, that is to say: from a few decades after Avicenna's death until a few decades ago. This aspect, which mirrors an equally prolonged exegetical activity regarding this work,<sup>73</sup> shows clearly that the subsequent impact of the *Ilāhiyyāt* was not only wide (as the previous section has documented), but also lasting.

### III. TOWARDS A CRITICAL EDITION

When compared with the manuscript tradition described in the previous two sections, the available printed editions of the *Ilāhiyyāt* appear

<sup>73</sup> See G. Endress, 'Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Isfahan,' *Oriens* 36 (2001), pp. 10–58; D. Gutas, 'The Heritage of Avicenna: the Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000–ca. 1350,' in J. Janssens and D. De Smet (eds.), *Avicenna and his Heritage* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 81–97; R. Arnzen, 'Mapping Philosophy and Science in Safawid Iran and Mughal India: the Case of Nizāmaddīn Ahmad Gilānī and ms. Khudā Bakhsh 2641,' *MUSJ* 56 (1999–2003), pp. 107–60; R. Wisnovsky, 'The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post Classical (ca. 1100–1900 A.D.) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations,' in P. Adamson, H. Baltussen and M.W.F. Stone (eds.), *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries* (London, 2004), ii, pp. 149–91; H. Ziai, 'Recent Trends in Arabic and Persian Philosophy,' in P. Adamson and R. Taylor (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 405–25.

unreliable.<sup>74</sup> The first of them (the lithograph published in Tehran in 1885, encompassing, besides the *Ilāhiyyāt*, also the second part of the *Shifā'* on natural philosophy) is very likely the reproduction of one manuscript, whose identity is still to be ascertained.<sup>75</sup> The still standard "edition" of the *Ilāhiyyāt*, published in Cairo in 1960, is based on five manuscripts (13, 15, 18–19, 68 in the above list), whose selection is limited not only numerically, but also geographically, since four of them are preserved in Cairo libraries.<sup>76</sup> The most ancient dated manuscripts of this selection go back to the seventh/thirteenth century. Finally, the printed version of the *Ilāhiyyāt* published in Qum in 1997/8 by Ḥasanẓādah al-Āmulī is based on an unspecified number of manuscripts belonging to the private collection of the curator (in all likelihood, five codices, as it results from some annotations and the photographic reproductions at the end of the book), one of which appears to have been chosen as the basis of the edition.<sup>77</sup>

The collation of the Cairo edition of the *Ilāhiyyāt* with manuscripts 62, 81 (571/1175), and 82–3 (601/1204) of the above list, the Tehran lithograph (carefully inspected),<sup>78</sup> the printed version by al-Āmulī, the Latin Medieval translation (accomplished in the third quarter of the twelfth century, thus one of most ancient witnesses of the text), and the parallel passages in the metaphysics of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-naġāt* (*Book of the Salvation*), has allowed more than 750 (!) emendations of the edited text, as I have documented elsewhere.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> See the detailed account in A. Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's Metaphysics in Avicenna's Kitāb al-Shifā': A Milestone of Western Metaphysical Thought* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 483–5 ('Appendix A: Towards a Critical Edition of the *Ilāhiyyāt*: List of Corrections of the Cairo Printed Text').

<sup>75</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ilāhiyyāt min al-Shifā' li-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sīnā ma'a ta'lqāt* (Tehran, 1885), i, pp. 266–567. Like a manuscript, the Tehran lithograph contains interlinear and marginal corrections and explanatory glosses.

<sup>76</sup> A sixth manuscript (16 of the list) is mentioned in the introduction of Anawati's French translation of the *Ilāhiyyāt* (Anawati [1978], pp. 17, 19–21); it might correspond to the siglum H that appears occasionally in the critical apparatus, but is not included in the list of manuscripts of the edition.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ilāhiyyāt min Kitāb al-Shifā'*, ed. Ḥasanẓādah al-Āmulī (Qum, 1418 A.H. q., 1376 A.H.sh. [= 1997–98]). In lack of a critical apparatus, variants are recorded by al-Āmulī occasionally in the footnotes.

<sup>78</sup> Some readings of the Tehran lithograph are omitted, others are wrongly recorded in the critical apparatus of the Cairo edition.

<sup>79</sup> See Bertolacci, *The Reception*, pp. 483–558.

Besides showing the need of a new critical edition,<sup>80</sup> the scrutiny of the manuscript tradition of the *Ilāhiyyāt* is useful in three further respects. First, it allows some emendations of the critical text of the *Najāt* established by M.T. Dānishpazūh in 1985.<sup>81</sup> In *Ilāhiyyāt* IX, 4, p. 407, 1, for instance, the reading *al-kathratu* ("the multiplicity")—reported in the Cairo edition with no variants, and transmitted by an interlinear correction of the Tehran lithograph and by the printed version of al-Āmulī—has to be corrected in *al-kuratu* ("the sphere"), on account of mss. 81 and 62, the original reading of the Tehran lithograph,<sup>82</sup> and the Latin translation (*sphaera*). The same correction has to be made also in the critical edition of the *Najāt*, which reports the reading *al-kathratu* (p. 606, 14), with no variants, in the parallel passage.<sup>83</sup>

Second, on account of the manuscript tradition of the *Ilāhiyyāt* some further emendations of the Latin Medieval translation can be added to the ones listed by the editor herself (S. van Riet) in the *corrigenda et addenda*.<sup>84</sup> In VII, 3, p. 317, 7, for example, the second occurrence of *takhayyulihā* ("their imagination") in the edited text—a repetition of the term occurring shortly before in the same line, transmitted by mss. 13 (B in the edition), 15 (J), 18 (S) and 68 (M)—has to be emended in *takhayyulinā* ("our imagination"), on the basis of mss. 81, 82, 62, 19 (D in the edition) and the Tehran lithograph<sup>85</sup> (see also the printed version of al-Āmulī). Thus, the reading of the Latin translation (*naturae*

<sup>80</sup> Hamed Naji Isfahani's in progress edition of some of the most significant commentaries on the *Ilāhiyyāt* contains a new version of Avicenna's text, established on the basis of mss. 61, 77–8, 82–3, 100–101, of the above list. See Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifā' (al-Ilāhiyyāt)*, with Marginal Glosses by Mullā Ṣadrā and Others, ed. H. Naji Isfahani (Tehran, 1383 A.H.sh/2004). Dr. Naji Isfahani is planning to publish this version of the *Ilāhiyyāt* also as an independent book.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Najāt min al-gharq fī baḥr al-dalālāt*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazūh (Tehran, 1985).

<sup>82</sup> This reading is not reported in the Cairo edition.

<sup>83</sup> Other emendations of the *Najāt* (i.e. other cases in which the edited text of this work agrees with a reading of the Cairo edition of the *Ilāhiyyāt* that the collation shows to be wrong) in Bertolacci, *The Reception*, pp. 537–56 *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> Avicenna, *Liber de Philosophia prima sive Scientia divina, i–iv*, ed. S. Van Riet (Louvain, 1977); Avicenna, *Liber de Philosophia prima sive Scientia divina, v–x*, ed. S. Van Riet (Louvain, 1980); Avicenna, *Liber de Philosophia prima sive Scientia divina, i–x*, Lexiques par S. Van Riet (Louvain, 1983) (the *corrigenda et addenda* are at pp. 6\*–13\* of the third volume).

<sup>85</sup> In the apparatus of the Cairo edition, the Tehran lithograph is mistakenly reported as having the edited reading.

*imaginationis*, p. 367, 74–75), which presents no variants in the Latin apparatus, has probably to be emended in *nostrae imaginationis*.<sup>86</sup>

Third, some readings of the Cairo edition that the collation has shown to be questionable present signs of "Ghazalian" influence. In *Ilāhiyyāt* I, 1, pp. 4, 16, for example, the edited expression *musabbib al-asbāb* ("Causer of causes", i.e. God)—transmitted by mss. 13, 18, 19, 68, and the Tehran lithograph (see also the printed version of al-Āmulī)<sup>87</sup>—is replaced by *sabab al-asbāb* ("Cause of causes") in mss. 15, 16, 62, 81, 82,<sup>88</sup> and is possibly witnessed also by the Latin translation (*causa causarum*).<sup>89</sup> The expression *musabbib al-asbāb* designates frequently God in al-Ghazālī's works.<sup>90</sup> Thus, if the reading *musabbib* has to be retained, this passage of the *Ilāhiyyāt* deserves to be included among the Avicennian sources of al-Ghazālī's thought; if, on the other hand, it has to be rejected and replaced by *sabab* (as I am inclined to think, on the basis of the principle of the *lectio brevior*), it can be regarded as a reading inserted in Avicenna's original text by a scribe familiar with al-Ghazālī's writings.

Thus, a new critical edition of the *Ilāhiyyāt*, besides finally providing a reliable Arabic text of this fundamental work of Avicenna, will also shed new light on Avicenna's philosophical works related to the *Ilāhiyyāt* (like the *Najāt*), the Latin transmission of the *Ilāhiyyāt* itself, and the doctrinal tendencies of the reception of Avicenna's thought in subsequent Arabic philosophy.

<sup>86</sup> See also the proposed emendation of the punctuation of iii, 10, p. 152, 7–8, in Bertolacci, *The Reception*, p. 506.

<sup>87</sup> This reading is present in ms. Daiber Collection iii, 131, fol. 1v15 (see above, n. 4). It is retained by Naji Isfahani in the work mentioned above, n. 80. The presence of the expression *musabbib al-asbāb* in Avicenna's *Risāla 'arshīyya* (ed. Hilāl, p. 26, 8–9) and *Tā'iqāt* (ed. Badawī, p. 152, 9) deserves a more thorough codicological investigation (see J. Janssens, 'Ibn Sīnā's Ideas of Ultimate Realities. Neoplatonism and the Qur'an as Problem-Solving Paradigms in the Avicennian System,' *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* 9 [1986], pp. 252–71, especially pp. 265–6).

<sup>88</sup> Ms. 17 has *sabab musabbib al-asbāb*.

<sup>89</sup> The expression *causa causarum* renders *musabbib al-asbāb*, rather than *sabab al-asbāb*, in the Latin translation of al-Ghazālī's *Maqāsid al-falāsifa* (Algazel's *Metaphysics. A Medieval Translation*, ed. J.T. Muckle [Toronto, 1933], p. 119, 5, corresponding to *Maqāsid al-falāsifa*, ed. S. Dunyā [Cairo, 1961], p. 288, 5).

<sup>90</sup> To the list of occurrences in R.M. Frank, *Creation and the Cosmic System: Al-Ghazālī and Avicenna* (Heidelberg, 1992), p. 18 and n. 18, also the place of the *Maqāsid al-falāsifa* mentioned in the previous footnote can be added.