

ARTÍCULOS | ARTICLES

THE COMPLEX MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE AVICENNIAN WRITINGS ON MA 'ĀD

LA COMPLEJA TRADICIÓN MANUSCRITA DE LOS ESCRITOS AVICENIANOS RELATIVOS AL MA 'ĀD

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Abstract

Avicenna's *œuvre* manifested its influence and strength through the activity of exegesis and translation of his texts, as well as through their wide dissemination in terms of copying, transmission, and circulation over the centuries. His 'minor works' concerning the origin (*mabda'*), or the principle of the rational soul, and on its destination (*ma'ād*), the place where it will return after death, are an example of this sophisticated process. This article will focus mainly on the substantial manuscript tradition of these authentic or spurious treatises, both in Arabic and Persian.

Keywords

Avicenna; Arabic; Persian; Manuscripts; Origin; Destination

Resumen

La obra de Avicena manifestó su influencia y fuerza mediante la exégesis y la traducción de sus textos, así como a través de su amplia difusión en términos de copia, transmisión y circulación a lo largo de los siglos. Sus 'obras menores' sobre el origen (*mabda'*), o el principio del alma racional, y sobre su destino (*ma'ād*), el lugar al que retornará tras la muerte, son un ejemplo de este sofisticado proceso. Este artículo se centrará principalmente en la importante tradición manuscrita de estos tratados, auténticos o espurios, tanto en árabe como en persa.

Palabras clave

Avicena; árabe; persa; manuscritos; origen; destino

Introduction

The Avicennian (pseudo)-corpus includes a conspicuous number of ‘minor’ treatises, both authentic and pseudepigraphic, and the manuscript tradition testifies to the presence of several texts which have often created difficulty regarding their identification. Different works have been mistakenly assimilated because of identical titles; in some cases, they have been mistaken for other works by the author due to the similar themes they deal with; and in still others they have borne Avicenna’s name for centuries, even though they were written after his death. To the writings in Arabic there were added the Persian language versions, which have played a significant role in the transmission and reception of his texts: some were translated from the original Arabic by well-known or less known authors and sometimes attributed directly to the master; others were written directly in Persian and transmitted either anonymously or with false Avicennian authorship.¹

Among these works are those dedicated to the theme of the origin of the soul and its final destination (*al-mabda’ wa-l-ma’ād*),² a genre inaugurated by Avicenna himself.³

¹ Cf. Gotthard Strohmaier, “Avicenne et le phénomène des écrits pseudépigraphiques”, in *Avicenna and His Heritage. Acts of the International Colloquium*, edited by J. Janssens and D. De Smet (Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve: Leuven University Press, 2002), 37-46; David C. Reisman, “The Pseudo-Avicennan Corpus, I”, I: Methodological Considerations’, in *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, edited by J. McGinnis, with the assistance of D. C. Reisman (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 3-21; David C. Reisman, “The Ps.-Avicenna Corpus II: The Šūfistic Turn”, *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 21 (2010): 243-258; Ivana Panzeca, “A Polyphony of Texts: Manuscript Evidence on Avicenna’s Minor Works in Persian Translation”, in *Scienze, Filosofia e Letteratura nel Mondo Iranico. Da Gundishapur ai nostri giorni*, edited by N. Norozi and P. Ognibene (Milano-Udine: Mimesis 2024), 285-304.

² The topic of *ma’ād* was widely covered by Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, *La destinée de l’homme selon Avicenne. Le retour à Dieu (ma’ād) et l’imagination* (Leuven: Peeters, 1986). See Roger Arnaldez, “*Ma’ād*”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online* (Brill, 2012). https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/EIEG/SIM_gi_02688.xml?rskey=2IYcrE&result=1.

³ Cf. the Neoplatonic background in Cristina D’Ancona, “The *Theology* Attributed to Aristotle. Sources, Structure, Influence”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, edited by K. El-Rouayheb and S. Schmidtke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1-29, esp. the paragraph 1.2. “A Neoplatonic Model for God’s Causality and the Soul’s *Provenance and Destination*: The Main Topics of the *Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle* and Their Impact on Arabic-Islamic Philosophy”, 15-25; George Vajda, “Les Notes d’Avicenne sur la ‘Théologie d’Aristote’”, *Revue Thomiste* 51 (1951): 346-406; Dimitri Gutas, “Avicenna’s Marginal Glosses on *De Anima* and the Greek Commentatorial Tradition”, in *Philosophy, Science & Exegesis in Greek, Arabic & Latin Commentaries* (Essays in Honour of Richard Sorabji), edited by P. Adamson, H. Baltussen, M. W. F. Stone, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement* 83.2 (2004): 77-88; Peter Adamson, “Correcting Plotinus: Soul’s Relationship to Body in Avicenna’s Commentary on the *Theology of Aristotle*”, in *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, edited by P. Adamson, H. Baltussen, M. W. F. Stone (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2004), vol. 2, 59-75; Dimitri Gutas, “Avicenna: The Metaphysics of the Rational Soul”, in *The Ontology of the Soul in Medieval Arabic Thought*, edited by

During the two-year period 403H/1013-404H/1014, he wrote two treatises on the subject: *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* (Origin and destination) and *al-Ma'ād [al-aṣḡar]* (The [Lesser] Destination). These were followed, during the middle period of his production (between 1012 and 1024), by *al-Aḍḥawiyya fī l-ma'ād* (Sacrifice Destination). The three works are part of the section that Gutas called 'Metaphysics of the Rational Soul', a section that, in his most mature phase, Avicenna considered the domain of Natural Theology:

The subject of the Destination (*ma'ād*) of the soul ought not to be discussed in the context of Physics but only in the context of the philosophical discipline (*aṣ-ṣinā'a al-ḥikmiyya*) where the things that are separable [from matter] are investigated.⁴

The period in which he wrote the first two works mentioned represented a transition in the philosopher's path, not only physical and geographical, given the move from Buḥārā to Gurgānġ and then to Ġurġān, but also an evolution towards a metaphysical theory more independent of the Aristotelian model.⁵ Several sections of the first two treatises mentioned were then copied *verbatim* in his *summae*, *al-Šifā'* (The Cure) and *al-Naġāt* (The Salvation), with the exception of a few parts.

In the *Biography*, written around 1050, his faithful disciple Ġūzġānī inserts the *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*, compiled in Ġurġān, and *al-Ma'ād*, completed in Rayy.⁶

The *Shorter Bibliography* of Avicenna, present in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* (before 553H/1159),⁷ and later in al-Qiṭṭī (d. 646H/1248)⁸ and in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668H/1270),⁹

A. Shihadeh (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 417-425; Cf. Amos Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's Metaphysics in Avicenna's Kitāb al-Šifā'* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), part. 441-460.

⁴ Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition. Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*, Second, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Including and Inventory of Avicenna's Authentic Works, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 293; Ibn Sīnā, *Avicenna's De anima. Being the Psychological Part of Kitāb al-Šifā'*, edited by F. Rahman (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 238.5-7.

⁵ See the translation by Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 21-22, based on the Istanbul MS Ahmet III 3268, f. 61r, as copied by Maḥdāvī and Nūrānī, and the Milan MS Ambrosiana 320, ff. 118v-119r: "In these parts I strive to clarify what they [the Peripatetic philosophers] obscured, proclaim what they concealed and suppressed, collect what they dispersed, and expand what they summarized, to the best of the inadequate abilities of a person like me beset with these afflictions: the age of scholarship is becoming extinct, interests are turning away from the philosophical sciences toward various pursuits, and hatred is heaped upon those who concern themselves with some part of truth; furthermore, earnestness is exhausted and energy dissipates from the minds of those who have been tried as sorely, and subjected to as many vicissitudes of time, as I have been. But God is our resort, with Him is the Power and the Might!"

⁶ William E. Gohlman (ed.), *The Life of Ibn Sina. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1974), 46-47.

⁷ al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Šiwān al-ḥikma*, edited by M. Šafi' (Lahore: Punjab University, 1935).

⁸ Ibn al-Qiṭṭī, *Ibn al-Qiṭṭī's Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*, edited by J. Lippert (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903).

⁹ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, edited by A. Müller (Königsberg/Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-wahbiyya, 1882-1884).

gives the same titles (*Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* and *al-Ma'ād*), while the *Longer Bibliography*, whose oldest attested manuscript dates back to before 588H/1192 (MS Istanbul, Üniversitesi 4755), adds specifications to both: *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād fī l-naḥs* and *Kitāb al-Ma'ād al-aṣḡar*. Finally, the Extended Bibliography in *Tatimma* (before 639H/1242), in addition to the first two titles, adds a third, *Kitāb al-Ma'ād bi-l-fārisiyya*.¹⁰

Over the centuries, many works have appeared with the title *Risāla al-ma'ād* or *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* or *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* or simply with a generic *Ma'ād*, some authentically Avicennian, others falsely attributed to the *ṣayḥ al-ra'īs* by bibliographers or scribes or other authors.

Ergin, Anawati and Mahdavi, Avicennian orientalists and bibliographers, list a series of works that bear these titles.¹¹ The manuscript transmission of these treatises has been considerable and their copies have intersected to the point of inverting works written by Avicenna himself or identifying them with those of other authors who dealt with connected themes or who used similar or even identical titles.¹²

I. The Ramified Manuscript Tradition of *Ma'ād*

The analysis of the complex manuscript tradition starts from four miscellaneous codices dating back to the 17th/18th century and today preserved in Iran, Turkey, and

¹⁰ See synopsis in Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 402. Regarding the Persian translations on the soul, see Rüdiger Arnzen, *Aristoteles' De Anima. Eine verlorene spätantike Paraphrase in arabischer und persischer Überlieferung. Arabischer Text nebst Kommentar, quellen- und geschichtlichen Studien und Glossaren* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1998).

¹¹ Osman Ergin, "İbni Sina bibliografyası", in *Büyük Türk Filozof ve Tıp Ustadı İbn Sina Şahsiyeti ve Eserleri Hakkında Tetkikler* (Istanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitap Evi, 1937), 35-36, 39-40; George C. Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā. Essai de bibliographie avicennienne* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1950), 142-144, 252-260; Yahyā Mahdavi, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣah-hā-yi muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā. Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina* (Tehran: Intiṣārāt-i Dāniṣṡāh-i Tihriān, 1333Š/1954), 39-41, 212-216, 244-247, 294 [henceforth: *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*].

¹² *Al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* and *Āğāz va anğām* are the titles of numerous treatises, in Arabic and Persian, by influential exponents of Islamic thought and Avicennian tradition. *Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: Ḥāmid al-Ğazālī (d. 1111), Aṭīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. c. 1265), 'Azīz al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Nasafī (13th c.), Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Niṣābūrī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Turki-yi Iṣfahānī (d. 1433), Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan Kamāl Ḥwārazmī (d. 1436), Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān ibn Kamāl Pāšā (d. 1534), Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Šaraf al-Dīn (16th c.), Vağīh al-Dīn Šānī Takallū (d. 1614), Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Aḥad Fārūqī (d. 1625), Muḥammad Amīn ibn Šadr al-Dīn Širwānī (d. 1627), Mullā Šadrā (d. 1641), Muḥammad Taqī ibn 'Abd Ḥusayn Našīrī Tūsī (17th c.), Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1641), Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhiğī (d. 1710), Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Amīn Šakīb Sirāzi (d. 1723), Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Aṣḡar Nūrī (19th c.), 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd Kurdi (d. 1887), Sayyid Āqā Afšār, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Bihbahānī (d. 1907). *Āğāz va anğām*: Aṭīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. c. 1265), Našīr al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 1274), 'Azīz al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Nasafī (13th c.), 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāšī (d. c. 1329), Muḥammad Aḥmadī, Fayyāḍ (15th c.), Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Rafī' Bidābādī (d. 1782).

the UK. These are valuable *mağmū'at* or one-volume libraries that contain, among other works, authentic or pseudepigraphic treatises by Avicenna on the theme of the origin and return of the soul.¹³ These texts represent a mirror of the transmission of the master's *œuvre*, as well as a manifestation of its circulation and the places where it was received and studied.

1. MS İstanbul, Süleymaniye, *Nuruosmaniye* 4894 (XI/XVII): This *codex compositus* is considered by Anawati to be incontestably the most important among the existing collections. The orientalist had the opportunity to directly view the copy after it was integrated into the *Nuruosmaniye* library in İstanbul, from the mountains of Anatolia where the codex had been placed in safety. The anthology contains more than 130 *rasā'il* by Avicenna or pseudepigraphs, the titles of which are reported in detail by Anawati in an article published in 1956.¹⁴

Leaf 1r contains a square stamp, probably dated 11th/17th century, and the *waqf* note and stamp of Sulṭān Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafā II (r. 1143-1168H/1730-1754).¹⁵

- *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* (ff. 337r-361v);
- *al-Ma'ād (Risāla al-Tuḥfa)* (ff. 430v-435v);
- *Risāla al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* (ff. 435v-436r);
- *Risāla fī l-Ma'ād (Aḍḥawīyya)* (ff. 485r-493v);
- *al-Ma'ād [al-aṣḡar]* (ch. 13: *al-Nafs al-falakiyya*) (ff. 542r-543r);
- *Risāla fī l-Nafs wa-baqā' ihā wa-ma'ādiḥā (al-Ma'ād [al-aṣḡar])* (ff. 577r-587v).

2. MS London, British, Add. 16659 (Cureton-Rieu 978).¹⁶ The codex is dated 1182H/1768-9 (colophon to *al-Aḍḥawīyya*), but it was probably copied from its exemplar completed in Akbarabad (Agra) on 18 Ṣafar 1091/10 March 1680, as

¹³ Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, "Un important recueil avicennien du VIIe/XIIIe s.: la *mağmū'a* Hüseyin Çelebi 1194 de Brousse", *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 33 (1991): 121-129.

¹⁴ George C. Anawati, "Le Manuscrit Nour Osmaniyye 4894", *Midéo* 3 (1956): 381-386.

¹⁵ David C. Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition. The Transmission, Contents, and Structure of Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥaṭāt (The Discussions)* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2002), 44: "35.5 x 24 (text: 24 x 12). 598 folios. Brown leather and board, ovoid medallions with pendants, border; flap with round medallion. Thin, yellowing European paper. Black ink, red rubrics [...] Leaves 1r-3v contain the list of works of the manuscript in red columns (4 x 7)."

¹⁶ William Cureton, Charles Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. Pars secunda, codices arabicos amplectens. Supplementum quatuor auctum appendicibus, cui accedunt addenda et corrigenda, necnon index triplex, in universum catalogum mss. Arabicorum* (Londini: Impensis curatorum Musei Britannici, 1871), item 978, 477-451; Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1881), vol. 2, 438-439.

reported by an erased colophon (f. 552, lines 21-26).¹⁷ It is a compendium of 153 short philosophical and scientific treatises by Avicenna or attributed to him, in addition to commentaries on and translations of his works. The manuscript was purchased by Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī in Murshidabad in Rabīʿ II 1208/November-December 1793 (f. 4r), on the road from Kolkata to Lucknow, and later acquired in Lucknow by the Scottish orientalist Major Henry Yule 1803 (f. 4r). It is now part of the Yule collection (no. 23), within the Oriental Section of the British Library.¹⁸

- *Risāla al-Adḥawīya fī amr al-maʿād* (ff. 25v-34v);
- Persian translation of *al-Maʿād [al-aṣṣḡar]* (*Risāla al-Maʿād*, long version, ff. 381v-402r);
- Persian translation of *al-Maʿād [al-aṣṣḡar]* (*Risāla al-Nafs*, short version, ff. 403v-410r);
- *Risāla al-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād* (ff. 411v-413v);
- *Kitāb al-Maʿād (al-Maʿād [al-aṣṣḡar])* (ff. 449v-466r);
- *Risāla al-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād (Kitāb al-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād)* (ff. 466v-497r).

¹⁷ https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100000001517.0x000093 (accessed 1 Feb 2025). David C. Reisman, "Avicenna at ARCE", in *Aspects of Avicenna*, edited by R. Wisnovsky (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001), 131-182, 143-146.

¹⁸ https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100000001517.0x000093 (accessed 1 Feb 2025): ff. i+1+vii+584+vii [...] Dimensions: 230 x 155 mm leaf [text frame 176 x 105 mm] [...] Eastern Arabic foliation in black ink [...] with rubricated headings and overlinings in red [...] each text in the manuscript has a headpiece (ʿunwān) illuminated in gold, red and blue; beginning with f. 4, all pages are framed in yellow, black and red [...] *Marginalia*: Few by multiple hands."

Dīn Yahyā Suhrawardī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Faḥr al-Dīn Rāzī, Bābā Afḍal Kāshānī, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad Šahrāzūrī, Quṭb al-Dīn Širāzī, ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, al-Sayyid al-Šarīf Ğurġānī, Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Daštakī, Mullā Šadrā, etc...²⁰

On the fly-leaf (f. 3r) there is a *waqf*-statement dated 1063H/1654 by Muḥaqqiq Sabzawārī (d. 1090H/1679), a glossator of Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifā’* (*Book of the Cure*), and on the fly-leaf (f. 3r) another *waqf* dated 1117H/1705 by his son Muḥammad Ğa‘far.²¹

- *al-Ma‘ād [al-aṣṣġar]* (ch. 1: R. *fi l-Quwā al-ġismāniyya*, pp. 121-124);
- *al-Aḍḥawiyya fi l-ma‘ād* (pp. 240, 315, 329 excerpts);
- *Risāla al-Tuḥfa* (pp. 232-233);
- Persian translation of *al-Ma‘ād [al-aṣṣġar]* (*Māhiyyat al-naḥs*, short version, pp. 316-328).

II. The Origin and Destination: Authentic and Spurious Works

II.1 *Kitāb al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma‘ād*²² was written by Avicenna between 403H/1013 and 404H/1014.²³ The dates coincide with his arrival in Ğurġān and the meeting with his

²⁰ Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥusaynī and Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar‘aši, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi ‘Ūmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uẓmā Mar‘aši Naḡaḥī*, vol. I (Qom: Kitābhāna-yi Buzurg-i Āyat Allāh Mar‘aši Naḡaḥī, 1364-1366Š/1985-1988), 312-333; Hossein Mottaqi, “MS Qom, Kitābhāna Āyatullāh Mar‘aši 286. An 11th/17th Century Iranian Anthology of Philosophical and Theological Works in Arabic and Persian”, *Studia Graeco-Arabica* 6 (2016): 141-184, part. 141-142: “ff. II. 447.00, 11,5x27 cm, 27/28 lines on 18x27.5 cm. Persian nasta‘liq [...] Catchwords at every page impair (verso of the folio). Diagrams on pp. 22, 29 and 33. Marginal notes on pp. 91, 239, 342, 353, 616, 626, 659, and 660 [...] Copyist: Šāh Murād Farāhānī (p. 317r and p. 447r).”

²¹ See Mottaqi, “MS Qom, Kitābhāna Āyatullāh Mar‘aši 286”: 142.

²² Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma‘ād li-al-Šayḥ al-Ra‘īs*, edited by ‘A. Nūrānī (Tehran: The Institute of Islamic Studies, 1984); Ibn Sīnā. *Avicenne, Livre de la genèse et du retour*, translated by Y. (Jean R.) Michot (Oxford: 2002, on-line PDF version available at <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/sina/works/AN195.pdf>), French translation with critical notes of variant readings based on ten MSS; Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 20-22 (English translation of *Introduction*), part. 20: “The printed text made available by Nūrānī, *Al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma‘ād* (1984), is unsatisfactory. A truly critical edition in preparation by Y. Michot has not been completed, but he has kindly made available on-line his draft translation in French, annotated with many variant readings from a number of manuscripts (*Livre de la genèse*)”. Cf. August Ferdinand Mehren, “La Philosophie d’Avicenne (Ibn-Sina): Exposée d’après des documents inédits”, *Le Muséon* 1 (1882): 389-409, esp. 506-522; Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, “Avicenne et la destinée humaine. A propos de la résurrection des corps”, *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 44 (1981): 453-483.

²³ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 165.

faithful disciple and collaborator Ġūzġānī, who in the *Biography* reports that Avicenna wrote the treatise for one Abū-Muḥammad al-Šīrāzī:²⁴

The first of a long series of writings on the subject, *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*, linked the 'fruit' of Physics and the 'fruit' of Metaphysics, which would later become the second section of the theological part of the Metaphysics.²⁵ In the introductory part of the work Avicenna wrote:

In this treatise I wish to indicate the real doctrine of the Validating Peripatetic philosophers concerning Provenance and Destination in an effort to find favor with Master Abū-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī. This treatise of mine contains the fruits of two great sciences, one of which is characterized by being about metaphysical, and the other physical, matters. The fruit of the science dealing with metaphysical matters is that part of it known as theologia, which treats [the subjects of] Lordship, the first principle, and the relationship which beings bear to it according to their rank. The fruit of the science dealing with physical matters is the knowledge that the human soul survives and that it has a Destination.²⁶

The work is divided into three sections, as announced by Avicenna in the introduction, of 52, 11 and 20 chapters respectively.

I have divided this book into three parts: (a) Establishing the first principle of the universe and its oneness; enumeration of the attributes befitting it. (b) Indicating the order of the emanation of being from the being [of the first principle], beginning with the first being [emanating] from it and ending with the last beings after it. (c) Indicating the survival of the human soul; the real bliss in the Hereafter, and what is a certain kind of bliss that is not real; the real misery in the Hereafter, and what is a certain kind of misery that is not real.²⁷

The first two parts concern the Principle and the emanation of being and are copied later in the section *Ilāhiyyāt* ([Science of] Divine Things, 8 and 9) of *al-Šifā'* (The Cure) and *al-Nağāt* (The Salvation, the second *maqāla* of Metaphysics), omitting the parts relating to the First Mover by way of motion. The third part, which deals with the survival of the human soul, is discussed by Avicenna in *al-Ma'ād* [*al-aşğar*] (The [Lesser] Destination) and

²⁴ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 101, n. 1: "In his dedication, Avicenna refers to this person as Abū-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad (or simply Abū-Muḥammad in the Istanbul MS Ahmet III 3268, Nūrānī 1 and Mahdavi 212) ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī. Neither person, if they are two, has been identified so far". See Gohlman (ed.), *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 44-45: "There was in Jurjān a man called Abū Muḥammad al-Šīrāzī, who was an amateur of the sciences and who bought a house in his neighborhood for the Master to live in [...] and composed for Abū Muḥammad al-Šīrāzī *The Origin and the Return*."

²⁵ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 292: "Avicenna came to the realization that the Metaphysics of the Rational Soul thematically belongs with Natural Theology when he identified the former as the 'fruit' of Physics and the latter as the 'fruit' of Metaphysics, and decided to write an independent work on the subject that would combine both subdivisions of what was later to become the Theological part of Metaphysics. This was *The Provenance and Destination*, the first of many treatments of this subject he had originated."

²⁶ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 20-21.

²⁷ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 21.

then included equally in *The Cure* and in *The Salvation*.²⁸ The work has a considerable manuscript tradition, which goes from 580H/1184-5, the date of the earliest attested copies (MSS İstanbul, Topkapı, *Ahmet III* 3227 and 3268, plausibly copied from the same exemplar), down to the 19th century (MS Tihirān, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, 1000/18, 1333H), with a peak during the 17th century Safavid period (more than 20 copies, see Appendix).²⁹

In particular, the work can be found at number 35 (ff. 466v-497r) of the precious *codex compositus* mentioned above, preserved at the British Library, MS Add. 16659.

²⁸ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 101. Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ilāhiyyāt min al-Šifā' li-Šayḥ al-Ra'īs Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sīnā ma'a ta liqāt*, 2 vols., edited by 'A. K. Šarīf Širāzī (Tehran: Madrasa Dār al-Funūn 1303H/1885); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ilāhiyyāt min Kitāb al-Šifā'*, edited by Ḥ. al-Āmulī (Qom: Maktab al-I'lām al-Islāmī, Markaz al-Našr, 1376Š/1997-1998); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt* (1), edited by Ć. Š. Qanawati and S. Zāyid (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-'amma li-šu'ūn al-maṭābi' al-amiriyya, 1960); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt* (2), edited by M.Y. Mūsā, S. Dunyā and S. Zāyid (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-'amma li-šu'ūn al-maṭābi' al-amiriyya, 1960, repr. Tehran: Intišārāt-i Nāšir-i Ḥusraw, 1363Š/1984-1985); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt wa-ta liqāt Šadr al-muta'allihīn 'alayhā Kitāb al-Šifā'* (*Metaphysics*), with *Marginal Notes* by Mullā Šadrā, Mīr Dāmād, Ḥwānsārī, Sabzavārī and others, edited with introduction and notes by Ḥ. Nāḡī Iṣfahānī (Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 1383Š/2004); cf. <https://www.avicennaproject.eu/#/> "Philosophy on the Border of Civilizations and Intellectual Endeavours: Towards a Critical Edition of the Metaphysics (*Ilāhiyyāt* of *Kitāb al-Šifā'*)", ERC project directed by A. Bertolacci; Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Nağāt*, edited by M. Š. al-Kurdī (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-sa'āda, 1331H/1913); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Nağāt*, edited by M. T. Dānešpažūh, (Tehran: Intišārāt-i Dānišgāh, 1364Š/1985).

²⁹ In addition to the copies reported by Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 216, and Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 471-472, also indicated are the copies preserved in Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān-i nuṣṣah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Īrān (Fanḥā)* (*Union Catalogue of Iran Manuscripts*) (Tehran: Cultural & Research Institute of al-Ġawad, 1391Š/2012-1393Š/2015), XXVII, 773-776 [henceforth: *Fanḥā*]. Anawati also lists the following manuscripts: Gotha 1158; İstanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, *Feyzullah* 1213 (1093H); İstanbul, Süleymaniye, *Nuruosmaniye* 2715 (653H); İstanbul, Topkapı, *Ahmet III* 3215 (in Ergin no. 3115).



© MS London, British Library, Add. 16659/35 (*Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*)

From the existing bibliography some inconsistencies emerge regarding a Persian translation of the treatise preserved at ff. 411v-413v of the MS British Add. 16659/24 and at ff. 19v-20v and 2r-4r of the MS Bodleian 1422/2 (Ouseley 95).³⁰ Anawati wrongly claimed that they preserved the translation of *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*.³¹ Mahdavi corrected Anawati, specifying that the MS British Add. 16659/24 is actually a Persian treatise falsely attributed to Avicenna, *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*, and included it among the spurious works in his *Bibliographie d'Avicenne*.³² The digital archive of the Qatar library also considers the

³⁰ Instead, it preserves the condensed Persian translation of the treatise *al-Ma'ād [al-aṣḡar]*.

³¹ Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 253; Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 213.

³² Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 294, no. 215.

copy a Persian condensed translation of a work on metaphysics by Avicenna.³³ This information is probably extrapolated from *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*,³⁴ later rectified in the publication dedicated by Rieu exclusively to the Persian codices preserved at the British Library.³⁵ Reisman, in *Avicenna at the ARCE*, omits reference to this treatise in its description of the contents of the codex.³⁶ Another copy attributed to Avicenna is preserved in the Sipahsālār Library with the number 6747/2.³⁷ The erroneous authorship is also evident from the *explicit*, in which the *šayḥ* is clearly referred to (MSS British Add. 16659/24; Maḡlis 5138/40; 9541/25; 17490 ض).

Risāla-yi mabdā' va ma'ād in Persian is divided into two parts (*mabda'* and *ma'ād*), of six and four chapters respectively, and deals with the Necessary Existence, its uniqueness and transcendence, pure souls, resurrection and revelation.

The authorship of this work is quite controversial. There are several copies that report the attribution to Aṭīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. c. 663H/1265),³⁸ although in some manuscripts the treatise is mistakenly identified with another of his works, *Kalimāt 'ašara*.³⁹ In a witness preserved in the Maḡlis Library, MS 14590/156, dated Muḥarram 723H/1323, authorship is assigned to Zayn al-Dīn Sayfī (VII/XIII).⁴⁰ The copy has been restored and reports an inscription in *nasta'liq*, "*Safīna Tabriz*", the title of the encyclopedic collection compiled by Abū al-Maḡd Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd Tabrizī in Ilkhanid Iran during the years 721-723H/1321-1323. The compendium was printed by the

³³ https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100148048612.0x00002c (accessed 1 Feb 2025).

³⁴ Cureton and Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*, II, 449, no. XXII: "Commentatio de existentiae principio et fine, Persice, fol. 411: Continet primum sex Capita in quibus de rerum principio disseritur, tum alia quatuor, quæ de animæ humanæ post mortem conditione tractant. Interpres Persa, cujus nomen latet, observationes aliquot proprias addidit". The note explicitly refers to *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: "Opusculum Arabicum, ex quo hoc conversum est, scriptum est ab Avicenna in Jurjān, in gratiam Shaikhi Abu Muhammad al-Shīrāzi."

³⁵ Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, 439, no. VII.

³⁶ Reisman, "Avicenna at the ARCE", 143-146.

³⁷ Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, I, 214.

³⁸ Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, I, 213-214: Mashhad, Šayḥ 'Alī Ḥaydar 1365₁₃ (1083H); Qom, Mar'ašī 6547₂, 11251₈ (XI/XVII); Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 242₁₀ (form. Ilāhiyyāt), 2401₃₄ (XI/XVII), 3238₅ (1241H), 4732₆, 5968₂ (1000H), 8211₁₃ (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif* 1070₄ (XI/XVII); Tehran, Mahdavi 281₈; Tehran, Maḡlis, ض 17490, 5138₁₄₀ (XI/XVII), 9541₂₅ (1287H), 10704₇ (1347H); Tehran, Nafisī 470; Millī 32507₈; Tehran, Sipahsālār 2912₉₃₁; Yazd, Vazīrī 3067₃ (1081H).

³⁹ Aṭīr al-Dīn al-Abharī, *Kalimāt 'ašara* (Ten Words), in *Čahārda risāla* (Fourteen treatises), edited by M. B. Sabzawāri (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1340Š/1961-1962), 163-174.

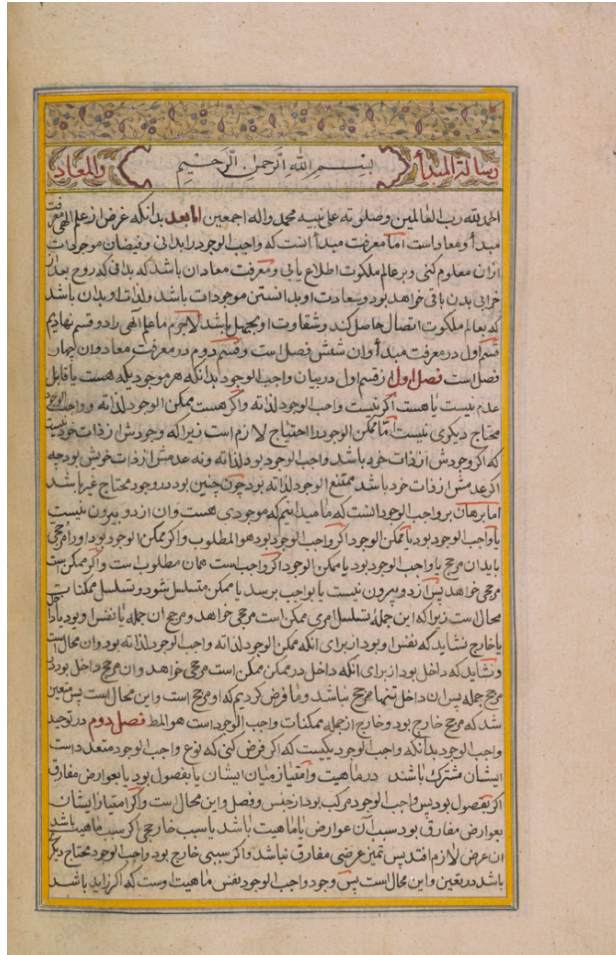
⁴⁰ Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, I, 213.

Islamic Council Library in 1381H/2001, and the treatise *Aḡāz va anḡām* present within it is attributed to Sayfī (pp. 646-650).⁴¹

Of unknown authorship, some copies of the same treatise are also listed in *Fanḥā*, entitled *Mabda' va ma'ād* (see MS Maḡlis 6489/14, dated 1087H/1676-7).⁴² Most witnesses of the treatise report seven chapters in the first part and five in the second. In addition to the MS British Add. 16659/24, the only one identified that preserves four chapters in the second section is MS Maḡlis 5138, a *maḡmū'a* of at least 153 works, which at number 140 (pp. 988-990) preserves *Aḡāz va anḡām* attributed to al-Abharī. The part that is omitted in both copies concerns the fifth chapter on miracles. Taking into account the oldest copy identified to date (Maḡlis 14590), the treatise was certainly written by 723H/1323, but the work circulated in the 17th century as a Persian translation of an Avicennian treatise.

⁴¹ Abū al-Maḡd Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd Tabrizī, *Safīna-yi Tabriz: A Treasury of Persian Literature and Islamic Philosophy, Mysticism, and Sciences* (Facsimile Edition of a manuscript compiled and copied in 721-3/1321-23) (Tehran: Iran University Press, 1381Š/2003); Asghar Seyed Gohrab and Sen McGlinn (eds.), *Safīna Revealed. A Compendium of Persian Literature in 14th Century Tabriz* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011); Asghar Seyed Gohrab and Sen McGlinn (eds.), *The Treasury of Tabriz: The Great Il-Khanid Compendium* (Amsterdam-West Lafayette: Rozenburg Publishers and Purdue University Press, 2007).

⁴² Dirāyati, *Fanḥā*, XXVII, 791-792; Baghdad, Wahabī 2023; Mashhad, Gawharšād 483; Qom, Gulpāyigānī 446₁-3-66; Qom, Huḡatiyya 442₂; Tabriz, Millī 3198₅; Tehran, Maḡlis 6489₁₄.



© MS London, British Library, Add. 16659/24 (*Risāla-yi mabdhā' wa ma'ād*)

II.2 Among the eschatological treatises attributed to Avicenna that bear a similar title, mention is made in some manuscripts of a short epistle in Arabic, *Risāla al-Mabdhā' wa-l-ma'ād* (Epistle on the Origin and Destination), which answers four questions posed by the *ṣayḥ* Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Ḥayr⁴³ relating to our provenance, why we are in the world, where we will go and what condition we will be in after leaving it. The work is not attested in any of the medieval bibliographies and Michot consecrated its Avicennian

⁴³ Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 138 ff.

inauthenticity in *L'épître sur la genèse et le retour*,⁴⁴ a French translation based on the editions done in Iran⁴⁵ and Cairo,⁴⁶ compared with other manuscripts.⁴⁷ This spurious treatise circulated during the Safavid era and many copies dating from the 17th century are today preserved in Iran (see Appendix).⁴⁸

There is also a late Persian translation of the work preserved in MS Tihirān, Maḡlis 631/20 (1268H/1851-1852, pp. 321-360) and in MS Tihirān, Nūrbah̄š 607/7 (1261H/1845, pp. 357-382).⁴⁹ The title reported is *Ḥayr al-zād dar mabda' va ma'ād* and the translation is attributed to Faḥr al-Dīn ibn Aḥmad Rūdbārī (19th c.), originally from Kurdistan. Ibrāhīm Dībāḡī, in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Nūrbah̄š Library, reports that Rūdbārī in 1253H completed *Kanz al-Hidāya*, a Persian translation of *Al-Aqwāl al-Kāfiyya* by 'Alī ibn al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Dā'ud ibn Yūsuf al-Yamīnī, one of the Rasulid sultans of Yemen (r. 1296-1322).⁵⁰ He further adds that he began the translation of *Taḏhib al-marām fī tarḡama taḥdīb al-kalām* in 1260H, completing it on 8 Ḥumāda I 1261H and presenting it to the Ardalān ruler, Amānullāh Ḥān II (r. 1799/1800-1824/1825). In the preface, the translator mentions and praises his teacher, an unidentified ṣayḥ Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.

⁴⁴ Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, "L'épître sur la genèse et le retour' attribuée à Avicenne. Présentation et essai de traduction critique", *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 26 (1984): 104-118.

⁴⁵ Aḡwibat As'ila min al-Ṣayḥ, in the margins of Mullā Ṣadrā, *Ṣarḥ al-Hidāya al-Aṭīriyya* (Tehran: 1313H/1895), 372-374.

⁴⁶ Muḥyiddin Ṣabrī al-Kurdī (ed.), *Maḡmū'at al-rasā'il* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Kurdistān al-'ilmiyya, 1328H/1910), 250-256.

⁴⁷ Michot, "L'épître sur la genèse et le retour' attribuée à Avicenne", 109; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Pertev Paşa 617 (c. 1113H) (ff. 18v-19v); Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Ahmet III 3447 (866H) (ff. 473v-474v);⁴⁷ Cairo, *Dār al-Kutub*, Tīmūr Maḡāmī 66 (ff. 126-128) and 200 (ff. 189v-190v). See George C. Anawati, "Un cas typique de l'esoterisme avicennien: sa doctrine de la resurrection des corps", *La Revue du Caire* (Millénaire d'Avicenne) 141 (1951): 68-94, part. 73-74.

⁴⁸ The copies are also listed in Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 253, no. 196, and Maḥdavi, *Fihrist-i nushah-hā-yi muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 216, no. 106; other witnesses are listed in Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, XXVII, 776-777. Anawati inserts the following copies, not confirmed afterwards by Maḥdavi: Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, *Fātiḥ* 3217; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, *Nuruosmaniye* 4896 (Ergin, "İbni Sina bibliografyası", 35, no. 4986); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, *Pertev Paşa* 617. Ergin adds the MS Umumi Beyazıt, *Hafız Davut Paşa* 207.

⁴⁹ The same miscellaneous codex, at number 361²², reports in Persian translation a part of Ibn Sīnā-al-Ḥayr epistolary correspondence (see Maḥdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 7). Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, XIV, 194, considers the copies as belonging to two distinct works.

⁵⁰ Muḥammad Muḥsin Āqā Buzurg Ṭihirānī, *Al-Ḍarī'a ilā taṣānīf al-ṣī'a*, 25 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1403-1406H/1983-1986); 24 vols. in 27 (Najaf-Tehran: 1355-1398Š/1936-1978); a supplement, ed. A. Ḥusaynī, was published as vol. 26 (Mashhad: 1364Š/1985), see XVIII, 170, no. 1234.

Rūdbārī translated into Persian other treatises and commentaries on Avicenna's Qur'ān, among which *Risāla al-'Arūs* (The Groom),⁵¹ *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Tawhīd*,⁵² *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Nās*,⁵³ and *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Falaq*.⁵⁴ These translations are preserved in some *maǧmū'at* and in particular in the above-mentioned codices Maǧlis 631 and Nūrbaḥš 607, which respectively at numbers 22 and 9 also preserve Rūdbārī's Persian translation of other parts of Ibn Sīnā – al-Ḥayr correspondence.⁵⁵

In the same collections, MSS Maǧlis 631/4 and Nūrbaḥš 607/6, the translation of another spurious eschatological treatise by Avicenna, *Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-naḥs al-nāṭīqa wa-aḥwālīhā* (On the Knowledge of the Rational Soul and its States).⁵⁶ This treatise is not included in the medieval bibliographies and its authorship is attributed to various authors.⁵⁷ Both Mahdavi and Michot⁵⁸ argue that, although the work is totally imbued with Avicennian philosophy, it was written about 100 or 150 years after the philosopher's death; Marmura, on the other hand, has defended its authenticity.⁵⁹

II.3 Among the works in Arabic that bear the same title, *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*, and which are falsely attributed to the ṣayḥ, Ergin includes two copies preserved at the

⁵¹ The *Risāla* is part of a set of fragments of works which are transmitted under the various titles (*al-'Urūs*; *al-'Arš*; *al-'Aršiyya*; *Silsilat al-falāsifa*; *al-Ḥayra*; *Itbāt al-wuǧūd*; *Itbāt al-'uqūl*) dealing with God, the soul and its destiny. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 493-494. MSS: Nūrbaḥš 607; Maǧlis 631₂₁ (see *Fanḥā*, vol. XXII, p. 586).

⁵² Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, VIII, 725; MSS Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān 90₁₂; Tehran, Nūrbaḥš 607/3; Tehran, Maǧlis 631₁. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 506; Mahdavi, *Mušannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 64-65; Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 262-264.

⁵³ Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, VIII, 778; MSS Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān 90₁₄; Tehran, Nūrbaḥš 607₅; Tehran, Maǧlis 631₃. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 507; Mahdavi, *Mušannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 65-66; Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 265-266.

⁵⁴ Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, VIII, 778; MSS Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān 90₁₁; Tehran, Nūrbaḥš 607₄; Tehran, Maǧlis 631₂. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 507; Mahdavi, *Mušannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 65-66; Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 264-265.

⁵⁵ Mahdavi, *Mušannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 6-7; Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 138 ff.

⁵⁶ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 524-525: "Other titles: *R. fī 'ilm al-naḥs*, *R. fī al-Naḥs al-nāṭīqa wa-kayfiyyat aḥwālīhā*, *Ḥaqīqat al-naḥs*". M. T. al-Fandī, "Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-naḥs al-nāṭīqa wa-aḥwālīhā", *al-Mashriq* 1 (1934): 324-336; A. F. al-Ahwānī, (El Ahwany), "Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-naḥs al-nāṭīqa wa-aḥwālīhā", in *Les états de l'âme par Avicenne* (Cairo: Issa El-Baby El-Halaby & Co., 1371H/1952), 181-192; A. F. al-Ahwānī, (El Ahwany), "Treatise concerning our knowledge of the rational soul and its different states", in *Islamic Philosophy* (Cairo, 1957), 157-172.

⁵⁷ Mahdavi, *Mušannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 302-303. Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 163-165.

⁵⁸ Jean R. Michot (Yahya), "L'épître sur la connaissance de l'âme rationnelle et de ses états attribuée à Avicenne. Présentation et essai de traduction", *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 82 (1984): 479-499.

⁵⁹ Marmura, "Avicenna and the Kalām".

Süleymaniye of Istanbul, MSS *Esat Efendi* 1234 and 1239⁶⁰ (see Appendix), later mentioned by Anawati,⁶¹ and by Mahdavi, who underlines its inauthenticity.⁶²

II.4 *Al-Ma'ād [al-aşğar] (Hāl al-nafs al-insāniyya)* (The [Lesser] Destination) (State of the Human Soul),⁶³ or merely *Ma'ād*, divided into sixteen chapters, was written by Avicenna during his stay in Rayy in about 404H/1014, when he was in the service of al-Sayyida and her son, the Buyid Mağd al-Dawla, as Ġūzğānī relates.⁶⁴ The work appears in the *Biography* and in several manuscripts under the generic title *al-Ma'ād*. Together with the preceding treatise (*Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*), it is part of Avicenna's "transition period" and this is evident from its still immature style and the use of Greek rather than Arabic vocabulary.⁶⁵ Avicenna composed the work for friends "pure in heart" and the topic is the soul and its afterlife.⁶⁶ It serves as a complement to *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* and was then inserted in the corresponding parts on *Nafs* in *The Cure*⁶⁷ and *The Salvation*.⁶⁸

[This treatise] contains the marrow [of the theory] about the state of the human soul arrived at through demonstrative proofs, the heart of the matter about its survival—after the disintegration of the [physical] temperament and the decay of the body—provided by

⁶⁰ Ergin, "İbni Sina bibliografyası", 36, no. 162.

⁶¹ Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 254-255, no. 197.

⁶² Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 294, no. 216.

⁶³ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102-103, 477-479. Ibn Sīnā, *Aḥwāl al-nafs*, edited by A. F. al-Ahwānī, (El Ahwany) (Cairo: Dār iḥyā' al-kutub al-'arabiyya, 1371H/1952), 43-142; Guy Monnot, "La transmigration et l'immortalité", *Midéo* 14 (1980): 149-166, 156-158 (French transl. ch. 10); Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, "Prophétie et divination selon Avicenne. Présentation, essai de traduction critique et index de l'Épître de l'âme de la sphère", *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 83 (1985): 507-535 (French transl. ch. 13); Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, "Avicenne, La définition de l'âme. Section I de l'Épître des états de l'âme. Traduction critique et lexique", in *Langages et philosophie. Hommage à Jean Jolivet*, edited by A. De Libera, A. Elamrani-Jamal, A. Galonnier (Paris: Vrin, 1997), 239-256 (French transl. ch. 1); Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 22-24 (English transl. ch. 16).

⁶⁴ Gohlman (ed.), *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 48-51.

⁶⁵ Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102: "Just as *The Provenance and Destination* established the version of Avicenna's doctrine of the 'fruit' of Metaphysics with which he was most content, so also this *Destination* established the version of his doctrine of the 'marrow' of Physics, i.e., his theory of the soul and its afterlife; and just as the former treatise was copied extensively in the Metaphysics part of *The Cure* and *The Salvation*, so also this one was copied in the *De Anima* parts of both works."

⁶⁶ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102.

⁶⁷ Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā', al-Ṭabī'iyyāt, al-Nafs*, edited by G. C. Anawati, and S. Zāyid (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-miṣriyya al-'amma li-al-kitāb, 1395H/1975); Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Šifā': al-Nafs*, edited by H. Ḥasanzāda Āmulī (Qom: Maktab al-I'lām al-Islāmī, 1375Š/1996); Ibn Sīnā, *Psychologie d'Ibn Sina (Avicenne). D'après son œuvre al-Šifā'*, edited by J. Bakoš, 2 vols. (Prague: Éditions de l'Académie Tchecoslovaque des Sciences, 1956); Ibn Sīnā, *Avicenna's De anima*.

⁶⁸ Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Nağāt*; Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Nağāt*.

unequivocal research, and an examination of [the question of] resurrection and the circumstances that lead to it in the afterlife.⁶⁹

Sebti questioned the authenticity of the treatise, arguing that a compiler had extrapolated parts from *al-Nağāt*, to which he then added three new chapters (I, XIII and the final part of XVI).⁷⁰ The first and thirteenth, the most discussed and controversial chapters, circulated independently.⁷¹ Michot approved its authenticity⁷² and, according to Gutas, in the present state of the art there are no substantial and decisive elements to indicate we should not consider it authentically Avicennian.⁷³

The manuscript tradition, in this case too, covers a wide time frame, both of the work written in Arabic by Avicenna and of its translations into Persian. There are at least two versions in Persian, an extended one, known by the generic title *al-Ma'ād*, and a condensed one, entitled *al-Nafs* in most witnesses.⁷⁴ The tradition is quite ramified and complex, since the short summary version is even attributed to Avicenna and has a considerable transmission in terms of copies.⁷⁵

The long version was instead transmitted with an anonymous author; according to Mahdavi, the latter is preserved at the British Library and the Sipahsālār in Tihṙān,⁷⁶ but the present research has revealed other copies preserved mainly in Iran and Turkey, many of which circulated in the 17th century.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102; Ibn Sīnā, *Aḥwāl al-nafs*, 45.4-7.

⁷⁰ Meryem Sebtī, “La question de l’authenticité de l’Épître des états de l’âme (*Risāla fī aḥwāl al-nafs*) d’Avicenne”, *Studia Graeco-Arabica* 2 (2012): 331-354.

⁷¹ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 477: “R. fī n-Nafs ‘alā ṭarīq ad-dalīl wa-l-burhān; Fī n-Nafs an-nāṭīqa; Aḥwāl an-nafs; an-Nafs al-falakiyya [Chapter 13]; an-Nufūs [Chapter 1]; R. fī l-Quwā l-jumāniyya [Chapter 1].”

⁷² Michot, “Avicenne, *La définition de l’âme*”; Michot, “Prophétie et divination selon Avicenne”.

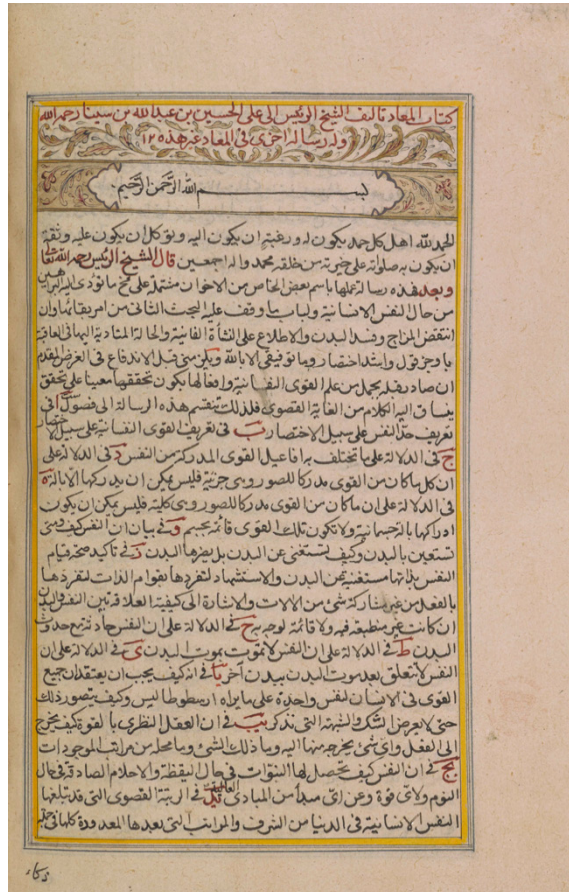
⁷³ Cf. Jules Janssens, “Le Ma’ārij al-quds fī madārij ma’rifat al-nafs”, *Archives d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 60 (1993): 27-55.

⁷⁴ Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla-yi Nafs*, edited by M. ‘Amīd (Tehran: Danišgāh-i Tihṙān 1331Š/1952, Hamadan: Anḡuman-i Āṭār wa Mufāḥir-i Farhangī, 1383Š/2004); Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 246-247; Anawati, *Mu’allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 163, thought that a Persian translation of *Ma’ād* was instead a translation of Avicenna’s *Compendium on the soul*.

⁷⁵ Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 246-247. There are other versions recorded as translations of *al-Ma’ād*, some of which are actually different works. This topic will be discussed in a forthcoming article.

⁷⁶ London, *British*, 16659₂₁ (1182H, ff. 381v-402v); Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 8371₂₃ (1026H).

⁷⁷ The diversified manuscript tradition concerning *al-Ma’ād/al-Nafs* will be discussed in a forthcoming article.



© MS London, British Library, Add. 16659/34 (*Al-Ma'ād [al-aṣḡar]*)

II.5 The generic title of the above-mentioned work, *al-Ma'ād*, has often been mistakenly identified with another Avicennian treatise, *Al-Aḏhawīyya fī l-ma'ād* (The Sacrifice Destination, on the occasion of *'īd al-aḏḥā*).⁷⁸ The work is divided into seven

⁷⁸ Alternate title: *al-Ma'ād*. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 472-477; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-Aḏhawīyya fī amr al-ma'ād*, edited by S. Dunyā (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1368H/1949); Ibn Sīnā, *al-Aḏhawīyya fī l-ma'ād li-Ibn Sīnā*, edited by Ḥ. 'Aṣī (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-ḡāmi'iyya, 1407H/1987); Francesca Lucchetta, *Avicenna. Epistola sulla vita futura* (Padova: Antenore, 1969); Michael E. Marmura, "Avicenna and the *Kalām*", *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 7 (1991-1992): 172-206, 197-198. Repr. in Michael E. Marmura, *Probing in Islamic Philosophy: Studies in the Philosophies of Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī and Other Major Muslim Thinkers* (State University of NY at Binghamton: Global Academic Publishing, 2005, 97-130 (English translation of some parts of chapters 2 and 3); Davlat Dadikhuda, "The Necessity of the Return (*al-ma'ād*):

chapters and is dedicated to the place where the soul is destined to go after death. It was written in honor of an unidentified al-Šayḥ al-Amīn (or al-Amīr?) Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd or Abū-Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd/‘Abdallāh, probably in the period preceding Avicenna’s stay in Iṣfahān.⁷⁹ By contrast, Bayhaqī reports that it was written for the vizier Abū-Sa’d al-Hamaḍānī, although the information in our possession does not allow us to verify this information.⁸⁰ Gutas places the drafting of the work in the time span from 1012 to 1024, in Ġurġān, Rayy or Hamaḍān.⁸¹ In the *Biography*, Ġūzġānī does not mention it, perhaps because it was written and delivered by Avicenna to his protector before he met his disciple or simply because no copy was preserved.

The work was widely circulated between the 16th and 18th centuries and has a remarkable manuscript tradition (see Appendix).⁸² *Al-Aḍḥawiyya* was also translated into Persian and there are at least two different versions of it: the oldest attested copy dates back to 879H/1474-5, but the other three we know of are all dated to the 17th century.⁸³

Another work by Avicenna, *Risāla al-Tuḥfa* (The Present),⁸⁴ in the manuscripts sometimes bears the title *al-Ma’ād al-aṣḡar* and this created misreadings and misinterpretations in some medieval bibliographies.⁸⁵ The treatise is contained in some

Avicenna on the Posthumous States of the Human Soul in *Aḍḥawiyya* 6-7”, in *Islamic Thought and the Art of Translation. Texts and Studies in Honor of William C. Chittick and Sachiko Murata*, edited by M. Rustom (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2022), 298-310; Tariq Jaffer, “Bodies, Souls and Resurrection in Avicenna’s *ar-Risāla al-Adhawīya fī amr al-ma’ād*”, in *Before and After Avicenna: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, edited by D. C. Reisman with the assistance of A. H. al-Rahim (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 163-174.

⁷⁹ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 473.

⁸⁰ al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Šiwān al-ḥikma*, 33-48.

⁸¹ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 475.

⁸² Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 40; Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, 336-339.

⁸³ Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, IV, 339; Aleksandr A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnyh rukopisej Akademii nauk Uzbekskoj SSR* (Tashkent: Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR, 1952-1971), 11 vols., IV, 317-318. MSS: Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 95, (Ethé 1422) (1042H); Qom, Fāṣl Qā’īnī, no number (879H); Tashkent, Bīrūnī, 561, (1054H); Tehran, Sulṭanātī, 189, (1055-1056H).

⁸⁴ Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fī l-sa’āda wa-l-ḥuḡaḡ al-‘aṣr*, edited by Z. ‘Ā. Mūsawī, *Maḡmū’a rasā’il al-Šayḥ al-Ra’īs Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā al-Buḥārī* (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-ma’ārif al-‘uṣmāniyya, 1353-1354H/1934-1935), fifth *Risāla*, 14.6-18. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 481: “M. fī Taḥṣīl as-sa’āda wa-tu’rafu bi-l-ḥuḡaj al-‘aṣr; Fī s-Sa’āda; al-Ḥuḡaj al-‘aṣr fī jawhariyyat naḡs al-insān; R. fī n-Naḡs wa-mā taṣīru ilayhi ba’da mufāraqatihā l-badan; al-Ma’ād al-aṣḡar”; Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 55-56; Anawati, *Mu’allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 147-149.

⁸⁵ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 481-482: “The valuable Istanbul ms Ūniversite 4755, usually helpful in resolving bibliographical issues, in this case adds to the confusion, for the scribe adds, next to the main title of this treatise, *wa-tu’rafu bi-l-Ma’ād al-aṣḡar*. But this can hardly be correct for the same scribe says the same thing about the original ‘Lesser’ *Ma’ād* [...] It is important to note that the SB, which does list the *Tuḥfa* (no. 26), also lists the *Ma’ād* separately (no. 19), which is identified with *al-Ma’ād al-aṣḡar* in the LB. This means that the very reliable SB did not consider the *Tuḥfa* to be identical with the *Ma’ād* either. Besides, the identity of *Tuḥfa*

precious *mağmū'at* that also preserve some of the works mentioned in this paper concerning the beginning and the end of the human soul.⁸⁶

Conclusions

The analysis of Avicennian pseudo-corpus is still in its infancy and many copies of his treatises, authentic, spurious or dubious, remain to be explored.⁸⁷ The falsely attributed works, intentionally or not,⁸⁸ represent important indicators for interpreting how the readers were influenced and what was actually received and transmitted by exegetes and translators. That many works with Avicennian authorship circulated during the Safavid Renaissance was certainly a noteworthy fact, especially since they were read within the intellectual and Šī'ite circles of Iṣfahān. The study of Avicenna, as Reisman rightly pointed out, also passes through the reception of his thought by later scholars.⁸⁹

This paper has examined the state of the art of the manuscript tradition of Avicennian short treatises, both authentic and spurious, on the origin and return of the soul, an issue he addresses in several of his writings and occupies a major place mainly in his metaphysics. From a preliminary survey, it is clear that the codices were widely copied and therefore circulated preserving within them authentic works or attributed to Avicenna, in both Arabic and Persian. The copies examined, mostly included in anthologies, cover a wide time range, from the 12th to the 19th century, especially from the 15th century onwards, when there was an increase in the copying of works written in Persian, mainly during the reigns of the cultured and refined Ottoman sultans Bāyezīd II (r. 1481-1512), Selīm I (r. 1512-1520), and Süleyman I the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566). This phenomenon reached its peak during the 17th century, when a renewed interest in the Persian language manifested through the translations from Arabic, both literal and

with what is known as *al-Hujaj al-'ašr* or *as-Sa'āda* is verified by the contents of the latter which correspond to what Avicenna says about it in the '*Iṣq*."

⁸⁶ Mahdavi, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 56. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 482; Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi 1194; Hyderabad, Asafiya I, 732; Istanbul, Bayazit, *Veliyüddin* 3263₅; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, *Esat Efendi* 3688₆; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, *Fātiḥ* 3170₁₃; Istanbul, Köprülü 1602₂; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, *Nuruosmaniye* 4894₈₀; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, *Perteve* 617₂₀; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, *Raḡıp Paşa* 1461₁₅; Istanbul, Topkapı, *Ahmet III* 3447₆₀; Istanbul, Topkapı, *Emanet Haznesi* 1730₄₂; Istanbul, Topkapı, *Revan* 2042₁₁; Istanbul, Üniversitesi 1458₈₃, 4724₁₅, 4755₉ (588H); Lisbon, Academia das Ciencias, *Arab.* V.293; Manchester 384c; Marāğa, pp. 226-243 Pourjavady; Mashhad, Razavi IV 1/1025; Rampur I 389; Tehran, Danişgāh, *Miškāt* 1074₁, 1149; Tehran, Mağlis 599₁₃, 625₅₁; Tehran, Malik 2001₁₃, 2003₉; Tehran, Sipahsālār 8371₄.

⁸⁷ Strohmaier, "Avicenne et le phénomène des écrits pseudépigraphiques", 37: "Il ya avait plusieurs raisons pour un auteur de camoufler son identité. La première était l'intention de soutenir une positions idéologique par une autorité plus ancienne."

⁸⁸ Cf. Reisman, "The Pseudo-Avicennan Corpus, I", 6-7.

⁸⁹ Reisman, "The Pseudo-Avicennan Corpus, I", 8.

paraphrased,⁹⁰ and an exponential increase in exegetical activity on classical texts. Submerged texts resurfaced and works by Avicenna or attributed to him were translated and commented on.

One might initially suppose that these treatises circulated widely for their brevity and density, as happened in the first centuries after Avicenna's death, when the first readers approached the shorter works and the "prime exponents of *falsafa* and *kalām* privileged 'minor' *summae* as the quintessence of Avicenna's philosophy, like the *Dānešnāme-ye 'Alā'ī* (Book of Science for 'Alā' al-Dawla), chosen by al-Ġazālī for his account of Avicenna's thought in the *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* (The Aims/Doctrines of the Philosophers), the *Kitāb al-Naǧāt*, of which a very ancient transmission is attested, and the *'Uyūn al-ḥikma* (Sources of Wisdom), which, together with the *Naǧāt*, was commented upon already in the 6th/12th century."⁹¹

This hypothesis regarding the minor treatises on origin and destination is contradicted, however, by the same exponential increase in copies of Avicenna's masterpiece, *al-Šifā'*, and commentaries on it, during the 17th and 18th centuries.⁹² From the data collected, it is certain that the master's early writings on some specific topics of philosophical theology, attracted Safavid scholars. In the early phase of the Empire, philosophy had played a crucial role in theological writings, so much so that it was often identified with the latter.⁹³ As the Šī'ite configuration of the kingdom became increasingly predominant, also through the installation of the new generation of '*ulamā'*', rational sciences and philosophical investigations acquired increasing prestige during the early and mid-17th century.⁹⁴ The *madrasas* of Iṣfahān were steeped in Qur'ān studies and the Imamite tradition, but the eclectic scholars possessed a profound knowledge of

⁹⁰ Cf. Panzeca, "A Polyphony of Texts", 285-304; Ivana Panzeca, "On the Persian translations of Avicenna's *Ilāhiyyāt*", *Documenti e Studi sulla Tradizione Filosofica Medievale* 28 (2017): 553-567.

⁹¹ Amos Bertolacci, "Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'* (Book of the Cure/Healing): The Manuscripts Preserved in Turkey and Their Significance", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 67 (2017-2018): 265-304, part. 286-287. Cf. Dag Nikolaus Hasse, Amos Bertolacci (eds.), *The Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Reception of Avicenna's Metaphysics* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

⁹² See <https://www.avicennaproject.eu/#/downloads/indirect>; Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception", in P. Adamson (ed.), *Interpreting Avicenna: Critical Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 190-213; Ivana Panzeca, "Traditions, Transmissions, Translations: An Overview of the Commentaries on Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Šifā'* Preserved in India", *Palermo Occasional Papers* 0 (2022): 9-64. Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Period: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Nayrizī and His Writings* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011); Sajjad Rizvi, "The Many Faces of Philosophy in the Safavid Age", in *The Empires of the Near East and India: Source Studies of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Literate Communities*, edited by H. Khafipour (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 305-318.

⁹³ Maryam Moazzen, *Formation of a Religious Landscape: Shi'ī Higher Learning in Safavid Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 126 ff.; Gerhard Endress, "Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Iṣfahān", *Oriens* 26 (2001): 10-58, esp. 11-13.

⁹⁴ Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, "Twelver Shi'ī Theology", in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, edited by S. Schmidtke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 456-472.

philosophy and *fiqh*, as well as religious sciences, literature, and grammar.⁹⁵ Intellectuals enjoyed the support of 'Abbās I, Ṣafī I and 'Abbās II, who promoted the activity of both philosophers and traditionalists, offering them contracts and specialized madrasas and commissioning works.⁹⁶ The 17th century represented a unique event in the revival of the ancient tradition and the climax of this flowering occurred primarily in Šīrāz and Iṣfahān, although it also involved the areas bordering Persia, namely Transoxiana, Anatolia and India.⁹⁷

In addition to the traditional *curricula studiorum*, the Safavid theologians showed a renewed interest in the works of the founders of the *falsafa* and returned to the texts of the gnostic and Neoplatonic *ḥikma* dating back to the first period of the reception and translation of the Greek sources.⁹⁸

The quest for a philosophical, Neoplatonic identity distinct from that of the Sunnī *kalām* tradition significantly affected by Avicennism became characteristic of Iranian scholars from the 17th century onwards. Philosophical discussions were accordingly oriented towards religion, and many of the philosophers were at the same time religious authorities.

Avicenna had partly eclipsed the early speculations of the *falsafa* with his *summae*, in particular *al-Šifā'* and *al-Iṣārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*, and probably his early writings returned to the limelight also thanks to their Greek and Neoplatonic implications.⁹⁹ The substantial process of exegesis and translation into Persian during the Safavid period certainly contributed to the diffusion of his minor treatises, although at that stage of his scientific production he had not yet renounced the Physicists' approach. The (pseudo)-Avicennian corpus on *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* had a wide dissemination, certainly because concise and more accessible than the *summae*, but above all due to the crucial topic theme, in harmony with the theological-philosophical propensities of the Safavid era in the 17th century. The fascinating path traced by Avicenna in his early writings led to what Endress defined "the enchantment of the last reinterpretation of his metaphysics at the service of theology"¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Moazzen, *Formation of a Religious Landscape*, 139-140. Cf. Ata Anzali, S. M. Hadi Gerami (eds.), *Opposition to Philosophy in Safavid Iran: Mulla Muḥammad-Ṭāhir Qummi's Ḥikmat al-ʿĀrifin* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

⁹⁶ Moazzen, *Formation of a Religious Landscape*, 140.

⁹⁷ Endress, "Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Iṣfahān", 11-12; Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century. Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Asad Q. Ahmed and Reza Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent", in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, edited by S. Schmidtke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 606-624.

⁹⁸ Cf. Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, "An Eastern Renaissance? Greek Philosophy under the Safavids (16th-18th centuries AD)", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (1-2) (2015): 248-290.

⁹⁹ Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "An Eastern Renaissance?", 255.

¹⁰⁰ Endress, "Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Iṣfahān", 12.

and which the Safavid scholars followed according to a parable that still remains to be explored in depth.

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Appendix: Manuscripts¹⁰¹

II.1 *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: Bursa, *İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi*, Hüseyin Çelebi 1194; Hamadan, *Madrassa Ğarb*, 700₂; Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Ahmet III 1584 (914H/1508-9), 3225, 3247₁, 3268₇ (580H); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Fâtih 3217₁; Istanbul, *Millet Kütüphanesi*, Feyzullah Paşa 2188₁; Istanbul, *Köprülü*, 869₁₂; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Nuruosmaniye 4894₆₅; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Ragıp Paşa 872 (625H), Istanbul, *Üniversitesi*, 1630, 4390₂ (920H); Leiden 864 (no. 1485), 1464-2479 Cod. 1020a Warn; London, *British*, Add. 1665935; Manchester, 384₅; Mashhad, *Gawharşād*, 1714₂; Mashhad, *Haydar*, 491₁ (925H); Mashhad, *Raḍavī*, 862 (VI-VII/X-XI), 863, 864, 865 (1078H), 871, 5865 (1005H), 7892 (1115H), 21624 (XII/XVIII), 22384; Milan, *Ambrosiana*, 3204; Qom, *Mar'aşı*, 286₃₈ (1072H), 12748₂ (XI/XVII), 6895₁₀ (1045H); Qom, *Markaz-i İhyā'*, 2869 (1264H); San Lorenzo, *Escorial*, 703₁₀; Shiraz, *Ṭabāṭabā'ī*, 863 (XI/XVII), 404₂ (1101H); Tehran, *Dānişgāh*, 242₃ (ex *İlāhiyyāt*) (XI/XVII), 810₄ (ex *İlāhiyyāt*) (1087H), Mişkāt 861₅ (1283H), 1037, 1149₃₄ (before 962H), 2106₄ (XI/XVII), *Huqūq* 112₆ ج; Tehran, *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*, 1000₁₈ (1333H); Tehran, *Mağlis*, 634₃₀, 1255₄₅ (1091H), 5331 (1311H), 1809₁ (1285H), 1960₁, 14473₁₉ (XII/XVIII), 18752 (XIII/XIX), 3975₂ (1088H), 4530₁ (1085H), 4547 (1021H), 15232₁₉ (1035H), Tangābunī 171₂, 308₁; Tehran, *Malik*, 685 (XI/XVII), 2007₈, 2013₂₁, 2019₄, 4693₂₂ (XII/XVIII), 4694₇ (XI/XVII), 4694₁₁ (XI/XVII), 4694₁₆ (1021H), 4694₁₈ (1021H); Tehran, *Miftāh*, 168₁₁; Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 1216₄₅ (XII/XVIII), 1217₄₁, 2912₃ (1266H); Tehran, *Sulṭanatī*, 67₆ (1082H); Yazd, *Yazdī*, no number/2.

II.2 *Risāla al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: Istanbul, *Beyazıt*, Velieddin 3263₁₀ (942H); Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Ahmet III 3447₆₁ (866H); Istanbul, *Köprülü*, 1602₆ (948H); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Nuruosmaniye 4894₈₂; Istanbul, *Üniversitesi*, 1458₁₈ (1242H), 2874₄ (1320H); Qom, *Mar'aşı* 11619₄ (XII/XVIII), 13426/9 (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Dānişgāh*, Mişkāt 1046₂₀ (1061H), 1149₅₆ (before 962H), 6616₁₄ (1071H), 9216₁₁ (X/XVI); Tehran, *Mağlis*, 14₁₀ (X-XI/XVI-XVII),

¹⁰¹ These data are extrapolated from the bibliography previously cited in the notes.

Tabāṭabā'ī 206₂₃ (XI/XVII), Ṭabāṭabā'ī 860₂ (XI/XVII), 10029₆₅ (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Millī*, 2707₂ (1071H), 3936₁₄ (1295H); Tehran, *Narāqī* number? (X/XVI).

II.3 *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Esat Efendi, MSS 1234 and 1239.

II.4 *al-Ma'ād [al-aşğar] (Hāl al-naḥs al-insāniyya)*: Alexandria 3131; Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek*, 5343; Hamadan, *Madrassa Garb*, 1187₂₃ (X-XI/XVI-XVII); Isfahan *'Umūmī*, 2813₂ (1073H); Istanbul, *Millet Kütüphanesi*, Feyzullah Paşa 2188₆; Istanbul, *Köprülü*, 1605₈; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Ayasofya 2052 (687H), 4829 (XII/XVIII), 4849 (VIII/XIV), 4853 (VII/XIII); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Hamidiye 1448₂₁ (IX/XV) Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Nuruosmaniye 4894₁₂₈, Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Ragıp Paşa 1461₂₀; Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Ahmet III 3247₃, 3447₃₈; Istanbul, *Üniversitesi*, 1458₁₂, 4755₈ ff. 125b-169a (588H); Leiden 1464₃; Lisbon, *Academia das Ciencias*, Arab. V.293 (ff. 62b-66a, ch. 1 only); London, *British*, Add. 1665934, 1349₂; Mashhad, *Raḍawī*, iv 1/703, 704, 705, 706; Mashhad, *Raḍawī*, 567 (XI/XVII), 641, 642, 6427, 22686 (XI/XVII); Qom, *Gulpāyigānī*, 6879/33-35₅₉ (X/XVI); Qom, *Mar'aṣī*, 6525₁₀ (1042H); Rampur, Raza, 2955; Shiraz, *Maḥallātī*, 17, (1056H); Tehran, *Dānişgāh*, 601/28 (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1309H), 861₉ (1283H), 1037₇, 1149₂ (before 962H), 1925₅ (1081H), *Miškāt* 861₈; Tehran, *Malik*, 2003₇, 2005₁₃; Tehran, *Malik*, 4681₉ (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Mağlis* I 1807, *Mağlis*, 149 (570H), 625₅, 5138₈₃ (XI/XVII), 5283₂₉ (XI/XVII), 5283₈₂ (1102H), 14473₈ (XII/XVIII), 15733₁₃ (1028H), *Tunikābunī* 317₂₂; Tehran, *Millī*, 213/3 ف; Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 2799₄₉, 2912₇₀ (1266H), 8371₉ (1026H).

al-Ma'ād [al-aşğar] (Persian translation 1): Oxford, *Bodleian*, Ouseley 95₂ (Ethé 1422) (1042-1043H); London, *British*, 1665922 (1182H); London, *British*, India Office 2149; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Ayasofya 4851₅; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Fātiḥ 5426₅ (726-727H); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Hamidiye 1452₈ (XII/XVIII?); Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Ahmet III 3447_{82,84} (866H); Istanbul, *Üniversitesi*, A 1458₂₃; Mashhad, *Raḍawī*, 587 (700H); Tehran, *Dānişgāh*, *Miškāt* 1089₂; Tehran, *Mağlis*, 631₅ (1268H); Tehran, *Malik*, 2007₁₁; Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 1217₁₂, 8371₂₂.

al-Ma'ād [al-aşğar] (Persian translation 2): London, *British*, 16659₂₁ (1182H, ff. 381v-402v); Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 8371₂₃ (1026H).

II.5 *al-Adhawiyya fī l-ma'ād*: Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek*, 2734; Cairo² I 186; Hamadan, *Madrassa Ġarb*, 1187₈ (X-XI/XVI-XVII); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Ayasofya 4829₂₈ (XII/XVIII); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Hamidiye 1448₂₀ (IX/XV); Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Nuruosmaniye 4894₉₉; Istanbul, *Süleymaniye*, Ragıp Paşa 1461₆; Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Ahmet III 3247₂, 3447₁₄ (866H); Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Emanet Haznesi 1730₂₉; Istanbul, *Topkapı*, Rowān 2042₁₀ (888H); Istanbul, *Üniversitesi*, 1458₇₉, 4724₆ (700H), 4755₁₅ (588H); Leiden 1465; London, *British*, Add. 166596; Manchester 384₁; Marāğa (Nasrollah Pourjavady (ed.), *Majmū'ah-ye Falsafī-e Marāghah. A Philosophical Anthology from Maraghah* (Tehran: Iran University Press, 2002), 365-402; Mashhad, *Gawharšād*, 827₂ (XI/XVII); Mashhad, *Raḍawī*, 5873, 5953, 6123 (1094H), 11452₄ (1019H), 15088 (1078H); Qom, *Mar'aṣī*, 9900₁, 11855₃ (1049H), 14709₁₉ (1095H);

Rampur, *Raza*, i 712; Shiraz, *Maḥallātī*, 277₁; Tehran, 'Abd al- 'Azīm, 628₄ (1349H); Tehran, *Dānišgāh*, 242/48 (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1061H), *Miškāt* 422₁, 601₃ (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1308H), 1074₂ (1061H), 1149₇₄ (before 962H), 8225₁ (1006H) Tehran, *Maḡlis*, 634₂₅, 1264₆, 1830₁₀ (1058H), 3923₃ (VIII/XIV), 4547₁₇, 8780₆ (1102H); Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1280₁ (1122H), Tangābunī 40₁, 793; Tehran, *Mahdavi*, 587₁₃ (VI/XII); Tehran, *Malik*, 2003₁₀, 4651₁₅ (VII/XIII), 4681₁₂ (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 2912₁₀, 8371₃ (1026H), 1095₁₁.

al-Aḍḥawiyya (Persian translation): Oxford, *Bodleian*, Ouseley 95₅ (Ethé 1422) (1042-1043H, ff. 22v-31v)¹; Qom, *Fāṣl Qā'ini*, no number (879H); Tashkent, *Bīrūnī*, 561₉ (1054H, ff. 76v-112v); Tehran, *Sulṭanatī*, 189₃ (1055-1056H).