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# 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.<sup>1</sup>

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*),<sup>2</sup> a genre inaugurated by Avicenna himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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 Sufistic 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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](https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/EIEG/SIM_gi_02688.xml?rskey=2IYcrE&result=1).

<sup>3</sup> 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 Commentarial 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-aspār]* (The [Lesser] Destination). These were followed, during the middle period of his production (between 1012 and 1024), by *al-Adhāwiyya fil-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-hikmiyya*) where the things that are separable [from matter] are investigated.<sup>4</sup>

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 Gurgān and then to Ḡurğān, but also an evolution towards a metaphysical theory more independent of the Aristotelian model.<sup>5</sup> Several sections of the first two treatises mentioned were then copied *verbatim* in his *summae*, *al-Šifā'* (The Cure) and *al-Naḡāt* (The Salvation), with the exception of a few parts.

In the *Biography*, written around 1050, his faithful disciple Ḡūzğānī inserts the *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād*, compiled in Ḡurğān, and *al-Ma 'ād*, completed in Rayy.<sup>6</sup>

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

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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Mahdāvī 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!".

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Shiān al-hikma*, edited by M. Šafī' (Lahore: Punjab University, 1935).

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ibn al-Qiftī's Ta'rih al-hukama'*, edited by J. Lippert (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903).

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Abī Usaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-ātibbā', 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 İstanbul, Üniversitesi 4755), adds specifications to both: *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād fil-nafs* 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-fārisiyā*.<sup>10</sup>

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 *šayh al-ra'is* by bibliographers or scribes or other authors.

Ergin, Anawati and Mahdavī, Avicennian orientalists and bibliographers, list a series of works that bear these titles.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

### 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

<sup>10</sup> 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, quellegeschichtlichen Studien und Glossaren* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Osman Ergin, "İbni Sina bibliografiyasi", in *Büyük Türk Filozof ve Tib Üstadi Ibni Sina Şahsiyeti ve Eserleri Hakkında Tetkikler* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitap Evi, 1937), 35-36, 39-40; George C. Anawati, *Mu'allafat Ibni Sīnā. Essai de bibliographie avicennienne* (Cairo: Dār al-Mā'arif, 1950), 142-144, 252-260; Yaḥyā Mahdavī, *Fihrist-i nushah-hā-yi muṣannafāt-i Ibni Sīnā. Bibliographie d'Ibn Sīnā* (Tehran: Intišārat-i Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān, 1333Š/1954), 39-41, 212-216, 244-247, 294 [henceforth: *Muṣannafāt-i Ibni Sīnā*].

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād* and *Ājāz va anjām* are the titles of numerous treatises, in Arabic and Persian, by influential exponents of Islamic thought and Avicennian tradition. *Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād*: Hāmid al-Ğazālī (d. 1111), Atīr al-Dīn al-Abhārī (d. c. 1265), 'Azīz al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Nasafī (13<sup>th</sup> 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 (16<sup>th</sup> c.), Vāgiḥ al-Dīn Šānī Takallū (d. 1614), Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Āḥad Fārūqī (d. 1625), Muḥammad Amīn ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn Šīrwānī (d. 1627), Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1641), Muḥammad Taqī ibn 'Abd Ḥusayn Naṣīrī Tūsī (17<sup>th</sup> c.), Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1641), Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhiqī (d. 1710), Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Amīn Šakīb Sīrāzī (d. 1723), Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Aṣḡar Nūrī (19<sup>th</sup> c.), 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd Kurdi (d. 1887), Sayyid Āqā Afsār, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Bihbahānī (d. 1907). *Ājāz va anjām*: Atīr al-Dīn al-Abhārī (d. c. 1265), Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 1274), 'Azīz al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Nasafī (13<sup>th</sup> c.), 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāṣī (d. c. 1329), Muḥammad Aḥmadī, Fayyād (15<sup>th</sup> c.), Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Rafī' Bīdābādī (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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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

- *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād* (ff. 337r-361v);
- *al-Ma 'ād (Risāla al-Tuhfa)* (ff. 430v-435v);
- *Risāla al-Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād* (ff. 435v-436r);
- *Risāla fī l-Ma 'ād (Adhāwiyya)* (ff. 485r-493v);
- *al-Ma 'ād [al-aspār]* (ch. 13: *al-Nafs al-falakiyya*) (ff. 542r-543r);
- *Risāla fī l-Nafs wa-baqā'iḥā wa-ma 'ādihā (al-Ma 'ād [al-aspār])* (ff. 577r-587v).

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

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

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

<sup>15</sup> David C. Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition. The Transmission, Contents, and Structure of Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥatāt (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)."

<sup>16</sup> 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).<sup>17</sup> 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 Rabī‘ 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.<sup>18</sup>

- *Risāla al-Adhawīya fī amr al-ma ‘ād* (ff. 25v-34v);
- Persian translation of *al-Ma ‘ād [al-asḡar]* (*Risāla al-Ma ‘ād*, long version, ff. 381v-402r);
- Persian translation of *al-Ma ‘ād [al-asḡar]* (*Risāla al-Nafs*, short version, ff. 403v-410r);
- *Risāla al-Mabda ‘wa-l-ma ‘ād* (ff. 411v-413v);
- *Kitāb al-Ma ‘ād (al-Ma ‘ād [al-asḡar])* (ff. 449v-466r);
- *Risāla al-Mabda ‘wa-l-ma ‘ād (Kitāb al-Mabda ‘wa-l-ma ‘ād)* (ff. 466v-497r).

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc\\_100000001517.0x000093](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.

<sup>18</sup> [https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc\\_100000001517.0x000093](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 (‘unwān) illuminated in gold, red and blue; beginning with f. 4, all pages are framed in yellow, black and red [...] Marginalia: Few by multiple hands.”

© MS London, British Library, Add. 16659 (ff. 2v-3r, Table of contents)

3. MS Oxford, Bodleian, *Ouseley* 95 (Ethé 1422), dated 1042H/1632-1633), was purchased by the Bodleian in 1843 from the British officer and orientalist Sir William Ouseley (1767-1842); it is a collection of philosophical treatises, both in Arabic and Persian, among others by Pseudo-Plato, Ibn Na‘ima, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Sahlān Sāwī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Bar Hebraeus etc...<sup>19</sup>
  - Persian translation of *al-Ma ‘ād [al-asjār]* (*Risāla al-Nafs*, short version, ff. 19v-20v, 2r-4r);
  - Persian translation of *Risāla al-Adhawiyya fī l-ma ‘ād* (ff. 22v-31v).
4. MS Qom, Mar‘aṣī, 286, dated 1072H/1661-2, is a multi-text of approximately 100 texts, most of which are philosophical in content; it contains works by Pseudo-Aristotle, Pseudo-Alexander, al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Pseudo-Fārābī, Miskawayh, Avicenna, Pseudo-Avicenna, Ǧūzgānī, ‘Umar Ḥayyām, Ibn Sahlān Sāwī, Sīḥāb al-

<sup>19</sup> Edward Sachau and Ernest Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, part I: The Persian Manuscripts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 875: "Ff. 169, ll. 25-27; small cursive Nasta 'lik, very like Shikasta; size, 12 3/8 in. 7-7 3/8 in."

Dīn Yahyā Suhrawardī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Faḥr al-Dīn Rāzī, Bābā Afḍal Kāšānī, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad Šahrazūrī, Quṭb al-Dīn Šīrāzī, ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kāšānī, al-Sayyid al-Šarīf Ĝurğānī, Sayyid Niżām al-Dīn Aḥmad Daštakī, Mullā Ṣadrā, etc...<sup>20</sup>

On the fly-leaf (f. 3r) there is a *waqf*-statement dated 1063H/1654 by Muhaqqiq 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.<sup>21</sup>

- *al-Ma ‘ād [al-asġar]* (ch. 1: R. *fil-Quwāt al-ġismāniyya*, pp. 121-124);
- *al-Ādħawiyya fil-ma ‘ād* (pp. 240, 315, 329 excerpts);
- *Risāla al-Tuhfa* (pp. 232-233);
- Persian translation of *al-Ma ‘ād [al-asġar]* (*Māhiyyat al-nafs*, short version, pp. 316-328).

## II. *The Origin and Destination: Authentic and Spurious Works*

II.1 *Kitāb al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma ‘ād*<sup>22</sup> was written by Avicenna between 403H/1013 and 404H/1014.<sup>23</sup> The dates coincide with his arrival in Ĝurğān and the meeting with his

<sup>20</sup> Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥusaynī and Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar‘ašī, *Fihrist-i nusḥah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥadrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Mar‘ašī Nağafī*, vol. I (Qom: Kitābhāna-yi Buzurg-i Āyat Allāh Mar‘ašī Nağafī, 1364-1366/1985-1988), 312-333; Hossein Mottaqi, “MS Qom, Kitābhāna Āyatullāh Mar‘ašī 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).”

<sup>21</sup> See Mottaqi, “MS Qom, Kitābhāna Āyatullāh Mar‘ašī 286”: 142.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma ‘ād li-al-Šayḥ al-Rā’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.

<sup>23</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 165.

faithful disciple and collaborator Ǧūzgānī, who in the *Biography* reports that Avicenna wrote the treatise for one Abū-Muhammad al-Šīrāzī:<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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-Ahmad ibn-Muhammad 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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup>

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-Naḡāt* (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-aṣḡar*] (The [Lesser] Destination) and

<sup>24</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 101, n. 1: "In his dedication, Avicenna refers to this person as Abū-Ahmad ibn-Muhammad (or simply Abū-Muhammad in the Istanbul MS Ahmet III 3268, Nūrānī 1 and Mahdavī 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*."

<sup>25</sup> 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."

<sup>26</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 20-21.

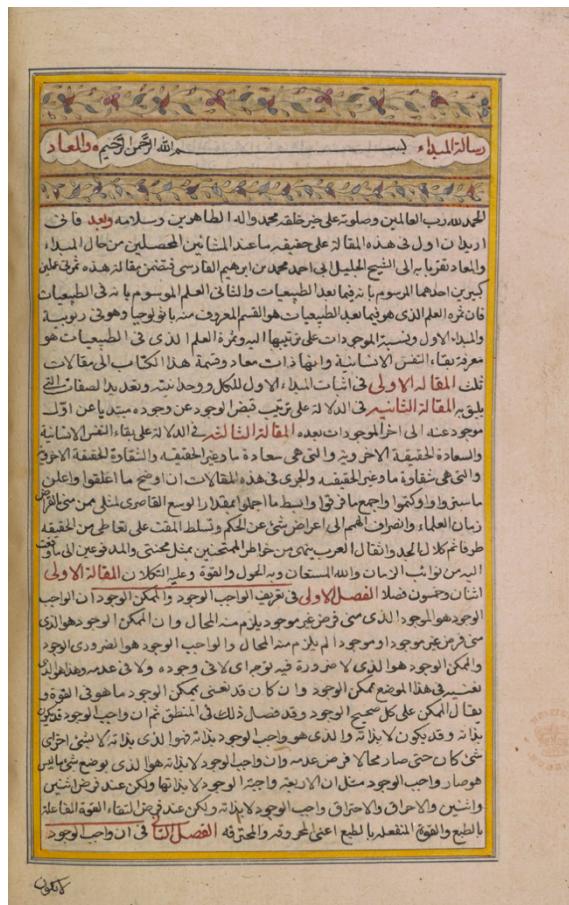
<sup>27</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 21.

then included equally in *The Cure* and in *The Salvation*.<sup>28</sup> 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 Tahrān, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, 1000/18, 1333H), with a peak during the 17th century Safavid period (more than 20 copies, see Appendix).<sup>29</sup>

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.

<sup>28</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 101. Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ilāhiyyāt min al-Šifā' li-Šayh al-Rā'īs Abū 'Alī Husayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sīnā ma 'ta līqāt*, 2 vols., edited by 'A. K. Šarīf Šīrāzī (Tehran: Madrasa Dār al-Funūn 1303H/1885); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ilāhiyyāt min Kitāb al-Šifā'*, edited by H. al-Āmulī (Qom: Maktab al-Īlām al-Islāmī, Markaz al-Našr, 1376Š/1997-1998); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt* (1), edited by ġ. Š. Qanawati and S. Zāyid (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-'āmma li-šu'ūn al-maṭābi' al-amīriyya, 1960); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt* (2), edited by M.Y. Mūsā, S. Dunyā and S. Zāyid (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-'āmma li-šu'ūn al-maṭābi' al-amīriyya, 1960, repr. Tehran: Intišārāt-i Nāṣir-i Ḫusraw, 1363Š/1984-1985); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt wa-ta līqāt Ṣadr al-muta 'allihin 'alayhā Kitāb al-Šifā'* (*Metaphysics*, with Marginal Notes by Mullā Ṣadrā, Mīr Dāmād, Ḥwānsārī, Sabzavārī and others, edited with introduction and notes by H. Nāṣir 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-Naġāt*, edited by M. Š. al-Kurdī (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-sa'āda, 1331H/1913); Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Naġāt*, edited by M. T. Dānešpāzūh, (Tehran: Intišārāt-i Dānišgāh, 1364Š/1985).

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



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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).<sup>30</sup> Anawati wrongly claimed that they preserved the translation of *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*.<sup>31</sup> Mahdavī 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*.<sup>32</sup> The digital archive of the Qatar library also considers the

<sup>30</sup> Instead, it preserves the condensed Persian translation of the treatise *al-Ma'ād* [*al-āṣgar*].

<sup>31</sup> Anawati, *Mu'allafāt ibn Sīnā*, 253; Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i ibn-i Sīnā*, 213.

<sup>32</sup> Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i ibn-i Sīnā*, 294, no. 215.

copy a Persian condensed translation of a work on metaphysics by Avicenna.<sup>33</sup> This information is probably extrapolated from *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*,<sup>34</sup> later rectified in the publication dedicated by Rieu exclusively to the Persian codices preserved at the British Library.<sup>35</sup> Reisman, in *Avicenna at the ARCE*, omits reference to this treatise in its description of the contents of the codex.<sup>36</sup> Another copy attributed to Avicenna is preserved in the Sipahsalar Library with the number 6747/2.<sup>37</sup> The erroneous authorship is also evident from the *explicit*, in which the *shayh* is clearly referred to (MSS British Add. 16659/24; Mağlis 5138/40; 9541/25; 17490. *ض*).

*Risāla-yi mabda' 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 Atīr al-Dīn al-Abhārī (d. c. 663H/1265),<sup>38</sup> although in some manuscripts the treatise is mistakenly identified with another of his works, *Kalimat 'ašara*.<sup>39</sup> In a witness preserved in the Mağlis Library, MS 14590/156, dated Muharram 723H/1323, authorship is assigned to Zayn al-Dīn Sayfī (VII/XIII).<sup>40</sup> The copy has been restored and reports an inscription in *nasta'liq*, “*Safīna Tabrīz*”, the title of the encyclopedic collection compiled by Abū al-Mağd Muhammād ibn Mas'ūd Tabrīzī in Ilkhanid Iran during the years 721-723H/1321-1323. The compendium was printed by the

<sup>33</sup> [https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc\\_100148048612.0x000002c](https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100148048612.0x000002c) (accessed 1 Feb 2025).

<sup>34</sup> Cureton and Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*, II, 449, no. XXII: “Commentatio de existentiæ 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, cuius 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 Jurján, in gratiam Shaikhi Abu Muhammad al-Shírází.”

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

<sup>36</sup> Reisman, “Avicenna at the ARCE”, 143-146.

<sup>37</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, I, 214.

<sup>38</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, I, 213-214: Mashhad, شایح 'الی حیدر 1365<sub>13</sub> (1083H); Qom, مار'ا شی 6547<sub>2</sub>, 11251<sub>8</sub> (XI/XVII); Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān 242<sub>10</sub> (form. Ilāhiyyāt), 2401<sub>34</sub> (XI/XVII), 3238<sub>5</sub> (1241H), 4732<sub>6</sub>, 5968<sub>2</sub> (1000H), 8211<sub>13</sub> (XI/XVII); Tehran, دا'یرat al-ma 'ārif 1070<sub>4</sub> (XI/XVII); Tehran, Mahdavī 281<sub>8</sub>; Tehran, Mağlis, ض 17490, 5138<sub>140</sub> (XI/XVII), 9541<sub>25</sub> (1287H), 10704<sub>7</sub> (1347H); Tehran, Nafīsī 470; Milli 32507<sub>8</sub>; Tehran, Sipahsalar 2912<sub>93</sub>; Yazd, Vazīrī 3067<sub>3</sub> (1081H).

<sup>39</sup> Atīr al-Dīn Al-Abhārī, *Kalimat 'ašara* (Ten Words), in *Čahārda risāla* (Fourteen treatises), edited by M. B. Sabzwārī (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1340Š/1961-1962), 163-174.

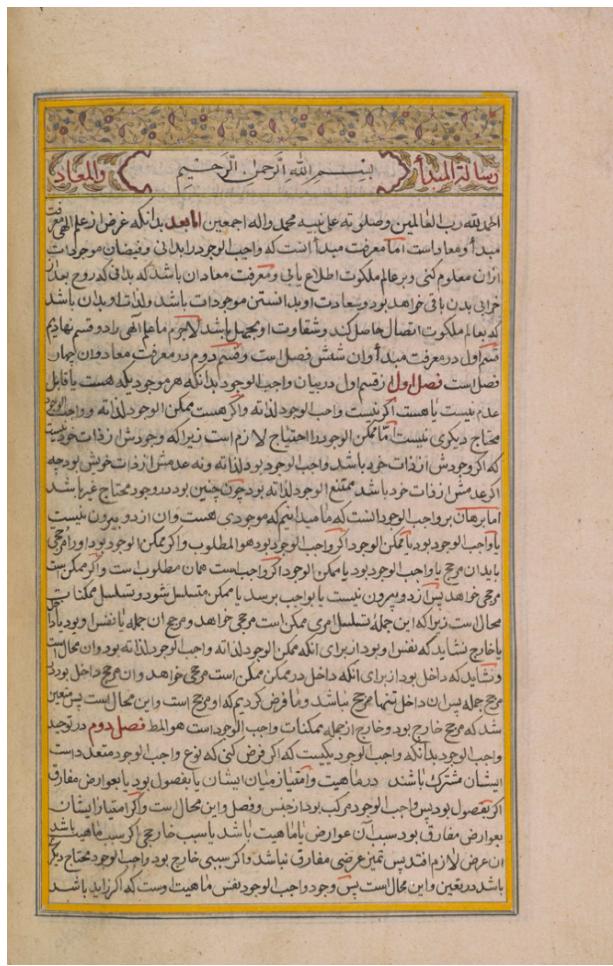
<sup>40</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, I, 213.

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

Of unknown authorship, some copies of the same treatise are also listed in *Fanhā*, entitled *Mabda' va ma 'ād* (see MS Mağlis 6489/14, dated 1087H/1676-7).<sup>42</sup> 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 Mağlis 5138, a *mağmū'ā* of at least 153 works, which at number 140 (pp. 988-990) preserves *Ajāz va anqām* 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 (Mağlis 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.

<sup>41</sup> Abū al-Maġd Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd Tabrīzī, *Safīna-yi Tabrīz: 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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).

<sup>42</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanhā*, XXVII, 791-792; Baghdad, Wahabī 2023; Mashhad, Gawharšād 483<sub>1</sub>; Qom, Gulpāyigānī 446<sub>4</sub>-3-66; Qom, Huqatiyya 442<sub>2</sub>; Tabriz, Millī 3198<sub>5</sub>; Tehran, Mağlis 6489<sub>14</sub>.



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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-Mabda' wa-l-ma 'ād* (Epistle on the Origin and Destination), which answers four questions posed by the *shayh Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Ḥayr*<sup>43</sup> 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

<sup>43</sup> Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 138 ff.

inauthenticity in *L'épître sur la genèse et le retour*,<sup>44</sup> a French translation based on the editions done in Iran<sup>45</sup> and Cairo,<sup>46</sup> compared with other manuscripts.<sup>47</sup> This spurious treatise circulated during the Safavid era and many copies dating from the 17th century are today preserved in Iran (see Appendix).<sup>48</sup>

There is also a late Persian translation of the work preserved in MS Tahrān, Mağlis 631/20 (1268H/1851-1852, pp. 321-360) and in MS Tahrān, Nūrbahš 607/7 (1261H/1845, pp. 357-382).<sup>49</sup> The title reported is *Hayr al-zād dar mabda' va ma 'ād* and the translation is attributed to Fahr al-Dīn ibn Alīmad Rūdbārī (19th c.), originally from Kurdistan. Ibrāhīm Dībāğī, in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Nūrbahš 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).<sup>50</sup> He further adds that he began the translation of *Tadhib al-marām fi tarğama tahdīb al-kalām* in 1260H, completing it on 8 Ğumāda 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 *shayh* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.

<sup>44</sup> 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.

<sup>45</sup> *Ağwibat As 'ila min al-Šayḥ*, in the margins of Mullā Ṣadrā, *Šarḥ al-Hidāya al-Atīriyya* (Tehran: 1313H/1895), 372-374.

<sup>46</sup> Muhyiddin Ṣabrī al-Kurdī (ed.), *Mağmū'at al-rasā'il* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Kurdistān al-'ilmīyya, 1328H/1910), 250-256.

<sup>47</sup> 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);<sup>47</sup> Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Tīmūr Mağāmī 66 (ff. 126-128) and 200 (ff. 189v-190v). See George C. Anawati, “Un cas typique de l’ésoterisme avicennien: sa doctrine de la résurrection des corps”, *La Revue du Caire* (Millénaire d’Avicenne) 141 (1951): 68-94, part. 73-74.

<sup>48</sup> The copies are also listed in Anawati, *Mu'allafat Ibn Sīnā*, 253, no. 196, and Mahdavī, *Fihrist-i nūshah-hā-yi muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 216, no. 106; other witnesses are listed in Dirāyatī, *Fanhā*, XXVII, 776-777. Anawati inserts the following copies, not confirmed afterwards by Mahdavī: 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.

<sup>49</sup> The same miscellaneous codex, at number 361<sub>22</sub>, reports in Persian translation a part of Ibn Sīnā-al-Ḥayr epistolary correspondence (see Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 7). Dirāyatī, *Fanhā*, XIV, 194, considers the copies as belonging to two distinct works.

<sup>50</sup> Muḥammad Muḥsin Āqā Buzurg Tahrānī, *Al-Darī'a ilā taṣānīf al-ṣī'a*, 25 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ādwa', 1403-1406H/1983-1986); 24 vols. in 27 (Najaf-Tehran: 1355-1398H/1936-1978); a supplement, ed. A. Ḥusaynī, was published as vol. 26 (Mashhad: 1364H/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),<sup>51</sup> *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Tawhīd*,<sup>52</sup> *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Nās*,<sup>53</sup> and *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Falaq*.<sup>54</sup> These translations are preserved in some *mağmū'at* and in particular in the above-mentioned codices Mağlis 631 and Nūrbahš 607, which respectively at numbers 22 and 9 also preserve Rūdbārī's Persian translation of other parts of Ibn Sīnā – al-Ḥayr correspondence.<sup>55</sup>

In the same collections, MSS Mağlis 631/4 and Nūrbahš 607/6, the translation of another spurious eschatological treatise by Avicenna, *Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-nafs al-nātiqa wa-ahwālihā* (On the Knowledge of the Rational Soul and its States).<sup>56</sup> This treatise is not included in the medieval bibliographies and its authorship is attributed to various authors.<sup>57</sup> Both Mahdavī and Michot<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

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 šayh, Ergin includes two copies preserved at the

<sup>51</sup> The *Risāla* is part of a set of fragments of works which are transmitted under the various titles (*al- 'Urūš*; *al- 'Arš*; *al- Aršīyya*; *Silsilat al-falāsifa*; *al- Ḥayra*; *Itbāt al-wuġūd*; *Itbāt al- 'uqūl*) dealing with God, the soul and its destiny. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 493-494. MSS: Nūrbahš 607<sub>8</sub>; Mağlis 631<sub>21</sub> (see *Fanhā*, vol. XXII, p. 586).

<sup>52</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanhā*, VIII, 725: MSS Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān ↳ 90<sub>12</sub>; Tehran, Nūrbahš 607/3; Tehran, Mağlis 631<sub>1</sub>. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 506; Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 64-65; Anawati, *Mu'allaqāt Ibn Sīnā*, 262-264.

<sup>53</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanhā*, VIII, 778: MSS Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān ↳ 90<sub>14</sub>; Tehran, Nūrbahš 607<sub>5</sub>; Tehran, Mağlis 631<sub>3</sub>. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 507; Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 65-66; Anawati, *Mu'allaqāt Ibn Sīnā*, 265-266.

<sup>54</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fanhā*, VIII, 778: MSS Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān ↳ 67<sub>1</sub>; Tehran, Nūrbahš 607<sub>4</sub>; Tehran, Mağlis 631<sub>2</sub>. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 507; Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 65-66; Anawati, *Mu'allaqāt Ibn Sīnā*, 264-265.

<sup>55</sup> Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 6-7; Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 138 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 524-525: "Other titles: *R. fī 'Ilm al-nafs*, *R. fī al-Nafs al-nātiqa wa-kayfiyyat ahwālihā*, *Haqīqat al-nafs*". M. T. al-Fandī, "Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-nafs al-nātiqa wa-ahwālihā", *al-Mashriq* 1 (1934): 324-336; A. F. al-Ahwānī, (El Ahwany), "Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-nafs al-nātiqa wa-ahwālihā", 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.

<sup>57</sup> Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 302-303. Anawati, *Mu'allaqāt Ibn Sīnā*, 163-165.

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> Marmura, "Avicenna and the Kalām".

Süleymaniye of Istanbul, MSS *Esat Efendi* 1234 and 1239<sup>60</sup> (see Appendix), later mentioned by Anawati,<sup>61</sup> and by Mahdavī, who underlines its inauthenticity.<sup>62</sup>

II.4 *Al-Ma 'ād [al-āṣjār]* (*Hāl al-nafs al-insāniyya*) (The [Lesser] Destination) (State of the Human Soul),<sup>63</sup> 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 Ğūzgānī relates.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> Avicenna composed the work for friends "pure in heart" and the topic is the soul and its afterlife.<sup>66</sup> 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*<sup>67</sup> and *The Salvation*.<sup>68</sup>

[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

<sup>60</sup> Ergin, "İbni Sina bibliografiyasi", 36, no. 162.

<sup>61</sup> Anawati, *Mu 'allaṭat Ibn Sīnā*, 254-255, no. 197.

<sup>62</sup> Mahdavī, *Muṣannafat-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 294, no. 216.

<sup>63</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102-103, 477-479. Ibn Sīnā, *Ahwāl 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).

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

<sup>65</sup> 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."

<sup>66</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Šifā'*, *al-Ṭabī'iyyāt*, *al-Nafs*, edited by G. C. Anawati, and S. Zāyid (Cairo: al-Hay'ā al-miṣriyya al-‘āmma li-al-kitāb, 1395H/1975); Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Šifā'*: *al-Nafs*, edited by H. Hasanzāda 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 Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 1956); Ibn Sīnā, Avicenna's *De anima*.

<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup>

Sebti questioned the authenticity of the treatise, arguing that a compiler had extrapolated parts from *al-Naṣīḥāt*, to which he then added three new chapters (I, XIII and the final part of XVI).<sup>70</sup> The first and thirteenth, the most discussed and controversial chapters, circulated independently.<sup>71</sup> Michot approved its authenticity<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup>

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

<sup>69</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 102; Ibn Sīnā, *Ahwāl al-nafs*, 45.4-7.

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

<sup>71</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 477: “R. fi n-Nafs ‘alā tarīq ad-dalil wa-l-burhān; Fī n-Nafs an-nātiqa; Aḥwāl an-nafs; an-Nafs al-falakīyya [Chapter 13]; an-Nūfūs [Chapter 1]; R. fi l-Quwā l-jusmāniyya [Chapter 1].”

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

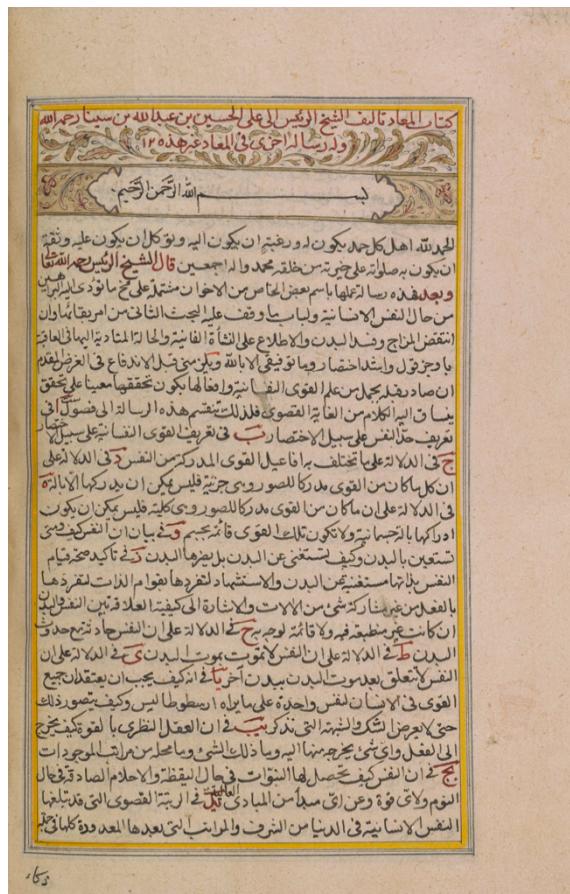
<sup>73</sup> Cf. Jules Janssens, “Le Ma‘ārij al-quds fī madārij ma‘rifat al-nafs”, *Archives d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 60 (1993): 27-55.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla-yi Nafs*, edited by M. ‘Amīd (Tehran: Danišgāh-i Tīhrān 1331Š/1952, Hamadan: Anğuman-i Āṭār wa Mufāhir-i Farhangī, 1383Š/2004); Mahdavī, *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*.

<sup>75</sup> Mahdavī, *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.

<sup>76</sup> London, *British*, 16659<sub>21</sub> (1182H, ff. 381v-402v); Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 8371<sub>23</sub> (1026H).

<sup>77</sup> 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-ashqar])

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

<sup>78</sup> Alternate title: *al-Ma 'ād*. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 472-477; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-Adhāwiyya fī amr al-ma 'ād*, edited by S. Dunyā (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabi, 1368H/1949); Ibn Sīnā, *al-Adhāwiyya fī l-ma 'ād li-Ibn Sīnā*, edited by H. 'Aṣī (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-ġāmi'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-Āmīn (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.<sup>79</sup> By contrast, Bayhaqī reports that it was written for the vizier Abū-Sa‘d al-Hamadānī, although the information in our possession does not allow us to verify this information.<sup>80</sup> Gutas places the drafting of the work in the time span from 1012 to 1024, in Ĝurğān, Rayy or Hamadān.<sup>81</sup> In the *Biography*, Ĝüzğānī 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).<sup>82</sup> *Al-Adhawīyya* 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.<sup>83</sup>

Another work by Avicenna, *Risāla al-Tuhfā* (The Present),<sup>84</sup> in the manuscripts sometimes bears the title *al-Ma‘ād al-āṣḡar* and this created misreadings and misinterpretations in some medieval bibliographies.<sup>85</sup> The treatise is contained in some

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Avicenna on the Posthumous States of the Human Soul in *Adhawīyya 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.

<sup>79</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 473.

<sup>80</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwan al-hikma*, 33-48.

<sup>81</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 475.

<sup>82</sup> Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 40; Dirāyatī, *Fanḥā*, 336-339.

<sup>83</sup> 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<sub>5</sub> (Ethé 1422) (1042H); Qom, Faṣl Qā’īnī, no number (879H); Tashkent, Bīrūnī, 561, (1054H); Tehran, Sultānatī, 189<sub>3</sub> (1055-1056H).

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fī l-sa‘āda wa-l-huqāj al-āṣr*, edited by Z. ‘Ā. Mūsawī, *Mağmū‘a rasā‘il al-Šayḥ al-Rā‘ī Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Sīnā al-Buhārī* (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-ma‘ārif al-‘utmāniyya, 1353-1354H/1934-1935), fifth *Risāla*, 14.6-18. Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 481: “M. fī Tahṣīl as-sa‘āda wa-tu‘rafu bi-l-hujaj al-āṣr; Fī s-Sa‘āda; al-Ḥujaj al-āṣr fī jawhariyyat nafs al-insān; R. fī n-Nafs wa-mā taṣīru ilayhi ba‘da muṣfāraqatihā l-badan; al-Ma‘ād al-āṣḡar”; Mahdavī, *Muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 55-56; Anawati, *Mu‘allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, 147-149.

<sup>85</sup> Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 481-482: “The valuable Istanbul ms Üniversite 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-āṣḡar*. 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 *Tuhfā* (no. 26), also lists the *Ma‘ād* separately (no. 19), which is identified with *al-Ma‘ād al-āṣḡar* in the LB. This means that the very reliable SB did not consider the *Tuhfā* to be identical with the *Ma‘ād* either. Besides, the identity of *Tuhfā*

precious *maǧmū'at* that also preserve some of the works mentioned in this paper concerning the beginning and the end of the human soul.<sup>86</sup>

### 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.<sup>87</sup> The falsely attributed works, intentionally or not,<sup>88</sup> 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 Isfahān. The study of Avicenna, as Reisman rightly pointed out, also passes through the reception of his thought by later scholars.<sup>89</sup>

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 Bāyezid 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

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

<sup>86</sup> Mahdavī, *Muṣannafat-i Ibn-i Sīnā*, 56. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 482: Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi 1194; Hyderabad, Asafiya 1, 732; Istanbul, Bayazıt, Velyüddin 3263<sub>5</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esat Efendi 3688<sub>6</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fātiḥ 3170<sub>13</sub>; Istanbul, Köprülü 1602<sub>2</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 4894<sub>80</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Pertev 617<sub>20</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 1461<sub>15</sub>; Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3447<sub>60</sub>; Istanbul, Topkapı, *Emanet Haznesi* 1730<sub>42</sub>; Istanbul, Topkapı, *Revan* 2042<sub>11</sub>; Istanbul, Üniversitesi 1458<sub>83</sub>, 4724<sub>15</sub>, 4755<sub>9</sub> (588H); Lisbon, Academia das Ciencias, Arab. V.293; Manchester 384c; Marāgā, pp. 226-243 Pourjavady; Mashhad, Razavī IV 1/1025; Rampur 1 389; Tehran, Danišgāh, Miškāt 1074<sub>1</sub>, 1149; Tehran, Mağlis 599<sub>13</sub>, 625<sub>51</sub>; Tehran, Malik 2001<sub>13</sub>, 2003<sub>9</sub>; Tehran, Sipahsālār 8371<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>87</sup> 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.”

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Reisman, “The Pseudo-Avicennan Corpus, I”, 6-7.

<sup>89</sup> Reisman, “The Pseudo-Avicennan Corpus, I”, 8.

paraphrased,<sup>90</sup> 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'i* (Book of Science for 'Alā' al-Dawla), chosen by al-Ğazālī for his account of Avicenna's thought in the *Maqāṣid al-Falāṣifa* (The Aims/Doctrines of the Philosophers), the *Kitāb al-Nağāt*, of which a very ancient transmission is attested, and the *'Uyūn al-hikma* (Sources of Wisdom), which, together with the *Nağāt*, was commented upon already in the 6th/12th century."<sup>91</sup>

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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> The *madrasas* of Isfahān were steeped in Qur'ān studies and the Imamite tradition, but the eclectic scholars possessed a profound knowledge of

<sup>90</sup> 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.

<sup>91</sup> 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).

<sup>92</sup> 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-Nayrīzī 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.

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

<sup>94</sup> Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, "Twelver Shi'i 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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> 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 Isfahān, although it also involved the areas bordering Persia, namely Transoxiana, Anatolia and India.<sup>97</sup>

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.<sup>98</sup>

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-Išārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*, and probably his early writings returned to the limelight also thanks to their Greek and Neoplatonic implications.<sup>99</sup> 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"<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Moazzen, *Formation of a Religious Landscape*, 139–140. Cf. Ata Anzali, S. M. Hadi Gerami (eds.), *Opposition to Philosophy in Safavid Iran: Mulla Muhammad-Tāhir Qummi's Ḥikmat al-'Arifin* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

<sup>96</sup> Moazzen, *Formation of a Religious Landscape*, 140.

<sup>97</sup> Endress, "Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Isfahān", 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.

<sup>98</sup> 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.

<sup>99</sup> Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "An Eastern Renaissance?", 255.

<sup>100</sup> Endress, "Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Isfahān", 12.

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

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Date of submission: 19/05/2025

Date of acceptance: 24/10/2025

### Appendix: Manuscripts<sup>101</sup>

II.1 *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hüseyin Çelebi 1194; Hamadan, Madrasa Ğarb, 700<sub>2</sub>; İstanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 1584 (914H/1508-9), 3225, 3247<sub>1</sub>, 3268, (580H); İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Fātiḥ 3217<sub>1</sub>; İstanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Paşa 2188<sub>1</sub>; İstanbul, Köprülü, 869<sub>12</sub>; İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 4894<sub>65</sub>; İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 872 (625H), İstanbul, Üniversitesi, 1630, 4390<sub>2</sub> (920H); Leiden 864 (no. 1485), 1464-2479 Cod. 1020a Warn; London, British, Add. 1665935; Manchester, 384<sub>5</sub>; Mashhad, Gawharšād, 1714<sub>2</sub>; Mashhad, Ḥaydar, 491<sub>1</sub> (925H); Mashhad, Raḍāvī, 862 (VI-VII/X-XI), 863, 864, 865 (1078H), 871, 5865 (1005H), 7892 (1115H), 21624 (XII/XVIII), 22384; Milan, Ambrosiana, 3204; Qom, Mar 'ašī, 286<sub>38</sub> (1072H), 12748<sub>2</sub> (XI/XVII), 6895<sub>10</sub> (1045H); Qom, Markaz-i Ḥiyāt, 2869 (1264H); San Lorenzo, Escorial, 703<sub>10</sub>; Shiraz, Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 863 (XI/XVII), 404<sub>2</sub> (1101H); Tehran, Dānišgāh, 242<sub>3</sub> (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (XI/XVII), 810<sub>4</sub> (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1087H), Miškāt 861<sub>5</sub> (1283H), 1037, 1149<sub>34</sub> (before 962H), 2106<sub>4</sub> (XI/XVII), Ḥuqūq 112<sub>6</sub> ζ; Tehran, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, 1000<sub>18</sub> (1333H); Tehran, Mağlis, 634<sub>30</sub>, 1255<sub>45</sub> (1091H), 5331 (1311H), 1809<sub>1</sub> (1285H), 1960<sub>1</sub>, 14473<sub>19</sub> (XII/XVIII), 18752 (XIII/XIX), 3975<sub>2</sub> (1088H), 4530<sub>1</sub> (1085H), 4547 (1021H), 15232<sub>19</sub> (1035H), Tangābūnī 171<sub>2</sub>, 308<sub>1</sub>; Tehran, Malik, 685 (XI/XVII), 2007<sub>3</sub>, 2013<sub>21</sub>, 2019<sub>4</sub>, 4693<sub>22</sub> (XII/XVIII), 4694<sub>7</sub> (XI/XVII), 4694<sub>11</sub> (XI/XVII), 4694<sub>16</sub> (1021H), 4694<sub>18</sub> (1021H); Tehran, Miftāh, 168<sub>11</sub>; Tehran, Sipahsālār, 1216<sub>45</sub> (XII/XVIII), 1217<sub>41</sub>, 2912<sub>3</sub> (1266H); Tehran, Sultānatī, 67<sub>6</sub> (1082H); Yazd, Yazdī, no number/2.

II.2 *Risāla al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*: İstanbul, Beyazıt, Velieddin 3263<sub>10</sub> (942H); İstanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3447<sub>61</sub> (866H); İstanbul, Köprülü, 1602<sub>6</sub> (948H); İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 4894<sub>82</sub>; İstanbul, Üniversitesi, 1458<sub>18</sub> (1242H), 2874<sub>4</sub> (1320H); Qom, Mar 'ašī 11619<sub>4</sub> (XII/XVIII), 13426/9 (XI/XVII); Tehran, Danišgāh, Miškāt 1046<sub>20</sub> (1061H), 1149<sub>56</sub> (before 962H), 6616<sub>14</sub> (1071H), 9216<sub>11</sub> (X/XVI); Tehran, Mağlis, 14<sub>10</sub> (X-XI/XVI-XVII),

<sup>101</sup> These data are extrapolated from the bibliography previously cited in the notes.

Tabāṭabā'ī 206<sub>23</sub> (XI/XVII), Ṭabāṭabā'ī 860<sub>2</sub> (XI/XVII), 10029<sub>65</sub> (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Millī*, 2707<sub>2</sub> (1071H), 3936<sub>14</sub> (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-āṣḡar]* (*Hāl al-nafs al-insāniyya*): Alexandria 3131; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 5343; Hamadan, Madrasa Garb, 1187<sub>23</sub> (X-XI/XVI-XVII); Isfahan 'Ūmūmī, 2813<sub>2</sub> (1073H); Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Paşa 2188<sub>6</sub>; Istanbul, Köprülü, 1605<sub>8</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2052 (687H), 4829 (XII/XVIII), 4849 (VIII/XIV), 4853 (VII/XIII); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1448<sub>21</sub> (IX/XV) Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 4894<sub>128</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Raġīp Paşa 1461<sub>20</sub>; Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3247<sub>3</sub>, 3447<sub>38</sub>; Istanbul, Üniverstitesi, 1458<sub>12</sub>, 4755<sub>8</sub> ff. 125b-169a (588H); Leiden 1464<sub>3</sub>; Lisbon, Academia das Ciencias, Arab. V.293 (ff. 62b-66a, ch. 1 only); London, British, Add. 1665934, 1349<sub>2</sub>; Mashhad, Raḍawī, iv 1/703, 704, 705, 706; Mashhad, Raḍawī, 567 (XI/XVII), 641, 642, 6427, 22686 (XI/XVII); Qom, *Gulpāyīgānī*, 6879/33-35<sub>59</sub> (X/XVI); Qom, *Mar 'ašī*, 6525<sub>10</sub> (1042H); Rampur, Raza, 2955; Shiraz, Maḥallātī, 17, (1056H); Tehran, Dānišgāh, 601/28 (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1309H), 861<sub>9</sub> (1283H), 1037<sub>7</sub>, 1149<sub>2</sub> (before 962H), 1925<sub>5</sub> (1081H), Miškāt 861<sub>8</sub>; Tehran, Malik, 2003<sub>7</sub>, 2005<sub>13</sub>; Tehran, Malik, 4681<sub>9</sub> (XI/XVII); Tehran, Mağlis I 1807, Mağlis, 149 (570H), 625<sub>5</sub>, 5138<sub>83</sub> (XI/XVII), 5283<sub>29</sub> (XI/XVII), 5283<sub>82</sub> (1102H), 14473<sub>8</sub> (XII/XVIII), 15733<sub>13</sub> (1028H); Tunikābūnī 317<sub>22</sub>; Tehran, *Millī*, 213/3 ٢٣؛ Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 2799<sub>49</sub>, 2912<sub>70</sub> (1266H), 8371<sub>1</sub> (1026H).

*al-Ma 'ād [al-āṣḡar]* (Persian translation 1): Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 95<sub>2</sub> (Ethé 1422) (1042-1043H); London, British, 1665922 (1182H); London, British, India Office 2149; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4851<sub>5</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fātiḥ 5426<sub>5</sub> (726-727H); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1452<sub>8</sub> (XII/XVIII?); Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3447<sub>82,84</sub> (866H); Istanbul, Üniverstitesi, A 1458<sub>23</sub>; Mashhad, Raḍawī, 587 (700H); Tehran, Dānišgāh, Miškāt 1089<sub>2</sub>; Tehran, Mağlis, 631<sub>5</sub> (1268H); Tehran, Malik, 2007<sub>11</sub>; Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 1217<sub>12</sub>, 8371<sub>22</sub>.

*al-Ma 'ād [al-āṣḡar]* (Persian translation 2): London, British, 16659<sub>21</sub> (1182H, ff. 381v-402v); Tehran, *Sipahsālār*, 8371<sub>23</sub> (1026H).

II.5 *al-Ādħawiyya fi l-ma 'ād*: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 2734; Cairo<sup>2</sup> I 186; Hamadan, Madrasa Garb, 1187<sub>8</sub> (X-XI/XVI-XVII); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4829<sub>28</sub> (XII/XVIII); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1448<sub>20</sub> (IX/XV); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 4894<sub>99</sub>; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Raġīp Paşa 1461<sub>6</sub>; Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3247<sub>2</sub>, 3447<sub>14</sub> (866H); Istanbul, Topkapı, Emanet Haznesi 1730<sub>29</sub>; Istanbul, Topkapı, Rowān 2042<sub>10</sub> (888H); Istanbul, Üniverstitesi, 1458<sub>79</sub>, 4724<sub>6</sub> (700H), 4755<sub>15</sub> (588H); Leiden 1465; London, British, Add. 166596; Manchester 384<sub>1</sub>; Marāǵa (Nasrollah Pourjavady (ed.), *Majmū 'ah-ye Falsafi-e Marāghah. A Philosophical Anthology from Maraghah* (Tehran: Iran University Press, 2002), 365-402; Mashhad, Gawharšād, 827<sub>2</sub> (XI/XVII); Mashhad, Raḍawī, 5873, 5953, 6123 (1094H), 11452<sub>4</sub> (1019H), 15088 (1078H); Qom, *Mar 'ašī*, 9900<sub>1</sub>, 11855<sub>3</sub> (1049H), 14709<sub>19</sub> (1095H);

Rampur, *Raza*, i 712; Shiraz, *Mahallatī*, 277<sub>1</sub>; Tehran, 'Abd al-'Azīm, 628<sub>4</sub> (1349H); Tehran, *Dānišgāh*, 242/48 (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1061H), Miškāt 422<sub>1</sub>, 601<sub>3</sub> (ex *Ilāhiyyāt*) (1308H), 1074<sub>2</sub> (1061H), 1149<sub>74</sub> (before 962H), 8225<sub>1</sub> (1006H) Tehran, *Mağlis*, 634<sub>25</sub>, 1264<sub>6</sub>, 1830<sub>10</sub> (1058H), 3923<sub>3</sub> (VIII/XIV), 4547<sub>17</sub>, 8780<sub>6</sub> (1102H); Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1280<sub>1</sub> (1122H), *Tangābunī* 40<sub>1</sub>, 793; Tehran, *Mahdavī*, 587<sub>13</sub> (VI/XII); Tehran, *Malik*, 2003<sub>10</sub>, 4651<sub>15</sub> (VII/XIII), 4681<sub>12</sub> (XI/XVII); Tehran, *Sipahsälär*, 2912<sub>10</sub>, 8371<sub>3</sub> (1026H), 1095<sub>11</sub>.

*al-Adhāwiyya* (Persian translation): Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 95<sub>5</sub> (Ethé 1422) (1042-1043H, ff. 22v-31v)<sup>1</sup>; Qom, *Fāṣl Qā'īnī*, no number (879H); Tashkent, *Bīrūnī*, 561<sub>9</sub> (1054H, ff. 76v-112v); Tehran, *Sultanatī*, 189<sub>3</sub> (1055-1056H).