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# *Al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*: An Important *Summa* of Avicennian *Falsafa*

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The manuscript Feyzullah 1217 preserved in the Beyazit Library in Istanbul contains a text of 181 folios entitled *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, 'Important Points and Useful Remarks'.<sup>1</sup> After a brief prologue (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>), this philosophical *summa* is divided into three parts: a logic part consisting of ten *maslaks*, 'ways' (fols 1<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>r</sup>); five *fanns*, 'fields', of physics (fols 72<sup>v</sup>–121<sup>v</sup>); seven *fanns* of *Divinalia* (fols 121<sup>v</sup>–180<sup>r</sup>). It is concluded by a short 'Rule and Recommendation' (*qā'ida wa-waṣiyya*) (fols 180<sup>r</sup>–181<sup>r</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

In an article published in 1956,<sup>3</sup> the Jesuit Wilhelm Kutsch was, as far as I know, the first modern scholar to pay attention to this manuscript, which had been neglected by both George Anawati and Yahya Mahdavi in their bibliographies of the Shaykh al-Ra'īs.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of the title-page, where the name 'Ibn Sīnā' is mentioned, Kutsch attributed the work to the great Iranian philosopher and found it quite close to the *Ishārāt* and *Najāt*.<sup>5</sup> He dated the manuscript to AH 1112 or 1113/AD 1700–1701 and edited the longest and last of the five *fanns* of the *Physics*, *Fī l-nufūs*, the *Psychology* (fols 101<sup>v</sup>–121<sup>v</sup>).

The next and most important academic study of the manuscript Feyzullah 1217 was the Tübingen doctoral dissertation of 1957 by another Jesuit, the Italian Paul Wernst.<sup>6</sup> It included a handwritten transcription of the title-page, the prologue, *fanns* I–III of the *Divinalia* (fols 121<sup>v</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>), and the conclusion of the work, as well as their translation into German.

The inaccessibility of Kutsch's article and the fact that Wernst's dissertation remained unpublished probably explain why *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* was almost never used in Avicennian studies of the last decades of the twentieth century. In 1997 Joseph Kenny republished, and translated into English, selected passages of the *Psychology* edited some forty years earlier by Kutsch.<sup>7</sup> As his study appeared in a Nigerian journal, its publication did not really improve the situation. For example, in the bibliography of

1. Abbreviated *Nukat* in references below, where page and line references are to the edition of Kutsch (see n. 3).

2. See the detailed table of contents in Appendix 1.

3. W. Kutsch, 'Ein neuer Text zur Seelenlehre Avicennas', in *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Iran Society, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 147–78.

4. See G. C. Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicennienne: Mu' allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, avant-propos d'Ahmed Bey Amin, préface d'Ibrahim Bey Madkour, Cairo, 1950; Y. Mahdavi, *Bibliographie d'Ibn Sīnā: Fihrist-e Nuskhāt-hā-ye Muṣannafāt-e Ibn-i Sīnā*, Tehran, 1333/1954.

5. See Kutsch, 'Ein neuer Text' (n. 3 above), p. 147.

6. P. Wernst, 'Die Seins- und Gotteslehre des Buches *an Nukat wa-l-Fawā'id* des Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), erstmalig veröffentlicht, übersetzt und erklärt nach der Unikum-Handschrift Fayzullah 1217', PhD diss., University of Tübingen, 1957.

7. J. Kenny, 'Ibn-Sīnā on the Human Soul in *Notes and Observations on Natural Science*, Book II, Section

the edited version of his important doctoral thesis on Avicenna's *Mubāḥathāt*, David Reisman mentions Kutsch's edition and Kenny's translation but in fact does not use *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* in his research: the work is missing from the index of the works of Avicenna that he analysed, and Feyzullah 1217 is missing from the index of manuscripts that he studied.<sup>8</sup>

As for myself, I became interested in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* during the winter of 2002–3, from the perspective of dating the *Ishārāt* and, more specifically, in relation to Dimitri Gutas's article claiming that there are two Avicennian doctrines of intuition, a standard one and a revised one.<sup>9</sup> The Psychology of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* contains a very interesting page on *ḥads* – including a philosophical exegesis of the Qur'ānic verse of Light<sup>10</sup> – which, like similar pages of important Avicennian works such as *The Beginning and the Return* [*al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*] or *The Action and Passion* [*al-Fi'l wa-l-infi'āl*], had not been taken into account by Gutas in his analysis.<sup>11</sup>

Following a closer look at the Kutsch edition of the Psychology of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, I soon felt more enthusiasm for this work itself than for contesting Gutas's theory – a task that I will, nevertheless, come back to on another occasion.<sup>12</sup> The main reason for this enthusiasm was the many similarities that had become manifest between the text edited by Kutsch and, not only pages of (a) the *Ishārāt*<sup>13</sup> or (b) the Psychology of the *Shifā'*,<sup>14</sup> but also (c) the *Compendium on the Soul* written by Avicenna for the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ b. Manṣūr,<sup>15</sup> (d) his *Ta'liqāt*,<sup>16</sup> and (e) the *Risāla Aḍḥawiyya*.<sup>17</sup> Here was an amazing text combining, among other elements, reworked pages of a work written by Avicenna before the age of eighteen, while he was still in Bukhārā, variations

5', *Orita*, 29, 1997, pp. 68–98. The first passage selected by Kenny starts, in Kutsch's edition ('Ein neuer Text'), at p. 156, l. 11.

8. D. C. Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennian Tradition: The Transmission, Contents, and Structure of Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥathāt (The Discussions)*, Leiden, 2002, pp. 308, 329, 325.

9. See D. Gutas, 'Intuition and Thinking: The Evolving Structure of Avicenna's Epistemology', in *Aspects of Avicenna*, ed. R. Wisnovsky, Princeton, NJ, 2001, pp. 1–38.

10. *Nukat*, p. 162, l. 17–p. 163, l. 19.

11. On this see Y. J. Michot, 'Le riz trop cuit du Kirmānī: présentation, édition, traduction et lexique de l'Épître d'Avicenne contestant l'accusation d'avoir pastiché le Coran', in *Entre Nadir et Zenith: mélanges offerts à Hossam Elkhadem à l'occasion de son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Brussels, 2007, forthcoming.

12. See Y. J. Michot, *Avicenne: Réfutation de l'astrologie*, édition et traduction de l'arabe, introduite et annotée, Paris, 1427/2006, pp. 189–92.

13. Avicenna, *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt: Le Livre des théorèmes et des avertissements*, publié d'après les mss. de Berlin, de Leyde et d'Oxford et traduit avec éclaircissements par J. Forget, pt I: *Texte arabe*, Leiden, 1892.

14. Avicenna, *al-Shifā'*, *al-Ṭabī'īyyāt (La Physique)*, 6: *Kitāb al-Nafs (De Anima)*, texte établi et édité par G. C. Anawati et S. Zayed, Cairo, 1394/1974 [*Nafs*].

15. Avicenna, '*al-Nafs 'alā sunnat al-ikhtiṣār*', in A. F. al-Ahouani, *Les États de l'âme par Avicenne*, texte établi et introduction, Cairo, 1952, pp. 147–78: *Mabḥath 'an al-quwā l-nafsāniyya*; no. 102 in Anawati, *Essai* (n. 4 above). For the early date of this compendium, see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 82–7.

16. Avicenna, *al-Ta'liqāt*, ed. 'A. R. Badawī, Cairo, 1973; no. 8 in Anawati, *Essai* (n. 4 above).

17. Avicenna, *al-Aḍḥawiyya fi l-Ma'ād*, ed. F. Lucchetta, *Avicenna: Epistola sulla vita futura — al-Risālat al-Aḍḥawiyya fi l-Ma'ād*, vol. I: *Testo arabo, traduzione, introduzione e note*, Padua, 1969; no. 200 in Anawati, *Essai* (n. 4 above). See the concordance in Appendix 2b.

on chosen passages of his *Notes*, and what appeared to be a different version of long sections of the *summa* considered by some to be one of his last books!<sup>18</sup>

Here are three samples:

(1) Of the apparent senses nothing gathers the perception of colour, odour, and softness. We sometimes come across a yellow body and, of [this body], we perceive that it is honey, sweet, having a nice odour, fluid, without however having tasted it, smelled it, touched it. It is thus obvious that we have a faculty in which the perceptions of [these] four senses are gathered and in which<sup>19</sup> they all become a single form. If [this faculty] did not exist, we would not know that sweetness, for example, is other than blackness, for that which differentiates between the two things is what knows them all. This faculty is the one called the ‘common sense’ and the ‘representative’ [faculty]. (Avicenna, *al-Nafs ‘alā sunnat al-ikhtisār*, p. 166, ll. 3–7)

Among the internal senses, there is the common sense. We can indeed find in ourselves a faculty in which the perceptions of the apparent senses are gathered, three or four, or less or more, like colour, odour, taste, and smell. In the apparent senses, nothing gathers any of these. We sometimes come across a body whose colour is yellowish and we perceive that it is honey, has sweetness and a nice odour, and is fluid, without however having tasted it, smelt it, and touched it. By means of this faculty, we know the distinction between whiteness and sweetness, for that which differentiates between them is what knows them, its knowledge of them coming from the fact that they are both there in it. (*Nukat*, p. 154, ll. 1–7)

(2) When it is separated [from the body, the soul] is appropriately prepared to receive the flow [*fayḍ*] [coming down from] the active intellect, for it is always active *in actu* and its action does not depend on anything when<sup>20</sup> the receiving matter is appropriately prepared to receive its flow. (Avicenna, *Ta’līqāt*, p. 83, ll. 20–22)

When it is disengaged [from the body, the soul] is appropriately prepared to receive the flow [*fayḍ*] [coming down from] the active intellect, for it is active *in actu* and its action does not depend on anything else when matter is made appropriate to receive and prepared for the flow. (*Nukat*, p. 168, ll. 10–11)

(3) Know that imagining is one thing, being aware that imagination is there busy imagining is [another] thing, and having this awareness preserved in the memory [still another] thing. You do not necessarily have to deny the existence of the imagining [process] because one of the other two [things] is missing. (Avicenna, *Ishārāt*, p. 137, ll. 15–18)

SUPPLEMENT. One ought to know that imagining takes place during sleep, although the soul is not aware of it when it wakes up. [The case] is like someone who sees many things in his dream and, when he wakes up, does not know them [any more]. Imagining may also take place [during sleep] with the soul being aware of it when it is awake. [This case] is like someone remembering, while awake, that which he imagined in his sleep and telling it to somebody else. This imagining process can also either last in the memory,

18. On the debate concerning the date of the *Ishārāt*, see Michot, ‘Le riz trop cuit du Kirmānī’ (n. 11 above).

19. Reading ‘*inda-hā*’ for ‘*inda*’ in the edition.

20. Reading *idhā* for *wa-idhā* in the edition.

or not. When either of the two things, or both, are missing, no one doubts about the imaging process and its existence. (*Nukat*, p. 177, ll. 3–7)

My enthusiasm grew even more when, in May 2003, I was allowed for one afternoon to examine the manuscript Feyzullah 1217 itself in Istanbul. The thick slightly brownish rag paper was obviously an old oriental paper; this fact, as well as the regularity and quality of the dotted and vocalized *naskh* script, sufficed to undermine the dating of AH 1112–13/AD 1700–1701 proposed by Kutsch. Moreover, as had in fact already been noticed by Wernst,<sup>21</sup> the date given by Kutsch was simply the one appearing on the *waqf* stamp of the Shaykh al-Islām Fayḍ Allāh Efendī found on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Wernst dates this otherwise undated manuscript to the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century and speaks of a ‘Persian hand’.<sup>22</sup> I myself would rather date this codex to the seventh/thirteenth century. This early date of the Feyzullah *unicum* of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* made it an even more important manuscript than I had previously thought. However, my enthusiasm turned into frustration as I had no complete copy of it at my disposal.



FIGURE 1. *Waqf* stamp of the Shaykh al-Islām Fayḍ Allāh Efendī (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

It was only some months later that, thanks to the kindness of my friend Professor Bekir Karlıḡa of the Marmara University and of his assistant Dr Burhan Koroḡlu, I was able to obtain from Dr Nevzat Kaya, the Director of the Süleymaniye Library, a complete set of colour photographs of the manuscript on CD-ROM.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of these images, a more precise structure in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, about which Kutsch and Wernst give no information, can now be defined. The titles of the ten *maslaks* of the Logic and of the ten *nahjs* of the Logic of the *Ishārāt* correspond to each other:

*Nukat*, Logic

*Ishārāt*

*Maslak* I. The quiddity of logic

*Nahj* I. The aim of logic

21. ‘Die Seins- und Gotteslehre’ (n. 6 above), p. 5.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

23. I am most grateful to Dr Kaya for allowing me to examine the manuscript in May 2003, and for subsequently providing me with the CD-ROM.

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<i>Maslak</i> II. The five simple predicates, definition, and description	<i>Nahj</i> II. The five simple [predicates], definition, and description
<i>Maslak</i> III. The enunciative compositions and their kinds	<i>Nahj</i> III. The enunciative compositions
<i>Maslak</i> IV. The matters from which the propositions are composed and their modes	<i>Nahj</i> IV. The matters of the propositions and their modes
<i>Maslak</i> V. Contradiction and conversion	<i>Nahj</i> V. The contradiction of the propositions and their conversion
<i>Maslak</i> VI. The propositions that are accepted as true	<i>Nahj</i> VI. The propositions, from the viewpoint from which they are accepted as true
<i>Maslak</i> VII. The second composition of proofs	<i>Nahj</i> VII. Beginning with the second composition of proofs
<i>Maslak</i> VIII. The conditional propositions	<i>Nahj</i> VIII. The conditional syllogisms and the [formations] following the syllogism
<i>Maslak</i> IX. Reminder of [various] points concerning demonstration	<i>Nahj</i> IX. The demonstrative sciences
<i>Maslak</i> X. The sophisms in the syllogism	<i>Nahj</i> X. The sophistic syllogisms

The parallelism with the *Ishārāt* would seem to continue beyond the Logic as the titles of the two first *fanns* of the Physics echo those of the first and second *namaṭs* of the *Ishārāt*:

<i>Nukat</i> , Physics	<i>Ishārāt</i>
<i>Fann</i> I. The substantiality of the bodies	<i>Namaṭ</i> I. The substantiality of the bodies
<i>Fann</i> II. The directions and their first and second bodies	<i>Namaṭ</i> II. The directions and their first and second bodies <sup>24</sup>

This impression is nevertheless misleading as the division of the work into two main distinctive parts after the Logic – Physics and *Divinalia* – is itself lacking in the *Ishārāt*. Moreover, with *fanns* III and IV of the Physics – ‘The consequent attributes [*lawāḥiq*] of the natural bodies’ and ‘The meteors’ – the link with the *Ishārāt* is completely severed. Instead, we now find that the *Najāt* serves as the basis for the text, albeit with extensive and illuminating variations. The composite nature of the fifth and last *fann* of the Physics – ‘The souls’ – has already been mentioned.

On the whole, the order and content of *fanns* II–VI of the *Divinalia* of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* illustrate a return to the *Ishārāt*, as they correspond to those of its *namaṭs* IV–VIII:

<i>Nukat</i> , <i>Divinalia</i>	<i>Ishārāt</i>
II. The essence of the Necessary Being, Its oneness, Its transcendency [ <i>tanzih</i> ], and what follows that	<i>Namaṭ</i> IV. Existence and its causes

24. See the concordance in Appendix 2a.

III. Its action, Its work, and Its creation	<i>Namaṭ</i> V. The work [of God] and the creation
IV. Finalities and their principles	<i>Namaṭ</i> VI. The finalities, their principles, and the arrangement [of the creation]
V. The [things] disengaged [from matter]	<i>Namaṭ</i> VII. The disengagement [from matter]
VI. The return and its states – happiness and misery	<i>Namaṭ</i> VIII. Felicity and happiness

I have not yet been able to link the first *fann* of the *Divinalia* – ‘Summaries and syntheses that will introduce us to what we are going to undertake’ – to any particular Avicennian writing.

The seventh and last *fann* of the *Divinalia* of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* is entitled ‘The establishment of prophethood, the states of the prophets and the secrets of the signs, the prodigies of the Friends [of God], the states of the knowers and of the inspired ones, the masters in magic and talismans, the way to differentiate between these [people], and the answering of invocations’. As the *namaṭ*s IX and X of the *Ishārāt* are entitled ‘The stations of the knowers’ and ‘The secrets of the signs’, one would expect a strong link between the two works. But in fact there is only a very tenuous connection between them.

As the title of this seventh *fann* makes clear, its main object is prophetology. We therefore have a situation which is, in fact, the opposite of what Avicenna does in the two last sections of the *Ishārāt*. In the latter, prophetology is an element of a broader philosophy of gnostic spirituality. In *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, prophetology is itself the general doctrine out of which a philosophy of ‘*irfān*’ develops as a particular element.

Furthermore, the literal content of this last *fann* has in fact very little in common with the two last *namaṭ*s of the *Ishārāt*. The aforementioned composite nature of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* in its chapter on psychology reappears in the most glaring manner in the last section of the work. In contradistinction to the preceding *fann* on ‘The return and its states – happiness and misery’, which fundamentally corresponds to the eighth *namaṭ* of the *Ishārāt*,<sup>25</sup> this seventh *fann* of the *Divinalia* successively combines, among other elements that I have not yet been able to link to any particular Avicennian text, more or less close variations on five different works of the Shaykh al-Ra'is:

- (a) pages of the *Shifā'*, Metaphysics, Book X, Section 1 on ‘The origin and the return’;
- (b) most of the 13th chapter of the *Epistle on the States of the Soul* on ‘The establishment of prophethood’, which is one of the parts of the epistle that have no equivalent in the *Shifā'* or the *Najāt*, and which also circulated independently under the title *Epistle on the Soul of the [Celestial] Sphere*;<sup>26</sup>

25. See the concordance in Appendix 2c.

26. Avicenna, ‘*Risālat al-Nafs al-falakiyya*’, in al-Ahouani, *Les États de l'âme par Avicenne*, sect. XIII, pp. 114–21; no. 74 in Anawati, *Essai* (n. 4 above). See Y. J. 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, Nov. 1985, pp. 507–35.

- (c) most of the *Epistle on Action and Passion*, also called *The Divine Flow* [*al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*],<sup>27</sup>
- (d) a few lines from the beginning of the ninth *namaṭ* of the *Ishārāt* on ‘The stations of the knowers’;
- (e) two passages of the *Ta’liqāt*.<sup>28</sup>

My systematic comparison between Avicenna’s works and *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* is far from complete. The multiplicity and heterogeneity of the connections already identified between them, the frequent linguistic virtuosity apparent in the variations on, or alternative versions of, these writings as well as their far-reaching philosophical implications all contribute to making *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* one of the most amazing and extraordinary texts of Avicennian *falsafa* I have yet come across. Let us just think of the consequences of the wide-ranging transtextuality of this book for the questions of the chronology of the Shaykh al-Ra’īs’s corpus, the evolution of his thought, and, in particular, a proper understanding of the *Ishārāt*, the work to which it has the clearest relation by frequently being close to it, yet sometimes departing from it in favour of various other more or less central Avicennian writings.

There is, however, a slight problem. Kutsch, Wernst, and Kenny were all wrong. So was I when, for the conference at the Warburg Institute in 2004 I phrased the original title announcing this paper, ‘*Al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id*: A New, Essential Source on the Evolution of Avicenna’s Thought, from the *Hadiyat al-Ra’īs* to the *Ishārāt*’. Although Avicennizing to a remarkable level, *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* is not a work written by Avicenna.

The real author of the book regularly refers to, and strongly criticizes, two persons whom he does not name but calls *shaykh al-Yahūd*, ‘the Shaykh of the Jews’, and *ḥashawī l-A’ājim*, ‘the padder – or humbug, or verbose one’<sup>29</sup> – among the non-Arabs’, i.e. the Iranians. The two expressions are found in the psychological part edited by Kutsch, but he does not pay them any special attention.<sup>30</sup> The same is true of Kenny, who omits from his selection the passages in which they appear. As for Wernst, he simply declares in a footnote that ‘die Identität dieses “jüdischen Meisters” ist unbekannt’.<sup>31</sup> Elsewhere, he explains the meanings of *ḥashawī* and *a’ājim* but does not give any clue as to the possible identity of the thinker alluded to.<sup>32</sup>

Avicenna himself declares that, while in Hamadhān, he wrote some sermons to refute, not only the Ṣabians, the Magi, and the Nazarenes, but also the Jews.<sup>33</sup> He

27. Avicenna, *Risālat al-Fi’l wa-l-infi’al*, ed. Z. ‘Ā. al-Mūsāwī, Hyderabad, 1353/1934; no. 190 in Anawati, *Essai* (n. 4 above).

28. See the concordance in Appendix 2d.

29. On the *ḥashawīyya*, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, s.v. ‘Ḥashwiyya’. This contemptuous term is often used to denigrate naïve anthropomorphists; see e.g. Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Shahraṣṭānī, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, I: *Traduction*, avec introduction et notes par D. Gimaret et G. Monnot, Louvain, 1986, pp. 340–341.

30. See *Nukat*, pp. 154, 156, 159, 171.

31. Wernst, ‘Die Seins- und Gotteslehre’ (n. 6 above), p. 73 n. 5.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 83 n. 2; p. 149 n. 3; see also p. 74 n. 1.

33. See Michot, ‘Le riz trop cuit du Kirmānī’ (n. 11 above).



can also be ferocious against anthropomorphists of the *Hashwiyya* type.<sup>34</sup> Now that the hostile milieu that he sometimes had to face during his professional career are better understood, one could imagine that the *shaykh al-Yahūd* and the *hashawī l-A'ajim* would have been two more of his enemies, in some way similar to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī and, like the latter, unduly ignored in modern Avicennian research until recently.<sup>35</sup> As the Shaykh al-Ra'īs puts it, we should however not be 'unwary' (*ghāfil*), let ourselves be taken away into 'the city of imagination' (*madīnat al-takhayyul*),<sup>36</sup> and build up pseudo-historical philosophical scenarios. All these hypotheses would indeed never amount to anything other than sheer, vain conjectures as Avicenna did not write *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*.

If the unfortunate Wernst had included in his doctoral research two more chapters of the Metaphysics of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, he would certainly have realized that, since in a passage in its fifth *fann* paraphrasing a *hikāya* of the seventh *namaṭ* of the *Ishārāt*,<sup>37</sup> one reads:

WARNING. Beware of preoccupying yourself with that which Porphyry of Tyre [*al-ṣūri*] said about this, in ancient times, in his book on the intellect and the intelligibles,<sup>38</sup> and that which the Shaykh of the Jews says, in modern times, in his book which would deserve to be called *The Book of the Examples Not to be Followed* [*Kitāb al-'Ibar*], not *The Book of What has been Established by Personal Reflection*<sup>39</sup> [*Kitāb al-Mu'tabar*]. To preoccupy oneself with such [ideas] is indeed corrupting for minds. (*Nukat*, fols 162<sup>v</sup>–163<sup>r</sup>; see Figure 2 on p. 98)

The *Kitāb al-Mu'tabar* referred to in this passage is of course the major work of the famous philosopher and critic of Avicenna, Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, who probably died after AH 560/AD 1164–5 at the age of 80 or 90.<sup>40</sup> A Jew by birth, Abū l-Barakāt converted to Islam in his old age. The fact that he is nevertheless called the 'Shaykh of the Jews' in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* should not come as a surprise. Al-Suhrawardī, for example, also mentions his Jewish origin when he attacks him in his *Kitāb al-Mashāri' wa-l-muṭārahāt*.<sup>41</sup>

Many are the passages of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* where the 'Shaykh of the Jews' is attacked,<sup>42</sup> and it should be possible, in theory, to link them all to specific pages of the *Kitāb al-Mu'tabar*. Two examples:

34. See Y. J. Michot, *Ibn Sīnā: Lettre au vizir Abū Sa'd, editio princeps* d'après le manuscrit de Bursa, traduction de l'arabe, introduction, notes et lexique, Paris, 1421/2000, pp. 92, 94–5.

35. See Michot, *ibid.*, pp. 27–68; 'Le riz trop cuit du Kirmānī' (n. 11 above); Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition* (n. 8 above), pp. 166–85.

36. Avicenna, *Lettre au vizir Abū Sa'd*, transl. Michot, *Ibn Sīnā: Lettre au vizir Abū Sa'd*, pp. 1–61 (41).

37. Avicenna, *Ishārāt*, p. 180, ll. 5–9; transl. A.-M. Goichon, *Ibn Sīnā: Livre des directives et remarques*, traduction avec introduction et notes, Paris, 1951, p. 448.

38. Another reference to Porphyry is at fol. 12<sup>r</sup>, l. 6: 'Do not pay attention to what Porphyry says.'

39. This is S. Pines's translation of *Kitāb al-Mu'tabar* (*Studies in Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī: Physics and Metaphysics*, Jerusalem, 1979, p. 262).

40. On Abū l-Barakāt see Pines, *Studies* (n. 39 above).

41. Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Mashāri' wa-l-muṭārahāt*, ed. H. Corbin, *Shihaboddin Yahya Suhrawardī: Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, vol. I, Tehran, 1976, pp. 193–506 (436).

42. See the list in Appendix 3.

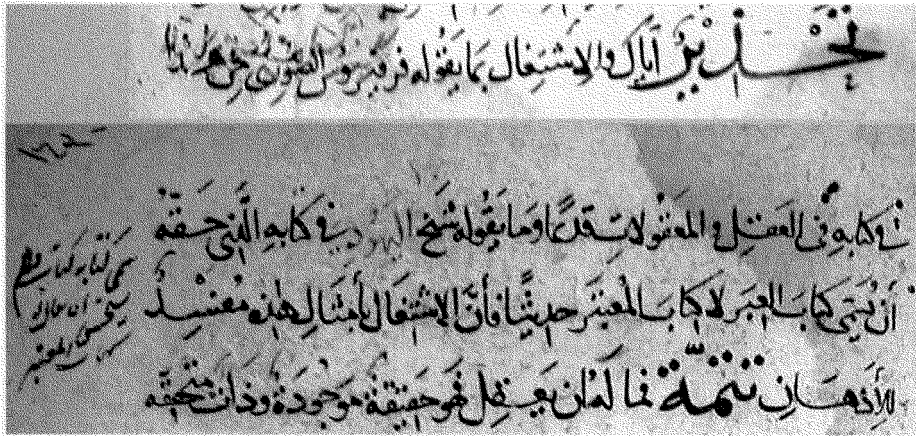


FIGURE 2. Reference to the *Kitāb al-Mu‘tabar* (fols 162<sup>v</sup>–163<sup>r</sup>)

(1) Do not listen at all to what the Shaykh of the Jews says – i.e. that earth is colder than water because it is denser and density is a necessary concomitant of coldness! The matter is not as he claimed . . . (*Nukat, Physics, Fann II, fol. 87<sup>r</sup>, ll. 10–11*)

[Water] only cools when fire, hot air and the rays of the sun are far from it and [when] it is next to [something] cooling like earth and cold air [. . .] Coldness requires density and creates it, while density preserves coldness and reinforces it. There is no other power there. Similarly for earth. (Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī)<sup>43</sup>

(2) . . . and it will be a tail for this star. The Shaykh of the Jews said: ‘This is not true because, *if it were so, the tail would [also] be seen without a star*. We say that when this [takes place] without a star or without anything looking like it, it is an extended shooting star, it is not a comet as the term ‘comet’ is said only for that which has the tail.’ What the Shaykh of the Jews imagines is of a corrupt [nature]. Similarly for most of the questions [about which he gives his opinion]. (*Nukat, Physics, Fann IV, fol. 98<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1–4*)

People have said that the tail is that which is made to occur and that, when the fume comes to a stop under one of the existing stars to which we are used, it is seen as a tail for this star. *If it were so, the tail would [also] be seen without a star*, as it would not be inevitable for it to be under a star. (Abū l-Barakāt, *Kitāb al-Mu‘tabar*, II, p. 223, ll. 3–5)

Self-evidently, the Shaykh al-Ra’is cannot be the author of a work criticizing a thinker born one generation after his death. This being the case, what should one make of the mention of the name ‘Ibn Sīnā’ on the title-page of the manuscript Feyzullah 1217?

In fact, this title-page presents a serious problem as some words of the rhymed prose (*saj‘*) of the incipit have been deliberately smudged and erased at an undefined moment in the history of the manuscript. Kutsch did not say anything on the subject. As for Wernst, he conjectured that the deleted words were titles honouring Avicenna, whose Shī‘ite connotation must have displeased some ‘theological censorship’ in Sunnite

43. *Kitāb al-Mu‘tabar fī l-ḥikma*, 3 parts, Hyderabad, 1357–8/1938–9, repr. Isfahan, 1995, II, p. 151, ll. 22–4; p. 152, ll. 3–5.

Istanbul, where the manuscript had finally been set as a *waqf*!<sup>44</sup> He therefore translated the title and incipit in this erroneous way:

BUCH DER LEHRSÄTZE UND HINWEISE. Ein Werk unseres Herrn, des Hochgelehrten der Welt, des Vorzüglichsten der Modernen, des Ruhmes der diesseitigen und der Glaubenswelt, des abschließenden Ergebnisses des [menschlichen] Verstandes, *der Erhabenheit des Ibn Sina*, des Meisters der Gemeinde, des vollkommensten der Meister ..... Möge Gott die Muslime sein Bleiben genießen lassen!<sup>45</sup>

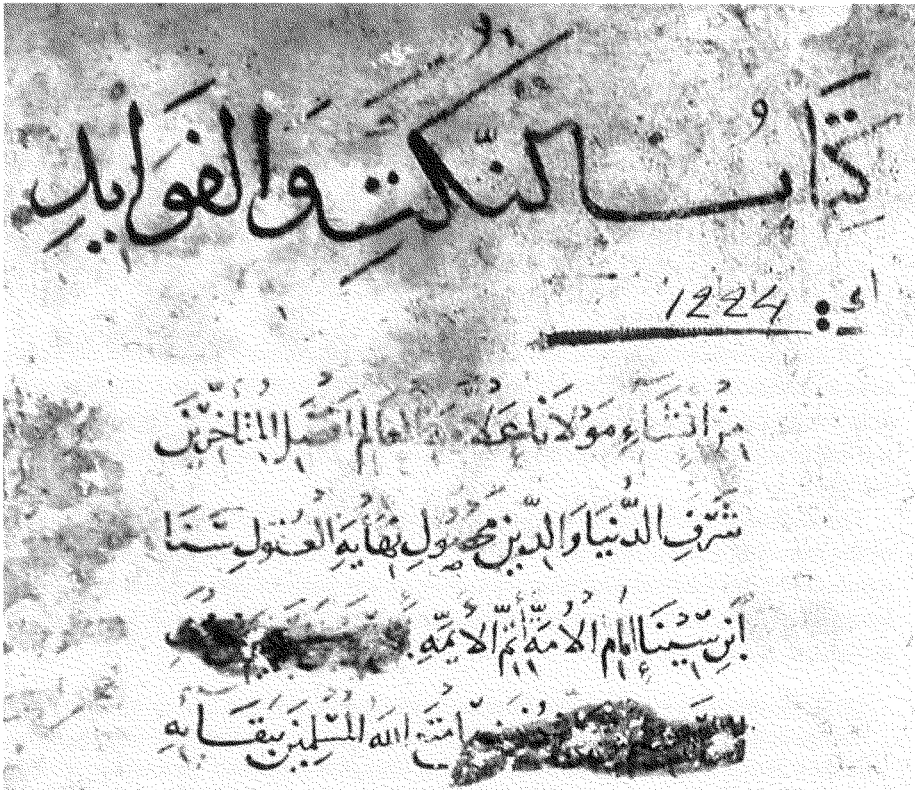


FIGURE 3. Smudged words on the title-page (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

One should rather translate:

BOOK OF THE IMPORTANT POINTS AND USEFUL REMARKS, composed by our master, the greatest erudite man of the universe, the most eminent of the later [thinkers], who honours this world and the religion, the product of the extreme point reached by the intellects [*maḥṣūl nihāyat al-'uqūl*], the resplendence of Avicenna [*sanā Ibn Sīnā*], the

44. Wernst, 'Die Seins- und Gotteslehre' (n. 6 above), p. 43 n. 8.

45. Ibid., p. 42.

imam of the community and the most accomplished of the imams, . . . . . [X, son of Y], . . . . . – May God make the Muslims benefit from him by lengthening his life!

*Sanā Ibn Sīnā*, ‘the resplendence of Avicenna’, i.e. the most splendid illustration, or manifestation, of Avicenna: this rhymed expression is not honouring the Shaykh al-Ra’īs but is a title conferred, just like the other titles preceding or following it, upon the person whose names originally came after ‘imams’ but were subsequently deleted.

Another sign that Avicenna is not the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* can be found in the Logic section of the book, where the philosopher is referred to as ‘*azīm al-fuḍalā*’, ‘the greatest of the eminent ones’, in relation to the *Ishārāt* and to two of his minor works on logic:

(1) As for the greatest of the eminent ones, he mentions in all his books, except the book of the *Ishārāt*, that . . . (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* V, fol. 38<sup>v</sup>, ll. 11–12)

(2) The greatest of the eminent ones says in the book *al-Awsaṭ* that . . . (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* V, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>, l. 4)<sup>46</sup>

(3) The greatest of the eminent ones has made that clear in his *Epistle on the Conversion of the Modal Propositions* [*Risāla fī ‘Ukūs dhawāt al-jiha*]. (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* V, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>, l. 10)<sup>47</sup>

All the expectations, hopes, and hypotheses one could have attached to the Avicennian authenticity of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* affirmed by Kutsch, Wernst, and Kenny have now evidently vanished. Who then was the real author of the book? The question cannot yet be addressed, the more so as we still do not know whom he means by *ḥashawī l-A‘ājim*.

The author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* nowhere discloses the identity of the ‘humbog of the non-Arabs’ as he does with the ‘Shaykh of the Jews’, having been unable to resist a pun about the *Kitāb al-Mu‘tabar*. However, on the basis of various passages in which he refers to him,<sup>48</sup> there is but one particular name that comes to mind: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. AH 606/AD 1209):

(1) These elements are generated from each other and corrupted into each other. Their change in quality only is, however, called ‘transmutation’ [*istiḥāla*], whereas the change in their forms is called ‘corruption’, for what loses that form, and ‘generation’ for that to which its form comes about. When their transmutation in quality intensifies, they are prepared for a form convenient for them, their original preparation disappears, and the other form is generated at once, because [that preparation] becomes [some] corruption or generation. Beware of taking an interest in what the humbog of the non-Arabs says

46. *Al-Awsaṭ*, or *The Medium Compendium on Logic* [*al-Mukhtaṣar al-awsaṭ fī l-mantiq*], is no. 45 in Anawati’s Avicennian bibliography (*Essai* [n. 4 above], p. 115), no. 108 in Mahdavi’s (*Bibliographie* [n. 4 above], pp. 217–18).

47. This epistle appears in Mahdavi’s bibliography as no. 42 (*Bibliographie*, [n. 4 above] p. 54); it is not mentioned in Anawati, *Essai* [n. 4 above]. Other references to ‘the greatest of the eminent ones’ are at fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 7; fol. 36<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4, 7–8; fol. 38<sup>v</sup>, l. 1; fol. 54<sup>v</sup>, l. 13; fol. 55<sup>v</sup>, l. 14; fol. 56<sup>r</sup>, ll. 8–9; fol. 67<sup>r</sup>, l. 4; fol. 78<sup>r</sup>, l. 11; fol. 83<sup>r</sup>, l. 9; fol. 145<sup>r</sup>, l. 15; fol. 148<sup>r</sup>, l. 6.

48. See the list in Appendix 4.

about that! It is indeed an error and a curse. Praised be He Who made him become confused, made him stumble, forbade him to grasp the truths, predestined him to evolve towards heterodoxy [*sū al-i'tiqād*], and inspired him to defame those among the ancients and the moderns who have realized the truth! These are indeed matters that are observed, perceived by the senses, and that are rejected only by his like or people treading on his path. (*Nukat*, Physics, *Fann* II, fol. 88<sup>r</sup>, l. 9–fol. 89<sup>r</sup>, l. 1)

(2) Beware of preoccupying yourself with what the humbug of the non-Arabs says and believes about this – i.e. that existence is added [*zā'id 'alā*] to the essence of God Most High. [To have] such [an idea] is to err [*ḍalāl*] and to be cursed [*wabāl*] in this world and in the hereafter. It leads the one who believes that to stay eternally in the sempiternal torment. ‘Their torment shall not be lightened.’<sup>49</sup> ‘Therein they shall abide as long as the heavens and the earth endure.’<sup>50</sup> May God protect us and those who deserve [it] from what he believed! He [really] alleged against that [doctrine], by way of nonsense [*khurāfāt*], things that are not allowed. (*Nukat*, *Divinalia*, *Fann* II, fol. 135<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2–6)

(3) USEFUL REMARK. Every time two things that are other than each other emanate from a cause, they [do so] in two different respects because that which requires the emanation of one of them is other than that which requires the emanation of the other. [That which is] one from every viewpoint requires only sheer oneness and the two different respects either are constituents or necessary concomitants. If the two are constituents, the essence is composed, and this is absurd. If the two are necessary concomitants, either this leads to the essence being divided into two [things] other than each other – [in which case] it will be composed of the two of them although it had been supposed one from every viewpoint, and that is [also] absurd – [or it does not lead to that]. The humbug of the non-Arabs did not know at all what is intended by this section. Moreover, he believed that the two concepts themselves are that about which the division takes place, [i.e.] between their being constituents or necessary concomitants. He thus alleged, by way of babble [*hadhar*], what he alleged, by contesting [*tā'in 'alā*] the greatest of the eminent ones. The latter had however not made the division take place but for the two different respects; which is the truth. Furthermore, the humbug of the non-Arabs rebuked [*'annafa*] the philosophers and reproved [*wabbakha 'alā*] them for alleging such things. If he had been clever [*tafaṭṭana*], he would have found himself worthier of rebuke and reproach. (*Nukat*, *Divinalia*, *Fann* III, fol. 145<sup>r</sup>, l. 8–fol. 145<sup>v</sup>, l. 2)

(4) As for the first multiplicity, it [comes] to the [first caused being] with respect to what its essence requires and with respect to its cause, as [said] earlier. This is not [coming about] by way of arbitrary decision [*taḥakkum*] and choice [*ikhtiyār*] as the Shaykh of the Jews thought and abominably claimed in his rhetoric. In our time [*fī zamāni-nā*], the humbug of the non-Arabs followed him [in this] and alleged, by way of babble, things that prove his bad understanding [of the topic] and his deprivation [*ḥirmān*]. You, you know that the Creator – praised is He! – is one from every viewpoint. You are also convinced that from the one, nothing emanates but the one. (*Nukat*, *Divinalia*, *Fann* IV, fol. 160<sup>r</sup>, ll. 6–10)

(5) COMPLEMENT TO THIS FIELD. The noblest [thing] to come about in this elementary world is the rational souls, as they are intellectual substances. It is not possible

49. Qur'ān, II.86.

50. Qur'ān, XI.107.

for them to come about all at once because of the finiteness of matters. They thus come about by way of succession, forever, sempiternally. If you check what I have earlier on established as principles, the ways to demonstrate this will appear to you. It is indeed the conclusion of truthful premisses. Beware of what the Shaykh of the Jews alleges against this and of what, following him, the humbug of the non-Arabs says by way of insanities [*takhlīf*] and ineptitudes [*takhbīf*] [that are] corrupting the order [to be respected by] intellections . . . (*Nukat, Divinalia, Fann IV, fol. 161<sup>v</sup>, ll. 2–7*)

Concerning the essence and the existence of God (cf. passage 2 above), al-Rāzī writes in his *Oriental Investigations*: ‘We have proved that the existence of the Most High is added to His quiddity and that His quiddity is the cause of that existence and described by it.’<sup>51</sup> On the origin of the first multiplicity and the theory that from the one, nothing emanates but the one (cf. passage 4 above), he says in the same work: ‘The truth, for me, is that there is nothing forbidding making all the possibles depend on [*istinād ilā*] God Most High.’<sup>52</sup>

Al-Rāzī was a follower of Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, who attacked Avicenna on a number of issues and, among other non-Avicennian views, held that ‘existence is added to the essence of God’ or that multiplicity can be traced back to the One Himself. These various elements therefore fit perfectly with what is well known regarding the main source and the nature of the great Ash‘arite theologian’s ideas as well as the way he opposed them to the doctrine of the Shaykh al-Ra’is. This identification also helps to explain, and is somehow supported by, the two following factors. First, the very harsh manner in which the ‘humbug of the non-Arabs’ is regularly condemned in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*,<sup>53</sup> from both a religious and a philosophical point of view, particularly suits a personality like al-Rāzī, who is himself notorious for his animosity and lack of mercy in the debates and controversies into which he loved to drag his contemporaries.<sup>54</sup> Secondly, to the ear of someone acquainted with al-Rāzī’s corpus, the rhymed expression ‘the product of the extreme point reached by the intellects [*maḥṣūl nihāyat al-‘uqūl*’], used in the incipit of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* to praise its author, must undoubtedly ring as a *calembourg* on the titles of two of the works of the great theologian: *al-Maḥṣūl fī ‘ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* and *Nihāyat al-‘uqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*.<sup>55</sup>

But who wrote *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*? The *waqf* stamp of the Feyzullah library takes us back before the twelfth/eighteenth century. The relative antiquity of the paper of the manuscript puts it back even further, to the eighth/fourteenth or the seventh/

51. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya fī ‘ilm al-ilāhiyyāt wa-l-ṭabī‘iyyāt*, ed. M. al-M. bi-L. al-Baghdādī, 2 vols, Beirut, 1418/1998, II, p. 484, ll. 4–5; see also I, pp. 120–130.

52. *Ibid.*, II, p. 535, l. 4.

53. See the passages translated in Appendix 4.

54. See F. Kholeif, *A Study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and his Controversies in Transoxiana*, Beirut, 1966; T. Street, ‘Concerning the Life and Works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’, in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society. A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*, eds P. G. Riddell and T. Street, Leiden, 1997, pp. 135–46 (141–5); A. Shihadeh, ‘From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology’, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 15, 2005, pp. 141–79 (157–62).

55. On these two works, see G. C. Anawati, ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Tamhīd li-dirāsāt ḥayātihī wa-mu‘allafātihī’, in *Mélanges Taha Hussein*, Cairo, 1962, pp. 193–234 (220, no. 111; 225, no. 132).

thirteenth centuries. One could think of Ibn Taymiyya, who knows of Abū l-Barakāt and deeply dislikes al-Rāzī.<sup>56</sup> Although the Damascene theologian sometimes shows his appreciation for Avicenna and comments on some of his writings,<sup>57</sup> a Taymiyyan authorship of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* can easily be excluded. In a text often attributed to Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. AH 748/AD 1348), Ibn Taymiyya is accused of having 'repeatedly swallowed the poison of the philosophers and their works'.<sup>58</sup> There is however no chance that one would ever have referred to him as *sanā Ibn Sīnā*, 'the resplendence of Avicenna'! Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. AH 672/AD 1274) would be a more likely candidate. In his commentary on the *Ishārāt*, however, he calls al-Rāzī 'the eminent scholar' (*al-fāḍil al-'allāma*) or 'the eminent commentator' (*al-shāriḥ al-fāḍil*),<sup>59</sup> whereas the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* constantly uses insulting and contemptuous words to refer to him. Many thinkers of the seventh/thirteenth century, from Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. AH 631/AD 1233), Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus (d. AH 639/AD 1242), or Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. AH 663/AD 1264) to Abū l-Thana' Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (d. AH 682/AD 283), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī (d. AH 678/AD 1288), *et alii*, might well have been those whose names were once apparent at the end of the incipit of the manuscript Feyzullah 1217. Since the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* speaks of the humbug of the non-Arabs as someone of his time – *zamānu-nā'*<sup>60</sup> – it may be useful to take this expression in its narrowest and most literal sense, which would result in his being a contemporary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī himself.

One might be tempted to suggest that *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* is a work of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī, the famous *ishraqī* thinker martyred in Aleppo in AH 587/AD 1191. Al-Suhrawardī was a fellow student of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in Marāgheh when he attended the courses of Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī, but seems to have had reservations about the philosophical abilities of the Ash'arite theologian.<sup>61</sup> As already remarked, he attacks Abū l-Barakāt in his *Kitāb al-Mashāri' wa-l-muṭārahāt*. He then blames him for attributing to 'the Necessary Existent infinitely renewed wills, antecedently and subsequently',<sup>62</sup> calls him a 'filthy madman' (*al-majnūn al-qadhir*),<sup>63</sup> and denounces his 'impudence' (*jasāra*) as well as the 'intensity with which he engages in such things about God'. He adds, 'because a researcher is a human being, it is no wonder that he makes mistakes. As for refusing the patent truth by means of wicked thoughts [*waswās*], this is inexcusable.'<sup>64</sup>

56. See Y. J. Michot, 'Vanités intellectuelles ... l'impasse des rationalismes selon le *Rejet de la contradiction* d'Ibn Taymiyya', *Oriente moderno*, ns 19 (os 80), 2000, pp. 597–617 (598–9).

57. See Y. J. Michot, 'A Mamlūk Theologian's Commentary on Avicenna's *Risāla Adḥawiyya*: Being a Translation of a Part of the *Dar' al-Ta'āruḍ* of Ibn Taymiyya, with Introduction, Annotation, and Appendices', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 14, 2003, pp. 149–203, 309–63.

58. See Michot, 'Vanités intellectuelles' (n. 56 above), p. 600.

59. See e.g. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, 3 vols, Qom, 1375/1997, I, pp. 2, 3.

60. *Nukat*, fol. 126<sup>r</sup>, l. 3; fol. 160<sup>r</sup>, l. 8.

61. See H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien: aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, 4 vols, Paris, 1971–2, II, pp. 12–13.

62. al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Mashāri'*, p. 436, l. 2.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 437, l. 13.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 438, ll. 14, 16–17.

Al-Suhrawardī's debt to Avicenna is common knowledge and remains enormous even when he develops his Oriental Wisdom beyond the teachings of the Shaykh al-Ra'īs. The way some of the texts from his hand embroider an essentially Avicennian canvas demonstrates both an interest in the kind of philosophical exercise also illustrated by *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* and the expertise necessary to make it a success.<sup>65</sup> One should also notice two things: (1) the internal organization of the topics covered in the *Divinalia* of this work is not without similarity to the table of contents of a book like his *Talwihāt*; (2) some expressions used in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* are of a clearly 'illuminationist' (*ishrāqī*) nature.<sup>66</sup>

One might also incline to attribute *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* to the famous 'Irāqī polygraph Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Sa'd al-Baghdādī, also called Ibn al-Labbād (AH 557/AD 1162–AH 629/AD 1231).<sup>67</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a introduces him as a radical opponent of Avicenna.<sup>68</sup> In his youth, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī nevertheless 'devoured all the writings of Avicenna which he could obtain'.<sup>69</sup> He himself acknowledges having 'learnt by heart the *Book of the Najāt*' and says that he had 'copied the *Shifā'* and searched into it'.<sup>70</sup> He also writes that, at some point, he 'was of the opinion that Avicenna had possessed wisdom [*al-ḥikma*] in its entirety and had filled his books with it'.<sup>71</sup> It is only around AH 586/AD 1190 that he forsook his allegiance to the Shaykh al-Ra'īs and returned to the study of ancient philosophers and physicians, regretting 'the time lost in reading the wrong books'<sup>72</sup> and passionately burning the idol that he had once adored.<sup>73</sup> So, could it be that 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī composed *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* during the first part of his life, when he was a great admirer of the Shaykh al-Ra'īs?

At least four considerations would support such a conjecture:

(1) Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī's name does not appear in any of the works of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī whose titles are listed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. This being the case, since 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī wrote no fewer than three *Refutations of the Christians and the Jews*,<sup>74</sup> he may well have been the same person who, in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, repeatedly

65. Compare e.g. the *faṣl* relating to God's love of Himself in Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Talwihāt*, ed. H. Corbin, *Shihaboddin Yahya Sohravardi: Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, I, pp. 1–121 (p. 91, l. 5–p. 94, l. 7), with the *ishāra* on the same subject in Avicenna, *Ishārāt*, p. 197, l. 4–p. 198, l. 8. Such a comparison with the *Ishārāt* could be extended to many other passages of the *Talwihāt*.

66. See e.g. *Nukat*, fols 113<sup>v</sup>, l. 13, and 154<sup>r</sup>, l. 3, 'the shining of the lights of Holiness' (*ishrāq anwār al-quds*); fol. 178<sup>v</sup>, l. 5, 'the shining of its lights' (*shurūq anwārihi*).

67. On 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, see S. M. Stern, 'A Collection of Treatises by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī', *Islamic Studies*, 1, 1962, pp. 53–70; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā' fi tabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*', ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut, 1965, pp. 683–96.

68. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 683.

69. Stern, 'A Collection of Treatises' (n. 67 above), p. 63.

70. 'A. L. al-Baghdādī, quoted in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 685.

71. 'A. L. al-Baghdādī, quoted in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 688.

72. Stern, 'A Collection of Treatises' (n. 67 above), p. 65.

73. Al-Baghdādī would then say: 'Most people were only led to perdition by Avicenna's books and alchemy'; see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 688.

74. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 695.



calls Abū l-Barakāt the 'Shaykh of the Jews'. As a matter of fact, his prejudices against Jews are obvious in the despicable way in which he speaks of one of his colleagues during his stay in Aleppo (AH 613/AD 1216–AH 617/AD 1220), the Jewish physician Abū l-Hajjāj Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. Sham'ūn, of Maghribī origin.<sup>75</sup>

(2) When he mentions 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's propensity for criticizing his eminent contemporaries or predecessors, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a writes that he was also prejudiced against the Iranians: 'He very often attacked the scholars of the non-Arabs [*ulamā' al-'ajam*] and their writings, especially the Shaykh al-Ra'īs Avicenna *and his ilk*'.<sup>76</sup> In particular the 'humbug of the non-Arabs', i.e. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī? This could well have been the case, as 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī considers that his books are 'full of errors' and that his contemporaries are 'fools through being taken in by him'.<sup>77</sup> He did in fact write a *Refutation of Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy, concerning his Exegesis of Sūra CXII of the Qur'ān* and a *Refutation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, concerning his Commentary on some General Matters of the Canon [of Medicine]*.<sup>78</sup> Occasionally, he was very rude to the Iranian theologian.

(3) The fact that 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, according to his autobiographical account, studied 'Avicenna's books, the minor and the major ones', would explain the familiarity that the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* shows with an unusual number of the works of the Shaykh al-Ra'īs.

(4) Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a not only calls 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī 'the shaykh' but also 'the eminent imam'.<sup>79</sup> This same title is found in the incipit of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, whose author is introduced as 'the imam of the community and the most accomplished of the imams'.

This being so, a simple look at the manuscript Feyzullah 1217 suffices to make one realize that the name of neither al-Baghdādī nor al-Suhrawardī – if written in part or in full – fits the space of the smudged words of its incipit, what is left of their vowels, and the few tiny traces surviving of their consonants.

Furthermore, potentially important information about our author and his milieu can be found in the Logic part of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, a part of the work that, following the example of Kutsch, Wernst, and Kenny, one would perhaps be tempted, on a first examination of the manuscript Feyzullah 1217, to neglect in favour of its Psychology and *Divinalia*.<sup>80</sup>

In the Logic, *al-Nukat's* author indeed gives the titles of two of his writings devoted to the figures of the syllogism.<sup>81</sup>

75. See Stern, 'A Collection of Treatises' (n. 67 above), pp. 60–61.

76. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā', p. 683.

77. Stern, 'A Collection of Treatises' (n. 67 above), p. 58.

78. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā', pp. 694, 695.

79. Ibid., p. 683. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a also gives the title *imām* to various other individuals, e.g. al-Suhrawardī (p. 641) and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (p. 650).

80. I am very grateful to A. Shihadeh for encouraging me to read the *Nukat's* Logic entirely before publishing the paper I read in April 2004 at the Warburg Institute conference.

81. At fol. 171<sup>v</sup>, l. 3, the author also expresses a hope of developing his ideas on love ('*ishq*) in some 'simple book' (*kitāb basīṭ*).

(1) I have made that manifest, exhaustively and at length, I have made it clear and made all its syllogisms clear in our book called *The Decisive Demonstration of the Necessity of the Fourth Figure* [*al-Burhān al-qāṭi' 'alā wujūb al-shakl al-rābi'*]. (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* VII, fol. 52<sup>r</sup>, ll. 13–14)

(2) We would have a lot to say about the figures. We expound it in the *Book Explaining the Problem, as far as Stating Clearly the Manifest Nature of the Figures is Concerned* [*Kitāb Ḍāḥ al-ishkāl fī l-ifṣāḥ 'an bayān al-ashkāl*]. (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* VIII, fol. 58<sup>r</sup>, ll. 8–9)

The titles of these two works are unfortunately absent from the bibliographies of Kātib Çelebi, Ismā'īl Baġdatlı, C. Brockelmann, and F. Sezgin.<sup>82</sup> Nor can they be found in N. Rescher's pioneering survey of the evolution of Arabic logic.<sup>83</sup> A search in various historical, bio-bibliographical, literary, and doctrinal Arabic databases on CD-ROM or the Internet produced no result. Until another, unaltered, copy of the *Nukat* or manuscripts of *al-Burhān al-Qāṭi'* and *Ḍāḥ al-Ishkāl* are discovered in some library, the precise identity of our philosopher will therefore continue to be a puzzling mystery. As for 'Abd al-Laṭif al-Baġhdādī and al-Suhrawardī, is it really conceivable that the titles of three of their works would have remained unknown to their biographers?<sup>84</sup>

Most interestingly, in the Logic of *al-Nukat*, our author also refers to other thinkers than the 'Shaykh of the Jews' and the 'humbug of the non-Arabs'. And he does so explicitly, criticizing two of them by name and giving the title of a work by the third:

(1) As for what the author of the *Başā'ir* said – i.e. that the existential [proposition] is converted into an existential one [*al-wujūdiyya tan' akisu wujūdiyyat<sup>am</sup>*] – it is not correct. (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* V, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4–5)<sup>85</sup>

(2) Do not preoccupy yourself at all with the stupidity [*sukhuf*] of Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī in what he says. All of it is indeed dates of bad quality [*ḥashaf*] and counterfeit stuff [*zayf*]. (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* VII, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>, l. 11)

(3) Do not listen to what al-Jīlī says – i.e. that the conclusion of these two types [of syllogism] does not become manifest, as for the first figure. This is indeed nothing. Likewise, the humbug of the non-Arabs followed him in this [matter]. (*Nukat*, Logic, *Maslak* VII, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>, ll. 11–12)

82. See Kātib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-Zunun*, eds Ş. Yaltkaya and K. R. Bilge, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941–3; Ismail Paşa Baġdatlı, *Keşf-el-Zunun Zeyli*, eds Ş. Yaltkaya and K. R. Bilge, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1945–7; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 5 vols, Leiden, 1937–49; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 12 vols, Leiden and Frankfurt a.M., 1967–2000.

83. N. Rescher, *The Development of Arabic Logic*, Pittsburgh, 1964.

84. The titles of many works of 'Abd al-Laṭif al-Baġhdādī relating to philosophy and logic are listed in Ibn Abī Uşaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', pp. 693–6, including two *summae* divided, like *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, into logic, physics, and *divinalia*. None, however, corresponds to the *Nukat*, *al-Burhān al-qāṭi'*, and *Ḍāḥ al-ishkāl*. On al-Suhrawardī's bibliography, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrazūri, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fī ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā' wa-l-falāsifa*, ed. K. Aḥmad, 2 vols, Hyderabad, 1397/1976, II, pp. 128–9; J. Walbridge, *The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardī and the Heritage of the Greeks*, Albany, NY, 2000, pp. 15–17, 235.

85. Other references to 'the author of the *Başā'ir*' are at fol. 55<sup>v</sup>, ll. 12–14 (criticized for wrongly trying to correct 'the greatest of the eminent ones', i.e. Avicenna); fol. 67<sup>r</sup>, l. 2 ('Do not listen to what the author of the *Başā'ir* says ...').

*Al-Baṣā'ir al-Naṣīriyya fī 'ilm al-mantiq* [*The Naṣīrī Observations, concerning the Science of Logic*] is the most famous work of logic composed by the qāḍī Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar b. Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī).<sup>86</sup> Born in Sāveh (between Tehran and Hamadhān), al-Sāwī moved to Naysābūr. He is said by al-Bayhaqī to have lived by the work of his hands, notably copying Avicenna's *Shifā'*.<sup>87</sup> Another Avicennian text he was interested in is *The Bird* [*al-Ṭayr*],<sup>88</sup> which he translated into Persian. Among his other works are an *Answer to al-Shahrastānī* [*Jawāb 'alā l-Shahrastānī*], whose friend he seems to have been,<sup>89</sup> and an abridgement of the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*.<sup>90</sup> According to al-Shahrazūrī, al-Suhrawardī's 'books show that he thought a lot about the *Baṣā'ir*', which he read in Iṣfahān.<sup>91</sup> H. Ziai calls al-Sāwī a 'non-Aristotelian Persian logician' and confirms that his 'novel ideas' concerning the reorganization of the *Organon* 'had a major impact on al-Suhrawardī's writings on logic'.<sup>92</sup> For N. Pourjavady, the presence of two of his writings in the Marāgheh anthology of AH 596–7/AD 1200 indicates that his works were then studied in that philosophical school.<sup>93</sup> The first one, the *Epistle Called 'The Accusation of Error'* [*al-Risālat al-Musammāh bi-l-tawṭī'a*], examines the prophetic powers of contemplation and action.<sup>94</sup> The second, the *Epistle Stating the Truth about the Contradiction Relating to Existence* [*Risāla fī Tahqīq naqīḍ al-wujūd*],<sup>95</sup> relates to one of 'the conundrums of logic' [*ghawāmiḍ al-mantiq*] studied 'in his books' by 'the most eminent of the later thinkers [*aḥḍal al-muta' akhkhīrīn*] – may God reward him well on behalf of the people of knowledge!' – i.e. Avicenna, but not really solved by him 'despite the sublimity of his worth and the accuracy of his insight [*jalāl qadrihī wa-iṣāba nazarihī*]'.<sup>96</sup> Brockelmann dates al-Sāwī's death to AH 540/AD 1145.<sup>97</sup>

To see the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* refer to Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī comes as a most pleasing surprise since, a few years ago, I had the opportunity to underline the importance of the latter as a direct witness to the Avicennian pandemic in Central Asia (Marw, Naysābūr), one generation after the death of al-Ghazālī.<sup>98</sup> In the last of his

86. See Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī, *al-Baṣā'ir al-Naṣīriyya fī 'ilm al-mantiq*, ed. R. al-'Ajam, Beirut, 1993.

87. See Ṣahīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Kurd 'Alī [under the title *Ta'rikh ḥukamā' al-Islām*], Damascus, 1365/1946, pp. 128–30, no. 74; al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, II, pp. 56–7, no. 47.

88. See H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, Lagrasse, 1999, p. 230.

89. See N. Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah: A Philosophical Anthology from Maraghah*, containing Works by Abū Ḥamid Ghazzālī, 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī, Ibn Sīnā, 'Umar Ibn Sahlān Sāwī, Majduddīn Jīlī, and others, facsimile edition with introductions in Persian and English, Tehran, 2002, pp. ix–x.

90. See Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition* (n. 8 above), p. 121.

91. al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, II, p. 123.

92. H. Ziai, 'al-Suhrawardī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, IX, p. 782.

93. See Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah* (n. 89 above), pp. ix–x.

94. See *ibid.*, pp. 289–300.

95. See *ibid.*, pp. 301–6.

96. Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī, in Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah* (n. 89 above), p. 301.

97. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (n. 82 above), suppl. I, pp. 830–31; K. D. al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām: Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-misā' min al-'arab wa-l-musta'rabīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 9th edn, 8 vols, Beirut, 1990, V, p. 47, wrongly dates Ibn Sahlān's death to c. 450/1058.

98. See Y. J. Michot, 'La pandémie avicennienne au VI<sup>e</sup>/XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: présentation, editio princeps et

*Controversies*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī reports how, after his first visit to Bukhārā in AH 582/AD 1186,<sup>99</sup> he had discussions in Samarkand with this ill-informed critic of Avicenna and answered his rudeness with ‘explicitly insulting actions and words’.<sup>100</sup> The author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* does not in fact seem to be more positively inclined towards one than the other: two of the three abusive expressions of the above passage 2 – the only time he refers to Ibn Ghaylān – are also used by him, in other pages of the work, against al-Rāzī.<sup>101</sup> Ibn Ghaylān strove to attack Avicenna in works like *The Temporal Origination of the World* [*Ḥudūth al-‘ālam*] and *Paving the Way for the Accusation of Error* [*al-Tawṭī'a li-l-takḥī'a*]. He himself presents the latter as seeking to refute the Shaykh al-Ra'īs on various topics of logic, so as to be able to ‘accuse him of error in questions related to the principles of the religion’.<sup>102</sup> The second figure of the syllogism, about which the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* tells his reader to pay no attention to Ibn Ghaylān, also seems to have been one of the topics of logic over which the latter criticized Avicenna in his *al-Tawṭī'a*.<sup>103</sup> Ibn Ghaylān's death can be dated to c. AH 590/AD 1194.<sup>104</sup>

Very little is in fact known about Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Jīlī.<sup>105</sup> When reporting that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī studied with him, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, for example, says only: ‘He was among the greatest eminent ones [*al-afāḍil al-‘uzamā'*] in his time and he composed important works [*taṣānīf jalīla*].’<sup>106</sup> Originally from the northern Iranian province of Gīlān, he flourished around the middle of the sixth/twelfth century and must have died before its end. According to Ibn Khallikān (d. AH 681/AD 1282), al-Jīlī studied with Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā l-Naysābūrī (d. AH 548/AD 1153), a student of al-Ghazālī.<sup>107</sup> Pourjavady hopes that some evidence will be found one day that will show that he also studied with Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī. Al-Jīlī taught logic and philosophy in Rayy before going to Marāgheh, c. AH 570/AD 1174. Apart from al-Rāzī, his other most famous student there was al-Suhrawardī. The Marāgheh anthology of 596–7/1200 includes the text of his *Kitāb al-Lāmi' fi l-shakl al-rābi'* [*The Book of What is Radiant, concerning the Fourth Figure*]. It is with reference to this same syllogistic figure that

traduction de l'introduction du *Livre de l'advenue du monde — Kitāb Ḥudūth al-‘Ālam* d'Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī', *Arabica*, 40, 1993, pp. 287–344; id., ‘Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī, un critique post-ghazālien d'Avicenne’, in *Ibn Gīlān: Hudūth al-‘Ālam — Ibn Sīnā: al-Ḥukūmat*, ed. M. Mohaghegh with French introduction by Jean R. Michot, Tehran and Montreal, 1998, pp. i–xiv; see also Shihadeh, ‘From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī’ (n. 54 above).

99. See Shihadeh, ‘From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī’ (n. 54 above), p. 151.

100. F. D. al-Rāzī, in Kholeif, *A Study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (n. 54 above), p. 82; Michot, ‘La pandémie avicennienne’ (n. 98 above), p. 288. On other texts where al-Rāzī speaks of Ibn Ghaylān, see Shihadeh, ‘From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī’ (n. 54 above), p. 162.

101. See Appendix 4.

102. See Michot, ‘La pandémie avicennienne’ (n. 98 above), p. 317.

103. See Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah* (n. 89 above), p. 19\*. The title of one of the works of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī listed in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā'*’, p. 695, is *Treatise against the Viewpoint from Which to Pave the Way in Logic* [*Maqāla 'alā Jihat al-tawṭī'a fi l-mantiq*].

104. See Shihadeh, ‘From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī’ (n. 54 above), p. 151.

105. See Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah* (n. 89 above), pp. iii–iv, ix, 18\*–19\*.

106. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā'*’, p. 462.

107. See Shihadeh, ‘From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī’ (n. 54 above), p. 157.

the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* criticizes al-Jīlī and, after a cursory examination of *al-Lāmi'*, there is some reason to believe that it is indeed this work that he has in mind.<sup>108</sup>

Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and now Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī, Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī, and Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī . . . Once they are put together, these five names attacked in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* somehow contribute to a better understanding of its author's place in the evolution of Islamic thought after Avicenna, with the consequence that new light can then be shed on this evolution.

From our writer's constant reference to al-Rāzī as an '*ajam*, one might infer that he himself is possibly an Arab, not an Iranian. Geographically, it is nevertheless difficult to determine where he lived: among the five authors he criticizes there are two Central Asians, two Iranians, and an Iraqi. The simple and direct way he refers to Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī seems to indicate that the latter was relatively well known to the people to whom he addressed *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*. Could this be a sign that he too, like Ibn Ghaylān, was then living in Transoxiana? Politically, he was perhaps a subject of the Saljūqs or of the Khwārazm-Shāhs. As already noticed, he presents al-Rāzī as someone of his own time. He must therefore have been active around AH 596/AD 1200 or, at the latest, during the first third of the seventh/thirteenth century.<sup>109</sup> In other words, he lived during the second part of this century of Turkish dynasties that ruled the greater Middle East from the time of al-Ghazālī until the Mongol invasions.

Philosophically, *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* probably offers the best and most comprehensive confirmation of the Avicennian tidal wave having flooded, according to Ibn Ghaylān, not only the intellectual and theological milieu but the whole society of the sixth/twelfth century.<sup>110</sup> Its author is indeed a very expert and convinced Avicennian philosopher. He has access to a wide range of major and minor works of the Shaykh al-Rāzī's and is able to combine and render them, in form as well as in content, into an amazingly Avicennizing *summa*. For the many parts of the *Ishārāt* with which it has links, *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* constitutes a commentary that could be almost as early as al-Rāzī's,<sup>111</sup> and that is as sympathetic towards Avicenna as al-Rāzī was unsympa-

108. See Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah* (n. 89 above), pp. 345–64. The title of one of the works of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī listed in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 695, is *Treatise Showing the Counterfeit Character of the Fourth Figure* [*Maqāla fī Tazyīf al-shakl al-rābi'*].

109. If it is right to see in the incipit of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* some veiled allusion to F. D. al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl fī 'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* and *Nihāyat al-'uqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*, the work could well have been written as early as c. AH 581/AD 1185. According to A. Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Leiden, 2006, p. 7, *al-Maḥṣūl* was completed in AH 576/AD 1180 and *Nihāyat al-'uqūl* is also a relatively early work.

110. See Michot, 'La pandémie avicennienne' (n. 98 above).

111. A. Shihadeh informs me (pers. comm.) that the passage from the 'humbug among the non-Arabs' quoted in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, fol. 108<sup>r</sup>, ll. 3–4 (see the translation in Appendix 4) is taken verbatim from Rāzī's *Sharḥ* of the *Ishārāt* (see Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, ed. 'U. Ḥ. al-Khashshāb, in the margins of *Hādihā l-Kitāb al-Mawsūm bi-Sharḥay al-Ishārāt* . . ., 2 vols, Cairo, 1325/1907, I, p. 124, ll. 35–6), a work which was, in his opinion, written around the year AH 580/AD 1184 (see Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics* [n. 109 above], p. 9). I am most grateful to A. Shihadeh for this very useful identification.

At fol. 151<sup>r</sup>, ll. 6–7 (see the translation in Appendix 4), the author of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* quotes verbatim another passage from Rāzī's *Sharḥ* of the *Ishārāt*, this time II, p. 8, ll. 1–4.

thetic. It could also reveal a far better understanding of the philosopher than al-Ṭūsī's commentary, as this later thinker often pursues his own doctrinal agenda. That said, our author is far from being a blind imitator. First, I have already mentioned the way he departs from the last two *namaṭs* of the *Ishārāt* in order to focus, on the basis of other Avicennian writings, on prophetology rather than on 'irfān.<sup>112</sup> Second, again as noted earlier, his Avicennism is sometimes tinged with *ishrāq*, perhaps because he is influenced by al-Suhrawardī, with whom he has various things in common, or simply because illuminationism had become part of the *honnête homme*'s world-view at the time. Third, whereas Avicenna remains silent about it in the *Ishārāt*, the fourth syllogistic figure is examined at length in *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*.<sup>113</sup>

In fact, our author is passionate about logic. The two works from his pen whose titles he quotes also deal with the figures of the syllogism. As for the three thinkers he explicitly refers to apart from Abū l-Barakāt and al-Rāzī, they all appear to have been directly involved in what, following T. Street, could be called some 'logical problematic as presented by, and articulated in terms of, Avicenna's writings. They would perceive a formal problem or tension implicit in what Avicenna had written, or a lacuna, and would set about finding a repair.'<sup>114</sup> In this respect, *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* seems to participate in the same philosophical preoccupations and endeavours illustrated in various texts of the Marāgheh anthology.

In logic or other philosophical disciplines, the 'Shaykh of the Jews' and his main follower, the 'humbug of the non-Arabs', were themselves particularly active in the debates on the Shaykh al-Ra'īs's views, and it is on them, especially the latter, that our author focuses his attacks. At this stage, it is still impossible to decide whether his animosity was due to poor personal relations with al-Jīlī's former student or to a realization of the potential damage to be expected from that student's close scrutiny of Avicenna's works, notably his commentary on the *Ishārāt*. Whichever it was, it is obvious that *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* is on the defensive.

This fact corroborates a situation that no one should forget: Avicenna's empire over minds was never exclusively positive and led to opposition as much as to fascination. A whole spectrum of positions therefore developed in relation to him – totally or partly positive, mixed and hybrid, partly or totally negative – with people as devoted to the Shaykh al-Ra'īs as our author not hesitating to disassociate themselves from some of his views, while others would carry on Avicennizing even in their anti-Avicennism.<sup>115</sup>

112. Was this a kind of corrective process the *Ishārāt* had to undergo in order to be able to exert its full influence among religiously minded intellectuals and be opposed by them, as an ideal antidote, to philosophies that were far less favourable to the prophets and the religions?

113. *Nukat*, fols 51<sup>r</sup> ff.

114. T. Street, 'Toward a History of Syllogistic after Avicenna: Notes on Rescher's Studies on Arabic Modal Logic', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 11, 2000, pp. 209–228 (220). This is also the case with 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, whose writings against Avicenna include, for example, a *Treatise Showing the Counterfeit Character of What Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā Believes concerning the Existence of Conditional Syllogisms Giving Conditional Conclusions* and a *Treatise Showing the Counterfeit Character of the Conditional Syllogisms that Avicenna Thinks Exist*: see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā', p. 695.

115. See Y. J. Michot, 'L'avicennisation de la *Sunna*: du ṣabéisme au leurre de la *Hanīfiyya*. À propos du *Livre des religions et des sectes*, II, d'al-Shahrastānī', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*, 35, 1993, pp. 113–20.

That said, we still have only elementary knowledge of the precise paths along which all these forms of more or less positive or negative Avicennizing evolved during the sixth/twelfth century. Thanks to the recent publication of Ibn Ghaylān's testimony and of the Marāgheh anthology, and thanks also to studies such as that by A. Shihadeh,<sup>116</sup> things are slowly starting to improve. One of the main interests of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* is to contribute to this progress, the result of which is a richer and far more complex picture of post-Ghazālīan Avicennism than the one traditionally drawn.

Let us take, for example, the 'outline of Arabic philosophy' chart published by D. Gutas in 2002.<sup>117</sup> It distinguishes three main dimensions: 'Mainstream Avicennism', 'Anti-Avicennist Peripatetics & others' in Andalusia or in Baghdād, and 'Illuminationist Avicennism'. Leaving Andalusia aside, we therefore have correspondingly, for the sixth/twelfth century, the names of al-Lawkarī, al-Īlāqī, al-Sāwī, <al-Ghazālī>, <al-Shahrastānī>, Abraham b. Dāwūd, and <al-Rāzī> in a first column (the angle-brackets indicating Avicenna's 'opponents'). Abū l-Barakāt stands alone in a second column, and al-Suhrawardī in a third. Because the attention of Western scholars was drawn to the importance of Ibn Ghaylān as early as 1993, his name could at least have been added after al-Ghazālī. In relation to the Marāgheh anthology, one should moreover, henceforth, also make room in such a chart for names such as Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī, 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī (d. AH 525/AD 1131), and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mas'ūdī (d. c. AH 585–90/AD 1189–94),<sup>118</sup>

More inspiring even than the addition of a few names would nevertheless be the remapping of the sixth/twelfth century's Avicennizing landscape into a more intricate and dynamic reality than suggested by a few columns. For Ibn Ghaylān, al-Ghazālī was not totally against Avicenna.<sup>119</sup> In Marāgheh, texts of both thinkers relating to eschatology and other topics circulated – and were perhaps taught – together, as proved by their presence alongside each other in the anthology of AH 596–7/AD 1200. In *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*, no reference is made to the author of the *Tahāfut*, and it is Abū l-Barakāt who, ahead of his follower al-Rāzī, is considered to be Avicenna's most radical opponent. The 'Shaykh al-Yahūd' becomes in this respect not marginal at all, and any line drawn from Avicenna to al-Rāzī should pass through him.

It also appears that special attention should be given to Avicenna's logic, rather than to illuminationism, for example. Thinkers as pro-Avicennian as *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*'s author or, before him, al-Sāwī in fact disagreed with the Shaykh al-Ra'īs on various logical questions, such as, for example, the fourth figure of the syllogism.<sup>120</sup> A fortiori,

116. Shihadeh, 'From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī' (n. 54 above). C. Martini Bonadeo's work on 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī also seems very promising; see her 'Seguaci e critici di Avicenna', in *Storia della filosofia nell'Islam medievale*, ed. C. D'Ancona, vol. II, Turin, 2005, pp. 627–68 (649–58).

117. D. Gutas, 'The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000–ca. 1350', in *Avicenna and his Heritage: Acts of the International Colloquium, Leuven–Louvain-la-Neuve, Sept. 8–11, 1999*, eds J. Janssens and D. De Smet, Louvain, 2002, pp. 81–97 (96–7).

118. See Pourjavady, *Majmū'ah-ye falsafī-e Marāghah* (n. 89 above), pp. 25\*–26\*.

119. See Michot, 'La pandémie avicennienne' (n. 98 above), pp. 313–14.

120. Aristotle omitted the fourth figure in his systematic treatment of the syllogisms. The attribution of its invention to Galen, by Averroes and others, is wrong since Galen himself says that there cannot

the same is true of those who were in any case less favourably inclined towards him, such as Ibn Ghaylān and al-Jīlī, or Abū l-Barakāt, al-Rāzī, and ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in his later works. A number of texts of the anthology of AH 596–7/AD 1200 attest that such questions were then discussed in Marāgheh. They appear of great importance in the logic of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id*.<sup>121</sup>

The surprising nature of *Al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* and the extraordinary interest it has for the history of Islamic philosophical thought after Avicenna are undeniable, especially in relation to Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Much more investigation will however be necessary to solve the enigma of our author’s name and to evaluate fully his contribution to Avicennism around AH 596–7/AD 1200. In particular, his text will have to be entirely and systematically examined in relation to Avicenna’s works (with the possibility of interesting consequences for the question of the authenticity or inauthenticity of some of them). All the references to the ‘Shaykh of the Jews’ will have to be linked to pages of the *Mu’tabar*. Similarly, each of the passages in which the ‘humbug of the non-Arabs’ is attacked will have to be linked to some passage of al-Rāzī’s writings and also (a) passages of the *Mu’tabar*, when he is said to follow the Shaykh of the Jews; and (b) the *Ishārāt* and/or other Avicennian texts against which his own views were developed. Finally, the references to al-Sāwī, Ibn Ghaylān, and al-Jīlī will have to be checked against their works, in the Marāgheh anthology or other sources.

Some of these tasks require interests and qualifications which I do not have, notably in logic. Moreover, in the present paper my purpose was simply to share the results of a first examination of this stubbornly anonymous pseudo-Avicennian work. Most unexpectedly, *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* provides a new, original, golden opening to the various perspectives adopted in the greater Middle East, around the end of the sixth/twelfth century, by the debates on logic, physics, psychology, metaphysics, theology, prophetology, etc., as inspired by the philosophical corpus of the ‘greatest of the eminent ones’ and animated, among other important Muslim thinkers, by a ‘Shaykh of the Jews’, a ‘non-Arab humbug’, and a mysterious *sanā Ibn Sīnā*.

be more than three figures. Al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Avicenna, and Averroes all ignored the fourth figure. In the first half of the twelfth century, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Futūh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarī, also known as Ibn al-Ṣalāh (d. Damascus, AH 548/AD 1153–4), not only defended and expounded the theory of the fourth figure against his famous predecessors, especially Avicenna, but reported in some detail the discussions concerning it (see A. I. Sabra, ‘A Twelfth-Century Defence of the Fourth Figure of the Syllogism’ (1965), repr. in Sabra, *Optics, Astronomy and Logic: Studies in Arabic Science and Philosophy*, Aldershot, 1994, no. xvi, which includes a translation of Ibn al-Ṣalāh’s report). *Al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* provides a new illustration of the centrality of these discussions after Avicenna.

121. D. Gutas, ‘Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works’, in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions*, London, 1993, pp. 29–76 (56–64), rightly explains that, in the Islamic East, ‘Avicenna’s influence was decisive for the further development of logical studies in Arabic.’ Following Ibn Khaldūn, he attributes a central role to al-Ghazālī and mainly analyses this role in relation to theology and jurisprudence. He then quotes Ibn al-Akfānī (d. AH 749/AD 1348) to give an idea of the way logic was taught and thought of in the Mamlūk sultanate. Gutas does not, however, mention Avicennian logic and logicians in the Islamic East during the twelfth century. *Al-Nukat wa-l-fawā’id* will surely contribute to a better knowledge of that period.



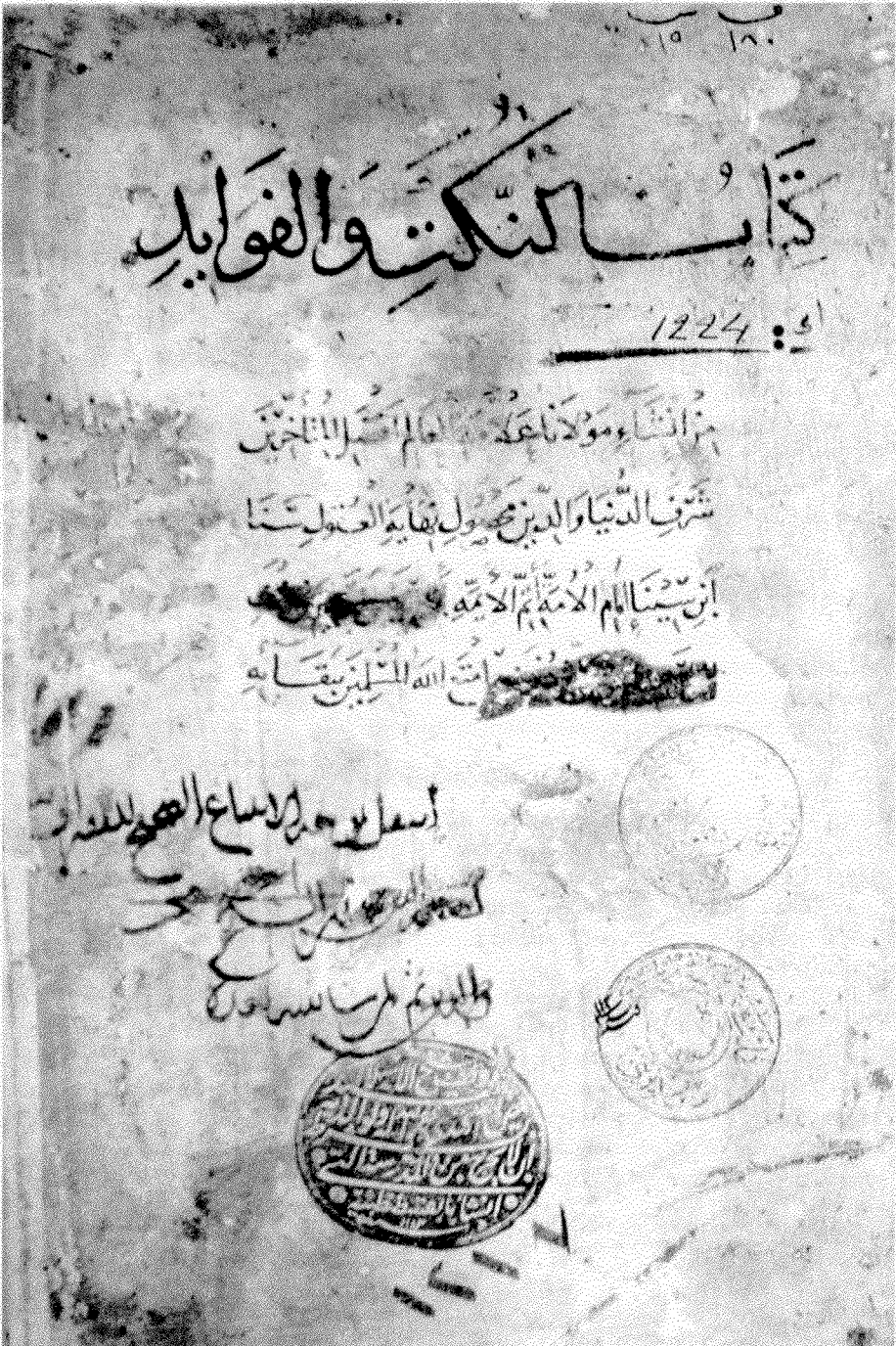


FIGURE 4. Title-page of the manuscript Feyzullah 1217 (fol. 1')

APPENDIX 1

Table of Contents of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id*

PROLOGUE

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*Maslak V*: Contradiction and conversion (fol. 30<sup>v</sup>)  
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*Fann III*: The consequent characters of the natural bodies (fol. 90<sup>v</sup>)  
*Fann IV*: The meteors (fol. 95<sup>v</sup>)  
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BOOK III: THE SCIENCE OF *DIVINALIA*

- Fann I*: Summaries and syntheses that will introduce us to what we are going to undertake (fol. 121<sup>v</sup>; chapter transcribed and translated by Wernst)  
*Fann II*: The essence of the Necessary Being, Its oneness, Its transcendency (*tanzih*), and what follows that. (fol. 132<sup>v</sup>; chapter transcribed and translated by Wernst)  
*Fann III*: Its action, Its work, and Its creation (fol. 139<sup>v</sup>; chapter transcribed and translated by Wernst)  
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## APPENDIX 2

Concordance of Four Chapters of *al-Nukat wa-l-fawā'id* and  
Various Works of Avicenna

ABBREVIATIONS:	AN 3	<i>al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt</i>	AN 102	<i>al-Nafs 'alā sunnat al-ikhtisār</i>
	AN 8	<i>al-Ta'liqāt</i>	AN 190	<i>Risālat al-Fi'l wa-l-infi'āl</i>
	AN 14	<i>al-Shifā'</i>	AN 200	<i>al-Risālat al-Aḍḥawiyya</i>
	AN 74	<i>Risālat al-Nafs al-falakiyya</i>		

(a) Physics, *Fann II: The directions and their first and second bodies*

fol. 80 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 5–8, <i>Fā'ida</i>	
fol. 80 <sup>v</sup> , l. 12–fol. 81 <sup>v</sup> , l. 4, <i>Nukta</i> (except the beginning)	AN 3, p. 106, l. 9–p. 107, l. 18, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 81 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 4–11, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 108, ll. 1–6, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 81 <sup>v</sup> , l. 11–fol. 82 <sup>r</sup> , l. 4, <i>Tadhyīl</i>	AN 3, p. 108, ll. 7–15, <i>Tadhnīb</i>
fol. 82 <sup>r</sup> , ll. 4–9, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 108, ll. 16–19, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 82 <sup>r</sup> , ll. 9–10, <i>Fā'ida</i>	
fol. 82 <sup>r</sup> , ll. 11–15, <i>Ziyāda fā'ida</i>	
fol. 82 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 1–9, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 108, l. 20–p. 109, l. 7, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 82 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 9–14, <i>Fā'ida</i>	
fol. 82 <sup>v</sup> , l. 15–fol. 83 <sup>r</sup> , l. 8 . . . <i>abṭa'</i> , <i>Fā'ida wa-tahṣīl</i> (followed by attacks on al-Rāzī and Abū l-Barakāt)	AN 3, p. 109, ll. 8–17, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 83 <sup>r</sup> , l. 13–fol. 83 <sup>v</sup> , l. 7, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 109, l. 18–p. 110, l. 9, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 83 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 7–10, <i>Tabṣira</i>	AN 3, p. 110, ll. 10–12, <i>Tadhkīr</i>
fol. 83 <sup>v</sup> , l. 11–fol. 84 <sup>r</sup> , l. 11, <i>Wahm wa-fā'ida wa-tanbīh</i>	AN 3, p. 110, l. 13–p. 111, l. 10, <i>Wahm wa-tanbīh</i>
fol. 84 <sup>r</sup> , l. 12–fol. 84 <sup>v</sup> , l. 2, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 111, ll. 11–14, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 84 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 2–15, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 111, ll. 15–19, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 85 <sup>r</sup> , ll. 1–4, <i>Fā'ida</i>	AN 3, p. 112, ll. 1–5, <i>Tanbīh</i>
fol. 85 <sup>r</sup> , ll. 4–7, <i>Fā'ida</i>	AN 3, p. 112, ll. 6–7, <i>Tanbīh</i>
fol. 85 <sup>r</sup> , ll. 7–13, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 112, ll. 8–16, <i>Ishāra</i>
fol. 85 <sup>r</sup> , l. 13–fol. 85 <sup>v</sup> , l. 1, <i>Wahm wa-fā'ida wa-tanbīh</i>	AN 3, p. 113, ll. 1–3, <i>Wahm wa-tanbīh</i>
fol. 85 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 2–3, <i>Tadhyīl</i>	
Fol. 85 <sup>v</sup> , l. 3–fol. 86 <sup>r</sup> , l. 1, <i>Nukta</i> (includes two attacks on al-Rāzī)	AN 3, p. 113, ll. 4–11, <i>Ishāra</i> (except the last words)
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fol. 86 <sup>r</sup> , l. 6–fol. 86 <sup>v</sup> , l. 10, <i>Nukta</i>	AN 3, p. 113, l. 13–p. 114, l. 9, <i>Tanbīh</i>
fol. 86 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 11–14, <i>Tadhyīl</i>	

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- fol. 86<sup>v</sup>, l. 15–fol. 87<sup>v</sup>, l. 2, *Fā'ida* (includes a criticism of Abū l-Barakāt) AN 3, p. 114, ll. 10–18, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 87<sup>v</sup>, ll. 2–6, *Tadhyīl*
- fol. 87<sup>r</sup>, l. 6–fol. 88<sup>r</sup>, l. 1, *Ziyādat irshād*
- fol. 88<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1–5, *Wahm wa-fā'ida* AN 3, p. 115, ll. 1–4, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 88<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5–11 . . . *al-hayūlī. Fā'ida* AN 3, p. 115, ll. 5–15, *Tanbīh*  
(beginning) (followed by a report of personal experiences and a diatribe against al-Rāzī)
- fol. 89<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2–8, *Nukta wa-fā'ida* AN 3, p. 115, l. 16–p. 116, l. 4, *Ishāra wa-tanbīh*
- fol. 89<sup>r</sup>, l. 8–fol. 89<sup>v</sup>, l. 6, *Fā'ida* AN 3, p. 116, ll. 5–18, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 89<sup>v</sup>, l. 7–fol. 90<sup>r</sup>, l. 3, *Wahm wa-fā'ida* AN 3, p. 116, l. 19–p. 117, l. 10, *Wahm wa-tanbīh*
- fol. 90<sup>r</sup>, ll. 3–12, *Nukta*
- Fol. 90<sup>r</sup>, l. 12–fol. 90<sup>v</sup>, l. 3, *Fā'ida*
- (b) Physics, *Fann V: The souls* (ed. Kutsch)**
- p. 149, ll. 1–10, *Nukta*
- p. 149, ll. 11–13, *Fā'ida*
- p. 149, l. 15–p. 150, l. 9, *Nukta*
- p. 150, ll. 10–15, *Fā'ida* ±AN 102, p. 156, l. 10 *fa-idhan* . . .–l. 11
- p. 150, ll. 16–17, *Tadhyīl*
- p. 150, l. 18–p. 151, l. 3, *Tabšira* AN 102, p. 157, ll. 1–7
- p. 151, ll. 4–7, *Ziyāda* AN 102, p. 157, ll. 8–11 . . . *wa-l-dāfi'a*
- p. 151, ll. 8–11, *Fā'ida* AN 102, p. 157, l. 11 *wa-ka-mā* . . .–l. 14
- p. 151, l. 12–p. 152, l. 13, *Nukta* AN 14, *Nafs*, p. 33, l. 9–p. 34, l. 15
- p. 152, ll. 14–22, *Fā'ida* AN 14, *Nafs*, p. 34, ll. 16–20
- p. 153, ll. 1–2, *Tadhyīl*
- p. 153, ll. 3–22, *Wahm wa-fā'ida*
- p. 154, l. 1–p. 155, l. 11, *Nukta* (includes, AN 102, p. 166, l. 5–p. 167, l. 13  
p. 154, ll. 9–15 . . . *al-'aql*, a criticism of Abū-l-Barakāt)
- p. 155, ll. 12–19, *Fā'ida* AN 102, p. 167, l. 14 *illā* . . .–l. 18 . . . *min-hu*
- p. 155, l. 20 . . . *al-rūḥ*, *Hidāya* (beginning) AN 102, p. 167, l. 14 . . . *al-faylasūf*
- p. 156, ll. 3–4, *Ziyāda tabšira* (beginning) AN 102, p. 167, l. 18 *wa-bi-ḥasab* . . .–l. 20 . . .  
(followed by an attack on al-Rāzī) *al-ālāt*
- p. 156, ll. 13–21 . . . *al-radhīla*, *Nukta* AN 14, *Nafs*, p. 37, l. 7–p. 38, l. 4 . . . *radhīla*  
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l. 4 . . . *iyā-hā*

- p. 157, ll. 6–14, *Fā'ida*
- p. 157, ll. 15–17 . . . *bi-l-quwwa*, *Nukta* (beginning) AN 102, p. 172, ll. 5–10 . . . *ba'd*
- p. 157, l. 22–p. 158, l. 7, *Fā'ida* AN 102, p. 172, l. 10 *anna* . . .–p. 173, l. 3 . . .  
*khulf*
- p. 158, ll. 8–13, *Tadhyīl* AN 102, p. 173, ll. 12–21
- p. 158, ll. 14–20, *Fā'ida* AN 102, p. 174, ll. 4–16
- p. 158, l. 21–p. 159, l. 4, *Nukta* AN 200, p. 141, l. 2–p. 145, l. 2
- p. 159, ll. 5–7, *Nukta*
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- p. 159, ll. 16–19, *Nukta*
- p. 159, l. 20–p. 160, l. 2, *Fā'ida* AN 8, p. 63, ll. 16–19
- p. 160, ll. 3–9, *Irshād wa-tabṣīr* AN 8, p. 63, ll. 22–8
- p. 160, ll. 10–13, *Fā'ida* AN 8, p. 64, ll. 3–4
- p. 160, ll. 14–16 . . . *bi-l-nafs*, *Ziyādat istibṣār* (beginning) AN 8, p. 69, ll. 25–7 . . . *kamāluhū*
- l. 16 *wa-ka-dhālika* . . .–l. 19 (end) AN 8, p. 69, l. 28 *wa-ka-dhālika* . . .–p. 70, l. 3
- p. 160, l. 20–p. 161, l. 10, *Nukta*
- p. 161, ll. 11–19, *Nukta*
- p. 161, l. 20–p. 162, l. 13, *Fā'ida*
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- p. 164, ll. 10–12, *Tadhyīl* AN 8, p. 23, l. 16 *Fa-idhā* . . .–l. 19
- p. 164, ll. 13–15, *Fā'ida* AN 8, p. 23, ll. 20–22
- p. 164, ll. 16–19, *Nukta* AN 8, p. 30, l. 28–p. 31, l. 2
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- p. 165, ll. 6–7, *Tabṣīra*
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- p. 165, l. 15–p. 166, l. 4, *Nukta* AN 8, p. 34, ll. 17–27 . . . *al-lāzim*
- p. 166, ll. 5–12 . . . *ḥaḥiqatahū*, *Nukta* (except the last line) AN 8, p. 34, l. 27 *wa-naḥnu* . . .–p. 35, l. 9 . . .  
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 p. 174, ll. 9–10 ... *dhālīka*, *Fā'ida* (beginning)  
     l. 10 *wa-ayḍ<sup>an</sup>* ...-l. 11 (end)  
 p. 174, ll. 12–20, *Nukta*  
 p. 174, l. 21–p. 175, l. 2 ... *ashkhāṣ*, *Nukta*  
     (beginning)  
     l. 2 *wa-l-jirm* ...-l. 12 (end)  
 p. 175, l. 13–p. 176, l. 11, *Fā'ida* (except the  
     last line)  
 p. 176, l. 13–p. 177, l. 2, *Fā'ida*  
  
 p. 177, ll. 3–7, *Tadhyīl*  
  
 p. 177, ll. 8–20, *Nukta*  
 p. 177, l. 21–p. 178, l. 5, *Nukta*  
 p. 178, ll. 6–9, *Nukta*  
 p. 178, ll. 10–12, *Nukta*
- AN 8, p. 83, ll. 12–20 ... *istakmalat* <sup>122</sup>  
 AN 8, p. 83, l. 20 *wa-idhā* ...-l. 22 ... *fayḍihī*  
 AN 8, p. 83, l. 22 *wa-hādihā* ...-l. 25  
 AN 8, p. 83, l. 26–p. 84, l. 8  
 AN 8, p. 84, ll. 9–10  
  
 AN 3, p. 130, ll. 4–15, *Ishāra*  
 AN 3, p. 130, l. 16–p. 131, l. 12, *Wahm*  
     *wa-tanbīh*  
 AN 3, p. 131, l. 13–p. 132, l. 6, *Wahm*  
     *wa-tanbīh*  
 AN 3, p. 132, ll. 7–16, *Ishāra*  
 AN 3, p. 132, l. 17–p. 133, l. 5, *Wahm*  
     *wa-tanbīh*  
 AN 3, p. 133, ll. 6–19, *Wahm wa-tanbīh*  
 AN 3, p. 134, ll. 1–6, *Tanbīh*  
  
 AN 3, p. 135, ll. 4–8, *Ishāra*  
 AN 8, p. 53, ll. 20–22 ... *bi-aghṛāḍi-hā*  
 AN 8, p. 53, l. 22 *wa-l-af'āl* ...-l. 25  
 AN 8, p. 63, ll. 3–7  
 AN 8, p. 63, ll. 8–9  
 AN 8, p. 63, l. 15  
 AN 3, p. 135, ll. 9–15 *Ishāra*  
 AN 3, p. 135, ll. 16–19 *Muqaddima*  
  
 AN 3, p. 135, l. 20–p. 136, l. 4 *Ishāra*  
 AN 3, p. 136, l. 5–p. 137, l. 4 *Tanbīh*  
  
 AN 3, p. 137, ll. 5–15 ... *al-harab. Maw'id*  
     *wa-tanbīh (Maw'id part)*  
 AN 3, p. 137, ll. 15–18 *wa-i'lam* ... *Maw'id*  
     *wa-tanbīh (Tanbīh part)*

122. AN 8, p. 83, ll. 12–14 ... *bi-l-'aks*, also appears in AN 19, Bid. §858, p. 306, ll. 1–3 (cf. Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition* (n. 8 above), p. 247 n. 115).

- p. 178, ll. 13–16, *Nukta* AN 8, p. 81, ll. 26–8
- p. 178, ll. 17–18 . . . *ma'qūla la-hā, Tatmīm* AN 8, p. 82, ll. 17–18  
(two first lines)
- (c) *Divinalia, Fann VI: The return and its states – happiness and misery***
- fol. 167<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2–11, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 167<sup>r</sup>, l. 11–fol. 168<sup>r</sup>, l. 4, *Wahm wa-fā'ida* AN 3, p. 190, l. 2–p. 191, l. 8, *Wahm wa-tanbīh*
- fol. 168<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5–11, *Tadhyīl*
- fol. 168<sup>r</sup>, l. 11–fol. 168<sup>v</sup>, l. 6, *Nukta* (ends with  
an attack on al-Rāzī)
- fol. 168<sup>v</sup>, ll. 6–9, *Fā'ida* AN 3, p. 192, l. 10 *wa-la'alla* . . .–l. 13, *Wahm  
wa-tanbīh* (second part)
- fol. 168<sup>v</sup>, l. 9–fol. 169<sup>r</sup>, l. 1, *Fā'ida*
- l. 15 *wa-ka-dhālika* . . .–fol. 169<sup>r</sup>, l. 1 . . . AN 3, p. 193, ll. 8–10, *Tanbīh*  
*mu'awwaq<sup>m</sup>*
- fol. 169<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1–7, *Fā'ida* AN 3, p. 193, ll. 11–16, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 169<sup>r</sup>, ll. 7–15, *Fā'ida* (from l. 10 AN 3, p. 194, l. 4 *wa-kamāl* . . .–l. 10 . . .  
*wa-ka-dhālika* . . .) *bi-l-fi'l*, *Tanbīh* (middle)
- fol. 169<sup>r</sup>, l. 15–fol. 169<sup>v</sup>, l. 3, *Tadhyīl* AN 3, p. 194, l. 10 *wa-mā* . . .–l. 16, *Tanbīh*  
(end)
- fol. 169<sup>v</sup>, l. 3–l. 5 . . . *min-hu, Fā'ida* AN 3, p. 194, ll. 17–19, *Tanbīh*  
(beginning)
- fol. 169<sup>v</sup>, ll. 7–13, *Tabšīr*
- fol. 169<sup>v</sup>, l. 13–fol. 170<sup>r</sup>, l. 4, *Fā'ida* ±AN 3, p. 195, ll. 1–6, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 170<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4–10, *Fā'ida* ±AN 3, p. 195, ll. 7–10, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 170<sup>r</sup>, l. 10–fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, l. 1, *Irshād* ±AN 3, p. 195, ll. 11–15, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, ll. 4–6, *Fā'ida* (middle) AN 3, p. 196, ll. 12–14, *Tanbīh* (beginning)
- fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, ll. 10–14, *Fā'ida* AN 3, p. 195, ll. 16–18, *Tanbīh*
- fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, l. 14–fol. 171<sup>r</sup>, l. 1, *Tatimma*
- fol. 171<sup>r</sup>, l. 7 *fa-huwa* . . .–fol. 171<sup>v</sup>, l. 4, *Nukta* AN 3, p. 197, l. 11 *wa-l-awwal* . . .–p. 198, l. 8,  
(second part) *Ishāra* (second part)
- (d) *Divinalia, Fann VII: The establishment of prophethood . . .***
- fol. 171<sup>v</sup>, l. 13 *wa-qad* . . .–fol. 172<sup>r</sup>, l. 5, *Nukta* AN 14, *Ilā.*, p. 435, l. 6–p. 436, l. 1 . . . *ilayhi*  
(except beginning)
- fol. 172<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5–7, *Fā'ida* AN 14, *Ilā.*, p. 436, l. 1 *wa-ka-mā* . . .–l. 3 . . .  
*'uqūl*
- fol. 172<sup>r</sup>, ll. 7–14, *Fā'ida wa-tadhkīr* AN 14, *Ilā.*, p. 436, l. 4 *wa-l-umūr* . . .–l. 14 . . .  
*la-ka*
- fol. 172<sup>r</sup>, l. 14–fol. 172<sup>v</sup>, l. 9, *Nukta* AN 14, *Ilā.*, p. 436, l. 14 *anna* . . .–p. 437, l. 7  
. . . *qabla*

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- fol. 172<sup>v</sup>, ll. 10–14, *Tadhyīl*
- fol. 172<sup>v</sup>, l. 14–fol. 173<sup>r</sup>, l. 4, *Nukta*
- fol. 173<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4–10, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 173<sup>r</sup>, l. 10–fol. 173<sup>v</sup>, l. 6, *Tabṣira*
- fol. 173<sup>v</sup>, ll. 6–15, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 174<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1–4, *Tadhyīl*
- fol. 174<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4–14, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 174<sup>r</sup>, l. 14–fol. 174<sup>v</sup>, l. 11, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 174<sup>v</sup>, l. 12–fol. 175<sup>r</sup>, l. 1, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 175<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1–13, *Wahm wa-fā'ida*
- fol. 175<sup>r</sup>, l. 13–fol. 175<sup>v</sup>, l. 1, *Tadhyīl*
- fol. 175<sup>v</sup>, ll. 2–11, *Ziyāda*
- fol. 175<sup>v</sup>, l. 11–fol. 176<sup>r</sup>, l. 5, *Nukta*
- fol. 176<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5–8, *Nukta*
- fol. 176<sup>r</sup>, l. 8–fol. 176<sup>v</sup>, l. 5, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 176<sup>v</sup>, l. 5–fol. 177<sup>r</sup>, l. 10 . . . *al-yaqza*.  
*Tadhyīl* (part 1)
- fol. 177<sup>r</sup>, l. 10 *wa-ammā* . . .–fol. 177<sup>v</sup>, l. 5  
(part 2)
- fol. 177<sup>v</sup>, l. 5–fol. 178<sup>r</sup>, l. 1, *Fā'ida* (part 1)
- fol. 178<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2–11 . . . *bi-quwwa*. *Fā'ida*  
(middle)
- l. 11 *wa-ammā* . . .–l. 12 . . . *murakkabāti-hā*
- l. 12 *wa-min* . . .–fol. 178<sup>v</sup>, l. 3 . . . *al-athqāl*,  
*Fā'ida* (end)
- fol. 178<sup>v</sup>, ll. 3–9, *Nukta*
- fol. 178<sup>v</sup>, ll. 10–14, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 178<sup>v</sup>, l. 14–fol. 179<sup>r</sup>, l. 2, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 179<sup>r</sup>, l. 2–fol. 179<sup>v</sup>, l. 13, *Fā'ida*
- fol. 179<sup>v</sup>, l. 14–fol. 180<sup>r</sup>, l. 9, *Nukta*
- fol. 180<sup>r</sup>, l. 9–l. 11 . . . *ijābatuhū*. *Fā'ida*  
(beginning)
- AN 14, *Ilā.*, p. 437, l. 7 *wa-anna* . . .–l. 10 . . .  
*kullī*
- AN 74, p. 114, l. 8 *wa-anna* . . .–p. 115, l. 1 . . .  
*al-takhayyul*
- AN 74, p. 115, l. 1 *anna* . . .–l. 7 . . . *al-ḥarakāt*
- AN 14, *Ilā.*, p. 437, l. 10 *wa-ammā* . . .–p. 438,  
l. 10 . . . *al-nāfi'a*
- AN 74, p. 116, l. 11–p. 117, l. 5 . . . *al-takhayyul*
- AN 74, p. 117, l. 5 *fa-takūnu* . . .–l. 9 . . .  
*al-anfus*
- AN 74, p. 117, l. 9 *wa-khuṣūṣ<sup>am</sup>* . . .–p. 118, l. 6
- AN 74, p. 118, l. 7–p. 119, l. 5
- AN 74, p. 119, ll. 6–10
- AN 74, p. 120, l. 1–l. 11 . . . *ka-l-mushāhada*
- AN 74, p. 120, l. 11 *wa-tārat<sup>am</sup>* . . .–p. 121, l. 2  
. . . *al-marad*
- AN 74, p. 121, l. 2 *wa-qad* . . .–l. 12
- AN 190, p. 2, l. 2–l. 5 . . . *aḥzar*
- AN 190, p. 2, l. 5 *wa-lammā* . . .–p. 3, l. 4 . . .  
*dhālika*
- AN 190, p. 3, l. 5–p. 4, l. 19 . . . *al-yaqza*  
(without the Qur'anic verses)
- AN 190, p. 5, l. 2–l. 20 . . . *yata'awwadu bi-hā*
- AN 190, p. 6, l. 14–p. 7, l. 18 . . . *bi-l-ashkhāṣ*  
(without the story of Moses and the  
Qur'anic verses)
- AN 190, p. 8, l. 21 *bi-hādhā* . . .–p. 9, l. 14 . . .  
*ta'thīrāti-hā*
- AN 190, p. 9, l. 21
- AN 190, p. 10, l. 5 *ka-jadhb* . . .–l. 17
- ±AN 3, p. 198, l. 15–l. 19 . . . *'alay-ka Tanbih*  
(without the reference to Salmān and  
Absāl)
- AN 3, p. 199, l. 4–l. 6 . . . *al-'ābid*
- AN 3, p. 199, l. 6 *wa-l-munṣarif* . . .–l. 8
- AN 8, p. 47, l. 20–p. 48, l. 5 . . . *du'ā'ihī*
- AN 8, p. 48, l. 5 *wa-l-naṣf* . . .–l. 7 . . . *li-l-du'ā'*



## APPENDIX 3

References to the 'Shaykh of the Jews' (*shaykh al-Yahūd*)

- fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 5 'Do not preoccupy yourself with what the Shaykh of the Jews says!'
- fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 13 'As for what the Shaykh [of the Jews] [*shaykh* ] imagined, as well as those who followed him [among] the non-Arabs [ *al-a'ājim*] ...'
- fol. 8<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 'Turn away from what the Shaykh [of the Jews] [*shaykh* ] mentioned about this! It is all dates of bad quality [*hashaf*]!'
- fol. 26<sup>v</sup>, l. 5 'Do not pay attention to what the Shaykh of the Jews says!'
- fol. 47<sup>v</sup>, l. 3 'Do not listen to what the Shaykh of the Jews says about this!'
- fol. 54<sup>r</sup>, l. 8 'As for the Shaykh [of the Jews] [*shaykh* ], he said ...'
- fol. 54<sup>v</sup>, ll. 6–7 'The Shaykh of the Jews thinks that the two possibles give a conclusion in the second figure when ...'
- fol. 74<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 'Beware of what the Shaykh of the Jews says on these topics!'
- fol. 78<sup>r</sup>, l. 7 'Do not listen to what the Shaykh of the Jews says!'
- fol. 83<sup>r</sup>, l. 13 'In this [thing that he] imagined, the humbug of the non-Arabs followed the Shaykh of the Jews. It is incorrect, for the reason we have made clear.'
- fol. 87<sup>r</sup>, l. 10 'Do not listen at all to what the Shaykh of the Jews says – i.e. that earth is colder than water ...'
- fol. 98<sup>r</sup>, l. 1 '... and it will be a tail for this star. The Shaykh of the Jews said: "This is not true ..."'
- fol. 98<sup>r</sup>, l. 4 'What the Shaykh of the Jews imagines is of a corrupt [nature]. Similarly for most of the questions [about which he gives his opinion].'
- fol. 105<sup>r</sup>, l. 4 'Do not listen at all to what the Shaykh of the Jews says – i.e. that what  
(Kutsch, p. 154) perceives this is the soul, by its essence, not by an instrument!'
- fol. 116<sup>v</sup>, l. 7 'It is no secret, the possibility of the intellection of the essence is then  
(Kutsch, p. 171) included in the possibility of intellection absolutely. [Things] are thus not as [....] ( ) thought – i.e. that it is included in its intellection of something else.'
- fol. 124<sup>v</sup>, l. 9 'The Shaykh of the Jews maintained that [the existent] is a genus. This is  
(Wernst, p. 7) not correct.'
- fol. 125<sup>v</sup>, l. 14 'It is therefore obvious that the existent is not a genus, contrarily to what  
(Wernst, p. 10) the Shaykh of the Jews maintained.'
- fol. 138<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 'Do not preoccupy yourself with the rhetoric of the Shaykh of the Jews,  
(Wernst, p. 32) who offers nothing but error on this topic!'
- fol. 160<sup>r</sup>, l. 8 'This is not [coming about] by way of arbitrary decision and choice as the Shaykh of the Jews thought and abominably claimed in his rhetoric.'
- fol. 161<sup>v</sup>, l. 6 'Beware of what the Shaykh of the Jews alleges against this!'
- fol. 163<sup>r</sup>, l. 1 'Beware of preoccupying yourself with that which Porphyry of Tyre [*al-ṣūrī*] said about this, in ancient times, in his book on the intellect and the intelligibles, and that which the Shaykh of the Jews says, in modern times, in his book which would deserve to be called *The Book of the Examples Not to be Followed* [*Kitāb al-'Ibar*], not *The Book of What has*

*been Established by Personal Reflection [Kitāb al-Mu'tabar]. To preoccupy oneself with such [ideas] is indeed corrupting for minds.'*

APPENDIX 4

References to the 'Humbug of the Non-Arabs' (*hashawī l-A'ājim*)

- fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 15 'There is no need for the proviso [*qayd*] mentioned by the humbug.'
- fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 14 'As for what the Shaykh [of the Jews] [*shaykh* ] imagined, as well as those who followed him [among] the non-Arabs [ *al-a'ājim* ] ...'
- fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, l. 6 'Do not pay attention to what the humbug of the non-Arabs says – i.e. that it is not possible to forecast with certainty the rise and the setting [of a star]! This is indeed due to his stupid understanding [of the matter] [*fa-dhālika sukhf min fahmihī*].'
- fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, l. 13 'Do not turn towards what the humbug of the non-Arabs says – i.e. that the minds of the commonalty are far away from grasping these considerations! Indeed, what is meant by the term *commonalty* [*'amma*] is not the riffraff [*ra'a'*] and the silly people [*safsāf*] as he came to believe. What is thereby meant is the Kalām theologians [*mutakallimūn*].'
- fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 'Do not pay attention to what the humbug of the non-Arabs says – i.e. that the [things that can be known [*al-ma'lūmāt*]] are to be traced back to the Necessary Existent, are predetermined by [*muqaddar 'inda*] Him, and have a specified time [*waqt mu'ayyan*]! This is indeed babble [*hadhar*] with which one must not preoccupy oneself.'
- fol. 47<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 'Do not listen at all to what the humbug of the non-Arabs says – i.e. that the fourth [figure] comes about from the conversion [*'aks*] of each one of its two premisses! This is a mistake, null and void [*lā yu'awwalu 'alay-hī*].'
- fol. 53<sup>v</sup>, l. 12 'Likewise, the humbug of the non-Arabs followed him<sup>123</sup> in this [matter].'
- fol. 56<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 'Do not listen to what the humbug of the non-Arabs says about this, as well as those who follow him, among those pretending to be clever [*mutaḥadhiq*]!'
- fol. 75<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 'Do not listen at all to what the humbug of the non-Arabs alleges against this by way of ineptitudes [*takhbīṭ*]!'
- fol. 77<sup>r</sup>, l. 9 'Do not listen at all to what the humbug of the non-Arabs says here! All this is indeed stupid [*sukhf*].'
- fol. 83<sup>r</sup>, l. 9 'This is not due to the fact that the natural impetus [*mayl*] exists with, in itself, the violent [one], as the humbug of the non-Arabs imagined on the basis of things said by the greatest of the eminent ones.'
- fol. 83<sup>r</sup>, l. 12 'In this [thing that he] imagined, the humbug of the non-Arabs followed the Shaykh of the Jews. It is incorrect, for the reason we have made clear.'
- fol. 85<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 'There is no cream [*zubda*] in what the humbug of the non-Arabs says in order to question [*tashkīk*] that, as it is meagre [*rakīk*].'
- fol. 85<sup>v</sup>, l. 15 'Do not preoccupy yourself at all with the ineptitude [*khabṭ*] of the hum-

123. Al-Jīlī. See above, p. 106, §2.

- bug of the non-Arabs! Praised be He Who made him neglect to notice the meanings [of things] and made him convinced by nonsense [*khurāfāt*] which does not induce anything other than misguidance [*taḍlīl*]!
- fol. 88<sup>v</sup>, l. 14 'Beware of taking an interest in what the humbug of the non-Arabs says about that! It is indeed an error [*ḍalāl*] and a curse [*wabāl*]. Praised be He Who made him become confused, made him stumble [*zalzalahū*], forbade him to grasp the truths, predestined [*atāḥa*] him to evolve towards heterodoxy [*sū' al-i-tiqād*], and inspired him to defame those among the ancients and the moderns who have realized the truth [*muḥaqqiq*]! These are indeed matters that are observed, perceived by the senses, and that are rejected only by his like or people treading on his path.'
- fol. 106<sup>f</sup>, l. 15 (Kutsch, p. 156) 'Do not turn towards what the humbug of the non-Arabs says in this place! It is all dates of bad quality [*ḥashaf*]. Such insanities [*takhlīṭ*] and ineptitudes [*takhbīṭ*] leading towards erring and abandoning what is right would not escape anyone having a sound mind and a minimum of familiarity with matters of wisdom. Praised be He Who made him be convinced by the envelope [*qishr*] and deprived him of the gist [*lubāb*]!
- fol. 108<sup>v</sup>, l. 3 (Kutsch, p. 159) 'The humbug of the non-Arabs proposed this demonstration in a manner similar to this and then, afterwards, said: "This is self-contradictory. Everyone indeed knows his particular essence although the representation of the soul which they speak about did not cross his mind", adding to this dates of bad quality [*ḥashaf*] that there was no need to come up with . . . The insanities [*takhlīṭ*] that these [views] imply are no secret. How amazing is his departing [*inḥirāf*] from the way of the truth and his turning away [*zaygh*] from the right path!'
- fol. 124<sup>v</sup>, l. 11 (Wernst, p. 8) 'Do not waste your time with what [. . . .] ( ) says – i.e. that [the substance] is not a genus. This is indeed babble [*hadhar*], null and void [*lā yu'awwalu 'alay-hi*].'
- fol. 126<sup>f</sup>, l. 3 (Wernst, p. 10) 'Substance is a genus, contrarily to what the humbug of our time [*ḥashawī zamāni-nā*] maintained.'
- fol. 135<sup>v</sup>, l. 3 (Wernst, p. 27) 'Beware of preoccupying yourself with what the humbug of the non-Arabs says and believes about this – i.e. that existence is added [*zā'id 'alā*] to the essence of God Most High! [To have] such [an idea] is to err [*ḍalāl*] and to be cursed [*wabāl*] in this world and in the hereafter. It leads the one who believes that to stay eternally in the sempiternal torment. "Their torment shall not be lightened."<sup>124</sup> "Therein they shall abide as long as the heavens and the earth endure."<sup>125</sup> May God protect us and those who deserve [it] from what he believed! He [really] alleged against that [doctrine], by way of nonsense [*khurāfāt*], things that are not allowed.'
- fol. 136<sup>v</sup>, l. 14 (Wernst, p. 29) 'Beware of what the humbug of the non-Arabs says about this! It is all dates of bad quality [*ḥashaf*]!
- fol. 145<sup>f</sup>, l. 2 (Wernst, p. 42) 'It is not as the humbug of the non-Arabs thought – i.e. that this is rhetoric.'

124. Qur'an, II.86.

125. Qur'an, XI.107.

- fol. 145<sup>r</sup>, l. 13  
(Wernst, p. 42) 'The humbug of the non-Arabs did not know at all what is intended by this section . . . He thus alleged, by way of babble [*hadhar*], what he alleged, by contesting [*tā'in 'alā*] the greatest of the eminent ones.'
- fol. 145<sup>v</sup>, l. 1  
(Wernst, p. 42) 'Furthermore, the humbug of the non-Arabs rebuked [*'annafa*] the philosophers and reproved [*wabbakha 'alā*] them for alleging such things. If he had been clever [*tafaṭṭana*], he would have found himself worthier of rebuke and reproach.'
- fol. 148<sup>r</sup>, l. 5  
(Wernst, p. 47) 'How the dogma of God's oneness [*tawḥīd*] and its demonstration are involved in this question was not evident to the humbug of the non-Arabs. He therefore criticized this in the greatest of the eminent ones. He himself was nevertheless worthier to be criticized.'
- fol. 151<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4–5  
'As for the humbug of the non-Arabs, he wandered about [*takhabbatā*] in these topics by saying things that are all babble [*hadhar*]. After wandering in such manner, he eventually said: "Why would it not be permitted that God Most High be profiting, such a precedence [*awlawayya*] arising for Himself, or such a blame being actually rejected? The controversy indeed had to do only with this" . . . We take refuge with God, His greatness, His Majesty, and His Power, from falling into the heterodoxy [*sū' al-i'tiqād*] into which he fell and from becoming absorbed in the darkness of ignorance.'
- fol. 152<sup>v</sup>, l. 13  
'Beware of preoccupying yourself with the stupidity [*sukhf*] of the humbug of the non-Arabs about this! He is among those whom God has driven far away from adequacy to the truth.'
- fol. 153<sup>v</sup>, l. 5  
'By making this clear, the stupidity [*sukhf*] of what the humbug of the non-Arabs alleges against this, by way of babble [*hadhar*] and ineptitudes [*takhbīṭ*], becomes evident, if cleverness [*faṭāna*] takes your hand.'
- fol. 160<sup>r</sup>, l. 8  
'In our time [*fi zamāni-nā*], the humbug of the non-Arabs followed [the Shaykh of the Jews in this] and alleged, by way of babble [*hadhar*], things that prove his bad understanding [of the topic] and his deprivation [*ḥirmān*].'
- fol. 161<sup>v</sup>, l. 6  
'Beware of what the Shaykh of the Jews alleges against this and of what, following him, the humbug of the non-Arabs says by way of insanities [*takhlīṭ*] and ineptitudes [*takhbīṭ*] [that are] corrupting the order [to be respected by] intellections.'
- fol. 165<sup>v</sup>, l. 3  
'Do not waste time with what the humbug of the non-Arabs says about this! It is ineptitudes [*khabṭ*] that offer nothing but error.'
- fol. 168<sup>v</sup>, l. 5  
'Do not listen at all to what the humbug of the non-Arabs says about this subject, by way of babble [*hadhar*]!'