

A NEW STANDARD FOR AVICENNA STUDIES

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Yahya Michot's recent contribution marks an important advance in the study of Avicenna's life and thought, not only because it offers a critical edition, translation, and commentary of a relatively unknown letter by Avicenna (the *Letter to the Vizier*), but also because it emphasizes the importance of historiographical and philological methods. However, many of Michot's conclusions concerning the historical context of a number of Avicenna's works, as well as his decision to publish preliminary editions and translations of these works, are open to serious criticism. Many of these historical questions are addressed here, along with manuscript and recension studies of Avicenna's *Ḥuṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma* and *al-ʿAhd*.

I. MICHOT'S INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

IN THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS, research into the life, times, and philosophy of Avicenna has witnessed a resurgence among scholars of medieval Islamic intellectual history. This resurgence can be traced in part to the 1988 publication of Dimitri Gutas's *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*¹ in which scholars were treated to an evaluation of work on Avicenna since the millenary celebrations of the 1950s, an assessment of the then current state of research, and a detailed map—in Gutas's own study of Avicenna's intellectual inheritance and innovation—of the methodology and goals that would be necessary for further progress. It is often assumed that a name that looms as large across the horizon of intellectual history as that of Avicenna has surely been accorded enough scholarly activity to render the ambitions of new generations of scholars irrelevant. In fact, it is significant that of the fourteen texts forming the Avicennan corpus from which Gutas drew his references to the Aristotelian tradition (chapter one) not a single one was then or is now available in a properly critical edition. Indeed, of these fourteen texts and the twelve texts that Gutas designated "Major Philosophical Works" (with some common entries in the two sets), not one has even

received the thorough study into the manuscripts, recensions, and textual history so fundamental to the task of critical editing.² It is a wonder that any good work at all is done on Avicenna, considering the sorry state of his corpus.

So much for the texts. The other area toward which all good philologists direct their talents is context, however conceived (historical, social, political, intellectual, etc.). Here the efforts of Yahya (formerly Jean) Michot stand almost unparalleled. The investigation of the historical context, broadly apprehended, in which Avicenna lived and worked is certainly fraught with some dangers. While it was once thought that scholars of Avicenna were blessed with not only the master's autobiography, but also a biography by his disciple al-Jūzjānī, careful study of these texts highlights the importance of taking into account the rhetorical (or crassly put, the propagandistic) nature of medieval genres of writing.³ Undoubtedly there is much fact to be winnowed out of these writings, but it would be short-sighted to embrace all their particulars unreflectively. The historical evidence for the life and times of Avicenna that falls outside the writings of the master and his disciples brings additional

This is a review article of: *Ibn Sīnā, lettre au vizir Abū Saʿd: Éditio princeps d'après le manuscrit de Bursa*. By YAHYA MICHOT. *Sagesses musulmanes* 4. Beirut: Éditions al-Bouraq, 2000.

¹ Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

² I have attempted such a study of the *Mubāḥathāt* in my *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition: The Transmission, Contents, and Structure of Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥathāt (The Discussions)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

³ See Gutas's analysis of the *Autobiography in Avicenna*, 149ff., and now Michot's tantalizing remarks on al-Jūzjānī's *Biography*, which he describes as a "hagiographie plutôt que biographie," in *Ibn Sīnā*, 53*ff.; see also *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 135ff.

problems, chief among which is its very paucity, at least of those pieces of evidence that can truly be identified as contemporaneous and thus, presumably, to be accorded sufficient evidentiary weight. However, it is becoming more and more clear that the outer margins of the Avicennan corpus contain much in the way of incidental (i.e., conversational or narrative-based) information that may help resurrect areas of historicity for our understanding of his life and times. Such "incidental" have the added benefit of being less mindfully constructed than the "facts" of the very self-conscious autobiography and biography. Here, with the exception of the correspondence that makes up Avicenna's *al-Mubāḥathāt*, we are wholly outside the corpus Gutas deemed "major."

This reconstruction of previously unstudied aspects of Avicenna's intellectual career has been the province of Yahya Michot's research to date. In many ways, his latest study represents the culmination of nearly ten years of research. In 1991, he first signaled, in great detail, his discovery of the codex Bursa Hüseyin Çelebi 1194, copied in 675/1276–77 by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Khaṭīb, which contains some thirty of the smaller treatises of Avicenna.⁴ Among them is an untitled letter from Avicenna to one Abū Saʿd (who, however, is not named in the letter itself) which was unknown to the major bibliographers of Avicenna's manuscripts up to that time (Michot referred to Ergin,⁵ Anawati,⁶ and Mahdavi⁷); Michot dubbed it *Demande de médiation*. In the following year, Michot made a first attempt at summarizing (and partially translating) the *Letter* and discussing its historical context.⁸ He noted that al-Bayhaqī, in his *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, pro-

vides a brief account of one Abū ʿl-Qāsim al-Kirmānī with whom Avicenna engaged in a debate that degenerated into insult and accusation, as a result of which Avicenna wrote to the vizier Abū Saʿd al-Hamaḍhānī requesting that formal judgment be passed on Abū ʿl-Qāsim.⁹ Apparently, Avicenna was close enough to Abū Saʿd to have dedicated to him his *al-Aḍḥawiya fi ʿl-maʿād* sometime before the debate.¹⁰

In the same study, Michot first suggested an identification for this little-known Abū ʿl-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as the *ghulam* of the philosopher al-ʿAmīrī (d. 381/991) mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī as the author of a short work on logic sent to him sometime between 373–75/983–85.¹¹ Of even greater importance, Michot drew out the connection between Abū ʿl-Qāsim and Miskawayh that Avicenna makes in a letter to Bahmanyār in the *Mubāḥathāt*, and he noted that the animosity Avicenna displays toward Abū ʿl-Qāsim in that letter (and in fact throughout the various texts of the *Mubāḥathāt*) accords with the poor relations between the two evident in the *Letter to the Vizier*. Michot also went on to identify this Abū ʿl-Qāsim as the messenger who brought the questions on logic from the scholars of Shirāz to Avicenna; this, however, is less likely. Considering the social status of Abū ʿl-Qāsim, both with regard to his age and his

⁹ Avicenna actually uses terminology associated with the legal *fatwā*; see, e.g., Michot's edition, *Ibn Sinā*, 9.12.

¹⁰ Michot has consistently appeared unaware that al-Bayhaqī's information is based solely on the introductions to the *Letter to the Vizier* and the *Aḍḥawiya* and thus does not constitute external evidence. In other words, al-Bayhaqī knew nothing more about Abū ʿl-Qāsim al-Kirmānī than what he was able to glean from the Avicenna corpus itself (compare his choice of language to describe the respective accusations of Avicenna and Abū ʿl-Qāsim, e.g., *qillat al-ʿināyati bi-ṣināʿati ʿl-manṭiq* and *al-ghalaṭ waʿl-mughālata* (*Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore, 1351/1932, 33.1–2), both of which appear in the introduction to Avicenna's *Letter to the Vizier* (ed. Michot, 2.3–4).

¹¹ For this identification, Michot largely relied on the study by Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Kitāb Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma: Structure, Composition, Authorship and Sources," *Der Islam* 58 (1981): 87–124, who first suggested that this Abū ʿl-Qāsim may have been the author of the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*. While I agree with Michot that this Abū ʿl-Qāsim is probably the same as Avicenna's debating opponent, I note Joel Kramer's hesitancy (which Michot has not remarked upon) in ascribing the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* to him; see Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam: Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī and his circle* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 119ff.

⁴ As Jean Michot, "Un important recueil avicennien du VIIe/XIIIe S.: la *Majmūʿa* Hüseyin Çelebi 1194 de Brousse," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 33 (1991): 121–29. There (p. 122) he noted that the title page of the codex states that it contains forty-five treatises by Ibn Sinā; we must imagine either a faulty count (consider the treatment of *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma* as two treatises, perhaps by the original cataloguer of the manuscript, or the loss of the other treatises).

⁵ Osman Ergin, *Ibn Sinā bibliografyası* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1956).

⁶ George C. Anawati, *Muʿallafāt Ibn Sinā/Essai de bibliographie Avicennienne* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1950).

⁷ Yahyā Mahdavi, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi muṣannafāt-i Ibn Sinā* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-yi Tihirān, 1333Sh./1954).

⁸ As Jean R. Michot, "Une nouvelle œuvre de jeune Avicenne, note complémentaire à propos du ms. Hüseyin Çelebi 1194 de Brousse," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 34 (1992): 138–54.

intellectual reputation, both apparent in Avicenna's own epithets of him (see *Letter to the Vizier*, ed. Michot, 1), it is very difficult to believe that he would serve in such a capacity.¹²

In the same 1992 article, Michot also tentatively identified the recipient of the *Letter to the Vizier* as Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Faḍl, mentioned by Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi' (d. 448/1056) in the extant remains of his *History* as vizier of the Būyid Majd al-Dawla in 392/1002. This Abū Saʿd later served Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, Kurdish amir in Hamadhan, for which service we have the date 393/1003 again from Hilāl.¹³ Finally, Michot localized and dated the Avicenna-Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī debate and the resulting *Letter to the Vizier* to Rayy in 405/1014–15. In the present work and as a result of further research in the Avicenna corpus, particularly the *Letter to the Scholars of Baghdad*, which also gives an oblique account of Avicenna's meeting with Abū 'l-Qāsim, Michot revises his earlier conclusion and now, rightly it seems, maintains that the debate and the subsequent letter occurred in Hamadhan.¹⁴

That Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī was involved in the philosophical correspondence that constitutes the *Mubāḥathāt*, albeit through the mediation of Avicenna's student Bahmanyār, was brought into further focus in Michot's 1997 translation of one of the letters in that

¹² See William E. Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sīnā* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1974), 77ff., for details on this correspondence. Avicenna's responses to the Questions on Logic from the scholars of Shīrāz, known alternately as *al-Ajwiba ʿan al-masāʾil al-ʿishrīniya*, *Ishrūn masʾala fi 'l-manṭiq*, and *al-Masāʾil al-gharībīya*, have been edited by M. T. Dānish-pazhūh as "Al-Masāʾil al-gharībīya al-ʿishrīniya," in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, ed. M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu (Tehran, 1974), 81–103. For additional details concerning the identity of the Abū 'l-Qāsim mentioned by al-Jūzjānī in the *Biography* as the messenger for this correspondence, see *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 166ff. Another messenger also known as Abū 'l-Qāsim, and this time serving as the intermediary in the Avicenna-Bīrūnī debate, can also be discounted; see *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 177 n. 42.

¹³ This information is based on W. Madelung's essay "Abū 'l-Kayr b. al-Kammār" in *Elr*, 1: 330–31 and reiterated again by Michot in the present work, 28*–31*.

¹⁴ As a result of this revision, Michot no longer believes that Avicenna makes reference to Abū 'l-Qāsim in the introduction to the *Aḍḥawīya* since, according to the revised chronology, that work was written in Rayy before Avicenna had even met Abū 'l-Qāsim (*Ibn Sīnā*, 32*, with translation of the relevant paragraphs from the *Aḍḥawīya*, 33*–34*).

collection.¹⁵ In the introduction to his translation, Michot presented in full detail for the first time his theory concerning the chronology of the texts that bear on the Avicenna-Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī relationship. Much of his chronology theory is left implicit in his latest work, so a few words should be said about it, lest it become the object of scholarly consensus.

In contradiction to the conclusions of Dimitri Gutas,¹⁶ who maintained a relatively late dating for the *Mubāḥathāt*, Michot has argued for an earlier dating, at least of the letter *al-Mubāḥatha al-ihālitha* (*Mubāḥatha III*). His argument rests on the facts that it contains references to Abū 'l-Qāsim and that Avicenna's disparagement of Abū 'l-Qāsim therein is similar to his tone in the *Letter to the Vizier*. Now, since, the *Letter to the Vizier* was most likely written in 405/1014–15 (and there is relatively good evidence for this), so too, according to Michot, the *Mubāḥathāt*, or at least *Mubāḥatha III*, was probably written around 406/1016.¹⁷ This theory requires a huge leap of faith, not only because topicality should never be allowed, *a priori*, to determine chronology but also, more importantly, in many cases it is in direct conflict with other information we have about the dating of Avicenna's works. Thus, because the discussions in *Mubāḥatha III*, composed supposedly in 406/1016, address problems found only in *Kitāb al-Nafs* of the *Shifāʾ*, and this work is referred to regularly in it, Michot would have us believe that that book of the *Shifāʾ* was written prior to 406/1016.¹⁸ Even more unlikely is Michot's argument that Avicenna's statement at the beginning of the *Mubāḥatha III* concerning a "promise" that he has fulfilled for Bahmanyār refers to his composition of the *Ishārāt wa'l-tanbihāt*.¹⁹ With this slim evidence, Michot believes that the *Ishārāt* itself must have been written just after *Kitāb al-Nafs*. But because Avicenna actually refers to one section of the Logic of the *Shifāʾ* in the *Ishārāt*, that part of the *Shifāʾ*

¹⁵ As J. Michot, "La réponse d'Avicenne à Bahmanyār et al-Kirmānī: Présentation, traduction critique et lexique arabe-français de la *Mubāḥatha III*," *Le Muséon* 110.1–2 (1997): 143–221. Michot deserves high praise for this article, the first integrated translation with commentary of any of the letters of the *Mubāḥathāt*.

¹⁶ "Le réponse," 141ff. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁸ Cf. the chronology of the parts of the *Shifāʾ* by Dimitri Gutas in *Avicenna*, 104–5.

¹⁹ Avicenna says (*Kitāb al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. M. Bīdārfar, Qum: Maṭbaʿat-i Amīr, 1992, par. 47): "What he (i.e., Bahmanyār) thanked me for was a promise I made to that friend." In *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 216ff., I maintain that what Avicenna refers to here is the letter *Mubāḥatha III* itself.

must have been written before the *Ishārāt*.²⁰ His chronology for these texts, then, is *Kitāb al-Nafs* of the *Shifāʾ*—Logic parts of the *Shifāʾ*—*al-Ishārāt*—*Mubāḥathā III*.²¹ Clearly, the faulty first premise of Michot's theory (i.e., since Abū 'l-Qāsim plays a rôle in both the *Letter to the Vizier* and *Mubāḥathā III*, both texts must have been written around 406/1016) produced an alternate chronology for much of Avicenna's corpus that cannot be reconciled with the internal and external facts of that tradition.

This theory underlies much of Michot's introductory discussion in *Ibn Sīnā, lettre au vizier Abū Saʿd*.²² And while it cannot be seriously entertained, the impetus behind Michot's research, that is, to discover in other hitherto unexamined texts more clues as to the intellectual relationship between Avicenna and Abū 'l-Qāsim and its historical context, is to be commended. Thus, in fleshing out the details of that relationship in his introductory essay, Michot draws on a number of other little-known texts by the participants in the debate. In Avicenna's *Letter to the Scholars of Baghdad* (*Risāla ilā ʿulamāʾ Baghdād*, edited by Ihsan Yarshater, not as Michot credits in *Ibn Sīnā*, 10* n. 1, M. T. Dānishpazhūh!),²³ we are provided with an account of the meeting between a "man from Bukhārā," i.e., Avicenna, and an advanced scholar (*al-shaykh al-kabīr*), i.e., Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, upon Avicenna's arrival in Hamadhan. The purpose of the letter is a request that the scholars of Baghdad judge between the views of Avicenna and Abū 'l-Qāsim on logic, since according to Abū 'l-Qāsim, he derives his opinions from them. It is on the basis of this letter that Michot is able to localize the debate recounted in the *Letter to the Vizier* to Hamadhan, shortly after Avicenna's arrival there in 405/1014–15.²⁴

²⁰ For details, see "La réponse," 159 nn. 67, 69.

²¹ This chronology also forced Michot to argue that *Mubāḥathā I*, which in all recensions of the *Mubāḥathāt*, precedes *Mubāḥathā III*, was written after the latter because it contains a reference to the *Ishārāt*.

²² Michot refers obliquely in *Ibn Sīnā* to some aspects of his chronology argument; for instance, 119* n. 1, where we find his argument for the composition of the *Ishārāt* in Hamadhan (i.e., around 406/1016).

²³ Edited by I. Yarshater as "Risālat baʿd al-afāḍil ilā ʿulamāʾ madīnat al-salām fī maqūlāt al-Shaykh al-Raʿīs," in *Panj risāla* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1332Sh./1953), 73–90.

²⁴ It is to be noted that credit goes to I. Yarshater for first identifying the "advanced scholar" in the Letter as Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, for locating a lemma of the Letter in Mullā Ṣadrā's *Asfār*, and a related passage in the *Ilāhiyāt* of the *Shi-*

The connection between Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, Avicenna's intellectual adversary, with the scholars of Baghdad, who must have included the likes of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī, Abū ʿAlī b. al-Samḥ, and Abū 'l-Faraj b. al-Ṭayyib (*Ibn Sīnā*, 21*), is an important addition to our evidence concerning Avicenna's conceptualization of his "eastern" philosophy, rightly understood by Pines, Gutas and others, as an opposition to the overtly literal-minded commentators of Aristotle in Baghdad. Michot correctly interprets the evidence for further contextualizing the entire "eastern" aspect of Avicenna's philosophy (88*ff.) as the product of a historically identifiable intellectual rivalry; this should put an end once and for all to the mythologizing tendencies exercised on Avicenna's philosophy in connection with the "eastern" question first indulged in by the Ishrāqī school of post-medieval Iran and unfortunately carried over into critical modern scholarship.²⁵

Michot carries forward the creation of an Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī "dossier" by suggesting that he is the author of an unedited work on astrology entitled *al-Risāla fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, extant in MS Bodleian Marsh 663 (copied in 640/1242), to which Avicenna may have directed his criticism in *al-Risāla fī ibṭāl aḥkām al-nujūm*, which he apparently wrote for his student Ibn Zayla. The ascription of the *Risāla fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* to our Abū 'l-Qāsim is certainly worth investigating further, particularly in relation to statements we can ascribe to him in the *Mubāḥathāt* that advocate the corporeality of the Agent Intellect. Michot provides manuscript facsimiles of the first lines of both treatises and translates the relevant passages, 22*–27*. Al-Bīrūnī's reference to an Abū 'l-Qāsim *al-falsafī* in his *Tafhīm*, cited by Michot, 23* n. 2, on the doctrine of friendship and animosity between the planets is particularly tantalizing in this regard.

While the disputes related to Abū 'l-Qāsim in the *Mubāḥathāt* have largely to do with Avicenna's theory of the soul, logic is clearly the underlying issue in the complaints against Abū 'l-Qāsim that Avicenna raises in the *Letter to the Vizier* and, in its metaphysical application (with regard to Aristotle's *Categories*), in the *Letter to the Scholars of Baghdad*. The tension between the employment of the dialectical syllogism in the medieval Islamic debate setting, and its misuse by Abū 'l-Qāsim as

fāʾ; see the introduction to his edition, 69–71. Michot, *Ibn Sīnā*, 14*–15*, duly translates the passages from the *Asfār* and the *Shifāʾ*.

²⁵ That said, Michot has added yet another element to the geographical metaphors with his comparison of the intellectual atmospheres of Hamadhan (see 35*–36*) and Isfahan (see 97*–99*).

a method of philosophical investigation, set against Avicenna's insistence on the demonstrative syllogism as the sole guarantor of philosophical verification, lies at the heart of their disputes. In elucidating Avicenna's reaction to Abū 'l-Qāsim, Michot has identified and translated passages in *Kitāb al-Jadal* and *al-Madkhal* of the *Shifā'* (respectively, 42*–47* and 69*–72*) in which Avicenna may obliquely be taking aim at Abū 'l-Qāsim. At the very least, it is clear that Avicenna regularly reiterates his commitment to the correct deployment of logic not only for particular philosophical questions, but more significantly as the means to ultimate eternal happiness (*sa'āda*).

Michot has also drawn upon the so-called *ʿAhd* of Avicenna to further buttress his argument for the centrality of logic to Avicenna's conception of human destiny. The *ʿAhd*, which Michot charmingly calls "a gentleman's agreement" (81*), has had an obscure place in the Avicennan bibliography, not only with regard to the purpose of its composition, but also as a result of the very complicated transmission process it has suffered. Michot's treatment of this background is almost flawless (79*ff.); for an expanded discussion of the different recensions, see here below. He has correctly identified what appears to be the original recension, published in Badawī's *Arisfū 'inda 'l-ʿarab* in 1947, and briefly traces the evolution of the text (what he calls its *destinée curieuse*) in later hands.

Michot locates the importance of the original version of the *ʿAhd* in the employment of the dual pronouns and conjugations; in his view, we have here an agreement between two individuals, one Avicenna, the other perhaps Bahmanyār, although it must be said that this is simply a conjecture. Michot believes (87*) that the *ʿAhd* may have been a "sorte d'accord d'armistice" between Avicenna and Bahmanyār after their dispute over Abū 'l-Qāsim's participation in the philosophical discussions that make up the *Mubāḥathāt*, a dispute that reached its denouement in *Mubāḥatha III*. The pact into which they enter emphasizes the appropriate methodology of philosophical investigation and praxis: the employment of (Aristotelian) logic as the only means to philosophical truth and, ultimately, eternal happiness. Michot describes its aim as a program of the philosophical life focused on a purification of the soul and the actualization of the intellect (82*).

Michot is probably correct to link the *ʿAhd* to the context of the *Letter to the Vizier* and the *Letter to the Scholars of Baghdad*. While Michot's interpretation of the text as an armistice may be a bit fanciful, it is worth considering whether or not the *ʿAhd* can be seen as somehow comprising the conditions required of readers

of the *Ishārāt* enunciated by Avicenna in another letter to Bahmanyār (*Mubāḥatha I*, ed. Bīdārfar, par. 2). But we should not overlook the possibility that here in the *ʿAhd* Avicenna was simply experimenting with another genre of writing in which he might re-articulate some of the central views of his epistemology. There is no question that Avicenna did engage in such literary experimentation. His *al-Hidāya* and *al-Ishārāt* are both written in a concise literary style that differs markedly from his other expositions (I have in mind particularly the *Shifā'*). We might imagine that Avicenna, having reached a certain systematization of his philosophical ideas, located a new means of intellectual development in the experimentation with its exposition. Such literary experimentation was also put to other goals. Al-Jūzjānī tells us that Ibn Sinā consciously composed letters in the style of the great epistolographers al-Ṣābi²⁶, Ibn al-ʿAmīd, and the Ṣāhib Ibn ʿAbbād as part of his ruse to humiliate publicly the philologist Ibn Jabbān.²⁶ The *ʿahd* or pact held an important place in the repertoire of medieval Islamic bureaucracy, the genres of which Avicenna shows every indication of having mastered. The whole question of Avicenna's literary experimentation remains to be fully investigated, but if it is to be profitable, it must first be stripped of the terms employed in the endless debate about an "esoteric" Avicenna. The psychoanalytic history presented by Michot on this question does not represent a significant advance; in fact, phrases like "la bipolarité des écritures philosophiques d'Avicenne" (103*) border on recidivistic, as does Michot's suggestion for a psychoanalysis of the alimentary metaphors in Avicenna's works (110* n. 3²⁷). In the interpretation of medieval texts the easiest, and perhaps least responsible, solution to what modern authors might deem inconsistent is the suggestion of psychological bifurcation in the author. Michot has demonstrated his ability to draw upon historical context in the interpretation of Avicenna's works, and while this might be considered prosaic by some, it is in fact *the* methodology that holds the most promise for the future study of Avicenna.

Whether or not the *ʿAhd* can be directly connected to the rivalry between Avicenna and Abū 'l-Qāsim, Michot has done a service in bringing it to the attention of scholars and deserves even more credit as the first scholar to attempt a systematic translation (in appendix 2, 116ff.). For his translation, he used the original recension (for this terminology, see below), i.e., that found in MS Cairo

²⁶ See Gohlman, *Life*, 68/69 for further details.

²⁷ Could it not be just a literary analysis?

Ḥikma 6M and edited with partial success by Badawī in *Aristū*, as his base text, along with a few of the many other published versions available. While there is no doubt that Michot's efforts here represent an important addition to the translated Avicenna corpus, it would not be entirely unfair to suggest that such a translation should have been delayed until a full evaluation of the manuscripts and recensions could be made. In many of his choices in the reading of the variants, Michot's translation will have to be considered provisional for this very reason.

However, when Michot is right, he is often remarkably so: at least three of his corrections to Badawī's text follow the readings actually found in the manuscript (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ḥikma 6M). The first is p. 122 n. 6: *yata^caddayāhā* MS and Michot: *yata^caddayāhumā* Badawī. In the other two cases, he correctly follows his other exemplars, and thereby returns Badawī's hyper-corrections to the original manuscript readings, viz., p. 123 n. 5: *ʿaẓīm* MS and Michot: *al-ʿaẓīm* Badawī, and 124.3: *al-ladhḥāt* MS and Michot: *al-dhāt* Badawī. This is all the more commendable since Michot did not have access to Ḥikma 6M for his translation.²⁸ I offer here two minor suggestions for the future definitive edition and translation:

1. p. 121: Michot's translation "Ils ne permettront a aucune idée . . . sans l'effacer [Michot has corrected the manuscript reading *masakhāhu* to *masaḥāhu*]" should read "They will not abandon any [base] thought . . . before transforming it," i.e., keep the manuscript reading, since there appears to be a succession of incremental reactions to such base thoughts: transforming, overriding, eradicating, annihilating.²⁹

2. p. 122: In the text, the active participle *muqaddima* (translated by Michot as "prémisse") may profitably be corrected to the verbal noun *taqdimā*, "advancing." This correction appears to be required if the succession of verbal nouns after the *illā* (*taqdimā*, *taṭriya*, *taḥdīd*) in this sentence is to remain consistent. Note also that Michot's translation of the final exceptive clause in this sentence misses the mark. We should translate "or [without] determining that a deep-seated disposition will become [*li-taṣīr* (?) Badawī: à devenir Michot: *li-maṣīr* correct Reisman] uppermost in the substance of the

soul," instead of "ou une définition [appelée] à devenir une disposition enracinée, principale, dans la substance de l'âme."

However, Michot's laudable ambition to draw on previously unexamined texts begins to feel gratuitous as his introductory essay draws to a conclusion. In fact, considering the present state of our almost wholly negligible understanding of these areas of the Avicennan corpus, it may simply be dangerous without the necessary background investigations. Thus, there seems little real intention behind yet another provisional translation of part of the *Risāla fi 'l-qadar* (104*–111*) beyond a superficial comparison of the roles of the vizier Abū Saʿd and the Ḥayy b. Yaḳzān of the *Risāla fi 'l-qadar* (114*). Even more objectionable is Michot's treatment of two entries in the so-called Avicenna–Abū Saʿid b. Abī 'l-Khayr Correspondence. This correspondence requires a thorough textual and contextual study that simply could not have been accommodated in the present work. My preliminary investigations into the correspondence indicates that it consists of some authentic Avicennan letters to Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla related in different ways to the philosophical correspondence that now makes up the *Mubāḥathāt*, some fragments of longer Avicennan works, and outright forgeries that emerged from the hagiographical tradition connected to Abū Saʿid b. Abī 'l-Khayr begun in the seventh/thirteenth century and happily propagated in the Ishraqī tradition up to the present time. Michot notes (58*) that he was first led to investigate this series of letters in an attempt to verify whether or not the Abū Saʿid of the correspondence could in some way be identified as the vizier Abū Saʿd. He provides a general, if incomplete, conspectus (n. 4, spanning 58*–63*) that is valuable as a first in a European language but one wholly uninformed by the similar studies undertaken by M. T. Dānishpazhūh in 1952 and the now quite large literature on Abū Saʿid.³⁰

³⁰ Dānishpazhūh first listed some of the manuscripts of the letters, with a brief study in *Fihrist-i Kitābkhānah-yi Ihdāʾi-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt bih Kitābkhānah-yi Dānishgāh-yi Tihṛān* (Tehran: Dānishgāh-yi Tihṛān, 1332Sh./1952), 3: 1, 170ff. (hereafter *Mishkāt Cat.*); see also his more detailed study of the letter dubbed *al-Qiyās* in the same volume, 21ff. In the same year he published a further account in "Pāsukh-i Khvājah-yi Raʾis-i Abū ʿAlī Sinā bih pursash-i Abī Saʿid-i Abī 'l-Khayr dar bārah-yi rāh-yi dīn darast, bā guzārash-hā-yi Saʿd al-Dīn Kāzarūnī va dānishmandī gum-nām va ʿAyn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī," *Dānish* 3 (1332Sh./1952): 1–6; and an *editio princeps* of *al-Qiyās* in "Pāsukh-i Ibn Sinā bi-shaykh Abū Saʿid-i Abī 'l-Khayr, az āthār-i Ibn Sinā," *Farhang-i Irān*

²⁸ As Michot informed me in a private communication (May 19, 2001).

²⁹ Alternately, if any correction to the text may be made, the second reaction, *nasakhāhu* ("overriding it") might profitably be corrected to *masaḥāhu* ("erasing it"), thus preserving the alliteration of the string of verbs beginning with *mim*.

Michot's translation of the so-called *Huṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma* (120*–129*), a letter Avicenna probably wrote to Ibn Zayla but which was appropriated for the Avicenna–Abū Saʿīd Correspondence, should not have been undertaken in the present state of the texts. This fact has made the efforts Michot has exerted in what passes as a critical apparatus to the translation haphazard and decidedly uneven. Since Michot had no confidence in his base text,³¹ he had no properly scientific means to determine the value of the variants he selected from the other exemplars he used, none of which, again, inspire any confidence.³² These factors are problematic enough, but when we read that the reason for including the translation in the present study is that it was “certainly” composed in Isfahan (120*), we have to wonder why such an unsatisfactory endeavor was undertaken in the first place. For further details on the textual transmission of this work, see below.

In another entry in the Avicenna–Abū Saʿīd Correspondence, the so-called *Risāla fī 'l-qadāʾ* (*Du décret [divin]*), Michot detects an oblique attack on Abū 'l-Qāsim (see 64*–66*, especially the last page, concerning the term *mutashahḥiḥ*) and this appears to be sufficient for him to actually present an *editio princeps* and translation of the letter in appendix 1. Because of the complexity of the problems related to this putative letter, this is a highly regrettable decision. Briefly stated, it seems that this letter is actually a passage from Avicenna's *Lisān al-ʿArab* which was given an epistolary frame that linked it to the Avicenna–Abū Saʿīd Correspondence. The introduction of this forged epistolary frame indicates that this “letter” is intended to follow another entry in the correspondence, the *Risāla fī sirr al-qadar*, the attribution of which to Avicenna still remains open to speculation, despite George Hourani's attempt to explain away the disordered argumentation of

the author by recourse to Straussian hermeneutics.³³ While a trustworthy image of Avicenna's *Lisān al-ʿArab* was already blurred in the years following his death,³⁴ a fact noted by the anonymous scribe who was able to copy only the more “marvelous” passages,³⁵ we can be relatively confident that the passage reworked for the forged correspondence rightly belongs to *Lisān al-ʿArab*. This connection to *Lisān al-ʿArab* highlights two important points: we have good evidence for arguing against the authenticity of a correspondence between Avicenna and Abū Saʿīd b. Abī 'l-Khayr; and Michot, who was not aware of the connection, should have more carefully researched the texts he decided to include in the present study.

As a contribution to the future study of this text, I present here variants from Y(arshater)'s text of *Lisān al-ʿArab*, following M(ichot)'s line numbers (sequential across pp. 105–8). These variants should not be considered corrections to Michot's texts; they are instead simply a record of the variants from another exemplar. Moreover, it is impossible to determine in every case what represents the actual readings of the manuscripts used by Yarshater and what are Yarshater's own unsignaled conjectural emendations. However, there is enough information here to allow us to comment on Michot's editorial choices:

10. *al-zamān* M: *al-dahr* Y. 11–12. *ʿazza—khaẓāʾ* inuhū om. Y. 15. *al-milal* M: *al-tamassuk* Y || *taḥassubihī: tajassusihī* || *wa-tafahḥusihī* om. Y. 16. *limmyhatihī* M: *kammīyatihī* Y || *huwa* om. Y. 17. *wa-innamā* M: *innamā* Y || *taʿālā* om. Y || *yastabiddu* M: *yastabiddu huwa taʿālā* add. Y. 18. *wa-man khaṣṣahū bihī min khalqihī* M: *wa-illā man ikhtaṣṣahū min khalqihī bihī* Y || *al-mutashahḥiḥūna* M: *al-munshahḥiḥūna* Y. 20. *walam taʿdu walam tafuz walam tarith ka-mithl* M: *walam tufid walam tastafid walam turabba li-mithl* Y. 21. *li-'l-qadar* M: *bi-'l-qadar* Y. 24. *mabād'ihā* M: *manājimihā* Y. 25. *marātibihā llati tarqā* M: *mabādihā [lam tazul] ilā tarāqq* Y. 27. *hayya'ahā* M: *sannāhā* Y. 30. *mā yubghidu* M: *naqaḍa* Y. 31. *yubālī* M: *bāla* Y. 32. *li-yuʿlama* (?) M: *li-taʿlama* Y. 32–33. *tajrī ʿalā* M: *tujārī bi-* Y. 33–34. *tuʿāyir bi-maʿāyiri 'l-aʿlām* M: *tughāyar bi-maghāyiri 'l-aḥlām* Y || *walam tatathaqqaf* M: *allati lam tuthaqqaf* Y. 35.

Zamīn 1.2 (1332Sh./1952): 189–204. On Abū Saʿīd, readers are directed to Fritz Meier's magisterial *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḥayr, Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Acta Iranica 11 (Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976). I hope to publish a complete account of the Correspondence shortly.

³¹ The horrendous “edition” in H. Z. Ülken's *İbn Sina Risāleleri, 2: Les Opuscules d'Ibn Sina* (Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basimevi, 1953), 37–39.

³² I note here that Michot's sigla H, which appears regularly in his notes, is left unexplained, even in n. 4, 120*, where he lists the texts and sigla that he employs. Michot has informed me (Sept. 13, 2002) that this is a typographical error for “N.” Note also that the em-dash used in the apparatus is not preceded by the colon separating variants, but it appears to mean that the variant is not found in a given exemplar.

³³ G. Hourani, “Ibn Sīnā's Essay on the Secret of Destiny,” *BSOAS* 29 (1966): 25–48.

³⁴ See al-Jūzjānī's remarks in *Life*, 72/73. The surviving fragments of Avicenna's *Lisān al-ʿArab* have been edited by I. Yarshater in *Panj risāla*, 1–31.

³⁵ For these remarks, see the introduction to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ed. Yarshater, 1.

al-muta^cārafa bayna M: al-muta^cāraqa (?) min Y. 37. min M: mā Y.

These variants allow for a preliminary judgment on the relative value of at least some of the exemplars. Excluding possible unnoted emendations by Yarshater, a comparison of these variants with the manuscripts used by Michot suggests that the passage from the manuscripts of *Lisān al-^carab* most closely resembles Michot's MSS Q (Cairo Ṭal^cat 197), N (uruosmaniye 4894), A (yasofya 4849), and S (Ayasofya 4853). These manuscripts then are most likely closer to the original text adapted by the creator of the Avicenna–Abū Sa^cīd correspondence and thus further from (and so less trustworthy than) the passage in *Lisān al-^carab*. Michot used MS Mishkāt 339, a relatively late exemplar³⁶ that probably represents the culmination of the (corrupted) textual tradition of the 'forged letter, as his base text.

These flaws in Michot's introductory study to the *Letter to the Vizier* must be taken as an object lesson for Avicenna studies. It is imperative that scholars invested in the elucidation of Avicenna's life and philosophy undertake the textual studies that are so fundamental to the production of a reliable critical corpus *before* endeavoring to identify and interpret the salient elements of that tradition. The collective research on Avicenna does not need yet more preliminary editions, unverified translations and tentative studies, all of which (with some notable exceptions) have been the unfortunate hallmark of the modern scholarship. That said, it must be reiterated that the ambition evident in Michot's study of the historical context of the *Letter to the Vizier* and the very commendable pioneering spirit evident in his desire to draw on the lesser known texts of the Avicennan tradition cannot and should not be dismissed. Michot has consistently demonstrated a willingness to tread terrain other scholars have skirted. While it is lamentable that parts of that terrain will have to be re-mapped, Michot has made a valuable and original contribution that can only serve to spur on future efforts.

II. MICHOT'S EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER TO THE VIZIER

Michot's extensive study of the context of the *Letter to the Vizier* might appear to overwhelm the significance of his edition and translation of the text itself. This would be an incorrect evaluation, since it is in this aspect that his serious contribution to Avicenna studies is to be located. A collation of the *Letter* in its single ex-

emplar and in the often difficult, largely unpointed hand of the scribe (facsimile of the relevant folios provided by Michot, 143–60) makes apparent the erudition Michot brings to its decipherment. While the introductory essay emphasized the dispute between Avicenna and Abū 'l-Qāsim on points of logic, those issues really form the background (and the subject of Avicenna's digressions), to the specific differences of the debate itself. From Michot's artful division of the *Letter*, it is clear that those differences concerned three questions of Aristotelian physics: the finiteness of bodies; infinity; and the dimensions and continuity of bodies. Since Michot generously provides a facsimile of the *Letter to the Vizier*, it behooves scholars to collate his text with the manuscript. Here I note the results of my own collation, along with some suggestions about critical editing in general and Michot's editorial choices in particular. Abbreviations: B(ursa manuscript); M(ichot).

A. Unattested Corrections and Omissions

- 6.4. *baynahā* M: *minhā* B.
- 7.3. *fīhi* M: *fīhā* B.
- 9.5. *fa-yakūnu* M: *fa-takūnu* B.
- 14.11. *li-qā'imayn* M: *li-qā'imatayn* B.
- 47.10. *dhū* omī M.

B. Suggestions for Further Improvement

- 15.1. *ta^cassara* reading by M: *ta^csuru* reading by Reisman.
- 21.10. *bi-sahw* hyper-correction by M: *li-sahw* B. The manuscript reading should be kept. Translation: "in a claim that he put next *on account of a negligence* in the proof."
- 22.11. *ḥaddan inna* conjectural reading M: *khalā anna* conjectural reading Reisman. Translation: "except that." For *khalā anna*, see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge, 1955) ii, 342B.
- 41.10. *an* B: *fī* correct M. Keep reading of B.
- 43.3. *Qāṭighūriyās* B, M: <fī> *Qāṭighūriyās* added by Reisman.
- 47.1. *a-yuzīghu 'l-kathīr* reading by M: *al-zaygha 'l-kathīr* a reading by Reisman. Translation: "May the most eminent Shaykh . . . reflect on this *great departure* from the rules of logic."

C. Comments on Editorial Style and Practice

Michot has refined his editorial technique over the course of many years of research. On the whole, it is a style that does not sacrifice clarity in the interest of

³⁶ Copied between 1076–86/1665–75 according to Dānish-pazhūh's description of the codex in the *Mishkāt Cat.*, 3: 1, 173.

succinctness. And since Arabic-Islamic studies has yet to standardize any of its editorial conventions, Michot's choices are as good as, and in most cases better, than others. I have only a few minor suggestions. Scribal contractions should be expanded (thus, for instance, 6.2; 24.1, 3. لثلاثة > لثلاثة). Editorial additions should not be included in the text unless absolutely necessary and then only in pointed brackets < >. For example, the phrase at 10.9–10: *illā ba^cda an ya^cqila mutanāhīyan*, added by Michot is a desirable explanatory addition, but it should not have been inserted into the text. Rather, it could have been added in the translation between square brackets or in a footnote to the translation. Other such additions to the text include: *alladhī*, at 25.12; *hal*, at 42.2; *lā*, at 53.7; *lam yakun hādihā 'l-ittiṣālu mawjūdan* at 53.10. Seclusions of words should be kept in the text between square brackets [], with a note indicating the identity of the editor. For example, the reading at 25.2 might better be rendered in the text *ar²usin* [*wajaba*] with a note “[*wajaba*] *‘azalahū Michot*” or some similar choice in the apparatus. So too 39.7: “[*muḥāl*] *‘azalahū Michot*.” Next, Michot's use of the em-dash to signify omission in the exemplar is not as clear as other possibilities; consider the note at 17.1 “—: *‘alayhi B*,” which actually means that the manuscript reads *‘alayhi ‘alayhi*. Finally, there are only a few typographical errors: 3.2. يَفْقَد > يَفْقَد; 8.10. *in* > *an*; 23.8. *b.y.yy.n* > *yubayyin*; 24.7. *inna* > *anna*.

Michot's translation of the text is generally of a high quality, if somewhat literal at times, particularly with regard to technical terminology (for instance, *ishtirāk* is translated “*utiliser de manière équivoque*,” and “*équivocité*” [see index, 79], when “*homonymy*” is really what is meant). The commentary is somewhat sparse, although Michot has identified nearly all of the classical references made by Avicenna; I note in passing that the translator of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* is commonly known as Uṣṭāt or Uṣṭāth, and not Asṭāt. There is undoubtedly a great deal more information to be mined from the text, particularly with regard to Avicenna's presentation of certain philosophical concepts through comparison with what he says in his other works, but the text and Michot's useful translation are now available for such detailed studies.

Of inestimable value are the extremely detailed indices of Arabic terms for the *Letter to the Vizier* and the *Risālat al-qaḏā'*, along with the technical terminology of his entire introductory essay and translations. Such indices have become a highly valuable and much appreciated staple of Michot's work. I am certainly not alone in hoping that all of the indices of his published works will soon form the basis for an ongoing published lexicon of Avicenna's terminology.

III. TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE ḤUṢŪL AND THE 'AHD

It is becoming more and more clear that the major desideratum of Avicenna studies is the codicological and philological study of the transmission of his works. The uses, and misuses, to which the corpus was subjected in the history of Islamic philosophy after Avicenna have had a major impact on their present-day state (and interpretation), and until these are understood and plotted properly, the myths about Avicenna will continue to hamper investigations. Michot chose to include translations of at least three brief works by Avicenna in his discussion of the context in which Avicenna wrote his *Letter to the Vizier*. I have addressed some of the problems with his treatment of the so-called *Risālat al-qaḏā'* above. Here I present theories concerning the textual transmission of the two other texts, the so-called *Ḥuṣūl 'ilm wa-ḥikma* and the *'Ahd*, in order to establish a framework in which critical editions and translations can be carried out.

A. The Recensions of the Ḥuṣūl 'ilm wa-ḥikma

Michot is probably correct in arguing that this letter was written to Avicenna's student Ibn Zayla and not, as Mahdavi (M4w) maintained, to Abū Sa'īd b. Abī 'l-Khayr;³⁷ however, it must be noted that no attempt to authenticate the letter as Avicennan has yet been undertaken. The very important exemplar Berlin Landberg 368 identifies the recipient as Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Zayla, and a later scribal introduction in another family of the same recension states that Avicenna wrote the letter to Ibn Zayla “when he [i.e., Ibn Zayla] intended to go into seclusion” (see below, First Recension).³⁸ The presence of this work in one of the two hagiographies of Abū Sa'īd is no indication of an authentic connection to him. Fritz Meier (*Abū Sa'īd-i Abū l-Ḥayr*, 28) has established that the letter appears in a later supplement to the manuscripts of Jamāl al-Dīn

³⁷ Mahdavi presented (no. 4w in his *Fihrist*, 8) a single line of the text as evidence for his argument that the recipient of the letter was Abū Sa'īd, without explaining why the line was significant in this regard.

³⁸ This gloss may be a conjecture on the part of an unknown scholar who read Avicenna's *Risāla fī ibṭāl aḥkām al-nujūm*, also addressed to Ibn Zayla, where we learn that Avicenna's express intention in writing the treatise was that it might serve Ibn Zayla as a sort of reference book that he could consult “during [his] times of retreat (*awqāt al-khalawāt*)”; see Ülken, *Opusculum*, 2: 51.4 and Michot, *Ibn Sīnā*, 26* where he has quietly, and rightly, corrected Ülken's reading *al-ḥ.l.wāt*, presumably on the basis of MS Leiden Warner Or. 1020.

Abū Rawḥ Lutf Allāh's *Ḥālāt u sukhanān-i Abū Sa'īd-i Abū 'l-Khayr Mayhanī* (edited by İraj Afshār, Tehran 1341Sh./1963, 113–16). We might imagine that this addition to the hagiography came after the creation of the correspondence as a whole, or at least after the appropriation of the *Huṣūl*.

The following manuscripts (arranged here chronologically) are only those that I have personally examined, but they are sufficient for a preliminary assessment of the textual tradition.³⁹

³⁹ The following supplemental list of manuscripts, in chronological order, is intended to update that of Mahdavi, although I am certain that yet more copies will be discovered. **Ayasofya 4849** (657/1258–59), ff. 29–31, addressed to Ibn Zayla (see Anawati, *Mu'allafāt*, 116 for this date); **Ambrosiana 310** (685/1286), 280v–281r (see O. Lofgren and R. Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* [Vicenza: N. Pazza, 1975], 1: 115); **Esad Efendi 3688** (the date 737/1336–37 is provided by Anawati, *Mu'allafāt*, 312); **Majlis I, 3070** (eighth/fourteenth c.) ff. 344–49, with forged Abū Sa'īd introduction (see 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥā'irī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli*, Tehran: Kitābkhānah, 1347Sh./1968, 10: 2, 616–17); **British Museum Or. 6572** (ninth/fifteenth c.), 19v, in margin, addressed to Abū Sa'īd (see G. Ellis and E. Edwards, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic-Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1895* [London, 1912], 11); **Ahmet III 1584** (copied by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad in 914/1508–9), f. 133 (see F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça yazmalar kataloğu* [Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1966], 4: 380); **Majlis I, 2937** (1011–12/1603–4; multiple hands; owners: 'Abd al-Qayyūm Bārjini Azdi and Sulaymān Karbalā'i Ismā'īl), ff. 108–11, addressed to Ibn Zayla (see Ḥā'irī, *Fihrist*, 10: 2, 352); **Mishkāt 1257** (copied by 'Alī Naqī b. Ḥājji Muḥammad Amin between 1085–97/1674–85), ff. 206v–207r (see M. T. Dānishpazhūh, *Mishkāt Cat.*, 3: 5, 2678 (no. 38) and for the description of the codex, 2679); **Maktabat Makka al-Mukarrama Majmū'a 47** 'Arif ḥikma (1077/1666–67), ninth treatise (see M. T. Dānishpazhūh, "Kitābkhānah-hā-yi 'Irāq va 'Arabistān-i Sa'ūdi," in *Nuskah-hā-yi khaṭṭi*, ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh and İraj Afshār, Tihirān: Kitābkhānah-yi Markazī va Dānishgāh-yi Tihirān, 1346Sh./1967, 5: 579); **Madrasah-yi Ākhūnd 1187** (tenth-eleventh/sixteenth–seventeenth c.), ff. 98–99, addressed to Ibn Zayla (see M. Rawshan, *Fihrist-i nuskah-hā-yi khaṭṭi-yi Kitābkhānah-hā-yi Rasht u Hamadān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn, 1353Sh./1974), 1468); **Istanbul University 1458** (1246/1830–31), 54r–55v, addressed to Abū Sa'īd (Anawati, *Mu'allafāt*, 144, gives the date 1242); **Milli Malik 6151** (1290–92/1873–75), ff. 533–35, with forged Abū Sa'īd introduction (see İraj Afshār and M. T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-*

Hamidiye 1448 (ninth/fifteenth c.),⁴⁰ two copies:

a. 484r–485v, with scribal note stating that it is alternately addressed to Ibn Zayla and Abū Sa'īd; text has *fulān*;

b. 591v–592v, addressed to Abū Sa'īd in title; text has *fulān*.

Ahmet III 3447 (866/1462),⁴¹ two copies:

a. 188v–190v, addressed to Abū Sa'īd in title; text has *fulān*;

b. 273v–275r, addressed to Ibn Zayla.

Berlin Landberg 368 (880/1475–76), 109r–110r, addressed to Ibn Zayla.⁴²

Cambridge, Browne X.1 (1057/1647–48), 57r–58v, addressed to Abū Sa'īd, with forged introduction.⁴³

Nuruosmaniye 4894 (eleventh/seventeenth c.), three copies.⁴⁴

i kitāb-hā-yi khaṭṭi-yi Kitābkhānah-yi Milli Malik [Tehran: Kitābkhānah, 1371Sh./1992], 204); **Mishkāt 871** (copied by Muḥammad 'Alī, c. 1301/1883–84), 154r–156r, addressed to Ibn Zayla (see Dānishpazhūh, *Mishkāt Cat.*, 3: 1, 379); **Paris 3423** (undated), ff. 1–2, where the title identifies Abū Sa'īd as recipient (see G. Vajda, *Index général des manuscrits arabes musulmans de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* [Paris, 1953], 585, 598). The title *R. fi 'l-khalwa* in MS **Emanet Hazinesi 1730** (undated), f. 283r may mask another copy (see Fuat Sezgin, "Üç macmū'at ar-rasā'il," *Türk Dili* 7 [1956]: 236). Mahdavi also lists Nuruosmaniye 1458, fourth treatise in the codex, but according to Anawati, *Mu'allafāt*, 315, this is a copy of Avicenna's Letter to 'Alā' al-Dawla. Note that my use of the abbreviation Majlis I for Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli, known since the Revolution as Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī (Shumārah-yi Yak) is intended to distinguish it from the new name of the old Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Sanā, now called Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī (Shumārah-yi Dū).

⁴⁰ Conjectural date by Mahdavi, *Fihrist*, 347.

⁴¹ Date provided by F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, 3: 618–20.

⁴² Tentative date by W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: L. Schade, 1887–99), no. 5357. I thank Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for providing me with a microfilm of these folia.

⁴³ See R. A. Nicholson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss. Belonging to the Late E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1932), 277. I thank Ms. Ruth Long of the Photography Office, Cambridge University Library for providing me with a microfilm of the relevant folia.

⁴⁴ See G. Anawati, "Le manuscrit Nour Osmaniyye 4894," *MIDEO* 3 (1956): 381–86. My own autopsy of the manuscript suggests the above date. I thank Dimitri Gutas for sharing his copy of this codex with me.

Table 1
Recensions of *Ḥuṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma*

First Recension	First Recension	First Recension	Abridgement	Second Recension: Abū Saʿīd	Correspondence
First Family	Second Family	Third Family			
Berlin Lbg. 368	Ahmet III 3447 (2) Nur. 4894 (3) Ham. 1448 (2)	Ahmet III (1) Nur. 4894 (2) Ham. 1448 (1)	Nur. 4894 (1)	Cam. Browne X.1 Mishkāt 861 Mishkāt 1079	
	Ülken, <i>Opuscules 2</i>			<i>Al-Kashkūl</i> , Bulaq 1288/1871 Intro. to <i>al-Najāt</i> 1331/1912	

a. 246v–247r, incipit identifies Abū Saʿīd as recipient;

b. 307r–v, title identifies Abū Saʿīd as recipient;

c. 326v–327v, title identifies Ibn Zayla as recipient.

Ragıp Paşa 1461 (earliest ownership note is 1139/1726–27, but the codex appears to be much older), 93r–94r addressed to Ibn Zayla.

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Majāmiʿ Taymūr 200 (c. twelfth/eighteenth c.?), 223v–224v.⁴⁵

Mishkāt 861 (1283/1866–67), ff. 1v–2v.⁴⁶

Mishkāt 1079 (c. 1047/1637–38),⁴⁷ 13–16.

Published versions:

a. In Bahā³ al-Dīn al-ʿAmīlī's *al-Kashkūl* (Bulaq 1288/1871, 355–57), where it is introduced as a letter from Avicenna to Abū Saʿīd; the text itself has *fulān*.

b. In the introduction to the edition of Avicenna's *al-Najāt* by Muṣṭafā Efendi al-Makāwī and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ṣabrī al-Kurdī (Cairo, 1331/1912–13, 11–15). This copy most likely derives from the Bulaq publication of the *Kashkūl*.

c. In H. Z. Ülken's *İbn Sina Risāleleri 2: Les Opuscules d'Ibn Sina*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından; 552 (Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1953), 37–39.

⁴⁵ I am unaware of any study of this manuscript, but my review of the text of the *Ḥuṣūl* in the codex (I thank Y. Michot for generously forwarding a photocopy to me) indicates that it is copied in a relatively late *taʿliq* hand.

⁴⁶ Copied by Muḥammad b. Ḥājji Nād ʿAlī for Ḥājji Muḥammad Sharīfkhān in Mashhad, according to Dānīshpazhūh, *Mishkāt Cat.*, 3: 1, 176–77.

⁴⁷ Dānīshpazhūh notes (*Mishkāt Cat.*, 3: 1, 45) that the thirty-fourth treatise in this codex was copied by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Karrāmī in 1045; but does not indicate a copy date for the other thirty-four treatises.

Remarks on the Recensions

In Table 1, I list only the more important exemplars of the first and second recensions of the *Ḥuṣūl*, further subdivided into three families of manuscripts for the first recension. Note also the abridgement, which appears to exist in only one known exemplar.

i. *The Three Families of the First Recension*

The manuscripts of this recension are divided into three families, based upon substantive variants at key stages in their respective texts. Less significant, but certainly in keeping with the recension history, is the addition of an introductory scribal passage in the third family explaining that the letter is said to have been addressed to both Ibn Zayla and Abū Saʿīd:

Risāla li-'l-ḥakīm Abi ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Sinā ilā Ibn Zayla jawāban ʿan kitābihī lladhī kataba ilayhi ḥīna ʿazama ʿalā 'l-'uzlati, wa-qīla ilā 'l-shaykhi Quṭbi 'l-Awliyāʾ Abi Saʿīd ibn Abi 'l-Khayr qaddasa llāhu rūḥahū 'l-ʿazīz.

VARIATION IN THE THREE MANUSCRIPT FAMILIES OF THE FIRST RECENSION⁴⁸

EXAMPLE 1

First Family

... wa'l-ḍarbi fī sabīlihī wa'l-akhdhi fī samti 'l-taqabbuli wa'l-tawliyyati shaṭra 'l-taqarrubi ilā llāhi wa'l-tawajjuhi tilqāʾa wajhihī ...

Second and Third Families

... wa'l-ḍarbi fī sabīlihī wa'l-tawliyyati shaṭra 'l-taqarrubi ilā llāhi wa'l-tawajjuhi tilqāʾa wajhihī wa'l-akhdhi fī samti 'l-taqayyul bihī ...

⁴⁸ These examples do not take into account variants that can positively be attributed to scribal error.

EXAMPLE 2

First and Second Families

... *wa-sa²altuhū an yuwaffiqahū li-ukhrāhu fi ūlāhu wa-yuthabbita qadamahū ‘alā mā tawaffa²ahū wa-lā yulaqqiyahū ilā mā ilayhi takhaṭṭa²ahū wa-yazīdahū ilā hidāyatihī iyyāhu hidāyatan wa-ilā dirāyatihī llatī atāhu dirāyatan. innahū ‘l-hādī ‘l-muyassiru wa-huwa ‘l-mudab-biru ‘l-muqaddiru . . .*

Third Family

... *wa-sa²altuhū an yuwaffiqahū li-ukhrāhu fi ūlāhu wa-an yuthabbita qadamahū ‘alā mā tawaffa²ahū wa-lā yulaqqiyahū ilā mā ilayhi takhaṭṭa²ahū wa-an yazīdahū ilā hidāyatihī iyyāhu hidāyatan wa-ilā dirāyatihī llatī atāhu dirāyatan. innahū waliyu dhālika wa‘l-qādiru ‘alayhi . . .*

EXAMPLE 3

First Family

... *kāna amrā wa-aghdhā*

Second and Third Families

kāna aghdhā wa-amrā

EXAMPLE 4

First and Second Families

wa-lan takhlusa ‘l-naḥsu ‘ani ‘l-daran mā ‘ltafatat ilā qīla wa-qāla

Third family

omit

EXAMPLE 5

First and Third Families

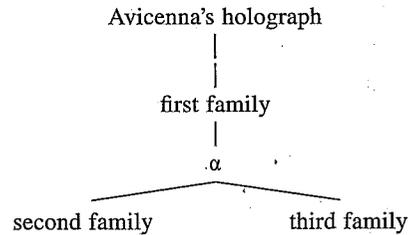
... *wa-munāqashati wa-jidāli wa-ḥfa^calat bi-ḥālin mina ‘l-ahwāli li-maqālin aw fa^cālin*

Second Family

omit

It should be immediately obvious from the preceding data that either some form of contamination has taken place among the three families or a missing link in the stemma must be posited, since it is otherwise difficult to explain the overlap in variants which the second family shares alternately with the first and third families. Setting aside the question of contamination for now, it may be observed that the first family is clearly the more trustworthy, if only because its reading in example 1 is the correct one. Using the Berlin manuscript as the base text, then, it is possible to argue that its readings in all examples probably approximate most closely those of Avicenna's own copy (excepting scribal error). Explain-

ing the descent of the second and third families is somewhat more difficult. Both their shared reading in example 1 and their shared reading in example 3 tell us that they are related, but not the nature of that relationship. To explain their respective omissions in examples 4 and 5 we must suppose at least one intermediary between the first family for both of them, since we cannot assume lines of descent [second family > third family] or [third family > second family] on the basis of these mutually exclusive omissions. Furthermore, we must assume that this posited intermediary contained the reading of the first family in example 2, the error exhibited in the second and third families in example 1, and the common variant in example 3.⁴⁹ The variant reading of the third family in example 2 we might imagine to be characteristic of that family only.⁵⁰ The respective omissions in examples 4 and 5 are also to be limited to their respective families. Thus, we have a provisional stemma of the manuscript families of the first recension as follows:



So much for families of manuscripts. The next step is the elimination of exemplars. The Berlin manuscript, as the base text, is to be kept. However, its date of copying, estimated by W. Ahlwardt to be around 880/1475–76, is a little later than the earliest of the exemplars in the second and third families, sc. Ahmet III 3447, dated by F. E. Karatay to 866/1462. Since the above exercise has suggested that those families derive from the first family, we might posit an earlier exemplar from which the Berlin manuscript descends. In the case of the second and third families, the respective dates of MSS Ahmet III 3447

⁴⁹ For a possible descendant of this posited intermediary, see below under Second Recension.

⁵⁰ With regard to this variant, it is perhaps significant, or at least puzzling, to note that the concluding phrase *innahū waliyu dhālika wa‘l-qādiru ‘alayhi* has a parallel later in the text of the third family alone where we find *annahū walīhi wa‘l-qādiru ‘alayhi* (e.g., Nur. 4894, 307v, line 10); the first and second families have only *annahū walīhi* (e.g., Berlin, Lbg. 368, 109v, line 14).

(dated 866/1462) and Nur. 4894 (dated circa eleventh/seventeenth century) suggest that the latter can be eliminated. MS Hamidiye 1448 has not, to my knowledge, been dated, but the script suggests that it is rather late, perhaps as late as or later than Nur. 4894. This is the extent of research to date on these manuscripts of the *Ḥuṣūl*; once the task of editing the text is underway, further refinements will no doubt emerge.

ii. *The Abridgement of the First Recension*

Separative variant:

wa-sa²altuhū an yuwaffiqahū li-ukhrāhu fī ūlāhu. innahū 'l-hādī 'l-muyassiru wa-huwa 'l-mudabbiru 'l-muqaddiru.

This curious abridgement, entitled *Maktūb ilā . . . Abī Sa²īd*, and which I find only in Nuruosmaniye 4894 (ff. 246v–247r) agrees with the first and second families in the reading of example 2 above (once the omission is taken into account), agrees with the second and third families in the reading of example 1, and contains the text shared by the first and third families in example 5. All of this suggests that it was made from the posited intermediary between the first family and the second and third families (α in the above stemma).

iii. *The Second Recension with Epistolary Introduction: Abū Sa²īd's Question to Ibn Sīnā*

Much work remains to be done on the textual history of the letters that collectively constitute what is now called the Avicenna–Abū Sa²īd b. Abī 'l-Khayr Correspondence, but research to date leads to the definite conclusion that it is a product of a later Sufi or Ishrāqī tradition that sought to make of Abū Sa²īd an intellectual that he most likely was not, through an epistolary association with Avicenna that most certainly did not occur.⁵¹ The *Ḥuṣūl* is one such letter by Avicenna that was adopted and modified by the anonymous creator(s) of this series of correspondence. In one stage of this

adoption, the *Ḥuṣūl* alone was simply given some form of a title that included Abū Sa²īd as the addressee (see the manuscripts listed above). In the more developed version of this modification, we find not only the text of the *Ḥuṣūl* but also an additional introduction in which Abū Sa²īd, while asserting his own achievements on the path of piety, asks Avicenna to enumerate the grounds of his own success on the path (!).⁵²

The earliest date to which I have been able to assign the inclusion of this version of the *Ḥuṣūl* in the forged correspondence is that of the composition of Bahā² al-Dīn al-²Amīlī's (d. 1030/1621) *al-Kashkūl*, i.e., 1002/1593.⁵³ None of the three manuscripts of this version that I have examined (Cambridge Browne X.1; Mishkāt 861; and Mishkāt 1079) predates the *Kashkūl*, but it is unlikely, if not impossible, that al-²Amīlī himself was responsible for the introduction.

The text of the manuscripts of the *Ḥuṣūl* in this recension exhibits all of the characteristics of the posited intermediary between the first family and the second and third families of the first recension, viz., the reading of the first and second families in example 2 above, the readings of the second and third families in examples 1 and 3, but the presence of the respective passages missing in the second and third families in examples 4 and 5. This fact may allow us to conjecture that the forged introduction was added to the *Ḥuṣūl* at some point before the dating of the earliest exemplar of another descendant of that posited intermediary, i.e., Ahmet III 3447, dated 866/1462.

It may be noted in passing that the exemplar in the codex Cairo Dār al-Kutub Majāmi² Taymūr 200 (ff. 223r–224v), which Michot drew upon for his translation and which also has the forged introduction, appears to be a contaminated witness that mixes the readings of the first and second families of the first recension, as well as exhibiting its own scribal errors. Thus, it agrees with the readings of both families in example 1 above, contains the text alternately missing in examples 4 and 5, and would appear to mix the readings of both families in example 2 at the end, displaying the following: *innahū 'l-qādiru 'l-muyassiru wa'l-mudabbiru 'l-muqaddiru.*

⁵¹ Fritz Meier, who discounted the legends of a meeting between Avicenna and Abū Sa²īd, but who suggested that the correspondence may be authentic, offered another theory (*Abū Sa²īd-i Abū l-Ḥayr*, 26–29): that the hagiographers of Abū Sa²īd suppressed the correspondence since the fact that Abū Sa²īd would have to ask Avicenna anything suggested he lacked certain knowledge. This is a novel solution to the problem, but it is not based on a study of the actual texts that make up the correspondence.

⁵² The text of this introduction may be found in al-²Amīlī's *al-Kashkūl*, 355.

⁵³ See C. E. Bosworth's extensive study of this work, *Bahā² al-Dīn al-²Amīlī and His Literary Anthologies* (Manchester: Univ. of Manchester, 1989), 29. Bosworth does not make reference to the copy of the *Ḥuṣūl* contained in the *Kashkūl*. The publication of *al-Kashkūl* used for this study is Bulaq 1288/1871 (Bosworth's sigla B). The *Ḥuṣūl* is found on pp. 355–57.

Finally, it omits *wa-amrā* in example 3. It is difficult to determine its place in the textual transmission, but this is at any rate irrelevant, since it would not survive the elimination process.⁵⁴

An interesting observation is that the manuscripts of this recension differ in some important respects from the text found in al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Kashkūl*. These differences are largely ones of omission in al-ʿĀmilī's version, and we might suppose they are either the result of al-ʿĀmilī's effort at some brevity in his otherwise large collection of Arabic literature, or reflect an editorial process that al-ʿĀmilī felt should be applied to the version he had before him.⁵⁵

iv. *The Appropriation of Part of the Ḥuṣūl for the Waṣīya*

Michot (79*–88*) correctly notes that the *Ḥuṣūl* bears comparison with a version of Avicenna's *ʿAhd* that circulated under the title *Waṣīya*, addressed to Abū Saʿīd (see 80*), most readily available in the publication *Manṭiq al-Mashriqīyīn* (Cairo, 1910), 1z-1ṭ.⁵⁶ See the discussion below on the *ʿAhd* for a detailed collation of these passages.

B. *The Recensions and Printed Versions of the ʿAhd*

The textual study of Avicenna's *ʿAhd* is, in a broad sense, less complicated than that necessary for the *Ḥuṣūl*, if only because we have Badawī's relatively serviceable edition which, in turn, was based on the very important MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub Ḥikma 6M.⁵⁷ Here I have divided the various accessible manuscripts and publications into

⁵⁴ An alternate theory for its place in the stemma would be as a descendant of the posited intermediary between the first family and the second and third families, but we would have to infer an additional apograph to account for the contamination of its reading in example 2. It would be far too fortuitous for this contamination to be attributable to scribal error. Furthermore, this contamination likely took place *after* the addition of the forged introduction; this fact makes it all the more difficult to assume a direct line from the posited intermediary.

⁵⁵ These omissions are not the same as those in the abridgement.

⁵⁶ Correct Michot's reference to the pagination lb-1ṭ at 80* n. 3 and 120* n. 3.

⁵⁷ For a thorough codicological study of this codex which stresses a pedigree that may ultimately go back to Avicenna, see Dimitri Gutas, "Notes and Texts from Cairo Manuscripts, II: Texts from Avicenna's Library in a Copy by ʿAbd-ar-Razzāq aṣ-Ṣignāḥī," *Manuscripts of the Middle East 2* (1987): 8–17.

four groups. Of those groups only the first, comprising the original recension, is of any importance. The remaining groups are listed only so that readers of Avicenna's works may be aware of their inherent problems. A re-edition of the *ʿAhd* would certainly be desirable, if only to identify and remove any of Badawī's hyper-corrections that may have been overlooked by Michot in his translation. Only those manuscripts accessible for this study have been listed below;⁵⁸ all of the known publications, however, are represented.

i. *Original Recension, Cast in the Dual. Incipit after basmala:*

hādhā mā ʿāhada llāhu bihi fulānun wa-fulānun baʿda mā ʿarafā rabbahumā wa-ilāhahumā wa-wāḥiba ʿl-ʿaqli waʿl-quwwati lahumā . . .

a. *Manuscripts*

1. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub Ḥikma 6M, 111v–112v entitled *Nuskhat ʿahdin ʿahida li-nafsihi*;
2. Hamidiye 1448, ff. 48r–v, same title;
3. Istanbul University AY 1458, ff. 48r–v, same title.

b. *Publications*

1. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Aristū ʿinda ʿl-ʿArab*, 247–49, on the basis of Cairo Ḥikma 6M.

ii. *Truncated⁵⁹ Recension, Cast in Singular*

In addition to transforming the grammar and syntax of the original into the singular from the dual, this recension recasts the opening statement and omits the following lines of Badawī: 247.1–7, 9–17 (the second omission is replaced with the phrase *wa-taḥṣila kamā-lihā min jihati ʿl-ʿilmi waʿl-ḥikma*⁶⁰ [with scribal variation]), along with the scattered clauses (particularly *wa-lā yataʿāṭayānihi ʿamdan aw saḥwan* at Badawī 248.2–3). Incipit after *basmala*:

⁵⁸ I note, for instance, that there are two copies of the *ʿAhd* in MS Bursa Hüseyin Çelebi 1194; see Michot, "Un important recueil," 127–28.

⁵⁹ The term "truncated" applies to anything whose top or bottom has been cut off; here it is the top, or beginning of the text that has been removed.

⁶⁰ Might this phrase have given rise to the (modern) title *Ḥuṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma*, particularly when we consider the concatenation of the *ʿAhd* and the *Ḥuṣūl* in the creation of the *Waṣīya*?

qāla fi 'ahdin 'āhada llāha ta'ālā li-nafsihi ba'da an ashāra fīhi ilā nafsihi annahū 'āhada llāha bi-tazkiyati nafsihi bi-miqdāri mā wahaba lahū min quwwatihā li-yukhrījahā mina 'l-quwwati ilā 'l-ḥ'f'l. . .

a. Manuscripts

1. Köprülü 1589 (753/1353), f. 286v. in margin.⁶¹
2. Ahmet III 3447, ff. 149v–150r. This exemplar has the missing text of Badawī 247.9–17 in the margin as a correction (*ṣaḥḥa*) but has the phrase *wa-taḥṣila kamālīhā min jihati 'l-ilmī wa'l-ḥikma* which replaces that text in this version in the *matn*; this leads one to believe that the marginal “correction” is in fact a variant from another exemplar (i.e., a *nuskha* note).
3. Nuruosmaniye 4894, ff. 495r–v. Many, if not all, of the treatises in this codex appear to have been copied from Ahmet III 3447; this is the case with the *'Ahd*. In Nur. 4894, the marginal note found in Ahmet III 3447 which adds the text of Badawī 247.9–17 was inserted into the *matn* before the phrase *wa-taḥṣila kamālīhā min jihati 'l-ilmī wa'l-ḥikma* which was intended to replace that text in this version.

b. Publications

1. In *Majmū'at al-Rasā'il*, edited by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ṣabrī al-Kurdī (Cairo: Maṭba'at Kurdistān al-Ilmiya, 1328/1910), 205–9.
2. Edited with Persian translation by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḥā'irī Māzandarānī in *Ḥikmat-i Bū 'Alī Sinā* (Tehran: s. n.), 1: 8–10.

c. Interrupted Version of the Truncated Recension

This version was originally the truncated recension cast in the singular; this fact is evident from the omissions of Badawī 247.9–17 and the clause at Badawī 248.2–3, both of which it shares with the truncated recension. However, when it was published, it was mixed with Avicenna's *Risāla fi 'ilm al-akhlāq*. This disorder is most likely to be attributed to the misplacement of folia in the manuscript used for the earliest publication (*Tis' rasā'il fi 'l-ḥikma wa 'l-ṭabī'iyāt wa-ḥi ākhirihā qīṣṣat Salāmān wa-Absāl*, Constantinople, 1298/1881).⁶² None-

⁶¹ See R. Şeşen, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Maktabat Küprülü/Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library* (Istanbul: Research Center for Islamic History, 1986), 2: 271.

⁶² Ṣabrī al-Kurdī may be referring to this situation in the note (*tanbīh*) he appended to his publication of the *'Ahd* in

theless, once the interruption is taken into account, this version contains all of the text of the truncated recension, and so differs from the next version.

iii. Damaged Version of the Truncated Recension

This version begins in the same fashion as the truncated version, in both its consecutive and interrupted states, but is distinguished from them by the additional absence of the text corresponding to Badawī 247.8–248.3. This large lacuna can only be explained by the loss of a folio in the manuscript used for publication and, at any rate, makes the text senseless. Incipit after *basmala*:

qāla . . . fi 'ahdin 'āhada llāha fīhi annahū 'āhada llāha bi-tazkiyati nafsihi bi-miqdāri mā wahaba lahū min quwwatihā li-yukhrījahā anna bi-shahwatīn [sic] . . .

a. Manuscripts

1. Mishkāt 1149 (c. tenth/sixteenth c.), 46r.⁶³

b. Published Exemplars

1. In the top and left margins of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *Sharḥ al-hidāya al-athīriya* (Lithograph Tehran, 1313, 1895–96), 336–38;
2. In 'Abd al-Amīr Shams al-Dīn's *al-Madhhab al-tarbawī 'inda Ibn Sinā min khilāl falsafatihī 'l-ilmīya* (Beirut: al-Sharika al-Ālamīya li-'l-Kutub, 1988), 419–20, with further editorial corruption.⁶⁴

Majmū'at al-rasā'il, 1328/1910, 208–9, in which he justifies the need to reprint the *'Ahd*. Note that the copy of *Tis' rasā'il* reprinted at Cairo by A. Hindiya in 1908, and containing the *'Ahd* (72–102), is simply a reprint of the Constantinople publication. Anawati has argued that the Constantinople 1881 collection as a whole is based on ms Köprülü 868 (Anawati, *Mu'allafāt*, 325; and confirmed by M. Marmura, English introduction to his edition of *Ithbāt al-Nubuwwāt*, 1968, x). The *Tis'* has more recently been reprinted at Cairo: Dār al-ʿArab li'l-Bustānī, 1989. Neither of these reprints offer new texts. The revisiting of the *Tis'* by Ḥasan 'Āṣī is discussed below.

⁶³ See Dānīshpazhūh, *Mishkāt Cat.*, 3: 4, 2401.

⁶⁴ Shams al-Dīn was aware of Badawī's publication of the original recension, but chose to ignore it and added insult to injury with his poor editorial choices; see Michot's just comments, 80* n. 2.

iv. *The Recension Created for the Avicenna–Abū Saʿīd Correspondence: The Waṣīya*

As with a number of Avicenna's private letters, the *ʿAhd* was taken over by the inventor(s) of the Avicenna–Abū Saʿīd b. Abī ʿl-Khayr Correspondence. Michot points out (80*) that the so-called *Waṣīya* addressed to Abū Saʿīd is actually a concatenation of the *ʿAhd* and the *Ḥuṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma*. Passages from the *Ḥuṣūl* make up the first part of this *Waṣīya*, and passages from the *ʿAhd* the second half. To complicate matters, the *Ḥuṣūl*, which appears to have been written to Avicenna's student Ibn Zayla also formed on its own a part of the Avicenna–Abū Saʿīd b. Abī ʿl-Khayr Correspondence in a variety of recensions and with a fabricated introduction (see above). It is almost certain that the recension of the *Ḥuṣūl* that was combined with the *ʿAhd* to create the so-called *Waṣīya* was its second recension, in the manuscript, not the printed, version.⁶⁵ Which version of the *ʿAhd* was used for this concatenation is difficult to determine, but it certainly was not the original recension, since the text of the *Waṣīya* does not exhibit the dual in grammar and syntax. Table 2 provides a collation of pages and lines of the *ʿAhd* from Badawī's 1947 edition (in *Arisṭū ʿinda ʿl-ʿarab*), the *Ḥuṣūl* from the introduction to al-Makāwī and Ṣabīr al-Kurdī's Cairo 1331 edition of the *Najāt*, and the *Waṣīya* from the introduction to *al-Manṭiq al-mashriqīyīn*.

v. *A Final Anomaly: A Modern Contaminated Witness*

For some reason Ḥasan ʿĀṣī chose to revisit the earlier collection *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, first published in Constantinople in 1881, to compare the texts therein to more

Table 2
Collation of *ʿAhd*, *Ḥuṣūl*, and *Waṣīya*

	Badawī	<i>Najāt</i> Intro.	MM
<i>Ḥuṣūl</i>		11.8–14.3	
<i>ʿAhd</i>	247.2–17		
<i>Ḥuṣūl</i>		14.3–15.4	lz.15–lh.3 lh.6–12
<i>ʿAhd</i>	247.17–21		lh.13–17
<i>ʿAhd</i>	248.10–11		lh.17–18
<i>ʿAhd</i>	248.14–15		lh.19
<i>ʿAhd</i>	248.18–19		lh.20
<i>ʿAhd</i>	248.21		lh.20–21
<i>ʿAhd</i>	249.1		lh.21
<i>ʿAhd</i>	249.4–5		lh.21–22
<i>ʿAhd</i>	249.5		lh.23–lt.3

recent and, in some cases, better editions,⁶⁶ along with one late manuscript (Nuruosmaniye 4894), and to republish the whole with his unidentified editorial choices. Perhaps the most generous word to be said for this dubious venture is that ʿĀṣī disentangled the *ʿAhd* from *Risāla fi ʿilm al-akhlāq* (see the Interrupted Version of the Truncated Recension above). For his revision of the *ʿAhd*, he apparently consulted Badawī's 1947 edition of the original recension and Nuruosmaniye 4894 in addition to the text as found in the 1881 publication of *Tisʿ rasāʾil*. The result is a contaminated witness that combines both the original and the truncated recensions. ʿĀṣī chose to retain the grammar and syntax of the truncated recension but added the text it omits by drawing on Badawī's text, which he reformulated in the singular to be consistent with the truncated recension. The result should be avoided.

⁶⁵ The distinction is important since the *Waṣīya*, to my knowledge, is found only in the publication *Manṭiq al-mashriqīyīn*; it is not clear whether there is a manuscript tradition behind it.

⁶⁶ This is the case for M. Marmura's edition of *Ithbāt al-nubuwwāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār, 1968) and A.-M. Goichon's edition of *al-Ḥudūd (Livre des définitions)* [Cairo: L'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1963]), both of which ʿĀṣī butchers.