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### Cover

Mašhad, Kitābhāna-i Āsitān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 300, f. 1v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1853, f. 186v

# *Ĝālīnūs Quwā l-nafs Revisited*

Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt\*

## *Abstract*

Galen's treatise *Quod animi mores...* has fascinated generations of scholars investigating the ancient history and theory of Greek medicine. The Arabic version of the treatise, *Quwā l-nafs* (ed. Biesterfeldt 1973), has considerably extended the ground for establishing a proper Greek text. In addition to the then unique ms. Ayasofya 3725, which served as a basis for my edition, a second manuscript of the text recently emerged, Meshhed *Ridā tibb* 5223. It contributes valuable readings to the Arabic, and indirectly to the Greek, text and documents the work of a member of the group of translators from Greek into Arabic around Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, namely Iṣṭifān b. Basīl. His readings and his copious marginal remarks show his excellent knowledge of Greek and of Greek culture and give us an idea of what the readers of this kind of scholarly heritage might have been interested in.

Galen's treatise *On the fact that the capacities of the soul follow the mixture of the body* has always been considered as one of the most exciting works from the mature period of this towering late antique physician and medical author. Its interpretation of the interplay between body and soul, its arguments for a direct dependence of human reason and behavior on the bodily constitution, its discussion of the three Platonic parts, or functions, of the soul, its ways of developing the arguments offered by Plato (*Timaeus*, *Laos*), Aristotle (*De animalibus*) and other ancient authorities, and in particular its skepticism in regard of the idea of the immortality of the human soul have continued to call for debate among historians of medicine and philosophy, from medieval times up to the present day. A recent edition of the Greek text by Athena Bazou (2011)<sup>1</sup> has re-examined and extended the manuscript basis that served Ivan von Müller's edition 120 years before.<sup>2</sup> Another edition is planned by Roland Wittwer in the Berlin *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*.<sup>3</sup> A French translation was published by Vincent Barras, Terpsichore Birchler and Anne-France Morand in 1995,<sup>4</sup> and an English

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\* I thank the organizers of the Berlin Excellence Cluster *Topoi* and Dr. Roland Wittwer *in persona* for a fellowship at the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* in fall 2010, and again in fall 2018, which enabled me to resume my studies of *Ĝālīnūs Quwā l-nafs*, and I wish to express my particular gratitude to Manfred Ullmann (Tübingen), and Rüdiger Arnzen (Ottersberg), for reading the penultimate version of this paper and again generously sharing their expertise on *Graeco-Arabica* with me, and to Dimitri Gutas (New Haven CT), for encouraging me to undertake a second edition of the text in the light of recent new manuscript evidence to be presented in this article.

<sup>1</sup> Γαληνοῦ ὅτι ταῦς τοῦ σώματος κράσεις αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἐπονται, ed. A.D. Bazou, Akadēmia Athēnōn, Kentron Ereunēs tēs Hellēnikēs kai Latinikēs Grammateias, Athens 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Claudii Galeni Pergameni *Scripta minora*, vol. II, ex recognitione I. Mueller, Teubner, Leipzig 1891, pp. 32-79.

<sup>3</sup> The current title of the project is: "Galen als Vermittler, Interpret und Vollender der antiken Medizin". For Dr. Wittwer's edition project, see <[www.topoi.org/project/topoi-1-78](http://www.topoi.org/project/topoi-1-78)> (last consulted on 19 November 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Galien, *L'âme et ses passions (Les passions et les erreurs de l'âme; Les facultés de l'âme suivent les tempéraments du corps)*, Texte établi par V. Barras – T. Birchler – A.-F. Morand, Introduction de J. Starobinski, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1995 (La roue à livres, 26).

translation with a valuable commentary on the treatise is part of the first instalment of the *Cambridge Galen Translations* series, directed by Philip van der Eijk.<sup>5</sup>

As it gradually becomes recognized also in Classicists' circles (and as it is self-evident for the readers of this splendid journal), for the constitution of a critical text of almost any of the classical Greek works on philosophy, the natural sciences and on other parts of the late-Alexandrian syllabus of learning, an examination of their early Arabic translations, if extant, is indispensable. Almost invariably, the Greek exemplars from which the Arabic translations were made and whose readings are reflected in them antedate the earliest extant Greek manuscripts, and if not, they may well preserve a reading which offers a nearly-decisive choice between variant readings of the Greek manuscript tradition. Apart from that, these Arabic translations are witnesses to a process of a linguistic and cultural appropriation of an old system of thought by a new culture whose scope and depth have few parallels.<sup>6</sup> Both aspects, the one addressing the constitution of a particular text and the other illustrating a decisive transitional period of intellectual history, are the object of my contribution to follow.

When I first edited the Arabic translation of Galen's essay as part of my doctoral dissertation,<sup>7</sup> I had no idea that this text would remain a life-long companion of mine. With a growing knowledge of Arabic and of a considerable number of medical, philosophical and other texts which make use of *Quwā l-nafs*,<sup>8</sup> and not least due to substantial textual criticism from esteemed colleagues like Manfred Ullmann, Fritz Zimmermann and the compilers of the *Greek and Arabic Lexicon*,<sup>9</sup> I decided to collect my "second thoughts" on the text of *Quwā l-nafs* in an article published in *Der Islam* in 1986<sup>10</sup> which also contained a number of quotations of and allusions to Galen's thesis in late antique commentary literature and in Arabic sources.

I had to base my edition of *Quwā l-nafs* on a single manuscript, Ayasofya 3725, dated 457H./1064-5, where it is part of a *mağmū'a* composed of medical texts, many of them translations of Galenic treatises, which had been discovered and presented by Hellmut Ritter

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<sup>5</sup> Galen, *Psychological Writings. Avoiding Distress, Character Traits, The Diagnosis and Treatment of the Affections and Errors Peculiar to Each Person's Soul, The Capacities of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body*, ed. by P.N. Singer, with contributions by D. Davies and V. Nutton, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 2014, 2017<sup>2</sup>, pp. 333-424. – A recent update on editions and translations of, and studies on, our work, is given in the late Gerhard Fichtner's *Corpus Galenicum. Bibliographie der galenischen und pseudogalenischen Werke*, cmg.bbaw.de/online-publications/Galen-Bibliographie\_2019-12y.pdf, no. 28.

<sup>6</sup> I am borrowing "thought" and "culture" from D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, Routledge, London 1998.

<sup>7</sup> *Galens Traktat "Dass die Kräfte der Seele den Mischungen des Körpers folgen" in arabischer Übersetzung*, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden 1973 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 40, 4).

<sup>8</sup> This abbreviation of the Arabic title follows Manfred Ullmann's usage in his *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, vol. I, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1970, vol. II, 1-4, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1983-2009 (WKAS); cf. also his *WKAS. Vorläufiges Literatur- und Abkürzungsverzeichnis zum zweiten Band (Lām)*, 3., erweiterte Auflage, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1996.

<sup>9</sup> Ullmann: private correspondence; F. Zimmermann, *Der Islam* 54 (1977), pp. 345-7; *Greek and Arabic Lexicon*: R. Arnzen – G. Endress – D. Gutas (eds.), *A Greek & Arabic Lexicon (GALex). Materials for a dictionary of the mediaeval translations from Greek into Arabic*, Vol. 1 (*Alif*), Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln 2002 (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 1), vol. 11, sub "Variant Greek passages: *Galen An. virt.*", Part C 4; "Variant Arabic passages: *Galen An. virt.*", Part D 3. See vol. 2 (*Bā'*), Brill, Leiden – Boston 2017, for respective information.

<sup>10</sup> *Der Islam* 63 (1986), pp. 119-36.

and Richard Walzer in 1934.<sup>11</sup> It was Véronique Boudon-Millot, Paris, who first signaled the existence of a second manuscript of *Quwā l-nafs*, in a summary description of medical manuscripts in Meshhed, in 1991, and again à propos her study of Galen's *De Libris propriis*, at a conference on Galen in 2002.<sup>12</sup>

Boudon-Millot's interesting remarks on the Meshhed ms. of *Quwā l-nafs* (*Ridā tibb* 5223) are perhaps somewhat contradictory: on the one hand, she suggests that we have here a new, revised translation of Galen's treatise,<sup>13</sup> on the other, she describes the Meshhed text as a second witness of the translation already known to us in the Ayasofya ms.<sup>14</sup> Through the kind mediation of Sabine Schmidtke, then in Berlin, now at Princeton University, and Reza Pourjavady, then in Berlin, now in Frankfurt am Main, I was able to obtain a copy of the Meshhed ms.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the Ayasofya and the Meshhed manuscripts, it should be mentioned, there is a *Muḥtaṣar* of *Quwā l-nafs*, extant in a Cairo *mağmū'a*, *Taymūr*, *aḥlāq* 290, datable to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century *Hiğra*, about which see the introduction to my edition, p. 12. The eight pages of this epitome are numbered (by a modern hand) from 235 to 242, with 17 lines to the page. The manner of abridgement and paraphrase may be illustrated by a comparison between the very first sentence of Galen's treatise in the Ayasofya / Meshhed and the *Taymūr* version:

Ayasofya 3725 / Meshhed (M): *Innī* (M *qāla Ġālīnūsū Innī*) *lammā faḥaṣtu wa-fattaṣtu 'ani ttibā'i quwā l-nafsi li-amzāgi* (M *li-mizāgi*) *l-badani lā marratan wa-lā marratayni bal mirāran kaṭīratan wa-lam anfarid bi-ra'yi fi l-naẓari fi dālika bal fa'altuhū awwalan ma'a l-mu'addibīna lī wa-fa'altuhū bi-aḥaratin ma'a qaẓmin mina l-falāsifati 'ulamā'a wağadtu* (M *wa-wağadtu*) *l-qawla bi-dālika ḥaqqan ṭābitan nāfi'an li-man aḥabba ḡamāla amri* (M has this word in the margin, to be inserted, with a *ṣ[aḥḥa]* mark) *nafsibī*.

*Taymūr aḥlāq* 290: *Qāla Ġālīnūsū Lammā faḥaṣtu 'ani ttibā'i quwā l-nafsi li-mizāgi l-badani marratīn kaṭīratin ma'a mu'allimīyya wa-bi-nfirādin min nafsi wa-ma'a ḥuddāqi l-falāsifati wağadtu l-qawla bi-dālika ḥaqqan wa-nāfi'an li-lladīna yurīdūna zīnata anfasibim*.

Apart from this customary technique of (1) textual abridgement and (2) replacement of one word by another (*ḡamāl* → *zīna*) and of several synonyms by one, the epitomator

<sup>11</sup> H. Ritter – R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken*, De Gruyter, Berlin 1934 (Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 26), pp. 801-46 (811).

<sup>12</sup> V. Boudon-Millot, "Deux manuscrits médicaux de Meshed (*Rida Tibb* 5223 et 80): nouvelles découvertes sur le texte de Galien", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145 (1991), pp. 1197-222; Ead., "Galen's *On my own books*: New Material from Meshed, *Rida, tibb* 5223", in V. Nutton (ed.), *The unknown Galen*, Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, London 2002 (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 77), pp. 9-18; V. Boudon-Millot's Budé edition of *De ordine librorum propriorum*, *De libris propriis* and *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus* was published in Paris 2007.

<sup>13</sup> Boudon-Millot, "Galen's *On my own Books*" (above, n. 12), p. 12, note 13: "Folios 1r-21v contain another Galenic treatise, *The soul's dependence on the body* [...] in the Arabic translation by Stephanos b. Basil".

<sup>14</sup> Boudon-Millot, "Deux manuscrits" (above, n. 12), p. 1207: "Nous avons donc ici retrouvé, dans le manuscrit de Meshed, non seulement un deuxième témoin de la traduction arabe du *Quod animi mores* déjà connue par le manuscrit d'Istanbul, mais qui plus est une version révisée et vérifiée directement sur le texte grec".

<sup>15</sup> My sincere thanks go to both colleagues and to the authorities of Meshhed library who graciously allowed me to make use of the text in their possession.

has omitted (3) almost all of Galen's frequent doxographic and polemical digressions and, most substantially, has decided (4) to concentrate on only a few of the eleven chapters: the introduction (ch. 1), the difference of character observable in small children as an example of the capacities and the substance of the soul; the capacities according to the Platonic tripartite soul (ch. 2); the problem of the immortality of (a part of) the soul (ch. 3); a discussion of Aristotle's concepts of substance and form, the effect of wine and drugs on the soul (ch. 3), and finally the ethical implications of Galen's thesis (ch. 11). The other chapters, dealing with, e.g., physiognomy and the character of animals (Aristotle), and climate (Hippocrates) are barely hinted at or omitted.<sup>16</sup>

Due to the paraphrastic character of this *Muḥtaṣar*, its text-critical value is limited. My edition has made only occasional use of its readings, and the comparative list of readings from the Ayasofya and the Meshhed manuscript, offered below, record only few contributions from the *Muḥtaṣar*.

Unfortunately, I have not yet had access to the volume of Uktā'īs (*et al.*) *Fibrīst-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi kitābhāna-yi Āsitān-i quds-i riḍawī* (Meshhed 1354ff.), which lists and describes our *mağmū'a Riḍā ṭibb* 5223; but the recent *Fibrīstgān-i nuṣḥahā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Īrān (Fanḥā)* (English title: *Union Catalogue of Iran manuscripts*)<sup>17</sup> gives a partial description of the manuscript, in particular of foll. 22b-40b, which immediately follow the text of our *Quwā l-naḥs* and contain Galen's *Fīnaks* (or *Fibrīst kutubihī*, *Pinax* or *De libris propriis*, *On my own books*).<sup>18</sup> The tentative date of the manuscript given here is the first half of the fifth century. Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Band III (...), Leiden 1970, p. 79, has "7. Jh. H.". Boudon-Millot's informant, Živa Vesel, estimates again the fifth century.<sup>19</sup> My own observations on the basis of my copy are the following: *nashī* script, somewhat angular, 19 lines to the page (22 x 13 cm), sparse diacritical punctuation, few *ḥarakāt* signs, copious marginal notes whose connection to the respective words in the text is often indicated by a kind of *madda* sign and the cyphers 2, 3 and 4. The margins of the manuscript have been trimmed, depriving the reader of some words of the marginal notes. The last page is missing (fol. 22a); the last words on fol. 21b are *mina l-manāfi'i wa-l-maḍārri llatī takūnu lanā* (p. 43, line 15 of my edition).

The title-page of our treatise reads, in five lines: *Maqālat Ġālīnūs fī anna quwā / al-naḥs tābi'a li-mizāğ al-badan / tarğamahū li-Muḥammad b. Mūsā min al-lisān / al-yūnānī ilā l-lisān al-'arabī Iṣṭīfan / ibn Bāsīl raḥimahū llāh wa-nawwara ḍarīḥah*, "Galen's treatise *On the fact that the capacities of the soul depend on the mixture of the body*, translated for Muḥammad b. Mūsā from Greek into Arabic by Stephen son of Basil, may have God have mercy on him and illuminate his tomb". The two persons figuring here do not need an elaborate introduction: Muḥammad b. Mūsā is one of the three sons of Mūsā b. Šākīr, a reformed highwayman and astronomer of unknown pedigree who entered the entourage of the future caliph Ma'mūn already during the latter's governorship in Marw, after 809. The three sons of Mūsā grew up in Baghdad under the guardianship of al-Ma'mūn and received an excellent scholarly education. They also prospered economically, and this combination

<sup>16</sup> On the difference in "philosophical intensity" between chapters 1, 2, 3 and 11 on the one hand and, in particular, chapters 6-10, cf. Singer (above, n. 5), pp. 354f.

<sup>17</sup> 34 vols., 11 index vols., Teheran 2013-2015.

<sup>18</sup> Vol. 24, compiled by Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, 1392 h.š./2013, pp. 665f.

<sup>19</sup> Boudon-Millot, "Deux manuscrits médicaux", pp. 1199-2001 with note 9.

of scholarship and wealth enabled them to lavish extravagant salaries on translators from Greek into Syriac and Arabic and scholars working in the field of Graeco-Arabic studies. The brothers themselves, and especially Muḥammad, were competent scientists in their own right in the fields of astronomy, mathematics, and mechanics, as attested by their surviving works.<sup>20</sup> As for Iṣṭifān b. Bāsīl, the other person named in the title of the Meshhed ms., we know from Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq's invaluable *Risāla ilā 'Alī b. Yaḥyā fī dīker mā turġima min kutub Ġālīnūs bi-'ilmih wa-ba'd mā lam yutarġam*<sup>21</sup> that he was a colleague of Ḥunayn, specializing (a) in Arabic – not Syriac – and (b) in medical and pharmacological texts, and that he was a favored recipient of commissions from Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* has a brief mention of him, and Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a lists him in his ninth chapter on the *ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' al-naqala alladīna naqalū kutub al-tibb wa-ġayrih min al-lisān al-yūnānī ilā l-lisān al-'arabī*, adding that he “comes close to Ḥunayn in translation, but that Ḥunayn's style is more elegant and pleasant” (*illā anna 'ibārat Ḥunayn afṣaḥ wa-aḥlā*).<sup>22</sup> This Iṣṭifān, or Iṣṭifān, son of Bāsīl, or Basīl, famously cooperated with Ḥunayn in the translation of Dioscorides's *Materia medica*. Manfred Ullmann has shown that Iṣṭifān is the actual translator of this compendium and that Ḥunayn merely furnished a – partial – revision (*iṣlāḥ*) of the text.<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ġulġul, in his commentary to this text, writes that Iṣṭifān is responsible for the translation and that Ḥunayn's job consisted in looking over it (*taṣaffaḥa*), correcting it (*ṣaḥḥaḥa*) and issuing a license for its transmission (*aġāza*). In his entry, in *Mā turġima*, on Galen's *On the causes of breathing* (*Ilal al-tanaffus*) Ḥunayn presents an exemplary account of the trilateral translation project between commissioner, translator and corrector. He writes: “Ayyūb [al-Ruhāwī] had produced an incomprehensible translation [into Syriac]. Next, Iṣṭifān has translated it into Arabic for Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Muḥammad, however, asked me, before he commissioned Iṣṭifān, to take care of the translation, and told Iṣṭifān to collate the text with me. In this course, I have corrected the Syriac and rendered it comprehensible, saving it from many misunderstandings – I wanted to procure a copy for my son [Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn] – and at the same time [I corrected] the Arabic translation, although this was much better than the Syriac version from the beginning”.<sup>24</sup>

When we look at Ḥunayn's entry on *Quwā l-nafs*, again in his *Mā turġima*, we read the following: “This work is in one single part; its aim is evident from its title. Ayyūb had translated it into Syriac; then I have translated it into Syriac for Salmawayh [b. Bunān, physician to

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Gutas, *Greek Thought* (above, n. 6), p. 133f., and *General Index s.n.* Banū-Mūsā; D. Pingree, article “Banū Mūsā”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, III 716f. (1989).

<sup>21</sup> G. Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Ishaq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XVII, 2); Id., *Neue Materialien zu Hunain ibn Ishaq's Galen-Bibliographie*, Leipzig 1932 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XIX, 2). I had no access so far to *Hunayn ibn Ishaq on His Galen Translations. A parallel English-Arabic text*, ed. and tr. by J.C. Lamoreaux, Provo 2015.

<sup>22</sup> *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von G. Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871-2, I, p. 244.10; E. Savage-Smith – S. Swain – G. Jan van Gelder (ed., tr.), with I. Sánchez – N.P. Joosse – A. Watson – B. Inksetter – F. Hilloowala, *A Literary History of Medicine. The 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah*, 5 vols, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2020 (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 1, vol. 134), II-1, p. 511 (ed.), III-1, pp. 545f. with note 22 (tr.). A useful overview of recent scholarship on Iṣṭifān is collected in Ignacio Sánchez's article “Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl (d. 298/910)”, soon, we hope, to be published in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam: Three*.

<sup>23</sup> M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur arabischen Überlieferung der Materia medica des Dioskurides*. Mit Beiträgen von R. Degen, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 21-24.

<sup>24</sup> Bergsträsser, *Hunain* (above, n. 21), p. 24 (text), p. 19 (translation).

the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim]<sup>25</sup>, and on the basis of my translation Ḥubaysh has translated it [into Arabic] for Muḥammad b. Mūsā. I have heard that Muḥammad, together with Iṣṭifan, has collated [this version] with the Greek text and has corrected a number of passages”.<sup>26</sup> Now this information tallies almost perfectly with (a) what we know about the translation routine around Ḥunayn, (b) with the title of the Meshhed ms., and (c) what the Meshed version itself offers. As for (a), we have a forerunner to Ḥunayn’s Syriac translation in Ayyūb, we have Ḥubaysh, Ḥunayn’s nephew, as a translator of that version into Arabic, and we meet again Muḥammad b. Mūsā as a scholarly Maecenas. As for (b), we see, moreover, from the title of the Meshhed ms. that after the Arabic translation was completed, the same Muḥammad asked Iṣṭifan to take a second look at Ḥubaysh’s Arabic translation and to collate it with the Greek original. Thus, the *tarğamahū* (!) of the title should better read something like *‘allaqa ‘alayhi* (this may be the reason for Boudon-Millot’s imprecise wording, see above, note 13). As for (c), the following list of variant readings and marginal notes in the Meshhed ms. will offer a number of modifications of the text of *Quwā l-nafs* worth of consideration and document Iṣṭifan’s independent way of working, thus giving us a glimpse into the development of the Greek-into-Arabic campaign – in the same way, although on a quite preliminary scale, as Manfred Ullmann has documented this progress several times before.<sup>27</sup>

Iṣṭifan basically gives us three kinds of information: first, in the text itself, concerning readings different from those of the Ayasofya ms., which reflect his own vorlage, secondly, indicated in the margin, his readings from another ms. (*ba‘d al-nusab*), and thirdly, remarks that concern linguistic and general topics occurring in the treatise which he deems worthy of comment. Accordingly, I shall divide this information into two lists. The first list registers the major variant readings of the Meshhed ms. as well as of the other manuscript(s?) available to Iṣṭifan, as they occur in the text or as marginal notes. (I have not recorded trifles, like differences in the orthography of personal names, such as *Aflāṭun* vs. *F(a)lāṭun*, and minor variants like *dālīka* vs. *dāka*, and other such small variations. A new edition of the Arabic text will of course have to take care of all variant readings.) The second list records Iṣṭifan’s marginal explanations and comments. It should be stressed that all these notes are clearly Iṣṭifan’s, even when the *ḥāšīya* does not mention his name. This shows a comparison between Ullmann’s examples, collected in his study on Dioscorides,<sup>28</sup> and the notes to the Meshhed manuscript.

The sequence of references follows the pages and lines of my edition.

The *sigla* employed here are the following:

- A ms. Ayasofya
- Ba Bazou’s edition of the Greek text
- Bi my edition of the Arabic text (specified only if my edition differs from the reading of the Ayasofya ms.)
- M ms. Meshhed
- Mü Müller’s edition of the Greek text
- C the ms. of the *Taymūr muḥtaṣar*

<sup>25</sup> M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Brill, Leiden - Köln 1970 (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Ergänzungsband 6, Erster Abschnitt), p. 112.

<sup>26</sup> See my edition, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., “Nicht nur ..., sondern auch ...”, *Der Islam* 60 (1983), pp. 3-36, and his study on *Dioskurides* (above, n. 23).

<sup>28</sup> See Ullmann, *Dioskurides* (above, n. 23), pp. 40-9.



In my transliteration of Arabic words and passages, the letter “x” represents a “ridge letter” (*bā*’, *tā*’, *tā*’, *nūn*, *yā*’) without its diacritical point(s). References to variant readings in the Greek tradition are to the apparatus criticus of Bazou’s edition. References to my essay in 1986 are given as “Ġālīnūs”. Occasional references to Peter Singer’s translation of, and commentary on, QAM (see above, note 5) are indicated by SINGER. A Dash “–” separates the evidence from my remarks.

9.4 *li-amzāgi*: MC *li-mizāgi*, Ba 7.1: *tais krasesin*.

9.7 *wağadtu*: M *wa-wağadtu*, C *wağadtu*. – The long *lammā*-clause perfectly renders the *basanisas... ereunēsas...* passage (Ba 7.3f.), with *wağadtu* (AC) marking the beginning of the apodosis.

9.7 *amri*: M *amri*, in the margin, to be inserted, with a  $\varsigma$ [*abhā*] mark.

9.8 *Bi allatī naf’alu kulla yawmin*: A *xf’l*: MC *allatī tuf’alu fī kulli yawmin*, Ba 7.10: *tōn ... prattomenōn*. This might suggest following MC.

9.17 *Bi ġarī’... šarih... rağīb...: A ġarī’an... šarih... rağīb... M ġarī’an... šarihan... rağīban... C gabbāran... ġarī’an... šarihan... ħilāfa dālīka*. The accusative case throughout is of course correct.

10.3 *Bi wa-ammā hāhunā ba’du fa-aktafi*: A *wa-ammā hāhunā ba’du* (perhaps *fa-qad*?, written above the beginning of *fa-aktafi*), M *wa-ammā hāhunā fa-qad aktafi*, Ba *entautha d’arkei* – which suggests following M.

10.8 *af’aluhum kullihim* (!): M *af’aluhum kulluhā*. The “all their actions” of M sounds smoother, but for *kull* as an apposition to a suffix (*-hum*), cf. M. Ullmann, *Die Schrift des Rufus von Ephesos über die Gelbsucht in arabischer und lateinischer Übersetzung*, Göttingen 1983 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge 138), p. 68f., *ad* § 72.

10.16 *Bi illā annahū*: In A, the initial *alif* of *illā* seems to be crossed out: M *lā annahū*. Following M, the translation would run: “They do not realize that... and that this effective cause, if you let it dwell in a certain thing, is not a cause that has a specific name.” C abridges and paraphrases: *wa-lam ya’lamū anna kulla mukaṣṣwanin* (?) *fa-lahū sababun fā’ilun wa-lahū fī dātihī smun mufradun*.

11.4 *Bi innahū yumkinuhū <an> yuğaffifa l-‘aynayni... inna lahū quwwatan muğaffifatan li-l-‘aynayni*: M *inna lahū quwwatan muğaffifatan li-l-‘aynayni*. M apparently misses one line – *homoioteleuton*?

11.10 *‘abbarnā*: M *ğayyarnā*, Ba 11.6.f. *perilabontes* “encompassing, comprehending” – to which *‘abbarnā* “expressing, formulating” is apparently closer, but not actually equivalent.

11.14 *Bi quwwatun mubširatun* (!): M *inna lahā quwwatan mubširatan*.

11.20 *li-ba’di*: M *ba’da* – which, as a direct object of *yusammū*, is preferable.

11.23 *al-sab’a*: M *al-sab’a hāššatan* – taking care of Ba 12.9 *exairetōs*.

11.24 *šabīhatun*: M *šabīhatun bi-hādihī*.

12.1 *fa-l-musammā*: M *fa-l-muntahā* (?) / *fa-l-muštahā* (?) – last word of the last line of the page, and perhaps therefore a victim of scribal haste.

13.3 *anna l-ğawhara huwa l-‘ammu*: MC *anna l-ğawhara l-‘amma* – the translation of MC would run: “We have shown that substance, common to all bodies, is composed of two primary things: ...”, which tallies with the Greek text.

13.4 *awwalayni l-hayūlā wa-l-šūrati a'nī l-hayūlā l-mufrada min*: M *awwalayni a'nī min al-hayūlā al-mu'arrāti (?) min*. For a discussion of these readings, see the marginal gloss in M *ad loc*.

13.5 *Bi wa-[min] al-mizāḡa*: M *wa-min al-mizāḡi*. -- My reading of *al-mizāḡ* as a second object of *a'nī* is not tenable. However, a reading that approximates the Greek *Ba* 14.8f. *echousēs (scil. hylēs) d' en hautē poiōtētōn tettarōn krāsīn* (SINGER “but having in itself a mixture of four qualities”) is difficult to achieve.

13.11 *Bi am āḡara [min] al-šay'ayni l-awwalayni*: A *am wāḡid (!)*, M *am wāḡidan min al-šay'ayni l-awwalayni*, *Ba* 15.2f. *ē tēn heteran archēn*.

14.10 *sa-as'aluhū li-an yu'allimanī*: M *sa-as'aluhū lā maḡālata an yu'allimanī* – taking care of *Ba* 17.2 *pantōs*.

14.14 *muḡālifin*: M *muḡālifin li-ra'yi Aflātūn*, *Ba* 17.8f. *akolouthon... tō... dogmati tou Platōnos*.

15.16[*wa-*] *huwa yaf'alu dālika*: M *wa-huwa l-ra'su yaf'alu dālika*, *Ba* 19.6f. *tēn oinopian rhizan... ergazesthai touto*. – Could *ra's* refer to *rhiza*, and would a translation “They also say that the drug called oinopia – and that is a root (*ra'sun*) – effects this to an even higher degree” be conceivable?

15.17f. *Bi [a-lā] innī*: M *inna Ilānī* (with marginal note, see below).

16.8 *innamā*: M *ayḡan*, C *innamā*, *Ba* 21.4f. *dēlonhoti* “clearly, that is to say”. – A seems to be closer to the Greek; *ayḡan* may be a scribal error for *innamā*. Part of *dēlonhoti* is also contained in the initial *wa-bayyana anna* (AM).

16.12 *Bi wa-'asura*, A *wa-'asā*, M *wa-mā 'asā* (*an yaqūla aḡadun mina l-nāsi ḡayra ḡādā*) – which perfectly fits *Ba* 21.9f. *ti gar an allo tis eipoi*.

16.14 *talsa'uhū*: M *yalduḡuhū*, *Ba* 21.13 *tous dēchthentas* – *ladaḡa* seems to be often used for the bite of snakes, see *WKAS s.v*.

17.13 *tuhārabu wa-tuhāribu*: M *th'db wa-th'db* – offering the correct reading *tuḡādabu wa-tuḡādibu*, matching *Ba* 23.8f. *epheronto te kai epheron*.

19.18 *Bi wa-inna Ḥurūsibus <šāra ilā l-fahmi min aḡli 'tidāli mizāḡihimā wa-> innamā šārū ilā l-ḡahli*, M *wa-innamā Ḥurūsīfūs innamā šāra 'āqilan li-'tidāli ḡilṡi ḡādayni fiḡi wa-bi-ḡilāfi dālika šārū ilā l-ḡahli*, *Ba* 28.10f. *kai synetos men ho Chrysippos apeirgastai dia tēn toutōn eukraton mixin, ... hyōdeis*.

19.20 *Bi yašḡadūna bihim*, A *xshr/dūn*, M *xshbzūn*, which suggests *yastahzi'ūna bihim* (*Ba* 28.12f. *skōptousin*).

21.11 *Bi wa-in kāna [laysa] ḡāriḡan 'ammā naḡnu fiḡi fa-innahū [laysa] yadullu*, M has the same, *Ba* 32.1-3 *ei kai parerga estin, all'... endeiknytai*. The seclusion of *laysa* seems to be apposite.

22.2 *Bi fa-mā lam yudḡhib*, A *mimmā lam yudḡhib*, M *mimmā lā yufḡhamu (?) fa-laysa bi-šakkīn anna dālika yadullu 'alā anna l-naḡsa lam yudḡhib*, *Ba* 33.3 *apōleias esti tekmerion*. M is apparently closer to the Greek text, although in fairly expansive fashion.

22.6 *Bi wa-lā alaman lahū [quwwa] wa-lā quwwata lahū*: M *wa-lā māddata lahū wa-lā quwwata lahū*, *Ba* 33.9f. *mēte pathos mēte dynamis*. A fits the Greek; *māddata* can hardly be explained as a hasty copy of *alaman*.

22.20 *nadāwati*, M *nadāb (?)* – the latter probably representing a misunderstanding of *radā'ati* (*l-kaymūsi*) (*Ba* 34.7 *kakochymia*) 22.20 *[takūnu] fi l-badani*: M *allādī yakūnu fi l-badani*.

- 22.21 *munğarratan*, A *mxbxra*, M *mutaḥaxra*. Read *mutaḥayyiratan* (Ba 34.10 *planēthentes*).
- 23.11 *bi-abla*: M *ğābila* – which naturally fits Ba 36.8. *aphrona*. At a second look, A allows the same reading.
- 23.21 *Bi wa-tadbīrin bi-lā ta’addubin*, AM *aw ‘ādatin radī’atin*, C *wa-tadbīrin bi-lā ta’addubin*, Ba 37.9f. *kai apaideutous trophas* – one of the rare places where the Cairene *muḥtaṣar* offers the better reading.
- 24.24 *lahibat... wa-tabahḥarat*: M *tabayya’at wa-tabahḥarat*, Ba 40,4f. *exatmizomenou*. – The first part of the *hendiadyoin* in M looks like a misunderstood *lahibat* “flares up”.
- 25.18 *wa-ṭayši*: M *wa-baṭši*, Ba 42.2 *ekstatikoi* – for which the translator chooses *ṭayš* in two other places. The rasm of both words is obviously quite similar.
- 26.18 *tu’addu*: M *xu’yy* or *xu’xy*.
- 27.19 *yada’u*: M *yutbi’u* – a misreading of A?
- 27.23 *Bi [al-qalīlatu] l-nazari*: M *al-xātxa l-nazari* – probably to be read as *al-nāti’atu l-nazari*, the second part of a *hendiadyoin* for Ba 47.8 *skardamyketikoi*. *Al-qalīla* may be understood as an erroneous reading of *al-nāti’a*.
- 28.2 *wa-l-qalīlatu l-taḥdīqi ‘alā <‘adami> ṭabātin*: M *wa-l-qalīlatu l-taḥdīqi ‘alā ṭabātin*; with a marginal gloss à propos *wa-l-qalīla*: *fī ba’di l-nusaḥi l-qalīlatu l-taḥdīqi wa-l-sarī’atu l-tarfi tadullu ‘alā ‘adami l-rakānati wa-l-ṭabāti*. – I have no actual reference to *rakāna* in the sense of steadiness.
- 28.16 *al-mā’ilata*: marginal note in M: *wa-fī ba’di l-tarğamati badala “al-mā’ila” “al-mustaqbila li-l-šimāli”*.
- 28.22 *Bi ḥayrun*: A *šarrun*, M *ānasu*, with marginal note: *ānas – yurīdu bi-l-ānasi ḍidda l-waḥši*.
- 30.20 *mutağabbirūna*: M *mutağabbirūna m’ğxūn* – read *mu’ğabūn* “acting proudly and arrogant” for Ba 56.7 *authadeas*?
- 31.1 *samīnatun*: M *samīnatun layyinatun* for Ba 57.5f. *pieira kai malthakē*. In A, *samīnatun* is the last word.
- 31.22 *yanbidu bi-sur’atin*, M *yanbidu bi-quwwatin*, Ba 59.15 *sphyzei*. – Both adverbial clauses are conceivable.
- 32.6 *Bi awwala murtabikan*, A *mrtbk*, M *awwala man bad’*, Ba 60.9 *prōtos arxas*. – Read *awwala man bada’a*.
- 34.16 *kānat al-kaymūsātu*: M *kānat minhu l-kaymūsātu*, Ba 66.6f. *ergazetai... tous chymous* “from it (*scil.* the foodstuff)... the humors emerge”. – M offers the correct version.
- 35.16 *ya’tudū fī l-aḥdi*: M *xxtadi’ū fī l-aḥdi*, Ba 68.8 *encheirein*. – Read *yabtadi’ū bi-l-aḥdi*.
- 35.17 *min aḡli*: M *min ḥāli*.
- 35.20 *Bi yūda’un*: A *xwd’w*, M *tumma du’ū*, Ba 69,2f. Follow M and translate “then are invited”.
- 38.20 *Bi laysa yadfa’u wa-lā yu’aṭṭilu*: A has perhaps *yarfa’u*, M *laysa yarfa’u wa-lā yu’aṭṭilu* (the latter repeated in clearer script on top), Ba 77.5 *anhairetikos... esti*. – Clearly, *yarfa’u* is the correct reading.
- 39.17 *al-aḥrāru*: MC *al-aḥyāru*, Ba 79.13 *tous agathous*.
- 40.22 *la-kāna lladī*: M *la-kāna awwalu mā*, Ba 82.4f. *auto touto prōton*.
- 42.11f. *ğiddan... Ḥurūsifūs: om.* M (*homoioteleuton*).

Here follows, in my translation (with occasional references to the Arabic wording), a list of Iṣṭifan's copious marginal notes which concern his explanations and comments on words and passages:

11.9 *al-ḥall wa-l-tarkīb*: He means (*yurīdu*) with “analysis” the differentiation (*taqṣīm*) between compound things and simple things from which they are compounded, and with “composition” (*tarkīb*) he means the opposite. The differentiation between genera and species does enter into this (*wa-laysa* [?] *yudḥalu* [*yadḥulu*?] *taqṣimu l-aḡnāsi wa-l-anwā'i fī ḥādā l-ma'nā*).

11.15 *al-quwwa al-ṣabwāniyya*: In this place, he means with “the appetitive faculty” that faculty which extends over (*ta'ummu*) (all) appetites of the three (parts of the) soul.

11.17 *ḥādihī l-nafs*: He means with “this soul” the rational soul.

12.2 *al-lubb*: He means with *al-lubb* “excellence concerning the intellect” (*al-faḍīlata fī l-'aql*).

13.11 *al-āliyya*: He means with “the organic (parts)” the hand, the head and such.

14.1 *tābi'a*: He means with “following it” following its substance.

14.6 *al-qūniyūn*: *al-qūniyūn*, as it is mentioned, is what the inhabitants of Syria (*al-Šām*) call *al-šawkarān* (*Conium maculatum*); it is well-known to them.

15.7 *al-mālanḥūliyā*: *al-mālanḥūliyā* is the madness (*al-ḡunūn*) (due to an imbalance of) the black bile.

15.8 *lūtargus*: This is an illness in which fever, slumber and loss of memory occur. – For definitions of this type cf. WKAS II 1968 a 42ff.

15.17 *Bi Kasānī*: A *Ksāy*, M *Kusāxī* in the text, *Filuksānī* in the margin. – Cf. P.M. Frazer – E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. II, Oxford U.P., Oxford 1994, p. 457; vol. V A, Oxford 2010, p. 452. For a physician Philoxenos from Egypt who is quoted as a pharmacologist in particular, cf. H. Diller, *Pauly-Wissowa* 20, 1 (1941), pp. 200f.

15.17f. *Bi [illā] innī*: A *l' ny*, M *inna Ilānī*, in the margin: *Ilānī* is that young lady who was stolen by the Greeks. So between them and those who had stolen her mighty wars broke out.

16.9 *bi-tawassuṭ*: Here he means by *bi-l-mutawassuṭ* through what the matter is accomplished (*allaḍī bihī yatimmu l-amr*).

16.15 *asfīs*: It is said that this is the adder. – For *tu'bān*, see M. Ullmann, *Das Schlangenbuch des Hermes Trismegistos*, Wiesbaden 1994, pp. 125-31.

17.17 *al-ibtidā'*: By this he means “when man first was created”.

17.19 *fa-'ādat*: As if he wants to say “they return to their orbits” (*al-istidārāt*).

19.7 *rūḥ*: The meaning of *al-rūḥ* here is quasi an airy, delicate body (*ḡism latīf ḥawā'i*), and his formulation (*qawluḥū*) in this place “the soul is a pneuma” allows for the (interpretation) (*yaḡūzu 'alā*) – the rest line in the margin is cut off.

19.11 *al-ḥawā'i*: Galen's formulation (*kalām*) here sounds as if he (*ka-annahū*) were of the opinion of the Stoics.

19.16 *indahum bārid*: M *bāridun 'indahum*. He means “according to the Stoics”.

19.18, 20 *Hurūsibus*, *al-qūmūd*: According to what Iṣṭifan thinks, Chrysippus was a

man among the leaders of the Stoics. *Al-qūmūd* are people who produce poetry which is called *qūmūdiyā*.

20.16 *bi-l-mizāg*: He means by “the mixture” the four natures (*al-ṭabā’i*) which it possesses (*alladī yakūnu lahū*).

20.24 *al-lubb*: He means by this a superior intellect (*ruḡḡhān al-‘aql*).

21.7 *al-ḥawārī*: He means by this all stars (*kawākib*).

21.11 *wa-hādā l-qawl*: He means by this his remarks (*qawlahū*) on the soul.

21.13 *fa-aqūlu*: His formulation (*qawlahū*) “So I state” quasi marks his returning to the previous statement, i.e. “I shall now furnish further proofs”.

21.19 *min qibali šurbi l-adwiya*: His formulation “because of the intake of drugs and because of bad bodily juices (*kaymūsāt*)” refers to those obsessed with delusions (*al-muwaswisīna*) and those afflicted with madness, confusion and forgetfulness (*al-ḡunūn wa-l-aḥlāt* [read *wa-l-iḥtilāt*] *wa-l-nisyān*).

23.1 *al-kaṭrati wa-l-qilla*: By this he means the extent of (moral) excellence (*al-faḍl*).

23.6 *al-dimāg*: Iṣṭifān says that the word (*al-ḥarf*) translated (*uḅriḡa*) into Arabic as *al-dimāg* may also be used for the spinal marrow (*al-muḅḅ*).

23.9 *maḅāḍ*: By his comparison with “what happens to the woman who is struck by labor pains” he means [one or two words in the margin missing] in order to push out (*li-an taqḍifa*) [again two words missing].

23.11 *wa-l-asā*: By *al-asā* he means the sadness about the carnal pleasures for which his soul struggles and which it has not attained (? *al-ḥuzna ‘alā mā tunāzi‘uhū ‘alayhi nafsubū min al-laddāti llatī lam tanalhā*).

23.15 *mā fī l-badan*: With “what is in the body” he means its organs.

23.19 *huwa*: “it” refers to everything that has been said.

23.20 *širrīran*: By “evil” he quasi means somebody whose mental state is such (*ḥālu nafsihī ḥādihī l-ḥāl*). Galen’s and Plato’s position is that the statement of somebody who maintains that a person indulging (*al-muta‘ammil*) in sensual pleasures acts according solely to his intention is not correct. For the strongest reason for that (behavior) is the state of his body and his bad habit – *alladī* [one illegible word, perhaps *yaltāmu*, “he is blamed”?] *bihī dālīka min al-irādati laysa huwa min ḥāli l-badani wa-l-‘ādati fī l-quwwa*. I am not sure about the meaning of this last colon. Perhaps “for which he is blamed as resulting from his will, not from the state of his body and his habit in his power”?

24.16 *ḥādihī l-faḍīla*: By this he means courage and intelligence (*al-naḡda wa-l-faḥm*).

24.21 *al-šadāyā*: By this he means the things which are found in the blood, quasi threads out of nerves.

25.10 *idā fazi‘at...*: It is correct to assume (*qad yastaqīmu*) that all these states (*al-ḥālāt*) are found in one person because it is afraid and it is correct to assume that it secludes itself, according to what the Greek text has.

25.23 *taḥabbala* (!): AM *taḥayya’a*. He means by “the moist is disposed together with it” “with the hot”.

27.5: *ṭayyāšan*: Of the expression (*al-lafza*) which is translated into Arabic as *ṭayyāš*, Iṣṭifān mentions that it may (also) translated by “bewildered/confused” (*mutaḥayyir*).

27.14 *li-l-iqtānis*: *qaṭānis* is the plural form; the singular form is *qiṭays* [Greek: κτείς, κτείνας]. Iṣṭifān mentions that this noun is used for the metacarpus (*mišt*) and is

semantically transferred to one of the organs of the body which he thinks to be the metacarpus on the dorsa of the hands (*wa-yusta'aru li-'udwin min a'dā'i l-badani yazunnuhū l-amšāta llatī fī zahri l-kaffayn*). (*Qitays*) is also used for designating a species of animals which he does (we do?) not know.

28.22 *Āsiyā*: The lands of Asia constitute the middle of the climates.

29.15 *'udmān*: He means the absence of severe anger/wrath. – I do not have further references to *'udmān* in the sense of *'adam*.

30.7 *al-qānūn*: By this he means the status of equilibrium (*al-i'tidāl*).

30.14 *al-šahādāt*: What is found between the two signals marked by “2” belongs to the discourse of Galen which he inserts into that of Hippocrates.

32.9 *al-qawīyya*: Hippocrates had used this word metaphorically (*kāna ... ista'āra*) instead of “severe” (*al-ša'ba*).

33.16 *bi-muḥibbin li-l-qitāl*: Another manuscript has *li-anna llāha muḥibbun li-l-ḥarbi muḥibbun li-l-ḥikmati*. The meaning of “loving war” is “loving courage” (*li-l-nağda*), for *al-nağda* may be called that way, i.e. “love of war”.

34.5 *min al-arḍ*: He means by “what comes out of the earth” the plants.

34.5 *mā ašbaha*: He means by “what is similar to it” goodness and badness.

34.21 *a'affa*: By *'iffa* he means restraint (*al-'iffa*) from bodily pleasures (in general), not only from sex.

36.21 *li-yatašāwara*: He (is? *alladī*) who thinks that instead of “in order that the body is taken ill” it should be read “except of the falling ill of the body”.

36.24 *šahīḥa l-'aql*: Iṣṭifan mentions that this passage may be understood in a different way, namely that for a person of sound intellect and a commendable way of life there are named many conditions (*ḥālāt*) which do not allow for the drinking of wine.

37.20 *al-širrīrīn*: (I am marking the lines of this particularly interesting and problematic marginal note by [1], [2], etc.) [1] With Plato it is the case that evil people (*al-širrīrīn?*) [2] are that way because of two natural dispositions (*ḥillatayn*), one linked to the [3] other in the relation (*bi-manzilati*) of the planting [4] to the planted, or the nourishing [5] to the nourished, and that [6] what takes the place of the nourishing is stronger / prevalent (*aqwā*) [7] and is more acceptable / plausible (*awlā*) [8] than the other. [9] So he means by “the evil person” [10] someone who leans towards drinking [11] and has much pleasure from it, and that [12] this is only the condition (*ḥāl*) of his soul [13], corresponding to the “planted”, [14] whereas the “planting” is what draws (the soul) [15] towards that condition.

38.20 *fa-ḥādā l-qawl*: In this passage, (Galen) quasi says (three illegible words) that the closeness to the evil and the attempt to procure its opposite happen (*yakūnu*) through food, actions and instructions. From this the necessity becomes clear for instruction and philosophy lest someone think that Galen says in this book that philosophy is something futile.

39.9 *wa-nuḥibbahū wa-nahruba...*: The meaning of this gloss is not quite clear to me. I give the Arabic as far as decipherable: *ḥāšiya: ka-annahū arāda am hal fa'alabū fīhi ḡayruhū min qibali?* [one unclear word – *mimmā?*] *in yuzannu annahū bi-ḡayri l-ṭab'i min al-ḡayri wa-l-šarri mā nazunnu annahū min nafsi l-šarīri wa-l-ḡayri wa-minhu mā nastafīduhū min ḡayrib.*

39.12 *wa-l-ilāhu l-awwal*: His formulation “the first deity” is to be understood in the sense that he believed (‘*alā annabū kāna ya‘taqīdu*) in many deities (? *ilāhāt kaṭīrīn*) *an yakūna* (two or three illegible words).

40.2 *al-Mūsā*: Presumably (*fīmā yuẓannu*) belonging to the angels.

42.10 *al-ālām*: By these he means the disturbances and different states of the soul (‘*awāriḍa l-nafsi wa-ḥālātihā*).

Evidently, the Meshhed manuscript offers us precious insights into the text of Ġālīnūs *Quwā l-nafs*. In addition, it shows the role of Iṣṭifan as a competent commentator and independent interpreter. His explanatory *ḥawāṣī* may be grouped in five kinds: (1) explication of a strange name, (2) explication of a single word, either by a synonym or by paraphrase, (3) explication of a difficult passage, (4) “translation” of a term in mainstream “Baghdadi” Arabic into his own Syrian Arabic, and (5) reference to another manuscript (or other manuscripts?).

For (1), I have in mind instances like 15.17f., where “Helena” is explained. (2) concerns cases such as Iṣṭifan’s explication of the transliterated terms (15.7f.) *al-mālanḥūliyā* and *lītarġus*, his comment on Ḥubayš’s translation of synesis by *lubb* (20.24): “he means the preponderance of intellect”, or his remark that Ḥubayš’s rendering of *myelos* by *dimāġ* may be substituted by *muhḥ*. (3) may be exemplified by the way Iṣṭifan comments on a crucial passage from the *Timaeus*, at the beginning of chapter 6 (50 *Mū*, 35f. *Ba*), in which Plato argues that bodily “wetness” makes the soul forget “what it knew before being bound into the body” (SINGER, 384). Iṣṭifan starts out by explaining the term *širrīr*, and then takes a step backward, explaining the common stance of Galen and Plato concerning a person’s free will, or rather its determination by bad humors. For (4), compare for instance Iṣṭifan’s “translation” of (*al-*) *qūniyūn* by *al-šawkarān*, as “the Syrians call it”. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 41ff., offers a number of similar testimonies of the specific usage of the *ahl al-Šām* (or *ahl al-Ġazīra*, p. 46) as presented by Iṣṭifan (who apparently has a specific interest in botanical and zoological terminology, p. 49). As for (5), one may compare my critical apparatus to my forthcoming revised edition of *Quwā l-nafs*.

To sum up: The Meshhed manuscript of *Quwā l-nafs* offers a considerable number of readings that clear up or correct my readings on the basis of the then unique Ayasofya manuscript, and offers opportunities to take a second look at the Greek text. Secondly, the Meshhed manuscript, with its precious marginal annotations, presents us with a snapshot from the development of the enterprise “Greek into Arabic”, and a few glimpses into which topics members of the contemporary scholarly and political community involved in that enterprise might have been interested in. Thirdly, those annotations substantiate and corroborate the profile of a participant, already recognized and characterized by Manfred Ullmann,<sup>29</sup> of great linguistic competence and remarkable medical and philosophical knowledge, in a “process of momentous importance in the history of ideas”.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See above, notes 23, 27, 28.

<sup>30</sup> See C. D’Ancona, “Greek into Arabic”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam: Three*.

