Submissions
Submissions are invited in every area of the studies on the transmission of philosophical and scientific texts from Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and early modern times. Papers in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish are published. Prospective authors are invited to check the Guidelines on the website of the journal, and to address their proposals to the Editor in Chief.

Peer Review Criteria
Studia graeco-arabica follows a double-blind peer review process. Authors should avoid putting their names in headers or footers or refer to themselves in the body or notes of the article; the title and abstract alone should appear on the first page of the submitted article. All submitted articles are read by the editorial staff. Manuscripts judged to be of potential interest to our readership are sent for formal review to at least one reviewer. Studia graeco-arabica does not release referees’ identities to authors or to other reviewers. The journal is committed to rapid editorial decisions.

Subscription orders
Information on subscription rates for the print edition of Volume 13 (2023), claims and customer service: press@unipi.it.

Web site: http://learningroads.cfs.unipi.it/sga
Service Provider: Università di Pisa, ICT - Servizi di Rete Ateneo

ISSN 2239-012X (Online)
Registration at the law court of Pisa, 18/12, November 23, 2012.
Editor in Chief: Cristina D’Ancona (cristina.dancona@unipi.it)
Mailing address: Dipartimento di Civilta e Forme del Sapere, via Pasquale Paoli 15, 56126 Pisa, Italia.

Italian Scientific Journals Ranking: A (ANVUR, Classe A)
Indexing and Abstracting; ERIH PLUS (SCH ESF); Index Islamicus (Brill Bibliographies); Scopus (Elsevier)

© Copyright 2023 by Pisa University Press Polo editoriale - Centro per l’innovazione e la diffusione della cultura
Università di Pisa
Piazza Torricelli 4 - 56126 Pisa
P. IVA 00286820501 · Codice Fiscale 80003670504
Tel.+39 050 2212056 · Fax +39 050 2212945
E-mail press@unipi.it · PEC cidic@pec.unipi.it
www.pisauniversitypress.it

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the Publisher. The Publisher remains at the disposal of the rightholders, and is ready to make up for unintentional omissions. Studia graeco-arabica cannot be held responsible for the scientific opinions of the authors publishing in it.

Cover
Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-i Āsitān-i Quds-i Radawī 300, f. 1v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1853, f. 186v
An Unnoticed Fragment of the Ps.-Theology of Aristotle in a Manuscript of Averroes’ Talḫīṣ al-Manṭiq Preserved in Iran

Banafsheh Eftekhari, Teymour Morel

Abstract
This article reports the discovery of a fragment of the ps.-Theology of Aristotle in a codex preserved at the Library, Museum, and Documentation Center of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It will be shown that this fragment presents the peculiarity to accompany a copy of Averroes’ logical works, namely, the Middle Commentaries on the first four books of Aristotle’s Organon.

Widespread texts, unusual neighbors

This brief note reports the discovery of a hitherto unnoticed fragment of the ps.-Theology of Aristotle (Uṯūlūǧiyā Arisṭūṭālīs) in a codex preserved at the Library, Museum, and Documentation Center of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, shelfmark: 1981. Located on f. 1r, the fragment covers the end of the fourth maymar, titled, Fī šaraf ʿālam al-ʿaql wa-husnihi (On the glory and beauty of the world of mind), corresponding to §§ 54-59 in Geoffrey Lewis’ translation. We provide a transcription of this fragment below. Interestingly, besides the fragment of the ps.-Theology of Aristotle, the codex happens to include Averroes’ Middle Commentaries (Talḫīṣ) on the first four books of Aristotle’s Organon, namely, the Categories (ff. 1v-24v), On Interpretation (ff. 25v-49v), the Prior Analytics (ff. 49v-123r), and

\begin{itemize}
  \item This piece was written in the framework of the research program “Arabic philosophy through the prism of the diffusion of its manuscript witnesses in the world: Averroes, al-Yānyawī, and al-Tūlāwī as a case study” (MAYT), financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation. It also would not have been possible without the research program “The Arabic and Syriac Philosophical Manuscript Heritage in Île-de-France and Elsewhere: Treasures to be Discovered and Circuits of Diffusion” (PhASIF), directed by Maroun Aouad. We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to all the staff of the Library, Museum, and Documentation Center of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially to Mahmoud Nazari, Head of the manuscripts department, for their kind welcome and support. Our warmest thanks are also due to Maroun Aouad for his encouragement to publish this piece and his insightful remarks.

1 The manuscript is cataloged in ‘A. Hā’irī, Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i šūrā-yi millī, Čāpḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i šūrā-yi millī, Tihrān 1345 hš, t. V, p. 478. It was described on the ABJAD database of the PhASIF program at http://abjad.phic-project.org/ (last consulted 9 June 2023).


4 The text of the Prior Analytics is missing its end in this copy. It abruptly ends in the middle of the second
the Posterior Analytics (ff. 125r-IIr¹). The witnesses of the ps.-Theology are known to be many and widespread, including in Iran.⁶ Therefore, finding unknown fragments of that work in manuscripts, as is the case here, is not so surprising. The same can be said about Averroes’ Middle Commentaries on the first four books of the Organon, which, like other of his works, received particular attention in Safavid Iran.⁷ However, to find side-by-side a fragment of the ps.-Theology – a paraphrase of Books IV-VI of Plotinus’ Enneads – and commentaries on logic by Averroes, a supporter of Aristotelianism rather than Neoplatonism, is, in our view, quite remarkable. All the more so since these texts were both copied by what appears to be the same scribe (see below). Of course, such a singular vicinity could be incidental. Yet, if intended, what would be the reasons behind it? Further research will have to address that question, which will, in turn, allow us to better appreciate the circulation of these two great corpora. To enrich the investigation data, we will limit ourselves here to highlighting the elements in the codex that could help us define the context in which it was produced and used over time.

A codex from Safavid Iran

A few words about the context of the production of the manuscript. The fragment of the ps.-Theology and Averroes’ Middle Commentaries – at least for the most part⁸ – were transcribed by the same copyist in a quite characteristic šikasta nasta’lik script. The copyist is anonymous. Only the copy of the Categories is accompanied by a dated colophon, on f. 24v, stating that it was completed on a Wednesday in the middle of Safar 1079, most probably, Safar 15/July 25, 1668. Since the copyist is the same, the fragment presumably dates from around the same time. Unfortunately, we do not know the scribe’s identity nor where the codex was copied. Yet, it can be assumed that it was produced in Safavid Iran, where Averroes’ Middle Commentaries on the four first book of the Organon received special attention, maqāla, i.e., on p. 175, l. 19 in Badawī’s edition in Ibn Rušd, Talḥīṣ al-Qiyāṣ li-Arisṭū, ed. ‘A. Badawī, al-Maḡlis al-waṭanī li-l-ṯaqāfa wa-l-funūn wa-l-ādāb, Qism al-turāṯ al-ʿarabī, al-Kuwayt 1408/1988 (al-Silsila l-turāṯiyya, 17).

⁵ The Posterior Analytics end on the recto of the folio following f. 176, which we consider to be the second guard leaf of the manuscript, in accordance with the PhASIF protocol—whereby the first and last unnumbered folios of the volume are regarded as guard leaves, even if they contain text.


⁸ Throughout the copies of the Middle Commentaries, differences can occasionally be observed in the handwriting style and calamus (e.g., ff. 7v-8v, 12v-14r), sometimes within the same page. In our view, such changes may very well belong to a single copyist practicing different writing styles. Still, it cannot be excluded that several scribes worked together on the manuscript.
as said above, as well as the ps.-Theology, for that matter, which was used as “a textbook in its own right” among 16th-17th-century Iranian philosophers.9 Other inscriptions found on f. 1r tend to concur with our assumption (see below, p. 226). Finally, the various scribal corrections, annotations, and variant readings in the margins indicate that the codex was copied and studied within a scholarly context, perhaps in a madrasa.

Paratextual elements: from Mashhad to Tehran

Among the paratextual elements the manuscript includes, the latter’s three oldest seals are gathered on f. 1r (see Appendix). Only one is legible, the leftmost of the three. Its content, however, provides us with no date or owner’s name. What can be read is Hūwa l-ʿAlī (“He is the Most High”), in reference to one of God’s names. On the other hand, the rightmost seal (starting with ʿAbduhu) is accompanied by an inscription dated 1215 hš/1800, according to which the codex was bought in the city of Mashhad. What seems to be the same seal is found on the verso of the first lower guard leaf (f. IIv) and is accompanied by an almost identical inscription dated 1216 hš/1801. These two elements indicate that the manuscript was, if not produced, at least preserved in the city of Mashhad, a major economic, religious, and scholarly center in Iran and the Šīʿī world in general. When the volume was eventually brought to Tehran and acquired by the Library of the Parliament—founded in 1302 hš/1923, at the end of the Qajar period, as the Library of the National Parliament (Kitābhāna-yi Maḡlis-i šūrā-yi millī)—is unknown. According to the register, all that can be said is that it was purchased from the belongings of a certain Ašraf al-Mulk Falsafī after his death.10 In the manuscript, a library’s inventory stamp affixed to the upper inside cover indicates that the codex was already part of the Library of the Parliament in 1336-1337 hš/1957-1959.

Two short quotations attributed to Plato and Aristotle

On f. 1r, below the fragment of the ps.-Theology, the scribe added two brief yet interesting quotations attributed to Plato and Aristotle:11

Hū [i.e., God]
The divine Plato said: “Thousands of propositions for which I have no demonstration have just proved to be true to me.” Aristotle said: “These current sayings are like the ladder [leading] towards the sought step. Whoever wants to reach it should reach another natural disposition for his soul”.12

These two quotations, most likely apocryphal, and the origin of which is unclear, appear in treatises written by Iranian Šīʿī authors, the earliest of which seems to be the Maḡālis

10 The codex is recorded under n° 27959 in the register. We thank Mahmoud Nazari, Head of the library’s manuscripts department, for kindly checking the register for us.
11 Here we transcribe Arabic text following the rules of the PhASIF protocol, available at https://phasif.fr/.
al-muʾminīn (Assemblies of the Believers) by Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Šahīd, also known as Nūr Allāh b. Šarīf Šūštarī (956/1549-1019/1610). Šūštarī refers to them within a development concerning the attainment of certainty (yaqīn).

Two ways (ṭarīqa), he says, allow us to reach certainty. First, the way of the people of speculative reasoning (ahl-i naẓar) – who are called the philosophers (ḥukamāʾ) and the learned (ʿulamāʾ). It leads to certainty through speculative reasoning (naẓar) and inference (istidlāl). The other way is that of the people of poverty (abl-i faqr) – who are called the gnostics (ʿurafāʾ) and the friends of God (awliyāʾ). It attains certainty through [spiritual] purification (tasfiya) and the perfecting (istikmāl) [of the soul]. Similar in their objective, he adds, both ways follow distinct approaches which are of unequal quality since the latter is closer to the truth (ḥaqīqa). To support this view, he first alludes to the story of the meeting between the mystic Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Ḫayr (357/967-440/1049) and the philosopher Avicenna (370/980-428/1037). He then moves on to the two abovementioned quotations, arranged in reverse order (first Aristotle, then Plato).

The fragment: text and variants

The variants in our fragment are numerous. One is illegible. Many probably derive from scribal errors, some of which deprive the text of any meaning. A few other variants differ slightly or more significantly from the lessons established in Dieterici, Badawī, and Lewis.

Here is a full rendering of the fragment (T) that we have collated with the text established by Dieterici (D, pp. 52.16-54.2) and Badawī (B, pp. 63.3-64.5). We also refer to Lewis’ translation (L) when deemed significant. The critical edition and French translation of the ERC Project “Greek into Arabic” (AdG 249431) are in preparation, and, for the time being, the text of the program’s Arabic Pericopes is that of Badawī. For a reproduction of the fragment, see the Appendix. In the footnotes, we give all the variants provided by the fragment except for the hamza and undotted letters the ductus of which does not correspond to a different word. For the fragment’s codicological characteristics, see the manuscript description, which is fully available on the ABJAD database.

14 Nūr Allāh Šūštarī, Maǧālis al-muʾminīn, 2 t., Islāmiyya, Tihrān 1377 hš, t. II, p. 3.
16 The word following sutūḥ al-aǧrām.
17 E.g., li-kull wāḥid minhum maʿdūd an, ġamīr al-quewwa.
18 E.g., wa-lā šayʾ ġāṣ al-muntabi‘; ja-li-dālika šārat bi-kullihiy yahṣar ba’dahā.
19 E.g., wa-hum lā yabṣarūna l-ašyāʾ allatī taqaʿ taḥta l-kawn wa-l-fasād.
20 E.g., wa-kull ḏālika l-ʿālam samāʾ i.
21 In the Appendix we transcribe the Arabic text as faithfully as possible, including letter-pointing, hamza, ġadda, and all voluntary or accidental variants copied by the scribe.
22 Version 1.0.0. See https://g2a.ilc.cnr.it/Teologia_Wapp/Home.xhtml?centerPage=teologia. It includes part of the text, up to wa-lā yuḫfā ʿalā baʿḍ šayʾ mimmā fī baʿḍ al-batta (V 8[31], 3.27-4.7).
23 ABJAD is currently undergoing a major revamp and will be available in Open Access soon.
قال في الحكمه الرابع من اثولوجيا: والروحانيون اصناف وذلك ان منهم من يسكن السماء التي فوق هذه السماء النجميّة والروحانيون الساكنون في تلك السماء كلهم. كل واحد منهم في كلهم سماه إلا أن لكل واحد منهم موضوعاً معلوماً غير موضوع صاحبه لا تكون الأشياء الحرجية التي في السماء لأنها ليست باسماً ولا ذلك صار كل واحد منهم في كلية تلك السماء ونقول ان من وراء السماء جسم أيضاً وذلك فالمواد الاسمائي وليس هناك وكذل ذلك هذا العالم سماء وتربي وبعر وحيوان ومباشر وناس سمائيون بعضهم من بعض أرضي البيت والروحانيون الذين هناك ملايين للانس الذي هناك لم ينفر وكل واحد لا ينافي صاحبه ولا يضاده بل يستريح اليه وذلك ان مولدهم من معدن واحد وقرازهم تقع تحت الكون والفساد وكل واحد منهم بيصر بيصرون الأشياء التي وجوههم واحد وهم لا هناك اثولوجيا وليس هناك شيئاً مظلم اليه ولا ما حاسوماً ذاته في ذات صاحبه لأن الأشياء بل كل واحد منهم نير ظاهر لصاحبه لا يخفى عليه منه شيء لا الأشياء هناك ضياء في المنتفع بعض البيت ولا يخفى على بعض شيء ما في سم بيصر بعضها ضياء فذئبل صارت بكهام بل انما نظرهم ليس نظرهم بالعين الدابره الجسدانيه الواقعه على مطلوع الأجزاء المكسيماً التي للحواس الخمس جميع القوى التي اجتمع في الحا الحا الحا الواحدة بالأعين العقلية الروحانيه

1 قال ... اثولوجيا: T: om. D B.
2 كلهم T: om. D B.
3 post T: om. D B.
4 post T: om. D B.
5 post T: om. D B.
6 post T: om. D B.
7 post T: om. D B.
8 post T: om. D B.
9 post T: om. D B.
10 post T: om. D B.
11 post T: om. D B.
12 post T: om. D B.
13 post T: om. D B.
14 post T: om. D B.
15 post T: om. D B.
16 post T: om. D B.
17 post T: om. D B.
18 post T: om. D B.
19 post T: om. D B.
20 post T: om. D B.
21 post T: om. D B.

Appendix

An Unnoticed Fragment of the Ps.-Theology of Aristotle 227

Studia graeco-arabica 13 / 2023
في هناك مكتفيه بنفسها مستغنيه عن الاغراق بل الحاسه السادسه خارجة عن ولا خطوطا ابعاد مسامته الالات اللحميه اذ ليس بين مركز دائرة العقل وبين مركزه ذلك فانها بخلاف المرکز الى الدائره لان هذا من صفات الاشكال الجرميه فاما الاشكال الروحانيه فانها بخلاف ابعاد بينهما عليها واحده وليس اعني ان مراكزها والخطوط التي تدير بينهما

22 مع قوه الحاسه السادسه
23 بل الحاسه السادسه
24 فى هناك مكتفيه بنفسها مستغنيه عن الاغراق بل الحاسه السادسه خارجة عن ولا خطوطا ابعاد مسامته الالات اللحميه اذ ليس بين مركز دائرة العقل وبين مركزه ذلك فانها بخلاف المرکز الى الدائره لان هذا من صفات الاشكال الجرميه فاما الاشكال الروحانيه
25 الالات اللحميه اذ ليس بين مركز دائرة العقل وبين مركزه ذلك فانها بخلاف المرکز الى الدائره لان هذا من صفات الاشكال الجرميه فاما الاشكال الروحانيه،
26 الاغراق
27 الاغراق
28 الاغراق
29 الاغراق
30 الاغراق
31 الاغراق
32 الاغراق
Fig. 1. MS Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī 1981, f. 1r. © Kitābḫāna Mūzih wa Markaz-i asnād-i Mağlis-i şūrā-yi islāmī, Tīhrān.