

V SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSLATIONS OF
PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS BY AL-KINDĪ, AL-FĀRĀBĪ,
AVICENNA, IBN-BĀĠĠA, AND AVERROES

This is a bibliography by a non-Arabist for non-Arabists. It does not include any of the medical works of any of these authors and it also omits works related to poetics and rhetorics. Even in the fields which it includes, while it tries to be fairly comprehensive, it does not aim at being complete. It is simply meant to facilitate something like a preliminary survey of printed material available in non-oriental languages. Whenever possible, titles in Arabic were taken from C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. I, 2nd ed., Leiden 1943; *Erster Supplementband*, *ibid.* 1937.

AL-KINDĪ

(I) A collection of short pieces in German translation by A. Nagy: *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen ... hg. von ... (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters II/5)*, Münster 1897.

It contains: 1. a writing mostly referred to as *De intellectu* (R. fi'l-'aql);

2. a writing mostly referred to as *De somno et visione* (R. fi māhiyat an-naum war-ru'yā);

3. a writing mostly referred to as *De quinque essentiis* (Arabic title seems to be unknown).

(II) A treatise on the soul (R. fi 'n-nafs wa 'af'ālihā ilā Yuhanna b. Māsawaih) has been translated by G. Furlani: "Una risala di al-Kindī sull'anima", *Rivista trimestrale degli studi filosofici e religiosi* 2 (1922), p. 50-63.

Part of this treatise has for a second time been translated into Italian by R. Walzer: "Un frammento nuovo di Aristotele", *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N. S. 14 (1937), p. 125-137. An English translation, probably from Walzer's Italian, is contained in W. D. Ross, *The Fragments of Aristotle*, Oxford 1955.

(III) An introduction to Aristotle (R. fi kammīyat kutub Aristūṭālīs wamā yuḥtaḡu ilaihi fi 'l-falsafa) ed. with Italian translation by M. Guidi and R. Walzer: *Studi sul Kindī. I: Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele, Memorie della R. Accad. Nazionale di Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Anno 336, Ser. VI, vol. VI (1937-1940), Fasc. 5, Rome 1940.*

(IV) H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *Studi su Al-Kindī II: Uno scritto morale inedito di al-Kindī (Temistio περὶ ἀλυστίας?)*, *ibid.* Anno 335, Ser. VI, vol. VIII

(1938/9), Fasc. 1, Rome 1938 (R. fi 'l-hilah lidaf' al-'ahzān), ed. with Italian translation.

(V) The so-called *Liber de pomo* (K. at-Tuffāha). It exists in a Persian translation which has been translated into English by D. S. Margoliouth: "The Book of the Apple, Ascribed to Aristotle", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1892, p. 187-252, and a Latin translation, edited by M. Plezia, *Aristotelis qui ferebatur liber De pomo*, Warsaw 1960.

However, the two translations differ so widely that they cannot both be translations of one and the same translation (made by al-Kindī?) from the Greek.

(VI) *De theoria artium magicarum* (or *Artis magicae*), or *De physicis ligaturis* or *De radiis stellarum (stellicis)*, i.e. R. fi 'š-šu'ā'āt, as quoted in Gilles of Rome (i.e. Egidio Colonna), *Errores philosophorum*, ed. J. Koch, tr. into English by J. O. Riedl, Milwaukee, Wisc., 1944 (here see p. XLVI; cf. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. I 1923, p. 643-646) either by Gilles himself or in the apparatus by the editor.

(VII) A French translation, of: fi ma'rifat quwā' l - adwiya 'l-murakkaba in L. Gauthier: *Antécédents gréco-arabes de la psychophysique (Al-Kindī De rerum gradibus)*, Beyrouth 1938 or 1939. According to Gauthier, the Latin translation of this work was published as: Jacob Alkindus, *De rerum gradibus*, Strasburg 1531. I cannot undertake to determine the relation of this translation to others published under the same or a similar title and often included in works by Yuhanna b. Māsawaih, i.e. Johannes Mesua: see the catalogue of the British Museum under Yākūb ibn Īs'hak ibn Šubbāh (Ābū Yūsuf), i.e. al-Kindī.

(VIII) A work known to the Middle Ages as *Opus Albumazaris de magnis coniunctionibus* = *Liber individuorum superiorum* (actually an abbreviation of the work by al-Kindī done by Abū Ma'šār), which Latin translation has been edited by O. Loth: "Al-Kindī als Astrolog", *Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift ... H. L. Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, p. 272-309. The arabic title: R. fi mulk al-'arab wa kammīyatih.

AL-FĀRĀBĪ

(I) We have a collection of Al-Fārābī's short essays translated into German by A. Dieterici: *Alfārābī's Philosophische Abhandlungen*, Leiden 1892. They are:

(1) Die Harmonie zwischen Plato und Aristoteles (K. al-ḡam' baina ra'yai al hakīm Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī wa Aristūṭālīs);

(2) Die Abhandlung von den Tendenzen der Aristotelischen Metaphysik (Fī agrād al-hakīm fi kull maqāla min al-kitāb al-mawsūm bil-ḥurūf);

(3) Über die Bedeutungen des Worts "Intellect" ("Vernunft") (maqālah fi ma'ānī 'l-'aql). It is here (p. 77f. Dieterici), where Al-Fārābī seems to interpret as if Aristotle had written of the νοῦς: ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν νοεῖ, ὅτι δ' οὐκ νοεῖ;

(4) Abhandlung des Abū Naṣr - über die notwendigen Vorstudien der Philosophie (R. fimā yanbaḡi an yuqaddama qabla ta'allum al-falsafa);

(5) Die Hauptfragen von Abū Naṣr Alfārābī ('uyūn al-masā'il);

(6) Die Petschafte der Weisheitslehre (Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikma);

(7) Die Antworten Alfārābīs auf einzelne vorgelegte Fragen (R. fi ḡawāb masā'il su'ila 'anhā);

(8) Bemerkungen des Abū Naṣr über die richtigen und falschen astronomischen Bescheide (R. taḍākīr fīmā yasiḥhu wamā lam yasiḥh min ahkām anuḡūm).

(9) Über Alfārābī von Al-ftī.

(10) Die Titel von den Büchern Alfārābīs.

A medieval Latin translation of No. 3 has with a French translation been published by E. Gilson: "Les sources gréco-arabes de l'augustinisme avicennisant", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 4 (1929), p. 5-150, esp. 108-149. It is also contained in the edition by G. Camerarius, *Alpharabii ... opera omnia*, Venice 1638; and in *Avicenne opera* (Venice 1508; see below).

No. 6 has together with an Arabic commentary on it been translated by M. Horten as *Buch der Ringsteine (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters V/3)*, Münster 1906. See below under Avicenna.

In English Fuṣūṣ is often rendered by gems or bezels.

I appended the Arabic titles copying them from: I. Madkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934.

(II) A work often referred to as Madīna al-fāḍila has been translated into German by A. Dieterici as *Der Musterstaat von Alfarabi*, Leiden 1900 (K. fi Mabādī? [or: R. fi] āra' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila).

The French translation by R. P. Jaussen, MM. Youssef Karam, and J. Chlala, Cairo 1949, I have not seen.

(III) A work sometimes referred to as K. as siyāsāt al-madaniya has been translated by A. Dieterici: *Die Staatsleitung von Alfarabi* (ed. by P. Brönnle), Leiden 1904. It is also referred to as *Die Anfänge (Principien) des Vorhandenen*.

(IV) A classification of sciences (Iḥṣā al-ʿulūm) has been translated into Spanish (and edited with the Latin translation by Gerhard of Cremona) by A. González Palencia, *Catálogo de las ciencias*, 2nd ed., Madrid 1953. It also contains another Latin translation under the title *Opusculum or Liber Alfarabii de scientiis* (contained also in the edition of G. Camerarius, above I 10). Cf. M. Alonso (ed.), *Domingo Gundisalvo, De scientiis, Compilación a base principalmente de la Kitāb Iḥṣā al-ʿulūm de al-Fārābī*, Madrid-Granada 1954.

(V) A work the Arabic title of which is unknown has been edited by C. Baeumker in an old Latin translation as: *De ortu scientiarum (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters XIX/3)*, Münster 1916.

Parts of both treatises (IV and V), related to music, have been translated into English by H. G. Farmer: *Al-Fārābī's Arabic Latin writings on Music in the Iḥṣā al-ʿulūm ... De scientiis ...*, and *De ortu scientiarum*, Glasgow 1934.

Farmer is inclined to identify *De ortu scientiarum* with Marātib al-ʿulūm (grades of the sciences): see p. 37, note.

(VI) F. Rosenthal and R. Walzer, *Alfarabius de Platonis philosophia (Plato Arabus 2)*, London 1942, text with Latin translation.

This, according to the editors, is part of *De beatitudine assequenda* = K. taḥṣil as-saʿāda, dealing with Plato. The first part deals with beatitude, the third is on Aristotle (none of these two parts has been translated).

(VII) F. Gabrieli, *Al-Farabius de Platonis legibus (Plato Arabus 3)*, London 1952, i.e. a compendium of Plato's *Laus*, text with Latin translation.

(VIII) A text, edited in an old Latin translation by Jeanne Bignami-Odier, "Le manuscrit Vatican latin 2186", *Archives d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinale du Moyen Age* 11 (1937/38), p. 113-166, esp. p. 154f., identified as a fragment of Tajrid Risālat al-daʿāwa al qalbīya (Short Treatise of the Essential Propositions), which is part of 'uyūn al-masā'il: see above I (5).

(IX) D. H. Salman, "Le 'Liber exercitationis ad viam felicitatis' d'Alfarabi", *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 12 (1940), p. 33-46. (K. al tanbīh 'ala sabil al-saʿādah).

(X) A brief compendium of Aristotle's *Physics* in Latin translation (*Distinctio Alfarabii super librum Aristotelis de naturali auditu*) published by A. Birkenmajer: "Eine wiederaufgefundene Übersetzung Gerhards von Cremona", *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Mittelalters, Supplementband III, 1. Halbband*, Münster 1935, p. 472-481.

(XI) A translation of a treatise "Über die Notwendigkeit der Kunst der Künste und sie ist das Elixir" by E. Wiedemann in his article: "Zur Alchemie bei den Arabern", *Journal für praktische Chemie NF* 76 (1907), p. 65-87; 105-123, esp. p. 117-122.

(XII) A translation of part (Book III) of K. al-Musiḳī al Kabūr by Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, vol. II, Paris 1935.

(XIII) I have not seen: Sayili Aydin, *Al-Farabi et sa place dans l'histoire de la pensée; Opuscule d'Al-Farabi sur la nécessité de l'Alchimie; "Le livre des hauts écrits sur les racines de la science de la nature"* (en collab. avec Necati Lugal); *Opuscule d'Al-Farabi sur le Vide*, Ankara 1951 and I don't know whether it contains editions or translations of these treatises (one of which seems to be identical with that translated by Wiedemann, as above, No. XI).

(XIV) D. M. Dunlop, "Al-Fārābī's Introductory Sections on Logic", *The Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955), p. 264-282, i.e. edition and translation of Fuṣūl yuhtāḡu ilaiḥā fi ṣināʿat al-mantiq. Here the objects of inborn notions are equated with first intelligibles and these in turn limited to logical principles, all other objects of knowledge being accessible only to reasoning and deduction.

(XV) D. M. Dunlop, "Al-Fārābī's Eisagoge", *The Islamic Quarterly* 3 (1956), p. 117-138, i.e. edition and translation of K. isāḡūjī ai al-Madkhal, a paraphrase of Porphyry's Eisagoge.

(XVI) D. M. Dunlop, "Al-Fārābī's Introductory Risālah on Logic", *The Islamic Quarterly* 3 (1957), p. 224-235, i.e. edition and translation of R. ṣudira biḥā al-Kitāb = Treatise with which the book begins.

(XVII) Still unavailable to me was: D. M. Dunlop, *The Fuṣūl al-Madani of Al-Fārābī*, Cambridge 1961 (?).

The work Bezels (or Gems) of Wisdom, listed under I 6 has now been identified as being a work by Avicenna, otherwise known as his R. al-Firdaus. See S. Pinès, "Ibn Sina et l'auteur de la Risalat al-fuṣūṣ fi 'l-hikma", *Revue des Etudes islamiques* 19 (1951), publ. 1952, p. 121-126. According to Pinès, it should be classed with the treatises since Mehren usually referred to as the mystical treatises (see under Avicenna, No. III).

It should also be noted that the treatise listed above under I 3 has according to M. Asín Palacios been attributed to Ibn Bāġġa: "Un texto de al-Fārābī atribuído a Avempace por Moisés de Narbone", *Al-Andalus* 7 (1942), p. 391-394.

It should also be noted that the authorship of the *Liber de causis* (*Liber Aristotelis de expositione bonitatis purae*) is by some scholars tentatively attributed to al-Fārābī.

AVICENNA

(A) Of works of Avicenna the following five are philosophic encyclopedias (summas), i.e. purport to present all philosophic disciplines in a systematic fashion.

(I) The most comprehensive is usually referred to as aš-Šifā' (cure). According to the medieval Latin variorum "translation" (on its character see below), especially the introduction on its part on the soul (see below), the Arabic original divided philosophy into A. logic; physics (in the Aristotelian sense of the word), including psychology, zoology, botany; mathematics, subdivided into arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy; and metaphysics; B. ethics. But in the Latin translation the content is divided as follows: *Logica*; *Sufficientia* (essentially physics in the Aristotelian sense of the word, although the word seems to be a translation of aš-Šifā', thus of the whole rather than one part only); *De celo et mundo*; *De anima*; *De animalibus*; *Metaphysica*.

The *De anima* section is in the Middle Ages often referred to as *Opus egregium de anima* or *Liber sextus naturalium*. The latter title indicates that in the Arabic original it was, again according to the preface of *De anima*, preceded by the following five books: *Quae sunt communia naturalibus*; *de cognitione corporum et formarum et primorum motuum in mundo naturae*; *de generatione et corruptione*; *de elementis*; *de rebus quae non habent motum voluntarium*. According to the same passage, the *liber sextus naturalium* is followed by two more books, viz. *vegetabilia* and *De dispositionibus animalium*. Part of the preface to *Liber sextus naturalium* has been edited by M. Steinschneider: "Die Parva Naturalia des Aristoteles bei den Arabern", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 45 (1891), p. 447-453, esp. p. 451-453.

The Latin 'translation' from which the above is taken is contained in: *Avicenne Opera philosophiste*, Venice 1508 (I did not see the editions of 1495 and 1546). It is immediately apparent that the 'translation' is not a translation. Not only does it omit entire parts (such as the mathematical), but it seems to be a condensation rather than a translation. As far as the logical part is concerned, a comparison was made by Miss Goichon in an article: "Une logique à l'époque médiévale. La logique d'Avicenne", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 16 (1947/8), p. 53-68. According to her, to 169 pages of Arabic 12 pages of Latin correspond.

A brief outline of the Arabic original with the corresponding outline of the Latin 'translation' can be found in: G. C. Anawati, "La tradition manuscrite Orientale de l'oeuvre d'Avicenne", *Revue Thomiste* 51 (1951), p. 407-440, esp. p. 417f.

As none of the original editions of Avicenna's works enumerated above seem easily available, it deserves to be noted that its metaphysical part has been transcribed from the 1508 edition under the title *Metaphysica*, Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, N. Y. 1948, and its psychological part from the same

edition as *De anima*, under the editorship of G. P. Klubertantz, Saint Louis, Missouri 1949.

Of these two parts we have modern translations from the Arabic. One is by M. Horten: *Avicennas Buch der Genesung der Seele. Die Metaphysik Avicennas. II. die Philosophie, 3. Gruppe, XIII. Teil, enthaltend die Metaphysik, Theologie, Kosmologie und Ethik*, Halle 1907. The other is by J. Bakoš: *Ibn Sina, Psychologie d'après son oeuvre Aš-Šifā'*, 2 vv., Prague 1956.

We also have an English translation of one of its physical parts: E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, *Avicennae de congelatione lapidum* (i.e. what sometimes passed as the concluding part of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, Book IV), Paris 1927. And we have a French translation of a mathematical chapter by Baron R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe II Avicenne Kitābu 'š-Šifā'* (*Mathématiques*, Chap. XII), Paris 1935.

Two parts of the Latin translation contained in the *Opera philosophica* edition of 1508 have been edited as complete books. They are:

(1) Franciscus de Macerata and Antonius Frachantianus, *Metaphysica Avicenne sive eius prima philosophia optime castigata per . . .*, Venice 1495. If the edition of 1495 (which I have not seen) is identical with the edition of 1508, the explicit of the *Metaphysica* in both editions reads: *Explicit Metaphysica Avicenne sive eius prima philosophia optime castigata et emendata per canonicos regulares sancti Augustini*, etc. In the separate edition the explicit reads: *Explicit metaphysica Avicenne sive eius prima philosophia optime castigata per Reverendum sacre theologie bachelarium fratrem Franciscum de Macerata ordinis minoris et per excellentissimum artium doctorem dominum Antonium frachantianum civentinum*, etc.

The original 'translator' is in both cases indicated as Dominicus Gundisalvi, in the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Cf. also D. Saliba, *Etudes sur la métaphysique d'Avicenne* (Paris 1926?), p. XVIII.

I cannot undertake to determine the claims of the respective editors of the text of Dominicus Gundisalvi, according to which theirs is a *castigata* or *emendata* edition, nor the precise relation of these two editions.

(2) *De animalibus* (= *al-hayawān*) per magistrum Michaellem Scotum de Arabico in Latinum translatus (its incipit reads: *Incipit liber de animalibus Avicennae super libros de animalibus Aristotelis*). The copy which I used (in the Huntington library, Pasadena, Calif.) bears no date or place, but it is obviously an edition identical with the one listed, e.g., in the British Museum catalogue, as published in 1500 (?). It seems to be a translation of the corresponding section of aš-Šifā' (28th section of the *Libri naturales*), according to: Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Les traductions d'Avicenne (Moyen Age et Renaissance)", *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno 354-1957, Quaderno N. 40, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, Avicenna nella storia della cultura medioevale, Relazioni e Discussioni (15 aprile 1955)*, Roma 1957, p. 5-70, esp. p. 82.

And it seems to be identical with the appropriate part of the *Opera philosophica* as described above.

Again I cannot undertake to determine whether these two editions were made from the *Opera philos.* edition of 1495 or whether they are reproductions of the original translations by Dominicus Gundisalvi and Michael Scotus, which, in its turn, the *Opera* edition of 1495, incorporated.

Finally, it is possible that some of the parts of the 1495 edition of the *Opera* are essentially reprints of the Macerata-Frachantianus 'revised' edition, rather than containing the edition 'revised' by the "canonici regulares St. Augustini".

An anastatic reprint of the edition of the *Opera*, 1508, and of the *Metaphysica*, 1495: Louvain 1960.

(II) A kind of abbreviation (excerpts) from the preceding is usually referred to as Nağāt (salvation). It omits mathematics (all four parts), zoology, botany.

Its logical part has been translated by P. Vattier: *La logique du fils de Sina*, Paris 1658.

Its metaphysical part has recently been translated into Latin: Ni'mat Allah Karam (Carame), *Avicennae Metaphysices compendium*, Rome 1926.

Its psychological part has been translated into English: F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology*, London 1952.

(III) A work usually referred to as al-Ḥikmah al-mašriqiya, i.e. oriental wisdom (according to another reading, now generally considered erroneous, illuminative wisdom). The most striking difference between it and the other two encyclopedias is that it adds to the four parts of theoretical philosophy (logic, physics, mathematics, metaphysics) a fifth. It is called general science (kullī). It deals with objects which may or may not be embedded in matter such as unity, multiplicity, universality, particularity. This clearly amounts to the addition of what later will be called *metaphysica generalis* to *metaphysica specialis*, the latter dealing with objects which are never embedded in matter (god, angels, etc.).

Furthermore, Avicenna declares that in the present encyclopedia he will in the theoretical part limit himself to logic, general science (see above), metaphysics, and physics, thus entirely omitting mathematics. And even as far as physics is concerned, he declares that he will limit himself to the general part. It is not clear whether this excludes psychology, but it obviously excludes treatises corresponding to Aristotle's zoological treatises, etc. Furthermore, as to the practical part, Avicenna declares that he will limit himself to problems related to the salvation of the soul, i.e. he will omit politics, economics, etc.

Only part of the first part of this work has been translated. This first part is usually referred to as Mantīq al-mašriqiya (logic of the Orientals). This translation is contained in: C. A. Nallino, "Filosofia 'orientale' or 'illuminativa' d'Avicenna", *Rivista degli studi orientali* 10/4 (1925), p. 433-467, repr. in his *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. 6, Rome 1948, p. 218-256, on p. 243-246 (p. 455-458 of the article).

(IV) A work usually referred to as al-išārāt (directives), according to Nallino perhaps an abbreviation of the preceding. It contains a logical part, a physical part, which includes psychology; and a metaphysical part, which includes what some would classify as mystics.

A modern French translation: A. M. Goichon, *Livre des Directives et Remarques (K. al-Išārāt wal-tanbīhāt)*, Beirut-Paris 1951.

(V) A work written in Persian and usually referred to by its Persian title Danesh (or Danish-) nameh (book of science). A French translation: M. Achena and H. Massé, *Le Livre de science (Dānešnāmeḥ)*, 2 vv. Paris 1955, 1958. The same in a Russian translation: A. M. Bogoutdinow, *Danish-name*, Stalinabad 1957.

It consists of a logical, metaphysical, and physical part (including psychology). A mathematical part has been added by a disciple of Avicenna's.

On the rationale of the several divisions and subdivisions of philosophy see P. Merlan, *From Platonism to Neoplatonism*, 2nd ed., Hague 1960, esp. ch. III.

(B) Others, non-encyclopedic works by Avicenna.

(I) A collection exists in an old Latin translation as *Avicennae Compendium de anima ab Andrea Alpago Bellunensi in lat. versa cum expos. Andreae collectis ab aucloribus arabicis*, Venice 1546.

It contains:

(1) *Compendium de anima* (R. fi quwā an-nafs).

(2) *De mahad, i.e. de dispositione seu loco ad quem revertitur homo vel anima ejus post mortem* (ar-R. al-aḥḥawīya, according to Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *op. cit.*, [above, p. 143], p. 85).

(3) *Aphorismi de anima* (R. fi'n-nafs).

(4) *De definitionibus et quaestis* (R. fi ḥudūd al-ašyā' warusumhā).

(5) *De divisione scientiarum* (Aqsām al-'ulum al-ḥikmiya [‘aqliya]).

Of these, we have a German translation of 1: S. Landauer, "Die Psychologie des Ibn Sinā", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1876), p. 335-418.

Many points made here by Avicenna are of prime importance for the topic of the present investigation. Perhaps a brief review of some of them will be appropriate.

Avicenna's definition of the holy spirit: ... *bei manchen Menschen ist die Denkkraft durch Nachtwachen und durch die Verbindung mit dem universellen Verstande so disponirt, dasz sie bei dem Erkennen von der Zuflucht zu den Schlüssen und zur reiflichen Erwägung abstehen und mit der Inspiration und Offenbarung sich begnügen kann* (p. 410).

He describes the potential intelligence as containing ideas part of which have been acquired without discursive thought (intuitive in this sense of the word), part discursively. Of the former kind are the supreme principles of logic. Of the latter are subordinate logical principles, concepts of physics (which includes psychology), of mathematics (which consists of five parts, viz. the usual four plus optics), of general metaphysics, and of special metaphysics.

About the relation between the potential intelligence and the senses Avicenna says that *durch Dienstbarmachung der Einbildungs- und Urteilskraft* (p. 408) the potential intelligence contemplates ideas (*Vorstellungen*). In so doing, potential intelligence exercises its abstractive powers and forms universal concepts. But it seems that Avicenna tends to minimize the importance of this part of knowledge derived from the senses.

The abstracting of forms by intelligence is presented by Avicenna as a kind of union with them. Furthermore Avicenna stresses that the thinking of these forms can take place at will, in other words, that intelligence can think these forms even in the absence of the sensibles from which it has abstracted them.

Der aktuelle Verstand (i.e. the productive intelligence) *ist nichts anderes als die Formen der intelligiblen Dinge* (p. 409).

Most important is section ten on the *göttliche Emanation* with which the soul is connected and from which it receives forms (in other words, Avicenna here has it both ways: there are forms reached by abstraction and others which are the product of direct illumination). After death, the human soul is united with the divine emanation. This divine emanation, says Avicenna, the philosophers call universal (obviously unique) reason (i.e. intelligence), whereas founders of religion call it divine wisdom.

'What is the purpose of the embodiment of the soul?' Avicenna asks. 'To give her a chance to appropriate that which is nobler and essential in the activities of the lower powers of the soul'.

By this Avicenna obviously means that during her terrestrial sojourn the soul has a chance to acquire some kind of knowledge which she could not unless coupled with a body. But what survives is not the knowledge acquired by the

senses in its original form. Rather, it is only some kind of transfigured knowledge. This, of course, is Avicenna's answer to the Neoplatonic question, why an incarnation of souls is taking place. As we see Avicenna is not at all inclined to assume that this incarnation is a kind of punishment. At the same time, Avicenna in his way interprets the doctrine which we find in Aristotle, viz. that of those psychical activities which the soul exercised *qua* bound to the body (sensation, imagination, memory) nothing survives. But he goes beyond Aristotle in assuming that in some way these activities have not been wasted and that in her future life the soul in some way enjoys the fruits of these activities. Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* IV 3, 25-32; IV 4, 1-12; 30-42; IV 8.

It can immediately be seen that the whole writing is full of problems, motives, and solutions, as they emerged in Greek philosophy and can be traced in writings of Alexander Aphrodisias, Plotinus, Themistius, etc., and as they were discussed throughout the present book.

The whole writing has also been translated into English: E. A. van Dyck, *A Compendium on the Soul by . . . Ibn Sina*, Verona 1906. In his translation, what of knowledge acquired by senses survives after death is "the choicest and purest lye and wash" of the bodily sensations (p. 92). Landauer's translation is less picturesque.

Does all this amount to the assertion of personal immortality? I am by no means sure. The text is strangely inconclusive. I venture to suggest this rule of hermeneutics: If the writing was written at a time, in which it was to be expected that the reader will explicitly ask the question "does this author believe in personal immortality?" then Avicenna on purpose wrote in such a manner that nobody would have the right to say "No" even if Avicenna actually did not believe in it. Quite obviously, had he been a believer in personal immortality, he would have said so quite explicitly, when the circumstances demanded a kind of profession. In other words, the *Compendium on the Soul* would prove that Avicenna did not believe in personal immortality. On the other hand, if there was no such pressure on him demanding a clear cut answer, then I should say that the writing proves Avicenna to have been a believer in personal immortality. He who when asked a *point blanc* question answers in such a manner that the assertion which the question tried to elicit, is contained in the answer only implicitly or expressed weakly, in all probability only tries to hedge. But the same assertion when made occasionally will constitute full proof that it is to be taken at its full face value. There is simply no reason to say *fortissimo* what can be said *pianissimo*.

As to the other writings contained in Alpago's collection, No. 4 has been identified by Holmyard-Mandeville (see above, p. 143) as part of a work usually referred to as *Kitāb* or *Risālat al-Ḥudūd*, the whole of which has been translated by A. M. Goichon as *Épître des définitions* (see below, VI). For the problem whether Avicenna professed the double truth theory, ch. 3 of No. 2 is of prime importance. I am inclined to assume that the text should be interpreted as professing it. Cf. Betzendörfer, *Die Lehre*, 1924 (above, p. 113), p. 41f.

(II) A collection of nine treatises usually referred to as *Tis' rasā'il fi'l ḥikma wa'l-ṭabī'iyāt*. Several passages from five of them, viz.

- (a) al-aḡrām al-'ulwīya (superior bodies)
- (b) R. al-ḥudūd (compendium of definitions)
- (c) Aqsām al-'ulūm al-'aqliya (division of intellectual sciences)
- (d) itbāt al-nubūwa (demonstration of prophecy)
- (e) ar-R. an-Nairūziya (symbolism of letters with which some of the sura of the Koran begin).

in Spanish translation are contained in: M. Cruz Hernández, *Avicenna Sobre Metafísica*, Madrid 1950.

The Arabic titles I simply copied from Brockelmann (*Supplement*, p. 813f.), to facilitate identification. Whether any of these writings correspond to any contained in Alpago's collection I cannot undertake to determine.

(III) Another collection usually referred to as the mystical treatises of Avicenna (a misleading reference, to be sure), or by the Arabic title as *Rasā'il*, has been translated by M. A. F. Mehren: *Traité mystiques d'abou Alī al-Hosain b. Abdallah b. Sīnā ou d'Avicenne*, 4 vv., Leiden. The content of the several volumes is:

(1) (1889): *L'Allégorie mystique Hay ben Yaqzān*. Of this work two more modern translations exist, one in H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, 2 vv., Teheran 1952, 1954, Engl. tr. *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, New York 1960; the other in: A. M. Goichon, *Le récit de Hayy ibn Yaqzān commenté par des textes d'Avicenne*, Paris 1959.

(2) (1891): *Les trois dernières sections de l'ouvrage al Isharāt wa-t-Tanḥībāt . . . et le traité mystique at-Thair (L'Oiseau)*. Of these two, the former is, of course, contained in the translation of *Ishārāt* by Miss Goichon, listed above.

(3) (1894): *Traité sur l'amour (R. fi 'l-'iṣṣq)*. *Traité sur la nature de la prière. Missive sur l'influence produite par la fréquentation des lieux saints et les prières qu'on y fait. Traité sur la délivrance de la crainte de la mort*.

Of these, the first has been translated into English: E. L. Fackenheim, "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina", *Mediaeval Studies* 7 (1945), p. 208-228.

(4) (1894): *Traité sur le destin*.

(IV) Glosses on the *Theologia Aristotelica* in French translation: G. Vajda, "Les notes d'Avicenne sur la 'Théologie d'Aristote'", *Revue Thomiste* 51 (1951), p. 346-406.

(V) A poem on the soul (al-Qaṣīda al-'ainiya) translated by Carra de Vaux: "La Kaṣīdah d'Avicenne sur l'âme", *Journal asiatique*, 9th ser., vol. 14 (1899), p. 157-186; another translation: Mohd. Badruddin Alavi, "Some Aspects of the Literary and Poetical Activities of Avicenna", *Avicenna Commemoration Volume* (Calcutta 1956), p. 65-72, esp. 68-70. In spite of its brevity important, as it seems to pose the question, why souls become embodied, to answer it in an agnostic fashion. It allows the possibility that the embodiment has for its purpose to give the soul a chance to acquire that kind of knowledge for which the use of bodily organs is indispensable, but if I understand the last lines, it raises doubts as to the correctness of this explanation by asking: But what of souls whose earthly life was by some accident cut short (which seems to be the equivalent to the Graeco-Roman concept of ἄωροι and βιαοθάνατοι)?

(VI) R. al-ḥudūd (Missive on definitions): A. -M. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne. Son épître des définitions*, Paris 1933.

(VII) A poem on logic (Qaṣīdah fi'l-mantiq) translated by A. Schmoelders: *Documenta philosophiae Arabum*, Bonn 1836, p. 26-42.

IBN BĀĠĠA (AVEMPACE)

Four of his writings are available in Spanish translations by M. Asín Palacios:

- (1) "Tratado de Avempace sobre la unión del intelecto con el hombre", (i.e. K. ittiṣālu-l-ʿaqli bil-insān), *Al-Andalus* 7 (1942), p. 1-47.
- (2) "La 'Carta de Adiós' de Avempace" (i.e. R. al-wadāʿ), *ibid.*, 8 (1943), p. 1-87.
- (3) *El régimen del solitario* (i.e. K. tadbīr al-mutawahhid), Madrid 1946.

IBN ROSHD (AVERROES)

(I) The most comprehensive edition of the works of *Averroes latinus* seems to be contained in the edition of Aristotle: *Opera omnia*, Venice apud Cominum, 1560.

A complete index of the contents of this edition can be found in: M. Alonso, *Teología de Averroes*, Madrid-Granada 1947, p. 5-11.

Alonso indicates that this Comino edition omits the middle and the short commentary on *Physics*. Of these, the middle commentary can be found in another edition of Aristotle's works: *Opera omnia*, Venice apud Iuntas, 1552.

The works of Averroes here contained are enumerated in: G. Quadri, *La philosophie arabe dans l'Europe médiévale*, Paris 1947, p. 201.

Indispensable to find one's way through the variety of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle is: H. A. Wolfson, "Plan for a Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem", *Speculum* 6 (1931), p. 412-427.

Of these commentaries modern editions are:

F. Stuart Crawford, *Averrois Cordubensis commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, Cambridge, Mass. 1953.

Aemilia L. Shields and Henricus Blumberg, *Averrois Cordubensis Compendia librorum Aristotelis qui Parva naturalia vocantur, ibid.*, 1949.

F. H. Fobes and S. Kurland, *Averrois Cordubensis Commentarium medium in Aristotelis De generatione et corruptione libros, ibid.*, 1956.

Modern translations of these commentaries (of which the so-called short commentaries, as distinguished from middle and from long commentaries, are often called compendium, or paraphrase, or epitome, though the term paraphrase sometimes designates a middle commentary) are:

C. Quirós Rodríguez, *Compendio de metafísica de Averroes*, Madrid 1910.

M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik des Averroes*, Halle 1912.

S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, Leiden 1924.

All three translations are from the Arabic original, referred to as *Ma ba'd at-ṭabī'a* (fi' ltiqāṭ al-aqāwīl al-ʿilmīya min maqālāt Aristū al-mauḏū'a fi 'ilm mā ba'd at-ṭabī'a), i.e. the short commentary of Aristotle's metaphysics.

N. Morata, *El compendio de Anima de Averroes*, Madrid-Granada 1934 (fi iṭbāt aqāwīl al-mufasssīrīn fi 'ilm an-nafs al-muṭābiqa limā qālahū fi' - 'ilm at-ṭabī'i).

S. Kurland, *On Aristotele's De generatione et corruptione: middle commentary and epitome*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958.

H. Blumberg, *Epitome of Parva naturalia, ibid.* 1961.

I must limit myself to simply recording that recently a theory was brought forward, according to which Averroes never wrote a middle commentary and what is or was so called is simply a revised edition of a short commentary. See Ahmed Fouad El Ahwani, *Ibn Rochd, Talkhiṣ Kitāb al nafs*, Cairo 1950.

Of works included in the editions of Aristotle mentioned above one is *De substantia orbis*. Though no modern edition of it exists, there is a modern edition of a commentary on this writing, viz.: M. Alonso, *Alvaro de Toledo, Comentario al 'De substantia orbis' de Averroes*, Madrid 1941, in which probably all of Averroes' text can be found in form of Alvaro's lemmas.

(II) Of Averroes' commentary on Plato's *Republic* we have a modern translation from the Arabic: E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, Cambridge 1956.

(III) There are translations of three treatises by Averroes dealing with the *unio* (*connexio, continuatio*), all from medieval Hebrew translations.

(1) A translation of *De animae beatitudine* (or: *Tractatus de animae beatitudine*) and of the *Epistula de connectione* (or: *Libellus seu epistula Averrois de connectione intellectus abstracti cum homine*) by J. Hercz: *Drei Abhandlungen über die Conjunction des separaten Intellects mit dem Menschen von Averroes* (Vater und Sohn).

(2) Part (viz. two of eight proofs) of another essay by Averroes on the same topic has been translated by L. Hannes: *Des Averroes Abhandlung über die Möglichkeit der Conjunction oder über den materiellen Intellekt*, Halle 1892.

(3) *De animae beatitudine* has been incorporated into Rabbi Gershon Ben Shlomoh's *The Gate of Haven*. A modern English translation of this Hebrew translation is under way. See F. Bodenheimer, *Rabbi Gershon Ben Shlomoh's The Gate of Heaven*, Jerusalem 1953, p. 83 with note ***.

(IV) Averroes' refutation of al-Ġazzālī's attack on philosophy which he called *Tahāfut* (roughly: destruction), referred to as *Tahāfut at-Tahāfut* has been translated into German by M. Horten: *Die Hauptlehren*, and into English by S. van den Bergh: *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, 2 vv., Oxford 1954.

(V) Three treatises by Averroes dealing mainly with the relation between philosophy and religion (and of decisive importance as to the problem whether Averroes professed the double truth theory and denied personal immortality) have been translated into German by M. J. Müller: *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes*, München 1875; into English by Mohammad Jamil-ur-Rehman, *The Philosophy and Theology of Averroes*, Barod n.d. (1921); into Spanish by M. Alonso in his: *Teología de Averroes*, Madrid-Granada 1947.

The titles of the three treatises in the English translation read:

(a) A Decisive Discourse on the Delineation of the Relation between Religion and Philosophy (K. faṣl al-maqāl fimā bain aš-šarī'a walḥikma min al-ittiṣāl).

(b) (Often referred to as Appendix): On the Problem of Eternal Knowledge which Averroes has mentioned in his Decisive Discourse (Ḍamīmat al-mas'ala allatī dakarahā Abu 'l-Walīd fi faṣl al-maqāl)

(c) An exposition of the Methods of Argument Concerning the Doctrines of Faith, and a Determination of Doubts and Misleading Innovations Brought into the Faith through Interpretations (K. al-kaṣf 'an manāhiġ al-adilla fi 'aqā'id al-milla wa ta'rīf mā waqa'a fihā biḥasb at-ta'wīl min aš-šubah al-muzayyifa wa'l-bida' al-muḏilla).

For short these three treatises are often referred to as *Faṣl*, *Ḍamīma*, and *Kaṣf*.

The first two treatises have also been translated into French by L. Gauthier: *Traité décisif (Faṣl el-maqal)*, 3rd ed., Algiers 1948.

(VI) H. A. Wolfson, "Averroes Lost Treatises on the Prime Mover", *The Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1950-51), p. 683-710.

(VII) J. Freudenthal, "Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles", *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften aus dem Jahre 1884*, Berlin 1885.

ADDENDA:

Ad al-Fārābī:

Necati Lugal and Aydin Sayli, Fārābī's *Article on Vacuum*, Ankara 1951 (with Engl. tr.).

D. M. Dunlop, "Al-Farabi's Paraphrase of the *Categories* of Aristotle", *The Islamic Quarterly* 4 (1957/8), p. 168-197; 5 (1959), p. 37-54.

M. Alonso Alonso, "El 'Kitab Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam' de al-Fārābī", *Al-Andalus* 25 (1960), p. 1-40 (with Catalan tr).

p. 140 between lines 5 and 6 add:

Latin translation of (1) by John of Seville and of (2) by Gundissalinus are contained in G. Camerarius, *Alpharabii... opera omnia* (Paris, 1638).

p. 140 between lines 10 and 11 add:

English translation of (4) and (5), Anonymous, *Al-Fārābī, Mabadi' al-falsafābi al-quādīmah* (Cairo, 1910). Latin translation in A. Schmolders, *Documenta philosophiae Arabum* (Bonn, 1836). Part of (5) in medieval Latin translation in M. Cruz Hernandez, "'El fontes quaestionum'..." *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, 25/26 (1950/1), pp. 303-323. See also below under VIII.

p. 140 after (II) add:

Part of it translated into Spanish: M. Alonso Alonso S.J., "Al-Madīna al-Fādila' du Abū Nasr al-Fārābī", *Al-Andalus* 26/27 (1962), pp. 181-227.

p. 140 after (III) add:

see also G. Graf, "Farabis Iraktat 'über die Leitung'", *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* 16 (1902), pp. 385-406.

p. 140 after (IV) add:

Part related to mathematics translated into German in E. Wiedermann "Über al-Fārābīs Aufzählung der Wissenschaften (De Scientiis)", *SB der physikalisch-medizinischen Societät in Erlangen* (Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften XI), vol. 39 (1907), pp. 74-101. From Ibn-Aknīn large parts in German tr. in M. Gudemann (ed.), "Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der Islamisch-Arabischen Periode (Wien, 1873) from Ibn-Aknīn, *Jibt al-Nufūs*.

p. 140 replace entry (VI) by:

(VI) *De Beatitudine assequenda* (K. taḥṣīl as-sa'āda). The first part deals with beatitude, the second with Plato (Falsafat Aflātun), the third with Aristotle (Falsafat Aristūtālīs). Translated into English: Muhsin Mahdi, *Alfarabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (Glencoe, Ill., 1962). The second has been edited with a Latin translation: F. Rosenthal and R. Walzer, *Alfarabi de Platonis philosophia* (Plato Arabus 2), London, 1942.

p. 141 add after last line:

(XVIII) On the appearance of philosophy or (In the name of philosophy and the reason for its appearance) K. fi zuhūr al-falsafah or K. fi in M. Meyerhof, "Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad...", *SB der Preussischen Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, (Berlin, 1930), pp. 389-429.

(XIX) Dr. H. Salman "The Medieval Latin translations of Alfarabi's

Works, "The New Scholasticism 13 (1939), pp. 245-261 contains excerpts (K. sharā'it al-burhan).

Ad Avicenna:

I have not seen: G. C. Anawati, *Avicenne, Métaphysique du Shifā'*, trad. française, Montreal 1952-4 (mimeograph).

Translations of various texts (among them of V), mostly mentioned above:

A. J. Arberry, *Avicenna on Theology*, London 1951

A. Bausani, *Avicenna, Opera poetica*, Rome 1956

H. Jahier and A. Nouredine, *Anthologie de textes poétiques attribués à Avicenna*, Alger 1960.

p. 147 add after line 2:

(c) tr. by Muhsin Mahdi, in Lerner & Mahdi (above p. 141, IV).

(d) tr. by M. E. Marmura, *ibid.* Its concluding part in my opinion clearly denies personal immortality, if by this is meant a condition after death and recognizes personal immortality only as a specific condition (quality) of this life.

p. 148 after line 7:

Parts of it translated into English by L. Berman in Lerner & Mahdi (above, p. 140, IV).

(4) K. al-Nabāt, "Avempace botánico" *Al-Andalus* 5 (1940), pp. 255-299 esp. 279-299.

Ad al-Fārābī and Avicenna:

Some of their texts mentioned above are translated in: M. Cruz Hernández, *La metafísica de Avicenna*, Granada 1949.

Ad Ibn Bāḡḡa:

An English translation of (3): D.M. Dunlop in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1945, p. 61-81.

Ad Averroes:

The Latin translation of Tahāfut at-Tahāfut by Calo Calonymos has been edited by Beatrice H. Zedler, Milwaukee, Wisc. 1961.

The Latin translation of Ḍamīma by R. Martin (in his *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*) has been reprinted by M. Alonso in his *Teología de Averroes*, Madrid-Granada 1947.

An English translation of Faṣl, Ḍamīma, and part of Kaṣf: G. F. Hourani, *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, London 1961.