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Résumés/Abstracts 7

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCES AND THEOLOGY
IN THE ISLAMICATE WORLD OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Proceedings of the Conference held in Beirut, October 21-22, 2019

Edited by Emma GANNAGÉ with the collaboration of
Pauline KOETSCHET and Elvira WAKELNIG

Introduction Emma GANNAGÉ, Pauline KOETSCHET and Elvira WAKELNIG	19
Hybrid Vigor as a Metaphor for Creative Overlapping Traditions in Early Islamic Intellectual History George SALIBA	27
Arabic Zoology and the <i>tashīr</i> Question Guillaume DE VAULX D'ARCY	47
Al-Kindī on Composition, Three-Dimensionality and Body Emma GANNAGÉ	73
A Lively Debate on Matter and Body before (and after?) Avicenna Part One Andreas LAMMER	97
From Paul the Persian to al-Fārābī: The Evolution of the Reading Order of Aristotle's Books on Natural Science in the Early Abbasid Context Jawdath JABBOUR	123

New Arabic Evidence on the Division of Medicine A Text in the Margin of MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2859, the Alexandrians’ Summaries of Galen, Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Galenic Commentaries, and Ḥunayn’s <i>Medical Questions</i> Ruth HAMMERSCHMIED and Elvira WAKELNIG	183
Bibliography	217
* * *	
The Arabo-Latin Tradition of the <i>De clysteribus</i> Nicholas AUBIN	233
Les définitions de la grammaire et de ses parties par Bar Hebræus Georges BOHAS	317
Al-Yānyawī’s Prologue to the <i>Translation of the Most Luminous Commentary on Logic: A Short Philosophical Manifesto</i> Teymour MOREL	331
Les constructions érémitiques dans le Ṭūr ‘Abdīn et la figure de Mor Barṣawmo : architecture et phénomène culturel Alexandre VARELA EXPÓSITO	363
<i>Spolia</i> chrétiens dans des églises médiévales du Liban Lévon NORDIGUIAN	397
* * *	
NOTULES	
<i>Nouvelles découvertes dans les manuscrits en langue syriaque et arabe</i>	
Deux manuscrits jumeaux du <i>Tārīḥ al-ḥukamā’</i> (extraits) de Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifṭī: Paris, BnF, Arabe 5889 et Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 988 Sarah MALOBERTI	427
* * *	
RECENSION	
Jawdath JABBOUR (2021), <i>De la matière à l’intellect. L’âme et la substance de l’homme dans l’œuvre d’al-Fārābī</i> , (Études musulmanes) Vrin, Paris, 2021, 466 pages incl. indices Rosabel ANSARI	439

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Résumés/Abstracts

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCES AND THEOLOGY
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Hybrid Vigor as a Metaphor for Creative Overlapping Traditions in Early Islamic Intellectual History

George SALIBA

La notion d'hybridité était bien connue de la civilisation islamique que ce soit dans le règne animal ou végétal, illustrée notamment par l'exemple de la génération de mules, en général stériles, à partir de l'accouplement d'un âne et d'une jument. Cet article montre qu'al-Ġaḥiẓ (m. 869 CE) était même au fait de la possibilité d'une forme d'hybridité dont le résultat du processus d'hybridation s'avère supérieur aux parents. Il en donne pour exemple le cas, dans le règne animal, du pigeon *rā'ibī* qui est plus gros que son père, le *warsān* (pigeon des bois) et que sa mère, le pigeon ordinaire, devenant ainsi une variété supérieure aux deux espèces dont il est le produit. Sur le plan intellectuel et culturel, l'auteur de l'article, utilise la notion d'hybridité comme une métaphore pour expliquer comment la civilisation islamique naissante a réussi à produire une synthèse plus vigoureuse que les deux traditions dont elle est l'héritière. Cette hybridité est illustrée par le cas de 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 964 CE), qui a essayé de superposer en une seule et même représentation des constellations célestes, la tradition grecque et la culture arabe traditionnelle.

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The notion of hybridity was well known in early Islamic civilization both in the animal and plant kingdoms, notably exemplified by the generation of mostly sterile mules from horses and donkeys. This article shows that al-Ġaḥiẓ (d. 869 CE) was even aware of the possibility of another form of hybridity in which the product resulting from the process of hybridization is superior to the parents. He offers examples of it in the animal kingdom when he cites the case of the *rā'ibī* (pigeon) being bigger than its father, the *warsān* (wood pigeon), and its mother, the common pigeon, thereby becoming a superior variety to the already existing species that produced it. On the intellectual and cultural level, the author proposes to use the concept of 'hybrid vigor' as a metaphor to explain how early Islamic civilization managed to initiate a new cultural production that mainly surpassed the earlier traditions it came to inherit. This

'hybrid vigor' is best exemplified by the case of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šūfī (d. 964 CE), who was trying to forge for the celestial constellations a similar vigor hybridity generated by the incoming Greek scientific and philosophical tradition with the already existing native tradition applied to the representation of such constellations.

Arabic Zoology and the *tashīr* Question

Guillaume DE VAULX D'ARCY

Cet article part à la recherche des sources philosophiques de la position d'al-Ġazālī sur les animaux telle qu'elle est exprimée dans *Al-Ḥikma fī maḥlūqāt Allāh*. Dans quelle mesure le théologien a-t-il lu la littérature zoologique et philosophique pour écrire ces chapitres consacrés au règne animal ? Un tel parcours, qui nous ramènera au troisième/neuvième siècle, manifeste l'existence d'une influence inverse : celle du dogme coranique de la domination de l'animal par l'homme (*al-tashīr*) sur l'histoire de la taxinomie.

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This article traces the philosophical source of al-Ġazālī's theological position on animals. To which extant are the chapters on animals in *Al-Ḥikma fī maḥlūqāt Allāh* informed by the zoological and philosophical literature that he may have read? Such a journey back to the formative period of Islamic sciences reveals an opposite influence: that of the Qur'anic dogma of animal subjugation to man (*al-tashīr*) on the history of animal taxonomy.

Al-Kindī on Composition, Three-Dimensionality and Body

Emma GANNAGÉ

Le traité d'al-Kindī *Sur la philosophie première* inclut une définition du corps comme une substance « ayant trois dimensions » que le philosophe décrit en termes de composition : le corps est une espèce de la substance, il est donc « composé de la substance, qui est son genre, et du long, du large et du profond qui sont sa différence ». Il est un corps, du fait qu'« il est aussi (*wa-huwa*) composé d'une matière et d'une forme ». Suivant la manière dont on lit *wa-huwa* on peut se demander si al-Kindī admet une correspondance entre la composition du genre et de la différence propre à la définition et la composition hylémorphique du corps. Cela impliquerait d'identifier la différence, ici 'les dimensions', avec la forme substantielle du corps en tant que composé hylémorphique. La première partie de l'article s'intéresse à la manière dont al-Kindī conçoit la tridimensionnalité comme forme du corps et donc comme substance à partir de laquelle le corps, en tant que composé hylémorphique, dérive sa substantialité. Cela n'empêche qu'ailleurs, dans le même traité, al-Kindī considère, le long, le large et le profond comme des « parties accidentelles » du corps vivant. Dans quelle mesure cela ne contredit pas ce qui précède, fait l'objet de la seconde partie. Enfin, la troisième partie de l'article montre comment al-Kindī identifie la différence de la substance composée avec la forme substantielle du composé hylémorphique dans la mesure où elle spécifie la substance.

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On First Philosophy includes a definition of body as “a three-dimensional substance,” that al-Kindī explained in terms of composition: body is a species of the genus substance and hence it “is composed of substance which is its genus and of long-wide-deep which is its differentia.” Yet it is a body in that “it is *also* (*wa-huwa*) composed of matter and form.” Depending on how we read the conjunction *wa-huwa* in this quote one can wonder whether al-Kindī assumes a one-to-one correspondence between the definitional composition by genus and differentia and the hylomorphic composition of body. That would entail identifying the differentia, here ‘dimensions’, with the substantial form of the body as a hylomorphic compound. The first section of this article addresses al-Kindī’s conception of three-dimensionality as the form of body and hence as a substance from which body as a hylomorphic compound, draws its substantiality. Nevertheless, elsewhere in *On First Philosophy*, al-Kindī still characterizes length, width and depth as “accidental parts” of a living body. Why this does not entail a contradiction is the object of the second section. Finally, the third section of the article shows how al-Kindī identifies the differentia of the compound substance with the substantial form of the hylomorphic compound insofar as it specifies the substance.

A Lively Debate on Matter and Body before (and after ?) Avicenna – Part One Andreas LAMMER

Cet article enquête sur la poursuite, en arabe, d’un débat grec au sujet de la corporalité ou pas de la matière. Dans ses œuvres de maturité, le philosophe chrétien Jean Philopon a soutenu que la conception péripatéticienne commune d’une matière première incorporelle devait être rejetée sur des bases tant épistémologiques que physiques, arguant que la matière était elle-même tri-dimensionnelle et donc corporelle. Avicenne a, par la suite, adopté la position péripatéticienne d’une matière première incorporelle, malgré la critique de Philopon. Le point de vue d’Avicenne peut être considéré comme une potentielle réponse directe à la nouvelle conception de Philopon, d’autant plus s’il était avéré que la critique de Philopon était connue des philosophes arabes qui ont précédé Avicenne et qu’elle aurait si ce n’est provoqué, du moins influencé, un débat dans la tradition philosophique islamique précisément sur la nature de la matière et du corps. Investiguant plusieurs textes clés grecs, syriaques et arabes qui ont contribué à façonner la conception de la matière et du corps dans l’antiquité tardive et les débuts de la pensée islamique, cet article examine l’hypothèse que des traces d’un tel débat existent et essaie d’en apporter les preuves. De surcroît, les résultats de cet article pourraient aussi nous aider à comprendre les critiques les plus anciennes de la position d’Avicenne, dans la tradition post-avicéniennne, étant donné que celles-ci peuvent être aussi considérées comme la poursuite de ce même débat. Cette contribution constitue la première partie d’un article dont la deuxième partie sera publiée dans un prochain numéro des *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*.

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This article searches for the Arabic continuation of a Greek debate about whether matter is already corporeal. In his mature works, the sixth century Christian philosopher John Philoponus prominently argued that the common Peripatetic conception of an incorporeal prime matter should be rejected on both epistemological and physical grounds, claiming that matter itself was three-dimensional and, thus, corporeal. Avicenna later adopted the Peripatetic position

of an incorporeal prime matter despite Philoponus' criticism. Yet, Avicenna's discussion could be regarded as a potentially direct response to the novel position of Philoponus, especially if it could be shown that the latter's critique was known among Arabic scholars prior to Avicenna and that it had spurred, or at least influenced, a debate within the Islamic philosophical tradition precisely on the nature of matter and body. Investigating several key texts in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic that were influential in shaping the late ancient and early Arabic conception of matter and body, this article probes the assumption that traces of such a debate can, indeed, be found and attempts to provide evidence of it. What is more, the results of this article may inform also our understanding of the earliest criticisms of Avicenna's position in the post-Avicennian tradition as these, too, could be seen as a continuation of the earlier debate. The article is being published in two parts in this and in a subsequent issue of the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*.

From Paul the Persian to al-Fārābī: The Evolution of the Reading Order of Aristotle's Books on Natural Science in the Early Abbasid Context

Jawdath JABBOUR

On considère généralement que la pensée d'al-Fārābī représente la première tentative dans le contexte arabo-islamique de dresser une réflexion globale sur l'architecture du savoir — au sein de laquelle la question de la structure de la philosophie elle-même est centrale — dont les prémisses s'appuient sur des critères épistémologiques. Ce rôle fondateur a cependant toujours été abordé sans le replacer dans le contexte de la réflexion des philosophes arabo-islamiques sur l'architecture du savoir au début de l'époque abbasside (IX^e-X^e siècles). Cette contribution s'intéresse à plusieurs des classifications des œuvres naturelles d'Aristote accessibles en arabe à cette période. Son but est de mettre en évidence la solidité et la continuité, dans les contextes intellectuels de l'Antiquité tardive et du début de l'Islam, de plusieurs de leurs caractéristiques, ainsi que d'étudier les variations introduites par ces classifications dans l'architecture de la connaissance naturelle théorique. Cette approche vise en même temps à relier ces variations aux problèmes philosophiques qui sont restés constants dans la transmission de la philosophie, « d'Alexandrie à Bagdad » ; le plus essentiel étant la question de la nature de l'âme et de son rapport à la matière.

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It is generally considered that al-Fārābī's thought presents the first attempt in the Arabo-Islamic context to build a global reflection on the architecture of knowledge, in which the structure of philosophy itself occupies a central place, and which is grounded on epistemological criteria. This foundational role, however, has always been addressed without placing it back within the context of the Arabo-Islamic philosophers' reflection on the architecture of knowledge in the early Abbasid era (9th – 10th centuries). This paper focuses on several of the classifications of Aristotle's natural works accessible in Arabic at this period. Its purpose is to highlight the soundness and continuity of many of their features throughout the Late antique and Early Islamic intellectual contexts, as well as to study the variations introduced by these classifications within the architecture of theoretical natural knowledge. This study aims, at the same time, to relate these variations to philosophical problems that remained constant in

the transmission of philosophy “from Alexandria to Baghdad,” the most essential one being the question of the nature of the soul and its relation to matter.

New Arabic Evidence on the Division of Medicine. A Text in the Margin of MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2859, the Alexandrians’ Summaries of Galen, Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Galenic Commentaries, and Ḥunayn’s *Medical Questions*

Ruth HAMMERSCHMIED and Elvira WAKELNIG

La page de titre d’un manuscrit parisien contenant la traduction arabe de traités de Galien présente une division de la médecine ajoutée par une main tardive. Cette division est basée sur du matériel lié aux deux ouvrages galéniques *Sur les écoles (de sectis)* et *La Méthode thérapeutique dédiée à Glaucon (ad Glauconem de methodo medendi)*, mais ne peut être identifiée à aucun modèle particulier de division conservé en grec. Elle offre en revanche des parallèles remarquables avec l’introduction à la médecine la plus connue en arabe, à savoir, les *Questions médicales* de Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, et apparaît, presque littéralement, au début de la version abrégée du résumé alexandrin de *Sur les écoles* composée par Ibn al-Ṭayyib. L’article présente une édition et une traduction de cette division de la médecine, et étudie ses relations avec d’autres divisions conservées en grec, en latin et en arabe. La conclusion qui s’impose est que la source ultime de la division présentée remonte à l’Antiquité tardive.

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On the title page of a Paris manuscript containing the Arabic translation of Galenic treatises, a later hand has added a division of medicine. This division draws on material related to Galen’s *On Sects* and *Therapeutics to Glaucon* but cannot be linked to any particular model preserved in Greek. However, it shows remarkable parallels to the most famous introduction to medicine in Arabic, that is, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s *Medical Questions*, and appears, almost verbatim, at the beginning of Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s *Résumé of the Alexandrian Summary of On Sects*. The article presents an edition and translation of this division of medicine, and studies its relations to other divisions preserved in Greek, Latin and Arabic. The conclusion that suggests itself is that the ultimate source of the division at stake goes back to Late Antiquity.

* * *

The Arabo-Latin tradition of the *De clisteribus*

Nicholas AUBIN

Cette étude de la tradition arabo-latine de l’œuvre (pseudo-) galénique *Kitāb al-ḥuqan wa-l-qawlanġ (De clisteribus et colica)* examine les citations arabes, les paraphrases et les témoignages du texte qui ont survécu, et les compare à la version arabo-latine contenue dans deux manuscrits de la fin du Moyen Âge dont l’auteur offre une édition critique. L’article inclus aussi une édition critique et une traduction en anglais du seul résumé arabe indépendant préservé de cette œuvre par le médecin et philosophe Abū al-Faraġ b. al-Ṭayyib. Cet article montre comment divers penseurs, dont al-Rāzī et Maïmonide, ont pu utiliser et adapter la même œuvre galénique de différentes manières, pour répondre à divers besoins pédagogiques et produire des œuvres dans des genres variés.

In this study of the Arabo-Latin tradition of the (Pseudo-) Galenic work *Kitāb al-ḥuqan wal-qawlanġ* (*De clisteribus et colica*), I examine the surviving Arabic quotations, paraphrases and testimonia of the text, and collate these with a critical edition of the Arabo-Latin version contained in two late-medieval manuscripts. I also give a critical edition and English translation of the only surviving self-contained Arabic summary of the work by the prolific physician and philosopher Abū al-Faraġ b. al-Ṭayyib. This article shows how various thinkers, including al-Rāzī and Maimonides, were able to use and adapt the same Galenic work in different ways, to suit various pedagogical needs and to create works in a variety of genres.

Les définitions de la grammaire et de ses parties par Bar Hebræus

Georges BOHAS

Dans cet article je tente de montrer comment Bar Hebræus fusionne la tradition grammaticale grecque et la tradition arabe en étudiant la définition de la grammaire et de ses parties. Sont successivement abordées, après la définition de la grammaire, la définition du mot, celle du nom, puis du verbe et de la particule, et enfin celle de la morphophonologie et de la phonétique, en mettant en regard le texte de Bar Hebræus avec celui d'al-Zamaḥṣarī qui semble bien être sa source arabe de référence.

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In this article I attempt to demonstrate how Bar Hebræus fused the Greek and Arabic grammatical traditions in the study of the definition of grammar and its parts. I successively address the definition of grammar, the definition of the word, that of the noun, then that of the verb and the particle, and finally the definitions of morphophonology and phonetics, comparing the text of Bar Hebræus with that of al-Zamaḥṣarī which seems to be his Arabic reference source.

Al-Yānyawī's Prologue to the *Translation of the Most Luminous Commentary on Logic*: A Short Philosophical Manifesto

Teymour MOREL

Le polymathe ottoman Yanyalı Esad Efendi, alias As'ad al-Yānyawī, l'un des principaux savants de l'époque d'Ahmed III et de son grand vizir İbrahim Paşa (xii^e/xviii^e s.), est fameux pour avoir traduit en arabe, sous forme paraphrastique, des commentaires à la *Logique* et à la *Physique* d'Aristote par Ioannes Cottunius (m. 1658), de l'école de Padoue. Sa *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique* participe, à cet égard, d'un projet de retour à la pensée aristotélicienne pour lequel il reçut l'appui des plus hautes instances de l'Empire. Mais qu'est-ce qui se trouvait exactement derrière cette entreprise de revivification d'une tradition philosophique, délaissée depuis longtemps en Islam au profit de la tradition avicennienne et des courants nés dans son sillage ? Pour répondre à une telle question, un élément clé est le prologue de cette traduction dans lequel al-Yānyawī nous donne des indications précieuses sur les motivations de son entreprise de refondation et sur le mode opératoire qu'il adopta. Parmi les points centraux de son exposé se trouve notamment une critique de la philosophie

islamique qui semble être tirée à la fois d'al-Ġazālī et d'Averroès. Cet article propose une édition critique accompagnée d'une traduction commentée de la première partie du prologue, où est exposé le projet d'al-Yānyawī.

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The Ottoman polymath Yanyalı Esad Efendi, aka As'ad al-Yānyawī, one of the leading scholars of the reign of Ahmed III and his Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa (12th/18th c.), is famous for producing Arabic paraphrastic translations of commentaries on Aristotle's *Logic* and *Physics* by Ioannes Cottunius (d. 1658), of the School of Padua. Al-Yānyawī's *Translation of the Most Luminous Commentary on Logic* was part of a project to return to Aristotelian thought, for which he received the support of the highest authorities of the Empire. What were the precise motivations behind this undertaking to revive a philosophical tradition that had long been neglected in Islam in favor of the Avicennan tradition and the philosophical currents born in its wake? A critical element to answer this question is found in the prologue to this translation, where al-Yānyawī provides us with valuable insights into his motivations and his *modus operandi* concerning the refoundation enterprise. Among the central points of his presentation is a critique of Islamic philosophy that seems to be drawn from al-Ġazālī and Averroes. This article offers a critical edition with an annotated translation of the first part of the prologue, where al-Yānyawī's project is outlined.

Les constructions érémitiques dans le Ṭūr 'Abdīn (Turquie du Sud-est) et la figure de Mor Barṣawmo: Architecture et phénomène cultuel

Alexandre VARELA EXPÓSITO

La région du Ṭūr 'Abdīn, au sud-est de l'actuelle Turquie est un des lieux les plus importants du christianisme d'expression syriaque. Parmi les nombreuses églises et monastères de la région, nombre d'édifices sont dédiés à Mor Barṣawmo, un ascète du v^e siècle. Dans cet article, on analysera de quelle manière cette figure est devenue le saint patron de certaines églises dévolues à la pratique de l'ascétisme et de la vie érémitique. Dans la seconde partie de ce travail, on présentera un catalogue des églises et monastères dédiés à Mor Barṣawmo et on mettra en regard leurs caractéristiques communes afin d'établir le panorama d'un phénomène cultuel qui semble apparaître dans la région aux alentours du XII^e siècle.

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In today's Southeastern Turkey, the Ṭūr 'Abdīn region is one of the most important places for Syriac Christianity. Among the numerous churches and monasteries in this area, several buildings are dedicated to Mor Barṣawmo, an ascetic saint from the fifth century. This paper analyses how this figure became the patron saint of some churches dedicated to ascetic and eremitic religious practices. The second part of the paper includes a catalogue of churches and monasteries dedicated to Mor Barṣawmo and compares the material characteristics they share to establish a map of a cult phenomenon that seems to appear after the twelfth century in the region.

Spolia chrétiens dans des églises médiévales du Liban

Lévon NORDIGUIAN

Dans la partie libanaise du comté de Tripoli certaines églises intègrent dans leur maçonnerie des blocs gravés de croix employés souvent sans tenir compte de leur orientation normale. Il s'agit donc de *spolia* chrétiens. Cette étude s'intéresse plus particulièrement à un groupe de blocs où la croix est nettement décalée vers l'une de leurs extrémités. Nous les interprétons comme étant à l'origine des stèles funéraires provenant du dépouillement de tombes de l'époque protobyzantine. Si notre hypothèse est avérée, elle ouvrirait un nouveau champ de recherches archéologique.

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In the Lebanese part of the county of Tripoli, some churches integrate in their masonry many blocks engraved with crosses often used without taking into account their normal orientation. They are thus Christian *spolia*. This study is concerned, specifically, with a group of blocks in which the cross is clearly shifted towards one of their ends. We interpreted these as being originally funerary steles of despoiled tombs from the proto-byzantine period. Should our hypothesis turn out to be valid, it would open a new field of archaeological research.

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NOTULES

*Nouvelles découvertes dans les manuscrits
en langues syriaque et arabe*

Deux manuscrits jumeaux du *Tārīḥ al-ḥukamā'* (extraits) de Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifṭī: Paris, BnF, Arabe 5889 et Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kutuphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 988

Sarah MALOBERTI

Les manuscrits Paris, BnF, Arabe 5889 et Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 988, qui renferment le *Tārīḥ al-ḥukamā'* (Histoire des philosophes) de Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifṭī (568/1172 – 646/1248), se révèlent être des manuscrits jumeaux. Le présent article se penche sur les inscriptions et les éléments codicologiques permettant d'affirmer leur gémellité. Il est également question d'une troisième copie qui aurait pu servir de modèle commun. Certains éléments indiquent par ailleurs que le grand vizir Râgıp Paşa (1111- 1176/1699-1763) est le dénominateur commun entre ces manuscrits.

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The manuscripts Paris, BnF, Arabe 5889 and Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 988 that include *Tārīḥ al-ḥukamā'* (History of the Philosophers) by Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū al-

Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifī (568/1172 – 646/1248), turn out to be twin manuscripts. This article investigates the inscriptions and the codicological elements that support the thesis of their twinship. A third copy which could have been the model common to both is also being addressed. Moreover, certain elements point to the Grand Vizier Râgıp Paşa (1111-1176/1699-1763) as the common denominator between these two manuscripts.

Philosophy, Sciences and Theology
in the Islamicate World of the Ninth Century

*Proceedings of the Conference held in Beirut,
October 21-22, 2019*

Edited by
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with the collaboration of
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Introduction

Emma GANNAGÉ, Pauline KOETSCHET
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The articles gathered in this issue stem from a conference on “Philosophy, Sciences and Theology in the Islamicate World of the Ninth Century,” co-organized by Emma Gannagé (AUB), Pauline Koetschet (IFPO) and Elvira Wakelnig (University of Vienna) and held in Beirut on October 21-22, 2019. The conference was jointly supported by the Farouk Jabre Centre for Arabic and Islamic Science and Philosophy at the American University of Beirut and the joint project “Galen in Arabic (GAIA) – More than a Translation,” with the participation of the Department of Philosophy at AUB and the Institut français du Proche-Orient (IFPO).

The joint project GAIA had started off just a few months before our conference was held, with Pauline Koetschet and Elvira Wakelnig as principal co-investigators. Its focus was on the reception of the Galenic epistemology in the Arabic and Islamic world of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the considerable role that it played in the developing fields of philosophy (*falsafa*) and Islamic theology (*kalām*). Standing at the cross-roads of the history of Graeco-Arabic medicine, Arabic philosophy and theology, one of its main objectives was to reassess the importance of the ninth century in the rise of *falsafa* and the parallel development of the sciences, especially of medicine, closely associated with the Arabic reception of the Greek tradition. Another objective was to show how the boundaries between scientific disciplines such as medicine and philosophy were constantly crossed in the Middle Ages. At about the same time, in October 2018, the Farouk Jabre Center for Arabic and Islamic Science and Philosophy was launched at the American University of Beirut with George Saliba as a founding director. The mission of the center is to foster and produce research on Arabic and Islamic science and Philosophy at AUB and in the Arab world at large by supporting and hosting research projects, postdocs and doctoral students, hosting scholars in residence and visiting researchers, organizing conferences, lectures, workshops and seminars.

* We would like to express our deepest gratitude to Rosabel Ansari and Sara Mrouwe for their gracious and valuable assistance in the editorial process.

The conference brought together eleven international speakers on topics ranging from “Cultural and Philosophical Interactions between Byzantium and the Abbasid Empire” (Christophe Erismann) to “The Epistemology of Sign Theories: between Medicine and ‘ilm al-kalām” (Gregor Schwarb).¹ It aimed at investigating points of contact between *falsafa*, the scientific tradition and early kalam during the formative period. The focus on the ninth century was meant to enable us to examine how creative appropriations of past theories and new ideas crystallized to meet new intellectual challenges in a period in which these interactions were particularly intense. The papers published here reflect these interests and present a coherent set of original contributions arranged according to three axes: 1) The formative period; 2) Physics and metaphysics, matter and body: al-Kindī and beyond; 3) Epistemology: the reception of the reading order of Aristotle’s books and the division of medicine from Late Antiquity to Classical Islam.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD: A SHARED RATIONALITY AND A NEW CHANNEL OF TRANSMISSION

The first part of these proceedings, dominated by the monumental figure of al-Ġāhiz (d. 868-69), highlights the early formative period characterized at the same time by the emergence of the secular scientific disciplines with their distinctive methodologies, scope and sources and yet a strong interaction with religious sciences, chief among them theology. A similar rationality pervaded religious and secular sciences alike, and in one and the same source, be it al-Ġāhiz’s *Ḥayāwān*, al-Kindī’s *On First Philosophy* or, slightly later, the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, one can find testimonies of the theological debates of the time intertwined with Aristotelian or Platonic philosophical theses.

Using ‘hybrid vigor’ as a metaphor to describe the intellectual context of the nascent Islamic civilization, George Saliba explains in his contribution (“Hybrid Vigor as a Metaphor for Creative Overlapping Traditions in Early Islamic Intellectual History”) how early Islamic civilization managed to produce a robust new and original culture stemming from the two traditions to which it was indebted, that is, on the one hand, the native Arabic literary culture and on the other, the Greek heritage, that it nevertheless did not absorb without submitting it first to a powerful critique. Such a

¹ In addition to Basim Musallem on “Ġāhiz and Aristotle,” Pauline Koetschet on “A Ninth Century *Timaeus*. Galen’s Synopsis in Arabic” and Ziad Bou Akl on “New Fragments of an Early Tenth Century Sunni Doxography: al-Qalānisi’s *Maqālāt*” as well as the scholars whose contributions are published in these proceedings and are being introduced below.

‘hybrid vigor’ is best exemplified in the works of al-Ġāhiz who was, in effect, elaborating a powerful synthesis between “the all-important incoming tradition of Greek translated philosophical and scientific texts” and “the much vaster native Arabic literary tradition” with which “he was mostly acquainted through its storehouses of folklore and poetic memory.” Al-Ġāhiz did not only compare and combine both traditions, he actually submitted both of them to extensive scrutiny and a thorough critique, not taking any account at face-value but verifying their respective sources, often against each other.

It is precisely in the discussion of one such case, namely al-Ġāhiz’s critique of Aristotle’s account of the so-called “cinnamon bird” (*History of Animals*, IX 13) that resides one the most original part of the article, which brings to light an enigmatic encounter between the Arabic sources and the Latin ones. Noting that al-Ġāhiz’s account of the cinnamon bird does not overlap with Aristotle’s *History of Animals*, IX 13, but resonates rather with Latin sources such as Pliny’s *Natural History* and Tacitus’ *Annals* (first century CE) with which it shares striking similarities and given that both sources are not known to have ever been translated into Arabic, Saliba assumes the existence of an intermediary source that could be found in the early Christian literature about nature among which the *Physiologus* stands out as a plausible candidate. Originally written in Greek, probably in Alexandria, and dated to the second or third century, it has been translated into several languages among which Syro-Aramaic and Arabic. More than one version of the latter circulated and could have reached al-Ġāhiz. The author investigates such a possibility, focusing on the “cinnamon bird” case, while admitting that there is so far no concrete evidence indicating that al-Ġāhiz could have read such texts. The matter deserves further investigation but at least illustrates the diversity of sources to which the early Islamic culture was exposed and that remain to be explored for a better and more accurate understanding of the early Islamic intellectual history.

Recent scholarship has highlighted the porous boundaries between theology and the scientific disciplines during the early formative period. *Mutakallimūn* and *falāsifa* did not belong to entirely separate spheres notwithstanding the difference in method and scope. Gregor Schwarb, followed by Pauline Koetschet, has shown “the nature of the *mutakallimūn*’s engagement with terms, arguments and concepts derived from the medico-philosophical tradition” which had “a significant impact on systematic expositions of *kalām* doctrines.”² In his contribution Guillaume de Vaulx

² See SCHWARB Gregor (2017), “Early Kalām and the Medical Tradition,” in ADAMSON Peter and PORMANN Peter E. (eds.), *Philosophy and Medicine in the Formative Period of Islam*, The Warburg Institute, London, p. 104-169.

d’Arcy (“Arabic Zoology and the *tashīr* Question”) shows that the reverse was also true: religious sciences have equally impacted natural sciences. Focusing on the Qur’anic notion of *tashīr* to investigate its possible influence on the development of zoology, and taking as a starting point al-Ġazālī’s treatise *Al-Ĥikma fī maḥlūqāt Allāh*, in order to trace back its sources against the background of the evolution of Arabic zoology in the formative period, he identifies in the texts at stake (al-Ġāḥiẓ’s *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, Epistle 22 of the *Rasā’il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā’* and Ibn Abī al-Aṣ‘atī’s *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) a two-ways relationship between theology on the one hand, and philosophy and zoology on the other to show how ultimately it is the theological status of animals in Islam that influenced their scientific taxonomy.

MATTER AND BODY: AL-KINDĪ AND BEYOND

The ninth century is also dominated by another figure, contemporary of al-Ġāḥiẓ, and equally gigantic, namely, the polymath al-Kindī (d. ca. 873) who was the first philosopher to write in Arabic. Two articles that resonate with each other and are actually part of the same discussion deal directly and indirectly with al-Kindī’s physics and metaphysics and more specifically with matter and body. The question of the relationship between matter and corporeality and more particularly whether matter is already extended in three-dimensions, that is to say, “is matter body?” (as Andreas Lammer asks in the opening of his article, “A Lively Debate on Matter and Body before (and after?) Avicenna – Part One”), is at the heart of the history of natural philosophy and had implications that transcend the Ancient and Late Antique peripatetic hylomorphic context in which it arose, calling for an atomistic and corpuscularian reaction without, however, excluding some common ground. Taking as a starting point Avicenna’s proof of the existence of an incorporeal and formless prime matter and in order to determine whether it could have been a potential response to Philoponus’s new definition of prime matter, albeit mediated through an intermediary Arab figure, Andreas Lammer starts by offering a survey of “traditional Aristotelian theories of prime matter,” in Greek, Syriac and Arabic positing “an unextended prime matter, which receives at once extensionality and determinate dimensions through quantity, and then obtains further, qualitative specifications.” In the second installment of this article, to be published in a subsequent issue of the *MUSJ*, he will investigate whether there are also followers of the non-traditional view in the Arabic tradition, “who might, then, not only have had an impact on Avicenna but perhaps even on the post-Avicennian tradition of Arabic philosophy.”

A potential candidate for such an intermediary position would have been the philosopher al-Kindī. Interestingly enough, besides his treatise on *The Definitions*

and Descriptions of Things where he provides us with more than one very short definition of matter, nowhere in al-Kindī's writings we encounter a full-fledged development devoted to matter, as noted by Emma Gannagé in her article "al-Kindī on Composition, Body and Three-Dimensionality." Yet, if the issue of prime matter as such is not addressed straightforwardly by al-Kindī, the concepts of body and three-dimensionality loom large in his work given the centrality of the discussion on body for the argument against the eternity of the universe that runs through several of al-Kindī's treatises that came down to us. Focusing on seemingly different conceptions of three-dimensionality in al-Kindī's works, that consider it, on the one hand, as the form of body and hence as a substance from which body as a composite of matter and form draws its substantiality and, on the other, as a differentia that defines body in the category of substance, Gannagé shows that Al-Kindī's emphasis on the hylomorphic composition of body seems to reflect some aspects of the so-called "conventional view of matter and three-dimensionality," as it has been for example expressed by John Philoponus in his commentary on the *Categories*. Whether this is the only conception of prime matter present in al-Kindī's work will be the object of a subsequent article.

THE READING ORDER OF ARISTOTLE'S BOOKS AND THE DIVISION OF MEDICINE, FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO CLASSICAL ISLAM

Even though he is credited with having inaugurated the philosophical tradition in Islam, al-Kindī is part of a tradition to which he clearly stakes a claim in the prologue of *On First Philosophy*. His name is closely associated with the translation movement of scientific and philosophical works from Greek into Arabic that he used to commission. The wide range of sources translated will, not surprisingly, find an echo in his writings as it did in the subsequent Arabic philosophical corpus represented by figures like al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, with which the scholarship has, so far, mainly contrasted him. They are, however, all heirs to a tradition he has inaugurated, namely the assimilation of Greek philosophy into the formation of a genuine Arabic philosophical thought, that might bear his lingering imprint more than has been so far acknowledged.

Indeed, when Aristotle's and Galen's treatises started being translated into Arabic, their translators relied on an exegetical tradition in which these works had been copied, studied, commented upon, summarized, simplified, and prefaced with introductory material for centuries. Additionally, the Aristotelian and Galenic works had been arranged in a set order according to which they had to be taught and read and thus functioned as philosophical and medical curricula. The longest lasting center

of these exegetical activities had been Alexandria where the teaching of philosophy and medicine is attested well into the seventh century CE. The importance paid to Aristotle and Galen in this context and the fact that their works were more or less identified with the disciplines that they contributed to shape may explain why it is almost their entire scientific output that was translated into Arabic.

However, it was not only the works of Aristotle and Galen and their reading order that were transmitted to the Arabic scholars, but also Alexandrian introductory and commentary material associated to these works. This is strikingly evident in the first extant Arabic version of Aristotelian treatises attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and dated to the mid-eighth century CE. The text claims to be a translation of the so-called short *Organon*, i.e., Porphyry's introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*, the *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories*, *De Interpretatione* and *Prior Analytics*, when it is, in fact, a paraphrase of these treatises relying heavily on Late Antique introductions and commentaries. A similar fusion of writings by Aristotle and his commentators can be observed in the treatise *Definitions of Logic* by Ibn Bahrīz (fl. early ninth century CE) as well as in the presentation of the alleged contents of Porphyry's *Isagoge* described as Aristotle's introduction to philosophy by Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 905 CE) in his world history. In tenth century Bagdad, the biobibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm made a much more clear cut distinction between Aristotle and his commentators, yet the exact way and scope in which the works of the Aristotelian commentators were known to Arabic scholars remain a matter of speculation as few Arabic translations have survived. As far as Galen and his medical work are concerned, much more commentaries are extant in Arabic in the form of the so-called *Alexandrians' Summaries* (*Ġawāmi' al-Iskandarānīyīn*), yet here the question of the precise origin of these commenting summaries is still debated. Two contributions to the present volume aim at shedding some more light on the role that the Late Antique exegetical tradition played in the understanding as well as in the development and evolution of philosophy and medicine in Arabic. Jawdath Jabbour's article entitled "From Paul the Persian to al-Fārābī: The Evolution of the Reading Order of Aristotle's Books on Natural Science in the Early Abbasid Context" focuses on a subset of the Aristotelian curriculum, namely natural science within which he traces the subtle changes made by Arabic authors from Early Abbasid times onwards up to the towering figure of al-Fārābī. He clearly shows that these changes were motivated philosophically and thus enable us to reconstruct the changing understanding of philosophy and, more generally, of knowledge in its entirety. The principles according to which al-Fārābī structured knowledge were fundamental to later Arabic authors such as Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd, but also influenced the Latin tradition. The field of natural science that Jawdath Jabbour places at the beginning of his enquiry is also crucial to the

second contribution focusing on the transition from the Late Antique to the Early Arabic scientific tradition. Ruth Hammerschmied and Elvira Wakelnig discuss “New Arabic Evidence on the Division of Medicine. A Text in the Margin of MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2859, the Alexandrians’ Summaries of Galen, Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s Galenic Commentaries, and Ḥunayn’s *Medical Questions*” and therewith reveal the continuities as well as the discontinuities and changes in the presentation and understanding of medical knowledge from Late Antiquity to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq and his Arabic successors. The way in which Ḥunayn divided and structured medicine was applied by most physicians in the Arabic tradition such as Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Ruṣd and even influenced treatises on prophetic medicine (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*) up to Mamluk times. Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Ruṣd attest, in their work, to the close connection between philosophy and medicine which also clearly emerges in the Alexandrian teaching in the sixth and seventh centuries CE. Already Galen had prominently defended the interdependence of both disciplines, and this attitude of his was not only known to the Arabic tradition through the dictum that the excellent physician was also a philosopher, but also through the existence of Arabic versions of Galenic synopses of Platonic dialogues such as the *Timaeus* and *The Laws*. Curiously, these synopses seem to have had a much larger impact in their Arabic translations than in their Greek originals. In line with the Galenic attitude, Late Antique Alexandrian introductory texts to philosophy and medicine were similarly structured, presented the same examples and championed the use of definition and division in scientific enquiry. A recurring feature was, for example, the mutual definition according to which medicine is the philosophy of the soul and philosophy the medicine of the body. This definition eventually found its way into Arabic philosophical compilations and was developed by the tenth/eleventh century Arabic philosopher and historian Miskawayh to the notion that prophets were to the souls of people what physicians were to their bodies. Already a century earlier, in the ninth century CE, the physician al-Ruhāwī engaged with another Late Antique definition of philosophy, that ultimately goes back to Plato, namely philosophy as assimilation to God or imitation of His actions. Al-Ruhāwī claimed that this definition of philosophy was much more fitting to the physician than to the philosopher, as the former was able to care for body and soul whereas the latter only cared for the soul. This claim was then reversed by Ibn Hindū in the tenth/eleventh century CE which shows that the precedence of either philosophy or medicine was a controversial topic. However, discussing this controversy lies beyond the scope of the present proceedings.

In closing we cannot but recall the circumstances in which our conference was held against the backdrop of Lebanon uprising of October 2019. Some of the participants

were already in the country and others on their way, when protests erupted across Lebanon, on October 17th, calling for social and economic rights, against corruption and for accountability. As the country shut down and protesters took the streets of Beirut, the American University of Beirut in which the conference was planned to take place closed, like almost everything else in the country. How should we proceed when the whole country was boiling with more pressing vital issues? We decided nevertheless to hold the conference, leaving enough room for those who wished to join the demonstrations after hours, and were graciously hosted by the Institut français du Proche-Orient. Those have been memorable days during which the history of philosophy was intertwined with the History that was being written in the streets of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre, Saida and other cities across Lebanon. Since then, the country has been assailed by a brutal economic and financial crisis ranked among the worst economic crisis in the world since the mid-nineteenth century resulting in a massive emigration movement, which depleted Lebanon from its qualified working force in all sectors. The publication of these proceedings in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, while it reflects the strong ties between the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph, is a testimony to the resilience of our educational institutions and a token of hope.