

From *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* to *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*: Reconsidering Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī's Philosophical Treatise

Del *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* al *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*: replanteamiento
del tratado filosófico de Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī

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The philosophical treatise known as *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* is generally ascribed to the 12th century Andalusian author Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī, although this attribution is sometimes contested. This paper offers a new interpretation of the title, textual history, authorship, sources, and literary genre of this treatise, on the basis of new textual evidence, a reexamination of known evidence, and a comparison between the treatise and Baṭalyawṣī's works. The conclusions of this study are first, that *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* was not the treatise's original title, and therefore it should be renamed *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*; second, that *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* was originally part of (one of the versions) of Baṭalyawṣī's *Kitāb al-masā'il*; and third, that the textual and stylistic similarities between this treatise and Baṭalyawṣī's other works prove the authenticity of the treatise's attribution to Baṭalyawṣī. In addition, new findings regarding Baṭalyawṣī's use of formulas from the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il* provide further evidence for the deep impact of the *Ikhwān* on Baṭalyawṣī's thought, as well as for the close connection between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il*. This connection is further highlighted according to the attribution of both treatises to the genre of questions and answers in Arabic literature. The evidence gathered in this paper

Generalmente el tratado filosófico conocido como *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* se asocia al autor andalusí del siglo XII Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī, aunque esta atribución ha sido discutida en ocasiones. Este artículo ofrece una nueva interpretación del título, la historia del texto, la autoría, las fuentes e incluso del género literario al que se adscribe este tratado, teniendo en cuenta su texto, una revisión de los datos ya conocidos y la comparación entre este tratado y el resto de la producción de al-Baṭalyawṣī. Como conclusión se propone, en primer lugar, que el *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* no es el título original del tratado, sino que debe ser *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*. Por otro lado, este *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* era originalmente parte (una de las versiones) del *Kitāb al-masā'il* de al-Baṭalyawṣī. En tercer lugar, las similitudes textuales y estilísticas entre este tratado con otras obras de al-Baṭalyawṣī prueban su autoría. Además, el uso que al-Baṭalyawṣī hace de fórmulas que ya encontramos en las *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* y que aparecen en sus *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* y *Kitāb al-masā'il*, profundizan en la hipótesis del impacto que las *Rasā'il* causaron en el pensamiento del autor, así como en la estrecha conexión que existe entre el *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* y el *Kitāb al-masā'il*. De hecho, esta conexión resulta más clara cuando se atribuyen ambos tratados al género de «preguntas y respuestas» en la literatura árabe. Este artícu-

supports the claim that Baṭalyawṣī's *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* should be seen as an integral part of his literary oeuvre, as well as of Andalusian philosophical literature in general.

Key words: Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī; Philosophy; Grammar; *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*; *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*; *Sefer ha-'agullot ha-ra'yoniyyot*; *The Book of Imaginary Circles*; *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba*; *The Book of Questions and Answers*; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*

lo demuestra, por tanto, que el *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* de al-Baṭalyawṣī debe entenderse como parte de su obra literaria y, así, como parte de la producción filosófica andalusí.

Palabras clave: Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī; Filosofía árabe-islámica; Gramática árabe; *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*; *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*; *Sefer ha-'agullot ha-ra'yoniyyot*; *Libro de los círculos imaginarios*; *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba*; *Libro de preguntas y respuestas*; *Rasā'il Ijwān al-Ṣafā'*.

Introduction

The treatise known as *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*, commonly designated as *The Book of Imaginary Circles*, is considered to be the main philosophical treatise of the Andalusian thinker Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī (d. 521/1127).¹ Baṭalyawṣī is mainly known in Islamic biographical sources for his multiple contributions to the fields of linguistics, grammar, poetry and *adab*. These sources do not mention his philosophical treatise, despite its being one of the first Islamic philosophical treatises written in al-Andalus. Interestingly, *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* has left a significant mark especially on Jewish thought. The treatise's popularity among Jewish thinkers is attested to by several Hebrew translations between the 12th and the 14th centuries, and by numerous quotations from the treatise by a very broad range of Jewish thinkers between the 12th and the 16th centuries. Through these Jewish thinkers, the treatise also reached Christian Renaissance thinkers. The decisive influence of this treatise on Jewish thought has been

¹ This paper is based on my doctoral thesis, which is dedicated to *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*'s place in Muslim and Jewish thought. See Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī and his place in Medieval Muslim and Jewish Thought, including an edition and a translation of Kitāb al-dawā'ir al-wahmiyya known as Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*. I wish to express my gratitude to prof. Sarah Stroumsa, who supervised my thesis and gave me extraordinary support and advice, to prof. Sara Sviri who stimulated and supported my research, and to prof. Godefroid de Callatay who made valuable suggestions for this article. Any remaining errors are of course only mine. I would also like to thank Prof. Tzvi Langermann, Prof. Richard Taylor, and Yossi Soffer, as well as the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, El Escorial Library, the Berlin State Library and the Leiden University Library for providing me with copies of manuscripts which were essential for this research. My thanks also go to the Mandel Scholars program at the Mandel Scholion Interdisciplinary Research Center in the Humanities and Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for supporting the preparation of this paper for publication.

described in detail by David Kaufmann in 1880, as well as in subsequent studies by other scholars.²

Among Islamic thinkers, however, this treatise was much less influential. It is preserved in several Arabic manuscripts, where it is sometimes attributed to others thinkers, such as Ibn Rushd.³ Some Islamic mystics mention the treatise, while Islamic philosophers almost completely ignore it. Muslim historians do not ascribe any philosophical treatises to Baṭalyawṣī and leave almost no record of his philosophical activity.⁴

Despite the popularity of the treatise in Jewish tradition, the identity of its author was not always faithfully preserved. In the manuscripts of the treatise's most popular Hebrew translation, by the prolific translator Moses Ibn Tibbon, the work is faithfully attributed to Baṭalyawṣī. However, in quotes by Jewish authors from this translation and from other translations, the author's name is often distorted or replaced. The name al-Baṭalyawṣī is sometimes confused with Baṭalmayus (i.e. Claudius

² See: Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Batlajusi's in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie, Nebst einer Ausgabe der hebräischen Übersetzungen seiner Bildlichen Kreise*. The main studies are Steinschneider, "Typen von M. Steinschneider. II. Waage und Gewichte"; Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss der hebräischen Handschriften Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, pp. 286-288, 340-341; Altmann, "The Ladder of Ascension"; Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders*, pp. 168-183; Idel, "Man as the 'Possible' Entity in Some Jewish and Renaissance Sources"; Idel, "The Anthropology of Yohanan Alemanno: Sources and Influences"; Vajda, "Une version hébraïque inconnue des 'Cercles Imaginaires' de Batalyawṣī"; Richler, "Zihuy metarggemo ha-anonimi shel *Sefer ha-'agullot ha-ra'yoniyyot*." For a complete survey of scholarship on the topic, see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, "Introduction."

³ On the manuscripts where the treatise is ascribed to Ibn Rushd see Taylor, "Neoplatonic Texts in Turkey: Two Manuscripts Containing Ibn Ṭufayl's 'Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān', Ibn al-Sīd's 'Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq', Ibn Bājjā's 'Ittiṣāl al-'Aql bi-l-Insān', the 'Liber de causis' and an Anonymous Neoplatonic Treatise on Motion." For a comprehensive description and list of the treatise's manuscripts, see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, "Introduction to the edition."

⁴ On Baṭalyawṣī's place in Islamic thought, see Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz y su 'Libro de los cercos' ('Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq)"; Asín Palacios, "La tesis de la necesidad de la revelación en el Islam y en la escolástica"; Elamrani-Jamal, "Les rapports de la logique et de la grammaire d'après le Kitāb al Masā'il d'al-Baṭalyūṣī"; Tornero, "Cuestiones filosóficas del Kitāb al-Masā'il de Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz"; Urvoy, "Le rapport entre *adab* et *falsafa* chez Ibn al-Sīd al-Batalyawṣī"; Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd* (Averroès), pp. 181-182; Kruk, "Neoplatonists and After: From Ibn Tufayl to Ibn al-Nafīs"; Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur: The Life of Ibn 'Arabi*, pp. 107-108; Akasoy, *Philosophie und Mystik in der späten Almohadenzeit: Die Sizilianischen Fragen des Ibn Sab'in*, pp. 290-300; Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī (444/1052-521/1127): de los Reinos de Taifas a la Época Almorávide a través de la Biografía de un Ulema Polifacético"; Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*. For a new study of Baṭalyawṣī's place in Islamic philosophy see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, chapter 6.

Ptolemy, both for phonetic reasons and because the circle motif of the treatise was mistakenly linked to astronomical speculations), or changed to Baṭalmayusī. The treatise is often attributed by Jewish thinkers to al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd (in part due to the similarity between this treatise and *Mo'zenei ha-'iyyunim* [*The Balance of Examinations*], a treatise that is mistakenly attributed to these authors),⁵ and sometimes even to al-Fārābī.⁶

There are several scholarly approaches to Baṭalyawsī's treatise in the Islamic-Andalusian context. Some scholars, primarily Miguel Asín Palacios (who authored the first edition of the text), have devoted studies to Baṭalyawsī's philosophical treatise without questioning its attribution to him.⁷ Other scholars, such as Salvador Peña Martín, express doubts regarding Baṭalyawsī's authorship of the treatise and grant it a limited significance among Baṭalyawsī's writings.

In the scholarship on Baṭalyawsī and his treatise in the Jewish context, the attribution of the treatise to Baṭalyawsī is generally accepted. However, some scholars, such as Hartwig Derenbourg, argued that Baṭalyawsī copied portions of it from al-Ghazālī, a claim that was correctly rejected by Kaufmann.⁸ Others, like the authors of the entry on

⁵ On *Mo'zenei ha-'iyyunim*, a Hebrew treatise including a partial translation of Baṭalyawsī's treatise, see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 2, section 1, and chapter 7, sections 3.1.4-5.

⁶ See Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Baṭalyawsī's*, pp. 9-10; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, "Introduction to the edition."

⁷ Asín distinguishes between perceptions of Baṭalyawsī in Islamic tradition and in scholarship. Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," pp. 53-54. The other editions of the text are the 1947 Cairo edition by 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥussaynī and Muḥammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (I had no access to this edition and obtained the information about it from al-Dāya's edition [see: al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Ḥadā'iq fī l-maṭālib al-'āliya al-falsafīyya al-'awīša*, pp. 26-27]; I hope I will be able to access this edition in the Princeton library in the future. My thanks to the anonymous referee for bringing its existence to my attention) and the 1988 Damascus edition by al-Dāya (al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Ḥadā'iq*). For the Italian and Portuguese translations of the text see Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127)," p. 87 n. 148.

⁸ Derenbourg ("Al-Batalyousi," p. 278) concluded that Baṭalyawsī copied parts of *Mizān al-'amal*, but he actually meant *Mo'zenei ha-'iyyunim* (see n. 5), which is wrongly attributed to al-Ghazālī. Kaufmann has already pointed out Derenbourg's confusion between the two treatises (Kaufmann, "Les cercles intellectuels de Batalyousi," pp. 132-133). Derenbourg's claims regarding Baṭalyawsī's copying from al-Ghazālī fit into his general contempt for Baṭalyawsī, expressed in his statement that Baṭalyawsī did not innovate in philosophy just as he did not innovate in grammar, poetry, or law (Derenbourg, "Al-Batalyousi," p. 279).

Baṭalyawṣī in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, argue that the treatise must have been written by a 13th century Jewish scholar, and attempt to explain why it was nonetheless attributed to a 12th century Muslim scholar.⁹

In this article I offer new interpretations of several properties of Baṭalyawṣī's philosophical treatise: the treatise's title, its textual history, its attribution to Baṭalyawṣī, its sources, and its literary genre. I claim, first, that *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* is not the original title of the treatise; second, that the treatise was originally part of another treatise of Baṭalyawṣī, *Kitāb al-masā'il*; third, that its attribution to Baṭalyawṣī is authentic; fourth, I present new evidence for the treatise's indebtedness to the philosophical encyclopedia *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, evidence which also serves as additional proof of its revised textual history and its authentic attribution; and fifth, I claim that the treatise should be considered as belonging to the genre of questions and answers in Islamic literature. Throughout this study, which examines a large quantity of textual evidence, I also argue that it is advantageous to use both Muslim and Jewish sources in order to get a full understanding of Baṭalyawṣī's thought, and that Baṭalyawṣī's treatise can be considered as belonging to the Arabic Neoplatonist philosophical tradition.

1. The Title of the Treatise

Baṭalyawṣī's philosophical treatise is unequivocally named by scholars *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* (*The Book of Gardens*). However, several factors might induce us to question this title's authenticity. First, a treatise by this name is never attributed to Baṭalyawṣī in Islamic biographical sources. Second, this title is nowhere documented in Jewish tradition, despite the treatise's great popularity among Jewish thinkers. Third, this title has a general meaning, which does not reflect the distinctive contents of the treatise (the words *ḥadā'iq* [gardens] or *ḥadiqa* [garden] do not appear in the treatise itself).¹⁰

⁹ See "Baṭalyawṣī" in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (by Kaufmann Kohler and Isaac Broydé).

¹⁰ It is possible, however, that the title was originally composed of a general expression like *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*, and a more specific description of the treatise's contents (*fi...*). That would be in line with the common structure of titles of medieval Arabic (and Judaeo-Arab) treatises. Take, for example, the title of Moses b. Ezra's treatise, *Maqālat al-ḥadiqa fi ma'nā al-majāz wa-l-ḥaqiqa* (see below, and Eliyahu, "Muslim and Jewish Philosophy in

An examination of the treatise's Arabic manuscripts reveals that this title appears in only one of them, the Berlin manuscript, on the title page, where it may have been added by the copyist and therefore cannot automatically be accepted as the original title of the treatise. The other manuscripts bear different titles, or no title at all.¹¹ There are very few records of the treatise's title in the writings of Islamic thinkers due to the treatise's limited impact in Muslim thought. Even those who know the treatise only rarely mention its name and author.

The Jewish sources, however, agree upon naming the treatise *Sefer ha-'agullot ha-ra'yoniyyot* (*The Book of Imaginary Circles*), a name which fits the contents of the treatise well, in contrast with the Arabic title.

There is one extant manuscript of the treatise in Judeo-Arabic, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Neubauer 1334, which was known to Kaufmann.¹² In this manuscript, the title *Dā'irāt wahmiyya* (*Imaginary Circles*) appears in the upper left corner of the first page of the treatise, in a handwriting different from that of the text itself. This title, nonetheless, matches the content and style of the treatise, since it expresses the treatise's specific theme, and uses a term similar – but not identical – to those appearing in the text (*dā'ira wahmiyya* and *dawā'ir wahmiyya*).¹³ The plural *dā'irāt* is grammatically incorrect in standard Arabic (where only the plural *dawā'ir* is accepted), but it fits Judaeo-Arabic, in which sound plural (especially in the female form) may appear instead of broken plural.¹⁴

The title *Dā'irāt wahmiyya* is reminiscent of the title of Moses Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation, *Sefer ha-'agullot ha-ra'yoniyyot* (*The Book of Imaginary Circles*).¹⁵ The phrases 'agulla ra'yoni ("imaginary

al-Andalus: Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī and Moses ibn Ezra"). However, there is no textual evidence for that, except perhaps the title of the Cairo edition of the text (see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, "Introduction to the edition").

¹¹ For a detailed presentation of the different titles in the different manuscripts see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, chapter 2 and "Introduction to the edition."

¹² See Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 1334 (1). Asín and Serrano do not mention this manuscript (Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," pp. 49, 55 n. 2; Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī (444/1052-521/1127)," p. 65).

¹³ According to the paragraphs in my edition (Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, part 2, edition, paragraphs 5, 45 in the singular; paragraphs 3, 17 in the plural). In Asín's edition, see Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," pp. 64, 72 (singular); 63, 66 (plural).

¹⁴ See Blau, *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, p. 108, §133.

¹⁵ Other Hebrew translations do not have titles: the translation by Samuel ibn Motot (or Matut) is incorporated into his book *Meshovev Netivot* without citing his source, hence, without a title. The translation by Shlomo b. Da'ud does not have a title. For a detailed

circle”) or *'agullot ra'yoniyot* (“imaginary circles”) are used by Moses Ibn Tibbon to translate the phrases *dā'ira wahmiyya* or *dawā'ir wahmiyya*. This title appears in slightly different versions in all of the translation’s manuscripts. It is probable that the title was given by Moses Ibn Tibbon himself (as Moritz Steinschneider believed),¹⁶ but even if it is an early copyist’s addition, it was unanimously accepted and became the translation’s authoritative title thereafter.

It appears that the Hebrew title¹⁷ and the Judaeo-Arabic title are the most appropriate titles for the treatise. This is in contrast to the title based on the Berlin manuscript, *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*, which has no connection to the contents of the treatise. The scholarly approach to this title is, however, very confused. Scholars tend to translate the Arabic title *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* as *The Book of Imaginary Circles*, without noting the discrepancy between the meaning of the Arabic title and its translation.¹⁸ They do not explain that the titles in English, French, Spanish or German meaning *The Book of Imaginary Circles* are in fact derived from the Hebrew title or based on the content of the treatise itself.¹⁹ The only exception known to me is Alain de Libera’s translation of the title according to its original meaning in Arabic, “Le Livre des jardins.”²⁰

discussion of the translations of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* into Hebrew, see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawī*, chapter 7, section 3.1; Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Baṭlajusi's*; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, pp. 286-288, 340-341; Vajda, “Une version hébraïque inconnue”; Richler, “Zihuy metarggemo ha-anonimi”; Eran, *The Philosophical Sources of Abraham Ibn Da'ud in his Treatise al-'Aqīda al-Rafī'a: with a Special Emphasis on the Translation of Samuel Ibn Motot*, vol. 1, pp. 244-252; Eran, “Ha-yaḥas bein shenei har-tiggumim le-sifro shel Ibn Da'ud, *al-'Aqīda al-Rafī'a*.”

¹⁶ Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, p. 287.

¹⁷ Additional evidence regarding the title, coming from the Jewish reception of the treatise, can be found in another treatise, *Mo'zenei ha-'iyyunim* (see n. 5).

¹⁸ From Peña’s mention of the work as “*Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq* («El libro de los cercos,” según la traducción de M. Asín Palacios)” it seems that he has some awareness of this problematic issue, although he does not say so explicitly (Peña Martín, “Gramática y verdad: tiempo y tiempo verbal según Ibn al-Sīd,” p. 218).

¹⁹ In Hebrew *'agulla ra'yonit* (Dukes, “Ha'ataqot mi-Mo'zenei ha-'iyyunim le-Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī,” pp. 195-196); in German *Die bildliche Kreise* (Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Baṭlajusi's*, p. 9); in Spanish *Libro de los cercos* (Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz y su ‘Libro de los cercos’”); in French *Le livre des cercles* (Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, p. 326.). Kaufmann also quotes Dukes’s translation of the phrase as “Gedankenkreise” and the various translations by Steinschneider: “speculative (oder imaginäre) Sphären,” “intellektuelle Sphären,” “imaginäre Cirkel.”

²⁰ De Libera, *La philosophie médiévale*, p. 147. Kaufmann and Steinschneider suggest only once an exact translation of *ḥadā'iq* to German – “Die Baumgärten,” “Obstgärten” – but in practice refer to the treatise with different versions of the title *Imaginary Circles*.

If we combine this evidence with the fact that a treatise called *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* is never mentioned in Baṭalyawsī's biographical information,²¹ we cannot escape the conclusion that the treatise was not originally known under this name, which is found only in the Berlin manuscript and could have been given to it by a copyist. Nevertheless, the title was unequivocally accepted in scholarship following its acceptance by Kaufmann and Asín.

We do not know, however, the treatise's original title, if there was one. In fact, there is evidence that the treatise lacked a title altogether, as will be presented below. The Jewish versions of the treatise preserve more adequate titles, whether in Judaeo-Arabic or in Hebrew, all with a similar meaning – *The Book of Imaginary Circles*. Scholars call the treatise in accordance with this meaning preserved in the Jewish versions. Indeed, scholars writing in Arabic have even translated it back into Arabic as *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, on the basis of the treatise's titles in European languages.²² This name is appropriate for the treatise in terms of its content, since the phrase *dawā'ir wahmiyya* appears in the treatise itself and is its central theme. It seems, therefore, appropriate to stop using the inadequate title *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*, and to adopt instead the title *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*. This is how it will be called in this paper from here on – *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*.²³

²¹ See Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Batlajusi's*, p. 10; Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz," p. 53.

²² Several studies in Arabic credit Baṭalyawsī with a treatise called *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*. This is not, however, an authentic title found in Arabic sources. It is based on studies in French that do not call the treatise by its accepted Arabic title, *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*, but by its French title "Le livre des cercles," translated from the Spanish version by Asín. On this basis, the title was (re)translated into Arabic as *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* (See Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*, p. 68; Abū Janāh, "Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī – ḥayātuhu, minhajuhu fī l-naḥw wa-l-lughā, shī'rihi," p. 85). Thus, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Karīm Sa'ūdī, in his edition of Baṭalyawsī's *Kitāb al-ḥulal fī islāh al-khalal min kitāb al-jumal*, mentions *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* (p. 33) on the basis of Corbin's *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (p. 326); In the same way, 'Uthmān Yahyā, in his edition of Ibn al-'Arabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (vol. III, p. 195), mentions *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* according to Gauthier's French title (Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd*, p. 176).

²³ See De Callatāy, "From Ibn Masarra to Ibn 'Arabī: References, Shibboleths and Other Subtle Allusions to the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in the Literature of al-Andalus," p. 26. One example of a treatise which was known under a particular title that turned out to be incorrect and was later replaced by a different one, is the treatise by Abū l-Ḥasan Al-Ash'arī which was first published under the name *Risālat istiḥsān al-ḥawḍ fī 'ilm al-kalām*. Richard Frank published the treatise again based on new manuscripts, proving that the treatise's original title was *Kitāb al-ḥathth 'alā l-baḥth*. According to Frank, the old title was not authentic, and was given to it by the copyist or the editor, either because they did

2. The Textual History of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*

Before turning to the question of authorship, I will address the issue of the textual history of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, a topic insufficiently treated in scholarship. Scholars consider *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* to be an independent treatise standing on its own; however, on the basis of new evidence presented here, I argue that the treatise was originally part of the anthology of Baṭalyawṣī's writings, *Kitāb al-masā'il*. This evidence will also shed new light on the questions of title and authorship.

The new piece of evidence presented here is one of the treatise's manuscripts, MS Dublin, Chester Beatty, 4325. This manuscript's contribution to the textual history of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* has not been studied yet (al-Dāya uses this manuscript in his edition of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, without mentioning its source).²⁴ The Dublin manuscript includes *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* as part of an anthology (*majmū'a*), comprised of eighteen treatises by Baṭalyawṣī. Each treatise is called *risāla*, epistle, according to the table of contents of the manuscript, or *mas'ala*, question, according to the text. One of these *masā'il* is our treatise, *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*. This is the only manuscript of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* which was copied together with other texts by Baṭalyawṣī. It shows that in addition to the perception of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* as an independent treatise, it was also considered and copied as part of a collection of Baṭalyawṣī's treatises.

The Dublin collection of Baṭalyawṣī's treatises, which includes short treatises called *masā'il*, is reminiscent of Baṭalyawṣī's treatise *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba* (*The Book of Questions and Answers* – henceforth *Kitāb al-masā'il*). *Kitāb al-masā'il* is a collection of epistles in the form of questions and answers, mainly addressing grammatical issues, but also philosophical ones. It is a well-known work by Baṭalyawṣī, properly documented in biographical sources. A comparison of the Dublin collection and *Kitāb al-masā'il* (according to MS Escorial, 1518),²⁵

not know the vocabulary of Al-Ash'arī well, or because they were fundamentally opposed to the position expressed in the treatise and wanted to describe it in a derogatory way. See: Frank, "Al-Ash'arī's *Kitāb al-Ḥaṭh al-'alā l-Baḥṭh*," pp. 83-84.

²⁴ See al-Baṭalyawṣī, *al-Ḥadā'iq*, p. 26; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, "Introduction to the edition." Aḥmad Fārūq studied this manuscript only with regard to its contribution to the text of *Al-Isṁ wa-l-musammā*. See al-Baṭalyawṣī, *al-Isṁ wa-l-musammā*, pp. 327-328.

²⁵ See Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, p. 114. For a comprehensive description of the treatise's manuscripts and its various partial editions, see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, chapter 1, section 3.

reveals that these are in fact two different versions of the same collection.²⁶ Most of the chapters in the Dublin collection, 10 out of 18, also appear in the Escorial manuscript, albeit in a different order. Although it includes many more chapters than the Dublin collection, the MS Escorial does not include *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* or *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, another treatise of Baṭalyawsī which was copied separately and in MS Dublin.²⁷

This finding indicates that we have two collections of Baṭalyawsī's writings, known under similar names, and partially overlapping in their contents. From the introduction to the *Kitāb al-masā'il* it seems that Baṭalyawsī himself edited the collection, as he says: "and I called it the book of questions and answers."²⁸ The Dublin collection does not include an introduction from which we could learn about its editor, but in terms of contents and character it is very similar to *Kitāb al-masā'il*. In its title page it says: "This is an anthology (*majmū'a*) including eighteen treatises (*muṣannaḡ*) from the works of [...] al-Baṭalyawsī."²⁹

Kitāb al-masā'il is well-documented in Baṭalyawsī's biographical sources. It is mentioned by al-Ṣafadī as *Masā'il manthūra 'arabiyya* (*Various Questions [in] Arabic*),³⁰ and by al-Suyūṭī and al-Maqqarī as *al-Masā'il al-manthūra fi l-naḥw* (*Various Grammatical Questions*).³¹ These different titles could indicate either a lack of clarity regarding the title, or the existence of two (or more) slightly different collections.³² The Dublin collection is a distinct example of such a "slightly different" collection.

²⁶ Al-Dāya, who edited *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* using the Dublin collection (as can be seen from the page copied from the manuscript in al-Dāya's edition, although he never specifies its source), describes it as *al-Masā'il wa-l-ajwiba* (see al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Ḥadā'iq*, p. 26). It is probable that he was aware of the similarities between the Dublin collection and *Kitāb al-masā'il* without stating so explicitly.

²⁷ See the table in Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 2, section 3.4, which includes a comparison between the Dublin collection and other manuscripts of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, as well as partial editions of the collection.

²⁸ *Wa-samaytuḥu Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba* (MS Escorial, 1518, f. 2b); al-Baṭalyawsī, "Min Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba," pp. 113-114.

²⁹ F. 1a: *Hādhihi majmū'a tashtamilu 'alā thamāniyyata 'ashara muṣannaḡan min muṣannaḡāt al-'ālim al-[...] al-fāḍil al-kāmil, ṣāhib al-taqrīr wa-l-tahrīr, al-faqīh al-naḥawī imām al-'aṣr fi l-maghrib, khātimat al-muḥaqqiqīn, Abī Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī al-maghribī, rahmat Allāh 'alayhi.*

³⁰ Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, p. 569 (it should probably be *fi l-'arabiyya*).

³¹ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ fi akhbār 'Iyād*, p. 102; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh fi ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāh*, p. 56.

³² Peña believes that *Al-Masā'il al-manthūra fi l-naḥw* might be the same composition as *Kitāb al-masā'il*, or that it could include different questions. See Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*, p. 68.

It should not surprise us, therefore, that Baṭalyawsī's philosophical treatise is not mentioned in his biographical sources, since it was most likely known as part of a collection. While we are used to considering this treatise as a separate philosophical treatise, it is in fact also quite natural to view it as part of a collection of questions and answers: the introduction to *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* presents it as a response to seven questions on philosophical topics, which Baṭalyawsī answers in the seven chapters of the treatise. This conclusion is also true for other treatises in the *Kitāb al-masā'il* which were copied separately, such as *Kitāb al-intiṣār* and *al-Ism wa-l-musammā*.³³ The fact that they too are not mentioned by the biographers as separate treatises demonstrates that they were originally part of a collection (although these treatises do not include questions and answers).

The inclusion of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* in a collection can supply a key to the problem of the treatise's title. If the treatise was part of a collection, it is likely that it did not have a title of its own. Later, when it was copied separately because of its special contents (similar to other chapters from the collection), the need for a title became evident. The fact that *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* has different titles in various manuscripts supports this argument.

The inclusion of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* in a collection of Baṭalyawsī's treatises, alongside treatises whose connection to Baṭalyawsī is well documented in other sources, supports Baṭalyawsī's authorship of the treatise. True, *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* appears only in the Dublin collection and not in the collection named *Kitāb al-masā'il*. The same is true for *Kitāb al-intiṣār*. The exclusion may be coincidental, or it could be due to the length of these two treatises, which are significantly longer than most of the other epistles in the Dublin collection.³⁴ The pronounced philosophical nature of the two treatises, however, does not seem to be

³³ See al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Intiṣār mimman 'adala 'an al-istiṣār*; al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Ism*; Elamrani-Jamal, "La question du nom et du nommé (al-ism wa-l-musammā) entre la dialectique et la grammaire: à propos d'une épître d'al-Baṭalyūsī"; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, sup. I, p. 758; al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Inṣāf fi l-tanbih 'alā al-ma'ānī wa-l-asbāb al-latī awjabat al-ikhtilāf bayna al-muslimin fi ārā'ihim*, pp. 16-17; and see the table in Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 2, section 3.4.

³⁴ These two treatises in the Dublin collection cover about 16 pages, while the other treatises are of 1-2 pages, and some of 5-6 pages.

the reason they were not copied in the MS Escorial, since it includes philosophical epistles as well.³⁵

References by the biographers to the collection as *al-Masā'il al-manthūra fī l-naḥw*, without specifying that the epistles also relate to non-grammatical contents, are due to the grammatical nature of most of the epistles, which makes the collection in its entirety appear grammatical at first glance. Another sign of the biographers' superficial acquaintance with *Kitāb al-masā'il* is that they do not call it by its accurate title, *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba*, which is mentioned by Baṭalyawsī himself in his introduction to the treatise.

The limited acquaintance with *Kitāb al-masā'il* persists among modern scholars: most are generally not aware of the full contents of the treatise, which moreover, has yet to be edited in its entirety (only small sections of the treatise have been published in a scattered way).³⁶ Peña is one of the few scholars to stress the importance of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, and the need for a complete edition of the treatise.³⁷

Finally, *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*'s inclusion in a collection of treatises can explain its limited impact on Muslim thought. The commonly accepted grammatical character of the collection contributed to the fact that it was overlooked by thinkers who were specifically interested in philosophy.³⁸

3. Baṭalyawsī's Authorship of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*

The above discussions of the original title and of the textual history of Baṭalyawsī's treatise are connected to the question of Baṭalyawsī's

³⁵ In the Dublin collection there are more questions on grammar than on any other topic. However, the grammatical questions are very short, and the questions that are not grammatical are much longer. *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-intiṣār* include 32 pages altogether, constituting 40% of the 79 page of the collection. In MS Escorial the grammatical portion is higher because the philosophical questions are short as well.

³⁶ This attitude is partly due to Asín's description of the treatise. Asín mentioned only six short and non-grammatical answers out of the whole work, which caused most subsequent scholars to conclude that the treatise consisted of these six answers alone. See Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127)," p. 89; Ramón Guerrero, "Influencia de al-Fārābī en Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," p. 374. For a list of the published sections from the treatise see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, pp. 31-33.

³⁷ Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*, p. 63.

³⁸ For other factors explaining the lack of interest of Andalusian philosophers in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* see Eliyahu, "Muslim and Jewish Philosophy," pp. 57-58.

authorship of the treatise. The postulation that Baṭalyawṣī is not the author of the treatise could explain why the sources do not attribute any philosophical work (no matter by what title) to him. The fact that in Jewish tradition the treatise is also attributed to other authors could also serve as a foundation for questioning its attribution to Baṭalyawṣī.

Kitāb al-dawā'ir is not the only treatise whose attribution to Baṭalyawṣī's has been questioned. Back in Baṭalyawṣī's time he was accused by a certain Muḥammad Ibn Khalāṣa of copying his work *al-Iqtidāb* from another author.³⁹ In modern scholarship, doubts concerning Baṭalyawṣī's authorship of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* were expressed in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*'s entry on Baṭalyawṣī,⁴⁰ and by Salvador Peña. Peña does not naturally accept the treatise as part of Baṭalyawṣī's writings,⁴¹ and finds a contradiction between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and some of Baṭalyawṣī's grammatical writings over the conception of time. After suggesting that this contradiction could be attributed to a separate authorship of the treatises, Peña prefers, however, to reconcile the different views, and does not openly exclude the treatise from Baṭalyawṣī's works.

The study of the textual history of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* recounted above has revealed that it was originally part of a compendium of treatises, *Kitāb al-masā'il*, written by the same author. Considering the fact that *Kitāb al-masā'il* is widely accepted as a work by Baṭalyawṣī, it can therefore be concluded that *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* was also written by Baṭalyawṣī. In the following section, I proceed to a textual comparison between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and Baṭalyawṣī's other writings. This comparison yields thematic and stylistic similarities, thereby offering decisive evidence in support of the conclusion that the treatises were penned by the same author.

³⁹ See Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, pp. 23-24; Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī (444/1052-521/1127)," pp. 88-89, n. 156.

⁴⁰ See above.

⁴¹ Peña Martín, "Gramática y verdad," pp. 205, 218-220.

A. *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy* in *Kitāb al-masā'il*

In *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*,⁴² which is part of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, Baṭalyawsī defends the Orthodoxy of the Andalusian scholar Abū l-Walīd al-Waqqashī (d. 1095) against accusations of heresy.⁴³ In the epistle, Baṭalyawsī's interlocutor argues that philosophers are heretics. One of the main arguments that Baṭalyawsī presents against this claim is that a distinction should be made between the "true" philosopher, who is honest and virtuous, and the "untrue" philosopher, who does not possess these traits. To strengthen his argument Baṭalyawsī quotes the great philosophers, Aristotle and Plato, who emphasize the importance of morality and virtue, as well as express the philosopher's recognition of the superiority of religion over philosophy and the philosopher's commitment to religious laws.

The question of the philosophers' attitude to the prophets is also addressed in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, especially in the first chapter, where Baṭalyawsī discusses the various parts of the soul.⁴⁴ In describing the characteristics of the philosophical soul and the prophetic soul, Baṭalyawsī offers a definition of the true philosopher and provides quotes from Plato and Aristotle, which are almost identical to those mentioned in *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*.⁴⁵ At first glance, it is surprising to find literal parallels between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*, since the two treatises appear in the two versions of the same collection. However, this is understandable given the anthological nature of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, which includes various treatises dealing with different topics.

⁴² This is the title I suggest for this epistle which has no title in the manuscript I examined (Escorial 1518 f. 71b-73a). Asín published the epistle under the name: "Opinión de Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz sobre la incredulidad del poeta al-Waqqashī" (Asín Palacios, "La tesis de la necesidad").

⁴³ This epistle is discussed in Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 5; Serrano, "Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127)," pp. 76-79; Asín Palacios, "La tesis de la necesidad," p. 368; Elamrani-Jamal, "Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyūsī et l'enseignement d'al-Fārābī," p. 159.

⁴⁴ On Baṭalyawsī's unique division of the soul, see Pines, "Shi'ite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*," p. 184 n. 144; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 4, section 2.3.

⁴⁵ For the quotes in *Kitāb al-Dawā'ir* see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraphs 38, 39, 41, 147. The quote in paragraph 147 does not appear in *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*. See Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz," pp. 70, 92; Elamrani-Jamal, "Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyūsī," pp. 160-161.

B. The Epistle on the Immortality of the Soul in Kitāb al-masā'il

In *The Epistle on the Immortality of the Soul*⁴⁶ Baṭalyawsī is asked whether according to the philosophers, “the special universal, which is the species of man”⁴⁷ continues to be a living intellect when it leaves the individual body, after reaching perfection during life. The formulation of the question is quite strange, because the question of the immortality of the soul is generally asked in relation to the rational soul, not in relation to the human species. Indeed, in his response Baṭalyawsī refers to the immortality of the rational soul:

One who is sensitive in his essence and self is essentially alive, and one who is living in his essence cannot be deprived of life. The philosophers adduced significant additional evidence as to the immortality of the rational soul, but I have avoided mentioning all of it, because what I have mentioned is sufficient and convincing.⁴⁸

The same topic is discussed in the last chapter of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, which includes eight proofs for the immortality of the rational soul after the body's death. In the final proof of the chapter, Baṭalyawsī offers an argument he identifies with more strongly than with the previous ones. This argument is literally almost identical to his response in *The Epistle on the Immortality of the Soul*:

It has been proven that the soul is sensitive in its essence and self, and a being sensitive in its essence and self cannot be deprived of life. Therefore the soul, after it leaves the body, lives on. The philosophers adduced further evidence for the immortality of the rational soul, but what we have mentioned is sufficient.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ This is the title I suggest for this epistle which has no title in the manuscript I examined (Escorial 1518 f. 77b-78a). It was published by Tornero (“Cuestiones filosóficas,” Arabic p. 23, translation p. 29), who refers to it as “sobre la inmortalidad del alma” (p. 18).

⁴⁷ *Al-kullī al-akhaṣṣ al-ladhī huwa jins al-insān* (Tornero, “Cuestiones filosóficas,” p. 23). Regarding the expression *al-kullī al-akhaṣṣ*, see Afnān, *A Philosophical Lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, p. 88, who quotes from Ibn Sina's *Kitāb al-najāt: al-khāṣṣa... al-kullī al-dāll 'alā naw' wāhid fi jawāb ayy shay' huwa, lā bi-l-dhāt bal bi-l-'arād*.

⁴⁸ Tornero, “Cuestiones filosóficas,” p.23: *Wa-mā kāna ḥassāsān bi-dhātīhi wa-jawharihi fa-huwa ḥayy bi-jawharihi, wa-mā kāna ḥayyan bi-jawharihi baṭala an ya'dama al-ḥayāt. Wa-qad istadalla al-ḥukamā' 'alā baqā' al-naḥs al-nātiqa bi-adilla kathīra ghayr hādhihi, aḍrabtu 'an dhikrihā, idh fimā dhakartuhu min dhālika kifāya wa-maḥna'.*

⁴⁹ Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraphs 171-172 (Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 98): *Fa-thabata an al-naḥs ḥassāsa bi-dhātīha wa-jawhariha. Wa-mā kāna ḥassāsān bi-dhātīhi wa-jawharihi baṭala an ya'damu al-ḥayāt. Fa-l-naḥs idhan ḥayya ba'da firāq al-jism. Wa-qad istadalla al-ḥukamā' 'alā baqā' al-naḥs al-nātiqa bi-adilla kathīra ghayr hādhihi. Wa-fimā dhakarnāhu minhā muḥni'.*

C. *The Epistle on the Evil Eye in Kitāb al-masā'il*

Another example of the close link between the contents of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and other parts of *Kitāb al-masā'il* can be found in *The Epistle on the Evil Eye*.⁵⁰ Baṭalyawsī first notes that one should refrain from dealing with this topic. However, for those who insist on contending with it, such as the questioner of this specific question, he offers a variety of opinions: popular, philosophical, physical and astrological.⁵¹ According to Baṭalyawsī, the philosophers argue that the evil eye is a wondrous human trait. In this context, he offers a distinction between philosophers and prophets:

Philosophy only deals with general matters, while the particulars, which relate to each one of the particular beings, are truly known only to those who are inspired by divine power, and connected to prophetic essence.⁵²

A similar distinction appears in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, where Baṭalyawsī says that one of the faculties of the prophetic soul is “to communicate the things that the philosophical soul is not able to know, since the philosophical soul is only engaged in considering the general terms.”⁵³ Thus, both *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *The Epistle on the Evil Eye* share the notion that one of the differences between the philosophical soul and the prophetic soul is that the philosophical soul can only know universals, while the prophetic soul has knowledge of particulars as well.

⁵⁰ This is the title I suggest for this epistle which has no title in the manuscript I examined (Escorial 1518 f. 23b-24b). The epistle presents the subject as *iṣābat al-ā'in bi-'aynihi*. It was published by Tornero (“Cuestiones filosóficas,” Arabic pp. 19-21, translation pp. 25-27), who translates the subject as “el mal de ojo” (pp. 17, 25).

⁵¹ See Tornero, “Cuestiones filosóficas,” p. 20.

⁵² Tornero, “Cuestiones filosóficas” p. 20: *Li-an al-falsafa innamā tanzuru fi l-umūr al-kulliyā, wa-amā al-umūr al-juz'iyya al-latī takhtaṣṣu kull wāḥid min al-ashkhāṣ fa-laysa ya'lamuha 'alā ḥaqqā'iḥihā illā man uyyida bi-kurwā ālihiyya wa-itaṣalat bihi māda nabawiyya.*

⁵³ Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 40 (Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 70): ... *Wa-l-ikhbār bi-l-ashyā' al-latī laysa fi kurwwat al-naḥs al-falsafiyā an ta'lamuhā, li-an al-naḥs al-falsafiyā innamā tata'ātā al-naẓar fi l-kulliyāt khāṣatan.*

D. Al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb

Baṭalyawsī's *al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb*⁵⁴ is a commentary on Ibn Qutayba's (d. 889) famous treatise *Adab al-kātib*. Ibn Qutayba's treatise, which is a manual of philology for the court clerk, is characterized by a hostile approach to philosophy. In his commentary, Baṭalyawsī sets out to defend philosophy against Ibn Qutayba's attack by claiming that the philosophical ideas denounced by Ibn Qutayba should not be rejected automatically, but examined objectively. Baṭalyawsī also claims that Ibn Qutayba's attack against philosophy stems from ignorance, or from a wish to justify himself against accusations of a sympathy towards philosophy.⁵⁵ Baṭalyawsī adopts a similar approach in defense of philosophy in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and in *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*.

In addition to this similar attitude towards philosophy, there are thematic and stylistic affinities between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *al-Iqtidāb*. As mentioned above, Peña found a contradiction regarding the subject of time between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and Baṭalyawsī's grammatical writings, including *al-Iqtidāb*.⁵⁶ However, as suggested by Peña himself, this seeming contradiction can be reconciled in several ways.⁵⁷ Other examples, as presented below, show, on the contrary, the similarity between the two treatises.

In *Adab al-kātib*, Ibn Qutayba condemns several philosophical opinions. Baṭalyawsī's interpretation of one of these sayings bears a clear semblance to *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*. The statement in *al-Iqtidāb* is: "the point is the beginning of the line, and the point is indivisible."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ In the title of Baṭalyawsī's work the word appears in the plural (*kuttāb*), while in the title of Ibn Qutayba's work it generally appears in the singular (*kātib*). See al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb*, vol. 1, p. 18.

⁵⁵ See al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Iqtidāb*, vol. 1, pp. 54-56; Soravia, "Ibn Qutayba en Al-Andalus. La préface à l'*Adab al-Kātib* dans le commentaire d'Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī," pp. 545, 552.

⁵⁶ Peña Martín, "Gramática y verdad," pp. 211-213, 217-218.

⁵⁷ Peña assumes that the metaphysical approach, detected by him in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, is esoteric, and the grammatical approach, found in the grammatical writings, is exoteric, and suggests to reconcile these approaches through grammatical analysis (Peña Martín, "Gramática y verdad," p. 220). To Peña's propositions I would add the possibility that the different treatises were intended for different audiences and different purposes.

⁵⁸ *Wa-ra's al-khaṭ al-nuḡṭa, wa-l-nuḡṭa lā tanqasim* (al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Iqtidāb*, vol. 1, p. 57).

According to *al-Iqtidāb*, then, one can imagine that the point is the first level in the existence of sizes.⁵⁹ When it receives the dimension of length, it becomes a line; when it receives the dimension of width, it becomes a surface; and when it receives the dimension of depth it becomes a body: “In this respect, the point is the foundation to the line, and the line is the foundation of the surface, and the surface is the foundation of the body.”⁶⁰

This explanation is similar to Baṭalyawsī’s words in *Kitāb al-dawā’ir*, where he says that the least material bodies start in the point, which lacks any dimension, and from there a line is created, and then a surface, and then a body:

Because the foundation of sizes is the point, which is the foundation of the line and has no dimension. This is followed by the line which is the foundation of surface, and then surface which is the foundation for the body.⁶¹

In another passage in *al-Iqtidāb*, Baṭalyawsī compares the point to the One and says that the point in geometrical sciences is similar to the One in numbers theory: “As oneness is not a number, but is the foundation of the number and the cause of its existence, so too the point is not a dimension or a size, but is the foundation of dimensions and sizes, and the cause of their existence.”⁶²

This comparison of the point to the One resembles, both in concept and in formulation, the comparison between the One and God in *Kitāb al-dawā’ir*. There Baṭalyawsī states that understanding the formation of numbers from the One leads to understanding the creation of the world by God: “Just as the one is the cause of the existence of the number, but is not part of the number, so too the almighty creator is the cause of existence of the world and not

⁵⁹ The expression “the first level” (*awwal marātib*) also appears in *Kitāb al-dawā’ir*. See Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 71; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 78.

⁶⁰ Al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Iqtidāb*, vol. 1, p. 57: *Fa-šārat al-nuqta bi-hādhā al-i’tibār mabda’ al-khaṭ, wa-l-khaṭ mabda’ al-saṭḥ, wa-l-saṭḥ mabda’ al-jism*.

⁶¹ Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 46; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 72: *Li-an mabda’ al-a’zām al-nuqta al-laṭī hiya mabda’ al-khaṭ, wa-lā bu’d lahā, thumma al-khaṭ al-ladhī huwa mabda’ al-saṭḥ, thumma al-saṭḥ al-ladhī huwa mabda’ al-jism*.

⁶² Al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Iqtidāb*, vol. 1, p. 57: *Fa-kamā an al-waḥda laysat ‘adadan, in-namā hiya mabda’ li-l-‘adad wa-‘illa li-wujūdihi, ka-dhālika al-nuqta laysat bu’dan wa-lā ‘izaman, innamā hiya mabda’ li-l-ab‘ād wa-l-a’zām, wa-‘illa li-wujūdhā*.

part of the world.”⁶³ The comparison between the One and God, and between the numbers and the world, is a central theme in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, and it is a major aspect of *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*'s impact on the treatise, which will be discussed below.⁶⁴

E. *Kitāb al-tanbīh*

Baṭalyawsī's *Kitāb al-tanbīh 'alā al-asbāb al-latī awjabat ikhtilāf al-fuqahā' fī ra'yihim wa-i'tiqādātihim*⁶⁵ (*The Book of Notification on the Causes for Disagreement among the Jurists Concerning Opinion and Doctrines*) discusses the causes for disagreements among scholars of Islamic law and theology. The guiding principle of the treatise is that many of the disagreements stem from an incorrect understanding of the language of the Scriptures. Baṭalyawsī believes that a better knowledge of the Arabic language could considerably reduce these disagreements.

Before turning to the textual similarities between the two treatises, we should note that *Kitāb al-masā'il* is explicitly mentioned in *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, as noted by Peña.⁶⁷ Since *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* can be considered part of (one of the versions of) *Kitāb al-masā'il*, and since *Kitāb al-masā'il* and *Kitāb al-tanbīh* were written by the same author, *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* can also be considered to have been written by the same author.

In addition to this reference, *Kitāb al-tanbīh* and *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* have several themes in common. Similar formulations can also be found between *Kitāb al-tanbīh* and other parts of *Kitāb al-masā'il*. The

⁶³ Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 83; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 80: *Fa-kamā an al-wāḥid 'illa li-wujūd al-'adad wa-laysa min al-'adad, fa-kadhālika al-bāri' jalla jalāluhu 'illa li-wujūd al-'ālam wa-laysa min al-'ālam.*

⁶⁴ See Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” pp. 56, 58-60; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, pp. 115-119.

⁶⁵ This is the title as mentioned by Baṭalyawsī in *Kitāb al-masā'il* (MS 1518, f. 32b). Other versions of the title can be found in biographical sources and in other editions of the text. See Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*, pp. 65, 69; Serrano, “Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127),” pp. 90-91.

⁶⁶ The word *ra'yihim* appears in the singular form in *Kitāb al-masā'il* (MS 1518, f. 32b).

⁶⁷ See Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*, pp. 65, 69; a slight correction to Peña's reference (instead of f. 33b in MS Escorial, 1518 it should be f. 32b) is made in Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, p. 31 n. 117.

following topics are examples of similar ideas found in *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and other parts of *Kitāb al-masā'il*.

The unity of truth: In *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, Baṭalyawsī accepts the possibility of the multiplicity of opinions in Islam while simultaneously stating that there is only one truth. Baṭalyawsī's discussion of this topic is reminiscent of his discussion in *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*, where he emphasizes that religion and philosophy have one common purpose. In both treatises, Baṭalyawsī states that there is only one truth with a variety of ways to reach it.⁶⁸

Disagreements among human beings: According to *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, disagreement is inherent to human nature, because human beings were created different from one another.⁶⁹ A similar idea appears in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, where Baṭalyawsī states that there is a wide range of levels in human nature. There are people with an inferior nature, close to animals, and people with a perfect nature, close to angels.⁷⁰ A similar argument regarding disagreements appears in *The Epistle on Religion and Philosophy*.⁷¹

Language as a tool for understanding theology: Baṭalyawsī claims in *Kitāb al-tanbīh* that an improved knowledge of the Arabic language can help reduce the legal disputations that are often due to an incorrect understanding of the texts. Baṭalyawsī also uses more forceful formulations of the argument, for example when he says that Islamic legal methodology is based on the foundations of the Arabic language.⁷² In *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* this principle is not explicitly stated, but the integration of examples from the field of grammar in several theological discussions indicates a similar approach.⁷³

Opposition to Anthropomorphism: The dependence on the Arabic language as a means for reducing legal and theological disputations

⁶⁸ See al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Inṣāf*, p. 27; Asín Palacios, "La tesis de la necesidad," p. 381. For a discussion of the tension between Baṭalyawsī's attitude on this topic and Ibn Ḥazm's, see Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī y su obra sobre la discrepancia entre los musulmanes," pp. 225-226.

⁶⁹ Al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Inṣāf*, p. 25; See Serrano, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī y su obra," p. 226.

⁷⁰ Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 43; Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," p. 71.

⁷¹ See Asín Palacios, "La tesis de la necesidad," p. 381.

⁷² Al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Inṣāf*, p. 29.

⁷³ See Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 4, section 8.1.

leads Baṭalyawsī to focus on scriptural exegesis in *Kitāb al-tanbīh*.⁷⁴ Baṭalyawsī's main adversaries in *Kitāb al-tanbīh* are the *mujassima*, anthropomorphists who interpret the text literally,⁷⁵ thus expressing anthropomorphic opinions. Similarly, in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* Baṭalyawsī expresses opposition to the *mujassima*, and considers their opinions as heretical.⁷⁶

The Levels of reality: *Kitāb al-tanbīh* and *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* both point to the multiple levels of reality created by God. In explaining the *ḥadīth* “*wa-nazalnāhu tanzīlan*” in *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, Baṭalyawsī says that it refers to God who “organized [reality] by its levels, and situated it according to its places.”⁷⁷ This position is one of the central motifs in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, where the author says:

Since God Almighty ... emanated the creatures, and gave every creature its own place in existence; and since not all of them can logically be on the same level – some became elevated over the others, and some were lowered below the others.⁷⁸

The Prophetic Soul: *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-tanbīh* present similar positions regarding the existence of the prophetic soul. In *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, concerning the *ḥadīth* “Allāh khalaqa ādam ‘alā ṣūratihi”⁷⁹ (God created man in his/His form), Baṭalyawsī states that the pronoun of *ṣūratihi* can refer either to *ādam* or to Allāh.⁸⁰ If the pronoun refers to Allāh, it is not meant to serve as a comparison, but rather to suggest a sense of respect given by God to man and not to other creatures. This is due to the animals being more important than inanimate objects, man being more important than animals, prophets being more important

⁷⁴ Since *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* hardly deals with Qur'ān exegesis, it is interesting to read these treatises together: *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* adding a philosophical dimension to *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, and *Kitāb al-tanbīh* adding an exegetical dimension to *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*.

⁷⁵ According to Serrano, it is possible that Baṭalyawsī hints at the Zāhirite school and specifically Ibn Ḥazm. See Serrano, “Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī y su obra,” pp. 226-227.

⁷⁶ See Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 4, section 8.3.

⁷⁷ Al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Inṣāf*, pp. 85-86: *Ratabnāhu marātibihī wa-waḍa'nāhu mawādi'ihī*.

⁷⁸ Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 6; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 64: *Inna al-bārī' ta'ālā... lamā kāna huwa al-ladhī afāda al-maw-jūdāt, wa-a'tā kull mawjūd minhā qisṭihī min al-wujūd; wa-lamā lam yajuz fi l-ḥikma an takūna kulluhā fi martaba wāḥida, ṣāra ba'duhā arfa' min ba'din, wa-ba'duhā aḥaṭṭ min ba'din*.

⁷⁹ The biblical idea “and God created man in His image” (Genesis 1:27) does not appear in the Qur'ān.

⁸⁰ Al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Inṣāf*, p. 181.

than people, and *ādam* being more important than them all. This is how Baṭalyawsī expresses the idea, which is prominent in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, of hierarchy between the creatures, as well as the idea that prophets belong to a separate human (or super-human) level.⁸¹

4. The sources of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*

Some aspects of the contents and style of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, originating in the use of specific philosophical sources, provide additional evidence for the strong connections between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il*, and confirm Baṭalyawsī's authorship of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*. These aspects are related to the main source of inspiration of Baṭalyawsī's philosophy, the Neoplatonic encyclopedia *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*.

Many scholars have noticed the substantial influence of *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* on *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*.⁸² Mauro Zonta has even described the treatise as "a sort of compendium of the Brethren's doctrines."⁸³ However, some scholars, such as Peña, tend to minimize the impact of the *Ikhwān* on Baṭalyawsī's thought.⁸⁴

I agree with the former position, namely that the *Ikhwān* have undoubtedly had a far-reaching impact on Baṭalyawsī's philosophical thought (although we should not ignore the other philosophical sources of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*).⁸⁵ I wish to reinforce this position by providing further evidence in its support.

This impact of the *Ikhwān* on *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* is reflected in Baṭalyawsī's adoption of many philosophical ideas from the *Ikhwān*,⁸⁶ as well as by stylistic similarities. For example, Baṭalyawsī introduces

⁸¹ See Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, pp. 89-90, 94-99.

⁸² See Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," pp. 118-122; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, p. 288; Altmann, "The Ladder of Ascension," pp. 4-8; Pines, "Shi'ite Terms," p. 184 n. 144; Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Batlatjusi's*, p. 26.

⁸³ Zonta, "Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on Judaic Thought."

⁸⁴ See Peña Martín, *Corán, palabra y verdad*, pp. 148-149; 425-427.

⁸⁵ For the other philosophical sources, see Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz," pp. 53-62; Krauss, "Plotin chez les Arabes," p. 275; Altmann and Stern, *Isaac Israeli, a neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century*, p. 197; Elamrani-Jamal, "Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyūsī"; D'Alverny, "Pseudo-Aristotle, De Elementis"; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, chapter 3; Eliyahu, "Muslim and Jewish Philosophy," pp. 54-56.

⁸⁶ In addition to the references mentioned above, see Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, pp. 67-69; De Callatay, "From Ibn Masarra to Ibn 'Arabi," pp. 26-29.

his exegesis to philosophical – very often Ikhwānīan – doctrines with the words “the meaning of the philosopher’s teaching that...” (*ma'nā qawl al-ḥukamā' an...*),⁸⁷ a typical Ikhwānīan formula.⁸⁸

Godefroid de Callatāy has located additional stylistic similarities between the *Ikhwān* and *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, reflected in the use Baṭalyawsī makes of the classical formula of the *Ikhwān* – “Know, my brother – may God stand by you, as well as by ourselves, with a spirit coming from Him – that...”⁸⁹ This formula, which has many variations in the *Ikhwān*, has been identified by De Callatāy in the beginning of chapter two of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*:

On the [philosophers'] doctrine that man's science is like an imaginary circle... I have looked attentively – may God guide us as well as you to what is right in terms of words and actions and may He safeguard us from the mistake and the error – at what they have said, and I have pondered what they have mentioned, and I have found that it admits two interpretations...⁹⁰

Actually, we can provide additional evidence to support De Callatāy's claim, since this formula appears in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* in many instances, almost in every chapter. In addition to the beginning of chapter 2 identified by De Callatāy, it appears in the beginning of chapter 1,⁹¹ the beginning of chapter 3,⁹² the beginning of a section in

⁸⁷ See for example Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 3; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 63, and in other instances.

⁸⁸ See for example, *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, vol. II, p. 456.

⁸⁹ *I'lam yā ākhī ayyadaka Allāh wa-iyyānā bi-rūḥin minhu anna...* I would like to thank Prof. De Callatāy for providing me a copy of his article before its publication. See De Callatāy, “From Ibn Masarra to Ibn 'Arabī,” p. 9.

⁹⁰ *Fī sharḥ qawlihim an 'ilm al-insān yaḥkī dā'ira wahmiyya... qad ta'ammaltu – arshadanā Allāh wa-iyyāka ilā al-ṣawāb fī l-qawl wa-l-'amal, wa-'aṣamanā min al-khaṭa' wa-l-zalal – hādihā al-ladhī qālūhu, wa-i'tabartu mā dhakarūhu, fa-wajadtuhu yaḥtamilu ta'wilayni...* (Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 45; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 72). The translation is according to De Callatāy, “From Ibn Masarra to Ibn 'Arabī,” p. 28.

⁹¹ Chapter 1: *Sa'altanī – abāna Allāh laka al-khafīyyāt, wa-'aṣamaka min al-shubuhāt, wa-amaddaka bi-nūr min al-'aql, yajlū 'an baṣīratika zulm al-jahl, ḥatta tarā bi-'ayn qalbika marātib al-ma'qūlāt, kamā ra'ayta bi-'ayn jismika marātib al-maḥsūsāt – 'an ma'nā qawl al-ḥukamā' an tartīb al-mawjūdāt 'an al-sabab al-awwal yaḥkī dā'ira wahmiyya...* (Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 2; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 63).

⁹² Chapter 3: *Fī sharḥ qawlihim an fī quwwat al-'aql al-juz'ī an yataṣawwara bi-ṣūrat al-'aql al-kullī. Hādihā – awḍaḥa Allāh laka al-khafīyyāt, wa-a'ānaka 'alā fahm asrār al-mawjūdāt – manza' laṭīf taḥtahu ma'nā sharīf* (Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 59; Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 75).

chapter 5,⁹³ and in chapter 6.⁹⁴ This observation makes the impact of the *Ikhwān* on Baṭalyawsī even clearer, and the suggestion that Baṭalyawsī's references to *al-falāsifa* or *al-ḥukamā'* are directed to the *Ikhwān* even more probable.⁹⁵

This leads us to another finding which strengthens even further the close links between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il*: this Ikhwānian shibboleth is not only found in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, but also in other epistles of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, which have no philosophical contents at all. For example, the epistle which deals with different kinds of adjectives opens with this exclamation: "I have seen your question – may God encourage you, as well as ourselves, to please him, and may He place us among those who pursue the right way – about their saying..."⁹⁶ Similarly, the epistle which deals with the Qur'ānic verse "Shahida Allāh innahu lā ilāh illā huwa" opens with the exclamation: "You have asked – may God take you, as well as ourselves, to the right way, and may He give us success in understanding the contents of the unequivocal part of the [holy] book – about His words..."⁹⁷ Variations on this formula appear very frequently in the other epistles of *Kitāb al-masā'il*⁹⁸ and show that despite the topical variety, it has a stylistic coherence.

These findings constitute additional evidence for the deep impact of the *Ikhwān* on Baṭalyawsī's writings, not only the philosophical

⁹³ Chapter 5: *Bāb dhikr al-shubha al-latī ightarra bihā man za'ama an ṣifāt Allāh – ta'ālā 'an qawlihim – muḥdatha. I'lam – 'aṣamanā Allāh wa-iyyāka min al-ḍalāla, wa-arānā subul al-'ilm wa-l-hidāya – an al-sabab al-ladhī da'ā hā'ulā'i al-qawm ilā hādihā al-i'tiqād al-khabīth annahum ra'aw an ithbāt al-ṣifāt lā yaṣiḥḥu illā 'alā wajhayni...* (Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 114; Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz," p. 86).

⁹⁴ Chapter 6: *Fī sharḥ qawlihim an al-bāri' ta'ālā lā ya'lamu illā nafṣahu. Hādihā al-qawl – 'aṣamanā Allāh wa-iyyāka min al-zalal – awḥama kathīran min al-nās annahum arādū bihi annahu ḡayr 'ālim bi-ḡayrihi...* (Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, part 2, edition, paragraph 129; Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz," p. 89).

⁹⁵ See De Callatāy, "From Ibn Masarra to Ibn 'Arabī," p. 26; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī*, pp. 67-68.

⁹⁶ *Waqaftu 'alā su'ālīka – waffaqanā Allāh wa-iyyāka li-mā yurḍīhi wa-ja'alana miman yataḥarrā al-ṣawāb – fī mā yaqūluhu...* (MS Dublin, Chester Beatty, 4325, f. 37b; MS Escorial 1518, f. 60b).

⁹⁷ *Sa'alta – sarradanā Allāh wa-iyyāka ilā al-ṣawāb wa-waffaqanā li-fahm ma taḍammanahu muḥkam al-kitāb – 'an qawlihi ta'ālā...* (MS Dublin, Chester Beatty, 4325, f. 54b; MS Escorial 1518, f. 26a).

⁹⁸ In MS Dublin see epistles 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 15, 16, 18.

ones, but also those which do not have a philosophical character. This evidence also reinforces the links between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il*, supporting the authentic attribution of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* to Baṭalyawsī. These findings, in addition to the many textual parallels between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and the *Ikhwān* that we have not detailed here, show that Baṭalyawsī adopted and elaborated upon the philosophy of the *Ikhwān*, as did so many of his Jewish and Muslim Andalusian contemporaries. Additional elucidations of the *Ikhwān*'s role in Baṭalyawsī's thought are presented in the following section.

5. The Treatise's genre

The connection between *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il* contributes to highlighting our understanding of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* as a treatise constructed in the form of questions and answers. This aspect of the treatise, which has not been thoroughly examined in scholarship, will be analyzed below, in order to show the treatise's deep integration into the Andalusian Muslim and Jewish philosophical literature.

Compositions in the form of questions and answers are a common genre in Arabic literature in various fields, including philosophy. In his article on this literary genre, Hans Daiber mentions *al-Masā'il al-Ṣiqilliyya* (*The Sicilian Questions*) by the Andalusian mystic Ibn Sab'īn (d. 1270) as an example of philosophical questions and answers.⁹⁹ Daiber does not mention *Kitāb al-masā'il* or *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, or provide other Andalusian examples. However, an additional example of treatises of this genre is the work by Baṭalyawsī's Andalusian contemporary Abū l-Ṣalt al-Dānī (d. around 1134), which deals with various scientific topics and is also written in the *masā'il* format.¹⁰⁰

Two important examples of this genre in non-Andalusian literature are the famous debate between animals and humans in the *Ikhwān*, whose impact on *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* and *Kitāb al-masā'il* has been described above,¹⁰¹ and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's (d. 1023) rendering of the debate between the grammarian al-Sīrāfī and the philosopher

⁹⁹ See "*Masā'il wa-'Ajwiba*" in *EP* (H. Daiber).

¹⁰⁰ On Abū l-Ṣalt al-Dānī see *EP* (J.M. Millas).

¹⁰¹ See Hughes, *The Art of Dialogue in Jewish Philosophy*, p. 8.

Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus, a debate which inspired the debate between Baṭalyawsī and Ibn Bājja recorded in *Kitāb al-masā'il*.¹⁰²

From the Judaeo-Arabic literature in Andalus, mention should be made of the *Fons Vitae* by Ibn Gabirol (d. c. 1058), Moses b. Ezra's (d. 1138) two prose treatises, *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-l-mudhākara* (*Book of Conversation and Recollection*) and *Maqālat al-ḥadīqa fī ma'nā al-majāz wa-l-ḥaqīqa* (*Treatise of the Garden of Literal and Metaphorical Meaning*), and *al-Kitāb al-khazarī* by Judah Halevi (d. 1141), all written in the questions and answers genre.¹⁰³

Sometimes, treatises in the form of questions and answers deal with real questions, but often the use of questions and answers is a literary technique designed for rhetorical purposes. Daiber considers Ibn Sab'in's work to be a depiction of a historical dialogue between Ibn Sab'in and Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, as was previously accepted in scholarship.¹⁰⁴ However, Anna Akasoy raised serious doubts as to the authenticity of this dialogue.¹⁰⁵ Ibn Gabirol's *Fons Vitae* and Judah Halevi's *al-Khazarī* are clear examples of the use of the questions and answers genre as a literary technique.¹⁰⁶

In the cases of Baṭalyawsī and Moses b. Ezra, however, the questions may well reflect real questions, rising out of the milieu of the literary *majlis* whose atmosphere is so influential in their writings.¹⁰⁷ In

¹⁰² See Elamrani-Jamal, "Les rapports de la logique," p. 77.

¹⁰³ For Halevi, see Hughes, *The Art of Dialogue*, pp. 26-49. For Ibn Gabirol, see Hughes, *The Art of Dialogue*, pp. 18, 44-46; Schlanger, "Le maître et le disciple du *Fons Vitae*" (Hughes and Schlanger are divided regarding the value of Ibn Gabirol's use of the dialogue technique: Schlanger appreciates it while Hughes finds it lighter than the dramatic tension of Halevi's dialogue). For Moses b. Ezra see Eliyahu, "Muslim and Jewish Philosophy"; Fenton, *Philosophie et exégèse dans le jardin de la métaphore de Moïse ibn 'Ezra, philosophe et poète andalou du XII^e siècle*, pp. 31, 68-69. Another contribution to this genre in Judaeo-Arabic literature is Baḥyā b. Paqūda's (d. c. 1080) dialogue between the soul and the intellect found in his *Kitāb al-hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb* (*The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*). See Hughes, *The Art of Dialogue*, pp. 46-48.

¹⁰⁴ See "Masā'il wa-'Ajwiba" in *EP* (H. Daiber), pp. 622-623. Baṭalyawsī's influence on Ibn Sab'in is discussed in Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Batljusi's*, p. 8; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Sab'in, *Budd al-'arif*, p. 14; Akasoy, *Philosophie und Mystik*, pp. 290-300; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sid al-Batlyawsī*, chapter 6 section 2.3.

¹⁰⁵ Akasoy, "Ibn Sab'in's *Sicilian Questions*: the Text, its Sources, and their Historical Context," pp. 121-122.

¹⁰⁶ Hughes, *The Art of Dialogue*, pp. 26-49; Schlanger, "Le maître et le disciple."

¹⁰⁷ For the type of questions in Moses b. Ezra's treatises, see Eliyahu, "Muslim and Jewish Philosophy"; Fenton, *Philosophie et exégèse*, pp. 31, 68-69. For a comprehensive comparison between the two authors see Eliyahu, "Muslim and Jewish Philosophy."

the introduction to *Kitāb al-masā'il*, Baṭalyawsī states: “My aim in this treatise is to address questions I have been asked to answer ... and I answered them to the best of my knowledge.”¹⁰⁸ The questions of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, to which *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* belongs, deal with a broad range of issues that do not have a common motif, which could further indicate that they were addressed to Baṭalyawsī by different people. Many of the questions are composed of a sequence of short questions on various topics. For example, one of the questions concerns the interpretation of poetic verses, human nature and the effect of the planets, and alchemy.¹⁰⁹ The peculiar terminology of the question in the above mentioned *Epistle on the Immortality of the Soul*, combined with the discrepancies between its terminology and that used by Baṭalyawsī in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, may serve as further evidence that this question and the others are indeed authentic.¹¹⁰

If the questions in *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* (being part of *Kitāb al-masā'il*) are authentic, they can teach us about Baṭalyawsī and his environment's relationship to philosophy. Apparently, Baṭalyawsī did not only deal with philosophy on a personal level, but was also involved in teaching it. This indicates that there was a demand for philosophy within his surroundings, despite public hostility towards the subject.¹¹¹ If we combine the assumption that Baṭalyawsī is responding to philosophical questions by students, with the great impact of *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* on *Kitāb al-dawā'ir*, we can suggest that this treatise might reflect the result of the joint study of the *Ikhwān* by Baṭalyawsī and his students.

¹⁰⁸ MS Escorial 1518, f. 2b: *Gharadi fi hādha al-kitāb dhikr masā'il ṭūlibtu 'anha bi-l-jawāb... fa-ajabtu 'anhā bimā ahāṭa bihi 'ilmī wa-ittaba'a* [this word is not clear to me] *lahu fahmī*. Regarding the unclear reading, see al-Baṭalyawsī, “Min Kitāb al-masā'il,” p. 113, which reads *wa-iqtadaḥa*.

¹⁰⁹ *Kitāb al-masā'il*, MS Escorial, 1518, ff. 52a-54a. The answer on alchemy was published by Tornero (“Cuestiones filosóficas”) as a separate answer, despite its being part of a larger inquiry.

¹¹⁰ Asín and Tornero do not address this question. Peña seems to support the position that the questions are authentic (Peña Martín, “Gramáticos en al-Andalus: de Ibn Sīdah al-Mursī a Ibn al-Baṭalyawsī,” p. 48).

¹¹¹ On the religious authorities' attitude to Baṭalyawsī see Asín Palacios, “Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz,” p. 62; Serrano, “Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127),” pp. 75-76, 81; Eliyahu, *Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī*, pp. 21-22. On the Murābiṭūn's attitude to philosophy see Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la Reconquête: (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, pp. 82, 85; Serrano, “Los almorávides y la teología as'ari: ¿contestacion o legitimacion de una disciplina marginal?”.

Conclusion

The interpretation of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* offered here provides us with a new perspective on *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* in particular, and on Baṭalyawsī's works in general. I argue, on the one hand, that the treatise's original title was not the one commonly accepted; and on the other hand, I show that there is no reason to doubt Baṭalyawsī's authorship of the treatise.

Additional textual evidence, based on a previously unexamined manuscript of the treatise, shows that *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* should be considered a part of (one of the versions of) *Kitāb al-masā'il*, a work which has yet to receive the place it deserves amongst Baṭalyawsī's writings. More than any other of Baṭalyawsī's works, *Kitāb al-masā'il* reflects the essence of his literary oeuvre, being a collection of discussions on a wide range of topics. While most of the epistles deal with grammar, the collection also includes epistles on many other subjects, from magic and alchemy to theology and philosophy. This work thus reflects the interest Baṭalyawsī had in a wide variety of fields, which co-existed in his spirit and his writings.

When looking at *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* as a part of *Kitāb al-masā'il*, it becomes clear that Baṭalyawsī did not intend to create a comprehensive philosophical treatise, nor an introductory treatise for philosophy students, as has been suggested by some scholars.¹¹² Rather, Baṭalyawsī assembled a collection of answers to questions concerning several philosophical topics. Looking at *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* in the context of the philosophical genre of questions and answers anchors the treatise in the Arabic philosophical literature in general, and the Andalusian literature in particular. Since the questions it addresses might be authentic, the treatise might possibly reflect the actual experiences of Baṭalyawsī's lessons and discussions of philosophy.

The new evidence presented here regarding the impact of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* on *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* (and on *Kitāb al-masā'il*) provides additional support for the deep impact of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* on Baṭalyawsī's thought. I do not share some scholars' hesitation to assimilate Baṭalyawsī's thought with Neoplatonic philoso-

¹¹² This was the opinion of Asín (Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz," p. 54) and others in his wake such as Ramón Guerrero, "Influencia de al-Fārābī," p. 377.

phy, and thereby, the assumption that he was discussing philosophical ideas to which he did not adhere. Understanding Baṭalyawṣī's thought as inspired by the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, like so many other Andalusian systems of thought in his period, allows us to situate *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* as a link in the chain of transmission of Neoplatonic philosophy from the eastern Muslim world to its west, and also, based on the deep impact of *Kitāb al-dawā'ir* on Jewish thought, from Andalusian Muslim circles to Andalusian and European Jewish (and Christian) circles.

Baṭalyawṣī's decision to write his philosophical treatise in the style of questions and answers had far-reaching implications. It is possible that Baṭalyawṣī presented the treatise as a collection of questions and answers rather than as a purely philosophical treatise in order to escape the watchful eyes of the Murabbiṭūn, who were not always tolerant towards philosophical speculations. Indeed, this stylistic choice contributed to making the treatise less philosophical, at least externally. However, it also contributed to the limited acquaintance of readers with Baṭalyawṣī's philosophical contribution, as can be seen in the attitude of his biographers who were familiar with *Kitāb al-masā'il*, but did not know that it contained philosophical content as well.

Baṭalyawṣī integrates the genre of questions and answers with the exegetical genre. He presents his arguments in response to questions asked about particular philosophical statements that he then interprets. His fondness for the interpretive genre, which was remarked upon by Ibn Khāqān,¹¹³ is also widely reflected in his grammatical and literary writings, as can be seen in his commentary on al-Zajājī's *Kitāb al-jumal* (*the Book of sentences*), on Abū l-'Alā al-Ma'arri's poetry, and on Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-kātib*. This element contributes to demonstrating that Baṭalyawṣī's philosophical work does not deviate from his grammatical and literary works, but rather harmonizes with them.

Accordingly, scholarship should attempt to address Baṭalyawṣī's writings holistically, overcoming the compartmentalization of his writings into separate fields (philosophy, grammar, poetry, etc.). Likewise, research should not separate the Muslim reception of Baṭalyawṣī's writing from its Jewish reception, but should rather consider both of them

¹¹³ Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-'iqyān*, p. 222; Ibn Khāqān, *Tarjamat Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawṣī*, p. 107.

in order to draw a full picture of his production and reception.¹¹⁴ This is similarly the case, in many ways, with regards to other Andalusian thinkers.

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¹¹⁴ Scholars who have attempted to use this approach include Dominique Urvoy (“Le rapport entre *adab* et *falsafa*”) and J. Vahid Brown (“Andalusi Mysticism: A Recontextualisation,” pp. 76, 80-81).

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