

The Syriac Translations of Greek Philosophy used by the Arab Writers in the Medieval Europe.

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専攻はセム古代学および古代中東の宗教。アラム、シリア、バルミラ語文献、なかんづく碑文研究の世界的権威。1930年スペイン生まれ。ローマ東洋学研究所で故モスカーティ教授の研究指導のもとで博士号を取得。エルサレムの聖書研究所など、中東のさまざまな研究所で研究員をつとめたのち、コロンビア大学教授。ついで、フランス国立科学研究院研究指導教授を経て、コレージュ・ド・フランス教授。2001年より名誉教授。

The earliest Aramaic inscriptions discovered so far come from the late tenth century B.C., and at the beginning of our era, Aramaic, in various dialectal forms, was still the dominant spoken and written language of Syria and Mesopotamia. One of these dialects was Syriac which by the second century had become a full developed literary language. At that time, Bardaisan of Edessa, in south-eastern Turkey, can be rightly thought of as the first Syriac philosopher. In his "The Book of the Laws of Countries", edited by his followers, the initial dialogue is structured on a Platonic model according to which Bardaisan plays the role of Socrates. The opening of the dialogue is even reminiscent of the opening of Plato's Republic. The hint of Platonism present in the Syriac Bardaisan "provides some help in understanding why Syria became such a notorious breeding ground of late antique Neoplatonism in subsequent centuries"¹.

Let us consider briefly what this school of philosophy was. It developed in the Roman Empire from the third to fifth century AD., but it lingered for a while among the Syriac writers up to the Islamic time. Plotinus, a Hellenized Egyptian, can be considered the founder of Neoplatonism. He established an academy of philosophy in Rome, and although he deferred to Plato, he was always aware of the teachings of Aristotle. Porphyry, Plotinus' successor, later on Proclus, who became the head of the Academy at Athens in the middle of the fifth century, and Ammonius, who established the

school in Alexandria at the same time, were equally readers of Aristotle's work. Simplicius, another Neoplatonist philosopher, is a good example of the strong lean that the so called Neoplatonist philosophers had to Aristotle. He says that the prime requirement of a good interpreter of Aristotle is to bring out the most profound harmony between Plato's and Aristotle's philosophies. Neoplatonism was imported to Alexandria from Athens. It was common for philosophers to lecture in Athens and in Alexandria, and this explains the geographical extension of their debates on the problem of the agreement between Plato and Aristotle. As some of the Syriac speaking students of philosophy went from northern Mesopotamia to Alexandria to complete their education, it is worth looking at the academic studies in the last period of Alexandrian scholarship, that is in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The curriculum was extremely scholastic with a series of propaedeutic courses, partly conditioned by the fact that at Alexandria more than in Greece, students and professors alike were often Christians². Ammonius, the famous teacher at the school of Alexandria was not a Christian but he cared for the Christian students; he concentrated on Aristotle, in particular on his logical writing, which was neutral matter. By burying themselves in Aristotelian logic the Christian students could avoid the ideological stresses resulting from reading Plato. As a consequence, the Alexandrian school lost gradually its positively Platonic character and became

an institute for general philosophical education³. It was generally accepted that Aristotle had to be studied as preliminary to Plato. But before one could even begin to study Aristotle's *Categoriae*, one had to study the following prolegomena : an introduction to Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Porphyry's *Isagoge* with a commentary, a general introduction to the philosophy of Aristotle, a special introduction to the *Categoriae*, and finally the *Categoriae* itself⁴. During the course of these prolegomena, a professor had the occasion to touch upon the classification of the different parts of philosophy and by so doing to present the division of philosophy into theoretical and practical, with the inevitable discussion on whether logic is a part of philosophy or its instrument. The Syriac philosophers complied in their philosophical publications with the practice of the Alexandrian school whenever it did not interfere with their religious beliefs.

The Syriac speaking area in the first centuries AD was the northern Mesopotamia with Adiabene, the adjoining frontier province to the east, but we have to assume an easy contact with the Aramaeans in Babylonia and western Syria. Edessa, the natural geographic center of the region was undoubtedly a city of great political and cultural significance. Beside the inscriptions on the mosaics or the funerary stelae we get some information about Edessa from a very valuable Chronicle written in the late sixth century. It begins with a flood in 201 which destroyed "the temple of the church ('édâtâ)⁵ of the Christians"; the events recorded for the previous period are the birth of Christ, the apostasy of Marcion in 138 and the birth of Bardaisan in 154. Next comes the birth of Mani in 240. With the mention of the first bishop Quna in 312, most probably appointed by the clergy of Antioch, Edessa seems to have left aside systems of thought, as those of Marcion and Mani considered contrary to the official doctrine of the Church.

An early feature of the Syriac communities that deserves special attention is the existence of schools where Biblical texts and theological issues were discussed. They prepared the ground for systematic studies in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Greek philosophy, mostly of the *Organon*, the collection of the logical treatises of Aristotle. The first important school seems to have been that of Nisibis founded by bishop Jacob who appointed Ephrem as "Exegete". When Nisi-

bis fell in the hands of the Persian Sassanians in 363, Ephrem moved to Edessa where he opened a school which was known as the "School of the Persians". But a century later the theological disputes forced some scholars to move back to Nisibis where the school, re-founded by Barsauma the bishop of the city, gained a preeminent importance. Nisibis "saw itself as the guardian of the intellectual heritage of the school of Edessa, and therefore vigorously pursued the process of assimilation of Greek theological and philosophical literature and culture, a process which had begun in Edessa"⁶. Many teachers active in theological, philosophical and secular disciplines were connected with this school. It imposed on the students a rigorous monastic-type discipline, including strict celibacy. It should be noticed that one of the first propedeutic disciplines was the art of writing. This is clearly indicated by this rule : "The brothers who are in the rank of 'students' are not allowed to stop writing, spelling after the school manner, and reading"⁷. This is understandable because there was a great difference between the vernacular Syriac and the literary language. Let aside this mandatory practice of writing and spelling which may have concerned the first-year students, the distinction between secondary and higher education is blurred in our sources. Care for the grammatical rules would help students to better understand the Aristotelian logic introduced into the curriculum of the school probably in the first half of the sixth century. Medical studies may have been also introduced at this time under the directorate of Abraham of Bet Rabban. The translations of Aristotle's logic into Syriac done by Proba and Sergius of Reshaina in the sixth century, if used in the schools, belonged undoubtedly to the curriculum of higher education. Sergius of Reshaina (d. 536) studied in Alexandria, wrote on logic and science in Syriac and translated works of Aristotle. Probus, also translator and commentator of Aristotle in Syriac, was a physician in Antioch. The use of the works of these two philosophers, or of other philosophers as well, required a clear understanding of the place of philosophy in the academic program of a Syriac school, more so in Nisibis a center of higher education that never lost its condition of a true Christian institution.

In Roman and Byzantine circles, the common education which served as a foundation for the studies of philosophy, law and medicine was called *enkyklios*

paideia, i.e. “circular education”, which covered the seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music theory. A comparable development must have taken place in the Syriac schools. J. Watt takes notice of the *Nomocanon* of Barhebraeus (the great polygraph of the thirteenth century) where we have a late example of the overall curriculum followed in the West Syriac schools⁸. After the Biblical and patristic texts, Barhebraeus enumerates the secular studies in the way he thought they ought to be pursued: the *Rhetoric* of Antony of Tagrit, all the logic books of Aristotle plus his *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, and the four mathematical disciplines; from physics and metaphysics he says that it was necessary to take only what was profitable; they were to be treated differently because they could clash with Christian theology. I must say that at the time of Barhebraeus the Syriac church had advanced considerably as far as the Aristotelian philosophy was concerned, because few centuries earlier Syriac scholars had restricted their studies to the *Categories*, to the *de interpretatione* and to the *Prior Analytics*, as we learn from al-Farabi’s (d. 950). His account on the appearance of philosophy in ancient times is mentioned by Ibn Abî Uçaybi’a in his dictionary of Arab medicine written in the thirteenth-century. Here, al-Farabi is recorded saying: “The teaching of philosophy came to an end in Rome, while it continued in Alexandria until the Christian ruler looked into the matter. The bishops assembled and took counsel together on which parts of the teaching of philosophy should be kept and which should be abolished. They decided that the books on logic could be taught up to the assertoric figures (i.e. the first half of the first book of *Analytica Priora*), but no further, since they believed that everything beyond that would harm Christianity, whereas the permitted material could be used for the promotion of their religion. This then could be taught publicly while all the remaining studies were kept secret until, much later, Islam came”⁹.

Al-Farabi’s statement is somewhat incorrect. In the writings of Proba and Paul the Persian, the two Syriac logicians of the sixth century, I find evidence of them knowing the *Analytica Posteriora*. And in the tenth century, i.e. at the time al-Farabi wrote, the *Analytica Posteriora* had already been translated into Syriac as we can read in the al-Fihrist of Ibn an-

Nadim¹⁰. This notwithstanding, it is true that the Christian Church kept a controlled acceptance first of the Neoplatonist thesis, and second of the philosophical commentaries of the Syriac writers inspired by the Alexandrian school, whereas the Arab philosophers did not see any obstacle in accepting the *Analytica Posteriora*, and making it useful in the study of the relations between revelation and philosophy¹¹.

Beside the schools of Edessa and Nisibis surely under the control of the local bishops, we hear of other centers of learning that can be considered “private” following the model of the much earlier Greek philosophical schools. In fifth century Antioch the historical sources record a pagan grammarian named Isocadius who kept a school of philosophy. He became a man of wealth and property, holding many public offices. Accused for various offences, arrested and brought to trial in Constantinople, he defended himself with a philosophical speech which seems to have made a great impression. It appears that the trial was brought to an end when agreed to receive the Christian baptism. A center of learning highly reputed among the Syriac scientists was the convent of Keneshre, in western Syria. Its main figure was Severus Sebokht who imparted his knowledge of Greek philosophy, astronomy and mathematics to many students. The monastery of Mar Mattai, on Jebel Maqlub to the southeast of Mosul, with a rich library, and the school of Mar Abraham at Bashosh, to the northeast of Mosul, were already active in the seventh century¹².

In dealing with the Syriac schools one should keep in mind that their primary purpose was not, as it was the case in Alexandria, to teach philosophy much less to elaborate a philosophical doctrine, and yet the Syriac scholars succeeded in doing both as a result of their theological concerns. Far from its first Jewish origins Christianity became a Hellenistic religion in which the notions of Aristotelian logic helped to set forth a series of doctrinal tenets. This first step in the domain of philosophy encouraged further studies, and at the arrival of Islam in Mesopotamia the Syriac philosophy was flourishing.

The arrival of the Abbasid dynasty became extremely advantageous to the spread of the Greek philosophy not only to Western Asia but to Europe as well,

and Baghdad played a main part in this cultural undertaking. Al-Mansûr founded Baghdad in 762. It was situated at the point where the Tigris and the Euphrates are closest to each other, linked by a series of canals which could serve as a natural defence against potential aggressors. Baghdad became a dwelling for the caliph and his entourage. By the end of al-Mansûr's reign the dynasty had become firmly established and the unity of the empire safeguarded in all essential respects. The prestige of the new rulers was buttressed by a strong religious feeling, and by a tendency towards pomp and luxury. They may have wanted to emulate the Byzantine emperors. The Abbasids no longer stood in that cultural-political opposition to Hellenism which had been unavoidable for the Umayyads of Damascus. In order to define their religion Muslims were obliged to foster the growth of a theology rooted in philosophical notions as earlier Christianity had done. It appears that the Abbasids based themselves on the Mu'tazilah movement whose followers believed that truth could be reached by using reason on what is written in the Qur'an. A sort of rationalism contrary to those Muslims who thought that the Qur'an had to be interpreted in the light of the habitual practice of the Prophet and his Companions (the *sunna*). Ibn Hanbal (780–855) was the most responsible figure of this religious mood. The Mu'tazilis were deeply influenced by Greek thought, and we can ascribe to them the will of introducing into the Islamic culture a vision of the world based on ideas and methods found in Greek philosophy. In the words of the historian Ibn Khaldun it was at the time of al-Mansûr (754–775) that the Arabs in general but specially those of Iraq became interested in philosophical and scientific books. He writes:

“At the beginning, people were simple and disregarded the crafts. Eventually, however, the Muslim rule and dynasty flourished. The Muslims developed a sedentary culture, such as no other nation had ever possessed. They became versed in many different crafts and sciences. Then they desired to study the philosophical disciplines. They had heard some mention of them by the bishops and priests among their Christian subjects, and man's ability to think has aspirations in the direction of the intellectual sciences. Abû Ja'far al-Mansûr, therefore, sent to the Byzantine Emperor and

asked him to send him translations of mathematical works. The Emperor sent him Euclid's book and some works on physics. The Muslims read them and studied their contents. Their desire to obtain the rest of them grew. Later on, al-Ma'mûn came. He had some (scientific knowledge). Therefore, he had a desire for science. His desire aroused him to action in behalf of the intellectual sciences. He sent ambassadors to the Byzantine emperors; they were to discover the Greek sciences and have them copied in Arabic writing; he sent translators for that purpose. As a result, a good deal of the material was preserved and collected”¹³.

It is unlikely that the very first texts sent by the Byzantine Emperor to the Caliph had already been translated into Arabic. One wonders whether the Greek works mentioned by Ibn Khaldun were not translated into Syriac by bilingual scholars of Baghdad; later on they would have been translated into Arabic. Syriac was the mother tongue of Mesopotamia and the translators familiar with Syriac greatly exceeded those who knew Greek or were bilingual. Under the al-Ma'mûn's rule the translations might have been done from Greek into Arabic without a Syriac intermediary. The Caliphs encouraged scholars of different religions to work together in the translation of Greek authors. A letter of the Patriarch Timothy I (d. 823) illustrates the part played by Syriac clergymen in the process of translating Greek texts into Arabic. The letter, of the end of the eighth century, is addressed to the head of the school at Bashosh. After the greetings we read:

“The royal command required of us to translate the *Topika* of the philosopher Aristotle from Syriac into the Arabic tongue. This was achieved, with God's help, through the agency of the teacher Abû Nûh (a secretary to the governor of Mosul). A small part was done by us as far as the Syriac was concerned, whereas he did it in its entirety, both Syriac and Arabic; the work has already reached a conclusion and has been completed. And although there were some others who were translating this from Greek into Arabic – we have written to inform you how and in what way it happened that all this took place – nevertheless the king (the Caliph al-Mahdî) did not consider it worth even looking at the labours of those other people on the grounds that they were barbaric, not only in phraseology, but also in sense, whether because of the natural difficulty of the

subject – for you are aware of the style of the Philosopher in matters of logic, and how and to what extent he infuses obscurity into the beauty of his meaning and sense –, or as a result of the lack of training of those who approached such things. For you know the extent and magnitude of the toils and labours such a task requires. But the king entirely approved of our labours, all the more so when from time to time he compared the versions with each other. Let your Eminence sagely ask and enquire whether there is some commentary or scholia by anyone, whether in Syriac or not, to this book, the *Topika*, or to the *Refutation of the Sophists*, or to the *Rhetorika*, or to the *Poetika*; and if there is, find out by whom and for whom was made, and where it is”¹⁴.

In the Abbasid Baghdad, we find in ‘Ali ibn Yahyâ al-Munaggim, a courtier and general of Persian origin, a maecenas of the translation activities of the ninth century. Also known is the famous Hunain bin Ishâq, a nestorian Arab from al-Hîra, a well-reputed medical figure of the same period. He, with his son and his nephew, created a prominent school of translators with rules and methods that warranted the correctness of the work. They always tried to get hold of as many Greek manuscripts as possible. Hunain mentions the towns of Aleppo, Damascus, and Harran, where it was still possible to purchase or to see Greek manuscripts of Galen¹⁵. It is not sure that Hunain ever had an official position in the famous “House of Wisdom” which in the Abbasid Baghdad promoted so actively the translation of Greek and Syriac works into Arabic, but he belonged very likely to the circle of Muslim, Jewish, and Syriac scholars closely connected to the court who played a role in the translation-process¹⁶. The Arabs have translated the Greek scientific and literary books more extensively than the Syriac clergymen. But there is evidence that Arabic translation of Aristotle might have been done keeping an eye on previous Syriac translations. Recently, modern scholars have drawn attention to a heavily glossed Arabic manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. It is a document that goes back to the very first philosophical circles of the Abbasid Baghdad. Its author, a Syriac philosopher writing in Arabic, copied the Aristotelian treatises of logic out of original autographs of the

ninth century. The apparatus criticus is based chiefly on early Syriac translations of the *Organon*. Beside their philological character, the glosses seem to disclose a different understanding of the logic of Aristotle¹⁷. Indeed the first logical material in Arab depended upon the contemporary Greco-Syriac texts that were institutionalized in the Mesopotamian schools, and the memory of the role that the Alexandria school had played at the beginning lasted long, as we learn from this texts of Hunain bin Ishâq :

“These, then, are the books to whose reading they would confine themselves in the medical school of Alexandria...They would gather every day to read and study one leading text among those, just as our contemporary Christian colleagues gather every day in places of teaching known as *scholai* for [the study of] a leading text by the ancients. As for the rest of the books, they used to read them individually – each one on his own, after having first practiced with those books which I mentioned – just as our colleagues today read the commentaries of the books of the ancients”¹⁸.

In their philosophical commentaries Syriac and Arab translators assigned to logic the special role of instrument (*organon*) thus separating that discipline from the whole body of Aristotelian philosophy, consequently logic became a matter of critical importance. That the religious concerns of the translator’s milieu should never be at stake is clearly said in a *fatwâ* of the fourteenth-century religious scholar Taqî-ad-dîn as-Subkî. Here we find the question: “If somebody wants to occupy himself with the Islamic sciences, would it be useful and rewarding for him to study logic?”, and the answer was:

“Anybody who claims that logic is unbelief or something prohibited is a fool ignorant of the actual meaning of unbelief and of what is allowed and forbidden. Logic is a purely intellectual science just like arithmetic, only the latter cannot lead to corruption..., and the man who knows it feels no sort of contempt for others, nor is it an introduction to any other, possibly harmful, science. Logic, on the other hand, it is true, is not corrupt in itself, but the man who knows it is arrogant, considers other people contemptible and always believes that people who do not master logic deserve no attention whatsoever. In addition, logic opens to him

the path to the study of all other philosophical sciences, both that of natural science, in which there is no error, and that of metaphysics, where most of the philosophers' claims are erroneous and contrary to Islam and the religious law of Islam. If anybody confines himself to it, without the safeguard of a previous correct foundation, one must fear that consciously or unconsciously he will succumb to heresy or to some philosophical doctrine"¹⁹.

When Islam arrived in Western Asia the great civilisations of the past had already been incorporated into a Hellenistic culture which for the most people meant a Christian way of life. It is hard to define how Islam adopted the classical heritage. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that this heritage opened a new horizon to the Arabs who originally had only poetry in their saddle-bags, as Ibn Khaldun notes : "They made poetry the archive of their history, their wisdom, and their nobility, and the touchstone of their natural gift for expressing themselves correctly"²⁰. Some may say that the Hellenistic philosophy enhanced in the conquerant Arabs their poetry, their grammar and their science and art of government; others will see in the encounter of the Arabs with the Byzantine world a mere rubbing of cultures. Nonetheless the fact stands that individual Arabs learned Greek and studied Aristotle reaching a high degree of professionalism in teaching philosophy and doing scientific research. Some of the manuscripts used by the Arabs in the ninth and tenth centuries for the translation of Greek into Arabic, are older than the ones we use today. Logical studies were accepted in Muslim circles through direct contact among individuals; the discipline was free to experiment, and as a result, Gutas has remarked, we witness a wide array of literary genres such as treatises on definitions, diagrams and synopses, or general introductions, the whole being harnessed in the service of the promotion, exposition and instruction of logic. "From among this many-faceted preoccupation with and production of logical works, there eventually emerged by the middle of the tenth century an Arabic tradition of logical studies, one that is identified with Baghdad and specifically with the name of [al] Fārābī"²¹, the most outstanding representative of early Muslim philosophy. Walzer rightly says : "It seems to be due to him that philoso-

phy became definitely naturalized in the Islamic world"²². These logical studies reached Muslim Spain presumably at the time of the Andalusian Caliph al-Hakam II (961–976) who imported books of philosophy from the Eastern schools. This must have encouraged the study of Arab philosophy in Spain where it was already very much in favor by 854, as Alvaro of Cordova notes :

"My fellow Christians delight in the poems and romances of the Arabs; they study the words of Mohammedan theologians and philosophers, not in order to refute them, but to acquire a correct and elegant Arabic style. Where today can a layman be found who reads the Latin commentaries on Holy Scriptures? Who is there that studies the Gospels, the Prophets, the Apostles? Alas! the young Christians who are most conspicuous for their talents have no knowledge of any literature or language save the Arabic; they read and study with avidity Arabian books; they amass whole libraries of them at a vast cost, and they everywhere sing the praises of Arabian lore"²³.

The zealot Alvaro was correct in mentioning this decided lean to Arabic culture in Cordova; the city became starting the tenth century an active center of learning as prestigious as Baghdad. Arabic scholarship was a powerful inspiration for the medieval West. At times the West not only accepted the material offered by the Muslims and rendered accessible by translations, but adopted as well the interpretation given this material by the Arab thinkers. Therefore it is not surprising to find in the twelfth century Averroes born at Cordova, educated in Islamic law, writing on medical and astronomical matters, and becoming through his commentaries on Aristotle very influential in the West. Most of his books are known only from Hebrew and Latin translations.

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- 1 G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, The University of Michigan Press, 1990, p. 32.
 - 2 Eusebius in his *History of the church*, 7,32, 9 writes about a churchman who was a contemporary: "Anatolius was by birth an Alexandrian, and for his learning, secular studies, and philosophy was in the first rank of the most eminent men of my time; indeed in arithmetic,

- geometry, astronomy, and the other sciences, physical or metaphysical, and in the speaker's art too, he had climbed to the summit. It was apparently on this account that he was invited by the citizens there to found the school of the Aristotelian succession at Alexandria".
- 3 K.Verrycken, "The metaphysics of Ammonius on of Hermeias", in *Aristotle Transformed. The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, R. Sorabji, ed., London, Duckworth, 1990, p. 199 – 231.
 - 4 D. Gutas, "Paul the Persian on the classification of the parts of Aristotle's philosophy : a milestone between Alexandria and Bagdad", *Der Islam* 60(1983), 231 – 267; p. 240 – 241.
 - 5 'edta may have been a Christian development to designate the Church as distinct from the Synagogue (knushta). In the Odes of Solomon edta does occur, and knushta only once. In the fourth century they seem to be still interchangeable, especially in Aphrahat, but already the preference is for 'edta; see R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 18.
 - 6 G. J. Reinink, " 'Edessa grew dim and Nisibis shone forth' : the School of Nisibis at the transition of the sixth-seventh century", in *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, J.W.Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald, eds, Leiden, E.J.Brill, 1995, p. 77 – 139.
 - 7 Canon VIII, *Statutes*, p. 79; see A. Voobus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266, Sub. 26, Louvain 1965, p. 102.
 - 8 J.W.Watt, "Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Enkyklios Paideia in Syriac", *ZDMG* 143 (1993), p. 45 – 71.
 - 9 Text in F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, London 1975 (reprinted London, Routledge, 1994), p. 50 – 51.
 - 10 *The Fihrist of al-Nadim. A Tenth-Century of Muslim Culture*, Bayard Dodge, editor and translator, Columbia University Press, 1970, p. 600.
 - 11 See for instance Averroes `The Decisive Treaty (Façal al-Maqal), § 18, an enlightening text which I read in the French translation of M. Geoffroy.
 - 12 J.-M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I and II, Beirut 1965; see infra Brock's article.
 - 13 Trad. of F. Rosenthal, *Ibn Khaldûn, The Muqaddimah*, Bollingen Series, Princeton University Press, 1974, p. 372.
 - 14 S. P. Brock, "The letters of the Patriarch Timothy from the late eighth century on translations from Greek", *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 9 (1999), p. 233 – 246.
 - 15 G. Strohmaier, "Hunain bin Ishaq - An Arabic scholar translating into Syriac", *ARAM* 3 (1991), p. 163 – 170.
 - 16 See the important article of P. S. van Koningsveld, "Greek Manuscripts in the Early Abbasid Empire : Fiction and Facts about their origin, Translation and Destruction", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 55(1998), p. 345 – 372; and of course the *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim which is a gratifying conspectus of the cultural melting-pot that was Baghdad.
 - 17 H. Hugonnard-Roche, "Remarques sur la tradition arabe de l'*Organon* d'après le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ar. 2346", in *Glosses and Commentaries*, Burnett, ed., p. 19 – 28.
 - 18 Text and introductory commentaries by D. Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works", in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts*, Ch. Burnett, ed., London, The Warburg Institute, 1993, 29 – 76; see p. 44.
 - 19 Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, p. 81 – 82
 - 20 Trad. Rosenthal, p. 330.
 - 21 Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works", p. 46 – 47, 53 – 54.
 - 22 R. Walzer in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, A. H. Armstrong, ed., Cambridge 1967, p. 667.
 - 23 This text comes from Alvaro's work *Indiculus luminosus*, 30 (Migne PL CXXI, 554 – 556); see G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, The University of Chicago Press, 1953 (1971), p. 59 – 60.