

AVICENNA'S IMMEDIATE DISCIPLES: THEIR LIVES AND WORKS

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The history of post-Avicennan philosophy begins with al-Jūzjānī, Bahmanyār, Ibn Zayla, and al-Ma'sūmī, who, despite the paucity of reliable reports in the bio-bibliographical literature, appear to have played a central role in the collection and transmission of Avicenna's writings. Moreover, these individuals did not just gather the master's oeuvre; they also wrote commentaries on and summaries of his major and minor philosophical works. A detailed study of their lives and works remains a major desideratum.¹

In this article I will attempt to answer the following questions about Avicenna's immediate disciples including, though I will argue that they were not immediate, al-Lawkarī and al-Īlāqī: Who were they? How extensive was their study and contact with Avicenna? What role did they play, if any, in the transmission and defence of his philosophy? With which writings of Avicenna are they associated in the bio-bibliographical literature? What works and commentaries did they themselves compose? And who were their students and to what extent can this be determined?

¹ D. Gutas, 'Notes and Texts from Cairo Manuscripts, II: Texts from Avicenna's Library in a Copy by 'Abd al-Razzāq aṣ-Ṣignāhī', *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 2 (1987), 13–22 (p. 9 n. 17); an exception is D. C. Reisman's work on Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition: The Transmission, Content, and Structure of Ibn Sīnā's 'al-Mubāḥaṭhāt' (The Discussions)*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science: Texts and Studies, 49 (Leiden, 2002). See also the references below to Y. Michot's work (some of which appeared in print after this article was completed), including *Ibn Sīnā: Lettre au vizir Abū Sa'd; Editio princeps d'après le manuscrit de Bursa*, Sagesses musulmanes, 4 (Beirut, 2000); and 'Le Riz trop cuit du Kirmānī: Présentation, édition, traduction et lexique de l'épître d'Avicenne contestant l'accusation d'avoir pastiché le Coran', in *Mélanges offerts à Hossam Elkhadem par ses amis et ses élèves*, ed. by F. Dalemans and others (Brussels, 2007), pp. 81–129.

Introduction

In his biography of Avicenna, Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī relates the following vivid account of the nightly study sessions that took place at Avicenna's residence, which presumably was in Hamadhān, while Avicenna was still in the service of the Būyid amir, Abū Ṭāhir Shams al-Dawla (r. 387–419/c. 997–1021).² In this report al-Jūzjānī also establishes his connection to Avicenna's philosophical summa, the *Shifā'*:

Every night students [*ṭalabat al-'ilm*] would gather at his house, while by turns I would read from the *Shifā'* and another would read from the *Qānūn*. When we finished [reading], different kinds of singers arrived, a drinking party [*majlis al-sbarāb*] was prepared with [all of] its accompaniments, and we engaged [ourselves] in it. [In those days] instruction [*tadris*] would take place at night, because of the lack of free time during the day on account of [Avicenna's] service to the Amīr.³

In *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* Zāhīr al-Dīn Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), or his source(s), embellishes al-Jūzjānī's report with the following details, which are again repeated in later biographies of Avicenna:⁴

While by turns Abū 'Ubayd would read [*yaqra'u min*] from *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, al-Ma'sūmī would read from *al-Qānūn*, Ibn Zayla would read from *al-Ishārāt* and Bahmanyār would read from *al-Hāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*.⁵

² Avicenna appears to have been in Hamadhān between 406–15–c. 1015/24; see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*, Islamic Philosophy and Theology: Texts and Studies, 4 (Leiden, 1988), pp. 103–06; D. Gutas, 'Avicenna II: Biography', in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, ed. by E. Yarshater (London, 1982–) (hereafter *EtR*), III, 69–70. On the Būyid Shams al-Dawla, see K.V. Zetterstéen, 'Shams al-Dawla, Abū Ṭāhir b. Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan', in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. by E. van Donzel, new edn (Leiden, 1960–) (hereafter *EF*), IX, p. 295; C. E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (New York, 1996), p. 154.

³ W. E. Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sīnā: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science (Albany, 1974), pp. 54–57 (Gohlman's translation; brackets and glosses are mine); Ibn Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) reproduces al-Jūzjānī's text in *Ta'rikk al-ḥukamā'*, ed. by J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903; repr. Frankfurt a.M., 1999), p. 430.

⁴ On the biases and motivations of al-Bayhaqī's reporting, see D. C. Reisman, 'Stealing Avicenna's Books: A Study of the Historical Sources for the Life and Times of Avicenna', in *Before and After Avicenna: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, ed. by D. C. Reisman and A. H. al-Rahim, Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science: Texts and Studies, 52 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 114–22.

⁵ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. by M. Shafī' (Lahore, 1935), p. 49; all of the following *Tatimma* references are to the Shafī' edition (other editions of al-Bayhaqī's

The significance of this report and its later recensions (indicated above by the angle brackets, which appear only in Shafī's edition) is not in its historical veracity, because the *Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* appears to have been composed after the period in Hamadhān,⁶ but in the way that it clearly associates each of Avicenna's four disciples with certain of his works. Another point that this report establishes is the identity of Avicenna's direct disciples; that is, those whom the bio-bibliographical tradition — which began with al-Jūzjānī, who mentions himself only; the other names, as noted, appearing only in later recensions — regarded as the most loyal to Avicenna's philosophy and to his *madhhab* (see below). The study sessions in Hamadhān with Avicenna might be identified with reading sessions (*majālis al-qirā'a*), where al-Jūzjānī and perhaps others would read Avicenna's texts back to him, apparently for discussion and possibly in order to establish an archetype of his text (*al-nuskha al-dustūr*).⁷

Tatimma include: *Ta'rikk ḥukamā' al-Islām*, ed. by M. K. 'Alī (Damascus, 1365/1946); *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. by R. al-'Ajām (Beirut, 1994); *Ta'rikk al-ḥukamā'*, ed. by M. Ḥ. Muḥammad (Cairo, 1417/1997); and the Persian translation of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*, entitled *Durrat al-akbbār wa-lum'at al-anwār*, ed. by M. Shafī' (Tehran, 1318Sh/1939); see also, D. Gutas, 'The *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* Cycle of Texts', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102 (1982), 645–50. Also see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī (fl. seventh/thirteenth century), *Ta'rikk al-ḥukamā' qabl al-Islām wa-ba'dahu*, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawdat al-afrāḥ*, ed. by 'A. K. Abū Shuwayrib (Cairo, 1988; repr. Paris, 2004), p. 371; for an analysis of this story and its later recensions, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 95–96; Gutas, 'Avicenna II', pp. 67–69.

⁶ Gohlman says that the *Ishārāt*, as noted by al-Jūzjānī in the bibliography (p. 96), 'was the last work written by Ibn Sīnā, so that the latter two examples, not found in the earlier manuscripts of Ibn Funduq [al-Bayhaqī], seem to be false interpolations' (*Ibn Sīnā*, p. 128). On the dating of the *Ishārāt* and Avicenna's other philosophical works, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 82–98, 145; for an alternative, earlier dating of the *Ishārāt*, see J. Michot, 'La Réponse d'Avicenne à Bahmanyār et al-Kirmānī: Présentation, traduction critique et lexicque arabe-français de la *Mubāḥaṭha III*', *Le Muséon*, 110.1–2 (1997), 153–64; on Michot's dating of the *Ishārāt*, see D.C. Reisman's comments, 'A New Standard for Avicenna Studies', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 122 (2002), 564–65.

⁷ I thank Fritz Zimmermann for his discussion of this section at the 'Post-Avicennian Science and Philosophy' conference at Bar-Ilan University, 21–23 November 2005, where I presented a version of this paper; also see J. P. Berkey, 'Tadris', in *EF*, X, 80; on *dustūr*, see A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 58 (Leiden, 2001), p. 46.

Al-Jūzjānī

Al-Jūzjānī is the only immediate disciple whom Avicenna identifies by name in his autobiography. He says that he met him after arriving in Jurjān (403/04–c. 1013/14).⁸ His full name is Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad al-Jūzjānī.⁹ Little is known about his life and background, apart from his companionship of and dedication to Avicenna.¹⁰ In his introduction to the *Shifā'*, al-Jūzjānī explains why he sought out Avicenna and became his disciple:

My love for the philosophical sciences [*al-ʿulūm al-ḥikmiyya*] and my desire to acquire true knowledge [*al-ma'ārif al-ḥaqīqiyya*] prompted me to abandon my country and emigrate to the country where Avicenna — may God perpetuate his days — resided, because the reports about him that came to my attention as well as his discourse [*kalām*] to which I was exposed required that I favor him above everybody else known for this discipline and associated with this subject [*jumla*]. The reports that had reached me about him indicated that he was proficient in these sciences already as a young man — an adolescent still in his teens — and that he had written many works [*taṣāniʿ*], that he would hardly withhold them [from others], and that he showed little interest in keeping [*dabṭ*] copies [for himself]. My desire was thus confirmed that I should go to him and join his company, and insistently request from him to concern himself [only] with writing while I concerned myself with keeping [what he wrote]. So I went to Jurjān where he resided at the time; he was then approximately thirty-two years old.¹¹

⁸ Gohlman, *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 42–43; Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 30; Gutas, 'Avicenna II', p. 69.

⁹ Al-Jūzjānī's full name is given in the opening of his introduction to Avicenna's *Shifā'*, ed. by G. C. Anawati and others, 2 vols (Cairo, 1952) I, 1–4; al-Bayhaqī and al-Shahrazūrī do not give his patronymic, Muḥammad. His *nisba* is to the Khurāsānī city Jūzjānān or Jūzajānān (hence his *nisba* should be properly vocalized al-Jūzajānī), located in the Balkh quarter; see as-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. by 'A. A. 'U. al-Bārūdī, 5 vols (Beirut, 1408/1988), II, 116–17; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5 vols (Beirut, [n.d.]) II, 182–83; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 423; R. Hartmann, 'Djūzjān', in *EI*², II, 608–09; and H. Kennedy, *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, 2nd rev. edn (Leiden, 2002), pp. 33 E2, 37 G2.

¹⁰ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatīmma*, pp. 93–94; *Durrat al-akbbār*, pp. 59–60; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, pp. 417, 419–20; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā', II, 2, 4, 9, and 18; Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, pp. 317–38; 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-mu'allifīn, tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-ʿArabiyya*, 29 vols (Beirut, [n.d.]) VI, 207; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols and 3 suppl. (Leiden, 1943–47; repr. 1996) (hereafter Brockelmann, *GAL*), S1, 828; and F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–) (hereafter Sezgin, *GAS*), VI (1978), 280–81.

¹¹ Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 39–40 (Gutas's translation; Arabic glosses are mine); Avicenna, *Shifā'*, I, 1.

Al-Jūzjānī's own account indicates that he was familiar with Avicenna's philosophical writings before their meeting in Jurjān. These writings would have included Avicenna's (1) *al-Majmūʿ: al-Ḥikma al-ʿArūḍiyya*; (2) *al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl* and its section on ethics, viz. (3) *al-Birr wa-l-itīm*. In his bibliography of Avicenna's works al-Jūzjānī mentions that *al-Ḥāṣil* was in twenty volumes (*mujallad*) and that *al-Birr* was in two volumes,¹² which indicates that he had either read the works or knew their details.¹³ Al-Jūzjānī does not mention in the bibliography Avicenna's first work, *Maqāla fī l-Nafs ʿalā sunnat al-ikbtīṣār*, which might indicate that he was not aware of it; on the other hand, he may simply not have mentioned it, as, indeed, Avicenna does not name it in his autobiography. What is clear from the introduction of the *Shifā'* is that al-Jūzjānī was at least familiar with some of Avicenna's writings and with his reputation as an up-and-coming philosopher who merited seeking out, to the exclusion of any other philosopher.

What was the nature of al-Jūzjānī's relationship with Avicenna? In his *Kitāb Kayfiyat al-aflāk* al-Jūzjānī touches upon this question. There he says, 'when I began serving [*ḥīna ttiṣālī bi-kbidmat*] al-Shaykh Abū 'Alī [Avicenna] I was eager to acquire his writings and obtain his books [...]. I used to keep his books [*kāna ʿindī labu kutub*] on mathematics which befit his [attainment of knowledge], among them was his book on the principles of geometry [*uṣūl al-bandasa*], which was a summary [*mukhtaṣar*] of Euclid's [*Elements*].'¹⁴ More than any other disciple, al-Jūzjānī appears to have played the role of a private secretary (*kātib, mudawwin*) to Avicenna, whose job it was to record and preserve his works.¹⁵ In the introduction to the *Shifā'* al-Jūzjānī says that, given Avicenna's commitments to statecraft,

I could therefore avail myself of only a few opportunities during which I took down some dictation on logic and physics. When I appealed [to him] to compose long works and commentaries, he referred to the commentaries he had written and books he had composed in his native country. I had heard, however, that these were widely dispersed and that people who owned a copy of them withheld them [from others]; as for him, it was not his habit [*ʿada*] to save a copy for himself, just as it was not his habit to make a copy from his archetype [*yuharriru mina l-dustūr*] or transcribe [an archetype] from his rough draft [*yukbriju mina*

¹² Gohlman, *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 46–47; also see the longer bibliography, *ibid.*, pp. 92–93.

¹³ Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 94.

¹⁴ Sezgin, *GAS*, VI, 281 n. 3 (translation mine).

¹⁵ Al-Fārābī also appears to have had a secretary who recorded his writings: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatīmma*, p. 102.3; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270), 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibā', ed. by A. Müller, 2 vols (Königsberg, 1884; repr. Frankfurt a.M., 1999), II, 139.19; see Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 39 n. 2.

al-sawād]: he would only either dictate or himself write the manuscript and give it to the person who had commissioned it from him. Moreover, he suffered from successive misfortunes, and disasters destroyed his books.¹⁶

As Avicenna's secretary al-Jūzjānī's duties would have included the following: (1) taking dictation from Avicenna (*istamlaytubu fibā shay'an mina l-manṭiqi wa-l-ṭabī'īyāt*);¹⁷ in the biography al-Jūzjānī says that Avicenna dictated (*amlā 'alayya*) to him *al-Mukhtaṣar al-Awṣat fī l-manṭiq*;¹⁸ (2) keeping copies of his works, in particular the archetypes, of which — and to al-Jūzjānī's oft-repeated complaint — Avicenna appears to have been careless in keeping; (3) tracking down lost manuscripts of his works; (4) authenticating copies of Avicenna's works and keeping a hand list of his published writings (whose end-product was al-Jūzjānī's bibliography).

Of all Avicenna's disciples al-Jūzjānī appears to have been the most devoted to the quest of locating his master's lost works and to encouraging him to (re)write new ones. As for the genesis of the *Shifā'* al-Jūzjānī wrote two accounts.¹⁹ The first is in his introduction to that work, while the second is found in his biography of Avicenna, which he wrote after his death. In the former al-Jūzjānī presents himself and the other disciples (whose names are not mentioned) as appealing to Avicenna to rewrite some of his lost works. Al-Jūzjānī says:

In the meantime, the hope of ever obtaining his lost works [*taṣānīfubu al-fā'ūta*] having dimmed, we asked him to rewrite them. He said, 'I have neither the time nor the inclination to occupy myself with close textual analysis and commentary. But if you [pl.] would be content with whatever I have readily in mind, [which I have thought] on my own, then I could write for you [pl.] a comprehensive work [*taṣnīf jāmi'*] arranged in the order which will occur to me'. We readily offered our consent to this and urged that he start with the physics. He began with that and wrote approximately twenty folia, but was then interrupted by administrative disruptions.²⁰

Al-Jūzjānī's use of the plural pronoun makes clear that he was not alone in making this request of Avicenna and so cannot take sole credit. In the biography, by contrast, al-Jūzjānī uses the singular pronoun when relating the genesis of the *Shifā'*. He says:

¹⁶ Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 40; *Shifā'*, I, 2; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 46, 73.

¹⁷ *Shifā'*, I, 2.2.

¹⁸ Gohlman, *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 44–45; S. M. Afnan, *Avicenna: His Life and Works* (London, 1958), p. 65.

¹⁹ Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 38–43, 101–12.

²⁰ Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 40–41 (glosses mine).

Then I asked him to comment on the works of Aristotle, but he said that he was not free to do so at that time. 'But if you would be satisfied with my composing a work in which I would set forth what, to me, is sound in these sciences, without debating with those who disagree or devoting myself to their refutation, I would do that.' I was satisfied with it, and so he began with the physics of a work which he called the *Shifā'*.²¹

What is common to both accounts is an explanation of Avicenna's conception of his philosophical school (*madhhab*), namely, a new synthesis of Peripatetic philosophy, to be distinguished from the literal-minded commentary and exegetical tradition associated, at that time, with the School of Baghdad and its leading proponent, Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043). The *Shifā'* then came to represent this new way of doing philosophy for later generations of philosophers, and for some philosophizing theologians as well, most notably, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209). The *Shifā'* served also as Avicenna's summa of the philosophical sciences, replacing Aristotle's as the subject of study and the object of commentary and philosophical discussions.²²

Other than the introduction to the *Shifā'* al-Jūzjānī also compiled the sections on geometry, astronomy,²³ music, and arithmetic for Avicenna's *Najāt* and *Dānishnāmi-yi 'Alā'*;²⁴ al-Bayhaqī confirms this in his report, saying that al-Jūzjānī wrote the supplementary (*alḥaqa*) sections on the mathematical sciences (*ṭarafan mina l-ʿulūmi l-riyāḍiyya*) for those two works.²⁵

There are a number of explanations as to why al-Jūzjānī wrote these sections on the mathematical sciences. The first is that it was his attempt, following the Peripatetic tradition, to supply those sections that he thought were missing. In other words, it was an apologetic effort whose goal was to avert the criticism of Avicenna's would-be detractors.²⁶ The second is that Avicenna appears to have had neither the time

²¹ Gohlman, *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 54–55.

²² See Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 286–96.

²³ Al-Jūzjānī incorporated Avicenna's *al-Arṣād al-kullīya* into the *Najāt* after his death, see J. Ragep and S. P. Ragep, 'The Astronomical and Cosmological Works of Ibn Sīnā: Some Preliminary Remarks', in *Sciences, techniques et instruments dans le monde iranien (X^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Téhéran (7–9 June 1998), ed. by N. Pourjavardy and Ž. Vesel (Tehran, 2004), pp. 5, 7 (I thank Jamil Ragep for drawing my attention to this article).

²⁴ See al-Jūzjānī's preface to section on Mathematics given in Y. Mahdavi, *Fibrīst-i nuskhahā-i muṣannaḥāt-i Ibn Sīnā*, Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 206 (Tehran, 1333Sh/1954), pp. 234–35; and Gutas's summary, *Avicenna*, pp. 113–14.

²⁵ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatīmma*, p. 94; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 453, S1, 821.

²⁶ Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 106–13.

nor the inclination to reproduce what he had already written of the mathematical sciences in the *Shifā'* (these sections were in fact the last ones that he himself wrote for any work) and simply left it for al-Jūzjānī, his secretary, to do. The question of al-Jūzjānī's faithfulness to the *Shifā'* in compiling the *Najāt* and *Dānisnāmi-yi 'Alā'īs* mathematical sections still needs to be determined.

In fine, al-Jūzjānī's lasting contribution to the Avicennan tradition was his role, as Avicenna's secretary, in organizing and preserving his works. Moreover, he encouraged Avicenna to continue writing and, in so far as it was possible, to remain focused on the practice of philosophy rather than politics. Whether al-Jūzjānī taught any of Avicenna's works or had any students of his own is unknown. He appears to have remained with Avicenna until his death in 428/1037. The date of al-Jūzjānī's own death is unknown. Answers to these and other questions perhaps will only be found once we have had a closer examination of the manuscript tradition of his works and those of Avicenna.

The following is a list of al-Jūzjānī's works:

1. An elucidation of the difficulties (*fasara mushkilāt*) of the *Qānūn*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 94; Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317. This work does not appear to be extant.
2. *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (in Persian); al-Bayhaqī reports that there was a copy in the Nizāmīyya library (*khazāna*) in Nishābūr: *Tatimma*, p. 94. This work does not appear to be extant.
3. *Kayfiyat tarkib al-aflāk*: Brockelmann, *GAL*, S1, 828; Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 281.²⁷
4. *Khilāṣ Tarkib al-aflāk*, an abridged commentary on *Kitāb Jawāmi' 'Im al-nujūm wa-uṣūl al-ḥarakāt al-samāwīya* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī (fl. third/ninth century): Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 281.²⁸
5. *Sharḥ Risālat Hayy ibn Yaqzān*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 94; al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317. The title is unattested elsewhere, and the work does not appear to be extant; the ascription is spurious, and the author was in fact Ibn Zayla (see below).

²⁷ Edited by G. Saliba, 'Ibn Sinā and Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī: The Problem of the Ptolemaic Equant', *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 4 (1980), 376–403 (repr. in his *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam* (New York, 1994), pp. 85–112); also see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 108–09.

²⁸ On Farghānī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 149–51. See also the contribution of Jamil Ragep to the present volume.

*Bahmanyār*²⁹

In his autobiography Avicenna does not mention Bahmanyār by name. In one of the replies, however, found in the *Mubāḥathāt* collection Avicenna addresses Bahmanyār by the honorific al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil, and in the others as al-Shaykh.³⁰ Avicenna's use of this title indicates that he considered Bahmanyār to be more of a colleague than a pupil. Bahmanyār's earliest known biographer is al-Bayhaqī, who identifies him only as Bahmanyār,³¹ to which al-Shahrazūrī later added ibn al-Marzubānī.³² Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ā is the first biographer to give what appears to be his full name: Abū l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān.³³ Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (d. 1313/1895) likewise provides the *kunya* Abū l-Ḥasan, and adds the *nishas* al-A'jamī al-Ādharbāyjanī ('non-Arab, Azerbaijani').³⁴ The title Kiyā Ra'īs (and Kiyā) given by Nizāmī-'Arūḍī (d. 556/1161) appears to be a conflation of Bahmanyār with Kiyā Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Marzubān.³⁵

²⁹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 91–92; *Durrat al-akbbār*, pp. 57–58; Nizāmī-'Arūḍī, *Kitāb Ḥabār Maqāla*, ed. by M. M. Qazwīnī (Leiden, 1910), p. 82; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ā, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', ii, 19 and 204; Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, pp. 316, 327, and 371; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī ahwāl al-ulmā' wa-l-sādāt*, ed. by M. T. al-Kashfī, 8 vols (Beirut, 1411/1991), ii, 153; Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-'arīfīn*, v, 244; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn, tarājim muṣannifil-kutub al-'Arabiyya*, iii, 81; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām, qāmūs tarājim li-ashḥar al-rijāl wa-l-nisā'* mina l-'Arab wa-l-musta'ribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn, 8 vols (Cairo, 1927–28; repr. Beirut, 2005), ii, 77; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 458 and S1, 828.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of Bahmanyār's name and title, see Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 185–92; also see H. Daiber, who refers to two letters by Avicenna appended to a manuscript of the *Mubāḥathāt* where he apparently addresses Bahmanyār as al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil ('Bahmanyār, Kiyā', in *Elr*, iii, 502).

³¹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 91.

³² *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 316; on the Marzubān, see J. H. Kramers, [M. Marony], 'Marzupān', in *El*², vi, 633–34; on Bahmanyār's parentage, see J. Michot, 'Une nouvelle oeuvre du jeune Avicenne: Note complémentaire à propos du ms. Hüseyin Çelebi 1194 de Brousse', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*, 34 (1992), 138–54 (p. 154); and Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 188–92.

³³ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ā, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', p. 19.

³⁴ Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, ii, 153.

³⁵ *Kitāb Ḥabār Maqāla*, ed. by M. M. Qazwīnī (Leiden, 1910), p. 82; E. G. Browne, *Revised Translation of the 'Chabār Maqāla' ('Four Discussions') of Nizāmī-'Arūḍī of Samarqand, Followed by an Abridged Translation of Mirzā Muḥammad's Notes to the Persian Text*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, 11.2 (London, 1921), p. 92; Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 186–87.

Perhaps a more reliable source for Bahmanyār's name is MS Petermann II 466 (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), where in the introduction to one of the fascicles of the *Mubāḥathāt* it is given as Abū l-Ḥusayn Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān al-Kātib (the chancellery secretary).³⁶

The little that is known of Bahmanyār's life and works is reported in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*:

[Bahmanyār] was a disciple of Abū 'Alī [Ibn Sinā]. He was a Zoroastrian [*majūsī l-mīla*] who was not proficient in Arabic [*kalām al-'Arabī*]. He was from Ādharbāyjan. Abū 'Alī's *Mabāḥith* is largely made up of Bahmanyār's questions [*masā'il*], which seek [answers to] difficult [philosophical] problems [*ghawāmiḍ al-mushkilāt*]. Bahmanyār's writings include *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, *Kitāb al-Zīna fī l-manṭiq*, *Kitāb al-Bahja wa-l-sa'āda*, *Kitāb al-Musiqī*, and many *Rasā'il*.³⁷

That Bahmanyār was a disciple of Avicenna there is little doubt. On the other hand, just when they first met and how extensive their contact was is difficult to know. It is unclear whether Bahmanyār participated in the aforementioned Hamadhānī nightly study sessions, since, as we have seen, al-Jūzjānī does not name names in his biography of Avicenna. Nizāmī-'Arūḍī reports of their meeting in Iṣfahān, while Avicenna was in the service of 'Alā' al-Dawla (c. 415–28/1024–37).³⁸ Beyond the reports of al-Bayhaqī and Nizāmī-'Arūḍī (who are followed by, among others, al-Shahrazūri and al-Khwānsārī) there is little else in establishing the date and location of their first meeting.

An earlier date for their meetings is suggested by Reisman, who argues that Bahmanyār's possible aristocratic lineage — that he was the son of Ispahbad (*amīr*) Marzubān — identifies him as the 'aristocratic young man, one of the sons of the commanders', who is mentioned in the letter 'Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy'. This identification, if correct, would place Bahmanyār's meeting with Avicenna in

³⁶ Reisman suggests that because of Bahmanyār's possible lineage he could have served, for a time, as a secretary to Sayyida's son Majd al-Dawla (*Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 185, 191).

³⁷ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 91–92; cf. M. Meyerhof's summary translation, 'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣwān al-Ḥikma*: A Biographical Work on Learned Men of the Islam', *Osiris*, 8 (1948), 122–217 (pp. 161–62); for other versions of this report, see Nizāmī-'Arūḍī, *Čabār maqāla*, p. 252; Shahrazūri, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, pp. 316–17; and Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, II, 153–56; Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Zanūzī (d. 1218/1803), *Riyāḍ al-janna*, ed. by 'A. Rafī'ī (Qum, 1370Sh–/1991–), II, 212–13; also see F. Rahman, 'Bahmanyār', in *El*², I, 926; Daiber, 'Bahmanyār, Kīā', III, 501–03.

³⁸ Browne, *Revised Translation of the 'Chabār Maqāla'*, p. 92; Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, p. 193.

Rayy as early as 404/05–1014/15,³⁹ which presumably would include him among the participants in the study sessions in Hamadhān.

There remains some uncertainty as to whether Bahmanyār was a Zoroastrian or Muslim. To be sure, his lineage would indicate that he was a Zoroastrian, but perhaps his *kunya* — be it Abū l-Ḥasan or Ḥusayn — if authentic, would indicate that he was either a Muslim, or, at least, had given his son(s) a Muslim name. Bahmanyār's maternal uncle (*khāl*), Abū Maṣṣūr Bahrām ibn Khūrshīd ibn Yazdyār, to whom he dedicates his *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, is considered by al-Khwānsārī to have been, like his nephew, a Zoroastrian (*majūsī*) until his 'conversion' to Islam.⁴⁰

As for Bahmanyār's death date, al-Bayhaqī reports that he died nearly thirty years after Avicenna in 458/1066.⁴¹ Brockelmann, who does not indicate his source(s), gives an earlier death date of 430/1038,⁴² which suggests that Bahmanyār — who would have died only a year after Avicenna — was closer to him in age, thus reinforcing the suggestion made earlier that he would have been more of a colleague than a pupil. Without knowing Brockelmann's source, however, it is difficult to accept his date as conclusive. Nevertheless, one argument for accepting this date is that Bahmanyār — like his colleagues Ibn Zayla and Ma'sūmī (on whom see below) — probably died sometime shortly after Avicenna. According to this line of reasoning, the later date given by al-Bayhaqī for Bahmanyār's death was intended to connect Abū al-'Abbās al-Lawkarī (who died sometime after 503/1109) to the latter and thus back to Avicenna himself. In other words, this *isnād* of philosophers provided the needed authority for al-Bayhaqī's statement that it was under al-Lawkarī that the philosophical sciences spread in Khurāsān.⁴³ But even if we admit al-Bayhaqī's death date for Bahmanyār, al-Lawkarī would have been too young to have studied in any serious way with al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil.⁴⁴

³⁹ Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 190–93.

⁴⁰ Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, II, 153. On Bahmanyār's maternal uncle, see Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 190–91.

⁴¹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 92; Āghā-Buzurg al-Tīhrānī gives his death date as 458/1066 (*al-Dharī'a ilā taṣnīf al-Shī'a*, 112 vols (Beirut, [n.d.]), III, 395).

⁴² Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 458.

⁴³ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 120; Gutas, 'Notes and Texts', p. 9 n. 17; on the *isnād* of philosophers through al-Lawkarī, see M. M. al-Khudayrī, *Silsila mutaṣila min talāmīdhat Ibn Sinā fī mi'atī 'ām*, *Kitāb al-Dbababī lil-mahrajān al-alfī li-dbikrā Ibn Sinā* (Cairo, 1952), pp. 53–59; and A. H. al-Rahim, 'The Twelver-Šī'i Reception of Avicenna in the Mongol Period', in *Before and After Avicenna* (see n. 4, above), 219–31 (pp. 221–22).

⁴⁴ The extending of Bahmanyār's life to meet that of al-Lawkarī is perhaps an example of the *mu'ammār* phenomenon (those men who were blessed by God with longer than

In the bio-bibliographical tradition Bahmanyār is known mainly as a commentator on Avicenna. He is associated with two works in particular: the *Mubāḥathāt* and the *Ta'liqāt*. The *Mubāḥathāt* consists in part of Bahmanyār's questions and Avicenna's responses to him; various versions appeared after Avicenna's death. The *Ta'liqāt* is a collection of notes taken by Bahmanyār of explanations given by Avicenna on fundamental terms in logic, physics, and metaphysics, for which al-Lawkarī prepared the *fibrīst* (table of contents) in 503/1109.⁴⁵ It is unclear whether the discussions (*mubāḥathāt*) between Avicenna and Bahmanyār or the notes (*ta'liqāt*) taken by him took place in Hamadhān, Iṣfahān, or both. There is some evidence to suggest that Bahmanyār began work on what eventually took shape as the *Mubāḥathāt* by corresponding with Avicenna even before he met him.⁴⁶

Bahmanyār's philosophical summa is *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* (or *Tabṣīlāt*); it was written in Arabic in Iṣfahān sometime between 415/1024 and 428/1037 and is dedicated to his maternal uncle Bahrām ibn Khūrshīd. The work is structured according to Avicenna's *Dānīshnāma-yi 'Alā'ī* with sections on logic, metaphysics, and physics (in that order), and it appears to have been translated, possibly by Bahmanyār himself, into Persian;⁴⁷ 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231–32) says he wrote a summary (*ḥaṣṣaltu*) of the *Tabṣīl*.⁴⁸ Al-Khwānsārī says that the *Tabṣīl* is composed according to the way of the Peripatetics (*mashshā'ūn*) and that a certain Fāḍil al-Khafarī (?) wrote a gloss on it (*naqala 'anhu fi ḥāshiyatibi*) which does not appear to be extant.⁴⁹ In the bio-bibliographical tradition Bahmanyār is connected with Avicenna's *al-Hāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*, but this connection appears to be based on the similarity of titles.⁵⁰ Whether there is in fact a connection between *al-Hāṣil* and *al-Taḥṣīl* will have to await further study.

average life spans) encountered in books on hadith transmitters; see G. H. A. Juynboll, 'Mu'ammār', in *El*², VII, 258. Gutas also casts doubt on whether al-Lawkarī in fact studied with Bahmanyār ('Notes and Texts', p. 9).

⁴⁵ See 'A. R. al-Badawī's introduction to his edition of the *Ta'liqāt* (Cairo, 1973), p. 9; G. C. Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 19–21; Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 141–44; Daiber, 'Bahmanyār', III, 502; and al-Rahim, 'Twelver-Shī'ī Reception of Avicenna', p. 221.

⁴⁶ Daiber, 'Bahmanyār', III, 502.

⁴⁷ Al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, II, 153; al-Ṭīhrānī, *Dbarī'a*, III, 395.

⁴⁸ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*, II, 204.5; Daiber, 'Bahmanyār', III, 501.

⁴⁹ Al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, II, 153.

⁵⁰ Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 96.

The following is a list of Bahmanyār's works:

1. *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*: ed. by M. Muṭahharī (Tehran, 1375Sh/1996); partial Russian translation with commentary by A.V. Sagadeeva, *Perevod s arabskogo vodnaya stat'ya i kommentarii* (Baku, 1983–86); al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 91; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyat al-'arifin*, I, 244; al-Ṭīhrānī, *Dbarī'a*, III, 395; Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 18–19. An extract (*faṣl*) of this work on the existence of the soul and active intellect is also extant: Brockelmann, *GAL*, S1, 828; see also the paper by Heidrun Eichner in the present volume.
2. *Kitāb al-Zīna fi l-mantiq*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, 91. The title also appears as *Kitāb ar-Ruṭba fi l-mantiq* in the M. K. 'Alī edition of the *Tatimma*, which is perhaps the result of a scribal or an editorial error with respect to the pointing of the diacritics (both words share the same consonantal skeleton). This work does not appear to be extant.⁵¹
3. *Kitāb al-Bahja wa-l-sa'āda*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 91; a portion dealing with God's knowledge of himself has been preserved in al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, II, 157. Baghdādī gives the following two titles apparently as independent works: *Kitāb as-Sa'āda* and *Kitāb al-Bahja fi l-mantiq wa-l-ṭabī'ī wa-l-ilāhī*, *Hadiyat al-'arifin* (I, 244).
4. *Kitāb fi al-Mūsīqā*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 91. This work does not appear to be extant.
5. *Risāla fi Mawḍū' 'ilm mā ba'da l-ṭabī'a*: ed. and trans. by S. Poper, *Behmanjār Ben El-Marzubān, der persische Aristoteliker aus Avicenna's Schule: Zwei metaphysische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1851); ed. by 'A. J. Sa'd, *Bahmanyār Mā ba'da l-ṭabī'a* (Cairo, 1329/1911); Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sīnā*, p. 19.
6. *Risāla fi Marātib al-mawjūdāt*: ed. and trans. by S. Poper, *ibid.*; ed. by Sa'd, *ibid.*; Anawati, *ibid.*, p. 19. This epistle is identical to the *Risāla fi Iḥbāt al-mawjūdāt* that is misattributed to Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (Daiber, 'Bahmanyār', III, 502).⁵²
7. *Maqāla fi Umūr al-naḥs wa quwābā* (Istanbul, MS N. Paşa, 1350H, fols 54^v–57^r). It appears to be the same as the *Maqāla fi ārā' al-Maṣṣā'in fi umūr*

⁵¹ N. Rescher says that this work could be no more than an extract from the logic of the *Tabṣīl* (*The Development of Arabic Logic* (Pittsburgh, 1964), p. 157).

⁵² See T. J. de Boer's discussion of Bahmanyār on the nature of God's existence, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. by E. R. Jones (London, 1903; repr. 1994), pp. 146–47.

al-nafs wa quwābā, which Daiber describes as a supplementary treatise to Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Nafs* of the *Shifā'*; and which deals mainly with perception (*idrāk*) of the souls of man and stars; also see al-Khwānsārī's account of Bahmanyār's theory of the souls, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, II, 158.

8. *Faṣl min Kitāb fi Ibbāt al-ʿuqūl al-faʿāla wa-l-dalāla ʿalā ʿadabā wa itbbāt al-nufūs al-samāwīya*: Brockelmann, *GAL*, S1, 828.

Ibn Zayla⁵³

Ibn Zayla like Bahmanyār is not mentioned by Avicenna in his autobiography (nor by al-Jūzjānī in his biography of Avicenna). Al-Bayhaqī gives his name as Abū Maṣūʾir al-Ḥusayn ibn Ṭāhir ibn Zayla;⁵⁴ while Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa gives Ibn Zaylan.⁵⁵ However, we read in Ibn Zayla's *Kitāb al-Kāfi fi l-mūsīqā*, which perhaps is the most authoritative source, that his name is Abū Maṣūʾir al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Zayla.⁵⁶ The details of his life are little known. He is said to have been a Zoroastrian, but given his name and that of his father and grandfather, he was likely to have been a Muslim. According to al-Bayhaqī he was from Iṣfahān, which is where he was most likely to have met Avicenna (who was there from c. 415–28/1024–37). Like Bahmanyār he appears to have corresponded with Avicenna before meeting him. In a letter to Avicenna that reflects the nature of their relationship he wrote:

In our Master's statement at the beginning of *The Cure*, I came upon some contradictory and conflicting points that fall outside the consensus of scholars. So it would behoove him (Avicenna) to provide a correction of that and to disclose the points of view [of his approach], if he can.⁵⁷

⁵³ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 92–93; *Durrat al-akbbār*, p. 58; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Uyūn al-anbāʾ*, II, 19; Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317; Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿarīfīn*, V, 244; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, II, 254; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, IV, 13; and Brockelmann *GAL*, I, 458, and S1, 829.

⁵⁴ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 92, followed by al-Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, II, 254; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, IV, 13; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S1, 829.

⁵⁵ *Uyūn al-anbāʾ*, II, 19.

⁵⁶ Ibn Zayla, *Kitāb al-Kāfi fi l-mūsīqā*, ed. by Z. Yūsuf (Cairo, 1964), p. 2; Brockelmann gives his name as Abū Maṣūʾir al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn ʿUmar ibn Zayla (*GAL*, I, 458); see Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 195–96.

⁵⁷ Trans. Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, p. 199.

In his response Avicenna addresses Ibn Zayla by the following titles: *mawlā*, *raʾīs*, and *ḥakīm* (master, leader, and philosopher respectively).⁵⁸ These titles indicate that Avicenna thought of him more as a fellow philosopher than a pupil. The deference shown to Ibn Zayla is supported by his death date — only twelve years after Avicenna's own — in 440/1049.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Ibn Zayla's use of blunt and direct language in addressing Avicenna indicates that his tone was not that of a (respectful) student but of a fellow philosopher (*ḥakīm*).

The longer bibliography of Avicenna's works states that Avicenna dictated the *Taʿliqāt* to Ibn Zayla (*ʿallaqabu ʿanbu*).⁶⁰ This ascription seems misplaced, because there is no evidence that Avicenna had conceived of a work with that title; the notes that came to form the contents of the *Taʿliqāt* are generally associated with Bahmanyār and al-Lawkarī.⁶¹ Nevertheless, further investigation of the manuscripts of the *Taʿliqāt* is needed to determine Ibn Zayla's role, if any, in that work.

The bio-bibliographical works consider Ibn Zayla as an exegete of Avicenna's more 'allusive works', which is largely due to his commentary (*sharḥ*) on *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*.⁶² However, the *Mubāḥatāt* collection shows him to have been also interested in more conventional Peripatetic issues, for example, the classification of the sciences, especially the issue of the scope of the logician's rightful field of enquiry, which is raised in the introduction to the *Shifā'*, as well as other issues raised in *al-Samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī* of the *Shifā'*.⁶³

The following is a list of Ibn Zayla's works:

1. *Al-Ikhtisār min Ṭabīʿiyāt al-Shifā'*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 92; al-Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317. This work does not appear to be extant.
2. *Sharḥ Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 92; al-Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317; partial translation by A. F. Mehren, *Traité des mystiques*

⁵⁸ Trans. Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, pp. 199, 203.

⁵⁹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 92; Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 317.9–10 (read: *baʿd mawt Ibn ʿAlī bi-ṭbnatay ʿashara sana*, instead of *bi-ṭbnatayn wa ʿshrin sana* (!) as in Abū Shuwayrib's edition).

⁶⁰ Gohlman, *Ibn Sinā*, p. 100; *Taʿāliq* in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Uyūn al-anbāʾ*, II, 19.19; and A.-M. Goichon does not dispute this report ('Ibn Zayla', in *Et*², III, 974).

⁶¹ Reisman, *Avicennan Tradition*, p. 203 n. 126.

⁶² Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 96; Gutas, 'Avicenna's Eastern ('Oriental') Philosophy: Nature, Contents, Transmission', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 10 (2000), 159–66.

⁶³ For Avicenna's apparent dedication of his refutation of astrology, viz., *al-Risāla fi Ibtāl aḥkām al-nujūm*, to Ibn Zayla and the latter's role in its composition, see Y. Michot, *Réfutation de l'astrologie*, *Sagesses musulmanes*, 5 (Beirut, 2006), p. 21.

d'Abou 'Alī al-Hosain b. 'Abdallāh b. Sīnā ou d'Avicenne (Leiden, 1889); also quoted in A.-M. Goichon, *Le Récit de Hayy ibn Yağzān, commenté par des textes d'Avicenne* (Paris, 1959); Mahdavi, *Fibrīst-i nuskbahā-i muṣannafāt-i Ibn Sīnā*, p. 95.

3. *Kitāb fī l-Nafs*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 93. This work does not appear to be extant.

4. *Al-Kāfī fī l-mūsīqā*: ed. by Z. Yūsuf (Cairo, 1963).

Al-Ma'sūmī

Al-Ma'sūmī appears to have been the closest in age to Avicenna. Brockelmann gives the date of his death as 430/1038.⁶⁴ Avicenna does not mention him in his autobiography, nor does al-Jūzjānī. Al-Bayhaqī reports that his name (*ism*) is either Aḥmad or Muḥammad with the patronymic ibn Aḥmad; and that his *kunya* is Abū 'Abdallāh and title *al-faqīh* (the jurist), which appear to be quoted from Avicenna's *Kitāb fī l-Ṭḥq*, which was dedicated to al-Ma'sūmī.⁶⁵

In the correspondences, *al-As'ila wa-l-ajwiba*, between Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad al-Birūnī (c. 442/1050) and Avicenna his name appears as Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ma'sūmī. Little else is known about him.⁶⁶ Al-Bayhaqī says of the latter work:

When Abū 'Alī [Ibn Sīnā] responded to Abū Rayḥān's questions the latter objected to those answers and replied in terms that were in bad taste [*sū' al-adab*] and unseemly. And so Abū 'Alī refused to reply to him and it was al-Ma'sūmī who responded [in his stead] to Abū Rayḥān's objections, saying: 'If you had chosen, Abū Rayḥān, terms other than those in addressing a philosopher [*ḥakīm*], it would have been more seemly to the intellect [*'aql*] and knowledge [*'ilm*].'⁶⁷

The *As'ila wa-l-ajwiba* consists of ten questions about Aristotle's *al-Samā' wa-l-'ālam*, eight of which al-Birūnī posed to Avicenna, who responded to each one. The work also includes al-Birūnī's responses to the latter, to which al-Ma'sūmī

⁶⁴ Brockelmann, *GAL*, S1, 828.

⁶⁵ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 102–03. Al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, p. 228, quotes from al-Bayhaqī in his entry on al-Ma'sūmī, but gives his name as Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ma'sūmī.

⁶⁶ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 95–96; *Durrat al-akḥbār*, pp. 60–61; Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, pp. 317–18; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vi, 228; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 458, and S1, 828.

⁶⁷ Cf. Meyerhof, 'al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*', pp. 163–64.

responded. Al-Ma'sūmī's rebuke of al-Birūnī and responses to him in the *As'ila* indicate his loyalty to Avicenna and defence of his *madhhab*.

Al-Ma'sūmī is also the author of *Kitāb fī l-Mufāraqāt wa i'dād al-'uqūl wa-l-aflāk wa tartīb al-mubdi'āt*, on incorporeal beings (*mufāraqāt*); of which al-Bayhaqī says there was a copy in the Nizāmiyya library at Nisābūr, which was seized (*akḥbadḥabā*) by Jamāl al-Mulk (d. 473/1080–81), Nizām al-Mulk's eldest son, never to be seen again. This book is also described by Al-Bayhaqī as *ma'shūq kāffat al-ḥukamā'* (the beloved of all the philosophers). Al-Bayhaqī reports that he saw a *Risāla fī 'Alimīyat Allāh ta'āla* ascribed to al-Ma'sūmī, but expresses doubt about its authorship.

The following is a list of al-Ma'sūmī's works:

1. *Jawābāt Abī Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn 'Alī 'an al-i'tirādāt allatī i'taraḥ bihā Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Birūnī 'alā ḥujjat al-ḥaqq Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Sīnā fī jawābātih 'an masā'ilih*, in *Abū Rayḥān Birūnī va Ibn Sīnā, al-As'ila wa-l-ajwiba*: ed. by S. H. Nasr and M. Mohaghegh (Tehran, 1352Sh/1973), pp. 59–87.
2. *Kitāb fī l-Mufāraqāt wa i'dād al-'uqūl wa-l-aflāk wa tartīb al-mubdi'āt*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 95. This work does not appear to be extant.
3. *Risāla fī 'Ālimīyat Allāh ta'āla*: al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 96. This work does not appear to be extant.

Summary

The first generation of Avicennan philosophers — al-Jūzjānī, Bahmanyār, Ibn Zayla, and al-Ma'sūmī — appear to have been contemporaries of Avicenna, fellow philosophers rather than pupils, who wrote their own works in addition to summaries of Avicenna's. Al-Jūzjānī may have been the one exception to this observation. He assumed the role of a famulus (*kātib, mudawwin*) to Avicenna in organizing and preserving his writings. The relatively late date for Bahmanyār's death, 458/1066, may have been contrived by al-Bayhaqī to provide an *isnād*-like line of transmission of Avicenna's philosophy to the next generation of Avicennists, most notably to al-Lawkarī (see below). How then to understand the spread of Avicenna's philosophy in Khurasān? Part of the evidence is already in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* and other bio-bibliographical sources. Al-Bayhaqī reports that he witnessed copies of the works of Avicenna's disciples in the libraries of the Nizāmiyya, where no doubt they, along with Avicenna's own writings, were studied and taught. Thus we have to begin examining the Nizāmiyya intellectual tradition as a major source for the transmission of Avicennan philosophy.

Appendix

In this final section, I address two philosophers, al-ʿĪlāqī and al-Lawkarī. The bibliographical tradition connects them directly, though dubiously, to Avicenna and to his immediate circle of disciples, respectively.

Al-Lawkarī⁶⁸

Al-Bayhaqī attributes the spread of the sciences of philosophy (*ʿulūm al-ḥikma*) in Khurāsān to Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad al-Lawkarī.⁶⁹ Little else, however, is known or reported about al-Lawkarī's life and the exact role he played in this transmission. His *nisba* is to the town of Lawkar,⁷⁰ which is situated on the outskirts of Marw (al-Shāhijān).⁷¹ Al-Lawkarī's death date is disputed. Quoting Šādiq-Iṣfahānī's (d. 1059/1650) Persian gazette titled *Shāhid-i Šādiq*, Āghā-Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī gives 464/1071 as the date of al-Lawkarī's death;⁷² Mudarris-Tabrīzī (d. 1373/1974), without providing his source, gives 458/1065;⁷³ and Brockelmann, who likewise does not provide his source, gives 517/1123.⁷⁴ The latter date appears likely to be the correct one or close to it, since according to one manuscript of the *Taʿliqāt*, al-Lawkarī is reported to have completed its *fihrist* (table of contents) in 503/1109.⁷⁵ Other than Brockelmann's estimate, there is as yet no definitive early source for al-Lawkarī's date of death.

⁶⁸ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 120–22; *Durrat al-akbbār*, pp. 80–81; Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāb*, p. 327; Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿarifīn*, v, 244; al-Ṭīhrānī, *Dhariʿa*, IX.III, 948; Muḥammad-ʿAlī Mudarris-Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fi tarājim al-maʿrūfīn bi-l-kanīya aw-l-laqab*, 6 vols (Tehran, 1333Sh/1954), v, 139; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 460.

⁶⁹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 120; al-Shahrazūrī, *Taʿriḥ al-ḥukamāʾ*, p. 327.

⁷⁰ Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, v, 26; Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, v, 145; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-lubāb fi taḥrīr al-ansāb*, ed. by M. A. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and A. A. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 2 vols (Beirut, 1411/1991), II, 224.

⁷¹ Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, v, 112–16; A.Yu. Yakubovskii, [C. E. Bosworth], 'Marw al-Shāhijān', in *EI*², VI, 618–21; and Kennedy, *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, pp. 34–35 D2.

⁷² *Al-Dariʿa*, IX.III, 948; for Šādiq-Iṣfahānī's work, see *Khātimah-yi Shāhid-i Šādiq*, ed. by M. H. Muḥaddith (Tehran, 1377Sh/1989); and its English translation, *The Geographical work of Sādik Isfahāni*, Oriental Translation Fund, 20 (London, 1832).

⁷³ Mudarris-Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat*, v, 139.

⁷⁴ Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 460.

⁷⁵ See Badawī's introduction to the *Taʿliqāt*, p. 9.

Al-Bayhaqī reports that al-Lawkarī had been a student of Bahmanyār (which, in many cases, is followed uncritically in later medieval and some modern biographical works).⁷⁶ This, however, is unlikely given the probable death date of both philosophers (see above, the section on Bahmanyār). This teacher-student relationship was likely posited either by al-Bayhaqī or by his source(s) partly because the names of both philosophers are associated with the *Taʿliqāt* but also because of the scholarly need to establish an *isnād*-like authority, going back to Avicenna himself, for the transmission of philosophy in Khurāsān.

Another report associates al-Lawkarī with ʿUmar al-Khayyām (d. 517/1123), Abū Ḥatīm al-Muzaffar al-Asfizārī (?),⁷⁷ and Maymūn ibn Najīb al-Wāṣiṭī (d. 482/1089). This report states that these four scholars were commissioned to prepare a *Zīj* (astronomical table) for Malik-Shāh (r. 465–85/1072–92) in 427/1035 or 468/1075.⁷⁸ But this report seems doubtful if one considers the account written by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) in *al-Kāmil fi l-taʿriḥ*.⁷⁹ He, too, writes about a group of scholars commissioned by Malik-Shāh to prepare a *Zīj* in 467/1074 but neglects mentioning al-Lawkarī as being among these *three* scholars.⁸⁰ Had al-Lawkarī been involved with preparing this *Zīj*, Ibn al-Athīr likely would have reported this. This association of al-Lawkarī with the famous ʿUmar al-Khayyām, then, appears to be the

⁷⁶ See, e.g., A. Bausani, 'Religion in the Saljuq Period', in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 288; R. D. Marcotte, 'Preliminary Notes on the Life and Works of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123)', *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 17 (2006), pp. 137–38; and I. Kalin, 'Lawkarī, Faḍl b. Muḥammad (d. 517/1123–24)', in *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. by O. Leaman, 2 vols (London, 2006), II, 50–51.

⁷⁷ Brockelmann, *GAL*, SI, 856.

⁷⁸ See al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dhariʿa*, IX.III, 949; also reported in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's cosmology titled *Nihāyat al-idrāk*, see A. Sayili, *The Observatory in Islam and its Place in the General History of the Observatory*, Publications of the Turkish Historical Society Series, 7.38 (Ankara, 1960), p. 164; and S. Nafīsī, *Tārīḥ-i naṣr dar Irān va dar zabān-i Fārsī: tā pāyān-i qarn-i dahum-i hijrī*, 2 vols (Tehran, 1363Sh/1984), I, 54–55.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-taʿriḥ*, ed. by C. J. Tornberg, 14 vols (Leiden, 1864; repr. Beirut, 1966), x, 98.

⁸⁰ Ḥajjī-Khalīfa mentions the *Zīj Malik-shāh* as a work by ʿUmar al-Khayyām and based this assertion on ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī's commentary on Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Sī faṣḥ*; see *Kashf al-zunūn ʿan asāmi l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. by G. Flügel, 7 vols (London, 1835–58), III, 570; furthermore, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī mentions a *Zīj al-Khayyām* in his *Nihāyat al-idrāk*; see Sayili, *The Observatory in Islam*, pp. 165–66; and C.-H de Fouchécour, 'Umar al-Khayyām', in *EI*², x, 828 (I thank Benno van Dalen for the reference to the *Zīj Malik-Shāh*).

sort of literary fabrication or trope that is often encountered in medieval Arabic biographical works. It would be appropriate to call this trope 'the meeting of great minds'. It was intended to convey the sense that contemporaneous (and at times not exactly contemporaneous) 'great minds' invariably met and collaborated on some important scholarly work.

Al-Lawkarī is the author of a summa of Peripatetic philosophy titled *Bayān al-ḥaqq bi-ḍimān al-ṣidq* (The Explanation of Reality with the Assurance of Veracity).⁸¹ This work is divided into three successive sections: logic, physics, and metaphysics. After Bahmanyār's *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, this book is one of the earliest and most comprehensive discussions of Avicennan philosophy. In its *Eisagoge* (*al-Madkhal*), al-Lawkarī describes the *Bayān al-ḥaqq* as 'a middle[Length] book which combines commentary and concise exposition' (*kitābun mutawassitun ajma'a l-sharḥa wa-l-talkhīṣa*) of works of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and Avicenna. At the beginning of the metaphysics, al-Lawkarī states further that:

We intend to discourse about the fundamentals of metaphysics [*uṣūl al-'ilm al-ilābi*] by way of concise exposition and commentary together, such that we do not forsake any of its canons; and without [any] prolixity by mentioning [all of] its branches [*furū'*]; [that is,] except in one science, namely, [the one] on the state of the human soul on its return [*ḥāl al-naḥs al-insāniyya 'inda ma'ādihā*], when it is separated from [its] bodily connection [*al-'ilāqa al-badaniyya*].⁸²

It is well established that the *De anima* was one of the main concerns of Avicenna's philosophical investigations.⁸³ As such, it is noteworthy that al-Lawkarī, in his discussion of the metaphysics, singles out the science concerning the soul and its return.⁸⁴ However, the extent to which al-Lawkarī's discourse on the soul is based on Avicenna's will have to await further examination of the *Bayān al-ḥaqq*.

In addition to *Bayān al-ḥaqq* and the *fibrīst* of the *Ta'liqāt*, al-Lawkarī authored *Qaṣīdab-yi Asrār-i l-ḥikma* (Poem of the Secrets of Philosophy) and a

⁸¹ Thus far, only the *Eisagoge* of the Logic and the Metaphysics have been edited, both under the general title of *Bayān al-ḥaqq bi-ḍimān al-ṣidq: al-Manṭiq, al-Madkhal*: ed. by I. Dībāji (Tehran, 1364Sh/1986) and *al-'ilm al-ilābi*, ed. by I. Dībāji, *Majmū'ah-yi Andishāh-yi Islāmī*, 2 (Tehran, 1414/1995); also see F. Griffel's discussion of al-Lawkarī's works, *Apostasy and Tolerance in Islam: Die Entwicklung zu al-Ghazālī's Urteil gegen die Philosophie und die Reaktionen der Philosophen*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science, 40 (Leiden, 2000), pp. 341–49.

⁸² Al-Lawkarī, *Bayān al-ḥaqq: al-'ilm al-ilābi*, p. 3.

⁸³ Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, pp. 254–61.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., the twenty-second section (*faṣḥ*), 'Fī 'ilm an-naḥs ba'da l-mufāraqa', in *Bayān al-ḥaqq: al-'ilm al-ilābi*, pp. 388–90.

commentary (*Sharḥ*) on the same work, which closely follows the structure and subject matter of the *Qaṣīda*, both of which are in Persian,⁸⁵ as well as other poetry (*ḍiwān shi'r*).⁸⁶ Like Ibn Mālik's (d. 672/1274) famous *al-Alfiyya* in the field of Arabic grammar, the *Qaṣīda* was intended as a pedagogical tool to help students memorize the basic principles of logic, physics, and metaphysics. Al-Lawkarī is also reported to have authored some epitomes (*mukhtaṣarāt*),⁸⁷ presumably, of philosophical works, although there appears to be no evidence of any such titles in the bio-bibliographical literature.

Al-Lawkarī's Students

Al-Lawkarī, according to al-Bayhaqī, was among the well-respected lords (*arbāb al-buyūtāt*) of Marw, where he may have taught at the Nizāmiyya madrasa there.⁸⁸ Al-Bayhaqī states that al-Lawkarī had a number of students. Although these do not appear to have been prolific or of lasting consequence, they do appear to have benefited by official patronage from the Saljūqs in Khurāsān.

Al-Lawkarī's students include Quṭb al-Zamān Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭabasī l-Marwazī, who, as his *nisba* indicates, was from Marw.⁸⁹ His patron for a period of time was the Saljūq Wazīr Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn al-Muzaffar ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Tawbah al-Marwazī (d. or k. 530/1136). Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī describes the latter as having himself studied the sciences of the ancients (*nāzara fī 'ulūmi l-awā'ilī wa shtaghala bi-taḥṣīli tilka l-'ulūm*).⁹⁰ Al-Bayhaqī appears to have known Quṭb al-Zamān and had visited his library.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Both the *Qaṣīda* and its *Sharḥ* were edited by I. al-Dībāji in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, ed. by M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu, Wisdom of Persia Series, 7 (Tehran, 1974), pp. xxx–xxxii and 109–35, respectively; and *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdab-yi Asrār-i l-ḥikma*, ed. by I. Rūhi-Dīl, *Falsafa*, 43 (Tehran, 1382Sh/2003); for a translation of the *Sharḥ*'s preface, see Marcotte, 'The Life and Works of al-Lawkarī', pp. 151–52.

⁸⁶ Some of al-Lawkarī's Arab verse is extant in an unedited supplement to the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* by a yet unidentified compiler, *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī, Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, MS 935/2, fol. 151'.10, as quoted in Marcotte, 'The Life and Works of al-Lawkarī', p. 135; on the *Itmām*, see Gutas, 'The *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* Cycle of Texts', p. 647.

⁸⁷ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 121.

⁸⁸ On the Nizāmiyya see J. Pederson, [G. Makdisi] 'Madrasa', in *EI*², v, 1125–28; and Bausani, 'Religion in the Saljuq Period', pp. 289–90.

⁸⁹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 122–23.

⁹⁰ *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, vii, 294.

⁹¹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 163.

Quṭb al-Zamān's students included an Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Fundūrajī.⁹² He was a Saljūq bureaucrat, who after retiring apparently devoted himself completely (*i takafa*) to studying, inter alia, philosophy (*al-ḥikma*) at the madrasa of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan al-Hamadhānī l-Būzanajirdī (d. 535/1140), a popular religious leader and jurist in Būzanajird, a town in Hamadhān.⁹³ Al-Bayhaqī says that al-Fundūrajī wrote a number of works (*taṣāniḥ*) on meteorology (*al-āthār al-uwīyya*) as well as a *Kitāb fī Tafāṣīl al-ḥayawānāt* (Book on the Species of Animals), neither of which appears to be in extant.

Another one of al-Lawkarī's students was al-Qāḍī Majd (or Muḥammad) al-Afḍal 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Turkī. He had a number of disputations (*munāẓarāt*) with Sharaf al-Zamān Muḥammad al-Īlāqī (discussed below), in which, according to al-Bayhaqī, al-Turkī displayed only a superficial knowledge of the issues (*ẓawābir al-kutub*).⁹⁴ Additionally, al-Bayhaqī reports that al-Turkī preserved (*ḥāfiẓan*) many of Avicenna's works; though he exhibited knowledge of their contents (*maṭālib muṣannaḥātibi*),⁹⁵ he did not delve deeply into the theoretical sciences (*al-ma'qūlāt*). Al-Turkī lived in Bukhara and worked as a judge. He also taught medicine, arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), and, presumably, Avicenna's works at his local mosque (*masjid maḥallatibi*) until the time of his death in the second half of the sixth/twelfth century.

Al-Īlāqī

Sayyid Sharaf al-Zamān (al-Bayhaqī; Sharaf al-Dīn, in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'a) Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Īlāqī (or al-Īlāqī) is a third-generation follower of Avicenna and the author of a number of works on philosophy and medicine.⁹⁶ Al-Bayhaqī says that he resided in Bākhraz in Qūhīstān, a dependency of Khurāsān,⁹⁷

⁹² Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 123; his *nisba* is to a town in Nisābūr, vocalized Fundūraj or Fandūraj; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 278; and Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, IV, 402, respectively.

⁹³ See Yāqūt, who gives his name as Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan ibn Wahra al-Hamadhānī l-Būzanajirdī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 507.

⁹⁴ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 124–25.

⁹⁵ Gutas, 'Notes and Texts', p. 16 n. 18.

⁹⁶ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, pp. 125–27; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*, p. 20; Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 328; Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-'arifīn*, VI, 71; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 485, S1, 887; and L. Richter-Bernburg, 'Īlāqī', in *Elr*, XII, 641–43.

⁹⁷ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 316; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 357.

before leaving for Balkh in order to serve its governor al-Amīr 'alā' al-Dīn Qumāj ibn 'Abdallāh al-Balkhī (?).⁹⁸ Al-Īlāqī's *nisba* connects him to the district of Īlāq, bordering Farghāna and Shāsh.⁹⁹ Alternatively, there are two other places named Īlāq: a town in the vicinity of Nishābūr (hence his late-attested *nisba* al-Nishābūrī); and a village in Bukhara. However, al-Īlāqī does not appear to have lived at any of these places, so the name may derive from a family connection to one of these cities named Īlāq.

The question of al-Īlāqī's death date and of whether he was a student of Avicenna is discussed by Rudolph Sellheim in his description of a manuscript of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Mulakkbkhaṣ fī l-ḥikma*. Sellheim (and more recently Gerhard Endress) does not question Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'a's (and presumably al-Shahrazūrī's) report that al-Īlāqī was a student of Avicenna. This report led Sellheim to question al-Bayhaqī's report (and Brockelmann's reading of it) that al-Īlāqī was killed in the battle of Qaṭwān (or Qaṭawān), where the Saljūq sultan Aḥmad Sanjār (r. 511–52/1118–57) was defeated by the Qarakhānids (r. 389–607/999–1211) in 536/1141 because, as Sellheim says, al-Īlāqī would have to have been over a hundred years old. Sellheim also suggests that al-Bayhaqī, in reporting al-Īlāqī's death date, may have confused him with another Īlāqī, namely, the Shāfi'ī jurist Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn Riḍwān al-Īlāqī (d. 539/1144). While it is not beyond al-Bayhaqī to be imprecise or even to exaggerate his reports, there appears to be little (textual) evidence to dismiss his account of al-Īlāqī's death date; and even less evidence in support of the reports of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'a and al-Shahrazūrī (particularly the latter's, who reports that al-Īlāqī was killed in the battle of Qaṭwān but nevertheless was a student of Avicenna, linking al-Bayhaqī's report with that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'a).¹⁰⁰ Al-Īlāqī thus appears

⁹⁸ In Shafi'ī's edition of the *Tatimma* the name appears (perhaps incorrectly) as 'alā' al-Dīn ibn Qumāj; the full name is provided in Ibn Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323), *Majma' al-adāb fī mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. by M. Kāzīm, 6 vols (Tehran, 1416Sh/1995), II, 342–43; and for a narrative of al-Amīr Qumāj's exploits, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 162ff., XI, 86ff.

⁹⁹ Anonymous, *Ḥudūd al-'alam: The Regions of the World, A Persian Geography 372 A.H./982 A.D.*, trans. by V. Minorsky (London, 1970), p. 117; Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, I, 238–39; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 291–92.

¹⁰⁰ The erroneous dating of al-Īlāqī's life in the bio-bibliographical literature will have to be corrected; e.g., al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-'arifīn*, VI, 71; Brockelmann (who gives al-Īlāqī's death date as 536/1141 but says he was a student of Avicenna), *GAL*, I, 485, S1, 887; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 17, A, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1976), I, 147; and A. Z. Iskander, 'A Doctor's Book on Zoology: Al-Marwazī's *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* (Nature of Animals)

to have been a contemporary of al-Bayhaqī, who reports that he had a number of disputations with al-Lawkarī's student 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Turkī at a mosque in Bukhara (see the section above on al-Lawkarī's students). Al-Bayhaqī also reports that al-Īlāqī used to meet with (*ikhtalafa ilā*) 'Umar al-Khayyām; however, there appears to be no evidence to substantiate this meeting of great minds.¹⁰¹

In philosophy, al-Īlāqī wrote a brief epistle (*risāla*) on definitions in logic and philosophy, which was completed in 534/1139–40 (the title remains unknown)¹⁰² — whose contents will need to be compared with the definitions of philosophical terms in the *Ta'liqāt* — and exchanged epistles with Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) on the question of the nature of the Necessary Being's (*wājib al-wujūd*) knowledge (*'ilm*).¹⁰³ However, al-Īlāqī is better known for his medical works: *Ikhtisār al-Kulliyāt*, an epitome of the theoretical sections of Avicenna's *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, later known as *al-Fuṣūl al-Īlāqīyya*; and *al-Asbāb wa-l-'alāmāt*, a summary of the aetiology and symptomatology of the *Qānūn*'s third and fourth books (not to be confused with al-Samarqandī's (d. 619/1222) work of the same title). Both works played a significant role in transmitting Avicenna's *Qānūn* into Zanjid and Ayyūbid Syria.¹⁰⁴

Re-assessed', *Oriens*, 27 (1981), 266–312 (p. 266); cf. A. J. Arberry, 'An Unknown Work on Zoology', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1937), 481–83 (p. 482 n. 1); G. Endress, 'Reading Avicenna in the *Madrassa*: Intellectual Genealogies and Chains of Transmission of Philosophy and the Sciences in the Islamic East', in *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One; Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, ed. by J. E. Montgomery, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 152 (Leuven, 2006), pp. 371–422 (p. 392).

¹⁰¹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, pp. 124–25.

¹⁰² See L. Cheikho, 'Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque orientale de l'Université de Saint Joseph', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth*, 10 (1925), 107–79 (p. 140). I am currently preparing a critical edition and translation of this work.

¹⁰³ 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, Persian trans. by A.Ş.T. Isfahānī, ed. by A. Ş. T. Jalāli-Nā'īnī (Tehran, 1335Sh/1956), p. 14; al-Shahrastānī, *Mafātih al-asrār wa maṣābiḥ al-abrār*, ed. by 'A. Ḥ. al-Ḥā'irī (Tehran, 1989), *dawāzdaḥ-sizdaḥ*, no. 17; al-Shahrastānī, *Majlis-i maktūb-i Tājaddīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-l-Karīm Shahrastānī mun'aqid dar khvārazm, hamrāb-i maktūb-i Shahrastānī bih Muḥammad Īlāqī va pāsūkh-i ān dar bāra-yi 'ilm-i wājib al-wujūd* (Tehran, 1990); al-Shahrastānī, *Tafsīr al-Shahrastānī, al-musammā mafātih al-asrār wa-maṣābiḥ al-abrār*, ed. by M. 'A. Ādharshab, 1 vol to date (Tehran, 1417–/1997–), i, 57; G. Monnot, 'Shahrastānī', in *EF*, ix, 214–16; and W. Madelung and T. Mayer, *Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics*, *Isma'ili Texts and Translations Series*, 2 (London, 2001), pp. 7–8; and Richter-Bernburg, 'Īlāqī', pp. 642–43.

¹⁰⁴ On al-Īlāqī's medical works, see Richter-Bernburg, 'Īlāqī', pp. 642–43.

Other works al-Bayhaqī mentions are *Kitāb al-Hayawān* (Book on Animals), *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq* (Book of the Appendices),¹⁰⁵ *Kitāb fī l-'dād al-wafq* (Book of the Harmonious Arrangement),¹⁰⁶ and two 'mirrors for princes', *Dust-nāma* and *Sultān-nāma*; all of these works, however, seem to be lost.

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¹⁰⁵ This work, in all probability, is not by al-Īlāqī but by Avicenna; on the latter's *Lawāḥiq, Appendices to his Shifā'*, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 141–44.

¹⁰⁶ On *wafq* in Arabic mathematics, see J. Sesiano, 'Wafq', in *EF*², xi, 28–31.

Introduction

In his biography of Avicenna, Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī relates the following vivid account of the nightly study sessions that took place at Avicenna's residence, which presumably was in Hamadhān, while Avicenna was still in the service of the Būyid amir, Abū Ṭāhir Shams al-Dawla (r. 387–419/c. 997–1021).² In this report al-Jūzjānī also establishes his connection to Avicenna's philosophical summa, the *Shifā'*:

Every night students [*ṭalabat al-'ilm*] would gather at his house, while by turns I would read from the *Shifā'* and another would read from the *Qānūn*. When we finished [reading], different kinds of singers arrived, a drinking party [*majlis al-sbarāb*] was prepared with [all of] its accompaniments, and we engaged [ourselves] in it. [In those days] instruction [*tadris*] would take place at night, because of the lack of free time during the day on account of [Avicenna's] service to the Amīr.³

In *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* Zāhīr al-Dīn Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), or his source(s), embellishes al-Jūzjānī's report with the following details, which are again repeated in later biographies of Avicenna:⁴

While by turns Abū 'Ubayd would read [*yaqra'u min*] from *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, al-Ma'sūmī would read from *al-Qānūn*, Ibn Zayla would read from *al-Ishārāt* and Bahmanyār would read from *al-Hāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*.⁵

² Avicenna appears to have been in Hamadhān between 406–15–c. 1015/24; see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*, Islamic Philosophy and Theology: Texts and Studies, 4 (Leiden, 1988), pp. 103–06; D. Gutas, 'Avicenna II: Biography', in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, ed. by E. Yarshater (London, 1982–) (hereafter *EtR*), III, 69–70. On the Būyid Shams al-Dawla, see K.V. Zetterstéen, 'Shams al-Dawla, Abū Ṭāhir b. Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan', in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. by E. van Donzel, new edn (Leiden, 1960–) (hereafter *EF*), IX, p. 295; C. E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (New York, 1996), p. 154.

³ W. E. Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sīnā: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science (Albany, 1974), pp. 54–57 (Gohlman's translation; brackets and glosses are mine); Ibn Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) reproduces al-Jūzjānī's text in *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. by J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903; repr. Frankfurt a.M., 1999), p. 430.

⁴ On the biases and motivations of al-Bayhaqī's reporting, see D. C. Reisman, 'Stealing Avicenna's Books: A Study of the Historical Sources for the Life and Times of Avicenna', in *Before and After Avicenna: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, ed. by D. C. Reisman and A. H. al-Rahim, Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science: Texts and Studies, 52 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 114–22.

⁵ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. by M. Shafī' (Lahore, 1935), p. 49; all of the following *Tatimma* references are to the Shafī' edition (other editions of al-Bayhaqī's

The significance of this report and its later recensions (indicated above by the angle brackets, which appear only in Shafī's edition) is not in its historical veracity, because the *Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* appears to have been composed after the period in Hamadhān,⁶ but in the way that it clearly associates each of Avicenna's four disciples with certain of his works. Another point that this report establishes is the identity of Avicenna's direct disciples; that is, those whom the bio-bibliographical tradition — which began with al-Jūzjānī, who mentions himself only; the other names, as noted, appearing only in later recensions — regarded as the most loyal to Avicenna's philosophy and to his *madhhab* (see below). The study sessions in Hamadhān with Avicenna might be identified with reading sessions (*majālis al-qirā'a*), where al-Jūzjānī and perhaps others would read Avicenna's texts back to him, apparently for discussion and possibly in order to establish an archetype of his text (*al-nuskha al-dustūr*).⁷

Tatimma include: *Ta'rikh ḥukamā' al-Islām*, ed. by M. K. 'Alī (Damascus, 1365/1946); *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. by R. al-'Ajam (Beirut, 1994); *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. by M. Ḥ. Muḥammad (Cairo, 1417/1997); and the Persian translation of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*, entitled *Durrat al-akbbār wa-lum'at al-anwār*, ed. by M. Shafī' (Tehran, 1318Sh/1939); see also, D. Gutas, 'The *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* Cycle of Texts', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102 (1982), 645–50. Also see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī (fl. seventh/thirteenth century), *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā' qabl al-Islām wa-ba'dahu*, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawdat al-afrāḥ*, ed. by 'A. K. Abū Shuwayrib (Cairo, 1988; repr. Paris, 2004), p. 371; for an analysis of this story and its later recensions, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 95–96; Gutas, 'Avicenna II', pp. 67–69.

⁶ Gohlman says that the *Ishārāt*, as noted by al-Jūzjānī in the bibliography (p. 96), 'was the last work written by Ibn Sīnā, so that the latter two examples, not found in the earlier manuscripts of Ibn Funduq [al-Bayhaqī], seem to be false interpolations' (*Ibn Sīnā*, p. 128). On the dating of the *Ishārāt* and Avicenna's other philosophical works, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 82–98, 145; for an alternative, earlier dating of the *Ishārāt*, see J. Michot, 'La Réponse d'Avicenne à Bahmanyār et al-Kirmānī: Présentation, traduction critique et lexicque arabe-français de la *Mubāḥaṭha III*', *Le Muséon*, 110.1–2 (1997), 153–64; on Michot's dating of the *Ishārāt*, see D.C. Reisman's comments, 'A New Standard for Avicenna Studies', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 122 (2002), 564–65.

⁷ I thank Fritz Zimmermann for his discussion of this section at the 'Post-Avicennian Science and Philosophy' conference at Bar-Ilan University, 21–23 November 2005, where I presented a version of this paper; also see J. P. Berkey, 'Tadris', in *EF*, X, 80; on *dustūr*, see A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 58 (Leiden, 2001), p. 46.