Preliminary Notes on the Life and Work of Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123)*

Notas preliminares sobre la vida y obra de Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī (m. ca. 517/1123)

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ABSTRACT

Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123) is a second generation transmitter of the Avicennan tradition. Historiographers attribute to him the diffusion of the philosophical tradition into Khūrāsān. Almost nothing is known about his life and work. This paper attempts a reconstruction of both al-Lawkarī's biography and bibliography with the scant information that has survived about his life (teachers and pupils) and his Arabic and Persian writings. The paper then proceeds to introduce al-Lawkarī's major works: the Arabic *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq* and the Persian *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*, a commentary on his own *Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*. The paper tries to show how the breath of the philosophical topics that al-Lawkarī covered in his works illustrates the importance of his work for the survival of scientific and philosophical knowledge – mostly Avicennan – that was to thrive in the Eastern regions of the Islamicate world.

KEY WORDS: Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī. 13th century philosophy. Post-Avicennan tradition. Persian and Arabic philosophical text. Khūrāsān.

RESUMEN

Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī (m. ca. 517/1123) es transmisor de segunda generación de la tradición avicénica. Los historiógrafos le atribuyen la difusión de la tradición filosófica en el Jūrāsān. Poco se sabe sobre su vida y obra. En este artículo reconstruyo tanto la biografía como la bibliografía de al-Lawkarī a partir de la escasa información que nos ha llegado a través de las noticias sobre sus profesores y alumnos así como sus escritos en árabe y en persa. Posteriormente, trato de las principales obras de al-Lawkarī: la árabe *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq* y la persa *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*, un comentario sobre su propia obra *Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*. Y finalmente, intento mostrar cómo el espíritu filosófico que se desprendía de los temas tratados por al-Lawkarī en su obra fue un elemento fundamental para la pervivencia del conocimiento científico y filosófico –principalmente avicénico- que fue prosperando en las regiones orientales del mundo islámico.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī. Filosofía del siglo XIII. Tradición post-avicénica. Textos filosóficos persas y árabes. Jūrāsān.

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Not much is known or written about Abū al-'Abbās al-Lawkarī, one of the important figures in the history of the transmission of the Post-Avicennan Peripatetic philosophical tradition. Lawkarī belonged to the second generation of transmitters of the Avicennan tradition and was active in the Islamic eastern provinces of Khūrāsān, at the end of the 5th/11th and the beginning of the 6th/12th century. This article presents preliminary notes on the life and work of Lawkarī. The general overview will illustrate the breath of the philosophical topics covered by Lawkarī and allude to his importance in the history of the transmission of philosophy in the Islamicate world.[1]

The Biography of Lawkarī

One of the oldest sources for Lawkarī's biography and bibliography is the *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*. The author, Ẓahīr al-Dīn ('Alī Ibn Zayd) Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169) completed the work in 553/1158,[2] possibly within about fifty years of Lawkarī's death. Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* consists of an Arabic supplement to Abū Sulaymān (Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir) al-Sijistānī al-Manṭiqī's (d. ca. 375/985) biographical dictionary of Greek and Islamic philosophers, the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*.[3] A later biographical work, which

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[1] On the term 'Islamicate world' coined by Hodgson, cf. Marshall G. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Conscience and History in a World Civilization, 3 vols. – Vol. 1. The Classical Age of Islam* (1958; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 57-60.

[2] Kurd 'Alī edited Bayhaqī's work under a different title, the *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām*, while acknowledging that the original title of the work was *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, cf. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bayhaqī, *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām*, edition by Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Taraqqī, 1946), 10. In preparing his edition, Kurd 'Alī also used the *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, edited by Muḥammad Shafī' (Lahore, 1351/1932), which contains a Persian translation. For an English translation, cf. Max Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*. A Biographical Work on Learned Men of the Islam," *Osiris*, 8 (1948): 122-217. Meyerhof's translation is based on the Lahore edition of Shafī' which includes four additional entries (nos. 113-6) in the additional Persian translation (unknown translator) titled *Durrat al-Akhbār va Lum'at al-Anwār* (Pearl of Information and Brightness of Lights) which was probably completed around 730/1330. It includes additional entries on Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 578/1191), Fakh al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318), cf. Meyerhof, 204-8.

[3] The *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* is also one of the sources used by Shahrastānī in his *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, cf. S. M. Stern, "Abū Sulaymān … al-Manṭiḳī," in *EI*^{2}, vol. 1 (1960), 151b-152a; cf. Dimitri Gutas, "The *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* Cycle of Texts," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102 (1982): 645-50. The following is a list of abbreviations used throughout this article:

GAL = Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Zweite den Supplementbänden angepaßte Auflage* [2 Band (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943-49), 3 Supplementbande (1937-42)] (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), Band I, 460 [on Lawkarī].

EI^2 = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, prepared by a number of leading Orientalists (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1960-).

relies heavily on Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, is the *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* of Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 687/1288) who writes that he quotes (verbatim) some passages from the former work.[4] Another useful source, on which later sources depend and that may well be contemporary to Shahrazūrī's *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* is the *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥihmah*, which was written in 689/1290 and completed two years after Shahrazūrī's death.[5] The *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* contains a number of Lawkarī's Arabic verses found in no other work. Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī should not, however, be confused with Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ghaznavī al-Lawkarī, a poet of the second half of $4^{th}/10^{th}$ century who is mentioned in the *Chahār Maqālah* (probably written in 551/1156) of Niẓāmī ʻArūḍī Samarqandī and in the *Lubāb al-Albāb* of Muḥammad ʻAwfī (d. 630/1232).[6]

TSH = Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, published under the title *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām*, edition by Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī (Damascus: Maṭbaʻat al-Taraqqī, 1946), 126.9-127.16 [on Lawkarī]. For his edition, Kurd ʻAlī made use of the edition of Muḥammad Shafīʻ (Lahore, 1351/1932) which includes a Persian translation. Dībajī also uses the edition of Shafīʻ in his introduction to the Metaphysics of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*.

NA = Shahrazūrī (d. 687/1288), *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ wa Rawḍat al-Afrāḥ fī Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā' wa al-Falāsifah*, 2 vols., edition by Khūrshīd Aḥmad (Ḥaydarābād: Maṭbaʻat Majlis Dā'irat al-Maʻārif al-ʻUthmāniyyah, 1396/1976), vol. 2, 54.12-55.12 [on Lawkarī].

IT = *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, Central Library, Tehran University, Ms. 935/2, fol. 151r.8-152v.2 [on Lawkarī] (copied in 689/1290). This is a copy of the Beşir Ağa *majmūʻah*, Ms. 494 [Köprülü Library] [photograph no. 1799/2], cf. Dānish-pazhūh, *Fihrist Mīkrūfīlmhā-yi Kitabkhānah-yi Markazī va Dānishgāh-i Tihrān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1348/1969), 550. Kadīvar attributes the work to Bayhaqī, but without providing any references or sources for this information, cf. Muḥsin Kadīvar, "Guzārish-i Abū al-ʻAbbās-i Lawkarī az Falsafah-yi Mashshā'," in Idem, *Daftar-i 'Aql; Majmūʻah-yi Maqālāt-i Falsafah—Kalāmī* (Tehran: Iṭṭilāʻāt, 1377/1999): 352-63, esp. 353 n.1.

QAH = *Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār-i al-Ḥikmah*, complete text edited in Lawkarī, *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār-i al-Ḥikmah*, text established by Ilāhah Rūḥī-Dil, edited by Muḥammad-Rasūl Daryāgasht and Riḍā Pūrjavādī (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1382/2002), 1-11 [the text of the *qaṣīdah*].

SQAH = Lawkarī, *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār-i al-Ḥikmah*, see *QAH* (above), 12-103 [Lawkarī's commentary, together with his *QAH*].

BHm = Lawkarī, *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq. Al-'Ilm al-Ilāhī*, edition by Ibrāhīm Dībājī (Tehran-Kuala Lampur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, ISTAC, 1373/1414/1995) [section on Metaphysics].

T = Lawkarī, *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq, al-Ṭabīʻiyyāt*, Central Library, Tehran Library, Ms. 250, fol. 87v.1-171v.17 [section on Physics].

P = Lawkarī, *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq, al-Ṭabīʻiyyāt*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds arabe, Ms. 5900, 1v.1-129v.11 (129 fols) [section on Physics].

[4] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 58.4-6; cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 142.2-4 (Meyerhof, 186). The relation between Bayhaqī's and Shahrazūrī's works remains to be investigated, e.g., Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 55.2 may well depend on Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 126.10 (Meyerhof, 176).

[5] Anonymous, *IT*, fol. 151r.10.

[6] Mentioned in the *Chahār Maqālah* of Niẓāmī ʻArūḍī Samarqandī [≠ Niẓāmī Ganjawī, the famous poet] (fl. 1110-1161) (Muʻīn edition, p. 160). The work on the classes of men whom Niẓāmī regards indispensable in the services of kings (secretaries, poets, astrologers and physicians) includes many anecdotes, but is not always reliable, even for events that Niẓāmī says he witnessed, cf. H. Massé, "Niẓāmī ʻArūḍī Samarḳandī," *EI*^{2}, vol. 8 (1995), 76a-b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Lawkarī is also mentioned in the *Lubāb al-Albāb* (written in 617/1220) of Persian anthologist Muḥammad ʻAwfī (Qazvīnī edition, p. 80), cf. M. Nizamuddin, "ʻAwfī," *EI*^{2}, vol. 1 (1960), 764a-b. For a biography and a sample of his poetry, cf. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt-i Iran*, vol. 1, 412-22; mentioned in Kadīvar, "Guzārish," esp. 351 and n.4; cf. Dībājī's intro., *BHm*, 18.

Entries in these biographical works provide unfortunately very little information about Lawkarī's life or work. Lawkarī remains an elusive character. Shahrazūrī mentions that his full name was Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl Ibn Muḥammad al-Lawkarī.[7] Some have suggested that lack of information regarding events of his life allude to a life wholly dedicated to learning, rather than one dedicated to public life, a life in stark contrast with the lives of other philosophers, e.g., Avicenna.[8] Bayhaqī writes that Lawkarī's family came from the village of Lawkar, near Marv, where he owned property. Shahrazūrī adds some details about the later years of Lawkarī's life, but whose accuracy remains difficult to ascertain. He reports that Lawkarī used to say in old age: "I have given up all hope of increasing my science and my knowledge, for there is nothing more for me to acquire."[9] Lawkarī eventually became blind in old age. Shahrazūrī provides the following account of the cause of his death. Lawkarī apparently became sick after a visit to the bathhouse where he had invited some of his students. A number of them tried to treat him, but without any success, Lawkarī eventually dying.[10]

The exact date of Lawkarī's death is uncertain, as neither Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* (the earliest source) nor Shahrazūrī's *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* provide any information. Brockelmann situates his death around 517/1123, but he provides no sources for this information. It is not clear how he arrived at this conclusion. Dībājī supplies the same date, based on Badawī's introduction to Avicenna's *Ta'līqāt* (Marginal Notes), both probably relying on the entry on Lawkarī found in Brockelmann. In fact, biographical works provide various dates.[11]

One date, however, stands out. According to the oldest manuscript of Avicenna's *Ta'līqāt*, Lawkarī is said to have written his *Fihrist* (Index) of *al-Ta'līqāt* in 503/1109 (see section on the *Fihrist* below). Lawkarī would, therefore, have died after this date. Dībājī notes, however, that there is no consensus on the date of his death. He writes that some manuscripts of *al-Ta'līqāt* mention the date of Lawkarī's death as being 458/1065 or 464/1071, dates that would contradict the account of him having completed the *Fihrist* in 503/1109. We are told that Āgā-Buzurg Tihrānī wrote in his *al-Dharī'ah* that, according to the *Tadhkirat-i Shāhid-i Ṣādiq*, Lawkarī died in 464/1071, a date that may well rely on the latter manuscript of *al-Ta'līqāt* mentioned by Dībājī, while in his *Rīḥānat al-Adab*, Al-Mudarris al-Tabrīzī wrote that Lawkarī died in 458/1065, a date that may well rely on the former manuscript of *al-Ta'līqāt* mentioned by Dībājī.[12] The date of 458/1065 may well be a confusion with the date of Ibn Marzūbān's death. Even 464/1071 is an unlikely date for Lawkarī's death. It would make it impossible for him to have been the teacher of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Īlāqī who died in 536/1141, or of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭabasī who died in 539/1144, or of al-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān who died in 548/1153, unless all three, especially al-Qaṭṭān, died at a very late age. Dībājī mentions that a much later work, the *Ta'dīl al-Mīzān* of Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr al-Ḥusaynī al-Dashtakī (d. 949/1542), quoted in al-

[7] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 54 n.6.

[8] Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 13.

[9] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 55.5; cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 126.12 (Meyerhof, 176).

[10] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 55.4-10.

[11] Brockelmann, *GAL*, Band I, 460; cf. Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 13; cf. Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ta'līqāt*, edition by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo: Wazārat al-Thaqāfah wa al-I'lām, 1392/1973), 9.

[12] Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 14.

Mudarris al-Tabrīzī's *Rīḥānat al-Adab*, mentions erroneously that Bahmanyār was a student of Lawkarī.[13] These are naturally later accounts, some of which have included interpolations and others erroneous information.

In the oldest manuscript of Lawkarī's *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, copied in 601/1204, Lawkarī mentions Avicenna, whose works he uses and summarizes, and notes that he has passed away.[14] Bayhaqī's entry may, therefore, be correct in stating that Lawkarī was a student of Bahmanyār, the latter being a student of Avicenna. A later source, the *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, copied in 689/1290, mentions that Lawkarī 'preceded the likes of' 'Umar al-Khayyām al-Nīshāpūrī (d. ca. 526/1132),[15] Abū al-Fatḥ Ibn Kūshak, and Maymūn Ibn Najīb al-Wāsitī (d. 482/1089).[16] Khayyām was already a young astronomer of some standing by the last quarter of the 5th/11th century,[17] such that Lawkarī may, in fact, have been a contemporary of Khayyām[18] or for that matter of Ibn Kūshak or al-Wāsitī.

Bahmanyār Ibn Marzubān (d. 458/1066) was one of Avicenna's (d. 980/1037) most intimate friends and collaborators,[19] Avicenna having raised him as his son.[20] Assuming

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[13] Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 15.

[14] Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 15.

[15] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 119.2-123.9 (Meyerhof, 172-5). (Ghiyāth al-Dīn) Abū al-Fatḥ 'Umar (Ibn Ibrāhīm) al-Nīshāpūrī al-Khayyāmī was born in 439/1048, according to C.-H. de Fouchécour, "'Umar Khayyām. I. Biography. 2. Quatrain," *EI*^{2}, vol. 10 (1998-2000), 827a-831b, esp. 828a. He died around 526/1132, cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Band I, 471 (but in 517/1123 in Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supp. I, 855 [!]); cf. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. 1. From Homer to Omar Khayyam* (Baltimore: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1927), 759. In his *TSH* (119.2-123.9), Bayhaqī does not provide a date for his death. The *Chahār Maqālah* is not the only contemporary reference to Khayyām, as claimed by Massé (who does not mention Bayhaqī's work), cf, H. Massé, "Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarḳandī," 76b. Toward the end of his life, Khayyām must have been one of the important and influential figures of Nīshāpūr. De Fouchécour mentions a letter in which the poet Ḥasan (or Majdūd) Samā'ī-yi Ghaznavī (d. 525/1131) made an appeal to Khayyām, cf. Fouchécour, "'Umar Khayyām," 828a. Fouchécour writes that Niẓāmī mentions that Khayyām was the most famous of astronomers and astrologers in Marv and that in 530/1135 he visited his tomb, adding that Bayhaqī was still young when he met Khayyām; Fouchécour adds that 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī mentions him in his *Mīzān al-Ḥikmah* (composed in 515/1121), cf. Ibid. 827a.

[16] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 54.13; cf. Anonymous, *IT*, fol. 151a10; cf. Meyerhof's translation of *TSH*, 177. For Ibn Najīb's entry, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 105. 8-106.11 (Meyerhof, 165).

[17] He lived at the time of Sultan Sanjar, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 162.4-5 (Meyerhof, 196). One of his students was Ḥusayn al-Samarqandī, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 162.12-13 (Meyerhof, 197).

[18] Alessandro Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period," in *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 5. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, edition by J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 283-302, especially 288; cf. Clifford E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000-1217)," in Idem, 1-202.

[19] Hans Daiber, "Bahmanyār, Kīā (Ra'īs Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Marzubān A'jamī Ādharbayjānī)," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, edition by Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982—), vol. 3 (1989), 501b-503a. Among Bahmanyār's works, Shahrazūrī mentions the *Mabāḥith*, the *Taḥṣīl*, the *Kitāb al-Zīnah fī al-Manṭiq*, the *Kitāb fī al-Mūsīqá*, and many epistles (*Rasā'il*), cf. Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 38.9-12; cf. Jean R. (Yahya) Michot, "La réponse d'Avicenne à Bahmanyâr et al-Kirmânî. Présentation, traduction critique et lexique arabe-français de la *Mubâḥatha* III," *Le Muséon* (Louvain), 110 (1997): 143-221.

[20] The *Rawḍat al-Jinnāt* and the *Rīḥānat al-Adab* include the story of his meeting with Ibn Sīnā. They met in a shop where the young Bahmanyār entered to get fire. When told he had nothing to carry it, he filled his hand with ashes and said that he could now carry it. Impressed by the ingenuity of the child, Avicenna who was present concluded that Bahmanyār was intelligent and had the ability to learn sciences; he then obtained the permission from the father of child to have Bahmanyār study with him. This anecdote is mentioned by Muṭahharī in the introduction to his edition of Bahmanyār's *al-Taḥṣīl*, cf. Bahmanyār Ibn Marzubān, *al-Taḥṣīl*, 2nd edition by Murtaḍá Muṭahharī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1375/1995), page 'z'.

that Lawkarī was a student of Bahmanyār and that he completed his *Fihrist* in 503/1109, then 43 years would separate this later date and the date of Bahmanyār's death. If 10 to 20 years are added to account for the period when Lawkarī would have been a student of Bahmanyār, then Lawkarī could well have been in his late 50s or early 60s when he wrote his *Fihrist*, making the date of 503/1109 very plausible. Lawkarī would thus have flourished at the end of the 5th/11th and the beginning of the 6th/12th century.

Lawkarī is credited for the propagation of philosophy in the Islamic East. The claim is made by Bayhaqī who writes that "the philosophical sciences (*'ulūm al-ḥikmah*) were spread into Khūrāsān by the littérateur (*adīb*) Abū al-'Abbās [al-Lawkarī],"[21] a statement that many later sources reiterate. As a student of Bahmanyār, Lawkarī became, therefore, an important link between Avicenna and later writers who belonged to the thriving Avicennan Peripatetic tradition in the East, during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries.[22] This teacher-student relationship between Bahmanyār and Lawkarī is also mentioned in a number of manuscripts that contain Lawkarī's *Fihrist*.[23] Moreover, Lawkarī trained many students who went on to teach and become the next generation of transmitters of the Avicennan Peripatetic tradition. Finally, Lawkarī wrote works in the Avicennan tradition, both in Arabic and in Persian, some of which have survived and have recently been published.

Bayhaqī and Shahrazūrī provide no indication, however, as to where Lawkarī might have pursued his studies in philosophy, arithmetic, and astronomy, nor do they indicate where he taught, save the earlier mentioned region of Khūrāsān. His only known teacher is Bahmanyār. Information about Bahmanyār is equally scant.[24] After Avicenna's death in 428/1037, the sources are silent on the whereabouts of Bahmanyār, save that he died 30 years later, in 458/1066.[25] During this period, there is no doubt that Bahmanyār taught, perhaps even until his death. Did he travel to Khūrāsān where he would have taught the likes of Lawkarī, or did Lawkarī travel outside of Khūrāsān, perhaps going to Rayy, Hamadān, or, more likely, to Iṣfahān where Bahmanyar had previously followed Avicenna?[26] We are only left with speculations.

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[21] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 126.10-1 (Meyerhof, 176); cf. Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 55.3.

[22] Dimitri Gutas, "The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000 — ca. 1350," in *Avicenna and His Heritage. Acts of the International Colloquium, Leuven – Louvain-la-Neuve, September 8 – September 11, 1999*, edited by Jules Janssens and Daniel De Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 81-97.

[23] Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition; Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 145.

[24] Bahmanyār's family was from Ādharbayjān and Zoroastrian (*majūsī*). Shahrazūrī seems to imply that he may have remained a Zoroastrian all his live, cf. Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 38.8. Muṭahharī notes that he is also identified as a Zoroastrian by Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-Pazhūh in the *Fihrist-i Kutub-i Ihdā'ī-yi Ustād Sayyid Muḥammad Mashkūh* and by Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir in the *Fihrist-i Kutub-i Khaṭṭī-yi Dānishgāh-i Ilāhiyyāt va Ma'ārif-i Islāmī*; while, in his *al-Dharī'ah*, Aqā-Buzurg Tihrānī included him among the Shī'ī writers; the author of the *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt* says that he was a Muslim, cf. Muṭahharī's intro. in Bahmanyār, *al-Taḥṣīl*, page 'z'. Muṭahharī, however, notes that some discussions found in Bahmanyār's *al-Taḥṣīl* are incompatible with Zoroastrian doctrines and beliefs, especially the notion of unity (*tawḥīd*)—only in essence and not in its "createdness" (*khāliqiyyah*)—and of good and evil, a plausible indication that Bahmanyār did not remain a Zoroastrian all his life as some have claimed, whereas Bahmanyār's explanation of the notion of "priority by nobility" (*taqaddum bil-sharaf*) and his example of the excellence of Abū Bakr over 'Umar are in no way indications that he was a Muslim as mentioned in Muṭahharī's intro. of Bahmanyār, *al-Taḥṣīl*, page 'h'; cf. M. Morony, "Majūs," *EI*^{2}, 5, 1110a-1118a, esp. 1110a.

[25] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 39.3.

[26] Gutas, *Avicenna*.

Lawkarī may have studied and/or taught in one or more of the centers of learning of Khūrāsān. With the advent of the Seljuq dynasty (431-590/1040-1194), the region thrived. Occupied in 428/1037 by the Saljuq Toghul Beg (d. 455/1063), Nīshāpūr became the capital. Alp Arslān (d. 465/1072) later resided in the city.[27] Nīshāpūr, the most important of the four great cities of in Khūrāsān, with Marv, Herat and Balkh, was a major intellectual center of learning.[28] Nīshāpūr had many *madrasah* among which it counted the *Niẓamiyyah madrasah* established in 450/1058 by Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) who founded similar institutions of learning in Balkh, Herat, and Marv and, the most famous, in Baghdād in 459/1067.[29] All these major cities of Khūrāsān had religiously endowed (*waqf*) libraries. For instance, Marv is said to have possessed as many as ten '*waqf*' libraries, some of them containing up to 12,000 volumes.[30]

The main cities of Khūrāsān remained important centers of learning. 'Umar Khayyām was from Nīshāpūr where he studied. He also studied and worked in Iṣfahān, but later returned to Nīshāpūr.[31] The Qāḍī Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwajī (or al-Sāwī) (d. ca. 540/1145)[32] traveled from Sāvah to Nīshāpūr, where he joined the circles of As'ad al-Mayhanī and those of Īlāqī,[33] both students of Lawkarī (see below). Sāwī wrote a Persian *Risālah-yi Sanjariyyah fī al-Kā'ināt al-'Unṣuriyyah* (on meteorology) concerning the world of elements for Seljuq Sanjar (ruled from 490/1097 to 552/1157).[34] The logician Ẓahīr al-Fārisī introduced Suhrawardī (d. 578/1191) to the *al-Baṣā'ir* of "non-Aristotelian Persian logician 'Umar b. Shahlān al-Sāwadjī (fl. 540/1145)," while studying in Iṣfahān.[35]

Iṣfahān had long been another important Seljuq intellectual center. Toghril Beg, the founder of the Seljuq dynasty, had made Iṣfahān the capital of his domains and his grandson Malik Shāh became the ruler of the city from 466/1073 onwards. Ibn al-Athīr (d.

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[27] E. Honigmann [C.E. Bosworth], "Nīshāpūr," *EI*^{2}, vol. 8 (1995), 62b-64b; cf. Clifford E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties. A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 185-8; cf. A. Sevim and C.E. Bosworth, "The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. IV. The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century. Part One. The Historical, Social and Economic Setting*, eds. M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO, 1998), 145-176.

[28] Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Peirod," 288-290; cf. Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur. A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

[29] H. Bowen [C.E. Bosworth], "Niẓām al-Mulk," *EI*^{2}, vol, 8, 69b-73a.

[30] Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period," 290.

[31] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 119.3-6 (Meyerhof, 172).

[32] Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 830 (no. 8a). Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 132.10-134.3 (Meyerhof, 180-1), and Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 56.3-57.4, provide no date of death.

[33] Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period," 289.

[34] Gönül Alpay Tekin, "*Risāla*. 2. In Persian," *EI*^{2}, vol 8, 539a-544b, esp. 542a. Sanjar, the son of Malik Shāh II b. Berk Yaruq, Rukn al-Dunya wa al-Dīn, Jalāl al-Dawlah (d. 498/1105), ruled from 490/1097 to 552/1157, first in Khūrāsān and then over the entire Seljuq family after the death of his brother Muḥammad (d. 511/1118), cf. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, 185, 188.

[35] Ẓahīr al-Fārisī's novel ideas concerning the "reconstruction of the Aristotelian nine-book logical corpus of the *Organon* into more logically consistent divisions of semantics, formal logic and material logic had a major impact on Suhrawardī's writings on logic," cf. H. Ziai, "al-Suhrawardī," *EI*^{2}, vol. 9 (1997), 782a-b, especially 782a. Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) mentions al-Sāwī, cf. Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Muqāwamāt*, in *Majmū'ah-yi Muṣannafāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāq* (Oeuvres Philosophiques et Mystiques), vol. 1, edited by Henry Corbin (Tehran: Mu'assasah-yi Muṭāli'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1372/1993), 123-92, esp. 146.2-6 and Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Mashāri' wa al-Muṭāraḥāt*, in *Majmū'ah-yi Muṣannafāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāq* (Oeuvres Philosophiques et Mystiques), vol. 1, edited by Henry Corbin (Tehran: Mu'assasah-yi Muṭāli'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1372/1993), 193-506, esp. 278.6-7 and 352.10-16.

630/1233) mentions that in 468/1075, Niẓām al-Mulk and Seljuq Sultan Malik Shāh I Ibn Alp Arslān (r. 465-485/1073-1092) assembled several leading astronomers in the capital Iṣfahān where an observatory was constructed:[36]

> Who fixed the start of the new year (*Nayruz*) […] This initiative of the sultan provided the starting point for yearly calendars. At the same time, Astronomical observations were undertaken for Sultan Malikshah. A group of astronomers gathered to carry this out, including Umar ibn Ibrahim al-Khayyami, Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Asfizari,[37] Maymun ibn al-Najib al-Wasiti and others. A large sum of money was expended on this and the observations lasted until the sultan died […],[38] but they were discontinued after his death.[39]

Bayhaqī writes that Abū Ḥātim al-Muẓaffar al-Isfazārī corresponded with Khayyām,[40] and that Abū al-Ma'ālī 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Miyānjī studied with both Khayyām and Aḥmad Ghazzālī.[41] In his history of Persian prose and poetry, Nafīsī adds the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khāzinī[42] and Abū al-'Abbās al-Lawkarī to the list of astronomers who were commissioned by Malik Shāh, without unfortunately providing any reference to primary sources for this particular information.[43] 'Umar Khayyām's corrections to the Iranian calendar resulted in the *Jalālī Calendar* (*taqwīm-i Jalālī*). The spring equinox of 471/1079 became the first day of the new era called Malikī or Jalālī (in honor of Malik Shāh, who also had the honorific title of Jalāl al-Dawlah) and the Persian solar calendar reform was implemented (essential for taxation and agriculture).[44] At the observatory in

[36] Fouchécour, "'Umar Khayyām," 828a.

[37] A mathematician and physician, he died 1122, cf. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. 2. *From Rabbi Ben Ezra to Roger Bacon (in two parts)* (Baltimore: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931), part 1, 204.

[38] Ibn Athīr usually provides accurate reports, but there appears to be some discrepancies in this passage—"the year 480"/1087-88—and the actual date of Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks. Selections from* al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rīkh *of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr*, trans. and annotated by D. S. Richards (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 189. Later, however, under the events for the year 485/1092-93, Ibn Athīr reports the events that surrounded the death of Malik Shāh, cf. Ibid., 258, 262-3; cf. , cf. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, 185.

[39] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, 189. This is noted by Kurd 'Alī, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 125 n. 1; cf. Fouchécour, "'Umar Khayyām," 828a. In 465/1072, according to Fouchécour.

[40] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 125.4-126.7 (Meyerhof, 175-6). He spent most of his life to build a scale (the "*mīzān Arshimīd al-miqiyās*").

[41] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 123.11-125.2, esp. 123.12-3 (Meyerhof, 175). Bayhaqī writes that he wrote a philosophical treatise on Sufism called *Zubdat al-Ḥaqā'iq* (*TSH*, 123.13) and was crucified because of the animosity that existed between him and the Vazīr Abū al-Qāsim al-Insābādhī (*TSH*, 123.14).

[42] It may well be al-Ḥakīm Abū al-Fatḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzin who was a slave-servant (*ghulām*) of 'Alī al-Khāzin al-Marūzī, who knew mathematics and astronomy, and who contributed to the *al-Zīj* (*al-Ma'nūn*) *al-Sanjarī* and wrote a book on mechanics, hydrostatics and physics, called the *Mīzān al-Ḥikmah* (completed in 1121-2) from a work attributed to Archimedes, to which Bayhaqī dedicates an entry, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 161.15-163.2 (Meyerhof, 196-7); cf. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, part 1, 216.

[43] Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Naẓm va Nathr dar Īrān va dar Zabān-i Fārsī*, 2 vols (Tehran: Kitāb-furūshī-yi Furūghī, 1344/1965), vol. 1, 60 and 63; cf. in Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 78.

[44] D. Pingree, "'Umar Khayyām. 4. Astronomy and the Calendar," *EI*^{2}, vol. 10 (1998-2000), 832b-833a, esp., 332b. Taqizadeh mentions that a new calendar was instituted in 468/1075, cf. S.H. Taqizadeh, "Djalālī (*Ta'rīkh-i*

Iṣfahān, which was destroyed after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, Khayyām compiled his *Zīj-i Malik-i Shāhī* (Astronomical Tables for Malik Shāh), of which only a fragment has survived.[45]

The little information that biographical works and scribal inscriptions on manuscripts provide about Lawkarī's life does not amount to much in terms of biographical data. At best, one can only hope that detailed studies of his works and the philosophical theses therein will provide the means to reconstruct his intellectual history and identify his intellectual legacies or influences that individuals, such as Avicenna or his master, Bahmanyār Ibn Marzubān, may have had on him.

The Works of Lawkarī

The bibliographical entries of Bayhaqī and Shahrazūrī provide some of the most detailed lists of Lawkarī's Arabic and Persian works from which the following list of titles is derived.

1. *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq*

The Arabic *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq* (Explanation of the Reality with the Assurance of Truth) is undeniably the most important of Lawkarī's works.[46] This is a philosophical *summa* which appears to have widely circulated, most certainly as a teaching manual. Its popularity is attested by the existence of a number of manuscripts. Judging by the number of manuscripts that have survived, the section on Metaphysics appears to have been the most popular, the Logic coming in a good second place, and the Physics being perhaps the least popular. All the sections often circulated independently of each other.[47] The tripartite division of the work follows the traditional canon and finds parallels in the division of Avicenna's *al-Shifā'* on which it is most probably modeled.

The popularity of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* may have resided in the fact that this *summa* consisted of a comprehensive compendium of theses, theories, and demonstrations that belonged to the Avicennan Peripatetic tradition. The *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* informs us that Lawkarī, in the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, summarized (*talkhīṣ*) the books of al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and Avicenna (d. 429/1037), as well as the opinion of a certain Muḥammad Sa'īd on al-Fārābī and Avicenna.[48] In his preface to the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, Lawkarī addresses his patron whom he praises for his interest in the 'revivification' of the sciences (*ḥikmah*):

Djalālī)," *EI*^{2}, vol. 2 (1965), 397b-400a, esp. 398a. This is the date of the inauguration of the Jalīlī calendar, cf. H. Bowen [C.E. Bosworth], "Niẓām al-Mulk," *EI*^{2}, vol, 8, 69b-73a.

[45] The *Zīj-i Malik-i Shāhī* is also mentioned by Ḥajjī Khālifah. In his treatise *al-Zājir li-l-Ṣighār*, Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) notes that Khayyām enjoyed frequenting his circles, cf. Fouchécour, "'Umar Khayyām," 828a. Khayyām "died at least 50 years after that reform," cf. Taqizadeh, "Djalālī (*Ta'rīkh-i Djalālī*)," 398a. Pingree also argues that Khayyām must have written his *Nawrūz-Nāmah* (The Book of the New Year) to attract the attention of the successor of Malik Shāh to existing problems of the Persian solar calendar and to prompt them to restore the observatory, cf. D. Pingree, "'Umar Khayyām," 333a. The *Nawrūz-Nāmah* would have been written after the death of Malik Shāh in 485/1092.

[46] The *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* is the only work of Lawkarī mentioned by Brockelmann in *GAL*, I, 460 (no. 10a): "Naturphilosophie in 5. Kapp. Nach der kleineren Physik des Aristoteles und, den Cmtren b. Sīnās, Paris 5900."

[47] In his introduction, Dībājī includes a list of existing manuscripts and the content of the different sections of the Metaphysics, cf., Lawkarī, *BHm*, 24-7.

[48] Anonymous, *IT*, fol. 151r 12-3.

> Court of our Lord, I decided to work on this book ... in order that one may become captive[49] in the palace by the mention of his well known excellence and be elevated with what has no equal by the inclusion of his noble name. Given the fact that he is the exalted leader who is solicitous for the revivification (*iḥyā'*) of the milestones of sciences (*ma'ālim al-ḥikmah*) and the remediation [of the situation], following their obliteration (*inmiḥā'*) in their later period,[50] those who have mastered the sciences and their students cannot dispense with the necessity of his presence and [their] concern for serving him.[51]

In his preface, Lawkarī mentions a decline of scientific culture and instruction. He notes a previous state of obliteration (*inmiḥā'*) of the scientific tradition which his patron intends to redress. Laudatory statements for one's patron were not uncommon practices, but Lawkarī's concern for what he perceived to be a lack of scientific culture in Khūrāsān and a need for an increase of patronage for those who write scientific works may be indicative of a real paucity of scientific works and instruction. This may certainly be even truer, if Lawkarī had in mind the Avicennan tradition. At the time, he would have considered himself one of the most faithful transmitters of the Avicennan tradition in Khūrāsān. As for the identity of his patron, nothing is known. One of the manuscripts of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* which Dībājī consulted mentions a certain al-Muhdī as the patron of the work, but no other information is provided which would help us identify the person to whom Lawkarī dedicated his work.[52]

A presentation of the content of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* will illustrate the breath of the knowledge covered in this compendium. The first part of the work corresponds to *al-'Ilm al-Manṭiq* (Science of Logic). The first book of the Logic, the *Īsāghūjī fī al-Alfāẓ al-Mufradah* (The Isagoge on Simple Terms) was edited in 1985 by Ibrāhīm Dībājī, a Professor of Arabic language at Tehran University.[53] This *Īsāghūjī*, sometimes titled *al-Madkhal* (Introduction), is in fact a commentary on Porphyry's (d. 304) *Isagoge*. No studies have been done on this or on any of the other books contained in the Logic of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* which contains the following nine books (only the first book was edited):

1. *Īsāghūjī fī al-Alfāẓ al-Mufradah* (The Isagoge on Simple Terms) which contains 30 chapters;
2. *al-Maqūlāt* (Categories) which contains 30 chapters;
3. *al-'Ibārah* (On Interpretation) which contains 53 chapters;
4. *al-Qiyās* (Syllogism, i.e., the Prior Analytics) which contains 54 chapters;
5. *al-Burhān* (Demonstration, i.e., the Posterior Analytics) which contains 27 chapters;
6. *al-Jadal* (Topics) which contains 14 chapters;

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[49] I read "asīr^{an}," instead of "asīr^{un}; perhaps "*talāfī-hā*", instead of "*talāfī-hā*".

[50] I read "*fī ākhiri zamāni-hā*," instead of "*fī ākhiri zamā'i-hā*."

[51] From the preface of manuscript no. 108 of the Central Library, Tehran University, reproduced in Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 22.10-3; cf. Ibid., 22 n.2.

[52] Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 22 and 22 n.3.

[53] Lawkarī, *Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq. Al-Manṭiq*. 1. *al-Madkhal*, edition by Ibrāhīm Dībājī (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1364/1985); cf. Hans Daiber, *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), vol. 1, 568 (no. 5462).

7. *al-Mughāliṭāt* (Sophistics) which contains one chapter;
8. *al-Khaṭābah* (Rhetoric) which contains 11 chapters;
9. *al-Aqāwīl al-Shi'riyyah* (Poetics) which contains one chapter.[54]

The second part of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* consists of *al-'Ilm al-Ṭabī'iyyāt* (Science of Physics). The Physics has survived in only two manuscripts and has yet to be edited.[55] The first manuscript, belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (=**P**), contains an incomplete version of the Physics. The manuscript only includes the following five books: *al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* (Natural History), *al-Samā' wa al-'Ālam* (Heavens and the World), *al-Kawn wa al-Fasād* (Generation and Corruption), *al-Ma'ādin* (Minerals), and *al-Athār al-'Ulwiyyah* (Meteorology).[56] The second surviving manuscript, belonging to the Central Library of the Tehran University (=**T**), appears to be complete. The different books of the Physics vary greatly in lengths. Reasons for these disparities still remain to be investigated and explained. The Tehran manuscript contains the following eight books:

1. *al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* (Natural History), a book which, Lawkarī notes, is also known as the *Kitāb Sam' al-Kiyān* and which contains 26 chapters [**T**, fol. 87v.17-114v.24; **P**, 2r.10-78v.15];[57]
2. *al-Samā' wa al-'Ālam* (Heavens and the World) which contains 4 chapters [**T**, 114v.26-118r.3; **P**, 79.2-89r.21];
3. *al-Kawn wa al-Fasād* (Generation and Corruption) which contains 17 chapters [**T**, 118r.5-131r.29; **P**, 90v.3-114r.10];
4. *al-Ma'ādin* (Minerals) which contains 5 chapters [**T**, 131v.1-135v.8; **P**, 114v.2-120r.21];
5. *al-Athār al-'Ulwiyyah* (Meteorology) which contains 6 chapters [**T**, 133v.19-136v.29; **P**, 120v.2-129r.10];
6. *al-Nafs* (Soul) which contains 23 chapters [**T**, 137r.2-159r.21];
7. *al-Nabāt* (Plants) which contains 7 chapters [**T**, 159r23-162r.29];
8. *al-Ḥaywān* (Animals) which contains 17 chapters [**T**, 162v.2-171v.13].

The Tehran manuscript remains the more reliable of the two surviving manuscripts. It was completed less than a century after Lawkarī's death. The copyists, a certain 'Uthmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Shahrābādī mentions that the section ending with the Physics was completed in Iṣfahān, on 28th of the month of Ramaḍān 601/1204. The copyist also notes that copying the manuscript was made easier with the help of what appears to have been his access to an original copy (*ḥasana bi-taysīri aṣīli-hi*) of the work [**T**, 171v.14-7]. The preface to the section of the Physics (similar in both manuscripts) provides

[54] Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 23.

[55] Griffel believes only one copy of the physics of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* has survived and thus only discusses the content of the Paris Ms., cf. Frank Griffel, *Apostasie und Toleranz im Islam. Die Entwicklung zu al-Ġazālīs Urteil gegen die Philosophie und die Reaktionen des Philosophen* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), 341-49, esp. 342.

[56] **P** is a late copy, dated 975/1567 (on the first folio) and it has 21 lines per folio (only 17 lines on the first folio).

[57] There are a number of disparities between the table of contents found at the beginning of each book (in terms of headings) and the chapters themselves; there are actually 26 chapters in the first book, which are not all listed in the table of content.

us with further details of the content of the work, its sources, and some examples of the theses that it presents, discusses or refutes. Lawkarī writes:

> The second part of the *Kitāb Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq* was abridged (*ukhtuṣira*) from the books of the Shaykh al-Raʾīs, Proof of the Truth, the most worthy of the later philosophers (*muta'akhkhirīn*), that is, ʻAlī al-Ḥusayn Ibn ʻAbd al-Allāh Ibn Sīnā al-Bukhārī—May God give him peace and bless his soul[58]—and the Second Teacher, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ṭurkhān al-Fārābī—May God bless his dear soul.[59]
>
> In the name of God, the Most Benevolent and the Most Beneficent—With your help, O God.[60]
>
> Praise be to God, [...] and bessings onto Muḥammad and his family.[61] This is the second part of the book composed on the laws (*qawānīn*) of the philosophical sciences (*al-ʻulūm al-ḥikamiyyah*) which we have called the *Kitāb Bayān al-Ḥaqq bi-Ḍamān al-Ṣidq*. We intended to discuss in it the foundations (*uṣūl*) of natural science (*al-ʻilm al-ṭabīʻī*) by way of both abridgment (*talkhīṣ*) and commentary (*sharḥ*), with the condition that, in so doing, we neither do any prejudice to the foundations (*uṣūl*) nor do we prolong the discussion by mentioning the derived (*furūʻ*) [principles] and the refutation of schools that are obviously erroneous. We will instead discuss uncertainties (*shukūk*) and specious arguments (*shubhah*) which are difficult to solve and aspects of the abridgment that are difficult to understand. So we will mention of these uncertainties (*shukūk*) [only] what is required for their refutation (*īrād*) and for providing solutions for them. In the same manner, we will discuss oppositions to opinions which do not appear obviously wrong (*khafiyyat al-buṭlān*), but which are very dubious (*shadīdat al-ishtibāh*) and ambiguously tangled with the truth (*al-iltibās bi-l-ḥaqq*). These deserve to be investigated, relying upon the example of what is incumbent in the case of the opinion of those who believe that the particle is indivisible and that the body is composed of it and, likewise, the opinion of those who believe that the body is simple (*basīṭ*) and that it is not composed (*lā tarkīb fī-hi*).
>
> As for the refutation of the belief of those who hold that the particle is indivisible, we will discuss it regarding this science, because the division of bones[62] is from the accidents (*ʻawāriḍ*) of the body.[63] Therefore, it becomes a problem of natural science. As for [**P**, 2r] the refutation of the belief of those who hold the simplicity of the body (*basāṭat al-jism*), the discussion will be taken up in the metaphysical (*ilāhī*) science, where we will discuss the

[58] Both Mss. have: "*rawwaḥa Allāhu rasma-hu* wa *qaddasa nafsa-hu*."

[59] Both Mss. have: "*qaddasa Allāhu rūḥa-hu al-ʻazīz*." This first part of the preamble was most probably added by the scribe, a summary of sort of what follows after the *hamdallah*..

[60] Both Mss. have: "*ʻawnu-ka yā Laṭīf*."

[61] Both Mss. have: "*al-ḥamdu li-l-Allāh kamā huwa ahlu-hu wa al-ṣalah ʻalá Muḥammad wa alihi*."

[62] In the margin of **T**, "*al-aʻẓām*" is written.

[63] **P** + "and what belongs to it (*wa lawāḥiqi-hi*)."

> demonstration (*ithbāt*) of matter (*māddah*) and form (*ṣūrah*), that the body is composed of the two, and that it is not simple (*basīṭ*).
>
> This[64] work contains small books from all the books of the Sage, Aristotle, which the Shaykh al-Ra'īs, Proof of Truth,[65] Abū 'Alī (Ibn Sīnā)—May God give him peace and bless his soul—has commented (*sharaḥa*) and on which he has expounded (*basaṭa al-kalām fī-hā*).[66] So we have abridged them (*ikhtaṣarnā-hā*) and summarized them (*lakhkhaṣnā-hā*) following the order of the books of the Sage, mentioning the table of content (*fihrist*) of each book at its outset—To God is the recompense, and to him is the power and the strength[67]: *Kitāb Sam' al-Kiyān—Kitāb al-Samā' wa al-'Ālam—Kitāb al-Kawn wa al-Fasād—Kitāb al-Ma'ādin—Kitāb al-Athār al-'Ulwiyyah—Kitāb al-Nafs—Kitāb al-Nabāt—Kitāb al-Ḥaywān* [**T**, 87v.1-14; cf. **P**, 1v.1-2r.7].

The preface to the Physics alludes to the ongoing philosophical and theological debates that took place at the time between the Peripatetic philosophers and the Ash'arites, such as al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) who was most probably a contemporary of Lawkarī and who taught in Nīshāpūr where Lawkarī was probably teaching himself. Griffel rightly points out the significance of the whole debate against Ash'arite atomism, to which the preface alludes, and mentions Lawkarī's defense of the Avicennan position.[68]

The third and last part of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* consists of *al-'Ilm al-Ilāhī* (The Science of Metaphysics) which Ibrāhīm Dībājī edited in 1995.[69] The Metaphysics is divided into two major books, each containing a number of chapters, the first book being the longest:

1. *al-'Ilm al-Kullī* (Universal Knowledge) which consists of 41 chapters; and
2. *al-Rubūbiyyāt* (Divine Knowledge) which consists of 28 chapters.[70]

The first book on Universal Knowledge, or what Lawkarī calls First Philosophy, covers Metaphysics proper, while the second book addresses a number of issues usually covered in Theology. In the first book on Universal knowledge, Lawkarī discusses, among other topics: material and immaterial existence, non-existence, substance and accidents, bodies, primary matter (*hayūlá*) and form, unity and multiplicity, qualities, concepts of priority and anteriority, potentiality and actuality, universals and particulars, genera and species, definition, causality and the different causes. In the second book on Divine Knowledge, proofs are provided to establish the existence of the First Principle (*al-mabda' al-awwal*) as absolute First Cause, as Necessary Existent (*wājib al-wujūb*), and as Pure Intellect (*'aql maḥḍ*). Lawkarī then discusses the Necessary Existent's primary attributes, its unity

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[64] **P** + "This, and if the refutation of the belief of those who hold that the particle is indivisible establishing (*ithbātan*) the connected quantity (*li-l-kammiyyah al-muttaṣilah*), [then] that would be like the mathematical (*al-handasī*) and the natural (*ṭabī'ī*) taken together (*jamī'an*). Its explanation and its demonstration (*ithbāt*) will be in the Metaphysics, except that we have not placed it in its proper place, because of the frequency of its use and its use to derive the proof from it."

[65] **P** – "the Proof of Truth."

[66] **P** – "may God give him peace and bless his soul."

[67] Both Mss. have: "*bi-Allāh al-tawfīq wa bi-hi al-ḥawlu wa-l-quwwatu*."

[68] Griffel, *Apostasie und Toleranz im Islam*, 344-9.

[69] For a review of Dībājī's edition of Lawkarī's *BHm*, cf. Kadīvar, "Guzārish," 352-63.

[70] Lawkarī, *BHm*, 1-262 and 263-406, respectively.

(*tawḥīd*) and completeness, its relation to intelligibles (*ma'qūlāt*), origination of all activities from heavenly principles (*al-mabādī' al-'āliyyah*), emanation from the first intelligence, motion, creation and origination (*ibdā'*), providence and divine guidance, evil and theodicy, eschatology and resurrection (*ma'ād*), revelation, visions and the theurgic nature of the prophets' soul, and the merits (worldly and otherworldly) of acts of worships.

In addition to the aforementioned list of metaphysical and theological topics, Lawkarī includes the names of a number of philosophers and philosophical works in the Metaphysics of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*. For instance, he mentions the Pythagoreans and their theory of numbers,[71] and among the philosophical works, he mentions Avicenna's *al-Shifā'*, to which he refers the reader regarding matter and its relation to souls[72] and regarding the specific difference (*faṣl*).[73] He even mentions Avicenna's *al-Inṣāf* (Fair Judgment), a work that only survived in fragments (reported in other works), but it is unclear what may have been Lawkarī's source for the passage from *al-Inṣāf* to which he refers and quotes (in the Metaphysics) on the posthumous life of souls. [74] Finally, Lawkarī mentions explanations provided by a certain Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī on celestial motion.[75]

Passages from the three different sections of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* have parallels in Avicenna's work. They comprise the standard scientific disciplines usually included in compendiums and that were part of the philosophical curriculum. A cursory comparison of some passages of the *De anima* of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* (**T**) and the *De anima* of Avicenna's *al-Shifā'* (The Cure) reveals that Lawkarī relied extensively on the latter work. Comparative analyses of the Logic, Physics, and Metaphysics of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* and *al-Shifā'* and of particular philosophical issues that are discussed in these works remain to be undertaken to ascertain the extent of Lawkarī's dependence on Avicenna's *al-Shifā'*. Analyses of the two works will also need to be undertaken to investigate the relation of these works with Bahmanyār Ibn Marzūbān's (d. 458/1066) *al-Taḥṣīl*, another important philosophical *summa* written by Avicenna's pupil who was also Lawkarī's teacher.[76] In order to provide a sense of the philosophical content of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, which would also offer insight into the work's philosophical significance, exhaustive lists of correspondences to differences and parallels among their various books, chapters, and theories would be needed in order for anyone to attempt to provide any conclusive judgment on Lawkarī's debt to the Avicennan tradition.[77] Such tables of content would, however, unduly lengthen this article.

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[71] Lawkarī, *BHm*, 200.14.

[72] Lawkarī, *BHm*, 145.5.

[73] Lawkarī, *BHm*, 182.6.

[74] Lawkarī, *BHm*, 388.3-389.10. Avicenna wrote a first draft of *al-Anṣāf* between December 1028 and June 1029, but the work was destroyed by Mas'ūd's soldiers who pillaged Avicenna's saddlebags in early 1030, cf. Gutas, *Avicenna*, 136 and 130-40.

[75] Lawkarī, *BHm*, 335.11.

[76] The work was written in Iṣfahān, between 415-428/1024-37, cf. Hans Daiber, "Bahmanyār, Kīā," 501b; cf. Bahmanyār Ibn Marzubān, *al-Taḥṣīl*. Rahman mentions a Cairo edition (1329) and adds that Bahmanyār also wrote a *Mā ba'd al-Ṭabī'ah* (Metaphysics), a *Kitāb fī Marātib al-Wujūd* (Book on the Levels of Existence) (ed. Leipzig, 1891), a *Kitāb al-Zīnah* on Logic, a work on ultimate happiness, one on music and a number of short treatises, cf. Fazlur Rahman, "Bahmanyār", *EI*^{2}, vol. 1 (1960), 926a.

[77] For instance, the last two books in Lawkarī's *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* correspond to only one book in Avicenna's *al-Shifā'*, which is entitled *al-Ma'ādin wa al-Athār al-'Ulwiyyah*, cf. Avicenna, *al-Shifā'*, *al-Ṭabī'iyyāt*.

2. *Dīwān Shi'r*

Lawkarī wrote poetry, both in Arabic and Persian.[78] Shahrazūrī mentions that Lawkarī wrote exquisite poetry,[79] while Bayhaqī mentions that he wrote a collection of poems (*dīwān shi'r*),[80] both without mentioning if these were written in Arabic or Persian. Bayhaqī, however, adds that he has mentioned some of Lawkarī's most powerful verses in his *Wishāḥ Dumyat al-Qaṣr* (The Sash of the Palace's Doll), a continuation of the *Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa 'Usrat Ahl al-'Asr* (The Palace's Doll and the Family of the People of the Time), a work on Arabic poetry written by 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Bākharzī (d. 468/1075). [81] Bayhaqī adds that Lawkarī wrote a poem—a *qaṣīdah*—and a commentary on his *qaṣīdah* in Persian (see below). It is not known if Lawkarī wrote Persian verses other than this *qaṣīdah*.[82] Fragments of his Arabic poetry have, nonetheless, survived and are recorded in a number of later biographical works, such as Qāḍī Nūr Allāh's *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, Āqā-Buzurg Tihrānī's *Al-Dharī'ah*, al-Tustarī's *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* (7th *majālis*), and the *Tadhkirah-yi Shāhid-i Ṣādiq*.[83] One of the most extant collections of his poetry may well be the verses found in the *Itmām Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* which contains 45 lines of Lawkarī's Arabic verses and which may, in fact, be the earliest source on which the later biographical works depend.[84]

3. A *Fihrist* on Avicenna's *Ta'līqāt* [85]

Bayhaqī mentions that Lawkarī wrote *Ta'līqāt* (Marginal Notes).[86] According to one manuscript that contains Avicenna's *Ta'līqāt*, Lawkarī is said to have written a *Fihrist* (Index) to these *Ta'līqāt*. In the introduction to his edition of Avicenna's *al-Ta'līqāt*, Badawī included the incipit and the explicit of the manuscript: "Table of contents (*fihrist*) of the *Marginal Notes* (*ta'līqāt*), transmitted from (*riwāya*) Bahmanyār on the authority of al-Fārābī and Avicenna […] This table was prepared by Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl Ibn Muḥammad al-Lawkarī[87] […] in the year 503[/1109]."[88] The same information is provided

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Unfortunately, we did not have access to the complete works of Avicenna's *al-Shifā'* and, therefore, could not undertake any kind of comparative analysis of the two works.

[78] Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Naẓm va Nathr*, vol. 1, 45.

[79] Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 55.2.

[80] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 127.2 (Meyerhof, 176).

[81] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 127.11 (Meyerhof omits). Bayhaqī's *Wishāḥ Dumyat al-Qaṣr* may have been written between 528-35/1134-41, cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 557-8.

[82] The 6 Persian verses Dībājī found in the *majmū'ah* (Ms. 5138) preserved in the *Majlis al-Nuwwāb al-Īrānī* (fols. 55-72) and included in his introduction are in fact the first 6 verses of the *qaṣīdah*, cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 19 and Lawkarī, *QAH*, 2, verses 1 to 6.

[83] All these works are mentioned in Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-í Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah," edition by Ibrāhīm Dībājī in *Manṭiq wa Mabāḥith al-Alfāẓ (Majmū'ah-yi Mutūn va Maqālāt-i Taḥqīqī)*, eds. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq and Toshi Izutsu (reedition of 1353/1973; Tehran: Intishārāt va Chāp-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1370/1990), 22, and n.5; cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 17-8; the first two works are also mentioned by Kadivar, "Guzārish," 352.

[84] For his Arabic verses, cf. Anonymous, *IT*, 141a16-142b2; cf. Kadīvar, "Guzārish," 352-3 who includes 6 verses that correspond to verses 10 to 15 found in the *IT*. In his introduction, Dibājī includes 6 verses (nos. 34, 35, 10, 11, 4, 6) from the *IT*, cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 19.

[85] Yaḥyá Mahdavī, *Fihrist-i Nuskhahhā-yi Muṣannafāt-i Ibn Sīnā* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1333/1954), 49 and 62; cf. Gutas, *Avicenna*, 142-4.

[86] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 127.2 (Meyerhof, 176).

[87] The copyist adds "the Unique of the Time, the Proof of Truth (*waḥīd al-zamān, burhān al-ḥaqq*)."

in the oldest manuscript containing the table of content of the subjects of Avicenna's *Ta'līqāt*, dated 521/1127 and written by a certain al-Muẓaffar al-Ḥusayn 'Alī Abū al-Faraj al-Falās, very soon after Lawkarī's death.[89] It is not clear, however, if it indexes both entire works, whereas the nature of Avicenna's *Ta'liqāt* would make such an analysis difficult.

4. *Rasā'il, Ta'līqāt* and *Mukhtaṣar*

Bayhaqī mentions that Lawkarī wrote *Rasā'il* (Short Treatises), *Ta'līqāt* (Marginal Notes) and *Mukhtaṣarāt* (Summaries) of which nothing appears to have survived.[90] One can only speculate that the *Ta'līqāt* mentioned by Bayhaqī corresponds to the aforementioned *Fihrist* Lawkarī wrote on Avicenna's *Ta'liqāt*, but nothing preclude these *Ta'līqāt* to be notes on a completely different work. It is doubtful that the *Mukhtaṣarāt* could refer to the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* whose preface states that it consists of summaries of the works and views of Aristotle, Avicenna and al-Fārābī, as Bayhaqī mentions the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* as a separate entry, beside the *Mukhtaṣarāt*.

5. *Ḥikam*

Bayhaqī provides five *ḥikam*, or gnomologic sentences or exhortations that are attributed to Lawkarī. The gnomologic maxims include the following: (i) "knowledge elevates aspirations, benefits the good qualities, and loosens tongues," "His nobility wards off contemptible and despicable people," "Whoever has no experience will not benefit from notoriety," "The happy person transmits his happiness to others more easily than the distressed does his worries" and, finally, "Who is charitable towards you does not have a poor opinion of you."[91]

6. *Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*

The last two works Lawkarī wrote are in Persian which should come as no surprise. Before him, Avicenna had written a Persian work, the philosophical *Dānish-nāmah-yi 'Alā'ī* which disciples, like Bahmanyār read. In the introduction to his *al-Taḥṣīl*, Bahmanyār who is often reported as not having truly mastered Arabic, mentions that he follows the same arrangement of Avicenna's *Dānish-nāmah-yi 'Alā'ī*, adding that he includes most of Avicenna's philosophical views which are found in his other major works and the views that they exchanged.[92] Lawkarī may have studied Avicenna's *Dānish-nāmah-yi 'Alā'ī* with Bahmanyār or, alternatively, he may have been instructed in Persian, while reading Avicenna's Arabic works, such as *al-Shifā'*, with Bahmanyār, as is still often the case today in Iran. A comparison of Avicenna's *Dānish-nāmah-yi 'Alā'ī* and *al-Shifā'* with Lawkarī's *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah* may reveal interesting parallels.

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[88] This is recorded in the Istanbul manuscript (Ahmet, III, Ms. 3204, fol. 19v; cf. fol. 1v), cf. Badawī's intro. to Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ta'līqāt*, 9.4-9.

[89] This is recorded at the beginning of another Istanbul manuscript (Aya Sofya, Ms. 2390), cf. Badawī's intro. to Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ta'līqāt*, 9.13-8.

[90] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 127.2 (Meyerhof, 176).

[91] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 127.12-6 (Meyerhof omits); Dībājī relies on the Lahore edition of the *TSH*, cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 17 (no. 3).

[92] Bahmanyār, *al-Ṭaḥṣīl*, 1.4-8.

The first of these Persian works is a poem titled *Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*. The *qaṣīdah* is not a purely poetic work.[93] The *qaṣīdah* remains, at heart, pedagogical, most probably composed to serve as a mnemonic device to help students memorize the most important theses of the philosophical corpus of the time (logic, physics, and metaphysics).[94] In the prelude to his commentary on the *qaṣīdah*, Lawkarī twice notes that his *qaṣīdah* is a scientific (*ʻilmī*) poem.[95] He later chose to write a commentary on his *qaṣīdah* and to explain its scientific content, concerned with clarifying its scientific content. Taken together, the *qaṣīdah* and its commentary are indicative of the importance of the *qaṣīdah* as a pedagogical tool for the study of the philosophical sciences, at a time when the local population of Khūrāsān spoke almost exclusively Persian.

Lawkarī's *qaṣīdah* only survived imbedded in two later manuscripts, together with Lawkarī's own commentary on the poem. More than 30 years ago, Dībājī edited the section on Logic of the *qaṣīdah*, together with its commentary.[96] The *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah* was recently edited by Ilāhah Rūḥī-Dil. The edition includes the entire *qaṣīdah* and Lawkarī's accompanying commentary.[97] Let us proceed with a few words on the *qaṣīdah*.

The *qaṣīdah* is quite elegant for a philosophical and didactic poem, more so perhaps than the short *al-Manẓūmah* (Versification) of philosophical sciences composed by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) which was recently discovered and edited by Pūrjavādī.[98] Throughout Lawkarī's *qaṣīdah*, each second hemistich rhymes in "ān." The *qaṣīdah* contains five sections (in the following order): logic, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, and ethics. In terms of length, however, if we number the verses (*bayt*) of each section, the whole *qaṣīdah* consists of 151 verses, the shortest being the section on Ethics with 14 verses, Mathematics with 21 verses, Logic with 22 verses, Metaphysics with 44 verses, and the longest section being the Physics with 50 verses.

The philosophical content of the *qaṣīdah* is rather impressive considering its conciseness. The 22 verses of the section *al-Manṭiq* (Logic) cover a wide range of issues such as the forms of syllogisms, the particular/universal division, species and genus, the specific difference, particulars, accidents, categories, the contradiction, and the definition.[99]

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[93] Besides being a philosopher, Lawkarī might not have been a poet, in the strict sense, or even recognized as such as Griffel implies, cf. Griffel, *Apostasie und Toleranz im Islam*, 342.

[94] Bayhaqī mentions that Lawkarī wrote a Persian *qaṣīdah* and a Persian commentary (*sharḥ*) on the former, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 127.1-2 (Meyerhof, 176).

[95] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 12.6-8 and 12.18.

[96] Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," 17-33; for the text of the section of the *qaṣīdah* on Logic, cf. Ibid., 30.1-31.24 and for the commentary of the section on Logic (with imbedded *qaṣīdah*), cf. Ibid., 109.1-135.18. The first six lines of the poem (on logic) are reprinted in Dībājī's introduction to his edition of the Metaphysics of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, 19.12-17 (from the Majlis-i al-Nuwwāb al-Irānī Library = Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī); see the edition of Ilāhah Rūḥī-Dil, cf. Lawkarī, *QAH*, 1.2-2.22.

[97] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 1.1-11.20, for the *qaṣīdah*, and 12.1-103.17, for the commentary and the *qaṣīdah*.

[98] Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Kitāb-i Manẓūm bi-l-Fārisī fī al-Manṭiq va al-Ṭabīʻī va al-Ilāhī va Madḥ al-Sulṭān* (Persian Versification on Logic, Physics, Divine Sciences, and the Eulogy of the Sultan), edition by Naṣr Allāh Pūrjavādī in Idem, "Manẓūmah-yi Manṭiq va Falsafah az Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī," *Maʻarif*, 17.3 (March, 2001): 3-15 [text of the *qaṣīdah*, 11-5]. The text was based on the *majmūʻah* (no. 1450 (fols. 153a-154b) entitled *The Ship of Tabrīz* (*Safīnah-yi Tabrīz*) (completed in Tabrīz in 723 / 1323) which contains about twenty books and treatises, some of which Pūrjavādī believes are texts that may have been copied between 521/1126 and 523/1128, cf. Pūrjavādī, "Manẓūmah," 9-10.

[99] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 1.2-2.22.

The 50 verses of the section *al-Ṭabīʻiyyāt* (Physics) cover psychology (the complexion, the soul as substance and the contingency of its existence, the individual "self," and the soul's relation to the body), noetics (the intelligences), cosmology (spheres, motion, natural inclination, emanation of celestial intelligences, active (*faʻʻāl*) intelligences, the divine "order," the Donator of Forms (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*), and the tenth intelligence), meteorology (the color of celestial spheres and heavens, eclipses, the warming of water, the reflection of sunrays, and seasons), astrology (the influences of the zodiac), generation and corruption, the origin of species, and even theurgy.[100] The 21 verses of the section *al-Riyāḍiyyāt* (Mathematics) include the astronomical measurements of heavenly bodies and planets, their distances and trajectories, the musicality of voice (*sawt*), its effect on the soul, and the science of sound.[101] The 44 verses of the section on *al-Ilāhiyyāt* (Metaphysics), which cover both Metaphysics proper and Theology, introduce discussions on the interrelations of spheres, souls and celestial intelligences, the intellect as first cause, the motion of celestial spheres, the knowledge of universals and particulars, eschatology (pain and pleasure of souls), attributes (*ṣifāt*) of the creator, divine providence (*ʻināyat*), causality, individuality and multiplicity, the nature of intelligence (*ʻaql*), destiny and celestial motions.[102] And finally, the last 14 verses of the section *al-ʻAmaliyyāt va al-Khuluqiyyāt* (Ethics) cover the causes of morals, the relation of morals and the Provider of Forms, divine intuition, education, and the relation of ethics with the posthumous fate of souls.[103] Some of the most important philosophical theses are, therefore, included in the 151 verses of Lawkarī's Persian *qaṣīdah* which remains of great didactic value for students who would not have been familiar with Arabic. The *qaṣīdah* may in fact have helped Persian speakers to integrate and assimilate Arabic scientific terminology.[104]

7. *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*

Lawkarī comments his own *qaṣīdah* in the *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah*. It is from the surviving copies of the commentary that the complete text of the *qaṣīdah* has been extracted. The structure of the commentary follows closely the structure of the *qaṣīdah* and rarely departs from the topics covered in the latter. The recent edition of the commentary (together with the *qaṣīdah*) of Rūḥī-Dil is based on two later Tehran collections (*majmūʻah*) preserved in the Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī Library (Bahāristān).[105] Both were written in a very legible *nastaʻliq* script, the oldest probably dating back to the 11th/17th century.[106]

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[100] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 2.24-6.4.

[101] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 6.6-7.18.

[102] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 7.20-10.18.

[103] Lawkarī, *QAH*, 10.20-11.20.

[104] See Marcotte, "Notes lexicographiques sur la Physique de la *Qaṣīdah-yi asrār-i al-ḥikmah* d'Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Lawkarī (mort après 503/1109)," in *Proceedings of the Fifth European Conference of Iranian Studies (Societas Iranologica Europaea), University of Bologna, Ravenna, 6-11 Oct., 2003* (forthcoming).

[105] ʻAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥāʼirī, *Fihrist-i Nuskhahhā-yi Khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī*, with the collaboration of ʻAlī Ṣadrāʼī (Qum: Markaz-i Intishārāt-i Daftar-i Tablīghāt-i Islāmī Hawzah-yi ʻIlmī-yi Qum, 1378/1998), vol. 15, 129.

[106] The oldest manuscript belongs to the *majmūʻah* 5138/3, fols. 54v-72r (34 fols.) and was written upon the request of Ibn Khātūn ʻĀmil (Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn ʻAlī Ibn Niʻmat Allāh al-Khātūnī), a student of Shaykh Bahāʼī (who flourished in the 10th/17th century); the manuscript once belonged to ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm Khān Qarīb, cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū shish'.

Dībājī concluded that the second manuscript,[107] which depends on the earlier manuscript, probably dates from the 11th/18th or even the 12th/19th century. Examination of the two manuscripts reveals that where the former manuscript includes incomplete words, the latter omits any part of the words that may be legible in the former (fol. 42r.23, fol. 44r.23, etc.). More importantly, the second manuscript omits two complete folios (fols. 57v-58r) found in the older manuscript. In a number of places, the second manuscript skips one or more lines, found in the older manuscript, when encountering twice the same word (e.g., fol. 58v17, etc.). The later *majmū'ah* is, therefore, more defective than the older one on which it appears to depend.

Dībājī has used the older of the two manuscripts to establish his edition of both the *qaṣīdah* and the commentary on Logic.[108] Likewise, Rūḥī-Dil has established her edition of both the entire commentary and the *qaṣīdah* on the older of the two manuscripts. Her edition thus includes the sections on Logic,[109] Physics,[110] Mathematics,[111] Metaphysics,[112] and Ethics.[113] Her recent edition has not, however, resolved all the problems that arise from these two manuscripts. Some of the difficulties encountered, such as blank spaces, copyist's mistake or omissions, orthographic mistakes, or illegible words may well be due to the fact that the older of the two manuscripts was not written earlier than the 11th/17th century, which is a rather late copy. Although it is said to be a critical edition based on the only two surviving manuscripts, Rūḥī-Dil's edition neglects to address some of these difficulties. A systematic comparison of Rūḥī-Dil's edition with the older manuscript could provide solutions to some of these remaining difficulties.

The preface to the commentary of the *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah* sheds, however, some light on the intended audience of the work and Lawkarī's aim in providing a commentary to his own *qaṣīdah*:

> And after having given meaning to this poetry (*shi'r*), it must be known that this is a scientific (*'ilmī*) *qaṣīdah* in which mention of many of the concepts *(ma'ānī)* of the fourfold philosophical (*ḥikmat*) sciences—logical, physical, mathematical, metaphysical—and even some of the practical and ethical sciences (*'ilm-i akhlāq va 'amalī*) are to be found. As for its aim, it consists of three things:
>
> The first [aim] is to incite and awaken a desire in beginners and those possessing a longing for these sciences, because when these issues come to be heard, an inclination befalls them and whose power is such that they want to know thoroughly the meaning of these issues and become aware of their solutions. They will, for this reason, strive to acquire these sciences.

[107] The more recent manuscript belongs to the *majmū'ah* 9541, fols. 5:105-5:409 (152 fols).

[108] Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-í Qaṣīdah-yi," 109-35. Professors Dībājī and Dīnānī of the University of Tehran, have both mentioned the existence of an M.A. thesis undertaken at the University of Tehran, but librarians at the Central Library, University of Tehran, were unable to locate the thesis for us, during our 2001-2002 post-doctoral Fonds FCAR (Formation de chercheurs et aide à la recherché) Fellowship (Gouvernement du Québec) at the University of Tehran and the Institut Français de Recherche en Iran (IFRI).

[109] Lawkarī, *SQAH*, 14-36.

[110] Lawkarī, *SQAH*, 37-66.

[111] Lawkarī, *SQAH*, 67-77.

[112] Lawkarī, *SQAH*, 78-98.

[113] Lawkarī, *SQAH*, 99-103.

> The second aim is to serve as a reminder for experts in these sciences of the main and central issues, as their problems and obscure points have been mentioned in order that they may immerse themselves in them and practice until they can deduce by themselves answers from the principles of these sciences that have been mentioned. If they are not able to draw a conclusion, then, someone can explain it to them and provide the answer that they will quickly understand and easily remember, because teaching the sciences, since it proceeds by means of problems and solutions, remains closer to understanding and memorizing.
>
> And the third aim is that by the end of this scientific poem, consisting of a few verses, both by its method and by its form mixed with sciences, it will be said by someone who belongs to that class that he has thought about this poem, investigated its meanings, and that this same person may have acquired all the human virtues (*faḍā'il-i insānī*). Human virtues are ten in kind (*qism*): four are from the spiritual (*nafsānī*), three from the bodily (*jismānī*) and three from the outside [world]. The spiritual kinds are righteousness (*ʻiffat*), liberality (*sakhāvat*), courage, and philosophy (*ḥikmat*). The bodily kinds are health, strength, and beauty. The kinds from the outside [world] are wealth, friends, servants (*farmānbardārān*), and lineage (*nasab*).
>
> It must be known that we do not mean here by 'courage' only the people of war, but we mean those who are neither heartless (*bī dil*), nor too sentimental (*pur dil*), neither without courage (*bī bāk*), nor possessing impetuosity (*tahavvur*), but who are moderate. Anyone who has, therefore, acquired all of these ten virtues and acquired them with celestial refinement[114] will have reached [the stage] of a human being (*insān*) possessed of its true (*ḥaqīqat*) [meaning] and be among the people that will be praised and mentioned for [their] various kinds of sciences (*ʻilm-i ḥikmat*). Thus, it was decided that this versification (*naẓm*) and prose (*nathr*) be in Persian for the benefit (*fāydah*)—specific and general—of all. The title *Qaṣīdah-yi Asrār al-Ḥikmah* was given to this composition and its commentaries were composed in five parts, as mentioned.[115]

Like those who wrote philosophical treatises in Persian before him, Lawkarī appears to have been concerned with the decimation of knowledge among the Persian speaking population, at a time when most were not conversant in Arabic. The situation was not to change for a long time. Almost two centuries later, Ismāʻīl Ibn Muḥammad al-Rīzī (fl. ca. 679/1280) was still providing a similar justification to account for his choice of Persian for the writing of his philosophical *summa*, the *Ḥayāt al-Nufūs* (Life of the Souls).[116]

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[114] Rūḥī-Dil suggests reading "*bāriqāt* (?)," whereas "*bāriqāq*" is found in the Ms., cf. Lawkarī, *SQAH*,13.8 and 13 n.1; perhaps "bi-irqāq," i.e., "with refinement."

[115] Lawkarī, *SQAH*, 12.6-13.11.

[116] Roxanne D. Marcotte, "Resurrection (*Maʻād*) in the Persian *Ḥayāt an-Nufūs* of Ismāʻīl Muḥammad Rīzī: The Avicennan Background," in *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, edition by Jon McGinnis, with the assistance of David C. Reisman (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 213-35, esp. 213-4.

The Legacy of Lawkarī

Bayhaqī was perhaps the first to note Lawkarī's contribution to the dissemination of the sciences in Khūrāsān. The legacy of Lawkarī rests mainly on this claim, as there does not appear to be any later thinker who takes issue with any particular thesis associated with this still unstudied, yet important thinker. One explanation for this claim rests on the fact that Lawkarī remains an important link, via his students, in the chain of transmission of the sciences that originates with Avicenna and culminates with the works of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), one of the most ardent defenders of Avicennan Peripateticism in the 7th/13th century. A second explanation for this claim rests on the fact that Lawkarī trained a large number of students. Bayhaqī and Shahrazūrī have recorded the names of some of his most prominent pupils.[117] The following presents a tentative, and admittedly not exhaustive, list of Lawkarī's students.

Bayhaqī writes that al-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān al-Marwazī al-Bukhārī (d. 548/1153) was a one of Lawkarī's student.[118] Al-Qaṭṭān was a physician, a philosopher, a mathematician, and even a littérateur who wrote poetry. During one of his stays in Marv, he wrote (between 498/1104 and 500/1107) the *Kihān-i Shinākht*[119] on celestial spheres (*al-hay'ah*), a branch of astronomy, and authored a book on prosody (*'arūd*), a *al-Dūḥa fī al-Ansāb* (The Great Tree on Genealogy), treatises on medicine,[120] and a collection of poems.[121]

Both Bayhaqī and Shahrazūrī mention that As'ad al-Mayhanī was another of Lawkarī's pupils. Abū al-Fatḥ As'ad Ibn Muḥammad (Ibn Abī Naṣr) al-Mayhanī is reported to have left, presumably Khūrāsān, for Baghdad, where he eventually became a teacher at the famous Niẓāmiyyah *madrasah*.[122] He would certainly have been studying with Lawkarī before his departure. His reputation at the Baghdād Niẓāmiyyah led to his invitation and access to the palace of the Caliph. Bayhaqī mentions that he saw one of al-Mayhanī's letters (Shahrazūrī mentions 'letters') addressed to al-Qāḍī Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī) (d. ca. 540/1145).[123] Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī, who was from central Iran, eventually moved to Nīshāpūr, where he settled and studied.[124] As'ad al-Mayhanī thus appears to have maintained his ties with the intellectual circles of Khūrāsān, especially of Nīshāpūr. Neither Bayhaqī, nor Shahrazūrī, however, provide any information on the date

[117] Most contemporary studies rely on these sources, e.g., Nafīsī's *Tārīkh-i Naẓm va Nathr*, vol. 1, 45-6.

[118] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 156.12-157.7 (Meyerhof, 193). Kurd 'Alī notes that his full name and the date of his death, as found in al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-Wa'āh*, is al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Qaṭṭān Abū 'Alī al-Marūzī al-Bukhārī and that he died in 548/1153, cf. Ibid., 156 n.1.

[119] Date provided by Dībājī, cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū sih'.

[120] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 157.1-3 (Meyerhof, 193). Meyerhof adds that according to Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 578/1182), he reached the age of eighty. For the entry on Rashīd al-Dīn, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 167.6-169.2 (Meyerhof, 200).

[121] Dībājī's intro, cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū sih'.

[122] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 141.2-9 (Meyerhof, 185); Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 57.5-9.

[123] For the entry on Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī, cf. Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 56.4-57.4. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 132.10-134.3 (Meyerhof, 180-1). Bayhaqī tells us that Ibn Sahlān traveled from Sāvah (south of Qum) to Nīshāpūr where he studied, and made a living copying and selling copies of Avicenna's *al-Shifā'*, a hundred *dinar* a copy. According to Brockelmann, his full name was 'Umar b. Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī) al-Qādī al-Zāhid Zayn al-Dīn. He wrote a Persian commentary on Avicenna's *Risālat al-Ṭayr*, a work on logic, and a work on meteorology for Sultan Sanjar b. Malik Shāh, who ruled from 511-52/1117-57, cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, *SI*, 830-1 (no. 8a).

[124] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 130.8-9 (Meyerhof, 178).

of his death, but which appears to have occurred, according to Subkī, in 527/1133 in Hamadān.[125]

Bayhaqī mentions that al-Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Afḍal 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Turkī was another of Lawkarī's students.[126] He was experienced in mathematics and in the intellectual sciences (*ma'qūlāt*). Bayhaqī reports that he also taught medicine and arithmetic (*ḥisāb*) in a local mosque in Bukhārā until his death. He studied and memorized most of Avicenna's works, but did not have a deep understanding of the latter's thought and often never went further than obvious matters (*ẓawāhir al-kutub*). He corresponded with Bayhaqī who collected some of his letters in his *Kitāb 'Arā'is al-Nafā'is* (The Brides of the Precious). Controversies (*munāẓarāt*) also took place between 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Turkī and Sharaf al-Zamān, Muḥammad al-Īlāqī (d. 536/1141), another of Lawkarī's pupils.[127]

Bayhaqī mentions that (Quṭb al-Zamān) Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭabasī al-Marwazī was another of Lawkarī's students.[128] His father was one of the governors of the villages in Marv's vicinity. His mother was from Khwarazm (where he may himself have returned to teach). He mastered philosophy and was highly intelligent.[129] Bayhaqī adds that he saw his library[130] and that Quṭb al-Zamān had met Nāṣir al-Hurmuzdī al-Māsurābādhī.[131] Al-Ṭabasī was at the service of Seljuq sultan Sanjar's Vizier Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (or al-Malik in some manuscripts) Ibn Abū Tawbah (d. 503/1110) in Sarakhs. al-Ṭabasī eventually fell in disgrace, was arrested, put in prison, became paralyzed, later died in captivity in 539/1144, and was buried in Sarakhs.[132] Abū al-Fatḥ Ibn As'ad al-Fandūrjī (d. before 516/1122) was among one of his students who excelled in philosophy and who wrote *al-Āthār al-'Ulwiyyah*, a work on astronomy or astrology.[133]

Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī (Yūsuf) al-Īlāqī (d. 536/1141),[134] one of the most prominent of Lawkarī's students, came either from a village located between the provinces of Shāsh (Tashkent) on the northwest and Farghānah on the east,[135] or, most probably, from a village in the district of Nīshāpūr.[136] al-Īlāqī, whose controversies with 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Turkī have been mentioned, became one of the most famous of Lawkarī's students, with his

[125] Bausani, "Religion in the Seljuq Period," 288; cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū sih'.

[126] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 130.4-131.5 (Meyerhof, 178-9, who mentions that some Mss. give him the surname al-Ṣaghnānī).

[127] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 132.11-2 (Meyerhof, 180).

[128] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 128.2-129.2 (Meyerhof, 177-8, who mentions that he is included in Yāqūt's (d. 1229) *Irshād al-Arīb*. The date of 1135 in Meyerhof needs to be corrected for 1144.

[129] Dībājī writes that Bayhaqī mentions that, in 530/1140, he traveled to meet al-Ṭabasī in order to learn from him philosophy, meeting him again in Nīshāpūr, in 532/1142 (according to the *TSH*), cf. Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū sih-bīst ū chahār.' Meyerhof adds that he also taught 'Alī Bayhaqī, cf. Meyerhof, "'Alī Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 177.

[130] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 163.6-7 (Meyerhof, 198).

[131] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 159.14 (Meyerhof, 195).

[132] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 128.2-129.1 (Meyerhof, 177-8).

[133] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 125.4-126.7 (Meyerhof, 175-6); identified as Abū Sa'īd Funduwarjī by Bausani in "Religion in the Saljuq Period," 288.

[134] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 131.7-132.8 (Meyerhof, 179-80); he died in 539/1144, cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū sih'.

[135] The main city of the region being Tūnbākht, cf. C. Bosworth, "Īlāḳ," *EI*^{2}, vol. 12, Suppl. (2004), 411a.

[136] Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 178.

mastery of philosophy, medicine, and a number of other sciences.[137] He may even have been a student of the mathematician and poet 'Umar al-Khayyām when the latter returned to Nīshāpūr.[138] al-Īlāqī is the author of a work of medical diagnosis titled *al-Asbāb wa al-'Alāmāt*, a medical handbook titled *Mukhtaṣar fī al-Ṭibb*, a treatise on philosophical terms, and a work on medical treatments known as *Mu'ālajāt al-Īlāqī*, which may be the same work as the Persian *Ṭibb al-Īlāqī*.[139] Bayhaqī mentions that he wrote a *Lawāḥiq* (a medical addendum?), a work on friendship, his *Dūst-nāmah*, and a *Sulṭān-nāmah* (perhaps a *Furstenspiegel*, the popular Mirror for Princes genre), the last two titles suggesting the works were most probably written in Persian. al-Īlāqī also wrote a *I'dād al-Wafq* (On Preparing the Agreement)[140] and a work titled *al-Ḥaywān* (Animals). As one of the important teachers of the 6th/12th century, al-Īlāqī is credited with having influenced Ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī.[141] al-Īlāqī resided in Bākharz, in the vicinity of Mashhad. Later, he encountered 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Qumāj in Balkh.[142] According to Bayhaqī and Shahrazūrī, he was killed near Qaṭvān in the vicinity of Samarqand where Gūr-Khān had a summer residence.[143] In 536/1141, the Qara Khitay occupied Transoxania which had been under the rule of the Seljuqs. In the Qaṭvān Steppe, Sanjar suffered a disastrous defeat and, during the battle, al-Īlāqī was killed.[144]

Afḍal al-Dīn Farīd al-Ghīlānī (or al-Gīlānī) appears to be another of Lawkarī's pupils.[145] The sources do not provide much detail, but we know that in 523/1128 he studied at the Niẓāmiyyah *madrasah* in Marv.[146] He may have studied with Lawkarī prior to his departure for Marv. It may also be in Marv that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī also came to hear of al-Ghīlānī's summary of the refutation of Aristotle's thesis on time being the measure of the extension

[137] It is unlikely that he could have been among the students of Avicenna, as mentioned by Kurd 'Alī, (Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 131 n.1) and Shahrazūrī (*NA*, 56.2). Neither Shahrazūrī, nor Bayhaqī provide the date of his death, cf. Shahrazūrī, *NA*, 55.13-56.2. The entry in Bayhaqī's *TSH* is "al-Sayyid al-Imām al-Fīlsūf Sharaf al-Zamān Muḥammad al-Īlāqī," while the entry in Shahrazūrī's *NA* is "al-Sayyid Muḥammd Ibn al-Īlāqī", while Kurd 'Alī adds that he is Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yusūf; cf. Brockelman, *GAL*, I, 485 (no. 6) and Idem, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 887 (no. 6).

[138] Bayhaqī mentions that he disagreed with some of 'Umar Khayyām's positions, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 132.8 (Meyerhof, 179).

[139] Brockelman, *GAL*, I, 485 (no.6) and Idem, *GAL*, I, 485 (no.6).

[140] Mentioned in a certain *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, perhaps (Sulaymān b. Ḥasan) Ibn Juljul (d. 400/1009), cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 131 n.2.

[141] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 132.10-134.3 (Meyerhof, 180-1). Ibn Sahlān is known for his work on logic, the *al-Baṣā'ir al-Naṣiriyyah fī al-Manṭiq,* Cairo: al-Azhar, 1897), a work that was taught in Iṣfahān, in the last quarter of 12th century. The work was still used as a textbook at the beginning of the century at Cairo's al-Azhar Sunnī institution of higher learning (now a university). Al-Sāwī also wrote numerous short treatises, a work on arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), while many of his work were lost during a fire in his house.

[142] Brockelman, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 887 (no. 6).

[143] Kurd 'Alī mentions Kūrkhān (but notes that it could be Kūrān) which may have been Kūkhān, the maternal uncle of the Sultan al-Turk, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 131 n.4 (Meyerhof, 179).

[144] Control over the whole of Turkestan west of the T'ien Shan mountains passed to the Buddhist Qara Khitay or western Liao from northern China, cf. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, 182, 184.

[145] Only mentioned in the Persian translation's addendum, cf. Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 206. He may be identical to 'Umar Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī of which we only know that he was in Marv, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSM*, 157.9-13 (Meyerhof, 193).

[146] Cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 76.

of motion.[147] More importantly, al-Ghīlānī wrote a *Risālah fī Ḥudūth al-'Alām* in refutation of Avicenna's theory of the uncreatedness of the world.[148] Both of these appear to have been discussed as part of the philosophical and scientific instruction of the time. al-Ghīlānī also provides one of the links between Avicenna and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) via Lawkarī.[149] al-Ghīlānī became one of the teachers of Saḍr al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, who became one of the teachers of Farīd al-Dīn al-Dāmād, who later became one of the teachers of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, providing one of the links in the chain of transmission of Avicennan Peripateticism up to al-Ṭūsī.[150]

Two other individuals have been associated with Lawkarī. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, teacher of Farīd al-Dīn al-Dāmād,[151] was also knowledgeable of the Avicennan tradition and wrote a commentary on Avicenna's *al-Najāt*.[152] Abū al-Ma'ālī 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Miyānjī may have been one of Lawkarī's students. He is reported as having influenced 'Umar al-Khayyam and Aḥmad Ghazali.[153] He died in 525/1131, in Hamadhān, after having been imprisoned in Baghdād for heresy.[154]

Lawkarī's name was not forgotten by later generations. His works circulated in learned circles. At first, his works must have been accessible to scholars residing in Khūrāsān where we assume he taught, and later elsewhere in the Islamic world. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640) who spent many years in Shirāz mentions Lawkarī's theory of "imprinting of the forms of the possibilities in the essence (*dhāt*) of God by means of an intellectual occurrence (*ḥuṣūl dhihnī*) in a universal" in the third voyage of his al-*Asfār al-Arba'ah* (Four Voyages) on God's knowledge.[155]

On the whole, not much is known about Lawkarī. In recent years, a number of his Arabic and Persian works have been edited, ventures that will undoubtedly incite more scholars in the future to investigate the scientific and philosophical content of Lawkarī's works. In spite of the fact that most of the Logic and the entire Physics of his *Bayān al-*

[147] Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal, al-Ma'rūf bi-Naqd Muḥaṣṣal*, 2nd edition (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1405/1985), 138.23-139.5

[148] Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period," 288; cf. Dībājī who uses al-Khwānsārī's *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 76.

[149] For a partial list of first generation disciples of Avicenna, cf. Mojibur Rahman, "Avicenna and His Contemporaries," *Indo-Iranica*, 34.1 (1981): 75-87; cf. Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Zindagī va Kār va Andīshah va Rūzigār-i Pūr-i Sīnā* (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-yi Dānish, 1333/1953), 126-140.

[150] Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 206, where reference is made to the edition of Muḥammad Sharī', cf. Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Kitāb furūshī-yi al-Salāmiyyah, 1354/1974), vol. 2, 203. Ṭūsī also worked with Mu'īd al-Dīn 'Aradī and Najm al-Dīn Kātibī, both from Qazvīn, and Fakhr al-Dīn Marāghah from Mawsil, and Muḥiy al-Dīn Akhlātī from Tiflism, cf. Ibid., vol. 2, 204; cf. Dībājī's intro., cf. Lawkarī, *BHm*, 75-6; cf. Lawkarī, "Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-yi," page 'bīst ū chahār,' where he mentions that this is reported by al-Khwansārī in his *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*. It is reported to be mentioned in Ashkūrī's *Maḥbūb al-Qulūb*, cf. Muḥammad Mudarrisī Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht va 'Aqāyid-i Falsafī-yi Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1363/1983), 25.

[151] Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 206.

[152] This must be Muḥammad al-Hārithān al-Sarakhsī who is reported to have written a commentary on Avicenna's *al-Najāt*, cf. Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 160.7-16, esp. line 11-12 (Meyerhof, 195-6).

[153] Bayhaqī, *TSH*, 123.12 (Meyerhof, 175).

[154] He also wrote a *Zubdat al-Ḥaqā'iq* in 525/1131 according to al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqat al-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrá*, cf. Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 175.

[155] Mullā Ṣadrā, *al-Ḥikmah al-Muta'āliyyah fī al-Asfār al-'Aqliyyah al-Arba'ah*, 9 vols (Beirut: Dār Iḥiyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1410/1990), vol. 6, 180.15.

Ḥaqq still remain unedited, more detailed studies and the editions of the rest of the *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* will, it is hoped, eventually provide a much clearer understanding of Lawkarī's role and place in the transmission of the Avicennan tradition in the regions of Khūrāsān. This is important because Khūrāsān was to become the heartland of a thriving philosophical tradition in the East, during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries, a yet unstudied Golden Age of Arabic philosophy.[156] Lawkarī's role as a transmitter of the Avicennan tradition is thus central as he was, in a way, responsible for the survival of scientific and philosophical knowledge that was to thrive in the Eastern regions of the Islamicate world.

[156] Gutas "The Heritage of Avicenna," 81-97.