# BEFORE AND AFTER AVICENNA

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CONTENTS

## AFTER AVICENNA

# THE TWELVER-ŠĪʿĪ RECEPTION OF
# AVICENNA IN THE MONGOL PERIOD

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Post-Avicennan Arabic philosophy, with few exceptions, has received little scholarly attention, and remains to this day largely virgin territory.[1] This neglect is particularly true of its development during the Mongol-Tīmūrid period. Specifically, the period between Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) and the formation of School of Isfahan has received little attention by scholars.[2] A major reason for this neglect is that many works of this period, the majority of which are still unedited, were written in the style of paraphrases, abridgements (muḫtaṣar), commentaries (šarḥ), super-commentaries, glosses (sg. ḥāšiya), and super-glosses. As such, they are considered unoriginal compositions, unworthy of modern scholars' attention.[3] Such stylistic assumptions are misleading given the extent of the period, its geographical scope, and the large number of works dating from this period that have yet to be studied. In considering the vast number of philosophical works extant from the Mongol-Tīmūrid period, some scholars have even concluded that this time was indeed the golden age for Arabic philosophy.[4]

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[1] See D. Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works," in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic, and Medieval Latin Traditions*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXIII, ed. C. Burnett (London: The Warburg Institute, 1993), 59.

[2] For a periodization of Twelver-Šīʿī philosophy, see H. Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, tr. L. Sherrard (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 31–6; and J. Cooper, "From al-Ṭūsī to the School of Iṣfahān," in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. S.H. Nasr and O. Leaman (London: Routledge, 1996), 1:585–96.

[3] For an example of this attitude, see W.M. Watt, "The Later Islamic Middle Ages 1250–1850: The Stagnation of Philosophical Theology," in his *Islamic Philosophy and Theology, An Extended Survey*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 133–42.

[4] D. Gutas, "The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 900–ca. 1350," in *Avicenna and His Heritage*, ed. J. Janssens and D. De Smet, forthcoming 2002 [I thank Dimitri Gutas for an advance copy]; and J.R. Michot who

With Hülegü's patronage of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, following the Mongol capture of Alamūt in 654/1256 and the sack of Baghdad in 656/1258,[5] the Twelver-Šīʿī reception of Avicennan philosophy began under the aegis of the Il-Ḫāns. With respect to the Mongol's patronage of the sciences, Bertold Spuler notes, "[h]owever slight an interest the Īl-Ḫāns may have taken in learning for its own sake, they were far-sighted enough to make use of the Perso-Arab science for their own ends and encourage it so far as they could, or at least not to place obstacles in its way."[6] The Marāġa observatory, located near Tabrīz, was the center of philosophical and scientific activity during this period. Hülegü built it in 657/1259 according to the specifications of Ṭūsī, who became its director.[7] There, he prepared his renowned astronomical table, the *Zīǧ-i Il-Ḫānī*, which he completed near the age of seventy under Hülegü's successor, the Il-Ḫān Abāqā (r. 663–680/1265–1282) to whom it is also dedicated. The Marāġa observatory apparently had an extensive library which served as a locus for scholars from all over Western and Eastern Asia.[8]

With respect to the intellectual background of Ṭūsī, attention should be drawn to an *isnād* of philosophers allegedly connecting him directly to Avicenna. The *isnād* enjoyed a wide circulation and is reported in a number of works.[9] The *isnād* purports the following

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describes the sixth/twelfth century as "le triomphe de l'avicennisme," in "La pandémie avicenniene au VIᵉ/XIᵉ siécle, présentation, *editio princeps* et traduction de l'introduction du *Livre de l'advenue du monde* (*Kitāb ḥudūth al-ʿālam*) d'Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī," *Arabica* 40 (1993), 287–344.

[5] For a history of the period, see B. Spuler, *The Muslim World, A Historical Survey, Part II: The Mongol Period*, tr. F.R.C. Bagley (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969); J.A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," in *The Cambridge History of Iran, The Saljuq and Mongol Period*, ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 303–421; and for an account of the capture of Baghdad attributed to Ṭūsī, see ibid., "The Death of the Last ʿAbbāsid Caliph: A Contemporary Muslim Account," in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6 (1961), 145–161.

[6] Spuler, *The Mongol Period*, 25.

[7] See Ḫalīl ibn Aybak aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. H. Ritter (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962), 1:182; Muḥammad ibn Šākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār aṭ-Ṭaqāfa, 1973–1974), 3:250; and F.J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭ ūsī's Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa)*, Sources in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences, 12 (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993), 1:13–14.

[8] On the modern excavation of the Marāġa complex, see P. Vardjavand, *La découverte archéologique du complexe scientifique de l'observatoire de Marāqé* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1366/1946); Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn*, 1:14, n. 5.

[9] See the Persian translation of Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* entitled *Durrat al-aḫbār va-Lumʿat al-anvār*, ed. M. Šafīʿ, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Šarikat-i

chain of transmission: (1) Ṭūsī was a student of (2) Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād (or Dāmāṯ) an-Nīšābūrī, who was a student of (3) Ṣadr ad-Dīn as-Saraḫsī, who was a student of (4) Afḍal ad-Dīn al-Ġīlānī, who was a student of (5) Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Lawkarī, who in turn was a student of (6) Bahmanyār, an acknowledged student of Avicenna.

Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad al-Lawkarī[10] is the author of a *fihrist* (table of contents) of the *Taʿlīqāt*, a collection of notes from explanations given by Avicenna on fundamental concepts in logic, physics, and metaphysics recorded by Bahmanyār (d. 458/1066).[11] He prepared the *fihrist* in 503/1109.[12] Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169) says in a well-known statement that al-Lawkarī was a student of Bahmanyār and that it was under him that philosophy (*ʿulūm al-ḥikma*) spread in Ḫurāsān.[13] However, little documentation exists to detail its transmission. Al-Lawkarī's major work is *Bayān al-ḥaqq bi-ḍamān aṣ-ṣidq*.[14] It is divided into three sections: logic, physics, and metaphysics, and represents one of the earliest discussions of Avicenna's philosophy, after Bahmanyār's *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*. The introduction to the *Bayān* describes the work as a "middle book that combines commentary and concise exposition" (*kitābun mutawassiṭun aǧmaʿa š-šarḥa*

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Sihāmī, 1318Š/1939), 108; the summary translation of M. Meyerhof, "ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*," *Osiris* 8 (1948), 206–207; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḫwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-ǧannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa-s-sādāt* (Beirut: ad-Dār al-Islāmīya, 1411/1991), 6:292; and an *iǧāza* by al-ʿAllāma Ġalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad ad-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) in which Bahmanyār's name is omitted, see Āǧā Buzurg aṭ-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām aš-Šīʿa* (Qum: Muʾassasat-i Ismāʿīlīyān, n.d.), 3:169; also M. al-Amīn, *Aʿyān aš-Šīʿa* (Beirut: Dār at-Taʿāruf li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1406/1986), 9:415.

[10] On his *nisba*, see S. Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism*, tr. M. Schwarz (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1997), 47, n. 16.

[11] *At-Taʿlīqāt*, ed. ʿA.R. Badawī (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣrīya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1973); on Bahmanyār, see H. Daiber, "Bahmanyār, Kīā Raʾīs Abuʾl-Ḥasan b. Marzbān Aʿjamī Āḏarbāyjānī," EIr, 2:501–3.

[12] See Badawī's introduction to the *Taʿlīqāt*, 9.

[13] See al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, published as *Taʾrīḫ ḥukamāʾ al-Islām* by M. Kurd ʿAlī (Damascus: al-Maǧmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī, 1365/1946), 126; Meyerhof, "ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 176; D. Gutas, "The *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* Cycle of Texts," JAOS 102.4 (1982), 646.

[14] Thus far, only the *Eisagoge* of the logic and the metaphysics have been edited, both under the general title *Bayān al-ḥaqq wa-ḍamān aṣ-ṣidq: al-Manṭiq, al-Madḫal*, ed. I. Dībāǧī, (Tehran: Intišārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1364Š/1986) and *al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī*, Maǧmūʿah-yi Andīšāh-yi Islāmī, 2, ed. I. Dībāǧī (Tehran: Muʾassasah-yi Muṭālaʿāt-i Islāmī, Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān, 1414/1995); on al-Lawkarī's poetry, see I. Dībāǧī, "Šarḥ qaṣīdat *Asrār al-ḥikma*," in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, Wisdom of Persia Series, VIII, ed. M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1974), 107–135.

*wa-t-talḫīṣa*), based on the works of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/951) and Avicenna. Its style and arrangement resemble that of Bahmanyār's *at-Taḥṣīl* which, as Bahmanyār states in the introduction, follows that of Avicenna's *Dānišnāmah-yi ʿAlāʾī*.[15] Aside from the *Bayān* and the *fihrist* of the *Taʿlīqāt*, little else is known about al-Lawkarī's life and works except that he taught at Marw and probably died there sometime in the first quarter of the sixth/twelfth century.[16]

As for Afḍal ad-Dīn al-Ġīlānī, he is ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ġīlānī al-Balḫī, the author of *Kitāb Ḥudūṯ al-ʿālam*, an Ašʿarī work criticizing Avicenna's cosmogony.[17] He was among the first generation of students in the Niẓāmīya college at Marw and Nišābūr and he later had a number of disputations with Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209). Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī recorded one such disputation in the *Munāẓarāt* in which he criticizes al-Ġīlānī for his weak defense of the temporal creation of the world.[18] Because of the uncertainty of al-Lawkarī's death date, it cannot be established with any certainty that al-Ġīlānī studied with al-Lawkarī. The purpose of attempting to link al-Ġīlānī, an Ašʿarī theologian in the Niẓāmīya tradition, to al-Lawkarī, a peripatetic philosopher in the Avicennan tradition, may have been an effort on the part of the biographical tradition to connect the study of philosophy in the Niẓāmīya tradition to an authoritative source in the personage of al-Lawkarī.

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[15] Bahmanyār, *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*, ed. M. Muṭahharī, Second printing (Tehran: Intišārāt-i Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān, 1375Š/1996), 1; see also J. Janssens' contribution to the present volume. For a discussion of the style and arrangement of the *Dānišnāmah-yi ʿAlāʾī*, see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, Texts and Studies, IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 114.

[16] C. Brockelmann gives al-Lawkarī's date of death as 517/1123, without citing his source, in *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1943; repr. 1996), I, 460. On al-Lawkarī's date of death, see D. Gutas, "Notes and Texts from Cairo Manuscripts, II: Texts from Avicenna's Library in a Copy by ʿAbd-ar-Razzāq aṣ-Ṣiḡnāḫī," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987), 9, and 15, n. 16; Dībāḡī also addresses the problem in the introduction to his edition of *al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī* of the *Bayān*, 14–16.

[17] Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīḫ*, 157; Meyerhof, "'Alī al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat*," 193. On al-Ġīlānī and Avicennism in the sixth/twelfth century, see J.R. Michot, "La pandémie," 287–323; and Michot's introduction to al-Ġīlānī's *Ḥudūṯ al-ʿālam*, ed. M. Mohaghegh (Tehran: Muʾassasah-yi Muṭālaʿāt-i Islāmī, Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān, 1377Š/1998), i–xv.

[18] Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *al-Munāẓarāt*, ed. F. Kholeif in *A Study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and his controversies in Transoxiana* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1966), 59–63; Ibn al-Qifṭī states that ar-Rāzī authored a refutation of al-Ġīlānī, the *Kitāb Ġawāb Ibn Ġīlān*; see *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig: Th. Weicher, 1903), 293; and Michot, "La pandémie," 289.

Ṣadr ad-Dīn as-Saraḫsī is an otherwise unknown figure, except perhaps as a student of al-Ġīlānī.[19] As for Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323), the librarian and copyist at the Marāġa observatory, names him as Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥaydar al-Faryūmaḏī (also known as al-Ḥakīm al-Uṣūlī), without mentioning the *nisba* an-Nišābūrī.[20] It is very likely that he was Ṭūsī's teacher because the latter quotes Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād in the epistle *Rabṭ al-ḥadīṯ bi-l-qadīm*, and refers to him as "my teacher (*ustāḏī*), Farīd ad-Dīn Muḥammad an-Nisābūrī."[21] Ṭūsī likely studied under him at the Niẓāmīya in Nišābūr between 610/1213 and 618/1221,[22] during which time he also studied under Quṭb ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad as-Sulamī al-Miṣrī (killed in 618/1221[23]).[24] Both Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād and Quṭb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī studied under Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī. Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād's most important students were Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī and the Šāfiʿī Šams

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[19] Alternatively, his *laqab* is given as Ḍiyāʾ ad-Dīn and his *nisba* as an-Nišābūrī; see Dībāǧī's introduction to al-Lawkarī's *al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī*, 76–77.

[20] *Muʿǧam al-ādāb fī maǧmaʿ al-alqāb*, ed. M. al-Kāẓim (Tehran: Wizārat aṯ-Ṯaqāfa wa-l-Iršād al-Islāmī, 1416/1995), 3:241; this is an important source for the social and intellectual history of the Il-Ḫānid period. See also F. Rosenthal, "Ibn al-Fuwaṭī," *EI²*, 3:769–70; and M. Iqbāl, "Ibn al-Fuwaṭī," *Islamic Culture* 11 (1937), 516–22. Aṭ-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām aš-Šīʿa*, 3:179, suggests that Farīd ad-Dīn an-Nišābūrī was the renowned Persian poet Farīd ad-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār. This is incorrect since al-ʿAṭṭār appears to have died before Ṭūsī arrived in Nišābūr. Cf. H. Ritter, "ʿAṭṭār, Farīd ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm" *EI²*, 1:752–5.

[21] *Talḫīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal bi-inḍimām rasāʾil wa-fawāʾid kalāmīya*, ed. ʿA.A. Nūrānī (Tehran: Muʾassasah-yi Muṭālaʿāt-i Islāmī, Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān, 1359Š/1980), 483. Despite the discrepancy between these two names, reports agree that they are indeed the same person.

[22] Al-Ḫwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-ǧannāt*, 6:292, reports that he read Avicenna's *al-Išārāt* under Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād.

[23] Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A Müller (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahbīya, 1299/1882), 30.

[24] On Ṭūsī's life and works, see aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 1:179–83; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, 246–52; al-Ḫwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-ǧannāt*, 6:278–97; ʿAbd Allāh Afandī al-Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalāʾ*, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Marʿašī, 1403/1982), 5:159–63; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān aš-Šīʿa*, 9:414–20; M. Raḍawī, *Aḥvāl va-āṯār-i Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī* (Tehran: n.p., 1335Š/1956); S.H. Naṣr, "al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 13:508–14; H. Daiber and F.J. Ragep, "al-Ṭūsī, Abū Dja‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan" *EI²*, 10:746–52; and E. Alexandrin, "Éléments de bibliographie sur Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī," in *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, philosophe et savant du XIIIᵉ siècle*, Actes du colloque tenu à l'Universiteé de Téhéran, 6–9 mars 1997, ed. N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel (Tehran: Presses Universitaires d'Iran, 2000), 207–13.

ad-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn ʿĪsá Ḥusrawšāhī at-Tabrīzī (d. 652/1263), the author of an abridgement (*muḫtaṣar*) of Avicenna's *aš-Šifāʾ*.[25]

In his autobiography, *Sayr wa-sulūk*, Ṭūsī fails to mention Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād and Quṭb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī among his teachers.[26] Written for the chief Ismāʿīlī *dāʿin*, his autobiography is a stylized rendition of his conversion from exoteric *kalām* to esoteric Ismāʿīlī philosophy and *daʿwa*. This conversion may explain why he chose to mention only his Ismāʿīlī teachers, including Kamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāsib,[27] and neglected to recognize his non-Ismāʿīlī teachers from the Niẓāmīya in Nišābūr.

The significance of the *isnād*, at least from al-Ġīlānī until Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād—all of whom, it appears, studied and taught in Niẓāmīya colleges of Ḫurāsān—is in establishing that the curriculum in these colleges was not restricted to the study of law and *ḥadīṯ*, but also included philosophy, particularly the works of Avicenna. The *isnād*, at least in connecting Ṭūsī to Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād, also indicates that the Twelver-Šīʿī reception of Avicenna's philosophy, in part, was based on the Niẓāmīya tradition of Ḫurāsān. Moreover, the *isnād* reveals that the two centuries after Avicenna's death (428/1037) were important in establishing his over-arching influence on the history of philosophy, particularly in the East, and most importantly for the reception and transmission of his works.[28]

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[25] Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 18:73–5.

[26] *Contemplation and Action: The Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar*, ed./tr. S.J. Badakhchani (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); and F. Daftary, "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī and the Ismaʿilis of the Alamūt Period," in *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, philosophe et savant*, 59–67.

[27] Kamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāsib was a student of Bābā Afḍal ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Maraqī Kāšānī (d. 610/1213–14), as Ṭūsī states in the *Sayr wa-sulūk;* see *Contemplation and Action*, Persian text, 3. On Bābā Afḍal's Ismāʿīlī affiliation, see J. Rypka, "Bāba Afḍal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Kāšhānī (or Kāshī)," *EI*², 1:838–9; and W. Chittick, "Bābā Afzal al-Dīn," EIr, 3:285–91. For a discussion of his thought, see S.H. Nasr, "Afdal al-Din Kashani and the Philosophical World of Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi," in *Islamic Theology and Philosophy, Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani*, ed. M.E. Marmura (Albany, New York: SUNY, 1984), 249–64. Kamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāsib is often confused with Kamāl ad-Dīn Ibn Yūnus, perhaps because they were both mathematicians (hence the former is called Ḥāsib) and/or because they both have the same *laqab* Kamāl ad-Dīn. As such it is sometimes believed that Ibn Yūnus was a student of Bābā Afḍal; see, for example, Daiber, "al-Ṭūsī," *EI*², 10:746.

[28] For a general picture of the transmission of knowledge in Ḫurāsān, see R. Mottahedeh, "The Transmission of Leaning, The Role of the Islamic Northeast," in *Madrasa, La transmission du savior dans le monde musulman*, ed. N. Grandin and M. Gaborieau (Paris: Arguments, 1997), 63–72 [I thank Beatrice Gruendler for bringing this article to my attention].

With the Mongol advance to Ḫurāsān and most likely before the sack of Nišābūr in 618/1221,[29] Ṭūsī departed for Iraq. There, he studied in Mosul with the recognized astronomer and mathematician Kamāl ad-Dīn Mūsá ibn Yūnus aš-Šāfiʿī (d. 639/1242), who was once himself a student in the Niẓāmīya in Baghdad.[30] After completing his studies around the year 630/1233, Ṭūsī wrote his main contribution to logic, the *Asās al-iqtibās*.[31] While retaining the Arabic technical terms, this work is lucidly written in Persian, and thus rapidly became a model for later Persian logical works. It is divided according to the traditional eight books of the Aristotelian *Organon* and closely follows the logical parts of Avicenna's *aš-Šifāʾ*.

The major philosophical work on which much of Ṭūsī's reputation rests is the *Ḥall muškilāt al-Išārāt*, a commentary on Avicenna's *al-Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt*. Written as his last work during his Ismāʿīlī phase, around 643/1246 in Alamūt, it was a response to Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's critical commentary, the *Šarḥ al-Išārāt*.[32] It embodies his subtle understanding of Ašʿarī *kalām*, which he likely learned as a student of Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād and Quṭb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī at the Niẓāmīya in Nišābūr. Ṭūsī's other defense of Avicenna was contained in his *Maṣāriʿ al-muṣāriʿ*,[33] a refutation of the crypto-Ismāʿīlī Tāǧ ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm aš-Šahrastānī's *Muṣāraʿat al-falāsifa*.[34]

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[29] See E. Honigman and C.E. Bosworth, "Nishāpūr," *EI*², 8:62–4.

[30] As-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 1:181; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 3:24; Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, 1:306–8; C. Brockelmann, GAL, S I, 859; see also F.J. Ragep's discussion in *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir*, 6–9. Another student of Ibn Yūnus is Aṯīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1264), the author of *al-Hidāya fī l-ḥikma* and *al-Īsāġūǧī*; see C. Brockelmann, "Abharī, Athīr al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar," *EI*², 1:98–9, and G.C. Anawati, "Abhārī Samarqandī, Aṯīr-al-Dīn al-Mofazzal b. ʿOmar b. al-Mofazzal," EIr, 1:216–17.

[31] Ed. M. Raḍawī, (Tehran: Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān, 1367Š/1948); P. Morewedge, "The Analysis of 'Substance' in Ṭūsī's *Logic* and the Ibn Sīnian Tradition," in *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science*, ed. G.H. Hourani (Albany, New York: SUNY, 1975), 158–9.

[32] This work has been considered a commentary only on the physics and metaphysics of Avicenna's *al-Išārāt*; see G.C. Anawati, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī," *EI*², 2:751–55. But it appears that ar-Rāzī's commentary originally also included a section on the logic of the *Išārāt*. [I thank Tony Street for drawing my attention to this.] Princeton University Library contains an early manuscript of Rāzī's *Šarḥ al-Išārāt* (MS New Series 2022, copied in 679/1280–1) that includes the logic section; see R. Mach and E.L. Ormsby, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 85–86, no. 371.

[33] Ed. Ḥ. al-Muʿizzī, Min Maḫṭūṭāt Āyat Allāh al-Marʿašī al-ʿĀmma, 11 (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Marʿašī, 1405/1984).

[34] It is interesting to note that Ṭūsī's father was a second generation student of aš-Šahrastānī; see *Contemplation and Action*, Persian text, 3. Aš-Šahrastānī's work has

Ašʿarī criticism of Avicenna focused on advancing objections raised by al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*. The three major objections refuted the theory of a pre-eternal world, the theory that God knows only the universal characteristics of particulars, as well as the Avicennan doctrine of the human soul that denies bodily resurrection.[35] It appears that Ṭūsī struggled with Ašʿarī criticism until his final days in Baghdad, where he wrote his last work, the *Talḫīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*.[36] This work is a critical discussion of Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾaḫḫirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*.

These two commentaries, *Šarḥ al-Išārāt* and *Ḥall muškilāt al-Išārāt*, spurred a series of adjudications (*muḥākamāt*) that evaluated the arguments of Rāzī and Ṭūsī. The earliest adjudication appears to be authored by Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad at-Tustarī aš-Šāfiʿī (d. 732/1331).[37] Other adjudications are by Ǧamāl ad-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), also known as al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, and his student Quṭb ad-Dīn Muḥammad (or Maḥmūd) ibn Muḥammad al-Buwayhī ar-Rāzī (d. 766/1365), also known as Quṭb at-Taḥtānī.[38]

Ṭūsī's lasting influence on Twelver-Šīʿism came as result of two principal works. The first, an abridgement of the eight books of the Organon, is the *Taǧrīd al-manṭiq*, for which al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī wrote

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recently been edited and translated as *Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics*, ed./tr. W. Madelung and T. Mayer (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001); see also W. Madelung, "Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī's Ethics between Philosophy, Shīʿism, and Sufism," in *Ethics in Islam*, Ninth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Conference, ed. R.G. Hovannisian (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1985), 85–101. ʿUmar ibn Sahlān as-Sāwī (d. 540/1145), the author of *Kitāb al-Baṣāʾir an-naṣīrīya fī l-manṭiq*, also wrote a response to aš-Šahrastānī, the *Ǧawāb ʿalá š-Šahrastānī*, see GAL, S I, 830–1.

[35] See al-Ġazālī, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, tr. M.E. Marmura (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), xix–xxvi; and M. Marmura, "Avicenna and the Kalām," ZDMG 7 (1991–92), 172–206.

[36] Ed. ʿA.A. Nūrānī, op. cit.

[37] See Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1413/1992), 6:148; Āġā Buzurg aṭ-Ṭihrānī, *aḏ-Ḏarīʿa ilá taṣānīf aš-Šīʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1403/1983), 20:133.

[38] Aṭ-Ṭihrānī, ibid. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's *Muḥākama* does not appear to be extant; see S. Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991), 58. Quṭb at-Taḥtānī's *Muḥākamāt bayna šarḥay al-Išārāt* is extant and has been published along with Ṭūsī's *Ḥall muškilāt* in *al-Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt* (Qum: Našr al-Balāġa, 1375Š/1996). On Quṭb at-Taḥtānī, see aṭ-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām aš-Šīʿa*, 3:200–2; and ʿA.A. Niʿma, *Falāsifat aš-Šīʿa, ḥayātuhum wa-ārāʾuhum* (Qum: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1987), 528–30.

the first commentary, the *Ǧawhar an-naḍīd fī šarḥ Kitāb at-Taǧrīd*.[39] The second work, the *Taǧrīd al-kalām*, was an abridgement of *kalām* and Twelver-Šīʿī dogmatics (*iʿtiqād*) for which al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī also wrote the commentary *Kašf al-murād fī šarḥ Taǧrīd al-iʿtiqād*.[40] Through al-ʿAllāma al-Hillī's commentaries, both works became a part of the Twelver-Šīʿī college curriculum until the 1950s.[41]

Ṭūsī's *Taǧrīd al-kalām* can be divided into two sections. The first section, an analytical discussion of metaphysics and *kalām*, explores concepts of existence and non-existence (*wuǧūd wa-l-ʿadam*), quiddity (*māhīya*), causality (*ʿilla wa-l-maʿlūl*), substance and accidents (*ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*), bodies and forms (*aǧsām wa-ṣ-ṣuwar*), and predicables. This section introduces the essential philosophical issues of Avicenna's metaphysics into the tradition of Twelver-Šīʿī *kalām*. Ḥillī's commentary is not only useful in clarifying Ṭūsī's discussions, but is also itself a resource for the history of *kalām*.[42]

The *Taǧrīd al-kalām*'s second section is a discussion of dogmatics, specifically, God, prophecy, *imāma*, and the return (*maʿād*). There are fewer philosophical arguments in this section. Rather, the arguments are primarily premised on doctrinal grounds, stemming from the Quran and *ḥadīṯ*. For example, contrary to Avicenna's philosophical arguments against bodily resurrection, Ṭūsī accepts bodily resurrection primarily on doctrinal grounds. This fact notwithstanding, the importance of the work is that it is among the earliest, if not the first, to introduce Avicennan philosophical concepts into Twelver-Šīʿī dogmatics.[43]

In sum, Ṭūsī played a pivotal role in the revival of Avicennan philosophy. He wrote a series of works effectively defending Avicenna against Ašʿarī criticism, particularly against that of aš-Šahrastānī and Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī. He also had a number of lively exchanges to

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[39] Ed. M. Bīdārfar (Qum: Intišārāt-i Bīdār, 1413/1992).

[40] Ed. Ḥ. al-Āmulī (Qum: Muʾassasat an-Našr al-Islāmī, 1417/1996); on the work's date of composition, see Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 61. On the extensive commentary tradition of Ṭūsī's *Taǧrīd al-iʿtiqād*, see aṭ-Ṭihrānī, *aḏ-Ḏarīʿa*, 3:352–5.

[41] Ḥillī's commentary *Ǧawhar an-naḍīd* was replaced with a more recent introduction by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muẓaffar (b. 1904) entitled *al-Manṭiq* (Qum: Intišārāt-i Fīrūz Ābādī, 1375/1955).

[42] The *Kašf al-Murād*, together with Ḥillī's *Nihāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām* (ed. F. al-ʿIrfān [Qum: Muʾassasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, 1419/1998]), embody an extensive source of information on the history of *kalām*.

[43] Al-Ḫwansārī, *Rawḍāt al-ǧannāt*, 6:281, says that Ṭūsī was the first among the Twelver-Šīʿīs to write about dogmatics (*ʿaqāʾid*) in a philosophical way.

questions and criticisms about philosophy generally and Avicenna in particular.[44] His lasting contribution, however, was in securing the introduction of Avicenna's works into Twelver-Šīʿism.

Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (648–726/1250–1325) lived during the height of the Il-Ḫān rule in Iraq and Iran.[45] His native town, al-Ḥilla, is situated between Kufa and Baghdad near the ruins of ancient Bābil.[46] The town was surrendered to the Mongols shortly after the sack of Baghdad in 656/1258. Al-Ḥilla remained unscathed from the conquest despite its proximity to Baghdad. This was due in part to Ṭūsī's position as minister of Hülegü as well as his relationship with the patricians of al-Ḥilla, including al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's father. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī began his studies of law and *kalām* in al-Ḥilla. Thereafter, he left, probably to Marāġa, where he studied under Ṭūsī and Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī (d. 657/1276). Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī is the author of *ar-Risāla aš-Šamsīya*, a work on logic, and *Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, a work on physics and metaphysics. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī wrote a commentary on both works, the *Qawāʿid al-ǧalīya*[47] and *Īḍāḥ al-maqāṣid*,[48] respectively. Under Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī, Ḥillī studied logic, physics, and metaphysics. Al-Kātibī introduced Ḥillī to three important figures.[49] The first, Aṯīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1264), authored *al-Hidāya fī l-ḥikma* and an established introduction to logic, the *Isāġūǧī*. He also introduced Ḥillī to the works of Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī[50] and Muḥammad al-Ḫunǧī (d. 646/1248).

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[44] See *Annäherungen, Der mystisch-philosophische Briefwechsel zwischen Ṣadr ud-Dīn-i Qonawī und Naṣīr ud-Dīn Ṭūsī*, Bibliotheca Islamica, 43, ed. G. Schubert (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995); W. Chittick, "Mysticism versus Philosophy in Earlier Islamic History: The al-Ṭūsī-al-Qūnawī Correspondences," *Religious Studies* 17 (1981), 87–104; W. Madelung, "To See All Things through the Sight of God: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Attitude to Sufism," in *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, philosophe et savant*, 1–11. Ṭūsī's more technical correspondences are *Aǧwibat masāʾil as-Sayyid Rukn ad-Dīn al-Astarābādī li-Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī*, ed. ʿA.A. Nūrānī, in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, op. cit., 216–76; and *Muṭāraḥāt manṭiqīya bayna Naǧm ad-Dīn Dabīrān al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī wa-Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī*, ed. ʿA.A. Nūrānī, ibid., 277–86.

[45] On al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's life and works, see S. Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 9–74; and ead., "al-Ḥillī, ʿAllāma, Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. Muṭahhar," EIr, fothcoming [I thank the author for advancing me a copy]; ʿA. aṭ-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī* (Qum: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ at-Turāṯ, 1416/1995); aṭ-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām aš-Šīʿa*, 3:52–4; and Niʿma, *Falāsifat aš-Šīʿa*, 272.

[46] See J. Lassner, "al-Ḥilla," *EI*², 3:389–90.

[47] Ed. F.Ḥ. Tabrīzīyān (Qum: Muʾassasat an-Našr al-Islāmī, 1417/1996).

[48] Ed. ʿA. Munzavī (Tehran: n.p., 1378/1959).

[49] Schmitdke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 18–9.

[50] Al-Kātibī also authored a commentary on ar-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, the *Mufaṣṣal fī šarḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, for which there is a copy of an autograph dated 717/1317; accord-

In all likelihood, Ḥillī left Marāġa after Ṭūsī's death in 672/1274. He taught mainly in al-Ḥilla and, for a time, the Il-Ḫān Ulǧaytū (r. 703–716/1304–1316) appointed him as a teacher in the *Madrasa Sayyāra* (mobile school), a distinguished position among scholars. This college served as a literary entourage that followed the Il-Ḫān on his travels. There, Ḥillī taught his most notable student, Quṭb at-Taḥtānī, who later authored *Risālat at-taṣawwurāt wa-t-taṣdīqāt*, the first in a series of works that dealt with Avicenna's epistemological notion that knowledge (ʿilm) is either through forming concepts or granting assent.[51]

Ḥillī continued Ṭūsī's defense of Avicenna in *Išārāt ilá maʿānī al-Išārāt*, *Īḍāḥ al-muʿḍilāt min šarḥ al-Išārāt*, and *Basṭ al-Išārāt*.[52] The *Kitāb Kašf al-ḫafāʾ min Kitāb aš-Šifāʾ* is his principle commentary on Avicenna's *aš-Šifāʾ*. It appears that he only completed the first two books of the logic, the *Eisagoge* and *Categories*, from this work.[53] Aside from his commentaries he wrote a number of philosophical expositions. His *magnum opus* is *Asrār al-ḫafīya fī l-ʿulūm al-ʿaqlīya*, which is divided into the three sections of logic, physics, and metaphysics.[54] His other major work is his *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāṯ fī maʿrifat al-ʿulūm aṯ-ṯalāṯ*, from which he later wrote an abridgement entitled *Marāṣid at-tadqīq wa-maqāṣid at-taḥqīq*.[55] Unlike his *kalām* works that address the arguments

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ing to the colophon of this autograph, the commentator completed his work in Marāġa in 662/1264 (thus preceding the author's death by thirteen years); see R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), no. 3041.

[51] Edited with Mullā Ṣadrā's *Risālat at-taṣawwur wa-t-taṣdīq*, in *Risālatān fī t-taṣawwur wa-t-taṣdīq*, ed. M. Šarīʿatī (Qum: Muʾassasat-i Ismāʿīlīyān, 1416/1995).

[52] These works do not appear to be extant; see Schmitdke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 59. It should be noted that Ḥillī also wrote a work critical of Avicenna's philosophy entitled *Kašf at-talbīs min kalām ar-Raʾīs* ("Exposing the Deceitful Statements of [Avicenna]"), no longer extant.

[53] The *Categories* is extant in a unique manuscript, dated 717/1317; see A.J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Lirbrary, A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts* (Dublin: W. Walker, 1955–1966), no. 5151.

[54] Ed. M.H. Mawlawī (Qum: Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt-i va-Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī, forthcoming).

[55] The extant portions of *Marāṣid at-tadqīq wa-maqāṣid at-taḥqīq* include only the logic part up to the fourth section of the *Topics* (*Kitāb al-Ǧadal*) and the metaphysics (*Ilāhīyāt*) section. For a description of the logic sections, see M.T. Dānišpažūh and ʿA.N. Munzavī in *Fihrist-i nusḫah-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫānah-yi Markazī-yi Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān* (Tehran: Dānišgāh-yi Tihrān, 1330–1357Š/1951–1978), 9:934–35, no. 2301; this manuscript is dated 710/1310 and includes the author's iǧāza as well as that of his son, Faḫr al-Muḥaqiqqīn. I am preparing a critical edition and translation of the first book of the logic, the *Eisagoge*. As for the metaphysics section, found in another manuscript, see aṭ-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 185.

of the *mutakallimūn* together with those of the philosophers,[56] these philosophical works are primarily strict expositions of logic, physics, and metaphysics in the Avicennan tradition.

In conclusion, the twofold significance of Ṭūsī for the Avicennan tradition rests in defending Avicenna against an established Ašʿarī tradition within the Niẓāmīya and in successfully introducing Avicenna's philosophy into Twelver-Šīʿism. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī is recognized for establishing these works as part of the Šīʿī commentary tradition that began with his own commentaries on Ṭūsī's *Taǧrīd*s. These commentaries fixed Ṭūsī's works and those of the Šāfiʿī Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī as part of the Twelver-Šīʿī college curriculum well into the modern period. The symbiosis between Twelver-Šīʿism and the Šāfiʿī-Niẓāmīya tradition is well documented, at least within the legal studies tradition.[57] This symbiosis is also documented for the Twelver-Šīʿī tradition of studying Avicenna's philosophy. In studying the Twelver-Šīʿī reception of Avicenna, one needs to begin with the Niẓāmīya tradition of studying Avicenna's works that began perhaps as early as Abū l-Maʿālī al-Ǧuwaynī (d. 478/1085)[58] and culminated in the works of al-Ġazālī and Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī.

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[56] On Ḥillī's adoption of philosophical concepts in his theological works, see S. Schmidtke, "Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī and Shīʿite Muʿtazilite Theology," *Spektrum Iran* 7.3 (1994), 24–6.

[57] See D. Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998).

[58] Al-Ǧuwaynī's study of Avicenna is noted by R.M. Frank in *al-Ghazālī and the Ashʿarite School*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 15 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 1–2.
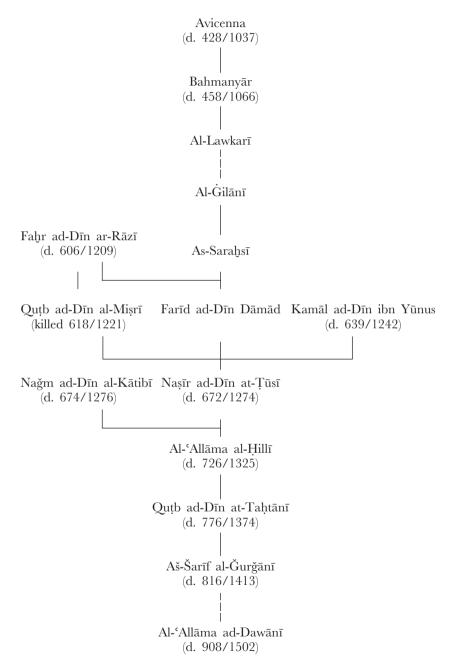
Ahmed H. al-Rahim

Avicenna
(d. 428/1037)

Bahmanyār
(d. 458/1066)

Al-Lawkarī

Al-Ġilānī

Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī                 As-Saraḫsī
(d. 606/1209)

Quṭb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī   Farīd ad-Dīn Dāmād   Kamāl ad-Dīn ibn Yūnus
(killed 618/1221)                                      (d. 639/1242)

Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī   Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī
(d. 674/1276)               (d. 672/1274)

Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī
(d. 726/1325)

Quṭb ad-Dīn at-Taḥtānī
(d. 776/1374)

Aš-Šarīf al-Ǧurǧānī
(d. 816/1413)

Al-ʿAllāma ad-Dawānī
(d. 908/1502)

Fig. 1. Philosophers in the East after Avicenna