THE LIFE OF IBN SINA

A Critical Edition
and Annotated Translation

by

William E. Gohlman

Albany, New York
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK PRESS
1974
The Life of Ibn Sina
First Edition
Published by State University of New York Press
99 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York 12210
© 1974 State University of New York
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Avicenna, 980-1037.
The life of Ibn Sina.
Arabic text and English translation of the author's autobiography, Sirat al-
Shaykh al-Ra'is, which was completed by al-Juzajani.
Originally presented as the editor's thesis, University of Michigan.
Includes bibliographies.
1. Avicenna, 980-1037. 2. Juzajani, 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Muhammad, 11th
cent. 3. Goldman, William E., ed. III. Title.
B751.A55 1974 189'.5 73-6793
ISBN 0-87395-227-8 (microfiche)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have aided me in the research for and preparation of this work, which was originally submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies at The University of Michigan. I would like to acknowledge the following:

The administration of Baldwin-Wallace College, which has provided me with released time from teaching duties and with financial help in the preparation of this work.

Professors Sencer Tonguç and Cengiz Orhonlu of the Faculty of Arts, Istanbul University, as well as the directors of the Suleymaniye and Istanbul University Libraries, who helped me obtain microfilms of the manuscripts I needed. My thanks also to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey for giving me permission to do research in the libraries of Istanbul.

And especially Professor George F. Hourani, who provided me with the photographs of one of the manuscripts and gave me a great deal of help and advice in all stages of the preparation of this work.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ........................................ 1
  Introduction to the Edition ..................... 1
  Introduction to the Translation ............... 11
  Introduction to the Bibliographers .......... 13

EDITION AND TRANSLATION .......................... 16
  The Autobiography/Biography ................... 16
  The Longer Bibliography ....................... 90

NOTES ............................................... 115
  Notes to the Introduction ..................... 115
  Notes to the Translation of the Autobiography/Biography ........... 119
  Notes to the Translation of the Bibliography .... 138

APPENDIXES ........................................ 143
  I. Shorter Bibliography of Ibn Sina’s Works ... 143
  II. Longer Bibliography of Ibn Sina’s Works ... 147
  III. Chronological Order of Ibn Sina’s Works ... 153

BIBLIOGRAPHY ...................................... 155

INDEX ............................................. 159
INTRODUCTION TO THE EDITION

The standard Arabic version of the autobiography of Ibn Sinā and its continuation by one of his pupils, Abū Ubayd al-Jūzjānī, has been in print since 1884, when August Muller's edition of the 'Uṣūl al-anbā' fi taḥaqāt al-ṣibābīa of Ibn Abī Usaybi'ā (d. A.H. 668/ A.D. 1270) was published.¹ The section on Ibn Sinā is found in Vol. II, pp. 2–20, and consists of a brief introduction (p. 2), the autobiography of Ibn Sinā (pp. 2–4), the continuation of the biography by al-Jūzjānī (pp. 4–9), including a short bibliography (p. 5), anecdotes and poems about Ibn Sinā (pp. 9–10), a number of poems attributed to Ibn Sinā (pp. 10–18), and a longer bibliography (pp. 18–20).

Another version of Ibn Sinā's autobiography was published a few years later (1903) in Julius Lippert's edition of the Ta'rikh al-hukamā' of Ibn al-Qīfī (d. 646/1248).² The material on Ibn Sinā is found on pp. 413–26, and, like the version in Ibn Abī Usaybi'ā, contains a brief introduction (p. 413), the autobiography (pp. 413–17), and al-Jūzjānī's continuation (pp. 417–26), with the shorter bibliography (p. 418). It does not contain the last three parts of Ibn Abī Usaybi'ā's section on Ibn Sinā; i.e., the anecdotes and poems about Ibn Sinā, the poems written by him, and the longer bibliography. In the major sections which the two works have in common, the autobiography/biography, they are almost identical, and so one must suppose that Ibn Abī Usaybi'ā copied this section from al-Qīfī, or that they both copied from the same unknown source, perhaps a manuscript of al-Jūzjānī's work.

The other major early source for the life of Ibn Sinā, Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqi (d. 565/1170), has a section on him in the Tatimmat ši`ān al-hikma³ which contains a great deal of new material and probably not known to either al-Qīfī or Ibn Abī Usaybi'ā, since neither mentions this material. Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282)⁴ may have used Ibn Funduq's work, because he includes some material found in Ibn Funduq but not in al-Qīfī and Ibn Abī Usaybi'ā. However, his biography of Ibn Sinā is a condensation of the autobiography/biography, with other information interspersed.⁵ Ibn al-'Imād (d. 1089/1678) follows Ibn Khallikān almost identically in his notice of Ibn Sinā's life, several times mentioning Ibn Khallikān by name.⁶
Although the accounts in al-Qifṣī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa seemed to have been mere copies of the original manuscript which was dictated by Ibn Sīnā to his pupil al-Juẓjānī, and then continued by the latter, several pieces of evidence have turned up recently to show that there is another version of this account. This new text, found in almost identical versions in several different places, does not differ at any major point with the earlier published version, but there are a great number of minor variations. A description of the versions of this new text follows.

In one of the volumes of the Avicenna Memorial, A. F. al-Ahwānī mentions the discovery of a new version of the autobiography/biography which differs from that of al-Qifṣī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa. He found this version, written by Yahyā ibn Ahmad al-Kāshī (d. after 754/1353), on the margin of a manuscript of Shahrāzūrī’s Nuzhat al-arwāh, which itself contains an account of Ibn Sīnā’s life which sounds very much like that of Ibn Khallīkān. Al-Ahwānī notes that al-Kāshī’s version must merely be a copy of a manuscript similar to the one(s) used by al-Qifṣī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, and so in his edition of it he notes the variant readings of al-Qifṣī and/or Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa. However, the edition of al-Ahwānī is not a critical edition of the manuscript itself, since his notes merely carry out his intention of comparing the two versions, and he makes his corrections, emendations, etc., without mentioning them in the notes. This published version of al-Kāshī, called N in the English sections of this work and 5 in my Arabic edition (from the title of the published work, Nukat al-arwāh, . . .), contains the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā (pp. 9–17), the continuation by al-Juẓjānī ( pp. 17–28), but without the shorter bibliography, the longer bibliography (pp. 29–35), similar to the one in Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, and the colophon (p. 36), giving the date as 15 Jumādā II 754 [Thursday, 18 July, 1353].

Another publication of a version different from that of al-Qifṣī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa was made by Saʿīd Nafṣī, who also added a Persian translation. Although Nafṣī states in his introduction the source of his edition: Yıldız Hüsi Library (Istanbul), MS. 889, now a part of the Arabic collection of Istanbul University, MS. 4755, he does not provide a critical edition of the work. Rather, he includes a few words in parentheses which represent some of the marginal additions to the manuscript, but there is no indication of any other corrections which he made. I have been able to obtain photographs of this manuscript and so have not had to rely on the published version of Nafṣī. The full description of this manuscript is as follows: Universite, MS. 4755/24, fols. 308a–317b. Written in naskhī script, 16x24 cm. (12x16 cm. each page), 15 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 588/1192. Called B in the English and 4 in the Arabic sections of this work, it contains the autobiography (fols. 308a–311a), the continuation by al-Juẓjānī (fols. 311a–316a), without the shorter bibliography, and the longer bibliography (fols. 316a–317b).

In addition, the most complete bibliography of Ibn Sīnā’s writings, Yahyā Mahdawi’s Fihrist-i muṣannafāt-i Ibn Sīnā, lists a number of other manuscripts of the “sar-gudhashī” in the libraries of Istanbul. I have been able to obtain microfilms or photographs of several of these manuscripts, the descriptions of which are as follows:

1. Aya Sofya, MS. 4852(1), fols. 1b–13a. Written in large, clear naskhī script, 16x24 cm. (10x16 cm. each page), this manuscript is dated from the first part of the 7th/13th century. Called A in the English and 1 in the Arabic sections of this work, it contains the autobiography (fols. 1b–4b), the continuation by al-Juẓjānī (fols. 4b–13a), with the longer bibliography appearing where the shorter bibliography does in al-Qifṣī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa (fols. 5a–8a), and the shorter bibliography missing.

2. Ahmet III, MS. 3447(6), fols. 20b–26b. Written in clear taʾṭīq script, 23x31 cm., 17 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 866/1462. Called B in the English and 2 in the Arabic sections of this work, it contains the autobiography (fols. 20b–22a), the continuation by al-Juẓjānī (fols. 22a–26b), with the longer bibliography appearing as in A (fols. 22b–23b), and the shorter bibliography missing. It also includes a number of comments on the margins.

3. Aya Sofya, MS. 4829(19), fols. 72b–75b. Written in large naskhī script, 25x36 cm., 35 lines/page, this manuscript dates from the 10th/16th century. It contains the autobiography (fols. 72b–73a), the continuation by al-Juẓjānī (fols. 73a–75b), with the longer bibliography appearing as in A (fols. 73b–74a), and the shorter bibliography missing. This manuscript derives from A, containing all of the errors of A and peculiar errors of its own, so I have not used it in my edition.

4. Nurusaniyeh, MS. 4894(4), fols. 247b–250b. Written in naskhī script, 23x35 cm., 37 lines/page, this manuscript is dated as “possibly” 10th/16th century. It contains the autobiography (fols. 247b–248a), the continuation by al-Juẓjānī (fols. 248a–250b), with the longer bibliography appearing as in J (fols. 248a–249a), and the shorter bibliography missing. This manuscript is derived from J, incorpora-
tung the marginal material found in J into its text, so I have not used it in my edition. 

5. Universite, MS. 1458(26), fols. 71b–75a. Written in ta‘liq script, 36 × 21 cm., 29 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 1236/1821.29 It contains the autobiography (fols. 71b–72b), the continuation by al-Jāzjāni (fols. 72b–75a), with the longer bibliography appearing as in J (fols. 72b–73b), and the shorter bibliography missing. This manuscript, like the one just previously described, is derived from J, including J’s marginalia as part of its text, so I have discarded it in this edition. 

6. Ali Emiri Efendi, MS. 4533(5), fols. 42b–45a. Written in ta‘liq script, 10–1/2 × 15 cm., 17 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 936/1520.30 It contains only the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā and is derived from Qīṣṭī (Q), Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a (IAU), or the source(s) which they used, so I have not used it in this edition. 

There is another manuscript in Istanbul which Mahdavi calls a “sar-gudhasht” of Ibn Sīnā, but it appears to be a condensation of Ibn Funduq’s notice of Ibn Sīnā in the Tātimma.31 The author of this abridgement is called Tāj al-Dīn al-Fārisī on the margin of fol. 5a, and in the body of the text on this and other pages he says, “the author of the Tātimma said . . .” (“gāša sābiḥ al-tātimma . . .”). He follows Ibn Funduq closely through the autobiographical section (fols. 1b–3a), then inserts a long bibliography—far longer than the one in this location in Ibn Funduq—(fols. 3a–4a), then skips all of the material in Ibn Funduq down to the description of Ibn Sīnā’s last illness and death (fols. 4b–5a). This manuscript, then, was not included in my edition of this work. 

Based on the previous descriptions of the surviving manuscripts, the witnesses may be arranged into the following stemma:32

```
   (original manuscript)
      `/`
     A B J N Q / I A U
```

The major split in the manuscript tradition is between Q / IAU on the one hand and A, B, J, and N on the other. I have considered Q and IAU to be a single witness, because there is almost no disagreement between them and they do contain numerous separate errors which are also conjunctive. For example, on page 20, line 7, there is a lacuna in Q / IAU; the word al-jnst is omitted. Since the sentence is grammatically correct without the word, no copyist would likely have added it to the text, therefore A, B, J, and N are not dependent on Q / IAU. 

There are also a great many differences of a stylistic nature between the two traditions. At some point Q / IAU was extensively revised and reworked from the point of view of style. The basic meaning of a particular passage remains the same, but word order, verb tenses, and even specific words themselves have been changed by someone who was not just a copyist, but an editor who felt that the passage in question could be improved. I think that this was very likely done by al-Qīṣṭī, since he was certainly more than a manuscript copyist and would therefore be more concerned with correcting and improving a manuscript than a copyist would. In any case, Q / IAU must be considered quite independent from the other witnesses. 

These other sources—A, B, J, and N—must be considered as separate witnesses, since each has at least one separate error against all the rest: 

As the oldest manuscript, B could not have derived from any of the other witnesses, nor did any other witness derive from it. There is a separate error against all other witnesses on page 18, line 7, where B has ḥusayn and all other witnesses have Q / IAU.

There is a separate error in A against all other witnesses on page 64, line 5, where A has Q / IAU and all other witnesses have Q / IAU.

There is a separate error in N against all other witnesses on page 74, lines 1–2, where N omits a sentence by homoioteleuton which all of the other witnesses contain, and which could not have been added by a copyist. Since only J is dated later than N, this error shows that J does not depend directly on N, nor does it depend on any of the other witnesses.

A problem arises, however, when we consider the question of contamination of the witnesses. Since Q / IAU and N are printed sources, no subsequent contamination has affected them, and their editors do not specifically mention any previous contamination of the manuscripts from which they prepared their editions. On the other hand, there is evidence of contamination in all three of the manuscript witnesses which I have used in preparing this edition. The most
heavily contaminated is B, which contains additions and corrections in the text itself (alteration or crossing out of words—see, e.g., page 42, line 5 in the apparatus), between the lines of the text (lacunae are filled in—see page 42, line 1 in the apparatus), and in the margins (alternate readings are provided—see page 26, line 1 in the apparatus).

There is less contamination in the text of J than there is in B, but J contains a great many marginal notes, some of which provide additional information (see page 16, n. 1, where the name of Ibn Sinā’s mother is given), and some of which make corrections in the text (see page 30, line 1 in the apparatus). The least contaminated is A, but it does have some words added between the lines to fill lacunae (see page 54, line 9 in the apparatus) and some marginal additions (see page 74, line 7 in the apparatus).

In preparing the edition, I have treated A, B, J, and N as independent witnesses of one manuscript tradition and Q/IAU (designated as 5 in the apparatus) as the witness of the second tradition. Since, as stated above, Q/IAU is more likely to have been revised than the other witnesses, I have followed the latter and listed the variants from Q/IAU in the apparatus. Where the manuscript witnesses have different readings, I have followed the one or more which agree with Q/IAU; where Q and IAU disagree, I have not listed either variant. I have listed the individual variants of the four other sources, including the marginal and interlinear corrections or additions, and have so noted them in the apparatus. I have not footnoted any of the variants, but have listed them by line number for each page. The chosen reading is listed first, followed by the witnesses containing that reading, then a colon (:) followed by the variant and its witness, then (if there is more than one variant), a colon, the variant, its witness, etc. If there is more than one variant passage in a given line, the two, or more, are separated by a double stroke (/). I have footnoted the material found on the margins of J which provides additional information (perhaps taken from Ibn Funduq) and have placed it below the apparatus in separate notes. Other marginal or interlinear material in J which provides additions or corrections to the text I have placed in the apparatus.

I have not listed minor variants such as differences in the placement and number of dots in a word, ٪ (yuz) rather than ٪ (hamza) in the middle of a word, use of ٍ rather than َ (or vice versa) as a final alif, or other orthographic variants which do not alter the meaning of the text. I have added ٌ (shadda), initial ٍ or ُ, and have vocalized passive verbs and any doubtful readings.

I have included in my edition the autobiography, the continuation by al-Jāzānī, with the inclusion of the shorter bibliography (which seems to have been compiled by al-Jāzānī and is found only in Q/IAU), concluding with the longer bibliography.

The following is a comparison of the order of the contents found in the witnesses, as well as the order of the contents of this edition (1 = the autobiography; 2a & 2b = al-Jāzānī’s biography, sometimes interrupted by 3 or 4; 3 = the shorter bibliography; 4 = the longer bibliography):

Q/IAU 1, 2a, 3, 2b, poems, and 4 (last two in anecdotes, IAU only)
A 1, 2a, 4, 2b
B 1, 2a, 2b, 4
J 1, 2a, 4, 2b
N 1, 2a, 2b, 4

This edition 1, 2a, 3, 2b, 4

In both the edition and translation the introductory material of the various witnesses was omitted, so that the first words of both are those of Ibn Sinā, beginning his autobiography. For completeness’ sake, I give the introductions of the various sources below, first in Arabic, then in translation.

القائل: اُوْبَاعْلَيْنِيِّنِبِيْسَمَّاِالْخَيْلِ الشَّيْخِ الرَّئِيسِ وَإِنْما ذَكَرَتْهِ هَذَا
لَكِنْ كَيْبِهِ أَشْهِرُ مِنْ أَسْمَاعِهِ رَجْلٌ مِنْ تَلَامِيذهُ عَنْ خَبِيرٍ فَأَمَّلَ
عليه ما سُطِرَ عنه وهو أنه قال: (413) ( الصفحة)

ابن أبي أصيغة: (الشيخ الرئيس ابن سينا) هو أبو علي النحس بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي بن سينا وهو وإن كان أشهَر من أن يذكر وفَضَائلهُ أَظْهَر مِنْ أَنْ تَسْتَرَفَ فَأَنَّ ذَكَرَ مِنْ أَحْوَالِهِ وَوَصْفِ مِنْ سَبِيرِهِ مَا يَغْطِيْهُ غَرُبَهُ وَعَلَى وَسَفَهَهُ وَلَكِنَّ نَا تَقَنَّصَرُ من ذَلِكَ عَلَى مَا قَدَ ذَكَرَهُ هُوَ عَنْ نَسْمَهُ وَعَلَى مَا قَدَ وَسَفَهُ أَبَو
UBâyid al-Wâhid al-Jûzjâni, the companion of the Shaykh. This is the sum of what the Shaykh al-Râ'îs related about himself, from whom Abû 'Ubâyday al-Jûzjâni has passed it on. The Shaykh al-Râ'îs said: (Vol. II, p. 2)

A: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. [We ask] your aid, O Everlasting God, in [presenting] this biography, the bibliography of his writings, and the compositions of his which must be set forth.

The Shaykh Abû 'Ubâyday Abû al-Wâhid al-Jûzjâni has covered well everything concerning the experiences of the Shaykh al-Râ'îs, Proof of the Truth, Abû 'Ali al-Hasayn ibn Abû Allâh ibn Sina (may God be pleased with him) and his history, known as "sar-gudhash" [a Persian term meaning "recollections"]. Abû 'Ubâyday said, "The Shaykh al-Râ'îs, Abû 'Ali said to me":

B: The Biography of the Shaykh al-Râ'îs (may God be merciful to him), the Bibliography of his Writings, and the relation of his experiences and history, known as "sar-gudhash". Abû 'Ubâyday Abû al-Wâhid al-Jûzjâni (may God have mercy on him) said, "The Shaykh al-Râ'îs Abû 'Ali (may God have mercy on him) said to me":

J: The Attainments of the Shaykh al-Râ'îs Abû 'Ali Ibn Sina (may God be merciful to him). In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; Abû 'Ubâyday said, "The Shaykh al-Râ'îs Abû 'Ali said to me":

N: Stories Concerning the Experiences of the Shaykh al-Râ'îs Abû 'Ali Ibn Sina. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the Shaykh Abû 'Ubâyday Abû al-Wâhid al-Jûzjâni has covered well everything concerning the experiences of the Shaykh al-Râ'îs, Proof of the Truth, Abû 'Ali ibn Abû Allâh ibn Sina (may God be pleased with him) and his history, known as "sar-gudhash". Abû 'Ubâyday said, "The Shaykh al-Râ'îs Abû 'Ali said to me":

\[p. 9\]
INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATION

In addition to the earlier Arabic printed versions of the autobiography/biography of Ibn Sinâ, an English translation of this work by the late Arthur J. Arberry has been available since 1951. Professor Arberry’s translation was made from the versions of al-Qīfī and/or Ibn Abî Uṣaybi’ā—theor—probably from the former, since he follows al-Qīfī in the only major discrepancy between the two works—and so he was unable to take advantage of the new versions published by al-Ahwâni and Nafisi.

Arberry’s translation also contains a number of minor errors, such as “four dirhams” (p. 12) for “three dirhams” (al-Qīfī, p. 416, line 1), “of a generous format” (p. 22) for “Fīr’awnī quarto” (al-Qīfī, p. 424, line 12), and various misspellings of proper names, such as “al-Barqī” (p. 13) for “al-Barqî”, “Anâz” (p. 16) for “Annâz”, and “al-Karkh” (p. 22) for “al-Karaj.”

But the most important reason to undertake another translation of Ibn Sinâ’s autobiography/biography is that Arberry, by accident or design, left several lacunae in his translation. Minor omissions occur on pages 14 and 18, where Arberry leaves out verses of poetry, and on page 21, where he omits two anecdotes about Ibn Sinâ’s experiences in medical treatment which are included in all of the texts. One other omission is more serious: Arberry does not mention the bibliography which al-Jûzjâni included in the body of his biography of Ibn Sinâ and which both al-Qīfī and Ibn Abî Uṣaybi’ā repeat. In addition, the extended bibliography added by a later copyist and included in Ibn Abî Uṣaybi’ā is not referred to by Arberry in his translation. Neither of these lists, then, has been translated or compared with the modern bibliographies of Ibn Sinâ’s works.

Other than Arberry’s translation, which has appeared in a number of other places since its original publication, there has been no translation of the autobiography/biography per se. There have been paraphrases, with some direct quotations interspersed, of al-Qīfī, Ibn Abî Uṣaybi’ā, or Arberry by several authors. Soheil M. Aman, in his Avicenna: His Life and Works, essentially paraphrases al-Qīfī and Ibn Abî Uṣaybi’ā, adding material from Ibn Funduq and Niẓâmi ‘Arūdî’s Chahâr maqâla. Hossein Nasr, in his Three Muslim Sages, has a brief biography of Ibn Sinâ which includes several doubtful
conjectures about his life and times. The latest biographical sketch of Ibn Sinā’s life appears in Philip K. Hitti’s *Makers of Arab History*, where al-Qifī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a are given as the sources of his account.

This new translation, then, incorporates those changes in the text necessitated by the discovery of the previously unknown or neglected manuscripts. It also attempts to correct the errors and fill the lacunae found in the Arberry translation, especially by adding the two bibliographies which exist in the medieval sources. The footnotes found in the body of the translation contain material which was found in one or more of the manuscripts, but which did not have enough authority to be included in the text itself.

The “Notes to the Translation” have two major functions: (1) to identify more fully the people and places mentioned only in passing by Ibn Sinā or al-Jūzjānī. This has been done by using the principal biographical and geographical dictionaries of the medieval Islamic world (as well as modern reference works), and the two most important and complete Muslim historians who dealt with Ibn Sinā’s period, Ibn al-Athīr and Gardizi; and (2) to amplify what is—very likely deliberately—a skeletal autobiography/biography, one which only hints at or alludes to many important events in the life of Ibn Sinā. This process of amplification was done primarily by quoting or paraphrasing other accounts of Ibn Sinā’s life, or events within that life, using especially the accounts of Ibn Funduq and Niẓāmī ‘Arūḍī. The first of these two men was quite hostile to Ibn Sinā and the second was too fond of a good didactic anecdote to worry a great deal about its accuracy, but both of their accounts, if used carefully, can shed some light on the obscure parts of Ibn Sinā’s autobiography and biography.

**Introduction to the Bibliographies**

Although the bibliographies included in the early sources of Ibn Sinā’s autobiography/biography were edited as part of the complete editions of al-Qifī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, less attention has been paid to them since that time. Arberry, as noted above, did not translate the shorter bibliography found in al-Qifī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a and did not mention either the shorter or longer bibliography in this work. Father Anawati, in his long descriptive bibliography of Ibn Sinā’s works, does not mention either of these early bibliographies, nor do Afnan and Nasr in their studies of Ibn Sinā’s life and works.

Yahya Mahdavi, however, does use these bibliographies to help date some of the works whose dates of composition are not mentioned in the autobiography or the biography by al-Jūzjānī. In fact, he includes an appendix in which he notes which of Ibn Sinā’s works were mentioned in the earliest bibliographies. He includes in this appendix the titles found in al-Qifī, the longer bibliography from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, two bibliographies from manuscripts found in Istanbul—the two called A and B in this edition—and bibliographies found in two places in Ibn Funduq, comparing all of these with the titles in his own bibliography.

What emerges from a study of these bibliographies is the discovery that the list of works attributed to Ibn Sinā has grown from “about forty” in al-Jūzjānī’s compilation to 276 in Father Anawati’s bibliography. However, Father Anawati notes that a number of these are of doubtful attribution to Ibn Sinā and some of them are clearly by other authors. Mahdavi’s list is cut to 132 works which are definitely by Ibn Sinā and another 110 which are by other authors, or are extracts from or abridgements of sections of Ibn Sinā’s larger works, especially the *Shīfā*. This posthumous growth of Ibn Sinā’s bibliography began quite early, though, and can be seen in our oldest sources.

The person who added the longer bibliography to the manuscripts must have done so prior to 588/1192, the date of the earliest manuscript, B (although A, too, is dated by Mahdavi toward the end of the 6th/12th or the beginning of the 7th/13th century.) At the time he compiled the longer bibliography, he was able to find ninety-two works, which he then set down and which replaced the shorter list
made by al-Jāḥīṣī in all of the manuscripts (except the one used by Q./IAU) A parallel process occurred to the manuscripts of Ibn Funduq: a shorter bibliography was supplemented by a longer one. When Ibn Funduq wrote the Tā'imma (before 565/1169-70), he included in his section on Ibn Sinā a bibliography containing thirty-eight works, one of which was mentioned twice. However later copies of the manuscript contain a much longer bibliography, which has 118 titles, and which the modern editor of the Tā'imma has included in the supplementary notes at the end of the volume. Ibn Funduq’s lists are not identical with those found in Q./IAU and in the manuscripts; his shorter bibliography omits eleven titles found in al-Qīṭī, but adds four other titles not found in al-Qīṭī or Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a. His longer bibliography omits twenty-eight of the ninety-two found in most of the manuscripts, but adds fifty titles not included in the longer bibliographies of the manuscripts. This longer bibliography of the later manuscripts of Ibn Funduq is itself supplemented in the brief notice of Ibn Sinā’s life taken largely from the Tā'imma. This bibliography, written down in 657/1259 (Anawati) or 697/1298 (Mahdavi), contains all of the titles of Ibn Funduq’s longer bibliography and adds another thirty titles to these.

This process of adding titles continued in the manuscripts of the autobiography/biography as well; by the time Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a wrote down his list, the longer bibliography had grown to 102 items, several of which were probably duplicates under slightly different titles. The manuscript J, which has a large number of marginal notes, contains another eighty titles on the margins of fol. 23b. Since J is dated 866/1462, and another manuscript, Nurosmaniye MS. 4894(43), dated “possibly” in the 10th/16th century, is derived from J and incorporates these added titles into the body of its text, these new titles must have been added to J sometime in the late 9th/15th century or sometime during the 10th/16th century.

If one were to collate all of the bibliographies of Ibn Sinā’s works which were compiled between the 5th/11th and the 10th/16th centuries, the result would be a list of titles approaching 200 in number. How did the number of Ibn Sinā’s works grow so profusely in the first five centuries after his death? The process was very likely the same one which produced a bibliography of 276 works in Father Anawati’s compilation, but which in Mahdavi’s list turned out to be 132 titles. Many of the works of Ibn Sinā were undoubtedly given different titles by the early bibliographers, and many works listed by them were written by other authors. Since all we possess in many cases is just a title, it is impossible to prove the previous statement completely, but the analogy with the modern case makes it seem quite probable. Another cause for the expansion of the bibliography is found in several of the titles in the shortest bibliography, found in Q./IAU: “Conversations,” “Letters to . . . ,” and “Commentaries on . . . ,” etc. So in many cases the later bibliographers merely expanded what was already implicit in the earliest compilation by al-Jāḥīṣī.

In treating the bibliographies in this work I have included the shorter bibliography of Q./IAU (noting the differences between them) in the body of the text of the biography, where it was probably placed by al-Jāḥīṣī. I have also compared the three shorter bibliographies (Q., IAU, and Ibn Funduq) in Appendix I, giving in addition the number of the work as it appears in the longer bibliography and noting any difference in title in Ibn Funduq or the longer bibliography.

I have edited and translated the longer bibliography from the witnesses A, B, N, and IAU, following the procedures given above in the “Introduction to the Edition,” except that I have considered all five witnesses to be of equal validity. This bibliography has been placed at the end of the autobiography/biography, where it appears in three of the witnesses, B, N, and IAU. I have also, in Appendix II, placed a table comparing the longer bibliographies of the five witnesses with the longer bibliography of Ibn Funduq and the modern bibliographies of Mahdavi and Father Anawati. I have footnoted differences in the titles of Ibn Funduq’s bibliography from those of the manuscripts, but have not noted the differences in the titles of the modern bibliographies, nor have I included the titles found in Ibn Funduq’s longer bibliography, the manuscript which supplements this list, or on the margins of J, if these titles are not found in the five witnesses used in this edition.

In Appendix III, I have attempted to put many of Ibn Sinā’s works into the chronological order of their composition, but, for reasons given in that Appendix, I have not been able to do so for a great number of his writings.
THE LIFE OF THE SHAYKH AL-RA‘IS

My father was a man of Bakhchisaray, a city in the days of Amir Nūḥ ibn Mansūr, during whose reign he worked in the administration, being entrusted with the governing of a village in one of the royal estates of Bakhchisaray. [The village,] called Kharmaythan, was one of the most important villages in this territory. Near it is a village called Afshanah, where my father married my mother and where he took up residence.
and lived. I was born there, as was my brother, and then we moved to Bukhārā. A teacher of the Qurʾān and a teacher of literature were provided for me, and when I reached the age of ten I had finished the Qurʾān and many works of literature, so that people were greatly amazed at me.

My father was one of those who responded to the propagandist of the Egyptians and was reckoned among the Ismāʿiliyya. From them, he, as well as my brother, heard the account of the soul and the intellect in the special manner in which they speak about it and know it. Sometimes they used to discuss this among themselves while I was listening to them and understanding what they were saying, but my soul would not accept it, and so they began appealing to me to do it [to accept the Ismāʿili doctrines]. And there was

---

1 in Ẓafar, 370 [August-September 980]. The ascendant was Cancer, the degree of exaltation of Jupiter; the moon was in its degree of exaltation; the sun was in its degree of exaltation; Venus was in its degree of exaltation; the Lot of Fortune was in the twenty-ninth degree of Cancer; and the Lot of the Unseen was in the first [degree] of Cancer with Canopus and Sirius.

2 Mājāmūd, five years later.
also talk of philosophy, geometry, and Indian calculation. Then he [my father] sent me to a vegetable seller who used Indian calculation and so I studied with him.

At that time Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāṭili, who claimed to know philosophy, arrived in Bukhāra; so my father had him stay in our house and he devoted himself to educating me. Before his arrival I had devoted myself to jurisprudence, with frequent visits to Ismāʿīl the Ascetic about it. I was a skillful questioner, having become acquainted with the methods of prosecution and the procedures of rebuttal in the manner which the practitioners of it [jurisprudence] follow. Then I began to read the Iṣaṣeṣ under al-Nāṭili,
and when he mentioned to me the definition of genus,²⁰ as being that which is predicated²¹ of a number of things of different species in answer to the question "What is it?", I evoked his admiration by verifying this definition in a manner unlike any he had heard of. He was extremely amazed at me; whatever problem he posed I conceptualized better than he, so he advised my father against my taking up any occupation other than learning.¹

I continued until I had read the simple parts of logic under him; but as for its deeper intricacies, he had no knowledge of them. So I began to read the texts and study the commentaries by myself until I had mastered logic. As for Euclid,²² I read the first five or six figures under him; then I undertook the solution of the rest of the book in its entirety by myself. Then I moved on
إلى المسطط ولم أرغبت من مقدماته، وأنتهيت إلى الأشكال الهندسية قال لي الناس "أبوليو" قرأته وجعلته بنفسك ثم أعبرت عن لابسين لك صوابه من خطته. وما كان الرجل يقوم بالكتاب فحلته. فحكم من شكل ما عرفة إلا حين عرضته عليه وفهمته إياها. ثم فارقي الناس منهجها إلى كرانتج.

واشتكى أنا بأن حصل الكتب من الفصول والشروح من الطبعات والإليكان وصار أبواب العلم تفتح على ثم غيتي في علم الطب وقرأت الكتب المصغرة فيه. وعلم الطب ليس هو من العلوم الصعبة.

1. فانتهت بج ن قص: وانتهت ا

2. خذته اب ن قص: خطاه / فخلتاه اب ج ن: وأخذت أجل ذلك الكتاب قص

3. إلا حين اب ج ن: إلا (إلى) قص / وقت ما قص / وفهمته بج ن قص

4. وفهمته قص

5. كرانتج ابن قص: كراننج ج

6. الطبعات والإليكان: ابن قص: الطبيع والإليكان قص

7. وقرأته ابن بج ن: وقرأت أقرأ قص: في سماقة 1 / هو سماقة قص

8. تلقاء خوارزم قاصدا حضرة خوارزم مشاه مأمون بن محمد.

9. *opposite Khwārazm, seeking the court of the Khwārazm-shāh Ma'mūn ibn Muhammad.*

10. to the *Almagest*, and when I had finished its introductory sections and got to the geometrical figures, al-Nātīlī said to me, "Take over reading and solving them by yourself, then show them to me, so that I can explain to you what is right with it and what is wrong." But the man did not attempt to deal with the text, so I deciphered it myself. And many a figure he did not grasp until I put it before him and made him understand it. Then al-Nātīlī left me, [going on to Gurgānj].

I devoted myself to studying the texts—the original and commentaries—in the natural sciences and metaphysics, and the gates of knowledge began opening for me. Next I sought to know medicine, and so I read the books written on it. Medicine is not one of the difficult sciences,
فلذلك برزت فيه أقلّ مدة حتي بدأ فضلاء الأطباء يبرعون على علم الطب. وتمكنت من الدخول إلى مدارس الطب، وتمكنت من المطالعة في كل المعاني والدلائل. وأنا مع ذلك مشغول بالفقه وأنا في مناهم من أجل استعداد مدة ستة عشر سنة.

ثم توقفت على العلم والقراءة ستة ونصف قادة قام بقراءة المقال والترجمانية وإجازة الفلسفة. ولم أنم في هذه المدة ليلة واحدة بطولها ولا استدرت بالنهار بغيره، وجمع بين ما دلّه ظهره فكل حجة.

1. طلبه في ص
2. أبوابه في ص: باب ب / المفسرة ب ج ق: الصمغة ن
3. مشغول بالفقه: ب ج ن: أنظف إلى الفقه في ص
4. ب ج ن: في هذا الوقت في ص / ستة عشرة ب ن في ص / ستة عشر
5. نصف ب ن: نصف سن ج
6. ولم أنم في هذا المدة: ب ج ن: وفي هذا المدة ما كنت في ص
7. كل ب ن: وكل ج
that I examined, I entered into the files its syllogistic premises, their classification, and what might follow from them. I pondered over the conditions of its premises, until this problem was verified for me. And because of those problems which used to baffle me, not being able to solve the middle term of the syllogism, I used to visit the mosque frequently and worship, praying humbly to the All-Creating, until He opened the mystery of it to me and made the difficult seem easy. At night, I would return home, set out a lamp before me, and devote myself to reading and writing. Whenever sleep overcame me

or I became conscious of weakening, I would turn aside to drink a cup of wine, so that my strength would return to me. Then I would return to reading. And whenever sleep seized me I would see those very problems in my dream; and many questions became clear to me in my sleep. I continued in this until all of the sciences were deeply rooted within me and I understood them as far as is humanly possible. Everything which I knew at that time is just as I know it now; I have not added anything to it to this day.

Thus I mastered the logical, natural, and mathematical sciences, and I had now reached the science.
الإنجليزية: وقرأت كتاب ما بعد الطبيعة فلم أفهم ما فيه والتيس على غرض واضحه وحتى أعدت قراءته أربعين مرة وصار لي محفوظا. وأنا مع ذلك لا أفهمه ولا المقصود به وأيضاً من نفسى وقتلت و هذا كتاب لا سبيل إلى فهمه. فحضرت يوما وقت العصر في الوفاقين فتقدم دلال بيه مجلد ناندى عليه فعرضه على فرددته رد متبرم معقد أن لا قاعدة في هذا العلم. فقال لي: اشتره فصاحبه حاج إلى منه وهو خيصر وأبيعه بثلاثة دراهم. » فاشترته فإذا هو كتاب

(1) فلم أفهم ا بج ّ: فما كنت أفهم/ص مع ذلك ساقطة ج ّ: وفي على هامش ج / به فوق خط ج / من أحسن + منه على هامش ج

(2) فحضرت يوما ا بج ّ: وإذا أنا في يوم من الأيام حضرت ق/ص

(3) فتقدم دلال بيه ا بج ّ: وبعد دلال ق/ص / مجلد ا بج ق/ص : كتاب ن

(4) أن لا بج ق/ص: لأن / إلى ساقطة ب / المشتر بج ّ: اشترته 1

(5) اشترته بج ن: اشترته هذا فانه رخيص أبيعه بثلاثة دراهم وصاحبه حاج إلى منه ق/ص وأبيعه ا ج ّ: أبيعه ب

(6) 8-7 دراهم ا بج ّ: اشترته منته هذا فانه رخيص أبيعه بثلاثة دراهم وصاحبه حاج إلى منه ق/ص وأبيعه ا ج ّ: أبيعه ب

(7) 5-6 of metaphysics. I read the Metaphysics [of Aristotle], but I could not comprehend its contents, and its author's object remained obscure to me, even when I had gone back and read it forty times and had got to the point where I had memorized it. In spite of this I could not understand it nor its object, and I despaired of myself and said, "This is a book which there is no way of understanding." But one day in the afternoon when I was at the booksellers' quarter a salesman approached with a book in his hand which he was calling out for sale. He offered it to me, but I refused it with disgust, believing that there was no merit in this science. But he said to me, "Buy it, because its owner needs the money and so it is cheap. I will sell it to you for three dirhams." So I bought it and, lo and behold, it was
Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’s book on the objects of the Metaphysics. I returned home and was quick to read it, and in no time the objects of that book became clear to me because I had got to the point of having memorized it by heart. I rejoiced at this and the next day gave much in alms to the poor in gratitude to God, who is exalted.

It happened that the Sultan of that time in Bukhārā, Nūh ibn Mansūr, had an illness which baffled the doctors. Since my name had become well known among them as a result of my zeal for learning and reading, they brought me to his attention and asked him to summon me. Thus I presented myself and joined with them in treating him, and so became enrolled in his service. One day I asked him to permit me to go into
كتبهم ومطالعتها وقراءة ما فيها. فذكرني وآذعتني إلى دار ذات
بيت كبيرة في كل بيت صناديق كتاب منفصلة بعضها على بعض. ففي
بيت منها كتاب العربية والشعر وفي آخر الفقه. وكذلك في كل بيت
علم مفرد. فطالعت فهرست الكتب الأوائل وطلبت ما احتجت إليه.
ورأت من الكتاب ما لم يقع اسمه إلى كثير من الناس ولم أكن أراه
قبل ذلك ولا رأيته أيضاً من بعد. فقرأت تلك الكتب ووفرت بفوائدها
وعرفت مراتك كل رجل في علمه.
فلمّا بلغت ثمانية عشرة سنة من عمرى فرغت من هذه العلوم كلها.

---
1. ما فيها] + من كتاب الطبّ في قص / وأدخلت إلى دار اً ب / ودخلت إلى دار
2. ج ن: فدخلت داراً في قص
3. في ا ب ج ن: في قص
4. منها مشابة قص
5. علم مفرد ب ج ن: علم مفرد في قص في قالب
6. من الناس] + قط قص
7. رأيت ب ن قص: رأيت أ ج / وظرعت ب ج ن قص: فظففت ا
8. تلميذة عشرة ب: تلميذة عشرة أ ج: تلميذة عشرة ن

So when I had reached the age of eighteen I was finished with all of these sciences;
at that time I had a better memory for learning, but today my knowledge is more mature; otherwise it is the same; nothing new has come to me since.

In my neighborhood there was a man named Abū al-Ḥasan the Prosodist, who asked me to compose for him a comprehensive work on this learning [which I had attained]. So I wrote The Compilation for him, and gave him the name to it, including in it all of the sciences except mathematical science. At that time I was twenty-one years old. Also in my neighborhood there was a man named Abū Bakr al-Baraqī, a Khwārezmian by birth, and a lawyer by inclination; he was distinguished in jurisprudence, Qur'ān commentary, and asceticism, having a liking for these sciences. He asked me to comment on the books [in these sciences], and so I wrote The Sum and Substance for him in about twenty volumes. I also wrote for him a book on
الأخلاق، كتاباً سميته كتاب الغرّام. وهذا الكتاب لا يوجد إلا عند الله فإنَّه لم يُرِ أحداً يُنسخ منهما.

ثم معاد، ودعته الضرورة إلى الإخلال بخارية والانتقال إلى كركمانج وكان أبو الحسن السهيلي المحب للعلوم بها وزيراً.

وقدُهمَت إلى الأمير بها وهو على بن مأمون، وكتب إذ ذاك على زئيف الفقهاء بطلسان تحت الخانق. فزوروا في مشاهرة تقوم بكلفانية مثلها. ثم دعت الضرورة إلى الانتقال إلى نسا ومنها إلى باورد.

كتاب ساقطة ب ولكنها فوق خطبة
فاتهُ لابن ج: فلم ق/ص / ير ج: نبرهما ب / أهدا ب ج: ن
ق/ص: أهدته / أخذ ب ج: ينسخ ق/ص / نبها ب ق/ص: منه

بيب ن ق/ص: في اج

الأخلاق بخارية ب: النجاح، من بخاري ج

الحسين ج ن ق/ص: الحسن ب / السهيلي في كل التصوص
إلى ج ق/ص: على اب ن / هو ساقطة ب ولكنها فوق خطبة
اذ ذاك على زئيف الفقهاء ب ج: ن على زئيف الفقهاء إذ ذاك ق/ص

تحت اب ج: وتحت ن ق/ص / فزورا ب ج: وتأثرو ق/ص / مشاهرة + داره ق/ص وعلى هامش ج

ethics which I called Good Works and Evil. These two works exist only in his possession, and he has not loaned out either one of them to be copied.

Then my father died and I was free to govern my own affairs and so I took over one of the administrative posts of the Sultan. Necessity then led me to forsake Bukhara and move to Gurganj, where Abū ʿAbd al-ʿAbd al-Suwayli, an amateur of the sciences, was a minister. I was presented to the Amir there, ʿAlī ibn Maʿmūn; at that time I was in lawyer’s dress, with a fold of the mantle under my chin. They gave me a monthly salary which provided enough for someone like me. Then necessity led me to move to Naṣa, and from there to Bāward.
and then to Ṭūs,⁴⁶ then to Samanqān,⁴⁷ then to Jājarm,⁴⁸ at the extreme limit of Khurāsān, and then to Jurjān.⁴⁹ My destination was the Amir Qābūs,⁵⁰ but at that time there occurred the seizure of Qābūs,⁵¹ his imprisonment in one of his castles, and his death there.

Then I departed for Dihistān,⁵² where I became very ill, and from where I returned to Jurjān. Abū Ubayd al-Jūzjānī⁵³ joined me there and recited to me an ode on my state of affairs which contains the poet’s verse:

When I became great, no country could hold me;
When my price went up, I lacked a buyer.

---

* ibn Wushmagir, who was the ruler of Jurjān.⁵⁴
Shaykh Abū 'Ubayd said:
This has been what the Master told me in his own words; from this point on I narrate the affairs of his which I witnessed. It is God who gives success.*

There was in Jurlân a man called Abū Muhammad al-Shīrāzī,* who was an amateur of the sciences and who bought a house in his neighborhood for the Master to live in. I used to attend him [Ibn Sīnā] every day and study the Almagest and ask for dictation in logic, so he dictated The Middle Summary on Logic to me and composed for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī The Origin and the Return and Comprehensive Observations. He wrote many works there, such as the first part of The Qānūn (Canon) [of medicine] and Summary of the «Almagest» and many treatises. The remaining works of his were written in the mountain country.**

---

* At this point B adds: It is said that when he was a young man he was one of the handsomest people of his time and that on Friday when he left his house to go to the mosque, the people used to crowd together in the streets and roads in order to catch a glimpse of his perfection and beauty.
باقٍ كتبته وهذا فهُرست جميع كتبه:
(1) كتاب المجموع مجلّدة (2) كتاب الحاصل والقصور عشرون مجلّدة (3) كتاب البر و الاَلمّ مجلّدة (4) كتاب الشهادة ثماني عشرة مجلّدة (5) كتاب القوانين أربع عشرة مجلّدة (6) كتاب الأرصاد الكليّة مجلّدة (7) كتاب انتصاف عشرون مجلّدة (8) كتاب النجاة ثلاث مجلّدات (9) كتاب الندى مجلّدة (11) كتاب اختصار الأوسمة مجلّدة (12) كتاب العلياني مجلّدة (13) كتاب القولنج مجلّدة (14) كتاب لسان العرب عشر مجلّدات (15) كتاب الأديوية الفلسفيّة مجلّدة (16) كتاب الموجود مجلّدة (17) بعض الحقّة المشرقية مجلّدة (18) كتاب بيان دواوين الجلية مجلّدة (19) كتاب المعاد مجلّدة (20) كتاب المبدأ والمعاد مجلّدة (21) كتاب المشاريع مجلّدة. ومن رسالتاه: (22) رسالة القضاء والقدر (23) الآلهة الرسديّة (24) غرس قاطفيغوريس (25) المنطق بالشعر (26) القصائد في النظم والحكمة (27) رسالة في المعرفة (28) تعالج المواضيع الجدلية (29) خاتم أليس (30) خاتم النبض.

And here is a catalogue of all his books:

بالجميل (٣١) الأجدر السياویة (٣٣) الاشارة ال
علم النطق (٣٤) أقسام الحكم (٣٥) النهاية والانطلاقة (٣٦) عبد
كـهـي لنفسه (٣٧) حـيـي ي القطاع (٣٨) في أن أعاعد الجسم غير
ذائيه (٣٩) الكلام في الهندنا وله خبيه (٤٠) في أنه لا
يجوز أن يكون شيء واحد جوهرا وعرضا (٤١) في أن علم زيد
غير علم عمرو (٤٢) رسائل ل إخوانية وسلطانية (٤٣) رسائل في
سائل جرت بينه وبين بعض الفضلاء (٤٤) كتاب المواشي على
القانون (٤٥) كتاب عيون الحكم (٤٦) كتاب الشبكة والطير.

١ ـ انتقل إلى الرئى وانتصل بخدمة السيدة وابنها، مجد الدولة.
وعرفوه بسبب كتب وصلت به تتساوت تופן قدره. وكان بمجد

٢ ـ النهاية في النهاية
٣ ـ الكلام في حفظ الكلام ص. / ولا خطة ساقطة ص.
٤ ـ جوهرا و عرضها: جوهريا وعرضيا
٥ ـ رسائل في ساقطة ص.
٦ ـ صلة الرئى

[40] On the Impossibility of the Same Thing Being a Substance and an Accident; [41] That the Knowledge of Zayd is not the Knowledge of ‘Amr; [42] Letters to friends and officials; [43] Letters about questions which passed between him and other learned men; [44] Comments on the “Qânûn”; [45] Essential Philosophy; [46] The Net and the Bird.

Then he moved to al-Rayy, where he joined the service of al-Sayyida* and her son, Majd al-Dawla.* They learned of him through letters brought with him containing an appraisal of his worth. At that time Majd
الدولة إذ ذاك علة السودان. وصف هنالك كتاب المعاد وأقام بها إلى أن قصدها شمس الدولة بعد قتل هلال بن بدر بن حسن بن وهب، وهزيمة عسكر يعفاد. ثم اتفقت له أساب أوجبت خروجه إلى قروين ومنها إلى همدان واتصاله بخدمة كذبانيوة والنظر في أسابها. ثم اتفقت معرفة شمس الدولة وإحضاره مجلسه بسبب قولته:
"كان قد أصابه، وعذابه حتى شفاه الله وشام من ذلك المجلس بحلم كثيرة. ورجع إلى داره بعد ما أقام هناك أربعين يوماً ببابيها وصار من نمائه الأمبر.

1 عشته بج: غلة ن في ق / ص / السودان + فاشتعل ببمداواته ق / ص / المعد +
2 الاصغر على هامش ب / في ق / ص / وصفت ج / في ق / ص / المعاد +
3 بها ب ج في ق / ص / فهي / في ق / ص / بدر ب ج ن / في ق / ص / نجوم: زيد ا
4 له ساحة في ق / ص / أوجبت خروجه ا ب ج ن / في ق / ص / كذابانيوة ا ج ن في ق / ص / كذابانيوة ب ولكن كذابانيوة على هامش ب
5 اتفق ] + له ج ذلك ا ب ج في ق / ص / تلك ن

al-Dawla had the illness of melancholia. He wrote The Return there, and he remained there until Shams al-Dawla attacked it, after the killing of Hilal ibn Badr ibn Ḥasanāyah and the rout of the troops of Baghdad. Then events occurred which compelled him to depart for Qazwīn, and from there to Hamadhān where he joined the service of Kadhābīnāyah and managed her business affairs.

Then he made the acquaintance of Shams al-Dawla, who summoned him to his court because of a colic which had afflicted him. He treated him until God cured him, and he obtained numerous robes of honor from that court. He returned to his house after staying there for forty days and nights, having become one of the companions of the Amir.
Then the Amir went up to Qirmîṣūn to make war on 'Annáz, with the Master riding out in his service. He fell back in flight toward Hamadhân, and they [the court] asked him to take over the vizierate, which he did, but the troops mutinied against him, being apprehensive about their positions on account of him. So they surrounded his house, took him off to prison, ransacked his goods, took everything he owned, and even demanded his execution by the Amir. He refused to execute him, but compromised by banishing him from the state, since he desired to satisfy them. And so the Master concealed himself in the house of Shaykh Abû Sa'd ibn Dakhdul for forty days; but the colic seized Amir Shams al-Dawla again, and he sent for the Master, who came to his court. The Amir apologized to him profusely, and he devoted himself to treating him. And so he remained with him, honored and revered, and the vizierate was given back to him a second time.
ثم سألته أباى شرح كتب أرسطو فذكر أنه لا فرقاً له إلى ذلك في ذلك الوقت. ولكن إن رضيت مثلى بتصنيف كتاب أورد فيه ما صحيح عندي من هذه العلوم فلا مناظرة مع المخالفين ولا الاشتغال بالرد عليهم فلأت ذلك. وأفضل به فانتبا بأ пятينيات من كتاب سماه كتاب الشفاء. وكان قد صنف الكتاب الأول من القانون وكان يجمع كل ليلة في داره طلبة العلم وكانت أقرأ من الشفاء نوبة وكان يقرأ غري من القانون نوبة. فإذا فرغنا حضر المغردون على اختلاف طبقاتهم وعبئ مجلس الشراب بالله وكننا نشغله. وكان التدريس بالليل لعدم الضراع بالنهار

أرسطو بجا: أرسطو طليس في قصص قصص قصص قصص قصص
في ذلك سافقة ج ولبنها على الأسماح
الاشتغال بجا: اشتغال وج ورضيت وج
فانتبا ج قصص: فانتبا ا ب بالطيبات سافقة ب ولبنها على الأسماح
وكان ج قص: كان ا ب ن يجمع أن قص: يجمع ب ج
قرأ ج قص: غير إلى ج قص: غير قرأ ب ج قص: حضرنا
وعبد ج: وعبد ج ن
وكان سافقة ج ولبنها فوق الخيل.
on account of his service to the Amir.

After we had spent some time at this, Shams al-Dawla set out for al-Ṭārum to make war on its Amir. He was attacked again by the colic in the vicinity of that place and his illness became more severe, adding to which were other ailments which his not taking care of himself and seldom accepting the Master’s orders caused. The troops feared his death, so they returned, setting out for Hamadhān with him in a litter, but he died on the way. The son of Shams al-Dawla was then acknowledged as sovereign and they [the court] asked that the Master be appointed vizier. But he turned them down and corresponded with ‘Alā’ al-Dawla in secret, desiring to serve him, cast his lot with him, and to join his court.

He remained in hiding in the house of Abū Ghālib the Druggist, where I asked him to finish
كتاب الشفاه فاستحضر أبا غالب وطلب منه الكاغذ والمجرة فأحضرهما.

وكتب الشيخ في قريب من عشرين جزءًا مقدار الثمن رؤوس المسائل. وهو في يومين حتى كتب رؤوس المسائل بكتاب يحضره ولا أصل برجم إليه. بل من حفظه وعن ظهر قبه. ثم ترك تلك الأجزاء بين يديه وأخذ الكاغذ فكان ينظر في كل مسألة ويكب شرحها. فكان يكتب كل يوم خمسين ورقة حتى أتي على جميع الطبيعتين والأشياء ما خلاف كتاب الحيوان. وابتدأ بالمطلق وكتب منه جزءًا. ثم أنهما ناج الملك بمكانتيه علاء الدولة وأنكر عليه ذلك وحثه في طلبه. فقال عليه بعض أعدائه فأخلوته

---

the Shīfā; he sent for Abū Ghalib and asked him for paper and an inkstand, which he brought. The Master wrote down the main topics in approximately twenty quires of one-eighth [octavo?] size, continuing on it for two days, until he had written down the main topics without the presence of a book or source to consult, but entirely from his memory and by heart. Then he placed these quires before him, took a sheet of paper, examined each problem and wrote a commentary on it. He would write fifty pages every day, until he had finished all of the "Physics" and "Metaphysics," with the exception of the book on Animals. He then began on the "Logic" and wrote one section of it; at that point Tāj al-Mulk became suspicious of him over his corresponding with 'Alā' al-Dawla, became angry at him for doing so, and consequently instigated a search for him. Some one of his enemies informed on him; they seized him.
and took him to a castle which is called Fardajân. There he recited an ode in which is found the following verse:

As you can see, my going in's a certainty,

And all the doubt is on the point of getting out.

He remained there four months, until 'Alâʼ al-Dawla attacked Hamadhân and seized it. Tâj al-Mulk was routed and moved into this very same castle. When 'Alâʼ al-Dawla withdrew from Hamadhân, Tâj al-Mulk, the son of Shams al-Dawla, returned to Hamadhân and took the Master along with him. He stayed in the house of the 'Alid and occupied himself with writing the "Logic" of the Shî'î. In the castle he had written Guidance and Hâyî ibn Taqzîn (Alive, the Son of Asekâb) and The Colic; Cardiac Remedies he composed, on the other hand,
أول وروده إلى همدان،
وكان تلقى على هذا زمان ودائع الملك في أثناء هذا يبكي
بمواعيد جميلة. ثم عزم الشيخ على التوجه إلى إصفهان، فخرج
منكراً وأنا معه وأخوه وغلامان في رى الصوفية، إلى أن وصلنا
إلى طهران على باب إصفهان بعد أن قاسيما شداد في الطريق.
فاستقبلنا أصدقائنا الشيخ وندعاء الأمير علاء الدولة وعوامه وحمل
إليه الليث والمرتكب الخاص، وأنزل في محله يقال لها كوى
كنده في دار عبد الله بن بيسى وفيا من الألائم والفش ما

1) تقف بن قاص: يفسى ص: زمان بن / زمان بن: زمان
2) أزمان ج
3) عزم الشيخ على ب ج ن: عن لشيخ ق /ص
4) وأنا معه وأخوه وغلامان ب ج: وأنا معه وأخوه: وأنا وأخوه وغلامان مع
5) طهران ج: طهران بن ق /ص
6) المراكب أ ج ن ق /ص: المراكب ب
7) كوي كنده ج: كون كنده بن ق /ص
8) بني ا ب ج: باني بن ق /ص

right after his arrival in Hamadhān.
He had spent some time on this, and all this while Tāj al-Mulk was tempting him with handsome promises, when the Master then decided to set out for ʿIsfāhān, and so he left, I with him, along with his brother and two slaves, disguised in the dress of ʿUṣūfīs, travelling until we reached ʿīrān, at the gate of ʿIsfāhān, after we had suffered hardships on the way. Friends of the Master and the companions and courtiers of ʿAmīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla met us, and clothing and special mounts were brought to him. He was lodged in a quarter called Küy Kumbādī in the house of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bībī, which contained all the utensils and furnishings which
الذي يتسع في مثله. ثم تم الأسر علاء الدولة ليأتي لجمعيات مجلس النظر بين يديه محضر شخص العلماء على اختلاف طبقاتهم وشيخ في جماليته، فكان يطالب في شيء من العلم. واشتعل بإفساحان بنفسه كتاب الفقه في المنطق والمخاطب وكان قد اختصر أوقليدس، والارسطو، والموسيقي، وأورد في كل كتاب من الرياضيات تزادات رأى أن الحاجة إليها داعية. أما في المجسفي فأورد عشرة أشكال في اختلاف المنظر. وأورد في آخر المجسفي في علم الهيئة أشياء لم يسبق إليها. وأورد في

he needed. And from his court he received the respect and esteem which someone like him deserved. Amir 'Ala' al-Dawla designated Friday nights for learned discussions in his presence, which all of the different classes of learned men attended, the Master among them, and he was not outclassed in any of the sciences.

He occupied himself in Isfahan with finishing the Shifa', completing the "Logic" and the Almagest, since he had already summarized Euclid, the Arithmetic, and the Music. In every book of the "Mathematics" he presented additional materials, the need for which he thought to be compelling; as for the Almagest, he presented ten figures illustrating parallax. And elsewhere in the Almagest on the science of astronomy, he presented materials which were unprecedented. In Euclid he presented

1) فاصف اق/ص: واصف ب: واصف ن/من اب ج/في دق/ص
2) مثل ساقطة ب/ب/الأمير ساقطة ب/ب/لب اق ج/قا/ص: ان لب/ب/الجميع ج/قا/ص وعلى هامش ب: العالماء اب
3) محضر ب: اب ج/ب: بحث مرة/قا/ص/في اب ج/من دق/ص
4) فما كان يطبق اب/قا/ص: ما/كان لا يطبق ج
5) يتمس ب: ج/قا/ص: بينهم
6) أشكال ساقطة ا
7) في علم اب ج/قا/ص: من ن
8)
some geometrical figures, in the Arithmetic some excellent numerical properties, and in the Music some problems which the ancients had neglected. Thus he finished the Shifa, except for the two books on the Plants and the Animals, which he wrote on the way in the year that 'Ala' al-Dawla attacked Sabin Khwast. He also wrote the Najat en route. [5]

He was made a member of the court by 'Ala' al-Dawla and became one of his companions, to the point that when 'Ala' al-Dawla decided to attack Hamadhân the Master accompanied him. One night in the presence of 'Ala' al-Dawla someone mentioned the discrepancies contained in the ephemerides compiled on the basis of the ancient astronomical observations, and so the Amir ordered the Master to devote himself to the observation of these stars, and he allocated whatever funds he needed. The Master set about it and charged me with obtaining the required instruments and hiring those skilled in making them, so that many of the problems came to light.
يفع الخلل في أمر الرصد للكتار الآسفي وعوائدها. 
وكتاب الشيخ بصفة الكتاب العلماني، وكان من دبعات الشيخ
فونه صحيحته ونوعته خمسة وعشرين سنة فيما رأيته إذا وقع له
كتاب جديد ظهر فيه على الولاة، بل كان يقصده المواضيع الصعبة
مهенную والمسائل المشكلة في قرائه، قال مساعدة فيها، فليست مربحة
في العلم ودروجه في الله.

وكان الشيخ جالسا يوما يمن بيد الأمير وأبو منصور الحاصل
حاصر، فجرى في اللغة مسألة تكمل الشيخ فيها بما حضره فألقت
أبو منصور إلى الشيخ وقال: "أنت فيسوف وحكيم ولكن لم تقرأ

الرصد: بأبي: في: الأرصاد ن
الكتاب: أبج: كتاب ن / عجائب الشيخ: ب ج: ن: عجائب
أبو منصور: في: أبي

الصد: مخطأ: في: مخطأ

الصد: مخطأ: في: مخطأ

الصد: مخطأ: في: مخطأ

أي: مخطأ: في: مخطأ

وقال: "أنت أبج: وقال له: أنت ب: يقول إنك في / لم: مساعدة / تقرأ

أي: مخطأ: في: مخطأ

The discrepancies in the matter of observation had occurred because of the great number of journeys and the attendant errors.80
The Master wrote the ‘Ali83 in Isfahān as well. One of the remarkable things about the Master was that for the twenty-five years89 that I was his companion and servant, I did not once see him, when he came across a new book, examine it from beginning to end. Rather he would go directly to its difficult passages and intricate problems and look at what its author had to say about them. Thus would he seek to ascertain the level of his knowledge and the degree of his understanding.

One day the Master was sitting in the presence of the Amīr while Abū Manṣūr al-Jabban88 was present. A question concerning philology was raised, and the Master had spoken his thoughts in the matter when Abū Manṣūr turned to the Master and said, "You are a philosopher and a physician, but you have not studied
The Master became incensed at this remark and devoted himself to an intensive study of books on philology for three years, even sending to Khurāṣān for the Correct Philology, one of the works of Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī. And so in philology the Master reached a stage like the one of which seldom occurs.

He wrote three odes in which he included words rare in the language, and he wrote three letters, the first of which was in the style of Ibn al-'Amīd, and the last in the style of al-Sāhīb. He ordered them to be bound and their leather made to look worn. He then asked the Amīr to present this volume to Abū Manṣūr al-Jabban while saying, “We came into possession of this book while hunting in the desert; you must examine it and tell us what it contains.” And so Abū Manṣūr examined it carefully, and much of what was in it was difficult for him. So the Master said to him, “Whatever material in this book is incomprehensible to you
فهو مذكور في الموضع اللاتيني من كتب اللغة، وذكر له كتب
معروفة في اللغة كان الشيخ قد حفظ تلك الألفاظ منها. وكان
أبو منصور محرفاً فيما يورد من اللغة غير لغة فيها فظن
أن تلك الرسائل من تصنيف الشيخ وأن الذي حمله عليه ما جيه
به ذلك اليوم فتتصل واعتذر إليه. ثم صنف الشيخ كتاباً في
اللغة سماء لسان العرب لم يصنف في اللغة مثله ولم ينله
إلى الباد. ثم توقف وبيت الكاتب على مسودته لا ينتهي أحد
إلى ترتيبه. وكان قد حصل تجارب كتيرة فيما باشره من الملاحظات وعزم

1. في الموضع اللاتيني 1 ن قص: في الكتب في الموضع اللاتيني ب: في الكتاب
اللاتيني ج
2. محرفاً ب: محفراف: محفراف ن قص / قص / قصخ
3. أبو منصور قص
4. ذلك اليوم 1 ن: في ذلك اليوم قص / قص خ
5. الهال 1 ن: في قص / قص
6. الكاتب سلفة قص
7. حصل + ليه + للشيخ قص / قص خ: باشره قص / باشره قص خ: باشره قص / باشره ب ن / عزم
to record in the Qanun. He had jotted them down in some quires, but they were lost before the completion of the Qanun. For example, one day when he had a headache, he imagined that a substance was trying to descend to the membrane of his skull, and he felt uneasy about a swelling which might occur there, so he ordered a large supply of ice to be brought; he crushed it and wrapped it in a cloth, with which he covered his head. He continued doing this until he overcame the area of swelling, and prevented the reception of this substance, and so was cured. Another example is that of a tubercular woman in Khwarazm whom he ordered to take no medicine other than rose preserve made with sugar, until, in the course of time, she had taken one hundred manns, and was cured.

The Master had written The Shorter Summary on Logic in Jurjân, and it was
الذي وضعه بعد ذلك في أول النجاة. ووقعته نسخته إلى شيراز فنظر فيها جماعة من أهل العلم هناك. ووقعت ثم الشهاب في مسائل منها وكتبها على جزء، وكان القاضي بشيراز من جماعة القوم فأقبِّل بالجزء إلى أبي القاسم الكرماطي صاحب إبراهيم بن بابا الدمشقي المشهِّر بمعلم الباطن وأضاف إليه كتابا إلى الشيخ أبي القاسم. وأضافهما مع ركابه قاصد وسأله عرض الجزء على الشيخ وتتجرَّب جواه فيه. فحضر الشيخ أبو القاسم في يوم صارف عند اصفرار الشمس عند الشيخ وعرض عليه الكتاب والجزء. فقرأ

---

1) نسخته أب ج ن: نسخة ق/ص
2) فنظر أب ج ق/ص: ونظر ن/ فيما + فنظر فيها (مرة ثانية)/ هناك ساقطة
3) ب/ الشهاب ق/ص: الشهاب فيها: الشيخ أ.ج ن
4) كتبها أب ج ن: كتبها ق/ص
5) بالإنجليزية: أبي ج ن
6) الباطن آج: المنطق والباطن ب/ وأضاف آج ق/ص: فأضاف ب ن/ الليش ساقطة
7) مع آب ج ن: عن يد آج ق/ص
8) جواه أب ج ن: أجبرته ق/ص
9) صارف ب ن: صارف
10) فحضر... الشيخ أب ج ن: وإذا الشيخ أبو القاسم دخل على الشيخ عند اصفرار الشمس في يوم صارف ق/ص

that which he included in the first part of the *Najât* afterwards. A copy of it arrived in Shiraz and a group of the learned men there examined it. They had doubts about some problems in it, so they wrote them down in a quire. The *Qâdî* of Shiraz was one of this group of people, so he sent the quire to Abû al-Qâsim al-Kirmânî, a friend of Ibrâhîm ibn Bâbâ al-Daylamî, a devotee of the science of esoteric interpretation, and he added to it a letter to Shaykh Abû al-Qâsim. He sent them both with an express courier and asked that he present the quire to the Master and request a reply from him concerning it. So one warm day as the sun was paling, Shaykh Abû al-Qâsim came to the Master’s house and presented the letter and the quire to him. He read
الكتاب وردَّه عليه و ترك الجزء بين يديه والناس يتحدثون.

وهو ينظر فيه. ثم خرج أبو القاسم وأمر الشيخ لإحضار الباب.

فشدته له خمسة أجزاء كل واحد عشرة أوراق بالبريج الفريوفي.

وصليت العشاء وقدم الشمع وأمر بإحضار الشراب. وأجلس وأناه.

и وأمرنا بالتناول الشراب وابتداً هو بجواع تلك المسائل. وكان

يكتب ويهرم إلى نصف الليل حتى غليظ وأناه النوم فأمرنا

بال交流合作. بعد الصبح حضر رسوله يستحضروني فحضرت وهو على

المصلى. وبين يديه الأجزاء الخمسة. فقال «خذها وصر بها

إلى الشيخ أبو القاسم الكرمتى وقل له استمعلت في الإجابة.

the letter and returned it to him, placed the quire before him, and examined it while the people around were chatting. As soon as Abu al-Qāsim left, the Master ordered me to bring blank paper, so I sewed five quires for him, each one of ten sheets of Fir'awnī quarto. After we prayed the evening prayer, he set out candles and ordered wine to be brought. He asked his brother and me to sit down and asked us to have some wine while he began replying to these problems. He wrote and drank until the middle of the night, at which time he overcame his brother and me, and he asked us to leave. In the morning his messenger appeared, summoning me, so I presented myself while he was at prayer. Before him were the five quires. He said, "Take these and deliver them to Abu al-Qāsim al-Kirmānī and tell him I was in a hurry to answer.
them so that the messenger might not be delayed.” When I delivered them, he was greatly astonished; he sent back the messenger and informed them about this matter, and so the story became historic among the people.

In the course of his astronomical observations, he invented instruments which had never before existed and wrote a treatise about them. For eight years I remained occupied with observation, my goal being to explain what Ptolemy had reported concerning his observations. The Master also wrote The Judgment, but on the day when Sultan Mas'ud arrived at Isfahan, his troops rifled the Master’s baggage which contained the work and it was not found afterwards.148

The Master was vigorous in all his faculties, the sexual faculty being the most vigorous and dominant of his
concupiscible faculties, and he exercised it often. It affected his constitution, upon whose strength he depended, to the point that in the year in which 'Alá’ al-Dawla fought against Tásh Farrásh at the gate of al-Karaj, the Master was afflicted by the colic. He desired to recover at once because of his concern over a retreat to which he ['Alá’ al-Dawla] might be driven, in which case the march could not be undertaken by him on account of his illness. Therefore he administered an enema to himself eight times in one day, to the point that some of his intestines ulcerated and an abrasion broke out on him. He was obliged to march with ‘Alá’ al-Dawla quickly toward Ídhab, where he was afflicted by the seizures which sometimes follow.

---

8

---

83
القولنج. ومع ذلك فقد كان يدير نفسه ويحقق للسحج وليبية القولنج. فأمر يوماً باتخاذ دائقين بزر الكرفس في جملة الحفاء طالباً لكسر ريح القولنج. فطرح بعض الأطباء الذين كان ينفق مهو إليه معابره من بزر الكرفس خمسة دراهم - لست أدرى أعمداً فعله أم خطاً لأنني لم أكن أمعه - فازداد السحج من حدته البزر. وكان يتناول الموقدونس لأجل الضرع فطرح بعض غلامة في شيئاً كثيراً من الأفيون ونالوه إياه فأكله. وكان سبب...

---

the colic. And in spite of that he treated himself and administered enemas to himself for the abrasion and for the residue of the colic. Then one day, wishing to break the wind of the colic, he ordered that two dinars of celery seed be included in the enema. But one of the doctors whom he ordered to treat him threw in five dirhams of celery seed—I do not know whether he did it intentionally or by mistake because I was not present—and the abrasion was aggravated by the sharpness of the seed. In addition he used to take mithridate on account of the seizures, but one of his slaves threw a great quantity of opium into it; he gave it to him and he consumed it. The reason
for this was their stealing a great deal of money from his coffers: they desired his death in order to be free from the consequences of their actions.

The Master was carried in that state to Isfahān, where he was occupied with taking care of himself. He was so weak that he was unable to stand, so he continued to treat himself until he was able to walk. He attended the court of ‘Alā‘ al-Dawla, and in addition to that he did not take care and frequently had sexual intercourse. He had not completely recovered from the illness, and so he had intermittent relapses and recoveries. When ‘Alā‘ al-Dawla set out for Hamadhān, the Master went with him but the illness seized him again on the way, so that by the time he reached Hamadhān he knew that
his strength had wasted away and that it was not sufficient to repel the illness. So he ceased treating himself and would say, "The governor who used to govern my body is now incapable of governing, and so treatment is no longer of any use." He remained like this for a few days; then he passed away into the presence of his Lord and was buried in Hamađhān in the year 428. The year of his birth was 370, and so the sum of his years was 58. May God find his deeds worthy.
تلك خيانتهم في مال كثير من خزانته فتمنوا هلاكه ليأمنوا عاقبة أفعالهم.

وَنَقْلَ الشيخ كما هو إلى إصفهان فاشغل بتدبير نفسه. وكان من الضعف بحيث لا يستطيع القيام فلم يزل يتعال نفسه حتى قدر على المشي. وحضر مجلس علاء الدولة وهو مع ذلك لا يتحفظ ويكنج المجاهدة ولم يبرأ من العلَّة كلّ البرهم وكان يتنكس وبرأ كل وقت. ثم قصد علاء الدولة همدان وصار الشيخ معه. فعاودت العلَّة في الطريق إلى أن وصل إلى همدان وعلم أن

---

1. خزانته اقتصارًا: خزانته بج ن
2. أفغاله ج: أفغاله اب ن
3. لا يستطيع اب ج ن: لا يقدر على آخر
4. وهو اب ج: ن: لكتة قاصص
5. لا... المجاهدة ج: مساحة اب: يكتور + التخليط في آخر قاصص
6. ولم ج ن: قاصص لم اب / وكأنا اب ج: ن: ككان قاصص
7. صار اب: اسوس ن قاصص / الشيخ معه اب ج: ن: معه الشيخ قاصص
8. العلَّة في الطريق اب ج: ن: في الطريق تلك العلَّة قاصص / إلى همدان اب ن
9. قاصص: بهمدان ج
قوته قد سقطت، وأنشدتها لا ترى بنفس المرض. فأهل مداواة نفسه وكان يقول: "المذنب الذي كان يدبر لي ذلك الذي عجز عن التدبير والآن فلا تفع المعالجة. ونبي علي هذا أيهما ثم انقل إلى جوار ربي ودفن بهذان في سنة مائتان وعشرين وأربعمئة. وكانت ولادته في سنة سبعين وثلثمئة وجميع عمره مائتان وخمسون سنة. أتَّقاه الله صالح أعماله.

١٠

قد ساقطة ن

١١

وكان أب ج ن: وأخذت ص / بيبتر بديني: بربعه + ورممه ب / بضمان + رضي الله تعالى عنه / ٤٨ ب

١٢


١٣

وسبعين وثلثمئة: ص / ب

١٤

٧٠ ب / وجميع أب ج ن: فجميع ب / مائتان: ثمانية أب ج ن / ٨٨ ب

١٥

أعماله + وأحسن مشله ب + ٦٥٠ + كرمه ن

his strength had wasted away and that it was not sufficient to repel the illness. So he ceased treating himself and would say, "The governor who used to govern my body is now incapable of governing, and so treatment is no longer of any use." He remained like this for a few days; then he passed away into the presence of his Lord and was buried in Ḥamdān in the year 428. The year of his birth was 370 and so the sum of his years was 58. May God find his deeds worthy.
As for the bibliography which Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī mentioned in his biography, it contained about forty works. However I have endeavored to collect what was written and have set down in this bibliography what I have found, added to what Shaykh Abū ʿUbayd mentioned, coming to about ninety works.1 |

(1) The Supplements, mentioned in his writings as a commentary on the Shīfâ. (2) The Shīfâ (Healing), which summarizes the whole of the four sciences. He wrote the “Physics”
and the “Metaphysics” in twenty days in Hamadhân. (3) The
Sum and Substance, which he wrote in his home city for the
lawyer Abû Bakr al-Bara'î in the early part of his life in
about twenty volumes and which is only found in the original
manuscript. (4) Good Works and Evil, on ethics, which he also
wrote for this lawyer, in two volumes, and which is only found
in his possession. (5) The Judgment, in twenty volumes, in
which he commented on all of the books of Aristotle and in
which he judged between the Easterners and the Westerners.
It was lost in Sulţân Mas'ûd’s raid. (6) The Compilation,
known as ‘Arûfî’s Philosophy,² which he wrote at age twenty-
one for Abû al-Hasan al-‘Arûfî, leaving out the mathematics.
(7) The Qītāb (Canon) of medicine, part of which he wrote in
Jurjân
and in al-Rayy, and which was finished in Hamadhân; he intended to work on a commentary and carry out experiments for it. (8) The Middle, or Jurjâni, [Summary] on logic, which he wrote in Jurjân for Abū Muḥammad al-Shirāzī. (9) The Origin and the Return, on the soul, which he also wrote in Jurjân. (10) Comprehensive Observations, which he also wrote in Jurjân for Abū Muḥammad al-Shirāzī. (11) The Return, which he wrote in al-Rayy for its ruler Majd al-Dawla. (2) The Arabic Language, on philology, which he wrote in Isfahân, but did not transpose into clean copy, so nothing resembling a copy of it has been found. (13) The ‘Alâ’i Philosophy, in Persian, which he wrote for ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla ibn
كاكوية في إصفهان. (14) كتاب النجاة. صنفه في طريق ساور خواجه وهو في خدمة علاء الدولة. (15) كتاب الأشارات والتنبيهات. وذكر آخر صنف في الحكمة وأجوده وكان يُذكر بها. (16) كتاب البداية في الحكمة. صنفه وهو محسوب بقلة فردجان لأن زهدي عليه يشمل بأعمال الحكمة مختصرًا. (17) كتاب التوفينج. صنفه بهذه القاعة أيضا ولا يوجد ثامنا. (18) رسالة حي بن يقظان. صنفها بهذه القاعة أيضا رمزا عن العقل العامل. (19) كتاب الأدبيات الفلسفية. صنفهما بهذالان. (20) مقالة في النبض

Kākūyah in ʿIsfāḥān. (14) The Najjū, which he wrote on the road to ʿSābūr Khwāt while he was in the service of ʿAlī al-Dawla. (15) Instructions and Remarks, which is the last and best work he wrote on philosophy, to which he held steadfastly. (16) Guidance, on philosophy, which he wrote while a prisoner in the castle of Ḥādkān for his brother ʿAlī, and which contains a summary of all the branches of philosophy. (17) The Colic, which he wrote in that same castle and which is entirely lost. (18) The treatise Ḥayy ibn Yaqqūn (Alive, the son of Awake), also written in that castle, an allegory about the active intellect. (19) Cardiac Drugs, which he wrote in Hamadhān. (20) An essay on the Pulse.
in Persian. (21) An essay on Phonetics, which he wrote in Isfahān for al-Jabbān. (22) A letter to Abū Sahl al-Maslīḥī on the Angle, which he wrote in Jurjān. (23) An essay on Natural Faculties for Abū Sa‘īd al-Yamānī. (24) The treatise, the Bird, an allegory in which he describes his attainment of the knowledge of the truth. (25) Definitions. (26) An essay refuting the treatise of Ibn al-Ṭayyib on Natural Faculties. (27) Essential Philosophy, which contains the three sciences [logic, physics, and metaphysics]. (28) An essay on the Conversions of Modals. (29) The Large Episteme on logic; as for the Small Episteme, it is the logic of the Najāt. (30) The Ode,
المزدوجة في المطلق. صنعتها للسهل بكراكاج (٣٠) الخطبة
التوحيدية في الإلهيات. (٣١) مقالة في تخصص السعودية. وعرف
بالمحتج العشر. (٣٢) مقالة في اللغة والقدر. صنعتها في طريق
إصفهان عند خلابة وهريرة إلى إصفهان. (٣٣) مقالة في المنهياء.
(٣٤) مقالة في الأشياء إلى علم المنطق. (٣٥) مقالة في تخصص
الحكمة والعلوم. (٣٦) رسالة في الكونيتيك. (٣٧) مقالة في
الدستور. (٣٨) كتاب التعليق. علمه عنه ابن زيلا. (٣٩) مقالة
في خواص خط الاستواء. (٤٠) المباحثات بسؤول يهمياء تلميذته

(٢) الأفكارية: / النظرة الإسلامية / والطبيعية / النظرية / ب: ج: النظرة / الأفكارية
(٤) إلى إصفهان: ب: ج: ص: / إلى إصفهان / المنهيء / وص: / المنهيء
(٥) تعليم: ج: نص: / تعليم / ا: نص: / تعليم

in couplets, on logic, which he wrote for al-Suhayli in Gurgânj. (31) Discourse on Unity, in metaphysics. (32) An essay on the Attainment of Happiness, which is known as the Ten Arguments. (33) An essay on Predetermination and Destiny, which he wrote on the way to Isfahān during his escape and flight to Isfahān. (34) An essay on Eudox. (35) An essay on Instruction in the Science of Logic. (36) An essay on the Branches of Philosophy and the Sciences. (37) A treatise on Ozymel. (38) An essay on Infinity. (39) Commentaries, which Ibn Zaylā detalle wrote at his dictation. (40) An essay on the Characteristics of the Equator. (41) Discussions about questions asked by his pupil Bahmanîār
وجوابه له: (42) عشر مسائل أجابت عنها لأبي الريحان اليرموقي (43) جواب ست عشرة مسألة لأبي الريحان. (44) مقالة في هيئة الأرض من السماء وكونها في الوسط. (45) كتاب الحكمة الشرقيّة لا يوجد نساآ. (46) مقالة في تحقق المواضع الجدليّة. (47) مقالة في حقّة مقال إن الكميّة جوهريّة. (48) المدخل إلى صناعة الموسيقى. وهو غير الموضوع في النجاة. (49) مقالة في الأجور السياوائية. (50) مقالة في تمارك الحقيقة الواقع في التدبير

1  عشر .. الديرريتي ساقطة 2  / الديرريتي ساقطة 3
2  ستة عشرة ص: ستة عشر أب: تانية عشر ن / الريحان بو: الريحان
3  الديرريتي ن: الريحان أج مقالة .. جوهريّة على هامش ب
4  وكونها أج: أنثى ن / الوسط بو: ج ن ص: السبط ح / من السماء...
5  الوسط على هامش ج لا أوج: ولا ن
6  مقالة ساقطة 1 / مقالة .. جوهريّة ساقطة ص / جوهريّة أن: جوهري بو
7  وهو .. النجاة على هامش أ
8  الأجور اب ن ص: الأجور ج

and his answers to him. (42) Ten Questions, which he answered for Abû al-Rayhân al-Birûnî. (43) Answers to Sixteen Questions of Abû al-Rayhân. (44) An essay on the Position of the Earth in Relation to the Heavens and on its Existence in the Center. (45) The Eastern Philosophy, which is not extant in its entirety. (46) An essay on the Consideration of Dialectical Topics. (47) An essay on the Error of Anyone Saying that Quantity Belongs to Substance. (48) Introduction to the Art of Music, which is not the one found in the Najât. (49) An essay on the Celestial Bodies. (50) An essay Correcting the Errors in
الطبيّة (51) مقالة في كيفية الرصد وتطابقه مع العلم الطبيعي (52) مقالة في الأخلاق (53) مقالة في آلة الرصدية، صنعتها بإصفهان عند رصدما لعلماء الدولة (54) رسالة إلى السهيل في الكيمياء (55) مقالة في غرض عاطفوسوريس (56) الرسالة الأدبية في المعتقد، صنعتها للأمير أبي بكر محمد بن عبد (57) معتصم الشعراء في العروض، صنعته بلاده له سبع عشرة سنة (58) مقالة في حذ الفصيح (59) الحكمة الع老爷子، وهو كلام مرتفع في الأفكار، (60) عبد الله بن إبراهيم بن عبد الله بن لكس، (61) كتاب تدبير الجند (62)...

Medical Treatment. (51) An essay on the Nature of Astronomical Observation and its Conformity with Physical Science. (52) An essay on Ethics. (53) An essay on Astronomical Instruments, which he wrote in Isfahan during his observations for 'Ala' al-Dawla. (54) A letter to al-Suhaylī on Alchemy. (55) An essay on the Object of the "Categories" [of Aristotle]. (56) The Alhuwayyiyya Letter on the Return, which he wrote for the prince Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd. (57) The Defense of Poets, in poetry, which he wrote in his home city when he was seventeen years old. (58) An essay on the Definition of Body. (59) Throne Philosophy, which is elevated discourse on metaphysics. (60) His Testament, in which he committed his soul to God. (61) An essay that the Knowledge of Zayd is not the Knowledge of 'Amr. (62) The Management and Provisioning of Soldiers.