والملالي والمساند وأزائدم وخروج المالك. (34) مناظرات جرت
له في الناس مع أبي عبد التسبيروئي. (34) خطب وتمعيدات
وأسماع. (35) جواب يفضّل الاعتذار فيما نسب إليه في هذه
المخطوب. (35) مقصود كتاب أوقيفس. أظلمه المسوم إلى النجاة
فقالة في الأرمني المظليش. (38) عدة قضايا وأشعار في المهد
غيره. يصف فيها أحواله. (39) رسائل بالفارسية والمغنية
ومناظرات ومكاليمات وحيلاء. (40) تحقيق على مسائل حديث
في الطب. (41) قوانين وملاطيات طبية. (42) عشورون مسألة
سأل عنها أهل العصر. (33) مسائل عديدة طبية. (44) مسائل

Slave Troops, and Armies, and the Taxation of Kingdoms. (63)
Disputes of his which occurred with Abū Ḥāmid al-Naysabūrī²⁹
concerning the Soul. (64) Discourses, Words of Praise to God,
and Works in rhymed prose. (65) A reply containing an
apology about what was attributed to him in these discourses.
(66) A Summary of Euclid, which I think was the one added to
the "Najat". (67) An essay on "Arithmetic". (68) A number
of odes and poems on asceticism and other topics, in which
he describes his positions. (69) Some letters, conversations,
correspondence, and light works, in Arabic and Persian.
(70) Commentaries on the "Questions of Hunayn"³⁰ concerning
medicine. (71) Medical Principles and Practice. (72) Twenty
Questions which his contemporaries asked him. (73) A Number
of Medical Questions. (74) Questions
نَدْعَغَيْنَا النُّورُ، (٥٥) مسائل ترجمها بالتدخين (٤٧) جواب مسائل
البيضرة. (٧٧) رسالة له إلى علماء بغداد. يسألهم الإنصاف بيته
وبيين رجل همائي يدعى الحكمة. (٧٨) رسالة إلى صديق. يسأله
الإنصاف بيته وبين هذا الهمائي. (٧٩) جواب لعدة مسائل.
(٨٠) كلام له في تبين ماتين الحزن. (٨١) شرح لكتاب النفس
الأرضيو ويثال إني من الإنصاف. (٨٢) مقالة في النفس. تعرف
بالفصول. (٨٣) مقالة في إبطال علم النجوم. (٨٤) كتاب الملح
في النحو. (٨٥) فصول إنسية في إثبات الأوَّل. (٨٦) فصول في

called Rarities. (75) Questions which he explained in "Notes.
(76) Answers to "Simple Questions." (77) His letter to the "ulamâ"
of Baghdad which asked them to judge between him and a
man of Hamadhân who claimed to be a philosopher. (78) A
letter to a friend which asks him to judge between him and this
Hamadhânî. (79) Answers to a number of questions. | (80) His words Explaining the Essence of Sorrows. (81) His
commentary on Aristotle’s De Anima, which is said to be from
the Judgment. (82) An essay on the "Soul", known as the Chapters.
(83) An essay on the Refutation of the Science of Astrology. (84)
Anecdotes on Grammar. (85) Metaphysical Chapters on the Proof
of the First [Principle]. (86) Chapters on
النفس والطبيعيات. (87) رسالة إلى أبي سعيد بن أبي الخير
في الزهد. (88) مقالة في أنه لا يوجد أن يكون شيء واحد
جوهرًا وعرفًا. (89) مسائل جرت بين بعض الفضلاء في
فنون العلوم. (90) تطبيقات استفادها أبو الفرج الطيب المدنائي
من مجلاته وقواتله له. (91) مقالة ذكرها في تصادفاته أنها
في المسالك وبقى الأرض. (92) خاتمها في أن الزاوية التي من
والطبيعيات أ ب ج ن: وطبيعيات ص / بن سافطة ن / الخير + رحمه الله
نuclear: + الصوفي ص
شيء واحد: ب ج ن: الشيء الواحد
بعض الفضلاء أ ب ج ن: فضلاء العصر ب
أب: ب ج ن: بإج: / الطيب المدنائي أ ب ج ن: المدنائي الطيب ب
مقالة: + ل: ج / في تصاديفه أنها سافطة ب
المجالك أ ب ج ن: الممالك ص / وبقى الأراضي أ ب ج ن: الأراضي
نuclear: / التي سافطة ب / من أ ب ج ص: بين N

the Soul and on Physics. (87) A letter to Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī
al-Khayrī on Asceticism. (88) An essay on the Impossibility
of the Same Thing Being a Substance and an Accident. (89) Questi
ons which passed between him and some learned men
concerning the branches of knowledge. (90) Comments which
Abū al-Faraj, the Hamadhānī doctor,17 posed while in his
sessions, and some answers of his. (91) An essay which is
mentioned in his writings as being on the Traveled and Uninhabi
ted Parts of the Earth. (92) A Summary [of the position] that the
Angle which is formed by
لا مباشّرةً

*) Three of the MSS—A, J, and N—end on this number, but B and IAU contain other works. B adds: The Small Epitome on logic, which is the logic of the Essential Philosophy;*16 and Main Questions.*19

IAU adds: Seven Essays which he wrote for Abû al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Sahlî;*14 Answers to questions asked by Abû al-Hasan al-Âmirî, which are twenty-four questions;*15 the Small Epitome on logic; the Position of the Earth in the Middle of the Heavens;*16 which he wrote for Abû al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Sahlî; Keys to the Treasures, in logic; Discourse on Substance and Accident;*17 the Interpretation of Dreams; an essay refuting the essay of Shaykh Abû al-Faraj ibn al-Tayyîb;*14 a treatise on Love, which he wrote for Abû `Abd Allâh, the lawyer;*19 a treatise on Human Faculties and the Perceptions of them; a speech Explaining Sorrows and its Causes;*19 an essay for Abû `Abd Allâh al-Husayn ibn Sahl ibn Muhammad al-Sahlî on a Matter of Confusion.*18
NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Abu al-‘Abbās ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Qāsim ibn Abī Usaybi‘a wrote this work—
Essential Information about the Generations of Physicians—ca. 640/1243. Muller’s edition
(Königsberg and Cairo, 1882-1884), in 2 vols., will hereinafter be cited as Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a
I or II. On Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a, see Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen
I, 325, and Supplement I, 560 (hereinafter referred to as GAL, I or II, and GAL, S,
I, II, or III.)

I have used the following system of giving dates: where I have mentioned a date
in the text or notes, I have given both the Muslim and Christian dates (e.g., 640/
1243); when an author whom I quote gives only a Muslim date I have added the
corresponding Christian date in square brackets (e.g., 754/1353 as the date of
al-Kāshī’s MS.) In treating the publication data of a book I have given the date(s)
as shown on the title page(s), but giving the Christian date in square brackets when
only the Muslim date was given.

was written earlier than Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a’s. See frequent references to Ibn al-
Qāfī in Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a’s, I, 302, 308, and II, passim. Lippert’s edition (Leipzig,
1903) will hereinafter be referred to as al-Qāfī. For further information on al-Qāfī,
see Lippert’s introduction to the edition, pp. 5-18, and GAL, I, 325, and GAL, S,
I, 539.

of this work, hereinafter referred to as Ibn Fuduq, wrote this work as a continuation
of the biographical Siwan al-hikma of Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (d. ca. 375/985).
For further information on Ibn Fuduq, see GAL, I, 324, and GAL, S, I,

4. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad ibn Khalīlīn, Wafayāt al-ayūn (The Obituaries of

5. Ibid., I, 440-44.

6. Abū al-Ḥasya ibn al-ʿImād, Shadhdhūt al-ḥabab fi akhkhār min ḥabab (Nuggets
of Gold in the Affairs of Those Who have Departed), 6 vols. (Beirut, 1965), III, 234-237.
For Ibn al-ʿImād, see GAL, S, II, 403.

the Experiences of the Shaykh al-Ḥarīrī ʿAbd al-Sādīq), by Yahiyyā ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Kāshī,
in Dalālāt Ibn Sinā (Avicenna Memorial), No. 3 (Cairo, 1952), pp. 6-7.

8. For further information on al-Kāshī, see GAL, S, II, 280, where the date of
his death is given as 707/1307-08. The colophon of the manuscript, however, states
that it was finished in 754/1353.

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For further information on Muhammad ibn Maḥmūd Shahrastānī (fl. 7th/13th century), see GAL, I, 468, and GAL, S, I, 850.


10. Ibid.

11. Sar-gudahast-i Ibn-i Sīnā (Biography of Ibn Sīnā) (Teheran, 1331/[1952]).

12. Ibid., Introduction (not paginated).

13. This date is agreed upon by the two major recent bibliographies: Yahya Mahdavi, Fībūt-i mansūnâbāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā (Bibliography of the Works of Ibn Sīnā), Publications of the University of Teheran, No. 206 (Teheran, 1333/1954), p. 335, n. 3. Also Father G. C. Anawati, Mu‘allaqat Ibn Sīnā (The Works of Ibn Sīnā) (Cairo, 1950), p. 114.


17. In this recension, as in the rest of the presentation of this critical edition, I follow the procedure set down in Paul Maas, Textual Criticism, trans. from the 3rd German edition by Barbara Flower (Oxford, 1958), pp. 2–24. See especially p. 4, which gives the reasons for discarding certain witnesses.

18. Mahdavi, p. 370, n. 2. Anawati does not describe this manuscript.

19. Mahdavi, p. 331, n. 2. Anawati, p. 13, gives the date 1242/[1827].

20. Anawati, p. 290. Mahdavi does not describe this manuscript.

21. Mahdavi, p. 337, n. 3. This manuscript is located in Aya Sofya, MS. 4849(1), is written in large, clear naskhi script, 12x22 cm., 21 lines/page, and is dated 6297/1229. Anawati, p. 117, dates it 657/[1259].

22. In preparing this stemma, I have followed Paul Maas’s discussion of “stemmatics,” including his definition of separate and conjunctive errors, etc., found on pp. 42–49 of Textual Criticism.


24. On p. 20, Arberry lists the three letter writers as Ibn al-A‘mid, al-Sāhib, and al-Sābi, in that order, which is the order found in al-Qifti, but not in Ibn Abī l-Uṣūfi, who reverses the order of al-Sāhib and al-Sābi. See below, “Notes to the Translation of the Autobiography/Biography,” n. 95, 96, 97.

25. For further information on these translations, see “Notes to the Translation of the Autobiography/Biography.”

26. See al-Qifti, pp. 417, line 18, and 421, line 3, for the poetry, and p. 423, lines 17–23, for the anecdotes.
NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION
OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY/BIOGRAPHY


4. “royal estates”: estates which paid the tithe (ṣaḥr) rather than the land tax (kharāj). During this period the largest owner of these estates was the Caliph, followed by the various princes and governors. See C. Cahen, “Dayʾa,” EI, II, 187-88.


6. “Afšana”: one of the villages in the territory of Bukhārā. See Yaḥṣūb, Boldān, I, 330.

7. “my mother”: her name is given as Sīṭārah by Ibn Funduq, p. 39, as well as by J.

8. “in Ṣafar, 370 . . . Sinūs”: Ibn Funduq, p. 29, gives the same date of birth and includes the same astrological information as the margin of J. For further information on this horoscope, see al-Bīrūnī, Kibāb al-taʾjīm li-ḥāṣaʾil sinūs at-taʾjīm (The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology), ed. and trans. R. N. Frye (London, 1954), p. 258, where the degree of exaltation is explained: “There are certain signs which are described as places of exaltation (ṣhāfīf) of the planets, like the thrones of kings and other high positions.” He then gives the degrees of exaltation of the planets: Jupiter, 15 degrees of Cancer; the Moon, 5 degrees of Taurus; the Sun, 19 degrees of Aries; Venus, 27 degrees of Pisces. Later, on p. 279, he defines the Lot of Fortune: “The Lot of Fortune is a point of the Zodiac,
the distance of which from the degree of the ascendant in the direction of the succession of signs is equal to the distance of the moon from the sun in the opposite direction." On p. 283, al-Birûnî defines the Lot of the Unseen: "The reciprocal of the Lot of Fortune is the Lot of the Sun, which is the Lot of the Unseen and Religion (ṣahîh al-qâfiy wa’l-dîn)."

9. "my brother": His brother is called Maḥmûd by Ibn Funduq, p. 39, as well, and he adds that Maḥmûd was born five years after Ibn Sinâ. However, in the bibliographies found in the manuscripts, a treatise is described as being written for his brother All. See above, pp. 96-97.

10. "literature": ʿadâb. The meaning of this term changed several times from the pre-Islamic period to the time of Ibn Sinâ. It could mean either the quality of urbanity, courtesy, and elegance of a Jâhîz (d. 255/868) or Ibn Sinâ’s older contemporary Abû Ḥâyyân al-Tawhîdî (d. ca. 414/1023), or it could mean the humanistic literature which encompassed elements of Arab, Iranian, Indian, and Greek cultures. But during the lifetime of Ibn Sinâ, the concept of ʿadâb was becoming narrowed to mean the knowledge necessary for a particular position or function. Ibn Sinâ here seems to mean the broader definition of the term. See F. Gabrieli, "Adâb," EI³, I, 175-76.

11. "the Iṣâmî ‘Ilyya": In Khurāsân and Transoxiana at this time the propaganda for the Fāṭimid cause was called daw’at-i Māgūrān. See M. Canard, "Dawah," EI³, II, 169; see also S. M. Stern, "The Early Iṣâmî Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsân and Transoxiana," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XXIII (1960), pp. 56-90.


Niğm al-Mulk also states that the Bâṭānî or Qarmaṭîs, as he calls them, emerged in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Amir al-Sâ’îd Manûshr I (r. 350/961-365/976) and were decisively put down, so that "this sect completely collapsed, to the point that none of them were ever remembered." Niğm al-Mulk, pp. 278-94, trans., pp. 227-33. However, Barthold, reflecting the views of the historians of that time, states, "The remainder of Manûshr’s reign (i.e., after the struggle for the Amirate following his brother’s death in 350/961, which lasted for about a year), so far as is known, passed off peacefully." Turkestân, p. 251.


"Indian calculation": ḥisâb al-khûn. This form of calculation, using the "Indian" numerals, was being superseded by ḥisâb al-qa’d, or daqalonomy, during the 4th/
meaning of sovereign power, rather than the meaning which it later came to have: governor or ruler. I know of no other instance of the Sāmānids' being referred to as "Ṣultān." See E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon (London, 1863–93; rpt. New York, 1956), bk. I, pt. 4, pp. 1405–06.

32. "in his service": Ibn Fundūq, p. 43, adds, "physicians [or philosophers: hakams] before that time used to be proud and did not approach the doors of rulers."

In the margin of J the statement is found that Nūḥ ibn Mansūr was cured by Ibn Sinā. However, the Sāmānīd ruler cannot have lived very long after his meeting Ibn Sinā, since the date of his death is given as Ṣabāb, 387/997 (see above, n. 3). If Ibn Sinā was about seventeen or one-half years old when he was called to the court, as his account would seem to indicate, the date must have been very near Ṣabāb, 387.

33. "of the ancients": als-aṣ-ṣādī, probably meaning the Greeks.

34. "I read these books ... science": Ibn Fundūq, p. 43, adds, "a fire broke out in this library and the books were totally destroyed. Some of the opponents of Abū 'All said that he set fire to those books in order to appropriate these sciences and precious [knowledge] for himself and cut off the sources of these useful [sciences] from their adherents; but God knows best."

35. "Abū al-Hasan, the Prosodiant": al-ʿArāfī. He is called Abū al-Hasan Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allāh in the text of the surviving work which purports to be the one Ibn Sinā wrote for him. See Kūᴅūš al-majmāʿ, ed. Dr. S. Šārxī (Cairo, 1969), p. 33. This kūče (Abū al-Hasan) is not mentioned by al-Samʿānī, Anbā, fol. 389a.

36. "Abū Bakr al-Barṣajī": al-Samʿānī, fol. 75a, says that Barṣajī is the correct spelling, since the name comes from the Persian Barash, which means crowned prince. It was a great family in Khwāzār, descended from the Khwāzār-shāhs, which had moved to Bukhārā. al-Samʿānī's information about Abū Bakr came from Abū Bakr's son Abū 'Abd Allāh through Abū al-Hasan (or Abū Nasr, see below) ibn Mākūlā (d. 485/1092), who stated, "Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn Muḥammad was one of the foremost expounders of literature, Shīʿism, theology [kalām], and poetry. I have seen a sketch of his poetry, most of which was in the handwriting of his pupil, Ibn Sinā, the philosopher." However, Ibn Mākūlā adds that Abū Bakr died in Muḥarram, 376, when Ibn Sinā was only six years old and had just moved to Bukhārā. One of Abū Bakr's sons, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, studied with his father and may have dictated the poetry to Ibn Sinā. According to Ibn Mākūlā, Abū 'Abd Allāh was famous for his ability in jurisprudence, poetry, and philosophy. He worked in the administration of Bukhārā, first under the Sāmānids, then under "Ṣabāḥkhwān," who overthrew the Sāmānids in 389/999. Perhaps Ibn Sinā means Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr in this passage. See al-Samʿānī, Anbā, fol. 75a. For Ibn Mākūlā, see GAL, I, 334, and GAL, S, I, 602; see also Yaqūt, Isḥāq al-arhab, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Gibb Memorial Series, VI (Leiden and London, 1907–27), V, 435, where he is called Abū Nasr 'Alī ibn Hībat Allāh ibn Mākūlā.

37. "The Sun and Substance ... volumes": Ibn Fundūq, p. 44, adds, "and a copy of it in the library of Būzājī was lost."
38. “Good Works and Evil”: Ibn Funduq, p. 44, adds, “I saw a copy of it in the possession of the Imām Muhammad al-Hārithān al-Sarakhāši (may God have mercy on him), in a crabbed hand, in the year 544H [1154].”

39 “my father died”: According to Ibn Funduq, p. 44, Ibn Sinā’s father died when he was 22 years old; i.e., in 392/1002.

40. “Necesity led me to ... Gurganj”: As Ibn Funduq, pp. 44-45, puts it: “When the affaiars of the Sāmānids became disordered, necessity led me to leave Buhkārā and move to Gurganj.”

A problem of dating this move to Gurganj arises when one considers that the last Sāmānī to rule in Buhkārā, Abū al-Fawāris Abū al-Malik Ibn Nūṣh was deposed and imprisoned by the Qarākhānīs Ilīg Nāṣr ibn ‘Abi ‘Ali in 389/999 (Gardžīz, Ζην, p. 175; Barthold, Turkestan, p. 268). However, another of Nūṣh’s sons, Abū ‘Īṣām Paranil, escaped and made numerous attempts to return to power in Buhkārā; he was finally defeated and killed in 393/1005 (Gardžīz, pp. 175-76; Barthold, pp. 269-70). Ibn Sinā must have moved from Buhkārā to Gurganj between 392/1002 and 393/1005, and the “administrative post of the Sultan” most probably was in the regime of the Ilīg Nāṣr.

41. “Abū al-Ḥusāyn al-Suhaylī”: In all of the sources of this edition, as well as in Ibn Funduq, p. 45, he is called al-Sahīh. However, Abū ‘Abd al-Malik al-Tharīlī, Tārīm al-dārık ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥamīd, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1935/1956), IV, 254, gives his name as Abū al-Ḥusayn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Suhaylī, as does Yaqūt, Iḥād, II, 262, who says he went to Bāb al-Mīdān in 404/1013-14 and died there in 418/1027. This nihā (al-Suhaylī) is also given by Muḥammad Qazwīnī in his note to the Chakār magāla of Nīẓāmī ‘Arūdi, although the text of the work reads “al-Sāhīh”. See Nīẓāmī ‘Arūdi, Chakār magāla, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī, Gīh Mīmīrī Mīr, XI, No. 1 (Leiden and London, 1910), p. 76 (text), and p. 244 (notes).


43. “necessity led me”: According to the story told by Nīẓāmī ‘Arūdi, Ibn Sinā was forced to leave Gurganj when Maḥmūd of Ghazna (r. 388/998–421/1030) demanded that the Khwārizm-shāh Abū al-‘Abbās Ma’mūn ibn Ma’mūn (r. 399/1009–407/1017) send a number of learned men, including Ibn Sinā, from Gurganj to Ghazna. The Khwārizm-shāh informed these men of Maḥmūd’s demand, and some of them went willingly, or resignedly, to Maḥmūd’s court, but Ibn Sinā and another scholar, Abū Sahl al-Maṭṭāfī, chose to flee to the court of Qābūs (see below, n. 50). After a harrowing journey across the desert south of Gurganj, during which time Abū Sahl died, Ibn Sinā finally reached Jurjān and the safety of Qābūs’s patronage. See E. G. Browne, A Literary History of Peria (Cambridge, 1902-24; rpt. Cambridge, 1950), II, 95-97.

This account, however, cannot be accurate as it stands for several reasons. The scholars were taken to Ghazna by Maḥmūd at the time of his conquest of Khwārizm in 407/1017, as we know from the case of al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050), one of those who chose to go to Ghazna in Nīẓāmī ‘Arūdi’s story. See Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 264-65, s.a. 407; and D. G. Boisot, “al-Bīrūnī,” EI, I, 1236. Since Qābūs was deposed in 402/1012 and killed in 403/1013 (see below, n. 50), Ibn Sinā must have left Gurganj before 402/1012. Boilout suggests the date 398/1006, but since Ibn Sinā’s companion, Abū Sahl al-Maṭṭāfī, wrote at least one work dedicated to the Khwārizm-shāh Abū al-‘Abbās Ma’mūn ibn Ma’mūn, the date of departure must have been some time after 398/1006, the date of his accession. See Ibn Abī Ḫayyāyā, I, 328, for Abū Sahl’s life and works. In addition, Ibn Sinā was in Hamadhān, at the court of Shams al-Dawla, by 405/1015 (see below, 66, 66).

44. “Naš”: A city in Khrūsān south of Gurganj, part of the domains of the Khwārizm-shāhs. See Yaqūt, Balṭūn, IV, 778; Le Strange, p. 394. It is also warded Naš.

45. “Bāvarīd”: A city one day’s journey from Naš, also under the suzerainty of the Khwārizm-shāhs. It is also spelled Bābard. See Yaqūt, Balṭūn, I, 111; Le Strange, p. 394.

46. “Trū”: The second city of the Nāṣūrb (Nishābū) quarter of Khurāsān. After 389/999 it was under the control of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. See Yaqūt, Balṭūn, III, 560-6; Le Strange, p. 398; Barthold, Turkestan, p. 266.

47. “Samānqān”: A territory near Jārjān (see next note), one of the districts of Nāṣūrb. It is also spelled Samalqān. See Yaqūt, Balṭūn, III, 145; Le Strange, p. 392.

48. Yaqūt and Ibn Abī Ḫayyāyā add Shaqqaqīn to this itinerary, but he probably did not enter this village, called “one of the villages of Nāṣūrb” by Yaqūt, Balṭūn, III, 306. Ibn Funduq, p. 46, in giving the same itinerary as the other sources of this edition, mentions parenthetically, “but he did not enter Nāṣūrb.”

49. “Jārjān”: A town which is the central city of a large district situated between Nāṣūrb and Jurjān. See Yaqūt, Balṭūn, II, 4; Le Strange, pp. 392, 430.

50. “Jurjān”: The name of both a province on the southeast shore of the Caspian Sea, and its capital city. At this time the province was ruled by the Ziyārids as clients of the Ghaznavids. See Yaqūt, Balṭūn, II, 48-54; Le Strange, pp. 376-78; Bosworth, Dānestar, pp. 92-93.

51. “Amīr Qābūs”: Shams al-Maṭṭālī Qābūs ibn Wushnaqūr (r. 367/978-402/1012), a poet and patron of poets and scholars, he took part in the dynastic struggles between the Būyids and the Sūmānids for control of Khurāsān and Jurjān, usually on the side of the Sūmānids, where he spent a great deal of time in exile. After the fall of the Sūmānids he was forced to accept the suzerainty of the Ghaznavids. See al-Tharīlī, Tārīx, IV, 59-61; Yaqūt, Iḥād, VI, 135-52; Bosworth, Dānestar, p. 92.

52. “the seizure of Qābūs ... his death there”: His deposition and imprisonment took place in 402/1012 and his death came in 403/1013. Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 238-40, s.a. 403.

53. “Allāhu ‘Abayd al-Jūrjānī”: His full name was Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abd al-Wāḥid


63. "Hûlâm ibn Badr ibn Hasanâyyî": Hûlâm, Badr, and Hasanâyyî (Hasanâwî) were Kurdish rulers of the area around Qirimân, sometimes allied with one or another of the Buyids against other members of the family or outside rulers. See Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 5-8, s.a. 370, for an account of the struggles between Badr and 'Adjud al-Dawla in 370/980. Badr seems to have taken control of Qirimân after the death of Fâkhr al-Dawla in 387/997. Hûlâm had been the prisoner of Sultan al-Dawla (d. 412/1021) in Baghdad, but he was released and given troops by Sultan al-Dawla after the latter found out about the death of Badr and the subsequent gains in territory by Shams al-Dawla. In a battle which took place in Dih al-qadâ, 405/May, 1015, Hûlâm was killed and the troops of Sultan al-Dawla were forced to return to Baghdad. See Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 248-49, s.a. 405; Miskawayh, Tajîrî al-nâmâm, ed. and trans. H. F. Amedroz and D.S. Margoliouth, with the continuations of Abû Shujâî al-Rûshdrâwî and Hûlâm ibn al-Muhammâd, as The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate (London, 1920-21), VI, 319 and 332, where the Caviliph, al-Qâdirî (d. 422/1031) confirmed Badr in his territories in the jîbâl.

64. "Events occurred": According to one later historian, Ibn Sinâ was forced to leave both Jûrjân and al-Rayy by pressures placed on their rulers by the Buyids, who wanted them to send Ibn Sinâ to his court. See Ghiyâth al-Dîn Muhammad, Khwândâmî, Târîkh al-anwârî, MS, John G. White Collection, Cleveland Public Library, fols. 63a and 63b. Usually this title is cited as Dârîsâr al-anwârî: see J. Rypka, History of Iranian Literature (Dordrecht, Holland, 1968), p. 454. The work was written ca. 915/1509-10.

65. "Qâzawî": A large city to the west of al-Rayy. See Yâqût, Bûdûn, IV, 88-91; Le Strange, pp. 218-20.

66. "Hamadân": written Hamudân by the Iranians. It was one of the four capitals of the jîbâl, and at this time it was, in theory at least, part of the domains of Majd al-Dawla, inherited from Fâkhr al-Dawla, but Shams al-Dawla had been assigned the governorship of Hamadân and Qirimân (see above, n. 62). By the time of Ibn Sinâ's move to Hamadân, Shams al-Dawla was obviously acting independently of orders from Majd al-Dawla or, more correctly, his mother, al-Sâyîyî. See Yâqût, Bûdûn, IV, 901-92; Le Strange, pp. 194-95.

67. "Kâdhabânîyî". Ibn Funduq, p. 47, gives the Persian form of this name: Kâdhamâniyî. None of the sources gives any further information about this person, nor is she mentioned in the standard biographical dictionaries. However, Kâdhamâni means a lady or matron in Persian, according to Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary (London, 1892), p. 1018. Since the Arabic equivalent of kâdhamâni is al-ayyâda, and we know from other sources that Majd al-Dawla (and therefore his mother) had administrative and financial interests in Hamadân—in Miskawayh, Epith, VI,
491. A certain Abū Sa`d Muhammad ibn Ismā`l ibn al-Faqīl is said to be Majd al-Dawla’s deputy in Hamadhān in 393/1003—is it possible that the affairs of Kādhābānīyāt means the affairs of al-Sayyida?

68. “Q̲i̲r̲m̲ā̄n̲ī̄n̲”: also Q̲i̲r̲m̲ā̄n̲ī̄n̲, the Arabic appellation of the city—one of the four capitals of the Jābāl—known to the Persians as Kirmānshāh or Kirmānshāhān. It lies to the west of Hamadhān, and at this time was being disputed by the Byzants and various Kurdish dynasties (see above, n. 63; also see below, n. 69). See also Yaqūt, Buldūn, IV, 69–70; Le Strange, p. 187.

69. “Annāz”: Ḥusam al-Dīn Abū Shakw Fāris ibn Muhammad ibn Annāz, who ruled over parts of the Jābāl from 401/1010 to 437/1046. Abū Shakw probably took Qirmānīn when Shams al-Dawla was attacking al-Rayy and fighting against Bādīr ibn Ḥasanīyā and Ḥādī ibn Bādīr. The probable date for this attack on Abū Shakw was 406/1015. See Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 246, 248, and 351, i.a., 434, 405, and 437 (for the death of Abū Shakw); see also V. Minorsky, “Annāzids,” EIP, I, 512.

70. “Shaykh Abū Sa`d ibn Dakhūlī”: Ibn Funduq, p. 48, and B give his kāmā as Abū Sa`d, and N and Q IAU give his patronymic as Ibn Dakhūlī. His name does not appear in any of the standard biographical dictionaries, nor is either version of his name mentioned by F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch (Marburg, 1895).

71. “I would read... the Q̲i̲r̲m̲ā̄n̲ī̄n̲”: Ibn Funduq, p. 49, gives a more complete account: “Abū `Ubaydīs read from the Shī‘īs al-Maṣūmī from the Q̲i̲r̲m̲ā̄n̲ī̄n̲. Ibn Zayūṭ from the Instructions, and Bahmānyūr from The Sun and Subtance.” But the bibliography states that the Instructions was the last work written by Ibn Sinā (see above, pp. 96–97, so the latter two examples, not found in the earlier manuscripts of Ibn Funduq, seem to be false interpolations.

72. “al-Tūrūm”: A large district in the mountains between Qazwin and Jīlīn with no well-known city in it. Yaqūt, Buldūn, I, 811. Yaqūt spells the word Tūrūm, or Tūrm, but the Arabic geographers usually refer to it as al-Tūrmayn, distinguishing between Upper Tūrm, entirely in the Daylam territory, and Lower Tūrm, further south and east, closer to Qazwin and Hamadhān. Le Strange, p. 225–26.

73. “Ibn Amir”: In the year of Shams al-Dawla’s death, 412/1021, the ruler of al-Tūrum was probably a member of the family of Wahṣūdān, the name of whose dynasty is variously known as the Mūsāfīrs, Sāliḥārī, or Raghūsārī (see Bosworth, Dynasties, p. 86). The strongest fortress in the Tūrūm district, Samīrān (or Shami-rān—see Le Strange, p. 226), had been taken from the young son of “Nūh ibn Wahṣūdān” in 379/980 by Fakhr al-Dawla, who also married Nūh’s widow. See Yaqūt, Buldūn, III, 149.

After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla in 387/997, “Thabāh ibn al-Maṣrūbūn ibn Ismā`l ibn Wahṣūdān...” seized a number of towns in the district of al-Tūrum and was still in control of them when Muḥammad of Ghazna invaded the Jīlīn in 420/1029. See Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 373, i.a., 420.

Ibn Funduq, p. 49, Khwāndāmir, Wuzn̲ū,fol. 64a, and a later addition to J, read al-amīr bābī al-Dawla, instead of al-amīr bābī, but the Bayūd Amir Bahá’ al-Dawla Fīrūz had died in 403/1012, and he had never ruled in the Jīlīn. See Bosworth, Dynasties, pp. 94–95; Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 241, i.a., 403.
however, says that he was her brother (though for some reason he uses the masculine possessive pronoun: akhâhû, rather than akhâhi). Although the “elder Ispahbûd” could have been the father of an implied “younger Ispahbûd,” the possibility of the two men being brothers of al-Sayyida is increased by a further piece of evidence provided by Ibn al-Athîr.

He reports (IX, 351-52) that in 417 [1026] ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla appointed two of his cousins to administrative or military posts. Their names were Abû Ja’far, the elder of the two, and Abû Manşûr, who are called “the two sons of his paternal uncle (abûn ‘arâmû)”. See also Zambaur, “Mamûd,” p. 217.

Zambaur, pp. 187, 216, also states that al-Marzubân al-Dawlatî was related to the Bawândîd family, which had ruled in the Caspian coastlands of Tabâristân since before the arrival of Islam, but Bosworth, The Ghaznavids (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 74, says that this claim, made by the Kâkyûids, is a false one, and it is certainly not put forward in Ibn al-Athîr or Mar‘ashi.

For a different set of conclusions drawn from the same evidence, see Bosworth, “Dawlatîs in Central Iran: the Kâkyûids of Jibâl and Yazd,” Iran, VII (1970), 73-95, especially pp. 73-74 and the genealogical table on p. 95. Bosworth, e.g., says that Rustam and Dawlati, the same person (p. 73); he calls Rustam the maternal uncle of al-Sayyida (p. 74); and says, therefore, that al-Sayyida was ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla’s first cousin, not nephew (as, but presumably meaning aunt). For a genealogical table which exhibits the conclusions I have drawn from the above data, see below.

‘Alâ’ al-Dawla was appointed governor of Isfahân by al-Sayyida in 398/1008, and remained in power there and in other parts of the Jibâl, except when driven out temporarily by Sultan Ma’rûd ibn Ma’llûmûd or his lieutenants, until his death in 433/1041. He was a patron of scholars, and Ibn Fudâq, p. 50, says that he was the lika who instated the correspondence and asked Ibn Sinâ to come to his court after the death of Shams al-Dawla.

Genealogical Table of the Kâkyûids
(Bawândîd?)

al-Marzubân al-Dawlatî
(+ proper name?)

Dawlati – abû al-Hasan ‘Ali Rûstam (?)
(+ proper name?)

(Shirîn) Fâdîl al-Dawla
(d. 419/1028) (d. 387/997)

Abû Ja’far Muhammad Abû Ta’lîb Rûstam Shams al-Dawla Abû Abû
‘Ala’ al-Dawla Majd al-Dawla (d. 412/1021) Ja’far Manşûr (d. 417)
(d. 433/1041)

Abû Manşûr Abû Kâlijar Fanâ-khûsraw Samâ’ al-Dawla
Farâmûrûz Gâshîâp

76. “Abû Ghalîb the Druggist”: al-‘ajîr. None of the standard biographical dictionaries mention his name.

77. “he had finished all ... Animals”: The Shâfî, written over a period of years, beginning ca. 406/1015 and finished probably ca. 423/1032, contains the following parts: Part I, “Logic,” divided into nine sections (Ia-ge, Categories, Hermeneutics, Analytics, Apodictics, Topics, Sophistics, Rhetorics, and Poetics); Part II, “Physics,” divided into eight sections (Scope of Physics, the Heavens and the Earth, Generation and Corruption, the Active and Passive, Innatebeings, Psychology or the Soul, Plants, and Animals); Part III, “Mathematics,” divided into four sections (Euclid or Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astronomy or the Almagest); and Part IV, “Metaphysics.”

78. “Tâj al-Mulq”: Abû Na‘r ibn Bahram. Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 320, s.a. 411, says that he was the wazîr of Shams al-Dawla, presumably having replaced Ibn Sinâ in that position. In a battle which took place in Hamadân in 411/1020, between the Kurdish and Turkish troops of Shams al-Dawla, Tâj al-Mulq was the leader of the Kurdish forces. Although he called in ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla for aid in defeating the Turkish troops, three years later he led the forces opposing ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla (see below, n. 80). There, in Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 330, s.a. 414, he is called al-Qûhî, the Mountaineer, or the Kurd. The Durayt al-akhrî, a Persian translation of Ibn Fudâq, the 8th/14th century, calls Tâj al-Mulq the brother of Samâ’ al-Dawla and therefore the son of Shams al-Dawla. See Durayt al-akhrî, ed. M. Shâfî as Vol. II of the Tâtâmâm Shi‘ûn al-hikma (Lahore, 1935), p. 42.

79. Farsâdân: According to Yaqût, Baldhû, III, 870, Farsâdân is a well-known castle of Hamadân in the district of Jârâ. It is also known as Barashân or Bardahân. Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 403, s.a. 421, says that it is fifteen farâku’d (about fifty-five miles) from Hamadân. Ibn Fudâq, p. 50, gives the name of this castle as Nardawân.


81. “the son of Shams al-Dawla”: All of the manuscripts give this reading: Tâj al-Mulq Ibn Shams al-Dawla, rather than Tâj al-Mulq Ibn Shams al-Dawla. Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 329, s.a. 414, states that only Tâj al-Mulq was in the castle, Samâ’ al-Dawla having already submitted to ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla. The reading in the manuscripts, then, would agree with the statement in the Durayt al-akhrî (see above, n. 78) that Tâj al-Mulq and Samâ’ al-Dawla were brothers.

82. “the ‘Alî”: al-‘Alî. This term is used as a nida by Shî’ites of both the Ismâ‘îlî and Twelver branches. See, e.g., Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 329, 364, 411, 460, s.a. 413, 418, 421, 429, for obituary notices of a number of people with this nida. No information on this person is found in the standard biographical dictionaries. However, one of the works which Ibn Sinâ wrote in Hamadân, Cardïs Remedies, is dedicated to “al-Shârîf al-Sa’îd Abû al-Husayn ‘Ali ibn al-Hasan.” (Mahdâvî, p. 24), whose name would imply strongly that he was a Shi‘ite.

83. “Isfahân”: One of the four capitals of the Jibâl, lying to the southeast of
Hamadhan, it is also spelled Isfahan or Isfahan. See Yaqut, *Buldan*, I, 292–98; Le Strange, pp. 292–7.

84. "Tibrân": All the sources but J read Tabaqân, which is incorrect, since the only Tabarân given by the geographers is one of the twin towns which made up the city of Tûn, in Khurâsân. See Yaqût, *Buldan*, III, 486, for Tabaqân, and I, 293, where he lists the *rastaq* of Isfahán, with Tabaqân not occurring there. Two other spellings are possible:

(1) Tabarâk, combining a word for mountain with the diminutive suffix, -âk, with the meaning, therefore, of hillock. There was a fortress by this name at al-Rayy, and according to Le Strange, p. 205, there was a citadel by this name in Isfahán at the time of Timur’s conquest, at the end of the 8th/14th century. See Ibn al-Athir, IX, 131, s.a. 367, for the fortress of “Tabarâq,” where Fakhr al-Dawla died. See also Yaqût, *Buldan*, III, 507–08.

(2) Tibrân, which Yaqût, *Buldan*, III, 365, and Hamd Allâh Mustawfi-Tal-Qazwini list as one of the districts of Isfahán. See Naschîl-al-iqudî, Geographical Section, ed. and trans. G. Le Strange, Gibb Memorial Series, XXIII (London and Leiden), 1913–15, Vol. I (edition), 50, and Vol. II (translation), 57. Although only one manuscript gives this reading, it must be the correct one. The other copyists misread the word as Tabaqân because that city was well known, whereas Tibrân, as a district of Isfahán, would have been known to very few people.

85. “Kûy Kumbâdh”: the quarter, or district, of the dome. See Steingass, Persian-English Dictionnaire, p. 1065, for the meaning of *kûy* as quarter or district. This quarter of Isfahán is not mentioned by Yaqût or Mustawfi, but it occurs as Kûy Kumbad in the *Chahâr maqâla*, p. 64, and it is translated by Browne as “Gate of the Dome.” It also appears as Kûy Kumbad (Kumbad) in the *Durat al-âkhbâr*, p. 43, and in J. All of the other manuscripts read Kûn Kumbad. See E. G. Browne, trans., *Chahâr maqâla*, by Niẓâmi (Arnold Samarkanidi, London, 1900), p. 103.

86. “Abû Allâh Ibn Bîbi”: There is no mention of this person in any of the standard biographical dictionaries.


89. “in the year … attacked Sâbûr Khwast”: ‘Alî al-Dawla attacked Sâbûr Khwast a number of times, according to Ibn al-Athîr. After his attack on Hamadhan in 414/1023, he went on to conquer Sâbûr Khwast. See Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 331, s.a. 414. But Ibn Sinâ was not yet in Isfahán, so this could not have been the date of the completion of the *Shâfi‘i*. ‘Alî al-Dawla made other attacks on Sâbûr Khwast in 417/1026 and 421/1030, based on references from Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 351–52, s.a. 417, and 402, s.a. 421.

Since al-Jâzâ’î states in his introduction to the *Shâfi‘i* (Mahdavi, p. 129) that Ibn Sinâ was forty years old when he finished the work, the latter campaign mentioned above (in 421/1030) is probably the one referred to by al-Jâzâ’î in the biography. The *Najât* may have been written during this campaign, or perhaps a later one; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 424, s.a. 423, specifically places *‘Alî* al-Dawla in Sâbûr Khwast in 423/1032.

Sâbûr Khwast, written by the Persians Shâhpur Khwast, was a city in a province of the same name, lying to the south of Hamadhan and to the west of Isfahán. At different times during this period it was under the control of Shams al-Dawla, Abû Shawk Fâris, the ‘Amâqâzî, and *‘Alî* al-Dawla. See Yaqût, *Buldan*, III, 4–5; Le Strange, pp. 200–2.

90. “great number of journeys … errors”: It is difficult to say whether al-Jâzâ’î means the great number of journeys taken by the observers who compiled these tables, or of the travels through many hands which the tables themselves made. Ibn Khalîdûn, in discussing the fate of astronomical observations in Islam, says, *Muqaddima*, p. 488, trans., III, 134, “in Islam, only a little concern has been paid to it, much of which was in the days of al-Ma’mûn [r. 198/813–21/833], who made a well-known instrument for observation called an armillary sphere—he started it but he did not finish it—and when he died traces of it [his observations] disappeared and were forgotten. Those who followed depended upon the ancient observations, but these were useless because of the change of the movements (*l’hâlîf*) of the planets.”

Ibn Funduq, p. 52, says the cause was the great number of journeys and the accumulation (huruzum) of errors.

Another possibility is that suggested by Aydîn Sayîli, *The Observatory in Islam*, Publications of the Turkish Historical Society, Series VIII, No. 38 (Ankara, 1960), p. 156, where he translates this passage as “because of many journeys undertaken and due to certain other obstacles the activity of observation was interrupted.” This however, seems to be too loose a translation; *al-khalal* can hardly mean interruptions, and they had already been referred to as being present in the epichoraxes of the ancients.

91. “the ‘Ali*’*: A work in Persian similar to the *Najât*, called today the *Dinîsh-nâmeh-i ‘Ali* or *Book of Knowledge of ‘Alî* [al-Dawla].

92. “twenty-five years*”: Ibn Funduq, p. 52, says that Abû ‘Ubayd was the friend and pupil of Ibn Sinâ for thirty years, but this must be inaccurate, since in his introduction to the *Shâfi‘i*, al-Jâzâ’î states, “I met him when he was in Jurjân, when he was about thirty-two years old.” See Mahdavi, p. 129. Since the two men met shortly after the death of Qâhin, which occurred in 403/1013, and Ibn Sinâ died in 428/1037, at age fifty-eight, twenty-five years would be the correct figure.

93. “Abû Mansûr al-Jâbbân*”: Muhammad Ibn ‘Ali Ibn ‘Umar Abû Mansûr al-Jâbbân was his full name, according to Yaqût, *Ishbîl*, VII, 45–46. al-Samâ\'î,
NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

Anâb, fols. 120b-121a, explains that the nîšâb al-Jabîbân, is given to one who learns correct Arabic usage from the Bedouin in the desert—al-jabîbân, according to al-Samânî, is a word which means desert.

Abû Manšur, according to Yâqût, was a member of the entourage of al-Sâdid ibn `AbdAllâh (see below, n. 97), but he became estranged from him before the Sâhid’s death in 385/995. He remained in al-Rayy, however, until 416/1025, when he went to Isfâhân and the court of `Alî al-Dawla.

94. “Abû Manšur al-Azhârî”: Muhammad ibn `AÎmid ibn al-Azhar ibn Taîba Abû Manšur al-Azhârî al-Harâwî was born in Haräz in 392/999 and died, apparently in the same city, in 400/1009, the year of Ibn Sînâ’s birth. He studied philology in Harâz and Baghdad and spent two years as a prisoner of a Bedouin tribe in Bahrayn, where he studied their very pure Arabic. He wrote a number of works on lexicography. See Yâqût, Ihkâmî, VI, 197–98; see also G.A., I, 129, and G.A., S, I, 197, and R. Blachère, “al-Azhârî,” EP, I, 182; al-Samânî, Anâb, fols. 28v–29a, does not list Abû Manšur.

The Correct Philology (recently edited and published in Cairo) is arranged in the manner of al-Khalîl’s Kitâb al-`azîm, with the roots classified phonetically, not alphabetically. Much of this work by Abû Manšur was used by Ibn Manšur in his LÎsîn al-`arab. See J. A. Haywood, Arabic Lexicography, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1965), pp. 20–40 (on al-Khalîl), 77–82 (on Ibn Manšur).


98. “true preserve . . . sugar”: Some of the manuscripts (A and B) have sakânjâhâh al-sâhid, sugar oxymel—i.e., oxymel made with sugar rather than honey, which the Greeks necessarily used. See Léveque and A. Khâledî, Medical Formulary, p. 62, for a definition of oxymel, and p. 172, n. 25: “. . . Ibn Sînâ found it [oxymel] useful for the stomach . . . .” See also al-Khâwârazmî, Mafâtîh, pp. 175–76: “salâmâhâh is composed of rose and honey, sakânjâhâh is made of vinegar and honey and given this

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name, but if sugar is used in place of honey and syrup of quince or something else in place of vinegar the concoctions are called preserves (al-`a`îb),”)

99 “manâf”: One man (or manâf) is said by al-Khâwârazmî, Mafâtîh, p. 14, to have the weight of two rats, or 257 dirhams. The weight of one dirham is variously given by modern scholars. See G. C. Miles, “Dirham,” EP, II, 319.

100 “Shîrâz”: The capital of the province of Fars, south of Isfâhân. See Yâqût, Buldân, III, 348–50; Le Strange, pp. 249–52.

101. “Abû al-Qâsim al-Kirmani”: Ibn Fanduq, pp. 32–33, says that Ibn Sînâ and Abû al-Qâsim quarreled bitterly, exchanging a number of insults. Abû al-Qâsim is not listed in al-Samânî, Anâb, fols. 400a, or Yâqût, Izkân, 102.

102. “`Ibrâhîm ibn Bâbâ al-Dawla”: He is not listed in the standard biographical dictionaries.

103. “esoteric interpretation”: `Ibn al-bâlî. Meaning that he was a Shi`îte, or perhaps a Sunnî, since these two groups argued for an esoteric (al-zâhîr) interpretation of the Qurâ`n. The name, or rather title, Bâbâ would imply a Sufi background, since this term, like Shâykh or Pir, meant the leader of a group of Sufis. See M. G. S. Hodgson, “Bâbâniya,” EP, I, 1098–1100.

104. “Fîwrâni”: This is a designation of one of the early types of paper used in the Muslim world; it is listed by Ibn al-Nâdim, Fûrûh, I, 21. See also C. Huart, “Kâhchad,” EP, II, 624; also see Huart, Les calligraphes et miniatouristes de l’Orient musulman (Paris, 1908), p. 9.

105. “Sultân Mas‘ûd”: Shihâb al-Dawla Abû Sa‘îd Mas‘ûd ibn Ma`mûd (r. 421/1031–432/1041), Ghaznavîd Sultân who replaced his father after a brief attempt by his brother Muhammad to take control. He ruled over the Ghaznavîd Empire at its greatest extent, but he was also the Sultân who saw the beginnings of its dissolution—the Saljuq conquest of Khwârezm and Khorâsân. See Bosworth, Ghaznavids, ch. VIII, pp. 227–40.

106. “on the day when . . . not found afterwards”: Mas‘ûd had been appointed governor of the Jâhîl by Ma`mûd soon after the latter’s conquest of al-Rayy and his return to Khorâsân. Mas‘ûd then attacked Isfâhân and took the city from `Alî al-Dawla; upon his return to al-Rayy, the people of Isfâhân rebelled against his deputies there and he had to return to put down the rebellion, killing about five thousand people, according to Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 372, s.a. 420.

Yet `Alî al-Dawla was in Isfâhân the following year, according to Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 395, s.a. 421, but was driven out by a deputy of Mas‘ûd, sent from al-Rayy. It was while `Alî al-Dawla was in exile at Tusar, in Khâzâstân, southwest of Isfâhân asking aid from his ruler, the Bâyâd Abî Kâlitîr (d. 440/1049), that the news of Ma`mûd’s death came to him, and he realized that Mas‘ûd must return to Ghazna. And so `Alî al-Dawla returned to Isfâhân and took that city, Hamadân, and al-Rayy from the troops of Mas‘ûd. See Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 402, s.a. 412; see also Gardîzî, Zâmî, p. 194.

However, the sack of Isfâhân referred to here by al-Jâzîrî was probably not any of those which took place in 420 and 421, but rather an attack which took
but were turned down and had to leave. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, p. 86, for the Sallarid dynasty.

109. "al-Karaj": Most of the sources read al-Karkh, but this is certainly an error due to the very close resemblance of the name of this city in the area of Hamadân to that of the famous quarter of Baghêld, al-Karaj. Ya'qûb, *Buldun*, IV, 988, says, "the district of Hamadân comprises 660 villages ... from the gate of al-Karaj to Sinar in length ..." For al-Karak, see Le Strange, pp. 31, 67; for Karaj, see Le Strange, p. 197. See also V. Minorsky, tr., *Hudud al-sjam*, 2nd ed., ed. Bosworth, Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, XI (London, 1970), p. 132, where a copyist has made a similar mistake, calling Abî Dulaî of Karaj, Karîsh.

110. "Ihsâji": The name of a district and a town south of Isfahan, between that city and Khâzânisî. At this time it was under the control of the Bâyûr rûler, Abû Kâlijâr (see above, n. 106). See Ya'qûb, *Buldun*, I, 416-17; Le Strange, p. 245.

111. "two dinâq": One dinâq theoretically equals one-sixth of a dirham. See Miles, "Dirham," *EH*, 319. But al-Khwârismî, *Masâlik*, pp. 62-63, states that one dinâq equals one-sixth of a dinâr, and since the dirham was seven-tenths of the dinâr in weight, one dinâq in this system would equal ten-forty-seCONDS of a dirham, slightly less than one-quarter. In either case, the doctor treating Ibn Sinâ put in ten to fifteen times the amount of celery seed prescribed.

112. "mîhrâdât": mîhrâdâtîyû. An elective name after Mîhrâdât of Puntus (d. 63 B.C.), taken as a paste or sweet, usually containing opium. See al-Qâfî, p. 324; see also Lane, *E. L.*, p. v. p. 1868, under mîhrâdû, electuary.

113. "the passed away ... in the year 428": All of the sources, including Ibn Fûnduq, p. 56, except Ibn al-Athîr give the place of Ibn Sinâ's death and burial as Hamadân; Ibn al-Athîr IX, 456, s. a. 428, says it was in Isfahan. al-Jâzîjâni does not mention the exact day of Ibn Sinâ's death, but Ibn Fûnduq, p. 58, gives it as the first Friday of Ramadan, 428 / 18 June 1037. Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 456, s. i. 428, says that he died in Shîbân, 428 / May-June 1037.

Ibn Abî Usâyahî, II, 9, says that some say he was taken to Isfahan and buried there in the quarter where he had lived, Kûy Kûnbad (but spelled Kûn Kûnbad, as before).

114. "the year of his birth was 370": Most of the sources give the year 370 [980], with Ibn Fûnduq, p. 39, specifying the month of Safar / August-September (see above, n. 8). However, Ibn Abî Usâyahî, II, 9, says 375 [985], but since no other source has this date, and since al-Jâzîjâni's introduction to the *Shajî* gives quite different information, supporting the date 370 / 980 (see above, n. 92). Ibn Abî Usâyahîa is clearly incorrect in this date. Khwâzânî, *Wâsâri*, fol. 66 a, says that the year of his birth was 373 [983] and that his age at his death in 428 [1037] was sixty-three solar years and seven months. This is obviously an error, but if you assume that he meant fifty-three solar years and some months, it would be correct, but it would still place Ibn Sinâ's birth later than do all but one of the other sources. Ibn Sinâ's age at his death, then, was 58 lunar years and some months, although Ibn Fûnduq, p. 59, says that his age was "nâh" (30) solar years. His age in solar years, however, must have been 56 and 10 months.
NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION
OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "I have endeavored ... ninety works": The person who compiled this longer bibliography is unknown.

2. "Philosophy": یکمه. This term is found instead of فلسفه, which included only those subjects dealt with by the Greeks. The word "فلسفه" does not occur in the bibliography, so I have translated یکمه as "philosophy" throughout, although "wisdom" would be its more usual translation.

3. "for him in Jurjân": Ibn Abī Ḫayyā'ī's text adds, "I found in the front of the work that he wrote it for the Shaykh Abī Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fāraṭ." No notice of this person is given in the standard biographical dictionaries. Could this be the same person who is called Abū Muḥammad al-Shirāzi in the text of the autobiography, or could this dedication possibly be to a son (or other relative) of Abū Muḥammad al-Shirāzi?

4. "his brother 'Ali": His brother is called ʿAbduʾl-Muṭṭaḍ by Ibn Funduq, but his name is given as 'Ali also in one of the verses of his Ode on logic, written when Ibn Sinā was in Gurgānj. See Ibn Funduq p. 39; Mahdavi, p. 28.

5. "Abū Sahl al-Maṭī ... in Jurjān": This statement placing the composition of this work in Jurjān contradicts the story told in the Chahār maqāla, which says that Abū Sahl died while accompanying Ibn Sinā on his flight from Gurgānj to Jurjān. See above, Notes to the Translation of the Autobiography, n. 43.

6. "Natural Faculties": This is the title of an essay written by Abū ʿAlī al-Faraḥī, Abī Ṭayyib al-Jāthīqī (d. 435/1043), a Christian physician of Baghdad who practiced in the hospital established by ʿAdud al-Dawla (r. 367/978–372/983) in 372/982. See D. M. Dunlop, "Binārīnān," EI, I, 1223. This work by Ibn Sinā may be a commentary on Abū al-Faraḥī's work, which is listed by Ibn Abī Ḫayyā'ī, I, 241, and G.J.L, 5, I, 884.

7. "Abū Sāʿīd al-Yamānī": He was a physician and author of works on medicine, whose full name is given by Ibn Abī Ḫayyā'ī, I, 240, as Abū Sāʿīd al-Paṭṭī ibn ʿĪsā al-Yamānī. He is mentioned as one of the teachers of Ibn Sinā by Ibn Abī Ḫayyā'ī, ibid. Samīmān, fol. 602a, does not list Abū Sāʿīd, but does tell of the migration of the family from Yamān in the Arabian Peninsula, first to Basra, and then to Baghdad, and notes that one of the members of the family studied in Isfahān. See also al-Qiftī, p. 407.

8. "refuting ... Faculties": Is this work the same as No. 23 in this bibliography? Mahdavi, p. 116, believes that the two works are identical.

9. "flight to Isfahān": Although Ibn Sinā's escape from Hamadhān and flight to Isfahān, which took place ca. 414/1023, would seem to be the one referred to
here, one of the MSS in Istanbul gives the date as the end of Muharram, 424/January, 1033. This would place its composition during Abū ʿAlī al-Dawla’s flight from Tāsh Farrāb, Sultan Maṣʿūd’s army commander, which is described in the biography of Ibn Sinā and reported by Ibn al-Athir, IX, 425, i.e. 423. See Mahdavi, p. 197, for a description of the MSS.

10. “Ibn Zaylā” : Abū Maṣʿūd al-Husayn ibn Tāhir ibn Zaylā (or Ibn Zāla) (according to Ibn Funduq) was one of Ibn Sinā’s favorite pupils. He was a native of Iṣfahān and may have been a Zoroastrian (Majūd); his fields of special competence were mathematics and music. He wrote several commentaries, including one on Ḫūra ṣ ib the Tanūẓ, and a book on the Soul (al-nafs). He died in 440/1048-49 at an early age. See Ibn Funduq, pp. 92-93.

11. “Bahmanyār” : He is called Abū al-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn al-Marmān (or Ibn al-Marmān) by both Ibn Abī Usayyib, II, 19, and Ibn Funduq, p. 91. The latter adds that he was a Zoroastrian born in Ardabāhāyān, who wrote several works on logic and music, but that he was not skilled in Arābic theology (al-kalām al-ʿarābī). He died in 458/1066, “thirty years after the death of Abū ʿAlī.” Ibn Funduq, ibid.

12. “Abū al-Rayḥān al-Birūnī” : Ibn Sinā’s contemporary and chief rival as the greatest philosopher-scientist of that time. Born in Khwārazm in 362/973, he was a client at many of the same courts as Ibn Sinā: the Sāmānids, the Khwārazm-shāhs, the Ziyārids in Jurchān, and the Būyids in Al-Raṣ. They may have come into personal contact in one or more of these courts, although neither man mentions it. Their correspondence is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī in al-Ṭabarī al-kājīa “us-ṣūr al-maḥāfa” ed. C. Edward Sachau (Leipzig, 1923); rpt. Baghdād, n.d.), p. 257; tr. Sachau, The Chronology of Ancient Nations (London, 1879), p. 247. According to Ibn Funduq, p. 95, the correspondence became bitter, especially when al-Bīrūnī questioned some of Ibn Sinā’s replies. Ibn Sinā allowed his best pupil, Abāʿīrām, to read al-Bīrūnī’s objections in a mocking manner and write an insulting answer to al-Bīrūnī. See Ibn Funduq, pp. 29 and 62, for further information on these disputes. Also see D. J. Boilot, “al-Bīrūnī,” Ep., 1, 1236-38.

13. “the prince Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd” : Although all of the MSS of the autobiography / biography read “the prince” (al-amīr), MSS of the work itself read “to the faithful shaykh” (Ihl-shaykh al-amīr). He is called either Abū Bakr Muḥammad or Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad. See Mahdavi, p. 39. However, Ibn Funduq, p. 33, says that Ibn Sinā dedicated this work to “the faithful wazīr (al-shaykh al-wazīr al-amīr) Abū Saʿīd al-Hamadhānī.”


15. “Questions of Hūṣayn” : Hūṣayn ibn Iṣlāq (d. 260 / 873), according to al-Qāṭiʿi, p. 173, and Fārisṭ, p. 294; or 264 / 877, according to Ibn Usayyib, I, 190), the Nestorian translator of Greek scientific and philosophical works. He also wrote a number of treatises on medicine, of which his Questions is called an introduction (madkhal) to medicine by Ibn Abī Usayyib, I, 197.

16. “Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr” : One of the most famous Stās of Ibn Sinā’s time (he was born in 357/967 and died in 440/1049), he and Ibn Sinā probably never met, despite the many accounts to the contrary. See H. Ritter, “Abū Saʿīd
APPENDIX I

Shorter Bibliography of Ibn Sina's Works

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¹Longer bibliography: Instructions and Remarks.
²Longer bibliography: The Large Epitome.
³Longer bibliography: Conversions of Modals.
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†Longer bibliography: Odes and Poems.
‡Longer bibliography: Phonetics.
†Ibn Funduq: al-’uduiyya in place of al-samhuiyya.
§Longer bibliography: Infinity.
†Longer bibliography: Treatises, etc.; and Twenty Questions.
§Ibn Funduq: .. between him and learned men of the age.
*Longer bibliography: The Bird.
APPENDIX II

LONGER BIBLIOGRAPHY OF IBN SINA’S WORKS

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\(^1\)The Judgment and Equity (al-imāż/ asl-išārat).

\(^2\)The ‘Alā’i.

\(^3\)The Instructions (al-išārat).
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*Explanation of Modal terms (ḥayāt bīl-ṣurūṭ).
*Poem on Logic (ṣūrat fi-maṣāṣaṭ).
*The Branches of the Sciences (aqām al-ṣūrūt) and The Branches of Philosophy (aqām al-ṭibāna).
*On Finiteness and Infinity (ṣūrat fi-maṣāṣaṭ).

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*Answers to Ten Questions (ṣūrat fi-maṣāṣaṭ).
*Answers to Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī which he sent to him from Khwārar (ṣūrat fi-maṣāṣaṭ).
*On the Cause of the Earth's Remaining in its Position (ṣūrat fi-maṣāṣaṭ).
*Treatise on Music other than [the one in] the Shīfā (ṣūrat fi-maṣāṣaṭ iṣrāṣ al-shīfā).
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\[19\]On a Hidden Matter (fi amr maslih).
\[20\]The Management of the Household (ta'awul al-mazal).
\[21\]A Letter to Abū 'Ubayd al-Ju'ayjī Refuting the Charge that he Contradicted the Qur’ān (risāla ilā Abī 'Ubayd al-Ju'ayjī fisī al-isbiṣī 'aswāq naṣīhā ilayhi min nisīb ma'āradat al-Qur’ān).
\[22\]Medical Rules (dustūr fihib).
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²⁴Anawati lists twenty-two works which would fit under this title.
³¹Comments (al-t`uriq), without any further designation.
Works written in Bukhārā (i.e., sometime before 392/1002) were the *Sum and Substance* (number 3 in the long bibliography), Good Works and Evil (4), the Compilation (6), +Ten Questions (42), +Sixteen Questions (45), the +Defense of Poets (57), and the Soul, known as the Chapter (92).

Works written in Gurgān (392/1002–402/1012) were the *Ode on logic* (50), the *Position of the Earth* (44), *Correcting Errors in Medical Treatment* (50), and *Alchemy* (54), all of which were dedicated to al-Sūhāyli (al-Saili) in the manuscripts.

Works written in Jūrjān (402/1012–405/1014) were the *Middle Summary* (8), the *Origin and the Return* (9), *Comprehensive Observations* (10), the *Angle* (22), and Book I of the *Qānūn* (7).

Works written in al-Rayy (405/1014–15) were the *Return* (11), and a portion of the *Qānūn*.

Works written in Hamadhān (405/1015–415/1024) were *Cardiac Drugs* (19), *Guidance* (16), the *Cūl* (17), Ḥājī Ḥabīb b. Taqwān (18), a letter to the *‘ulamā* of Baghdād (77), a letter to a friend (78), the final parts of the *Qānūn*, and several parts of the *Shifṭ* (2): the “Physics” (except the sections on Animals and Plants), the “Metaphysics,” and one section of the “Logic.”

The largest number of works which can be dated were written in Isfahān (415/1024–420/1037). These works include the + Supplemets (1), the + Judgment (5), the + Arabic Language (12), the +Arabic Philosophy (13), the +Najāt (14), the Instructions and Remarks (15), the *Pulse* (20), *Phonetics* (21), *Forcoidination and Destiny* (35), *Discussions with Bahmānār* (41), *Eastern Philosophy* (43), *Astronomical Instruments* (53), *Threne Philosophy* (59), commentary on Aristotle’s *De Anima* (81), the *Akhāfatīs* *Letter on the Return* (56), and the final parts of the *Shifṭ*.

The remainder of the works listed in the medieval bibliographies cannot be precisely dated at this time, for the reasons given above.

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*This work is not known to have survived to this time.  
+This title is found in both the medieval and modern bibliographies, but the works so designated may not be identical.
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