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The Life of Ibn Sina



STUDIES IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

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THE LIFE OF IBN SINA

A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation

by

William E. Gohlman

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To Susan

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INTRODUCTION TO THE EDITION

THE STANDARD ARABIC VERSION of the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā and its continuation by one of his pupils, Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī, has been in print since 1884, when August Muller's edition of the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. A.H. 668/A.D. 1270) was published.[1] The section on Ibn Sīnā is found in Vol. II, pp. 2–20, and consists of a brief introduction (p. 2), the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā (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 Sīnā (pp. 9–10), a number of poems attributed to Ibn Sīnā (pp. 10–18), and a longer bibliography (pp. 18–20).

Another version of Ibn Sīnā's autobiography/biography was published a few years later (1903) in Julius Lippert's edition of the *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* of Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248).[2] The material on Ibn Sīnā is found on pp. 413–26, and, like the version in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 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 Uṣaybiʿa's section on Ibn Sīnā; i.e., the anecdotes and poems about Ibn Sīnā, 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 Uṣaybiʿa copied this section from al-Qifṭī, 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 Sīnā, Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1170), has a section on him in the *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma*[3] which contains a great deal of new material and probably not known to either al-Qifṭī or Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 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-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. However, his biography of Ibn Sīnā is a condensation of the autobiography/biography, with other information interspersed.[5] Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1678) follows Ibn Khallikān almost identically in his notice of Ibn Sīnā's life, several times mentioning Ibn Khallikān by name.[6]

Although the accounts in al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa seemed to have been mere copies of the original manuscript which was dictated by Ibn Sīnā to his pupil al-Jūzjānī, 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 the one in al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa.[7] He found this version, written by Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad al-Kāshī (d. after 754/1353), on the margins of a manuscript of Shahrazūrī's *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*,[8] which itself contains an account of Ibn Sīnā's life which sounds very much like that of Ibn Khallikān.[9] Al-Ahwānī notes that al-Kāshī's version must merely be a copy of a manuscript similar to the one(s) used by al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa,[10] and so in his edition of it he notes the variant readings of al-Qifṭī and/or Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. 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 ن in my Arabic edition (from the title of the published work, *Nukat fī aḥwāl. . . .*), contains the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā (pp. 9–17), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (pp. 17–28), but without the shorter bibliography, the longer bibliography (pp. 29–35), similar to the one in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 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-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa was made by Saʿīd Nafīsī, who also added a Persian translation.[11] Although Nafīsī states in his introduction the source of his edition: Yildiz Hususi Library (Istanbul), MS. 889, now a part of the Arabic collection of Istanbul University, MS. 4755,[12] 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 Nafīsī. The

full description of this manuscript is as follows: Universite, MS. 4755(24), fols. 308a–317b. Written in *nashkhī* script, 16x24 cm. (12x16 cm. each page), 15 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 588/[1192].[13] Called B in the English and ب in the Arabic sections of this work, it contains the autobiography (fols. 308a–311a), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (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, Yahya Mahdavi's *Fihrist-i muṣannafāt-i Ibn Sīnā*, lists a number of other manuscripts of the "*sar-gudhasht*" in the libraries of Istanbul.[14] 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, 16×24 cm. (10×16 cm. each page), this manuscript is dated from the first part of the 7th/13th century.[15] Called A in the English and ا in the Arabic sections of this work, it contains the autobiography (fols. 1b–4b), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (fols. 4b–13a), with the longer bibliography appearing where the shorter bibliography does in al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (fols. 5a–8a), and the shorter bibliography missing.

2. Ahmet III, MS. 3447(6), fols. 20b–26b. Written in clear *taʿlīq* script, 23×31 cm., 17 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 866/[1462].[16] Called J in the English and ج in the Arabic sections of this work, it contains the autobiography (fols. 20b–22a), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (fols. 22a–26b), with the longer bibliography appearing as in A (fols. 22b–23b), and the shorter bibiliography 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, 25×36 cm., 35 lines/page, this manuscript dates from the 10th/16th century.[17] It contains the autobiography (fols. 72b–73a), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (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.[18]

4. Nuruosmaniye, MS. 4894(44), fols. 247b–250b. Written in *naskhī* script, 23×35 cm., 37 lines/page, this manuscript is dated as "possibly" 10th/16th century.[19] It contains the autobiography (fols. 247b–248a), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (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-

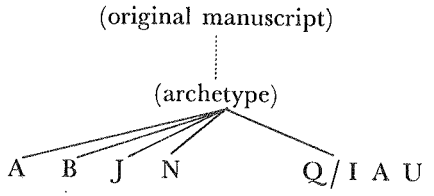
ting the marginal material found in J into its text, so I have not used it in my edition.

5. Universite, MS. 1458(26), fols. 71b–75a. Written in *taʿlīq* script, 36×21 cm., 29 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 1236/[1821].[20] It contains the autobiography (fols. 71b–72b), the continuation by al-Jūzjānī (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. 4353(5), fols. 42b–45a. Written in *taʿlīq* script, 10-1/2×15 cm,, 17 lines/page, this manuscript is dated 936/[1530].[21] It contains only the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā and is derived from al-Qifṭī (Q), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (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 *Tatimma*.[22] 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 *Tatimma* said ..." ("*qāla ṣāḥib al-tatimma* ..."). 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:[23]



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 separative errors which are also conjunctive. For example, on page 20, line 7, there is a lacuna in Q/IAU: the word بقراءة 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-Qifṭī, 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 separative 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 separative error against all other witnesses on page 18, line 7, where B has منّى, and all other witnesses have نفسى.

There is a separative error in A against all other witnesses on page 64, line 5, where A has بينهم and all other witnesses have بتتميم.

There is a separative 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 Sīnā'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 ق/ص 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, ي (*yā'*) rather than ئ (*hamza*) in the middle of a word, use of ا rather than ى (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 ٱ or إ, and have vocalized passive verbs and any doubtful readings.

I have included in my edition the autobiography, the continuation by al-Jūzjānī, with the inclusion of the shorter bibliography (which seems to have been compiled by al-Jūzjānī 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-Jūzjānī's biography, sometimes interrupted by 3 or 4; 3 = the shorter bibliography; 4 = the longer bibliography):

Q/IAU	1,	2a,	3,	2b,	poems, and anecdotes,	4 (last two in 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 Sīnā, beginning his autobiography. For completeness' sake, I give the introductions of the various sources below, first in Arabic, then in translation.

القفطي: أبو علىّ بن سينا الشيخ الرئيس وإنّما ذكرته ههنا لأن كنيته أشهر من اسمه سأله رجل من تلاميذه عن خبره فأملى عليه ما سطره عنه وهو أنّه قال: (صفحة ٤١٣)

ابن أبي أصيبعة: (الشيخ الرئيس ابن سينا) هو أبو على الحسين بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن على بن سينا وهو وان كان أشهر من أن يذكر وفضائله أظهر من أن تسطر فانه قد ذكر من أحواله ووصف من سيرته ما يغنى غيره عن وصفه ولذلك اننا نقتصر من ذلك على ما قد ذكره هو عن نفسه وعلى ما قد وصفه أبو

عبيد الجوزجانى صاحب الشيخ ايضا من أحواله وهذا جملة ما ذكرة الشيخ الرئيس عن نفسه نقله عنه أبو عبيد الجوزجانى قال الشيخ الرئيس: (الجزء الثانى. صفحة ٢)

أ: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك اللهمّ يا قيوم فى سيرته وفهرست كتبه وما وجب تقديمه من مصنفّاته. نكت جمعها الشيخ أبو عبيد عبد الواحد الجوزجانى فى أحوال الشيخ الرئيس حجّة الحقّ أبى على الحسين بن عبد الله بن سينا رضى الله عنه وتواريخه المعروف بسر كذشت. قال أبو عبيد « حدّثنى الشيخ الرئيس أبو على قال: » (صفحة ١ ظ)

ب: **سيرة الشيخ الرئيس رحمه الله وفهرست كتبه**

وذكر أحواله وتواريخه المعروف بسر كذشت. قال أبو عبيد عبد الواحد الجوزجانى رحمه الله «حدّثنى الشيخ الرئيس أبو على رحمه الله قال:» (صفحة ٣٠٨ و)

ج: **مناقب الشيخ الرئيس أبى على بن سينا رحمه الله**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال أبو عبيد « حدّثنى الشيخ الرئيس أبو على قال: » (صفحة ٢٠ ظ)

ن: **نكت في احوال الشيخ الرئيس أبى على بن سينا**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. نكت جمعها الشيخ أبو عبيد عبد الواحد الجوزجانى فى أحوال الشيخ الرئيس حجّة الحقّ أبى على بن عبدالله بن سينا رضى الله عنه وتواريخه المعروف بسر كذشت. قال أبو عبيد: حدّثنى الشيخ الرئيس أبو على قال: (صفحة ٩)

Q: *Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā*, The Shaykh al-Raʾīs (Master and Leader), whom I have mentioned here [rather than earlier in this work, under his *ism*, al-Ḥusayn] because his *kunya* [Abū ʿAlī] is better known than his *ism*. One of his pupils asked him about his past, and so he dictated what has been recorded from him to him [the pupil], which was that he said: (p. 413)

IAU: *The Shaykh al-Raʾīs Ibn Sīnā*, who was Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn

ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Sīnā, and who was too famous to need mentioning and whose merits were too obvious to need to be recorded. He related his experiences and described his life so that everyone else can dispense with his own account. And therefore we have confined ourselves for that reason to what he related about himself and also to those of his experiences described by Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī, the companion of the Shaykh. This is the sum of what the Shaykh al-Raʾīs related about himself, from whom Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī has passed it on. The Shaykh al-Raʾīs 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 Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Jūzjānī has covered well everything concerning the experiences of the Shaykh al-Raʾīs, Proof of the Truth, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sīnā (may God be pleased with him) and his history, known as *"sar-gudhasht"* [a Persian term meaning "recollections"]. Abū ʿUbayd said, "The Shaykh al-Raʾīs, Abū ʿAlī said to me": (fol. 1b)

B: *The Biography of the Shaykh al-Raʾīs (may God be merciful to him), the Bibliography of his Writings*, and the relation of his experiences and history, known as *"sar-gudhasht."* Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Jūzjānī (may God have mercy on him) said, "The Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī (may God have mercy on him) said to me": (fol. 308a)

J: *The Attainments of the Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā (may God be merciful to him)*. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; Abū ʿUbayd said, "The Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī said to me": (fol. 20b)

N: *Stories Concerning the Experiences of the Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā.* In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the Shaykh Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Jūzjānī has covered well everything concerning the experiences of the Shaykh al-Raʾīs, Proof of the Truth, Abū ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sīnā (may God be pleased with him) and his history , known as *"sar-gudhasht."* Abū ʿUbayd said, "The Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī said to me": (p. 9)

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATION

IN ADDITION to the earlier Arabic printed versions of the autobiography/biography of Ibn Sīnā, an English translation of this work by the late Arthur J. Arberry has been available since 1951.[24] Professor Arberry's translation was made from the versions of al-Qifṭī and/or Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa—probably from the former, since he follows al-Qifṭī in the only major discrepancy between the two works[25]—so he was unable to take advantage of the new versions published by al-Ahwānī and Nafīsī.

Arberry's translation also contains a number of minor errors, such as "four dirhams" (p. 12) for "three dirhams" (al-Qifṭī, p. 416, line 1), "of a generous format" (p. 22) for "Firʿawnī quarto" (al-Qifṭī, p. 424, line 12), and various misspellings of proper names, such as "al-Barqī" (p. 13) for "al-Baraqī", "ʿAnāz" (p. 16) for "ʿAnnāz", and "al-Karkh" (p. 22) for "al-Karaj."[25]

But the most important reason to undertake another translation of Ibn Sīnā'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 Sīnā's experiences in medical treatment which are included in all of the texts.[27] One other omission is more serious: Arberry does not mention the bibliography which al-Jūzjānī included in the body of his biography of Ibn Sīnā and which both al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa repeat. In addition, the extended bibliography added by a later copyist and included in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa 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 Sīnā's works.

Other than Arberry's translation, which has appeared in a number of other places since its original publication,[28] there has been no translation of the autobiography/biography per se. There have been paraphrases, with some direct quotations interspersed, of al-Qifṭī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, or Arberry by several authors. Soheil M. Afnan, in his *Avicenna: His Life and Works*, essentially paraphrases al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, adding material from Ibn Funduq and Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's *Chahār maqāla*.[29] Hossein Nasr, in his *Three Muslim Sages*, has a brief biography of Ibn Sīnā which includes several doubtful

conjectures about his life and times.[30] The latest biographical sketch of Ibn Sīnā's life appears in Philip K. Hitti's *Makers of Arab History*, where al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa are given as the sources of his account.[31]

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 Sīnā 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 Sīnā's period, Ibn al-Athīr and Gardīzī; and (2) to amplify what is—very likely deliberately—a skeletal autobiography/biography, one which only hints at or alludes to a great many important events in the life of Ibn Sīnā. This process of amplification was done primarily by quoting or paraphrasing other accounts of Ibn Sīnā's life, or events within that life, using especially the accounts of Ibn Funduq and Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī. The first of these two men was quite hostile to Ibn Sīnā 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 Sīnā's autobiography and biography.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

ALTHOUGH the bibliographies included in the early sources of Ibn Sīnā's autobiography/biography were edited as part of the complete editions of al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, less attention has been paid to them since that time. Arberry, as noted above, did not translate the shorter bibliography found in al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and did not mention either the shorter or longer bibliography in this work. Father Anawati, in his long descriptive bibliography of Ibn Sīnā's works,[32] does not mention either of these early bibliographies, nor do Afnan and Nasr in their studies of Ibn Sīnā'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[33] in which he notes which of Ibn Sīnā's works were mentioned in the earliest bibliographies. He includes in this appendix the titles found in al-Qifṭī, the longer bibliography from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 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 Sīnā has grown from "about forty" in al-Jūzjānī's compilation[34] to 276 in Father Anawati's bibliography. However, Father Anawati notes that a number of these are of doubtful attribution to Ibn Sīnā and some of them are clearly by other authors.[35] Mahdavi's list is cut to 132 works which are definitely, by Ibn Sīnā and another 110 which are by other authors, or are extracts from or abridgements of sections of Ibn Sīnā's larger works, especially the *Shifāʾ*. This posthumous growth of Ibn Sīnā'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-Jūzjānī 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 *Tatimma* (before 565/1169-70), he included in his section on Ibn Sīnā a bibliography containing thirty-eight works, one of which was mentioned twice.[36] However later copies of the manuscript contain a much longer bibliography, which has 118 titles, and which the modern editor of the *Tatimma* has placed in the supplementary notes at the end of the volume.[37]

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-Qifṭī, but adds four other titles not found in al-Qifṭī or Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa.[38] 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.[39] This longer bibliography of the later manuscripts of Ibn Funduq is itself supplemented in the brief notice of Ibn Sīnā's life taken largely from the *Tatimma*.[40] 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 Uṣaybiʿa 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(44), 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.[41]

If one were to collate all of the bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā'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 Sīnā's works grow so profusely in the first five centuries after his death? The process was very likely the same one which produced a bliography 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 Sīnā 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.[42] So in many cases the later bibliographers merely expanded what was already implicit in the earliest compilation by al-Jūzjānī.

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-Jūzjānī. 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, J, 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 Sīnā'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.

سيرة الشيخ الرئيس

كان والدى من أهل بلخ وانتقل منهـا إلى بخارى في أيّام الأمير نوح بن منصور واشتغل بالتصرّف وتولّى العمل في أثناء أيّامه بقرية من ضياع بخارى يقال لها خَرْمَيْثَن وهى من أمّهات القرى بتلك الناحية. وبقربها قرية يقال لهـا أفْشَنَة فتزوّج أبى منها بوالدتى[1] وقطن

١) سيرة الشيخ الرئيس ا ب: مناقب الشيخ الرئيس أبو على بن سينا ج: نكت فى أحوال الشيخ الرئيس أبى على بن سينا ن
٢) كان والدى ا ب ج ن: إنّ أبى كان ق/ص
٣) الأمير ساقطة ق/ص
٤) من ضياع بخارى يقال لها خرميثن ا ب ج ن: يقال لها خرميثن من ضياع بخارى ق/ص
٥) بتلك الناحية ساقطة ق/ص / / أفشنة ن ق/ص : انشه ١ : آبشنه ب: افسية ج / / فتزوّج ا ب ج ن: وتزوج ق/ص

[1] اسمها ستاره

THE LIFE OF THE SHAYKH AL-RA'IS

My father was a man of Balkh;[1] he moved from there to Bukhārā[2] in the days of Amīr Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr,[3] during whose reign he worked in the administration, being entrusted with the governing of a village in one of the royal estates[4] of Bukhārā. [The village,] called Kharmaythan,[5] was one of the most important villages | in this territory. Near it is a village called Afshanah,[6] where my father married my mother* and where he took up residence

* whose name was Sitāra

بها وتبنّك. ووُلِدْتُ أنا فيها[1] ثمّ وُلِدَ أخي[2] ثمّ انتقلنا إلى بخارى. وأُحْضِرَ لى معلّمَ القرآن ومعلّم الأدبَ وكمّلت العشر من العمر وقد أتيت على القرآن وعلى كثير من الأدب حتّى يقضى منّى العجب.

وكان أبى ممّن أجاب داعى المصريّين ويُعَدّ من لإسماعيليّة. وقد سمع منهم ذكر النفس والعقل على الوجه الذى يقولونه ويعرفونه هم وكذلك أخى. وكانوا ربّما تذاكروا ذلك بينهم وأنا أسمعهم وأدرك ما يقولونه ولا تقبله نفسى وابتدأوا يدعوننى إليه . يجرون

١) وتبنّك ا: وسكن ج ن: ساقطة ب / / أنا فيها ا ب ج ن: منها بها ق/ص
٢) وأحضر لى ا ب ج ن: وأحضرت ق/ص
٣) حتّى يقضى ا ب ج ن: حتّى كان يقضى ق/ص
٦) هم ساقطة ج / / كانوا ساقطة ب / /ذلك ساقطة ق / ص
٧) يقولونه ب ج ن ق/ص: يقولون ا / / نفسى ا ج ن ق/ص: منّى ب / / يدعوننى إليه ا ب ج ن: يدعو ننى أيضا إليه ق/ص

[1] فى صفر سبعين وثلثمائة والطالع السرطان درجة شرف المشترى والقمر على درجة شرفه والشمس على درجة شرفها والزهرة على درجة شرفها وسهم السعادة فى كط من السرطان وسهم الغيب فى أوّل السرطان مع سهيل والشعرى اليمانيّة.
[2] محمود بعده بخمس سنين .

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[10] 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 Ismāʿīliyya.[11] | 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 Ismāʿīlī doctrines.] And there was

* in Ṣafar, 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.[8]

+ Maḥmūd, five years later.[9]

على ألسنتهم أيضا ذكر الفلسفة والهندسة وحساب الهند.[1] ثمّ كان يوجّهنى إلى رجل يبيع البقل قيّم بحساب الهند[2] فكنت أتعلّم منه.

ثمّ وصل إلى بخارى أبو عبد الله الناتلىّ وكان يدّعى التفلسف فأنزله أبى دارنا واشتغل بتعليمى. وكنت قبل قدومه أشتغل بالفقه والتردّد فيه إلى إسماعيل الزاهد. وكنت من أفْرَه السائلين وقد ألفت طرق المطالبة ووجوده الاعتراض على المجيب على الوجه الّذى جرت عادة القوم به. ثمّ ابتدأت بقراءة كتاب **إيساغوجي** على الناتلىّ

١) أيضا ساقطة ن ق/ص / / ثمّ كان ا ب ج ن: وأخذ ق/ص
٢) يبيع ا ب ج ن: كان يبيع ق/ص / / قيّم ا ب ج ن: ويقوم ق/ص / / فكنت ا ب ج ن: حتّى ق/ص
٣) وصل ا ب ج ن: جاء ق/ص
٤) فانزله ا ب ج ن: وأنزله ق/ص / / واشتغل بتعليمى ا ج ن: فاشتغل بتعليمى ب: رجاء تعليمى منه ق/ص / / وكنت قبل قدومه ا ب ج ن: وقبل قدومه كنت ق/ص
٥) أفره ج: أخره ا: خيره ب: أحزم ن
٧) بقراءة ساقطة ق/ص

[1] وكان أبى يطالع ويتأمّل **رسائل إخوان الصفاء** وأنا أيضا أتأمّله أحيانا.
[2] والجبر والمقابلة يقال له المحمود المسّاحىّ.

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-Nātilī,[14] who claimed to know philosophy, arrived in Bukhārā; 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,[15] with frequent visits to Ismāʿīl the Ascetic[16] 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 *Isagoge*[17] under al-Nātilī,

* My father used to study and ponder over the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (*The Treatises of the Sincere Bretheren*) and I also pondered over it from time to time.[12]

+ and algebra, a man called al-Maḥmūd [sic] al-Massāḥī (the Surveyor, or the Mathematician).[13]

فلمّا ذكر لى حدّ الجنس أنّه المقول على كثيرين مختلفين بالنوع
فى جواب «ما هو ؟» فأخذته فى تحقيق هذا الحدّ بما لم يسمع بمثله.
وتعجّب منّى كلّ العجب وكان أىّ مسئلة قالها تصوّرتها خيرا منه
وحذّر والدى من شغلى بغير العلم.

حتّى قرأت ظواهر المنطق عليه وأمّا دقائقه فلم يكن عنده منها
خبر. ثمّ أخذت أقرأ الكتب على نفسى وأطالع الشروح حتّى أحكمت
علم المنطق. فأمّا كتاب أوقليدس فإنّى قرأت عليه من أوّله خمسة
أشكال أو ستّة ثمّ تولّيت حلّ بنفسي بقية الكتاب بأجمعه. ثمّ انتقلت

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١) فلمّا ا ب ج ن: ولمّا ق/ص / / لى ساقطة ن / / أنّه ا ب ج: من أنّه ن: أنّه هو ق/ص

٢) فأخذته ا ب ج ن: فأخذت ق/ص / / الحدّ ساقطة ن

٣) قالها ج ن ق/ص : ساقطة ا: ذكرها ب

٣–٤) وكان . . . العلم ا ب ج ن: وحذّر والدى من شغلى بغير العلم وكان أىّ مسئلة قالها لى أتصوّرها خيرا منه ق/ص

٥) وأمّا ا ج ن ق/ص: فامّا ب / / منها ا ب ج ق/ص: منه ن

٧) فأمّا ا ب ج ن: وكذلك ق/ص / / فإنّى قرأت عليه من أوّله ا ب ج ن: فقرأت من أوّله ق/ص

٨) ستّة ا ب ج ن: ستّة عليه ق/ص / / بأجمعه ا ب ج ن: بأسره ق/ص

and when he mentioned to me the definition of genus,[18] as being that which is predicated[19] 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. |

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,[20] 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 المجسطي ولمّا فرغت من مقدّماته وانتهيت إلى الأشكال الهندسيّة قال لى الناتلىّ « تولّ قراءتها وحلّها بنفسك ثمّ اعرضها علىّ لأبيّن لك صوابه من خطئه. » وما كان الرجل يقوم بالكتاب فحللته. فكم من شكل ما عرفه إلّا حين عرضته عليه وفهّمته إيّاه. ثمّ فارقنى الناتلىّ متوجّها إلى كركانج.[1]

واشتغلت أنا بتحصيل الكتب من الفصوص والشروع من الطبيعيّات والإلهيّات وصار أبواب العلم تنفتح علىّ. ثمّ رغبت فى علم الطبّ وقرأت الكتب المصنّفة فيه. وعلم الطبّ ليس هو من العلوم الصعبة

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١) وانتهيت ب ج ن ق/ص: وانتقلت ا
٣) خطئه ا ب ن ق/ص: خطأ ج / / فحللته ا ب ج ن: وأخذت أحلّ ذلك الكتاب ق/ص
٤) إلّا حين ا ب ج ن: إلّا (إلى ص) وقتما ق/ص / / وفهّمته ب ج ن ق/ص: وفهّمت ا
٥) كركانج ا ب ن ق/ص: كركالنج ج
٦–٧) الطبيعيّات والإلهيّات ا ب ج ن: الطبيعىّ والإلهىّ ق/ص
٨) وقرأت ا ب ج ن: وصرت أقرأ ق/ص / / فيه ساقطة ا / / هو ساقطة ن ق/ص

[1] تلقاء خوارزم قاصدا حضرة خوارز مشاه مأمون بن محمّد

to the *Almagest*,[21] and when I had finished its introductory sections and got to the geometrical figures, al-Nātilī 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-Nātilī left me, | going on to Gurgānj.*

I devoted myself to studying the texts—the original and commentaries—in the natural sciences and metaphysics,[23] 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,

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* opposite Khwārazm, seeking the court of the Khwārazm-shāh Maʾmūn ibn Muḥammad.[22]

فلذلك برزت فيه أقلّ مدّة حتّى بدأ فضلاء الأطبّاء يقرءون علىّ علم الطبّ. وتعهّدت المرضى فانفتح علىّ من أبواب المعالجات المقتبسة من التجربة ما لا يوصف. وأنا مع ذلك مشغول بالفقه وأناظر فيه وأنا يومئذ من أبناء ستّ عشرة سنة.

ثمّ توفّرت على العلم والقراءة سنة ونصفا فاعدت قراءة المنطق وجميع أجزاء الفلسفة. ولم أنم فى هذه المدّة ليلة واحدة بطولها ولا اشتغلت بالنهار بغيره. وجمعت بين يدىّ ظهورا فكلّ حجّة

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١) فلذلك ا ب ج ن: فلا جرم أنّى ق/ص وعلى هامش ب / / الأطبّاء ا ب ج ن: الطلبّ ق/ص

٢) أبواب ا ج ن ق/ص: باب ب / / المقتبسة ا ب ج ق/ص : المصنّفة ن

٣) مشغول بالفقه ا ب ج ن: أختلف إلى الفقه ق/ص

٤) يومئذ ا ب ج ن: فى هذا الوقت ق/ص / / ستّ عشرة ب ن ق/ص: ستّة عشر ا ج

٥) نصفا ب ن ق/ص: نصف ا: نصف سنة ج

٦) ولم أنم فى هذا المدّة ا ب ج ن: وفى هذا المدّة ما نمت ق/ص

٧) فكلّ ا ب ن ق/ص: وكلّ ج

and therefore I excelled in it in a very short time, to the point that distinguished physicians began to read the science of medicine under me. I cared for the sick and there opened to me some of the doors of medical treatment that are indescribable and can be learned only from practice. In addition I devoted myself to jurisprudence and used to engage in legal disputations, at that time being sixteen years old. |

Then, for the next year and a half, I dedicated myself to learning and reading; I returned to reading logic and all the parts of philosophy. During this time I did not sleep completely through a single night nor devote myself to anything else by day. I compiled a set of files[24] for myself, and for each proof

كنت أنظر فيها أثبتّ (فيها) ما فيها من مقدّمات قياسيّة وترتيبها وما
عساها تنتج. وأراعى شروط مقدّماتها حتّى تتحقّق لى تلك المسألة.
والّذى كنت أتحيّر فيه من المسائل ولا أظفر فيه بالحدّ الأوسط فى
القياس أتردّد بسبب ذلك إلى الجامع وأصلّى وأبتهل إلى مبدع الكلّ
٥/ حتّى يفتح لى المنغلق منه ويسهّل المتعسّر. وأرجع بالليل إلى دارى
وأحضر السراج بين يدىّ وأشتغل بالقراءة والكتابة. فمهما غلبنى النوم

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١) أنظر فيها ا ب ج ق/ص: فيما ن
١–٢) أثبت ... تنتج [كلّ النصوص غالطة]: أثبتّه من مقدّمات قياسيّة وترتيبها
وما عساها تنتج ا: أثبتّ ما فيها من المقدّمات القياسيّة وترتيبها وما عساها تنتج ب:
أثبتّه من مقدّمات قياسيّة ورتّبتها (فى تلك الظهور ثمّ نظرت) فيما عساها تنتج ج
(وهامش ج): أثبتته من مقدّمات قياسيّة وترتيبها وما عساها تنتج ن: أثبتّ مقدّمات
قياسه (قياسيّة ص) فى تلك الظهور ورتّبتها ثمّ نظرت فيما عساها تنتج ق/ص
٢) وأراعى ا ب ن: وأراع ج: وراعيت ق/ص / / مقدّماتها ا ب ج ن: مقدّماته
ق/ص / / تتحقّق ا ج ن: تنحلّ ب: تحقّق ق/ص
٣–٥) والّذى . . . المتعسّر ا ب ج ن: وكلّما كنت أتحيّر فى مسألة ولم أكن أظفر
بالحدّ الأوسط فى قياس تردّدت إلى الجامع وصلّيت وابتهلت إلى مبدع الكلّ
حتّى فتح لى المنغلق ويسّر (تيسّر ص) المتعسّر ق/ص
٣) ولا أظفر ا ب ج: ولم أظفر ن / / فيه ساقة ج ن
٥) يفتح ا ب ج: يتّضح ن / / المنغلق ا ج ن: المغلق ب / / وأرجع ا ب ج ن:
وكنت أرجع ق/ص / / بالليل إلى دارى ا ج ن ق/ص: إلى دارى بالليل ب
٦) وأحضر ا ب ج ن: وأضع ق/ص

that I examined, I entered into the files its syllogistic premises, their classification,[25] 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|
5 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

أو شعرت بضعف عدلت إلى شرب قدح من الشراب لكيما تعود إلىّ قوّتى . ثمّ أرجع إلى القراءة . ومهما أخذنى نوم كنت أرى تلك المسائل بأعيانها فى منامى واتّضح لى كثير من المسائل فى النوم. ولم أزل كذالك حتّى استحكم معى جميع العلوم ووقفت عليها بحسب الإمكان الإنسانىّ. وكلّ ما علمته فى ذلك الوقت فهو كما علمته الآن. لم أزدد إلى اليوم فيه شيئا.

حتّى أحكمت العلم المنطقىّ والطبيعىّ والرياضىّ وانتهيت إلى العلم

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١) الشراب ا ج ن ق/ص: شراب ب / / لكيما ا ب ج ن: ريثما ق/ص وعلى هامشى ب ج

٢) قوّتى ا ج ن ق/ص: قواى ب / / أخذنى ا ب ج ن: + أدنى على هامش ج

٢–٣) ومهما . . . فى النوم. ا ب ج ن: ومهما (متى ق) أخذنى أدنى نوم أحلم بتلك المسائل (المسألة ق) بأعيانها (بعينها ق) حتّى إنّ كثيراً من المسائل اتّضح لى وجوهها فى المنام ق/ص

٣) منامى ا ب ج: نومى ن

٥) الآن ساقطة ا ج ن

٦) إلى اليوم فيه شيئا ا ج ن: فيه شيئا إلى اليوم ب: فيه إلى اليوم ق/ص

٧) العلم المنطقىّ ا ب ج ن: علم المنطق ق/ص / / والرياضىّ ا ج ن ق/ص: ثمّ الرياضىّ ب

or I became conscious of weakening, I would turn aside to drink a cup of wine, so that my strength would return to me.[26] 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,[27] and I had now reached the science

الإلهيّ. وقرأت كتاب ما **بعد الطبيعة** فلم أفهم ما فيه والتبس عليّ غرض واضعه حتّى أعدت قراءته أربعين مرّة وصار لى محفوظا. وأنا مع ذلك لا أفهمه ولا المقصود به وأيست من نفسى وقلت « هذا كتاب لا سبيل إلى فهمه. » فحضرت يوما وقت العصر في الورّاقين فتقدّم دلال بيده مجلّد ينادى عليه. فعرضه علىّ فرددته ردّ متبرّم معتقد أنّ لا فائدة في هذا العلم. فقال لى « اشتره فصاحبه محتاج إلى ثمنه وهو رخيص. وأبيعكه بثلاثة دراهم. » فاشتريته فإذا هو كتاب

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١) فلم أفهم ا ب ج ن: فما كنت أفهم ق/ص

٣) مع ذلك ساقطة جن وهى على هامش ج // به فوق خطّ ج // من نفسى] + منه على هامش ج

٤) فحضرت يوما ا ب ج ن: وإذا أنا فى يوم من الأيّام حضرت ق/ص

٥) فتقدّم دلال بيده ا ب ج ن: وبيد دلال ق/ص // مجلّد ا ب ج ق/ص : كتاب ن

٦) أنّ لا ا ب ج ق/ص: ألا ن // لى ساقطة ب // اشتره ب ج ن: اشتريه ا

٦–٧) اشتره . . . دراهم ا ب ج ن: اشتر منّى هذا فانّه رخيص أبيعكه بثلاثة دراهم وصاحبه محتاج إلى ثمنه ق/ص

٧) وأبيعكه ا ج ن: أبيعكه ب

of metaphysics. I read the *Metaphysics* [of Aristotle],[28] 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[29] 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

أبى نصر الفارابىّ في أغراض كتاب **ما بعد الطبيعة** . ورجعت إلى دارى وأسرعت قراءته فانفتح علىّ فى الوقت أغراض ذلك الكتاب لأنّه كان قد صار لى محفوظا على ظهر القلب. وفرحت بذلك وتصدّقت فى اليوم الثانى بشىء كثير على الفقراء شكرا لله تعالى .

واتّفق لسلطان الوقت ببخارى وهو نوح بن منصور مرض تحيّر الأطبّاء فيه. وقد كان اشتهر اسمى بينهم بالتوفّر على العلم والقراءة فأجروا ذكرى بين يديه وسألوه إحضارى . فحضرت وشاركتهم فى مداواته وتوسّمت بخدمته. وسألته يوما الإذن لى فى الدخول إلى دار

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١) أبى اب ج ن: لأبى ق/ص / / ورجعت ا ج ن: فرجعت ب
٢) دارى ا ب ج ن: بيتى ق/ص / / لأنّه ا ب ج ن: بسبب أنّه ق/ص
٣) كان ساقطة ن / / وفرحت ا ب ج ق/ص: ففرحت ب
٤) بشىء كثير ب ج ن ق/ص: شيئا كثيرا ا
٥) واتّفق . . . مرض ا ب ج ن: وكان سلطان بخارى فى ذلك الوقت نوح بن منصور واتّفق له مرض ق/ص
٦) الأطبّاء فيه ا ج ن ق/ص: فيه الأطبّاء ب / / وقد كان اشتهر اسمى ا ب ج ن: وكان اسمى اشتهر ق/ص / / العلم و ساقطة ق/ص
٨) مداواته] + صلح على هامش ج / / وسألته ا ب جن: فسألته ق/ص / / فى الدخول إلى دار ا ب ج ن: فى دخول دار ق/ص

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's book on the objects of the *Metaphysics*.[30] 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. |

5 It happened that the Sulṭān[31] of that time in Bukhārā, Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr, 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.[32] One day I asked him to permit me to go into

كتبهم ومطالعتها وقراءة ما فيها. فأذن لى وأُدْخِلْتُ إلى دار ذات بيوت كثيرة فى كل بيت صناديق كتب منضّدة بعضها على بعض. ففى بيت منها كتب العربيّة والشعر وفى آخر الفقه وكذلك فى كلّ بيت علم مفرد. فطالعت فهرست كتب الأوائل وطلبت ما احتجت إليه. ورأيت من الكتب ما لم يقع اسمه إلى كثير من الناس ولم أكن رأيته قبل ذلك ولا رأيته أيضا من بعد. فقرأت تلك الكتب وظفرت بفوائدها وعرفت مرتبة كلّ رجل فى علمه.

فلمّا بلغت ثمانى عشرة سنة من عمرى فرغت من هذه العلوم كلّها.

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١) ما فيها] + من كتب الطبّ ق/ص / / وأدخلت إلى دار ا ب: ودخلت إلى دار ج ن: فدخلت دارا ق/ص
٢) ففى ا ب ج ن: فى ق/ص
٣) منها ساقطة ق/ص
٤) علم مفرد ا ب ج ن: كتب علم مفرد ق/ص: كتب فوق خطّ ب
٥) من الناس] + قطّ ق/ص
٦) رأيته ب ن ق/ص: رأيت ا ج / / وظفرت ب ج ن ق/ص: فظفرت ا
٨) ثمانى عشرة ب: ثمانية عشر ا ج: ثمانية عشرة ن

their library, to get to know it and to read its books. He gave me permission and I was admitted to a building which had many rooms; in each room there were chests of books piled one on top of the other. In one of the rooms were books on the Arabic language and poetry, in another, on jurisprudence, and likewise in each room [were books on] a single science. So I looked through the catalogue of books by the ancients[33] and asked for whichever one I needed. | I saw books whose names had not reached very many people and which I had not seen before that time, nor have I seen since. I read these books and mastered what was useful in them and discovered the status of each man in his science.[34]

So when I had reached the age of eighteen I was finished with all of these sciences;

وكنت إذ ذاك للعلم أحفظ ولكنّه اليوم معى أنضج وإلّا فالعلم واحد لم يتجدّد لى شيء من بعد.

وكان فى جوارى رجل يقال له أبو الحسن العروضىّ فسألنى أن أصنّف له كتابا جامعا فى هذا العلم . فصنّفت له **المجموع** وسميّته باسمه وأتيت فيه على سائر العلوم سوى العلم الرياضىّ. ولى إذ ذاك إحدى وعشرون سنة. وكان فى جوارى أيضا رجل يقال له أبو بكر البرقىّ خوارزمىّ المولد فقيه النفس متوجّه فى الفقه والتفسير والزهد مائل إلى هذه العلوم. فسألنى شرح الكتب فصنّفت له كتاب **الحاصل والمحصول** فى قريب من عشرين مجلّدة . وصنّفت له فى

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١) وكنت إذ ذاك ا ج ن ق/ص: وإذ ذاك كنت ب / / اليوم معى ا ج ن ق/ص: معى اليوم ب / / أنضج ا ب ن ق/ص: أوضح ج

٢) شيء من بعد ا ب: + ذلك ج: من ساقطة ن: بعده شيء ق/ص

٣) أبو الحسن ا ب ج: أبو الحسين ن

٥) باسمه ا ب ج ن: به ق/ص: + الحكمة العروضيّة على ها ش ب / / العلم ساقطة ق/ص

٦) عشرون ب ن ق/ص: عشرين ا ج / /سنة] + من عمرى ق/ص / / أيضا ساقطة ا

٧) متوجّه ا ج ن: متوجّها ب: متوحّد ق/ص

٨) مائل ا ج ن ق/ص: مائلا ب / / الكتب] + له ق/ص

٩) مجلّدة ب ج ن ق/ص: مجلّد ا

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,[35] 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 | his 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,[36] a Khwārazmian by birth, and a lawyer by inclination; he was distinguished in jurisprudence, Qurʾān 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.[37] I also wrote for him a book on

الأخلاق كتابا سميّته كتاخ **البرّ الاثم**. وهذان الكتابان لا يوجدان إلّا عنده فإنّه لم يُعِر أحدا يُنْسَخ منهما.

ثمّ مات والدى وتصرّفت بى الأحوال وتقلّدت شيئا من أعمال السلطان. ودعتنى الضرورة إلى الإخلال ببخارى والانتقال إلى كركانج وكان أبو الحسين السهيلىّ المحبّ لهذه العلوم بها وزيرا.

وقُدِّمْتُ إلى الأمير بها وهو علىّ بن مأمون وكنت إذ ذاك علىّ زىّ الفقهاء بطيلسان تحت الحنك. فرتّبوا لى مشاهرة تقوم بكفاية مثلى. ثمّ دعت الضرورة إلى الانتقال إلى نسا ومنها إلى باورد

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١) كتاب ساقطة ب ولكنّها فوق خطّه

٢) فانّه لم ا ب ج ن: فلم ق/ص / / يعر ا ج ن: يعرهما ب / / أحدا ب ج ن ق/ص: أحد ا / / ينسخ ا ب ج: ينتسخ ن ق/ص / / منهما ب ق/ص: منه ا ج ن

٣) بى ب ن ق/ص: فى ا ج

٤) الإخلال ببخارى ا ب ن: الانجلاء من بخارى ج

٥) الحسين ا ج ن ق/ص: الحسن ب / / السهيلىّ] — السهلىّ فى كلّ النصوص

٦) إلى ج ق/ص: على ا ب ن / / هو ساقطة ب ولكنّها فوق خطّه

٦–٧) إذ ذاك علىّ زىّ الفقهاء ا ب ج ن: علىّ زىّ الفقهاء إذ ذاك ق/ص

٧) تحت ا ب ج: وتحت ن ق/ص / / فرتّبوا ا ب ج ن: وأثبتوا ق/ص / / مشاهرة] + دارّة ق/ص وعلى هامش ج

ethics which I called *Good Works and Evil*.[38] 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[39] and I was free to govern my own affairs and so I took over one of the administrative posts of the Sulṭān. Necessity then led me to forsake Bukhārā and move to Gurgānj,[40] | where Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Suhaylī,[41] an amateur of the sciences, was a minister. I was presented to the Amīr there, ʿAlī ibn Maʾmūn;[42] 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[43] to move to Nasā,[44] and from there to Bāward,[45]

ومنها إلى طوس ومنها إلى سمنقان ومنها إلى جاجرم رأس حدّ خراسان ومنها إلى جرجان. وكان قصدى الأمير قابوس[1] فاتّفق في أثناء ذلك أخذ قابوس وحبسه في بعض القلاع وموته هناك.

ثمّ مضيت إلى دهستان ومرضت بها مرضا صعبا وعدت منها إلى جرجان واتّصل أبو عبيد الجوزجانىّ بى وأنشدنى فى حالى قصيدة فيها البيت للقائل:

لمّا عظمت فليس مصر واسعى لمّا غلا ثمنى عدمت المشترى

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١) ومنها إلى سمنقان ا ج: ومنها إلى شقّان ب: ساقطة ن: ومنها إلى شقّان ومنها إلى سمنقان ق/ص / / حدّ ساقطة ا ب ولكنّها فوق خطّ ب
٣) ذلك ا ب ج ن: هذا ق/ص
٤) منها ساقطة ق/ص
٥) وأتصل ا ج ن: فاتّصل بي ب / / بي ساقطة ا ج/ / وأنشدني ا: وأنشدني ت ب: وأنشدت ج ن: وأنشأت ق/ص
٦) البيت للقائل ا: البيت القائل ب ج ن: بيت القائل ق/ص

[1] بن وشمكير وهو صاحب جرجان

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 Amīr 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 ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī[53] 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.

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* ibn Wushmagīr, who was the ruler of Jurjān.[50]

قال الشيخ أبو عبيد: فهذا ما حكاه لى الشيخ من لفظه ومن ههنا ما شاهدته أنا من أحواله والله الموفّق.

كان بجرجان رجل يقال له أبو محمّد الشيرازىّ يحبّ هذه العلوم وقد اشترى للشيخ دارا فى جواره وأنزله فيها. وكنت أنا أختلف إليه كلّ يوم فأقرأ **المجسطى** وأستملى المنطق فأملى علىّ **المختصر الأوسط في المنطق** وصنّف لأبى محمّد الشيرازىّ كتاب **المبدأ والمعاد** وكتاب **الأرصاد الكلّيّة** وصنّف هناك كتبا كثيرة كأوّل **القانون** و**مختصر « المجسطى »** وكثيرا من الرسائل. ثمّ صنّف فى أرض الجبل

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١) الشيخ أبو عبيد ا ب ج ن: أبو عبيد الجوز جانىّ صاحب الشيخ الرئيس ق/ص

٢) ههنا ا ب ج: هذا ن / / شاهدته أنا ا ج ن: سمعناه ب / / والله الموفّق ا ج ن: أو شاهدناه. + قيل إنّه كان وهو صبىّ من أجمل أهل زمانه وإنّ الناس كانوا فى يوم الجمعة يتراصّون فى الشوارع والطرق إذا خرج من دارهم إلى الجامع لينظروا إلى حسنه وجماله. ب

٤) فيها ا ب ج ن: بها ق/ص / / كنت ساقطة ق/ص

٥) كلّ ا ج ن: في كلّ ب / / فأقرأ ا ب ج ن: أقرأ ق/ص / / **المجسطى** ا ج ن ق/ص: من **المجسطى** عليه ب / / وأستملى ا ج ن ق/ص: وأستملى منه ب

٥–٦) فأملى علىّ **المختصر الأوسط** فى المنطق ساقطة ن

٨) أرض ا ب ج ق/ص: أوّل ن

Shaykh Abū ᶜUbayd 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 Jurjān a man called Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī,[54] who was an amateur of the sciences and who bought a house in his neighborhood for the Master to live in. I used | 5 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.[55]

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* 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.

باقى كتبه وهذا فهرست جميع كتبه:

(١) كتاب **المجموع** مجلّدة (٢) كتاب **الحاصل والمحصول** عشرون مجلّدة (٣) كتاب **البرّ والاثم** مجلّدتان (٤) كتاب **الشفاء** ثمانى عشرة مجلّدة (٥) كتاب **القانون** أربع عشرة مجلّدة (٦) كتاب **الارصاد الكلّيّة** مجلّدة (٧) كتاب **الانصاف** عشرون مجلّدة (٨) كتاب **النجاة** ثلاث مجلّدات (٩) كتاب **الهداية** مجلّدة (١٠) كتاب **الاشارات** مجلدة (١١) كتاب **المختصر الأوسط** مجلّدة (١٢) كتاب **العلائى** مجلّدة (١٣) كتاب **القولنج** مجلّدة (١٤) كتاب **لسان العرب** عشر مجلّدات (١٥) كتاب **الادوية القلبيّة** مجلّدة (١٦) كتاب **الموجز** مجلّدة (١٧) بعض **الحكمة المشرقيّة** مجلّدة (١٨) كتاب **بيان ذوات الجهة** مجلّدة (١٩) كتاب **المعاد** مجلّدة (٢٠) كتاب **المبدأ والمعاد** مجلّدة (٢١) كتاب **المباحثات** مجلّدة. ومن رسائله: (٢٢) رسالة **القضاء والقدر** (٢٣) **الآلة الرصديّة** (٢٤) **غرض قاطيغورياس** (٢٥) **المنطق** بالشعر (٢٦) **القصائد** فى العظمة والحكمة (٢٧) رسالة **في الحروف** (٢٨) **تعقّب المواضع الجدليّة** (٢٩) **مختصر أقليدس** (٣٠) **مختصر النبض**

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١) باقى ا ب ج ن: باقية ق/ص / / فهرست جميع كتبه] هذا الفهرست موجود فقط فى ق/ص

٦–٧) كتاب **الاشارات** . . . **العلائى** مجلّدة ساقطة ص

And here is a catalogue of all his books:[56]

[1] *The Compilation*, one volume; [2] *The Sum and Substance*, twenty volumes;[3] *Good Works and Evil*, two volumes;[4] *The Shifāʾ* (*Healing*), eighteen volumes;[5] *The Qānūn*, fourteen volumes; [6] *Comprehensive* | *Observations*, one volume; [7] *The Judgment*, twenty volumes; [8] *The Najāt* (*Deliverance*), three volumes; [9] *Guidance*, one volume; [10] *Instructions*, one volume; [11] *The Middle Summary*, one volume; [12] *The ʿAlāʾī*, one volume; [13] *The Colic*, one volume; [14] *The Arabic Language*, ten volumes; [15] *Cardiac Remedies*, one volume; [16] *The Epitome*, one volume; [17] | a portion of *The Eastern Philosophy*, one volume; [18] *Explanation of Modals*,[57] one volume; [19] *The Return*, one volume; [20] *The Origin and the Return;* [21] *Conversations*, one volume.

And among his treatises are [22] *Foreordination and Destiny;* [23] *Astronomical Instruments;* [24] *The Object of the "Categories";* [25] *Logic*, in poetic form; [26] *Poems on Majesty and Philosophy;* [27] *On the Consonants;* [28] | *Consideration of Dialectical Topics;* [29] *Summary of Euclid;* [30] *Summary on the Pulse*,

بالعجميّة (٣١) الحدود (٣٢) الأجرام السماويّة (٣٣) الاشارة الى علم المنطق (٣٤) أقسام الحكمة (٣٥) النهاية واللانهاية (٣٦) عهد كتبه لنفسه (٣٧) حيّ بن يقظان (٣٨) في أنّ أبعاد الجسم غير ذاتيّة له (٣٩) الكلام في الهندبا وله خطبة (٤٠) في أنه لا يجوز أن يكون شيء واحد جوهرا وعرضا (٤١) في أنّ علم زيد غير علم عمرو (٤٢) رسائل له إخوانيّة وسلطانيّة (٤٣) رسائل فى مسائل جرت بينه وبين بعض الفضلاء (٤٤) كتاب الحواشى على القانون (٤٥) كتاب عيون الحكمة (٤٦) كتاب الشبكة والطير .

ثمّ انتقل إلى الرىّ واتّصل بخدمة السيّدة وابنها[1] مجد الدولة . وعرفوه بسبب كتب وصلت معه تتضمّن تعريف قدره . وكان بمجد

٢) النهاية ق: فى النهاية ص
٤) الكلام ق: خطب الكلام ص // وله خطبة ساقطة ص
٥) جوهرا وعرضا ق: جوهريّا وعرضيّا ص
٦) رسائل فى ساقطة ص

[1] سلطان الرىّ

in Persian; [31] *Definitions;* [32] *Celestial Bodies;* [33] *Instruction in the Science of Logic;* [34] *The Branches of Philosophy;* [35] *Limit and Infinity;* [36] *A Testament*, which he made for himself; [37] *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān;* [38] *That the Dimensions of a Body are not Part of its Essence;* [39] *On Endive;* and his discourse [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 ʿAmr;* [42] Letters to friends and officials; [43] Letters about questions which passed between him and other learned men; [44] *Comments on the "Qānūn";* [45] *Essential Philosophy;* [46] *The Net and the Bird.*

Then he moved to al-Rayy,[58] where he joined the service of al-Sayyida[59] and her son,* Majd al-Dawla.[60]|They learned of him through letters brought with him containing an appraisal of his worth. At that time Majd

* Sulṭān of al-Rayy.

الدولة إذ ذاك علّة السوداء. وصنّف هناك كتاب **المعاد** وأقام بها إلى أنّ قصدها شمس الدولة بعد قتل هلال بن بدر بن حسنويه وهزيمة عسكر بغداد. ثمّ اتّفقت له أسباب أوجبت خروجه إلى قزوين ومنها إلى همذان واتّصاله بخدمة كذبانويه والنظر في أسبابها.

ثمّ اتّفق معرفة شمس الدولة وإحضاره مجلسه بسبب قولنج كان قد أصابه. وعالجه حتّى شفاه الله وفاز من ذلك المجلس بخلع كثيرة. ورجع إلى داره بعد ما أقام هناك أربعين يوماً بلياليها وصار من ندماء الأمير.

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١) علّة ا ب ج: غلبة ن ق/ص / / السوداء] + فاشتغل بمداواته ق/ص: فاشتغل بمداواتها على هامش ج / / وصنّف ب ج ن ق/ص: فصنّف ا / / **المعاد**] + الأصغر على هامش ب

٢) بها ب ج ن ق/ص: به ا / / قصدها ا ب ج ن: قصد ق/ص / / بدر ب ج ن ق/ص: زيد ا

٣) له ساقطة ق/ص / / أوجبت خروجه ا ب ج ن: أوجبت الضرورة لها خروجه ق/ص

٤) كذبانويه ا ج ن ق/ص: كرمانويه ب ولكنّ كذبانويه على هامش ب

٦) اتّفق] + له ج

٧) ذلك ا ب ج ق/ص: تلك ن

al-Dawla had the illness of melancholia.* He wrote *The Return* there, and he remained there until Shams al-Dawla[62] attacked it, after the killing of Hilāl ibn Badr ibn Ḥasanūyah[63] and the rout of the troops of Baghdād. Then events occurred[64] which compelled him to depart for Qazwīn,[65] and from there to Hamadhān[66] where he joined the service of Kadhabānūyah[67] 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 Amīr.

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* and so he set himself to treating it.[61]

ثمّ اتّفق نهوض الأمير إلى قرميسين لحرب عنّاز وخرج الشيخ فى خدمته . ثمّ توجّه نحو همذان منهزما راجعا ثمّ سألوه تقلّد الوزارة فتقلّدها ثمّ اتّفق تشويش العسكر عليه وإشفاقهم منه على أنفسهم . فكبسوا داره وأخذوه إلى الحبس وأغاروا على أسبابه وأخذوا جميع ما كان يملكه وساموا الأمير قتله . فامتنع من قتله وعدل إلى نفيه عن الدولة طلبا لمرضاتهم . فتوارى الشيخ فى دار الشيخ أبى سعد بن دخدول أربعين يوما . فعاود القولنج للأمير شمس الدولة وطلب الشيخ فحضر مجلسه . واعتذر الأمير إليه بكلّ الاعتذار فاشتغل بمعالجته . وأقام عنده مكرّما مبجّلا وأُعيدت الوزارة إليه ثانياً .

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١) إلى ساقطة ا / / عنّاز ا ب ن ق/ص: عباد ج

٣) اتّفق ساقطة ب ولكنّها على الهامش

٦) من قتله ا ب ج: عن قتله ن: منه ق/ص / / عن الدولة ا ب ج ق/ص: من المملكة ن / / الشيخ ساقطة ق/ص

٧) الشيخ ساقطة ن / / سعد ا ج ن ق/ص: سعيد ب / / دخدول ا ب ج: دخدوك ن ق/ص

٨) القولنج للأمير شمس الدولة ا ب ج ن (الأمير ن): الأمير شمس الدولة علّة القولنج ق/ص (علّة ساقطة ص) / / واعتذر ا ج ن: فاعتذر ب

Then the Amīr went up to Qirmīsīn[68] to make war on ʿAnnāz,[69] with the Master riding out in his service. He fell back in flight toward Hamadhān, 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 Amīr. 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 Abū Saʿd ibn Dakhdūl[70] for forty days; but the colic seized Amīr Shams al-Dawla again, and he sent for the Master, who came to his court. The Amīr 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.

ثمّ سألته أنا شرح كتب أرسطو فذكر أنّه لا فراغ له إلى ذلك فى ذلك الوقت . « ولكن إن رضيت منّى بتصنيف كتاب أورد فيه ما صحّ عندى من هذه العلوم بلا مناظرة مع المخالفين ولا الاشتغال بالردّ عليهم فعلت ذلك. » فرضيت به فابتدأ بالطبيعيّات من كتاب سمّاه كتاب **الشفاء**. وكان قد صنّف الكتاب الأوّل من **القانون** وكان يجتمع كلّ ليلة فى داره طلبة العلم وكنت أقرأ من **الشفاء** نوبة وكان يقرأ غيرى من **القانون** نوبة . فإذا فرغنا حضر المغنّون على اختلاف طبقاتهم وعبّى مجلس الشراب بآلاته وكنّا نشتغل به . وكان التدريس بالليل لعدم الفراغ بالنهار

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١) أرسطو ا ب ج: أرسطو طاليس ن ق/ص / / فذكر] + له ا
٢) فى ذلك ساقطة ج ولكنّها على الهامش
٤) الاشتغال ا ب ج ن: اشتغال ق/ص / / فرضيت ا ب ن ق/ص: ورضيت ج / / فابتدأ ج ن ق/ص: فابتدأنا ا ب / / بالطبيعيّات ساقطة ب ولكنّها على الهامش
٦) وكان ج ق/ص: فكان ا ب ن / / يجتمع ان ق/ص: يجمع ب ج
٧) يقرأ غيرى ا ج ن ق/ص: غيرى يقرأ ب / / فرغنا ب ج ن ق/ص: حضرنا ا
٨) وعبّى ا ب: وهبّىء ج ن
٩) وكان ساقطة ا ولكنّها فوق الخطّ

Then I asked him to comment on the works of Aristotle, but he said that he was not free to do so at that time. "But if you would be satisfied with my composing a work in which I would set forth what, to me, is sound in these sciences, without debating with those who disagree or devoting myself to their refutation, I would do that." I was satisfied with it and so he began with the "Physics" | of a work which he called the *Shifāʾ* (*Healing*). He had already written the first book of the *Qānūn*, and every night pupils would gather at his house, while by turns I would read from the *Shifāʾ* and someone else would read from the *Qānūn*.[71] When we were finished, different kinds of singers appeared, a drinking party was prepared with its utensils, and we partook of it. The instruction took place at night, because of the lack of free time during the day

خدمة للأمير .

فقضينا على ذلك زمنا ثمّ توجّه شمس الدولة إلى الطارم لحرب أميرها . وعاوده القولنج فى قرب ذلك الموضع واشتدّت علّة وانضاف إليه أمراض أخر جبلها سؤ تدبيره وقلّة قبوله من الشيخ. فخاف العسكر وفاته فرجعوا به طالبين همذان فى المهد فتُوُفّى فى الطريق . ثمّ بُوُيِع[1] ابن شمس الدولة وطلبوا استيزار الشيخ. فأبى عليهم وكاتب علاء الدولة يطلب خدمته سرّا والمصير إليه والانضمام إلى جانبه .

وأقام فى دار أبى غالب العطّار متواريا وطلبت منه إتمام

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١) خدمة للأمير ا ج ن ق/ص: بخدمة الأمير ب
٢) الطارم ا ب ج ن: طارم ق/ص
٣) أميرها ا ب ن: الأمير ج + بهاء الدولة فوق الخطّ: الأمير بها ق/ص
٤) إليه ا ب ج ن: إلى ذلك ق/ص / / جبلها ج ن ق/ص وعلى هامش ب: حملتها ا ب / / قبوله ا ب ج ن: القبول ق/ص
٥) المهد ب ج ن ق/ص: المهر ا
٧) وكاتب ا ب ن ق/ص: وكان ج / / يطلب خدمته سرّا ا ب ج ن: سرّا يطلب خدمته ق/ص

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[1] علىّ

on account of his service to the Amīr.

After we had spent some time at this, Shams al-Dawla set out for al-Ṭārum[72] to make war on its Amīr.[73] 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
5 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[74] was then acknowledged as sovereign and they [the court] asked that the Master be appointed vizier. But he turned them down and corresponded with ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla[75] 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,[76] where I asked him to finish

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* ʿAlī ibn Shams al-Dawla.

كتاب **الشفاء** فاستحضر أبا غالب وطلب منه الكاغد والمحبرة فأحضرهما. وكتب الشيخ فى قريب من عشرين جزءا مقدار الثمن رؤوس المسائل. وبقى فيه يومين حتّى كتب رؤوس المسائل بلا كتاب يحضره ولا أصل يرجع إليه . بل من حفظه وعن ظهر قلبه. ثمّ ترك تلك الأجزاء بين يديه وأخذ الكاغد فكان ينظر فى كلّ مسألة ويكتب شرحها. فكان يكتب كلّ يوم خمسين ورقة حتّى أتى على جميع الطبيعيّات والإلهيّات ما خلا كتاب الحيوان. وابتدأ بالمنطق وكتب منه جزءا . ثمّ اتّهمه تاج الملك بمكاتبته علاء الدولة وأنكر عليه ذلك وحثّ فى طلبه. فدلّ عليه بعض أعدائه فأخذوه

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١) منه ساقطة ق/ص / / والمحبرة ا ب ج ق/ص: والمحبر ن
٢) من ساقطة ان : مقدار الثمن ا ب ج ن: على الثمن بخطّه ق/ص
٣) رؤوس المسائل] + كلّها ن ق/ص وعلى هامش ج
٤) عن ساقطة ن
٦) كلّ ا ج ن ق/ص: فى كلّ ب / / حتّى أتى ا ب ج ق/ص: وأتى ن
٧) كتاب ا ب ج ن: كتابى ق/ص / / الحيوان] + والنبات ق/ص وعلى هامش ج
٨) بمكاتبته ج ق/ص: بمكاتبة ا ب ن / / وأنكر ا ب ج ن: فأنكر ق/ص
٩) فى طلبه ا ب ن ق/ص: على طلبه ج

the *Shifāʾ*; he sent for Abū Ghālib 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.[77] He then began on the "Logic" and wrote one section of it; at that point Tāj al-Mulk[78] became suspicious of him over his corresponding with ʿAlāʾ 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

وحملوه إلى قلعة يقال لها فردجان. وأنشد هناك قصيدة فيها:

دخولى فى اليقين كما تراه وكلّ الشكّ فى أمر الخروج

وبقى فيها أربعة أشهر ثمّ قصد علاء الدولة همذان فأخذها. وانهزم تاج الملك ومرّ إلى تلك القلعة بعينها. ثمّ رجع علاء الدولة عن همذان وعاد تاج الملك بن شمس الدولة إلى همذان واستصحب الشيخ معه. ونزل فى دار العلوىّ واشتغل بتنصيف المنطق من كتاب **الشفاء**. وكان قد صنّف بالقلعة كتاب **الهداية** ورسالة **حىّ بن يقظان** وكتاب **القولنج** وأمّا **الادوية القلبية** فإنمّا صنفّها

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١) حملوه ا ب ج ن: أدّوه ق/ص / / فردجان ان ق/ص: فرودخان ب: نردوان على هامش ب: مزدوان ج / / وأنشد ا ب ج ن: وأنشأ ق/ص / / فيها ا ب: منها ج ن

٢) فى اليقين ا ب ج: باليقين ن ق/ص

٣) همذان ان ق/ص وعلى هامش ب: بهملان ب: عن همذان ج / / فأخذها ا ب ج ن: وأخذها ق/ص

٥) عن ساقطة ج ولكنّها على الهامش / / بن شمس الدولة ا ج ن: ساقطة ب ولكنّها على الهامش: وابن شمس الدولة ق/ص: و ا فوق خطّ ج

٦) واستصحب الشيخ معه ا ب ج ن: وحملوا معهم الشيخ إلى همذان ق/ص / / واشتغل] + هناك ق/ص

٨) أمّا فوق خطّ ا / / فانّما ان ق/ص: فانّه ب: فانّها ج

and took him to a castle which is called Fardajān.[79] 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 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla attacked Hamadhān and seized it.[80] Tāj al-Mulk was routed and moved into this very same castle. When ʿAlāʾ | al-Dawla withdrew from Hamadhān, Tāj al-Mulk, the son of Shams al-Dawla,[81] returned to Hamadhān and took the Master along with him. He stayed in the house of the ʿAlid[82] and occupied himself with writing the "Logic" of the *Shifāʾ*. In the castle he had written *Guidance* and *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (*Alive, the Son of Awake*) and *The Colic; Cardiac Remedies* he composed, on the other hand,

أوّل وروده إلى همذان.

وكان تقضّى على هذا زمان وتاج الملك فى أثناء هذا يمنّيه بمواعيد جميلة. ثمّ عزم الشيخ على التوجّه إلى إصفهان فخرج متنكّرا وأنا معه وأخوه وغلامان فى زىّ الصوفيّة إلى أن وصلنا إلى طهران على باب إصفهان بعد أن قاسينا شدائد فى الطريق. فاستقبلنا أصدقاء الشيخ وندماء الأمير علاء الدولة وخواصّه وحمل إليه الثياب والمراكب الخاصّة. وأنزل فى محلّة يقال لها كوى كنبذ فى دار عبد الله بن بيبى وفيها من الآلات والفرش ما

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١) إلى ساقطة ج ن
٢) تقضّى ب ن ق/ص: يقضى ا : يمضى ج / / زمان ب ن ق/ص: زمانا ا: أزمان ج
٣) عزم الشيخ على ا ب ج ن: عنّ للشيخ ق/ص
٤) وأنا معه وأخوه وغلامان ا ب ج: وأنا معه وأخوه ن: وأنا وأخوه وغلامان معه ق/ص
٥) طهران ج: طبران ا ب ن ق/ص
٧) المراكب ا ج ن ق/ص: المواكب ب
٧–٨) كوى كنبذ ج: كون كنبذ ا ب ن ق/ص
٨) بيبى ا ب ج: بابى ن 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 Iṣfahān,[83] and so he left, I with him, along with his brother and two slaves, disguised in the dress of Ṣūfism, travelling until we reached | Ṭihrān,[84] at the gate of Iṣfahān, after we had suffered hardships on the way. Friends of the Master and the companions and courtiers of Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla met us, and clothing and special mounts were brought to him. He was lodged in a quarter called Kūy Kunbādh[85] in the house of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bībī,[86] which contained all the utensils and furnishings which

يحتاج إليه. فصادف من مجلسه الإكرام والإعزاز الّذى يستحقّه مثله. ثمّ رسم الأمير علاء الدولة ليالى الجمعات مجلس النظر بين يديه فحضره سائر العلماء على اختلاف طبقاتهم والشيخ فى جملتهم فما كان يُطاق فى شىء من العلوم.

واشتغل بإصفهان بتتميم كتاب **الشفاء** ففرغ من المنطق والمجسطى وكان قد اختصر أوقليدس والأرثماطيقى والموسيقى. وأورد فى كلّ كتاب من الرياضيّات زيادات رأى أنّ الحاجة إليها داعية. أمّا فى المجسطى فأورد عشرة أشكال فى اختلاف المنظر. وأورد فى آخر المجسطى فى علم الهيئة أشياء لم يسبق إليها. وأورد فى

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١) فصادف ا ق/ص: وصادف ب ج: وصادفه ن / / من ا ب ج ن: فى ق/ص
٢) مثله ساقطة ب / / الأمير ساقطة ب / / ليالى ا ج ن ق/ص: ان ليالى ب / / الجمعات ج ن ق/ص وعلى هامش ب: الجماعات ا ب
٣) فحضره ا ب ج ن: بحضرة ق/ص / / فى ا ب ج ن: من ق/ص
٤) فما كان يطاق ا ب ن ق/ص: ممّا كان لا يطاق ج
٥) بتتميم ب ج ن ق/ص: بينهم ا
٨) أشكال ساقطة ا
٩) فى علم ا ب ج ق/ص: من ن

he needed. And from his court he received the respect and esteem which someone like him deserved. Amīr ʿAlāʾ 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. |

5 He occupied himself in Iṣfahān with finishing the *Shifāʾ*, completing the "Logic" and the Almagest, since he had already summarized Euclid,[87] 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

أوقليدس شبهاء وفى الأرثماطيقى خواصّ حسنة وفى الموسيقى مسائل غفل عنها الأوّلون. وتمّ كتاب **الشفاء** ما خلا كتابى النبات والحيوان فإنّه صنّفها فى السنة الّتى توجّه فيها علاء الدولة إلى سابور خواست فى الطريق. وصنّف أيضا فى الطريق كتاب **النجاة**.

واختصّ بعلاء الدولة وصار من ندمائه إلى أن عزم علاء الدولة على قصد همذان وخرج الشيخ فى الصحبة. فجرى ليلة بين يدى علاء الدولة ذكر الخلل الحاصل فى التقاويم المعمولة بحسب الأرصاد القديمة فأمر الأمير الشيخ بالاشتغال برصد هذه الكواكب وأطلق من الأموال ما يحتاج إليه. وابتدأ الشيخ به ووّلانى اتّخاذ آلاتها واستخدام صنّاعها. حتّى ظهر كثير من المسائل. وكان

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١) شبهاء : شبها فى كلّ النصوص / / خواصّ ب ن ق/ص: خواصّا ا ج

٢) الأوّلون ا ج ن ق/ص: الأوائل ب / / كتاب **الشفاء** ا ب ج ن: الكتاب المعروف بالشفاء ق/ص / / كتابى ن ق/ص: كتاب ا ب ج

٣) فيها ا ب ن ق/ص: فيه ج / / إلى ساقطة ج ولكنّها على الهامش

٣–٦) إلى سابور خواست . . . الدولة ساقطة ب ولكنها على الهامش

٨) الأرصاد القديمة ا ج ن ق/ص: الأرصاد الكلّيّة القديمة ب / / بالاشتغال ا ج: الاشتغال ب: ساقطة ن

some geometrical figures,[88] in the Arithmetic some excellent numerical properties, and in the Music some problems which the ancients had neglected. Thus he finished the *Shifāʾ*, except for the two books on the Plants and the Animals, which he wrote on the way in the year that ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla attacked Sābūr Khwāst.[89] He also wrote the *Najāt* en route. |

He was made a member of the court by ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla and became one of his companions, to the point that when ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla decided to attack Hamadhān the Master accompanied him. One night in the presence of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla someone mentioned the discrepancies contained in the ephemerides compiled on the basis of the ancient astronomical observations, and so the Amīr 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.

يقع الخلل فى أمر الرصد لكثرة الأسفار وعوائقها.
وصنّف الشيخ بإصفهان **الكتاب العلائى**. وكان من عجائب الشيخ أنّى صحبته وخدمته خمسا وعشرين سنة فما رأيته إذا وقع له كتاب مجدّد ينظر فيه على الولاء. بل كان يقصد المواضع الصعبة منه والمسائل المشكلة فينظر ما قاله مصنّفه فيها. فيتبيّن مرتبته فى العلم ودرجته فى الفهم.
وكان الشيخ جالسا يوما بين يدى الأمير وأبو منصور الجبّان حاضر. فجرى فى اللغة مسألة تكلّم الشيخ فيها بما حضره فالتفت أبو منصور إلى الشيخ وقال « أنت فيلسوف وحكيم ولكن لم تقرأ

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١) الرصد ا ب ج ق/ص: الأرصاد ن
٢) **الكتاب** ا ب ج: **كتاب** ن / / عجائب الشيخ ب ج ن: عجاب الشيخ ا: عجائب أمر الشيخ ق/ص
٣) صحبته و ساقطة ن / / خمسا ن ق/ص: خمسة ا ب ج
٤) مجدّد ا ب ن ق/ص: جديد ج
٧) يوما ا ب ج ن: يوما من الأيّام ق/ص / / الجبّان ا ب ج: الجبّائى ن
٨) حاضر ان ق/ص: حاضرا ب: ساقطة ج ولكنها على الهامش / / الشيخ فيها ا ج ن ق/ص: فيها الشيخ ب
٩) وقال «أنت ا ج: وقال له «أنت ب ن: يقول إنّك ق/ص / / لم ساقطة ا / / تقرأ ا ب ج ق/ص: تفز ن

The discrepancies in the matter of observation had occurred because of the great number of journeys and the attendant errors.[90]

The Master wrote the *ʿAlāʾī*[91] in Iṣfahān as well. One of the remarkable things about the Master was that for the twenty-five years[92] 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-Jabbān[93] 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

من اللغة ما يُرضَى كلامك فيها.» فاستنكف الشيخ من هذا الكلام وتوفّر على درس كتب اللغة ثلاث سنين واستدعى بكتاب **تهذيب اللغة** من خراسان من تصنيف أبى منصور الأزهرىّ. فبلغ الشيخ فى اللغة طبقة قلّما يتّفق مثلها.

وأنشد ثلاث قصائد ضمّنها ألفاظا غريبة في اللغة وكتب ثلاثة كتب أحدها على طريقة ابن العميد والآخر على طريقة الصابىّ والآخر على طريقة الصاحب. وأمر بتجليدها وإخلاق جلدها. ثمّ أوعز إلى الأمير بعرض تلك المجلّدة على أبى منصور الجبّان وذكر «إنّا ظفرنا بهذه المجلّدة في الصحراء وقت الصيد فيجب أن تتفقّدها وتقول لنا ما فيها.» فنظر فيها أبو منصور وأشكل عليه كثير ممّا فيها. فقال له الشيخ «إنّ ما تجهله من هذا الكتاب

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١) من اللغة ا ج ن ق/ص: فى اللغة ب / / يرضى ا ب ج ق/ص: نرضى ن

٥) وأنشد ا ب ج ن: وأنشأ ق/ص / / ألفاظا] + ألفاظا ب (مرّة ثانية) / / ثلاثة ن ق/ص: ثلاث ا ب ج

٨) إلى ساقطة ا ج ن ق/ص

١٠) أبو منصور] + الجبّان ب

١١) إنّ ساقطة ن

enough philology so that your remarks on it should be accepted." The Master became incensed at this remark and devoted himself to an intensive study of books on philology for three years, even sending to Khurāsān for the *Correct Philology*, one of the works of Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī.[94] And so in philology the Master reached a stage the like 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-ʿAmīd,[95] another in the style of al-Ṣābī,[96] and the last in the style of al-Ṣāḥib.[97] 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-Jabbān 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 فى الموضع الفلانىّ من كتب اللغة» وذكر له كتبا معروفة في اللغة كان الشيخ قد حفظ تلك الألفاظ منها. وكان أبو منصور مخرّفا فيما يورده من اللغة غير ثقة فيها ففطن أنّ تلك الرسائل من تصنيف الشيخ وأنّ الّذى حمله عليه ما جبهه به ذلك اليوم فتنصّل واعتذر إليه. ثمّ صنّف الشيخ كتابا فى اللغة سمّاه **لسان العرب** لم يُصَنّف فى اللغة مثله ولم ينقله إلى البياض . ثمّ توفّى وبقى الكتاب على مسوّدته لا يهتدى أحد إلى ترتيبه .

وكان قد حصّل تجارب كثيرة فيما باشره من المعالجات وعزم

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١) فى الموضع الفلانىّ ا ن ق/ص: فى الكتاب فى الموضع الفلانىّ ب: فى الكتاب الفلانىّ ج

٣) مخرّفا ب: محزفا ا: محرّفا ج: مجزفا ن ق/ص / / ففطن] + أبو منصور ق/ص

٥) ذلك اليوم ا ب ج ن: فى ذلك اليوم ق/ص / / إليه ا ب ن ق/ص: له ج

٧) ثمّ ا ب ج ن: حتّى ق/ص / / وبقى ا ب ج ن: فبقى ق/ص / /الكتاب ساقطة ق/ص

٩) حصّل] + له ج: + للشيخ ق/ص / / باشره ج ق/ص: باشر ا ب ن / / وعزم ا ب ج ن: عزم ق/ص

is mentioned in such-and-such a place in one of the books on philology," mentioning to him well-known books in philology, from which the Master had memorized those passages. Abū Manṣūr had been prattling in the philology he had put forward, without authority to back it up; so then he realized that these letters were written by the Master, and that his insulting him | that day was what brought it upon him. So he cleared himself by apologizing to him. The Master then wrote a book on philology which he called *The Arabic Language*, which has not been equaled in philology, but he did not transcribe it into clean copy. The writing was still in its rough state when he died, and no one could discover how to put it in order.

He carried out many experiments in his medical practice which he decided

على تدوينها فى كتاب **القانون**. وكان قد علّقها على أجزاء فضاعت قبل تمام كتاب **القانون** . من ذلك أنّه تصدّع يوما فتصوّر أنّ مادّة تريد النزول إلى حجاب رأسه وأنّه لا يأمن ورما يحصل فيه. فأمر بإحضار ثلج كثير ودقّه ولفّه فى خرقة وغطّى بها رأسه. وفعل ذلك حتّى قَوَى الموضع وامتنع عن قبول تلك المادّة وعوفى. ومن ذلك أنّ امرأة مسلولة بخوارزم أمرها أن لا تتناول شيئا من الأدوية سوى جلنجبين السكّر حتّى تناولت على الأيّام مقدار مائة منّ وشُفِيَت.

وكان الشيخ قد صنّف بجرجان **المختصر الأصغر في المنطق** وهو

١–٢) وكان . . . **القانون** ساقطة ن

٢) تمام ا ج ق/ص: اتمام ب/ / كتاب **القانون** ا ب ق/ص: الكتاب ج/ / تصدّع ب ج ن: تصرّع ا: صدّع ق/ص/ / يوما ا ب ج ق/ص: مرّة ن

٤) وغطّى بها رأسه ج ن: وغطّى به رأسه ا ب: وتغتية رأسه بها ق/ص

٥) حتّى ب ج ن ق/ص: حقّ ا/ / قبول ا ب ج ق/ص: حلول ن

٦) أنّ ساقطة ا ب

٧) جلنجبين ج ن ق/ص وعلى هامشى ا ب: سكنجبين ا ب

٨) وشفيت] + المرأة ق/ص

٩) وهو ساقطة ب

to record in the *Qānūn*. He had jotted them down in some quires, but they were lost before the completion of the *Qānūn*. 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 Khwārazm whom he ordered to take no medicine other than rose preserve made with sugar,[98] until, in the course of time, she had taken one hundred *manns*,[99] and was cured.

The Master had written *The Shorter Summary on Logic* in Jurjān, and it was

الّذى وضعه بعد ذلك فى أوّل **النجاة**. ووقعت نسخته إلى شيراز فنظر فيها جماعة من أهل العلم هناك. فوقعت لهم الشبه فى مسائل منها وكتبوها على جزء. وكان القاضى بشيراز من جملة القوم فأنفذ بالجزء إلى أبى القاسم الكرمانىّ صاحب إبراهيم بن بابا الديلمىّ المشتغل بعلم الباطن وأضاف إليه كتابا إلى الشيخ أبى القاسم. وأنفذهما مع ركابىّ قاصد وسأله عرض الجزء على الشيخ وتنجّز جوابه فيه. فحضر الشيخ أبو القاسم فى يوم صائف عند اصفرار الشمس عند الشيخ وعرض عليه الكتاب والجزء. فقرأ

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١) نسخته ا ب ج ن: نسخة ق/ص

٢) فنظر ا ب ج ق/ص: ونظر ن / / فيها] + فنظر فيها (مرّة ثانية) / / هناك ساقطة ب / / الشبه ق/ص: الشبه فيها ب: الشبهة ا ج ن

٣) وكتبوها ا ب ج ن: فكتبوها ق ص

٤) بالجزء ا ب ق/ص: الجزء ج ن

٥) الباطن ا ج ن: المنطق والباطن ب / / وأضاف ا ج ق/ص: فأضاف ب ن / / الشيخ ساقطة ن

٦) مع ا ب ج ن: على يدى ق/ص

٧) جوابه ا ب ج ن: أجوبته ق/ص / / يوم ساقطة ن / / صائف ا ب ن: صارف ج

٧–٨) فحضر . . . الشيخ ا ب ج ن: وإذا الشيخ أبو القاسم دخل على الشيخ عند اصفرار الشمس فى يوم صائف ق/ص

that which he included in the first part of the *Najāt* afterwards. A copy of it arrived in Shīrāz[100] 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 Qāḍī of Shīrāz was one of this group of people, so he sent the quire to Abū al-Qāsim al-Kirmānī,[101] a friend of Ibrāhīm ibn | Bābā al-Daylamī,[102] a devotee of the science of esoteric interpretation,[103] and he added to it a letter to Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim. 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 Abū al-Qāsim came to the Master's house and presented the letter and the quire to him. He read

الكتاب وردّه عليه وترك الجزء بين يديه والناس يتحدّثون
وهو ينظر فيه. ثمّ خرج أبو القاسم وأمرني الشيخ بإحضار البياض
فشددت له خمسة أجزاء كلّ واحد عشرة أوراق بالربع الفرعونيّ.
وصلّينا العشاء وقدّم الشمع وأمر بإحضار الشراب. وأجلسني وأخاه
وأمرنا بتناول الشراب وابتدأ هو بجواب تلك المسائل. وكان
يكتب ويشرب إلى نصف الليل حتّى غلبني وأخاه النوم فأمرنا
بالانصراف. وعند الصباح حضر رسوله يستحضرني فحضرت وهو على
المصلّى. وبين يديه الأجزاء الخمسة. فقال «خذها وصر بها
إلى الشيخ أبي القاسم الكرمانيّ وقل له استعجلت في الإجابة

١–٢) والناس . . . فيه ا ب ج ن: وهو ينظر فيه والناس يتحدّثون ق/ص
٢) البياض] + وقطع أجزاء منه ق/ص
٣) فشددت ا ب ج ق/ص: فعددت ن / / عشرة ا ج ن ق/ص: عشر ب
٤) وأمر ا ب ج: وأمرنا ن
٥) وابتدأ هو ا ج ن ق/ص: وأقبل هو وابتدأ ب
٧) وعند ا ب ج ن: فعند ق/ص / / حضر رسوله ا ب ج ن: قرع الباب فاذا رسول
الشيخ ق/ص / / فحضرت ا ب ج: بحضرته ن: فحضرته ق/ص
٨) فقال ا ب ج ق/ص: وقال ن / / صر ب ج ن ق/ص: مر ا
٩) الإجابة ا ب ن: الجواب ج

the letter and returned it to him, placed the quire before him, and examined it while the people around were chatting. As soon as Abū 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^{c}awnī[104] 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 5
have some wine while he began replying to these problems. He wrote and drank until the middle of the night, at which time sleep 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 Abū al-Qāsim al-Kirmānī and tell him I was in a hurry to answer

عنها لئلاّ يتعوّق الركابىّ.» فلمّا حملتها تعجّب كلّ العجب وصرف الفيج وأعلمهم بهذه الحالة وصار الحديث تأريخا بين الناس.

ووضع فى حال الرصد آلات ما سُبِق إليها وصنّف فيها رسالة. وبقيت أنا ثمانى سنين مشغولا بالرصد وكان غرضى تبيين ما يحكيه بطلميوس فى أرصاده. وصنّف الشيخ كتاب **الانصاف** واليوم الّذى قدم فيه السلطان مسعود إصفهان نهب عسكره رحل الشيخ وكان الكتاب فى جملته وما وقف له على أثر.

وكان الشيخ قوىّ القوى كلّها وقوّة المجامعة من قواه

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١) حملتها ا ب ج ن: حملته إليه ق/ص

٢) الحالة ساقطة ن / / الحديث ا ب ج ن: هذا الحديث ق/ص

٣) حال ا ج ن ق /ص: حالات ب

٤) ثمانى ب: ثمان ا ج ن

٥) ما يحكيه فوق خطّ ا / / بطلميوس ب ق/ص: بطليموس ا ج ن / / فى أرصاده ا ب ج ن: عن نفسه (قصّته ص) فى الأرصاد حتّى بان (فتبيّن ص) لى بعضها ق/ص / / الشيخ ساقطة ب

٦) قدم ا ب ج ق/ص: قصد ن / / إصفهان ا ب ج ن: إلى إصفهان ق/ص

٧) وما ا ب ن ق/ص: ما ج / / وقف] + بعد ذلك على هامش ج

٨) وقوّة ا ب ج ن: وكانت قوّة ق/ص

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 Sulṭān Masʿūd[105] arrived at Iṣfahān, his troops rifled the Master's baggage which contained the work and it was not found afterwards.[106]

The Master was vigorous in all his faculties, the sexual faculty being the most vigorous and dominant of his

الشهوانيّة أقوى وأغلب ويشتغل به كثيرا. فأثّر فى مزاجه وكان
يعتمد على قوّة مزاجه حتّى صار أمره فى السنة التّى حارب
فيها علاء الدولة تاش فرّاش على باب الكرج أصاب الشيخ قولنج.
ولحرصه على البرء إشفاقا من هزيمة يدفع إليها لا يتأتّى له
المسير فيها مع المرض، حقن نفسه فى يوم واحد ثمانى مرّات
فتقرّح بعض أمعائه وظهر به سحج. وأُحْوِج إلى المسير مع علاء
الدولة بسرعة نحو إيذج فظهر به هناك الصرع الّذى قد يتبع

١) ويشتغل به كثيراً ا ج ن: ويشتغل فيه كثيراً ب: وكان كثيراً ما يشتغل به ق/ص
كثيرا] + فقيل له فيه وفى كثرة المأكول والسهر فقال «إنّ الله تعالى قد وفّر فى
قواى الظاهرة والباطنة فانا أوفى كلّ قوّة حقّها.» ب / / وكان] + الشيخ ق/ص
٣) الكرج ب ج: الكرخ ان ق/ص / / أصاب ا ب ج ن: إلى أن أخذ ق/ص / /
قولنج ب ق/ص: القولنج ا ج ن
٤) البرء ا ب ج ن: برئه ق/ص / / إشفاقا ن ق/ص: اسفا ا: وإشفاقه ب: وإشفاقا
ج / / لا ب ج: الا ا: ولا ن ق/ص
٥) واحد ساقطة ج ولكنّها على الهامش / / ثمانى ب: ثمان ا ج ن
٦) وأحوج ب ج ن ق/ص: وحوج ا
٧) إيذج ن ق/ص: ايلح ا: بلح ب: ابرح ج / / بسرعة نحو . . . ا ب ج: نحو
أيذج بسرعة ن: فأسرعوا نحو إيذج ق/ص / / فظهر ا ب ن ق/ص: وظهر
ج / / قد ساقطة ن

concupiscible faculties,[107] and he exercised it often.* It affected his constitution, upon whose strength he depended, to the point that in the year in which ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla fought against Tāsh Farrāsh[108] at the gate of al-Karaj,[109] the Master was afflicted by the colic. He desired to recover at once because of his concern over a retreat to which he [ʿAlāʾ al-
5 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 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla quickly toward Īdhaj,[110] where he was afflicted by the seizures which sometimes follow

* B adds:. He was asked about it and about his excesses concerning food and staying up all night and he said, "God, Who is exalted, has been generous concerning my external and internal faculties, so I use every faculty as it should be used."

القولنج. ومع ذلك فقد كان يدبّر نفسه ويحتقن للسحج ولبقيّة
القولنج. فأمر يوما باتّخاذ دانقين بزر الكرفس فى جملة الحقنة
طالبا لكسر ريح القولنج. فطرح بعض الأطبّاء الّذى كان يتقدّم
هو إليه بمعالجته من بزر الكرفس خمسة دراهم — لست أدرى
أعمدا فعله أم خطأ لأنّى لم أكن معه — فازداد السحج من حدّة ٥
البزر. وكان يتناول المثروديطوس لأجل الصرع فطرح بعض
غلمانه فيه شيئا كثيرا من الأفيون وناوله إيّاه فأكله. وكان سبب

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١) القولنج ان: علّة القولنج ب ج / / فقد ساقطة ق/ص / / ويحتقن للسحج ا ب ج ن: ويحقن نفسه لأجل السحج ق/ص
٢) فأمر ب ج ن ق/ص: وأمر ا / / بزر ا ب ج: بذر ن: من بزر ق/ص / / الحقنة ا ب ج ن: ما يحتقن به وخلطه بها ق/ص
٣) فطرح ا ب ج ن: فقصد ق/ص
٤) هو ساقطة ن / / من بزر ا ب ج: من بذر ن: وطرح من بزر ق/ص
٥) أكن ا ب ج ق/ص: أك ن / / السحج] + به ق/ص
٦) البزر ا ب ج: البذر ن: ذلك البزر ق/ص
٦–٧) فطرح . . . الأفيون ا ب ج ن: فقام بعض غلمانه وطرح شيئا كثيرا من الأفيون فيه ق/ص
٧) كثيرا ساقطة ن / / إيّاه ساقطة ق/ص

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 *dānaqs*[111] 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 5
not present—and the abrasion was aggravated by the sharpness of the seed. In addition he used to take mithridate[112] 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

ذلك خيانتهم فى مال كثير من خزانته فتمنّوا هلاكه ليأمنوا عاقبة أفعالهم.

ونُقِلَ الشيخ كما هو إلى إصفهان فاشتغل بتدبير نفسه. وكان من الضعف بحيث لا يستطيع القيام فلم يزل يعالج نفسه حتّى قدر على المشي. وحضر مجلس علاء الدولة وهو مع ذلك لا يتحفّظ ويكثر المجامعة ولم يبرأ من العلّة كلّ البرء وكان ينتكس ويبرأ كلّ وقت. ثمّ قصد علاء الدولة همذان وصار الشيخ معه فعاودته العلّة فى الطريق إلى أن وصل إلى همذان وعلم أنّ

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١) خزانته ا ق/ص: خزائنه ب ج ن
٢) أفعالهم ج: أفعاله ا ب ن
٤) لا يستطيع ا ب ج ن: لا يقدر على ق/ص
٥) وهو ا ب ج ن: لكنّه ق/ص
٥–٦) لا . . . المجامعة ج ن: ساقطة ا ب: يكثر] + التخليط فى أمر ق/ص
٦) ولم ج ن ق/ص: لم ا ب / / وكان ا ب ج ن: فكان ق/ص
٧) صار ب ج: اصار ا: سار ن ق/ص / / الشيخ معه ا ب ج ن: معه الشيخ ق/ص
٨) العلّة فى الطريق ا ب ج ن: فى الطريق تلك العلّة ق/ص / / إلى همذان ا ب ن ق/ص: بهمذان ج

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 Iṣfahān, 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 ʿAlāʾ 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 ʿAlāʾ 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

قوّته قد سقطت وأنّها لا تفى بدفع المرض. فأهمل مداواة نفسه وكان يقول «المدبّر الّذى كان يدبّر بدنى قد عجز عن التدبير والآن فلا تنفع المعالجة.» وبقى على هذا أيّاما ثمّ انتقل إلى جوار ربّه ودفن بهمذان فى سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة.

وكانت ولادته فى سنة سبعين وثلثمائة وجميع عمره ثمان وخمسون سنة. لقاه الله صالح أعماله.

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١) قد ساقطة ن

٢) وكان ا ب ج ن: وأخذ ق/ص / / يدبّر بدنى ا ج ن: يدبّرنى ب

٤) ربّه] + ورحمته ب / / بهمذان] + رضى الله تعالى عنه ج / / ٤٢٨ ب

٤–٦) فى سنة . . . أعماله ا ب ج ن: وكان عمره تمانيا (ثلاثا ص) وخمسين سنة وكان موته فى سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة (+ وكانت ولادته فى سنة خمس وسبعين وثلثمائة ص) ق/ص

٥) ٣٧٠ ب / / وجميع ا ج ن: فجميع ب / / ثمان] : ثمانى ا: ثمانية ج ن / / ٥٨ ب

٦) أعماله] + وأحسن منقلبه ب: + بمنّه وكرمه 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 Hamadhān in the year 428.[113] | The year of his birth was 370,[114] and so the sum of his years was 58. May God find his deeds worthy.

ذلك خيانتهم فى مال كثير من خزانته فتمنّوا هلاكه ليأمنوا عاقبة أفعالهم.

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١) خزانته ا ق/ص: خزائنه ب ج ن
٢) أفعالهم ج: أفعاله ا ب ن
٤) لا يستطيع ا ب ج ن: لا يقدر على ق/ص
٥) وهو ا ب ج ن: لكنّه ق/ص
٥–٦) لا . . . المجامعة ج ن: ساقطة ا ب: يكثر] + التخليط فى أمر ق/ص
٦) ولم ج ن ق/ص: لم ا ب / / وكان ا ب ج ن: فكان ق/ص
٧) صار ب ج: اصار ا: سار ن ق/ص / / الشيخ معه ا ب ج ن: معه الشيخ ق/ص
٨) العلّة فى الطريق ا ب ج ن: فى الطريق تلك العلّة ق/ص / / إلى همذان ا ب ن ق/ص: بهمذان ج

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١) قد ساقطة ن

٢) وكان ا ب ج ن: وأخذ ق/ص / / يدبّر بدنى ا ج ن: يدبّرنى ب

٤) ربّه] + ورحمته ب / / بهمذان] + رضى الله تعالى عنه ج / / ٤٢٨ ب

٤–٦) في سنة . . . أعماله ا ب ج ن: وكان عمره تمانيا (ثلاثا ص) وخمسين سنة وكان موته فى سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة (+ وكانت ولادته فى سنة خمس وسبعين وثلثمائة ص) ق/ص

٥) ٣٧٠ ب / / وجميع ا ج ن: فجميع ب / / ثمان] : ثمانى ا: ثمانية ج ن / / ٥٨ ب

٦) أعماله] + وأحسن منقلبه ب: + بمنّه وكرمه 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 Hamadhān in the year 428.[113] | The year of his birth was 370,[114] and so the sum of his years was 58. May God find his deeds worthy.

فهرست كتب ابن سينا

أمّا ذكره أبو عبيد الجوزجانيّ فى تأريخ سيرته من فهرست كتبه فهو يقارب أربعين تصنيفا. وقد اجتهدتّ فى تحصيل ما صنّف وأثبتّ فى هذا الفهرست ما وجدته مضافا إلى ما ذكره الشيخ أبو عبيد ما يقارب تسعين تصنيفا:

(١) كتاب **اللواحق**. يذكر فى تصانيفه أنه شرح **الشفاء**.

(٢) كتاب **الشفاء**. يجمع جميع العلوم الأربعة. صنّف طبيعيّاته

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١) أبو عبيد ا ج: الشيخ أبو عبيد ن

١–٤) أمّا . . . تصنيفا ا ج ن: وهذه فهرست مصنّفاته على أكمل ما وجد له ب: (وللشيخ الرئيس) من الكتب كما وجدناه غير ما هو مثبت فيما تقدّم من كلام أبى عبيد الجوز جانىّ ص

٣) صنّف ا ج: صنّفه غيره ن

٤) تصنيفا] + وتفصيله هكذا ن

٥) يذكر ا ج ن ص: ذكر ب // فى تصنيفه ساقطة ب ص

٦) يجمع ا ب ن: جمع ج ص // جميع ساقطة ب // الأربعة] + فيه ص // صنّف ا ج ن: وصنّف ب ص

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF IBN SINA

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 *Shifāʾ*. (2) The *Shifāʾ* (*Healing*), which summarizes the whole of the four sciences. He wrote the "Physics"

وإلهيّاته فى عشرين يوما بهمذان. (٣) كتاب **الحاصل والمحصول** صنّفه ببلده للفقيه أبى بكر البرقىّ فى أوّل عمره فى قريب من عشرين مجلّدة ولا يوجد إلّا نسخة الأصل. (٤) كتاب **البرّ والاثم**. صنّفه أيضا لهذا الفقيه فى الأخلاق مجلّدتان ولا يوجد إلّا عنده. (٥) كتاب **الانصاف**. عشرون مجلّدة. شرح فيه جميع كتب أرسطو وأنصف فيه بين المشرقيّين والمغربيّين. ضاع فى نهب السلطان مسعود. (٦) كتاب **المجموع**. ويعرف **بالحكمة العروضيّة**. صنّفه وله إحدى وعشرون سنة لأبى الحسن العروضىّ من غير الرياضيّات. (٧) كتاب **القانون** فى الطبّ. صنّف بعضه بجرجان

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٣) من ساقطة ا ج / / قريب من ساقطة ن

٤) لهذا الفقيه ا ب ج: للفقيه ن: للفقيه أبى بكر البرقىّ ص / / مجلّدة ا ج ن ص: فى مجلّدتين ب / / يوجد ا ب ن ص: يوجدان ج

٥) الإنصاف] + والاتّصاف ب / / عشرون ص: عشرين ا ج ن / / جميع ساقطة ن

٥—٧) عشرون . . . مسعود ساقطة ب

٦) أرسطو ا ج ن: أرسطو طاليس ص / / وأنصف ا ج ص: أنصف ن

٨) إحدى وعشرون سنة ص: مآ ا: كآ سنة ب: إحدى وعشرين سنة ج ن / / الحسن ا ب ج ص: الحسين ن / / من غير ا ج ن ص: فيه ما سوى ب

٩) صنّف ب ج ن ص: صنّفه ا

and the "Metaphysics" in twenty days in Hamadhān. (3) The *Sum and Substance*, which he wrote in his home city for the lawyer Abū Bakr al-Baraqī 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 Sulṭān Masʿūd's raid. (6) The *Compilation*, known as *ʿArūḍī's Philosophy*,[2] which he wrote at age twenty-one for Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿArūḍī, leaving out the mathematics. (7) The *Qānūn* (*Canon*) of medicine, part of which he wrote in Jurjān

وبالرىّ وتمّ بهمذان وعوّل على أن يعمل له شرحا وتجارب.
(٨) كتاب **الأوسط الجرجانى** فى المنطق. صنّفه بجرجان لأبى محمّد الشيرازىّ. (٩) كتاب **المبدأ والمعاد** فى النفس. صنفّه له أيضا بجرجان. (١٠) كتاب **الأرصاد الكلّيّة** . صنّفها أيضا بجرجان لأبى محمّد الشيرازىّ. (١١) كتاب **المعاد** . صنّفه بالرىّ للملك مجد الدولة. (١٢) كتاب **لسان العرب** فى اللغة. صنّفه بإصفهان ولم ينقله إلى البياض ولا وجد له نسخة ولا مثله.
(١٣) كتاب **دانش نامه العلائىّ** بالفارسيّة. صنّفه لعلاء الدولة بن

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١) وبالرىّ ا ج ص: والرىّ ب: ساقطة ن / / وتمّ ا ب ج ن: وتمّه ص / / وعوّل ا ب ج ص: وعزم ن

٤) له أيضا ا ب ن ص: أيضا له ج / / بجرجان] + ووجدت فى أوّل هذا الكتاب أنّه صنّفه للشيخ أبى أحمد محمّد بن إبراهيم الفارسىّ ص / / صنّفها ا ج ن ص: صنّفه ب

٥) لأبى محمّد الشيرازىّ ا ج ن ص: له ب / / المعاد] + الأصغر ب / / بالرىّ] + وهو فى خدمة الملك مجد الدولة على هامش ب

٦) صنّفه ب ج ن ص: صنّفها ا

٧) ولا وجد ا ج ن: ولا وجدت ب: ولم يوجد ص / / مثله] + ووقع إلىّ بعض هذا الكتاب وهو غريب التصنيف ص

٨) دانش نامه العلائىّ ا ج ن : دانش مايه العلائىّ ص: دانش نامه ب. وأيضا كتاب العلائىّ بالفارسية . . . ب

and in al-Rayy, and which was finished in Hamadhān; he intended to work on a commentary and carry out experiments for it. (8) The *Middle*, or *Jurjānī*, [*Summary*] on logic, which he wrote in Jurjān for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī. (9) The *Origin and the Return*, on the soul, which he also wrote him in Jurjān.[3] (10) *Comprehensive Observations*, which he also wrote | in Jurjān for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī. (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 Iṣfahān, but did not transpose into clean copy, so nothing resembling a copy of it has been found. (13) The *ʿAlāʾī Philosphy*, in Persian, which he wrote for ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ibn

كاكويه بإصفهان. (١٤) كتاب **النجاة**. صنفّه فى طريق سابور خواست وهو فى خدمة علاء الدولة. (١٥) كتاب **الاشارات والتنبيهات**. وهى آخر صنّف فى الحكمة وأجوده وكان يضنّ بها. (١٦) كتاب **الهداية** فى الحكمة. صنّفه وهو محبوس بقلعة فردجان لأخيه علىّ يشتمل على أقسام الحكمة مختصرا. (١٧) كتاب **القولنج**. صنّفه بهذه القلعة أيضا ولا يوجد تامّا. (١٨) رسالة **حىّ بن يقظان**. صنّفها بهذه القلعة أيضا رمزا عن العقل الفعّال. (١٩) كتاب **الادوية القلبيّة**. صنّفها بهمذان. (٢٠) مقالة فى **النبض**

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١) كاكويه ن ص: كالويه ا ج: خالويه ب // فى ا ج ن ص: على ب

٣) وهى ا ج ص: وهو ب ن // فى الحكمة وأجوده ساقطة ب // يضنّ ب ج ن ص: يظنّ ا

٤) بها ن ص: به ا ب ج

٥) فردجان ن ص: فرودحان ا ب ج

٦) أيضا ساقطة ب

٧) صنّفها ا ج ن ص: صنّفه ب // أيضا ساقطة ب

٨) صنّفها ا ج ن ص: صنّفه ب // بهمذان ا ب ن ص: باصفهان ج // بهمذان] + وكتب بها إلى الشريف السعيد أبى الحسين علىّ بن الحسين الحسينىّ ص: + للجبّان على هامش ج

Kākūyah in Iṣfāhan. (14) The *Najāt*, which he wrote on the road to Sābūr Khwāst while he was in the service of ʿAlāʾ 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 | Fardajān for his brother ʿAlī,[4] 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 Yaqẓān* (*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*.

بالفارسيّة. (٢١) مقالة فى **مخارج الحروف**. صنّفها بإصفهان للجبّان. (٢٢) رسالة إلى أبى سهل المسيحىّ فى **الزاوية**. صنفها بجرجان. (٢٣) مقالة فى **القوى الطبيعيّة** إلى أبى سعيد اليمامىّ. (٢٤) رسالة **الطير**. مرموزة يصف فيها توصّله إلى علم الحقّ. (٢٥) كتاب **الحدود**. (٢٦) مقالة فى نقض رسالة ابن الطيّب فى **القوى الطبيعيّة**. (٢٧) كتاب **عيون الحكمة**. يجمع العلوم الثلاثة. (٢٨) مقالة فى **عكوس ذوات الجهة**. (٢٩) كتاب **الموجز الكبير** فى المنطق. وأمّا **الموجز الصغير** فهو منطق **النجاة**. (٣٠) **القصيدة**

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١) بالفارسيّة ا ج ص: فارسيّة ب ن / / مخارج الحروف ا ج ن ص: أسباب حدوث الحروف ومخارجها ب / / للجبّان ا ب : للجبّائىّ ن ص: ساقطة ج

٢) إلى ساقطة ا

٣) سعيد ج ن: سعد ا ب ص / / اليمامىّ ا ب ن ص: اليمانىّ ج

٤) يصف فيها ا ب ج ن: تصنيف فيما ص / / فيها] + عملا ب

٥) نقض ا ب ج ن: تعرض ص / / ابن الطيّب ا ب ج ن: الطبيب ص

٦) يجمع ب ج ن ص: لجميع ا

٧) عكوس ا ب ج ص: علو ن

in Persian. (21) An essay on *Phonetics*, which he wrote in Iṣfahān for al-Jabbān. (22) A letter to Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī on the *Angle*, which he wrote in Jurjān.[5] (23) An essay on *Natural Faculties*[6] for Abū Saʿīd al-Yamāmī.[7] (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*.[8] (27) *Essential Philosophy*, which contains the three sciences [logic, physics, and metaphysics]. (28) An essay on the *Conversions of Modals*. (29) The *Large Epitome* on logic; as for the *Small Epitome*, it is the logic of the *Najāt*. (30) The *Ode*,

المزدوجة فى المنطق. صنّفها للسهيلىّ بكركانج. (٣١) **الخطبة التوحيديّة** فى الإلهيّات. (٣٢) مقالة فى **تحصيل السعادة**. وتعرف **بالحجج العشر**. (٣٣) مقالة فى **القضاء والقدر**. صنّفها فى طريق إصفهان عند خلاصة وهربه إلى إصفهان. (٣٤) مقالة فى **الهندباء**. (٣٥) مقالة فى **الاشارة الى علم المنطق**. (٣٦) مقالة فى **تقاسيم الحكمة والعلوم**. (٣٧) رسالة فى **السكنجبين**. (٣٨) مقالة فى **اللانهاية**. (٣٩) كتاب **التعاليق**. علّقه عنه ابن زيلا. (٤٠) مقالة فى **خواصّ خطّ الاستواء**. (٤١) **المباحثات** بسؤال بهمنيار تلميذه

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١) للسهيلىّ] : للسهلىّ: ا ب ج ن: للرئيس أبى الحسن سهل بن محمّد السهلىّ ص / / بكركانج ا ب ن ص: أبى بكر كانج ج / / بكركانج] + وتعرف بميزان النظر وبالأرجوزة ب / / الخطبة ا ب ج ن: الخطب ص

٢) الإلهيّات] + ظ هى الكلمة الإلهيّة والتسبيحة ب

٣) العشر ا ب ج ن: الغر ص

٤) إلى إصفهان ا ب ج ص: إليها ن / / الهندباء] + ومنافعها ن وهامش ج

٥) تقاسيم ا ج ن ص: أقسام ب

٦) والعلوم ساقطة ب

٧) التعاليق ا ب ج ن: تعاليق ص / / عنه ابن ا ج: عند ابن ب : لابن ن: عنه تلميذه أبو منصور بن ص

٨) بهمنيار تلميذه ا ب ج ن: تلميذه أبى الحسن بهمنيار بن المرزبان ص

in couplets, on logic, which he wrote for al-Suhaylī in Gurgānj. (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 *Foreordination and Destiny*, which he wrote on the way to Iṣfahān during his escape and flight to Iṣfahān.[9] (34) An essay on *Endive*. | (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 *Oxymel*. (38) An essay on *Infinity*. (39) *Commentaries*, which Ibn Zaylā[10] wrote at his dictation. (40) An essay on the *Characteristics of the Equator*. (41) *Discussions* about questions asked by his pupil Bahmanyār

وجوابه له. (٤٢) **عشر مسائل** أجاب عنها لأبى الريحان البيرونىّ (٤٣) جواب **ستّ عشرة مسألة** لأبى الريحان. (٤٤) مقالة فى **هيئة الارض من السماء وكونها في الوسط** . (٤٥) كتاب **الحكمة المشرقيّة** لا يوجد تامّا. (٤٦) مقالة فى **تعقّب المواضع الجدليّة**. (٤٧) مقالة فى **خطأ من قال إنّ الكمّيّة جوهريّة** . (٤٨) **المدخل الى صناعة الموسيقى**. وهو غير الموضوع فى **النجاة** . (٤٩) مقالة فى **الاجرام السماويّة** . (٥٠) مقالة فى **تدارك الخطأ الواقع في التدبير**

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١) عشر . . . البيرونىّ ساقطة ا / / البيرونىّ ساقطة ن
٢) ستّ عشرة ص: ستّة عشر ا ب ج: ثمانية عشر ن / / الريحان ب ص: الريحان البيرونىّ ن: ريحان ا ج
٢–٥) مقالة . . . جوهريّة على هامش ب
٣) وكونها ا ج ن ص: وأنّها ب / / الوسط ب ج ن ص: السطح ا // من السماء . . . الوسط على هامش ج
٤) لا ا ج ص: ولا ب ن
٥) مقالة ساقطة ا / / مقالة . . . جوهريّة ساقطة ص / / جوهريّة ا ن: جوهر ب ج
٦) وهو . . . النجاة على هامش ا
٧) الأجرام ا ب ن ص: الأجسام ج

and his answers to him. (42) *Ten Questions*, which he answered for Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī.[12] (43) Answers to *Sixteen Questions* of Abū al-Rayḥān. (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 *Najāt*. (49) An essay on the *Celestial Bodies*. (50) An essay *Correcting the Errors in*

الطبّيّ. (٥١) مقالة فى كيفيّة الرصد وتطابقه مع العلم الطبيعىّ. (٥٢) مقالة فى الأخلاق. (٥٣) مقالة فى آلة رصديّة. صنّفها بإصفهان عند رصده لعلاء الدولة. (٥٤) رسالة إلى السهيلىّ فى الكيمياء. (٥٥) مقالة فى غرض قاطيغورياس. (٥٦) الرسالة الاضحويّة في المعاد. صنّفها للأمير أبى بكر محمّد بن عبيد. (٥٧) معتصم الشعراء فى العروض. صنّفه ببلاده وله سبع عشرة سنة. (٥٨) مقالة فى حدّ الجسم. (٥٩) الحكمة العرشيّة. وهو كلام مرتفع فى الالهيّات. (٦٠) عهد له عاهد الله به لنفسه. (٦١) مقالة فى أنّ علم زيد غير علم عمرو. (٦٢) كتاب تدبير الجند

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١) . . . الطبّىّ (أى الرقم ٥٠) ا ب ج ن: كتاب التدارك الأنواع خطأ التدبير ص / / وتطابقه ا ب ج ن: ومطابقته ص

٣) رصده ا ج ن ص: رجوعه ورصده ب / / السهيلىّ: السهلىّ ا ب ج ن: الشيخ أبى الحسن سهل بن محمّد السهلىّ ص / / فى الكيمياء ا ج ن ص: فى أمر مستور أى الكيمياء ب

٥) صنّفها . . . عبيد ساقطة ب / / أبى بكر محمّد ا ن ص: أبى بكر بن محمّد ج

٦) صنّفه . . . سنة ساقطة ب / / سبع عشرة ن ص: سبعة عشر ا : سبع عشر ج

٨) له ساقطة ب / / لنفسه ا ب ج ص: نفسه ن

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 Iṣfahān during his observations for ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. (54) A letter to al-Suhaylī on *Alchemy*. (55) An essay on the *Object of the "Categories"* [of Aristotle]. (56) The *Aḍḥawiyya Letter on | the Return*, which he wrote for the prince Abū Bakı Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd.[13] (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 ʿAmr*. (62) The *Management and Provisioning of Soldiers*,