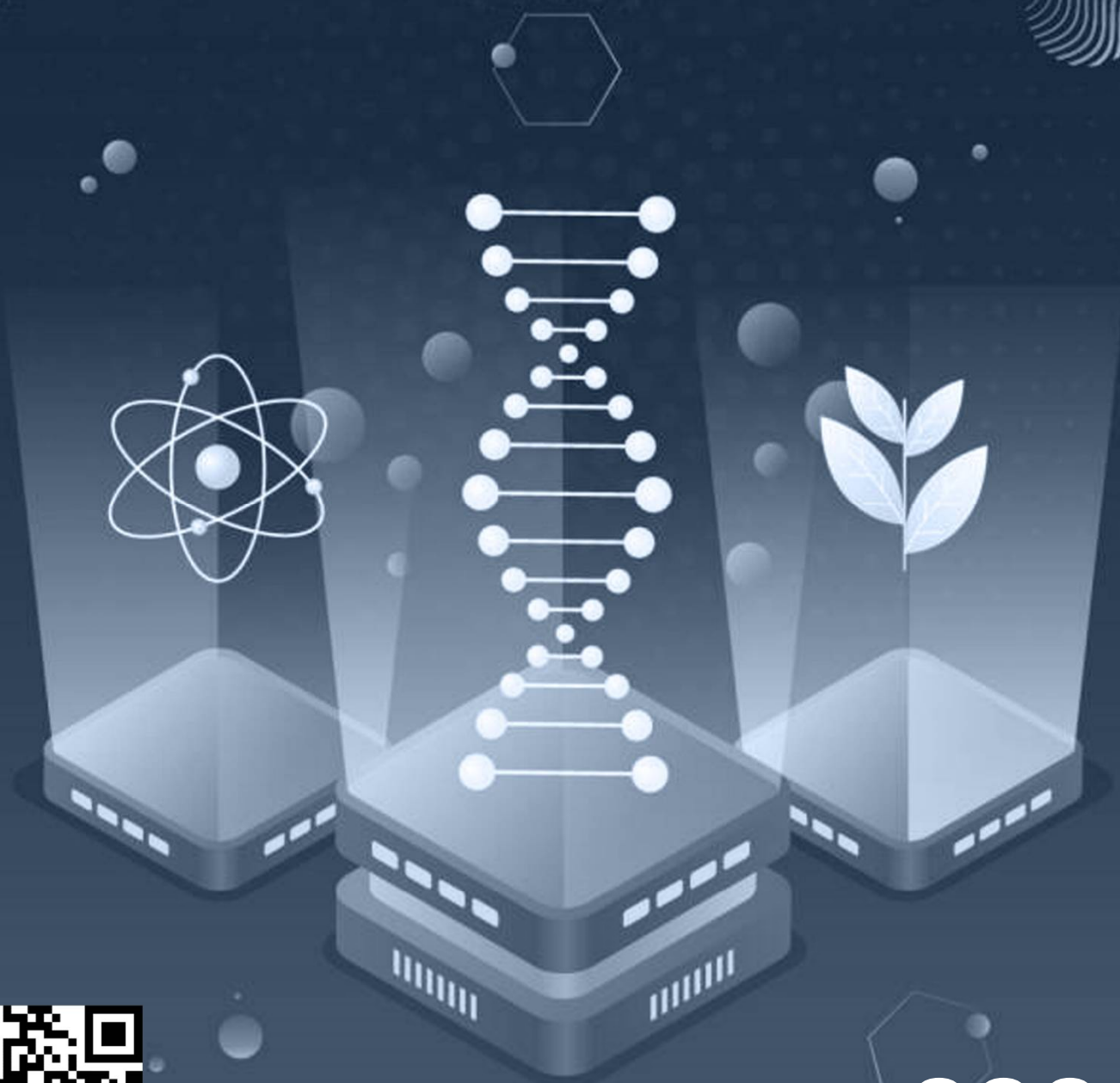


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<b>1. Ашимханова Светлана Ашимхановна, Абдуллаева Айнур Аскарровна</b> РОЛЬ СРАВНЕНИЙ КАК ОБРАЗНОЕ СРЕДСТВО В ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОМ ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИИ.....	8
<b>2. Murodov G‘ayrat Nekovich</b> EPOS VA ROMAN: ADABIY-BADIY BOG‘LANISHLAR.....	13
<b>3. Чупонов Отаназар Отажонович</b> РУКОПИСНЫЕ КНИГИ КАК ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИЙ ИСТОЧНИК.....	20
<b>4. Худайбергенова Умида Комилджановна</b> СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ ЭРГОНОМОВ.....	26
<b>5. Pardayeva Sojida Ahmatovna</b> WHAT IS PRAGMALINGUISTICS IN LINGUISTICS?.....	34
<b>6. Зеленина Тамара Ивановна, Тойкина Ольга Владимировна</b> МНОГОЯЗЫЧИЕ И МЕХАНИЗМЫ ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЯ РАЗНОСТРУКТУРНЫХ ЯЗЫКОВ.....	39
<b>7. Tursunbaeva Gulruh Mukhametovna</b> SELECTED FEATURES OF FILM TRANSLATION AS THE KEY ISSUE IN ACQUIRING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.....	45
<b>8. Gadoyeva Mavlyuda Ibragimovna</b> INSON TANA A‘ZOLARI HAQIDAGI TOPISHMOQLARNING LINGVOPOETIK XUSUSIYATLARI.....	51
<b>9. Маркин Владимир Васильевич, Маркина Полина Владимировна</b> СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНАЯ АДАПТАЦИЯ: СУЩНОСТЬ И ФУНКЦИИ.....	58
<b>10. Ашимханова Светлана Ашимхановна, Абдуллаева Айнур Аскарровна</b> РОЛЬ МЕТАФОР КАК ОБРАЗНОЕ СРЕДСТВО В ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОМ ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИИ.....	64
<b>11. Абдиева Камола Аслидин кизи</b> ОСНОВНЫЕ ЧЕРТЫ СОВРЕМЕННОГО ЭЛЕКТРОННОГО КОРПУСА.....	70

**IQTISODIYOT**

<b>1. Xaydarov Ixom To‘xtayevich</b> SUG‘URTA SOHASIGA OID TERMINLAR TAHLILI.....	76
<b>2. Кипкеева Асият Магомедовна</b> ВЛИЯНИЕ ЦИФРОВОЙ ЭКОНОМИКИ НА РОСТ И РАЗВИТИЕ СТРАНЫ.....	81
<b>3. Annazarova Barno Rustamovna</b> RAQAMLI TEXNOLOGIYALAR ASOSIDA AHOLINI RO‘YHATGA OLISH JARAYONLARINI SAMARALI TASHKIL ETISH HOLATINING TAHLILI.....	86

## PEDAGOGIKA – PSIXOLOGIYA

- 1. Ибраимов Холбой Ибрагимович**  
ЗАМОНАВИЙ ЖАМИЯТДА ИНКЛЮЗИВ ТАЪЛИМ МУАММОЛАРИ ВА  
РИВОЖЛАНИШ ИСТИҚБОЛЛАРИ.....92
- 2. Urazbaeva Dilbar Abdullaevna**  
SUT BEZI SARATONI TASHXISLI BEMORLARDA KASALLIKKA MUNOSABAT TIPI  
NAMOYON BO‘LISHINING O‘ZIGA XOS XUSUSIYATLARI.....97
- 3. Kalandarova Madina Bahadirovna**  
PERINATAL PSIXOLOGIYADA PSIXODIAGNOSTIK METODIKALARNI QO‘LLASH....105
- 4. Хазова Светлана Абдурахмановна, Рукавишников Дина Рафаиловна**  
СВЯЗЬ ОТНОШЕНИЯ К БОЛЕЗНИ И ЭМОЦИОНАЛЬНОГО СОСТОЯНИЯ  
ЖЕНЩИН, ПЕРЕНЕСШИХ ХИРУРГИЧЕСКОЕ ВМЕШАТЕЛЬСТВО ПО ПОВОДУ  
РАКА МОЛОЧНОЙ ЖЕЛЕЗЫ.....111
- 5. Jumaniyazova Imira Kamiljanovna**  
INSULT KASALLIGINING TIBBIY - PSIXOLOGIK XUSUSIYATLARINING NAZARIY  
VA AMALIY TAHLILI.....117
- 6. Sadikova Umida Botirovna**  
QANDLI DIABET KASALLIGI TASHXISI QO‘YILGAN BEMORLARNING  
PSIXOLOGIK XUSUSIYATLARI.....123
- 7. Парфёнова Татьяна Вячеславовна**  
ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ МЕХАНИЗМЫ И ЗАКОНОМЕРНОСТИ ЛИЧНОСТНЫХ  
ИЗМЕНЕНИЙ КОСВЕННЫХ СВИДЕТЕЛЕЙ ЭКСТРЕМАЛЬНОГО  
МАКРОСОЦИАЛЬНОГО СОБЫТИЯ.....128
- 8. Kasimova Xulkar Atabayevna**  
NOGIRONLIGI BO‘LGAN TALABALARNING KOPING STRATEGIYALARI  
BO‘YICHA OLINGAN NATIJALARNING PSIXOLOGIK TAVSIFI.....132
- 9. Силина Елена Алексеевна, Крюкова Татьяна Леонидовна**  
СОЦИАЛЬНЫЕ ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЯ О НАСИЛИИ В ОТНОШЕНИЯХ ПАРТНЕРОВ.....138
- 10. Jumaniyozova Nasiba Ramatillayevna**  
AUTIST BOLALAR BILAN ISHLOVCHI MUTAXASSISLARDA PSIXOLOGIK  
STRESSNING NAMOYON BO‘LISHI.....144
- 11. Nurullayeva Baxtigul Bobojonovna, Fozilova Sabohat Nodir qizi**  
PEDAGOGLARDA KASBIY ZO‘RIQISHNI NAMOYON BO‘LISHI VA UNI  
KORREKSIYASI.....149
- 12. Qurbonova Shaxloxon Bahodirovna**  
GENDER IJTIMOIVLASHUV TUSHUNCHASI VA DIFFERENSIAL FARQLARNING  
O‘ZIGA XOSLIGI.....155

## TIBBIYOT

- 1. Abdullayev Ravshanbek Babajonovich, Bakhtiyarova Aziza Maqsudbekovna**  
CLINICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEPTIC ULCER DISEASE IN ELDERLY RESIDENTS  
OF THE KHOREZM REGION.....161
- 2. Назарова Малохат Бердибаевна, Адилбеква Дилором Бахтиёровна**  
ВЛИЯНИЕ ХРОНИЧЕСКОГО ТОКСИЧЕСКОГО ГЕПАТИТА МАТЕРИ НА СОСТОЯНИЕ  
ПЕЧЕНИ ПОТОМСТВА.....166


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THE GREAT SCHOLAR OF THE MAMUNIDS PALACE: ‘ABU SAHL ISĀ B. YAḤYĀ AL  
MASĪNĪ, THE TEACHER OF IBN SĪNA AND BĪRUNĪ, AND HIS UNDISCOVERED  
SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE.....172
- 2. Нодира Кадамовна Нуруллаева**  
ГОСУДАРСТВО МАЪМУНИДОВ: МЕЖНАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ И  
РЕЛИГИОЗНАЯ ТОЛЕРАНТНОСТЬ.....184
- 3. Лухманова Зарина Талибовна**  
ЭФФЕКТИВНОСТЬ МОЛОДЕЖНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ: МЕТОДИКА РАСЧЕТА.....191
- 4. Ashirov Adhamjon Azimbayevich, Karimov Umrbek Davronbekovch**  
O‘ZBEK XALQINING EKIN-TIKINCHILIK MAROSIMLARIDA DINIY VA MILLIY  
QADRIYATLAR SIMBIOZI.....209
- 5. Matkarimova Sadokat Maksudovna**  
XX ASR OXIRI – XXI ASR BOSHLARIDA TAOMLANISH MADANIYATI  
TARAQQIYOTIDAGI O‘ZGARISHLAR.....215
- 6. Masharipova Gularam Kamilovna**  
ABU RAYHON BERUNIY VA ABU ALI IBN SINO ASARLARINING XORIJDIFI  
NUSXALARI HAQIDA.....220
- 7. Ғайбулла Бобоёрв Боллиевич, Шоҳрухмирзо Исмоилов Закиржон ўғли**  
АБУ РАЙХОН БЕРУНИЙНИНГ “ОСОР УЛ-БОҚИЙА” АСАРИДАГИ ЎҒУЗ ТУРКЛАРИ  
БОШҚАРУВЧИЛАРИНИНГ УНВОНИ “ХОНУВТА”МИ ЁКИ “ЖАБҒУЙА”?.....231
- 8. Abdalov Umidbek Matniyazovich, Pulatov Muhridin**  
XORAZMSHOHLAR DAVLATIDAGI IJTIMOY-IQTISODIY MUNOSABATLARGA OID  
BA’ZI MASALALAR.....236
- 9. Egamberdieva Nigora Azadovna**  
O‘ZBEKISTONDA DAVLATCHILIK SHAKLLANISHINING OMILLARI VA TARIXIY  
ILDIZLARI.....242
- 10. Davlatova Saodat Tilovberdiyevna, Matkarimova Nazokat Maksudovna**  
МАЪМУНИЙ ХОРАЗМШОҲЛАР ДАВЛАТИНИНГ “ОЛТИН ДАВРИ”  
ВА МАЪМУН АКАДЕМИЯСИ ОЛИМЛАРИНИНГ МУСИҚА ИЛМИ  
СОҲАСИДАГИ ФАОЛИЯТИ.....249

TARIX

**Mustafa Demirci,**  
Professor of Medieval History  
Selçuk University, History Department,  
Konya, Turkey  
E-mail.: mdemirci@selcuk.edu.tr

**THE GREAT SCHOLAR OF THE MAMUNIDS PALACE: 'ABU SAHL ISĀ B.  
YAḤYĀ AL MASĪHĪ, THE TEACHER OF IBN SĪNA AND BĪRUNĪ, AND HIS  
UNDISCOVERED SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE**

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**ABSTRACT**

The greatest and most remarkable works of the history of Islamic science after Abbasid Baghdad were written in the Samanid Bukhara and the Harizm Ma'munid environment that took over its legacy. They held discussions in a creative scientific environment with famous geniuses such as Ibn Sina and Biruni, as well as physics scholars such as Masihi and Ibn Hammar, and produced lasting works. Abu-Sahl al-Masihi (died circa 1010 AD) was one of the physicians in that period who had great influence on the progress of medicine, astronomy, philosophy by his own writings as well as his influence on great scholars like Biruni and Avicenna as their teacher. He was a polymath and had many writings in various fields of science, in particular medical sciences. As a sign of his impact in medicine, astronomy many later physicians (until 19th century) referred to and cited his works in their manuscripts several times. His life, his relations with the Mamuni dynasty, the scientific environment in Harizm, the scientists he interacted with, and the works he wrote constitute the subject of this study.

**Keywords:** al Masihi, Memunids- Harizm- Medicine History-İbn Sina- Biruni.

**Mustafó Demirchi,**  
O'rta asrlar tarixi professori  
Selchuk universiteti, tarix kafedrasi,  
Konya, Turkiya  
E-mail.: mdemirci@selcuk.edu.tr

**MA'MUNIYLAR SAROYINING BUYUK ALLOMASI:  
ABU SAHL ISO İBN YAHYO AL MASĪHIY.  
IBN SĪNO VA BERUNIY USTOZI VA UNING OCHİLMAGAN İLMİY MEROSI**

**ANNOTATSIYA**

Abbosiy Bag'doddan keyingi islom ilmi tarixining eng buyuk va diqqatga sazovor asarlari Somoniylar Buxoro va uning merosini o'z zimmasiga olgan Xorazm Ma'muniylar muhitida



yoziqlan. Ular Ibn Sino, Beruniy kabi mashhur daholar, Masihiy, Ibn Hammar kabi fizika olimlari bilan ijodiy ilmiy muhitda bahs-munozaralar olib borgan, umrboqiy asarlar yaratgan. Abu-Sahl al-Masihiy (taxminan 1010-yilda vafot etgan) o'sha davrda tibbiyot, astronomiya, falsafa taraqqiyotiga o'z asarlari bilan katta ta'sir ko'rsatgan tabiblardan biri bo'lib, Beruniy, Ibn Sino kabi buyuk allomalarga ham ta'sir ko'rsatgan. U fanning turli sohalarida, xususan, tibbiyot fanlarida ko'plab asarlar yozgan. Uning tibbiyotga ta'sirining belgisi sifatida astronomiya ko'plab keyingi shifokorlar (19-asrgacha) uning asarlariga o'z qo'lyozmalarida bir necha bor murojaat qilgan va keltirgan. Uning hayoti, Ma'muniylar sulolasi bilan aloqalari, Xorazmdagi ilmiy muhit, muloqotda bo'lgan olimlar, yozgan asarlari ushbu tadqiqot mavzusini tashkil etadi.

**Kalit so'zlar:** al Masihiy, Ma'muniylar, Xorazm, Tib tarixi, Ibn Sino, Beruniy

**Мустафа Демирджи,**  
Профессор истории Средневековья  
Сельчукский университет, кафедра истории, Конья, Турция  
E-mail.: mdemirci@selcuk.edu.tr

## ВЕЛИКИЙ УЧЁНЫЙ ДВОРЦА МАМУНИДОВ: АБУ САХЛ ИСА Б. ЯХЬЯ АЛЬ МАСИХИ, УЧИТЕЛЬ ИБН СИНЫ И БИРУНИ, И ЕГО НЕРАСКРЫТОЕ НАУЧНОЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ

### АННОТАЦИЯ

Величайшие и замечательные труды по истории исламской науки после Аббасида Багдада были написаны в Саманидской Бухаре и среде Хорезма Мамунида, перенявшей ее наследие. Они провели дискуссии в творческой научной среде с известными гениями, такими как Ибн Сина и Бируни, а также с учеными-физиками, такими как Масихи и Ибн Хаммар, и создали долговечные работы. Абу-Сахль аль-Масихи (умер около 1010 г. н.э.) был одним из врачей того периода, который своими собственными трудами оказал большое влияние на прогресс медицины, астрономии и философии, а также оказал влияние на таких великих ученых, как Бируни и Авиценна. их учитель Он был эрудитом и имел множество работ в различных областях науки, в частности медицинских наук. В знак его влияния на медицину астрономия, многие более поздние врачи (до 19 века) несколько раз ссылались и цитировали его работы в своих рукописях. Его жизнь, его отношения с династией Мамуни, научная среда в Хорезме, учёные, с которыми он общался, и написанные им работы составляют предмет данного исследования.

**Ключевые слова:** аль Масихи, Мемуниды, Хорезм, История медицины, Ибн Сина, Бируни.

### INTRODUCTION

Isa ibn Yahya Masihi Jurjani (born in the mid of 10th century AD in Jurjan), known as Abu-Sahl al-Masihi, was one of the major scholars and an expert in the fields of medicine, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy under Me'munids period. Some reliable historical books provide limited information about his life. Although, many of the physicians in this period are famous globally, too many others are not well known although having roles in the progress of medical sciences. Abu-Sahl al-Masihi was among such scientists of this period whose works had great influence on Avicenna, Biruni and others, but were not translated into other languages and are therefore largely unknown to non Iranians and Arabs. Nonetheless, little information is available about his life except for what is mentioned in the few reliable books ((Zarchenas: 2012; 259: 2764–2765; Dalfary: 2016; 24: 328–330.)

He was born in Jorjan (Hyrcania), located in north east of Iran, in the late 10th century AD. (Kerameti: 2006, pp.574–579). However, it is not clear whether the birthplace of Messiah is Curjan in Iran or Curjaniye in Harizm. If we consider that he fled from Khwarazm to Jurjan, it appears that he was born in Jurjan, Iran. When he was a child and started to learn basic sciences as well as medicine. What we know for sure about his life, he went to Baghdad for a while, the capital of

Abbasids Caliphate in that period. Then, he returned to the city of Gorganj and achieved an important position in the court of King Ma'moun ibn Mohammad (from Ma'munids kingdom in Khawrazm, a Persian dynasty which ruled between 995 and 1017 AD). Usaybia, quoting from Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrā'il about his biyografiya said that: "al-Masīhī lived in Khurāsān and was favored by its sultan. He died when he was forty years of age." (Usaybia, p. 565) It is not clear who the sultan here is. The first thing that comes to mind is the Ma'muni emir, but the title "sultan" was not used among the Ma'munids. It is probably mentioned about a sultan with whom he worked before coming to Harizm. Although it is known that Masihi was in Bukhara in the 990s, during the last years of the Samanids, Ibn Sina does not mention him among his teachers in Bukhara in his autobiography. Contemporary sources indicate that al Mesihi left Bukhara after the fall of the Samanids (probably in 999); It is estimated that he probably first went to Khorasan, that is, Curcan, where he became one of the favorite physicians of the palace, and then came to Curcaniye, the capital of the Memunians in Khwarezm. Sources must have confused Khorasandak Curcan City with Harizm Curcaniye. As a matter of fact, Kifti uses the expressions "He was senior to the sultan of Khorasan and was superior in his art..." (Kifti:2005, p.300) This expression must have been used not for the Me'munis of Khwarezm, but on the contrary, for the Buwayhi emir in Curcan. In addition, Biruni's first work, *el-Āsāru'l-bākiye ani'lkurūni'l-haliye*, which he wrote while he was in Curcan, quotes a three-couplet poem of al Masihi about the old Arabic/Semud month names. This evidences proves that al Masihi and Biruni had met before in Curcan before going to Harizm (Biruni: 1878, 63).

#### **MATERIAL AND METHODS.**

The history of Khorezm in the 10th century remains largely obscure. Including, almost no studies have been conducted not only in Uzbekistan, but also in world historiography on the subject under study. This can be explained by the fact that the number of sources is very small, the dynasties ruled for a very short period of time, and the number of archeological sources is also significantly small, and those that are there have come down to our days in a very damaged state. For this reason, the historical information about Abu Sahl Masihi and his activities in Khorezm has reached us in short form only in some sources. Even the received information cannot provide complete information about the scientist's activities in Khorezm. Therefore, the topic will be explored through some historical sources that have come down to us.

Various ancient manuscripts that shed light on the history of this period serve as the main sources for the study of this topic. In the study, the information provided in the written sources was studied in comparison with other sources. For this reason, the comparative method was widely used in this study. Also, analysis-synthesis methods were used to analyze data obtained on the basis of materials collected from historical sources.

#### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS.**

It is not known exactly when al Masihi came to Khwarezm and how long he stayed there. Considering the available data, the most obvious point about Masihi's life is that he continued his work under the auspices of the Ma'munids. According to Beyhakī, Mesihi was the first ruler of the Ma'munids, Ma'mun b. Muhammad (slt. 385/995- 387/997). He was wrote a book on dream interpretation for his private library. His main patron was Vizier Sehli in Harizm. It was Sehli, the wise vizier of the Ma'munis, who made him come to Harizm and stay here. Nizami al-Aruzi (12th century) says for him the following: "Khwarezmshāh Ebū'l-'abbās Ma'mūn had a vizier named Ebū'l-huseyn Ahmed b. Muhammed es-Sūheyli. He was wise, generous and virtuous..." (Nizāmī al-'Arūzī, undated, p. 117). Based on the books he wrote and dedicated to this king and Abu al-Hasan Sehli, his minister, he stayed there al Masihi, Ebu'l-Abbās Me'mūn b. Ma'mun (slt. ca. 399/1008-9 – 407-8/1017) and Ali b. Ebu'l-Hasan Ahmed b., who served as vizier to Me'mūn (slt. 387/997-399/1009). He lived under the protection of Muhammad es-Sehlī (d. 418/1027) in the Mamunian's court until 1010. Some of his works were written by Me'mūn b. The fact that he wrote for Me'mūn and Sehli confirms this relationship. As Nizami al Aruz-i emphasizes that he lived in Kharizm alongside

great scientists like Avicenna (980–1037 AD) and Biruni (973–1048 AD). (Velayeti: 2011, pp.475–481; Kerameti: 2006, pp.574–579).

Nizami al-Aruzi (12th century), İbn Usaybia, Kifti, Beyhaqi, Şehrazuri and others some references reported his live and connections. Ibnu'-Qifti says about him that he was a healer, physician, logician, virtuous person, and a scholar in the basic sciences mentioned in his country (Kifti, 2005; p.300). Beyhaki says about him: "He was born in Curcan, grew up in Baghdad and studied knowledge. The Messiah was a Christian, but he did not follow Christians and worshiped in his home. He was affiliated with Khwarazmshah Ma'mun b. Muhammad and he worked for the library of Khwarazmshah Ma'mun. He wrote an elegant book with an elegant explanation about interpretation." he writes (Bayhaki:1994, p.90). Şehrazuri said, "Abu Sahl's birth place was Curcan. He grew up and was educated in Baghdad. Abu Sahl was a Christian. He did not join Christians people, he worshiped at home. He wrote a nice book on the science of Dream Interpretation for the Khwarazm library..." Şehrazuri: 2007, p. 315). Gregory Abû'l Farac (Bar Hebraeus), Ebû Sehl Mesîhî, who was a famous physician and wrote his work "Ma Mimre" (One Hundred Addresses) and many other works, was living in Khorasan in 372/982, when the Buwayhi emir Alaüddevele died. (Gregory Abû'l Farac (Bar Hebraeus:1945, p. 271). From this information, it is understood that Masihi was a physician who was trained and became famous around.

Nizamu Aruzu, who describes the environment in which al Mashi lived in the most detail, says the following: "Khwarezmşâh Ebû'l-'abbâs Ma'mûn had a vizier named Ebû'l-huseyn Ahmed b. Muhammed es-Süheylî. He was wise, generous and virtuous." Khwarezmshah was also wise and a friend of scholars. Because of their wisdom and virtue, people like Ebû 'Alî Sînâ, Ebû Sehl Mesîhî, Ebû'l-hayr Hummâr and Ebû Reyhân Bîrûnî, Ebû Nâsr 'Irâk gathered in this lodge. r Iraq is the nephew of Khwarezmshah. He was the second Ptolemy in mathematics and its types. Ebû'l-hayr Hummâr was the third after Hippocrates and Galenus in medical science. Ebû Reyhân was the third in astronomy after Ebû Ma'sher and Ahmed b. 'Abdü'l-celîl. He was in his place. Ebû 'Alî Sînâ and Ebû Sehl Mesîhî were the successors of Aristotle in the science of philosophy, which covers all sciences. This group was independent in worldly affairs and behaved humanely in conversation with each other and entertainingly in their correspondence. A celebrity came to Sultan Yemînü'd-devle with a letter from Mahmûd. I heard the content of that letter as follows: "It is necessary to send a few people of virtue, such as so and so, who are unique in the council of Khwarezmshah, to our parliament so that they can enjoy the honor of our assembly. Let us trust their knowledge and competence. We have the gratitude of Khwarezmshah." (Nizâmî al'Arûzî, undated, p. 117).

According to him, when Mahmud of Ghazni (971–1030), the founder of Ghaznavid Empire ordered scientists of Khawrazm to migrate to his capital and court. Avicenna and Abu Sahl did not accept and escaped from Khawrazm. It is believed that Avicenna survived, and Abu Sahl died during this flight. (Velayeti: 2011, pp.475–481; Kerameti: 2006, pp.574–579) But, some historians doubt this story and believe he lived definitely for more than 40 years.

Abu Sahl followed Galen in the theory of moderating heart's heat by the air located in the lungs. Also he made many novel findings and theories in the fields of health, temperaments, pulsology, fever, treatment approaches, and preparing drugs. For example, the benefits of heart tonics in the treatment; harmfulness of vinegar, wine, and alcoholic beverages to brain and nervous system; used many remedies for the treatment of neurological disorders like applying topical cold and wet oils on the head and avoiding vomiting in the cases of headache due to hotness and dryness. (Aghili: 1970, p.660; Aghili: 2006, p. 309) Since we are not in a position to evaluate the Masihi's achievements in the field of medicine and his views on right and wrong, we leave this task to medical scientists. Here we will try to reveal his historical personality, works and relationships.

#### **Masihi as a Teacher to İbn Sina and Biruni,**

All sources providing information about the al Mesihi emphasize his fluency in using Arabic, his ability to express deep meanings, his depth of knowledge in medicine, astronomy and other sciences, and his accurate views based on his experiences. (Usaybia, p. 654). For this reason, It seems that Abu Sahl made a great contribution not only to the medical sciences, but also

astronomy ve philosophic sciences. Abu Sahl contributed to philosophy, literature, and mathematics. He is among those who contested astrological propositions.

Despite some reliable historical books provide limited information about his life, according to based on the limited documents, Abu Sahl spent a period of his life alongside great scientists such as Avicenna (980–1037 AD) and Biruni (973–1048 AD) in Mamunian's court (a Persian dynasty that ruled between 995 and 1017 AD). (Keramati: 2006, pp 574-579; Taghavi-Shirazi M, Ghods R, Hashem-Dabaghian F, Zargaran: 2020;28:132- 135)

Some sources even consider Abu Sahl as İbn Sina's teacher in medicine. Accordingly, some contemporaries considered Abu Sahl as a teacher not only İbn Sina, but also of Biruni though he never mentioned him as his tutor. He wrote 12 books on mathematics and astronomy for Biruni. Some historians have considered him as the teacher especially of Avicenna in medicine and even superior to him. For example Ibn Abī 'Uşaybi'a say thate: "al-Masīhī was the teacher of Ibn Sīnā in medicine, and that only after that became distinguished and skilled in it, and also in the philosophical sciences, to the point where he composed books for al-Masīhī and called them after him..." (Ibn Abī 'Uşaybi'a, p. 565)

Ibn Abī 'Uşaybi'a, in the thirteenth century, some medical circles in Iran, many physicians, especially The Imam Qutb al-Dīn İbrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Muhammad al-Sulamī and his teacher Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Khatib al-Rayyī, believed that Masihi was based on Ibn Sina. It informs us that there is an opinion that it is superior to the medical science, style, method and application. His numerous books on medicine and philosophy include a commentary on the whole of the general part [Kulliyāt] of Ibn Sīnā's Qānūn. In this work I have found that he gave preference to al-Masīhī and Ibn al-Khatīb over the Shaikh Abū Alī ibn Sīnā. These are his words: "al-Masīhī is more adept in the medical art than Shaikh Abū Alī, for my teachers preferred him to many who surpassed Abū Alī in this field..." (Ibn Abī 'Uşaybi'a, p. 597)

When his books are examined, al Masihi was a scholar who produced works not only in the field of medicine and astronomy, but also in the field of philosophy. Among them, Kitāb fī aşnāf al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyya is a relatively early example of the genre that falls under the classification of the philosophical/ intellectual sciences. As the introductory part of the work shows, Abū Sahl wrote this work at the request of the vizier Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sahlī. What is interesting at this point is that Ibn Sīnā also composed a treatise on the classification of the philosophical sciences for al-Sahlī, who became his patron too at the same period in Gurgānğ along with Abū Sahl. As shown above, Nizāmī al Aruzi, while listing the characteristics of the leading scholars under the auspices of the Ma'munis, especially introduces Avicenna and Abu Sahl as "the successors of Aristotle in the field of philosophy (wisdom) that encompasses all sciences." (Nizamu al Aruzi, v.d, p.117) İbn Usaybia said that "al-Masīhī was the teacher of Ibn Sīnā in medicine, and that only after that became distinguished and skilled in it, and also in the philosophical sciences, to the point where he composed books for al-Masīhī and called them after him" (Ibn Abī 'Uşaybi'a, p. 564-5) Ebū Sehl İsâ b. Yahyâ el-Mesīhî is one of the "overshadowed" names that has been neglected by Islamic philosophy studies that have focused on philosophers with comprehensive philosophical systems such as Fârâbî (d. 339/950) and Avicenna (d. 428/1037), and whose medical studies have been mostly taken into consideration (Kaya:2020, p. 467 - 499).

When it comes to the scholars with whom Abu Sahl was in contact, for now we only have information about his relationship with Biruni and Ibn Sina. Acquaintance between Abu Sahl and Biruni, it is possible that he was in Curjan before Khwarezm and in Bukhara during the last period of the Samanids (997-9978). Both of them probably met in these cities on the same dates. In addition, Biruni's first work, el-Âsârul-bâkiye ani'lkurûni'l-haliye, which he wrote while he was in Curcan, quotes a three-couplet poem of his about the old Arabic month names (Biruni: 1878, 63). proves that these two scholars had met before in Curcan. However, the main collaboration work dates back to the period under the protection of the Ma'munis in Gürgeç. It is understood from the list of Biruni's works and his mentions in Tahdid that this relationship continued later. (Biruni: 2017, p.70; Biruni: 2013, p.100)

Al-Masīhī's diction is more lucid and intelligible than that of the Shaikh, who affected an extremely concise style, to no purpose. On the superiority he accorded to Ibn al-Khatīb over al-Shaikh al-Ra'īs, he said: "This is apparent from the utterances of these two great authorities, the latter of whom surpassed the former with regard to knowledge, practice, assurance and method."

#### **Masihi's Death Date:**

Al Masihi's death date is controversial. Although all sources repeat that he died at the age of forty, they are unfortunately silent about the exact date of his birth and death. However, considering that he was older than Ibn Sina and Biruni, it seems that he died later than the age of forty. As it is known, the Harizm Ma'munis came under the control of Ghazni Sultan Mahmud in 1017. Before this date, Masihi had left Khwarezm. According to Ibn Abi Oṣaybe'a, his work titled *Resāla fī tahqīq emr al-wabā'* (On the determination of the issue of infectious diseases) was written by Ebu'l-'Abbās Ma'mun b. He wrote for Me'mun (reign 1009-17). (Sezgin, GAS VII, p. 389). Considering this event, he was still in Harizm in 1009.

Additionally, according to Nizāmī Aruzī, When he asked Mahmud of Ghazni (sl. 388/998-421/1030), from Me'mūn b. Me'mūn to send him these distinguished names in his palace, Ibn Sīnā and Ebū Sehl, unlike the other names, rejected this offer and set out towards Cūrcān (Gürgān) accompanied by a guide provided by the vizier Sehlī. However, they lost their way due to a sandstorm on the fourth day of the journey, and Abu Sahl died of thirst in the extremely hot weather. If the "story" narrated by Nizāmī is to be accepted as true, consulting the available data on the life of Ibn Sina to determine the date of Abu Sahl's death may provide us with some clues.

Ibn Sīnā left Bukhara after the collapse of the Samanid State by the Karakhanids and, as he stated in his autobiography, went to Gūrgenç and there he first came under the protection of the vizier Ebu'l-Hasen es-Sehli, who "loved philosophical sciences", and then was taken by the vizier. It was presented to Ali b. Me'mūn and he was given a monthly salary at the rate given to his peers. Ibn Sīnā left Gūrgenç due to a "necessity", the nature of which he did not explain, without touching the other names that came together under the auspices of the Ma'munids in his autobiography, and passing through Nesā, Bâverd, Tūs, Semenân and Câcerm, he came to the Ziyârî emir Kâbūs b. Veşmgîr (d. 403/1013). He set out for Curcan in order to be under the protection of Kâbūs b. Veşmgîr (Gohlman: 1974, p.40-2). Accordingly, Ibn Sina was in Gūrgenç between 389/999-402/1012 and also between 402/1002-403/1013. It is understood that he was on the way to Cūrcān (Gutas, 2010, 6-7). It seems possible to associate the insistent demand of Mahmud of Ghazni in Nizāmī's narrative with his "forced" departure from Gūrgenç, the reason for which Ibn Sina did not explain. Considering that Abu Sahl died on the fourth day of his and Ibn Sina's departure from Gūrgenç, his death date can be determined as (402/1012)

Due to a reference made by Bîrûnî to Ebū Sehl in his work titled *Tahdîdü nihâyâtî'l-emâkin li-tashîhi mesâfâtî'l-emâkin*, he claims that he must have passed away at a later date. In his work in question, Biruni, in observing a lunar eclipse that took place in two cities, describes the number of time conjunctions arranged according to Ebū Sehl Îsâ b. He records that Yahyâ el-Mesîhî sent him a letter. Again, according to Biruni, Abu Sahl wrote another letter to him recently (fî hâze'l-vakt), stating that he had reached additional regulations corresponding to several times the said figure, and promised to send his works on this subject. (Biruni, 2013: p.100) It is stated that Biruni made two observations: the first in Cūrcniye in hicri 407, Rabiul awvel,/October 1017, before leaving Harizm, and the second in 409/1019. Considering that he wrote his work *Tahdidi Nihayetu al Amakin* in Ghazni between 409/1018-416/1025, it becomes certain that Ebū Sehl al Masihi was alive during these dates (Biruni, 2013: p. 39, 59). On the other hand, while listing the works of Ibn Ebî Usaybi'a and Ibn Sīnā, he clearly states that this work is *Risāle fî'z-zâviye*, which Ibn Sīnā wrote in Curcān (ca. 403/1013). (Ibn Abî 'Uṣaybi'a, p.564, 571)

Regarding the date of Abu Sahl's death, Daiber finds the date 401/1010 given by C.Brockelmann, Georg Graf and Fuat Sezgin to be unfounded and proposes the date 408/1017, but does not mention the reason for choosing this date. The reason why Daiber chose this date was probably because Biruni had been in Gūrgenç by this date; (see Daiber: 2010, 287). Ömer Mahir

Alper also gives the date of Ebû Sehl's death as 401/1010-1, based on Baghdadlı İsmail Pasha, but notes that although this date is probable, it is not certain (Alper, 29/313). Considering all this it proves that Ebû Sehl al Masihi did not die on the way as reported by Nizâmî, on the contrary, he reached Curcan together with Ibn Sînâ and died at a later date.

### **A) Masihi's Books and Articles and Evaluation of al Masihi's most important books:**

1. *Al-Mia fil-Tibb* (Book of the Hundred): There are many manuscript copies of this book. It is the most famous and extensive writing of Abu Sahl, which can be counted as a medical encyclopedia or *Kunnash*. Each of the 100 chapters of the book can be counted as an independent article or book. In terms of scientific value, some historians have awarded this book similar impact to *Liber continent of Rhazes*, *Avicenna's Canon of Medicine*, the *Royal book of Haly Abbas*, and *Treasure of the Khwarazm Shah* written by *Jorjani* and even considered it as a pattern for *Avicenna* in writing his *Canon of medicine*.<sup>12–15</sup> Additionally, medical scholar *Ibnü't-Tilmîz* wrote a commentary on, (*Ibn Abî 'Uşaybi'a*, p. 503) *Nu'mân b. Ali Rızâ el-İsrâîlî* also summarized this work with the title "*el-Havâşî'n-Nu'mâniyye ve'l-maķāşidü't-tıbbiyye*" (ed. *Kadrî Şerefi*, *Haydarâbâd* 1959). *Gâde Kermî* and *Mahmûd el-Hâc Kâsım Muhammed* examined this work in their articles. This book is his best and most famous work and which carries a marginal note by *Amîn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmîdh* saying: "One must rely upon this book, for it is trustworthy, has no repetitions, is clear in expression and gives choice treatments." (*Ibn Abî 'Uşaybi'a*, p.446)
2. *Kitab al-Teb al-Küllî* (The General Medicine): The work, which is an introduction to the basic subjects of medicine, consists of two parts (articles). It consists of thirty-nine chapters in the first part and forty-one chapters in the second part. This stands next in size to *Book of the Hundred*. Compared with the preceding work, this book covers more general issues in medicine.
3. *Ezhar al-Hekmat Allah Ta'ala fi Khalgh al-Ensan* (God's Mystery on the Creation of Man) also known as *Tashrih Badan al-Ensan* (Human Body Description) is his next important work. As opposed to works written by predecessors, he used a novel order for the materials, omitting the contents which were irrelevant to the issues under discussion and adding useful materials to what *Galen* and other predecessors had proposed. He first described the structure of each organ and continued to describe the uses, shape, position, and performance of the organ.

Masihi's book "On the Manifestation of God's Wisdom in the Creation of Man" in his script, which is the essence of beauty and correctness, perfection and exactness. This book is his best and most useful, for in it he gathered the sayings of *Galen* and others concerning the functions of the members in the clearest and simplest language, with personal additions which prove his outstanding virtue and profound knowledge [*Ibn Abî 'Uşaybi'a*, p.564]. In the introduction of his book, the following to explain the innovations and level he brought to medical science he says: "Only he who compares between our part and theirs can appreciate the superiority of our contribution. This comparison must be made with prudence and impartiality, for one who does not study a thing carefully is not entitled to judge it and one who is not impartial cannot decide what is preferable. The one entitled to real criticism is the impartial scholar, who studies carefully and thoroughly our contribution and that of the others; he will notice how we have corrected, improved and supplemented, simplified and reordered the material in a way which is better fitting to the whole discourse and to each part of it; how we have dropped what is not related to this branch of the sciences and how much we have added as our contribution of detailed and secret meanings which were hidden from them, either for their subtlety or for their loftiness; how we have proved subsequent matters by former phenomena (as opposed to what they had done), so that everything will be clear with its fundamentals and causes, and will constitute a true argument..."

The author emphasizes two points here: 1) He clearly claims how they went further than the knowledge inherited from *Galen*. However, he claims that the accuracy of this claim will be revealed by a comparison made by competent experts, adhering to impartial and scientific criticism methods, in order to determine and evaluate this. Here, Masihi also describes the "Criticism and Investigation" method they use.

2) He claims how they make the messy, difficult and complex subjects of medical science systematic and more understandable. This situation led to the most striking feature of Ibi Sina's book, al-Qanun Fit'-Tib, among the medical books written up to that time, that it was much more systematic and more suitable for medical education than the Medicine of Hippocrates, Galen and Razi. It suggests that the contribution of . A comparison between Masihi's works and al-Qanun in this regard will clearly reveal this situation.

Although there are many works written by him, a full bibliography has not been done so far. Information about his works gives us: 1) We see in the list of treatises that Masih wrote for himself, in the bibliography study that Biruni wrote about Raz and his own works. Secondly, Ibn Abi Usaybi lists the names of his works after giving his biography. Finally, it is determined through studies on his extant works and scans of manuscripts in Turkey.

#### **A) First of all, the list of works named by Biruni is as follows:**

After completing his list of Zekeriya Razi's books, Biruni also prepared a list of his own books. In this list, Abu Sahl also lists the 12 books written by Isa b. Yahya al-Masihi for Biruni::

1. Kitāb fi Mabādi' al-Handasah (His book on the Principle of Astronomy).
2. Kitāb fi Rusum al-Harakāt fi al-Ashyā' Dhawāt al-Wad' (His book on the Rules of the Movement of Things Endowed With Positions).
3. Kitāb fi Sukun al-Ard Aw Harakatihā (His book on Non-movement or Movement of the Earth).
4. Kitāb fi al-Tawassut Bayn Aristutālis wa Jālinus fi al-Muharrrik al-Awwal (His book on Reconciliation between the Ideas of Aristotle and Galen Regarding the Prime Mover).
5. Risālah fi Dalālat al-Lafz 'alā al-Ma'nā (His epistle on the Evidence of Word to the Meaning)
6. Risālah fi Sabab Bard Ayyām al-'Ajuz (His epistle on the Cause of the Cold during Old Age).
7. Risālah fi 'Illat al-Turbah al-Lati Tusta'malu fi Ahkām al-Nujum (His epistle on the Cause of Soil which was used in Astrology).
8. Risālah fi Adāb Suhbat al-Muluk (His epistle on Manners in the Company of Kings).
9. Risālah fi Qawānin al-Sinā'ah (His epistle on the Rules of the Art).
10. Risālah fi Dustur al-Khatt (His epistle on the Instructions on Script Writing).
11. Risālah fi al-Ghazaliyyāt al-Shamsiyyah (His epistle on the Rising of the Sun).
12. Risālah al-Narjisiyyah (The Narcissus Epistle)

This list shows that there was a close exchange of information between Biruni and Masihi. Additionally, when the topics of the book are examined carefully, it is understood that Masihi actually served as pilgrimage to Biruni on many subjects and improved his knowledge on astronomy.

**B) Secondly, while listing his works, Usaybia mentions the names of his eight books. The books are the following:**

- 1) el-Kitābu'l-mie fi's-sinā'ati't-tibbiyye: "The Book of the Hundred in Medicine," which is his best and most famous work and which carries a marginal note by Amīn al-Dawlah ibn alTilmīdh saying: "One must rely upon this book, for it is trustworthy, has no repetitions, is clear in expression and gives choice treatments."
- 2) Kitābu izzhāri hikmeti'llāh te'ālā fi Halki'l-insān:(The Manifestations of God's Wisdom in the Creation of Man.)
- 3)Kitābü fi'l-'ilmi't-ṭabî'î, ( The Natural Sciences).
- 4) "et-Tıbbu'l-küllî (General Medicine," in two treatises).
- 5) A treatise on smallpox.
- 6) İhtisāru Kitābi'l-Mecistî (Summary of "al-Magisti).
- 7) Kitāb fi't-ta'bîr or Kitābu ta'bîri'r-ru'yâ:( "interpretation of Dreams.)
- 8) Risāle fi tahkiki emir'l-vebâ' ve'l-ihtirâz anhu ve ıslâhihî izâ mavıa("On Epidemics," dedicated to al-Malik al-'Ādil Khwārismsihāh Abū al-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn).

**C) His extant works are:**

1. el-Kitâbu'l-mie fi's-sinâ'ati't-tibbiyye: It is the most important and famous work of Abu Sahl in the field of medicine. This work, which İbnü'l-Kıfî describes as künnâş, has the characteristics of a medical encyclopedia consisting of 25 hundred chapters.<sup>26</sup> A commentary on this work published by Floréal Sanagustin<sup>27</sup> by Eminüddeve İbnü't-Tilmîz (d. 560/1165),<sup>28</sup> Nu'mân b. . Ali Rıza el-İsrâîlî also (13th century) el-Havâşî has a commentary called en-Nu'mâniyye li'l-makasidi't-tibbiyye.<sup>29</sup>
  2. et-Tıbbu'l-küllî: Ibn Abi Usaybi'a records that it consists of two articles.<sup>30</sup>
  3. Kitâbu ızhâri hikmeti'llâh te'âlâ fi Halki'l-insân: Ibn Abi Usaybi'a wrote this, from Abu Sahl. Describing it as his most valuable and useful work, he wrote about the benefits of organs starting from Galen states that it brings together the information in the written works with an excellent style and content and directly quotes a section from the beginning of the book.
  4. The nature of the book and its precautions
  5. Risâle fi tahkiki emir'l-vebâ' ve'l-ıhtirâz anhu ve ıslâhihî izâ mavıa: Ebû Sehl wrote this work Ebu'l-Abbâs Me'mûn b. He wrote it for Me'mûn.
  6. Risâle fi tahkiki sûi'l-mizâc mâ hüve ve evil esnâfuhû: Ebû Sehl wrote this work of. He wrote it for Ebu'l-Abbâs Me'mun b Me'mûn.
  7. Kitâbu usûli ilmi'n-nabz
  8. Fevâ'id min kavlı İsâ b. Yahyâ el-Mesîhî fi'ş-şar
  9. Risâletü'l-edviye
  10. Kitâb fi esnâfi'l-ulûmi'l-hikmiyye: Information about its content is detailed below. This work to be given by Ebû Sehl was written by Ebu'l-Hasen, whom he described as the "great master" (eş-şeyhu'r-reîs). Sehl b. He wrote it for Muhammed es-Sehli.
  11. Kitâbu erkâni'l-âlem
  12. Kitâbu mebdâii'l-mevcûdâti't-tabî'iyye
  13. Telhîsu Kitâbi's-semâ ve'l-âlem li-Aristûtâlîs
  14. Nevâdiru'l-hukemâ: The only known copy of this work, which is a small anthology of wise sayings of ancient and Hellenistic period philosophers and has never been mentioned in the relevant literature until now, is in the Istanbul University Rare Works Library (AY 321, vr. 1b- 17a) is registered. At the beginning of the work, the name for which the work was written is stated as follows: el-isbehbezü'l-celîl es-seyyidü'l-asîl Ebu'l-Abbâs el-Merzûbân b. al-Malik Rustam b. Shervîn. This name is most likely named after Merzûban b., one of the Bâvendi rulers who ruled in the Tabaristan region. Rustem b. It should be Şervîn (slt. 371/981 – 374/984-85).<sup>36</sup> If this determination is correct, the Merzûbân in question is also the author of Merzûbânâme, which contains moral and political advice, written in Tabari, but the original of which has not survived to the present day.<sup>37</sup>
- The works of Abu Sahl, of which we only know the names, are as follows:
15. Kitâb fi'n-nefs
  16. Kitâb fi'l-ilmi't-tabî'î
  17. İhtisâru Kitâbi'l-Mecistî
  18. Kitâb fi't-ta'bîr or Kitâbu ta'bîri'r-ru'yâ: According to Beyhakî, Ebû Sehl al Masihi by wrote this book. He wrote it for Me'mûn b. Muhammad.
  19. Kitâb fi mebdâii'l-hendese
  20. Kitâb fi rüsûmi'l-harekât fi'l-eşyâ zevâti'l-vaz'
  21. Kitâb fi sükûni'l-arz ev harekâtihâ
  22. Kitâb fi't-tavassut beyne Aristûtâlîs ve Câlînûs fi'l-muharriki'l-evvel
  23. Risâle fi delâleti'l-lafz ale'l-ma'nâ
  24. Risâle fi berdi eyyâmi'l-acûz
  25. Risâle fi illeti't-terbiye elletî tüsta'melu fi ahkâmi'n-nücûm
  26. Risâle fi âdâbi suhbeti'l-mülûk
  27. Risâle fi kavânîni's-sinâ'a
  28. Risâle fi düstûri'l-hat
  29. Risale fi'l-gazeliyyâti's-şemsiyye



## 30. er-Risâletü'n-nercisiyye

**D) Masihi's Manuscripts Found in Turkey LManuscripts Library**

1-Risâle fi Tahkîki Emri'l-Vebâ' ve'l-İhtirâzi anhü, Tasnif no./Konu : 610 / Tıp Fiziksel özellikler : 72-82 yk., 21 st. Kütüphane adı: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Koleksiyon : Şehid Ali Paşa, Koleksiyon no. : 02095-004, Bibliyografik kayıt no. : 330545

**2-Risâle fi Keyfiyeti'l-Cüdriyyi ve Tedbîrihi**

Dil: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu: 616 / Hastalıklar, Fiziksel özellikler: 88-91 yk., 21 st.Kütüphane adı: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Şehid Ali Paşa  
Koleksiyon no.: 02095-006 , Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 330547

## 3-el-Mesâil fi Sınâ'ati't-Tıb

Dil:: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu: 610 / Tıp bilimleri, Fiziksel özellikler: 327 yk., 17 st.Kütüphane adı: Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Hacı Selim Ağa  
Koleksiyon no.: 00877, Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 364745

## 4-el-Fevâid

Dil: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu: 610 / Tıp bilimleri, Fiziksel özellikler : 199-205 yk., 29 st. Kütüphane adı : Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi  
Koleksiyon, : Bağdatlı Vehbi Koleksiyon no.: 01488-022 [ Diğer risaleler ]  
Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 209609.

## 5- Kitâbü'l-Mi'e fi's-Sınâ'ati't-Tıbbiyye

Dil: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu: 610 / Tıp bilimleri, İstinsah tarihi: 1489  
Fiziksel özellikler: 276 yk.,Kütüphane adı: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi  
Koleksiyon: Ahmed III Kit. Koleksiyon no. : 002053, Bibliyografik kayıt no. : 552932

## 6- Tercemetü Mâ Tercemehü Huneyn min Kitâbi Câlînus İle'l-Arabî

Dil: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu : 610 / Tıp bilimleri, Fiziksel özellikler: 83-94 yk., 19 st. Kütüphane adı : Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Koleksiyon: Ayasofya Koleksiyon no. : 03631-013 , Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 204436

## 7-Kitâbü'l-Mie fi't-Tıb

Dil : Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu: 610 / Tıp bilimleri, İstinsah tarihi : 997, Fiziksel özellikler: 195 yk., 19 st. Kütüphane adı: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Ayasofya, Koleksiyon no.: 03719  
Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 204590

## 8- Risâle fi Tahkîki Sû'i'l-Mizâci mâ hüve ve kem Esnâfuhü

Dil : Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu: 610 / Tıp bilimleri, Fiziksel özellikler: 83-87 yk., 21 st.Kütüphane adı: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Şehid Ali Paşa  
Koleksiyon no.: 02095-005, Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 330546

## 9-Kitâbü'l-Mi'e fi't-tıb

Dil: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu : 610 / Tıp bilimleri, Fiziksel özellikler: 580 yk., 19 st. Kütüphane adı: Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Hacı Selim Ağa, Koleksiyon no.: 00883,Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 364761

\*Fiziksel özellikler: 235 yk., 17 st. Kütüphane adı: Manisa Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon no.: 1794 Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 102915

\*Fiziksel özellikler: I+179+II yk., 23 st. Kütüphane adı: Manisa Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon: Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Koleksiyon no.: 1796, Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 102942

## 10- Müntehabü'l-İlâç /

Dil: Arapça, Fiziksel özellikler : 129b-133a yk., 23 st. Kütüphane adı: Manisa Kütüphanesi  
Koleksiyon: Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon no.: 1768/9 Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 102812

## 11-Kitâb fi Sınâ'ati't-Tıb

Dil: Arapça, Tasnif no./Konu : 610 / Tıp bilimleri, Fiziksel özellikler : 170 yk. Kütüphane adı :  
Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, Koleksiyon : Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyon no. : 03557  
Bibliyografik kayıt no.: 177163

## 12- Kitâb fi't-Tıb

Dil: Arapça Tasnif no./Konu : 610 / Tıp bilimleri Fiziksel özellikler : 65 yk.Kütüphane adı:  
Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi Koleksiyon: Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyon no. : 03558, Bibliyografik  
kayıt no.: 177164

**CONCLUSIONS.**

1-Although Masihi is one of the most central and important names in the scientific life of the Hariz Ma'munis, his value has not been appreciated enough until now.

2-Masihi produced works that could serve as a basis for later scientists in the fields of medicine, astronomy, philosophy and logic. Most notable is its influence on Ibn Sina's medicine and philosophy.

3-There is definitely a need for further research on Masihi. Especially his influence on Ibn Sina and Biruni should definitely be examined at the doctoral level.

4-We now today nearly 30 works written by Masihi and most of them have survived to the present day are the lost heritage of the Harizm Me'munis. On these issues, manuscript copies of all his books must be identified and published with verification(tahkik) within the scope of a project.

5-Translations of Masihi's books, especially "el-Kitâbu'l-mie fi's-sınâ'ati't-tıbbiyye", "Kitâbu ızhâri hikmeti'llâh te'âlâ fi Halki'l-insân" and "et-Tıbbu'l-küllî" It also needs to be made and published by Harizmians.

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