

A LITERARY HISTORY OF MEDICINE

The *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah

VOLUME 1 Essays

Edited and Translated by Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain and Geert Jan van Gelder

With

Ignacio Sánchez, N. Peter Joosse, Alasdair Watson, Bruce Inksetter, and Franak Hilloowala

BRILL

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We also wish to thank Luciana O'Flaherty, editor of the Oxford World's Classics, for undertaking to include in this prestigious series a volume of selections from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's *Best Accounts*. Henrietta Sharp Cockrell made the selections and annotated them for a general reader; we are indebted to her for the extraordinary amount of work she put into this paperback volume that we hope will bring Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and his *Best Accounts* to a larger audience.

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We close this acknowledgment list by again thanking the Wellcome Trust, who have generously supported our project at every stage of the way. Without their continuous support, the project could not have been carried out.

Editorial Policy

The present edition of the 'Uyūn represents Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah's final Version 3, which he was apparently still adding to at the time of his death in 668/1270. MS A, which has Version 2 compared with Version 3 written in margins and on interleaves, was taken as our most important manuscript and formed the initial basis of our edition. Seven other manuscripts supplied additional important copies of Version 3 as well as complete copies of Version 1 and Version 2. The differences between particular readings in the three versions of the *Uvūn* can be found in the critical apparatus. One of the most obvious differences between the three versions is the deletion of the dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah which prefaced Version 1, following Amīn al-Dawlah's execution in 648/1250-1251. For the two subsequent versions of the *Uyūn* there is no dedicatee. In our edition, however, we have left the dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah in the Preface but have italicized it and noted that it was omitted in the two subsequent versions. In Ch. 15, which included a biography of Amīn al-Dawlah in all three versions, we have presented the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah (Ch. 15.49) as it appeared in Versions 2 and 3 and placed the quite different text of Version 1 in an addendum. In exceptional instances we have preferred readings from Version 1 or 2 or a reading from the tradition of source texts quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, which have been collated by us largely for the first time, and in these instances the choices are duly noted in the critical apparatus. We present the text in modern standard orthography, with minimal vowelling for the prose and some more vowelling in the poetry.

Detailed indexes to the edition and translation of the $Uy\bar{u}n$ – covering subjects, people, and places, as well as Qur'anic quotations, rhymes and weights and measures – are to be found at the end of Volume 1, following a general index to the essays and introductory material forming Volume 1.

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copy, from an autograph of Version 2 and completed with a draft of Version 3]
- B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 356. Completed 15 Rajab 869 (13 Mar 1465) in Mecca; unnamed copyist. [complete copy, Version 1]
- Ga/Gb Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Or. 59a and Or. 59b (old Cod. 59a. Gol. & Cod. 50b. Gol.). Undated; 16th cent. 2 vols. [Ga is partial copy Version 2; Gb, partial copy Version 3]
- Gc Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 76 (old Cod. 76. Gol.). Dated 20 Şafar 977 (4 Aug 1569). [almost complete copy, Version 2]
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 5 Şafar 735 (28 Nov 1329). Copyist: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān in the great mosque of the city of Hamah. [partial copy, Version 3]
- L London, British Library MS Add. 23364. Dated 10 Rajab 669 (22 Feb 1271); Damascus; copyist: Syrian physician Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Suwaydī al-Anṣārī, copied from the copy endowed by IAU to the Maqṣūrah of Ibn 'Urwah. [partial copy, Version 3]
- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 5939. Copy completed 19 Muḥarram 690 (22 Jan 1291) in Jayrūn near Damascus by Abū l-Faḍl al-Jarāʾiḥī ibn al-Faraj ibn Naṣr al-ʿAsqalānī; annotated, collated against copy in author's hand. [partial copy, Version 2]
- R London, British Library, MS Add. Rich. 7340. Dated 22 Rajab 1017 (1 Nov 1608) in Isfahan. Copyist: Ibn Muḥammed Shafīʿ Mulla Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [complete copy, Version 3]
- Sa / Sb London, British Library, Ms Add. 25736. Dated 10 Safar 713 (6 Jun 1313); copied by the physician Ibrāhīm al-Khawālifī for his own use. [Sa (first seven folios) is partial copy of Version 2; Sb, partial copy of Version 3]

Earlier Editions

- Müller Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller. 2 vols. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Wahbiyyah / Königsberg: Selbstverlag, 1882–1884.
- Riḍā Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Nizār Riḍā. Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1965.

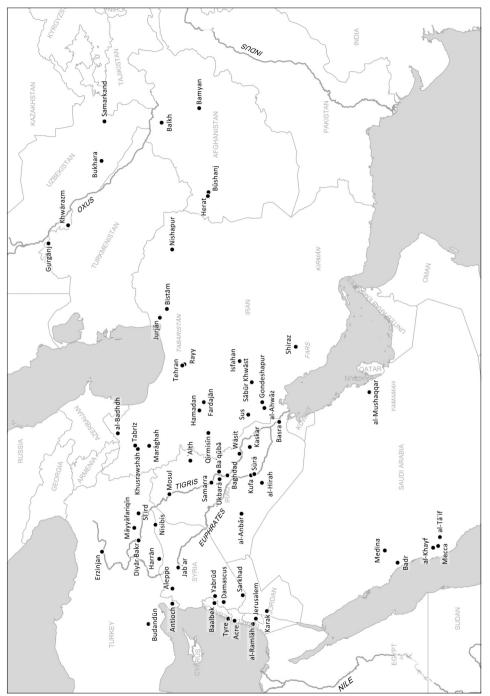
Najjār Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. 'Āmir al-Najjār. Vol. 1. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1996. Vols. 2–6. Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001–2004.

Other Abbreviations

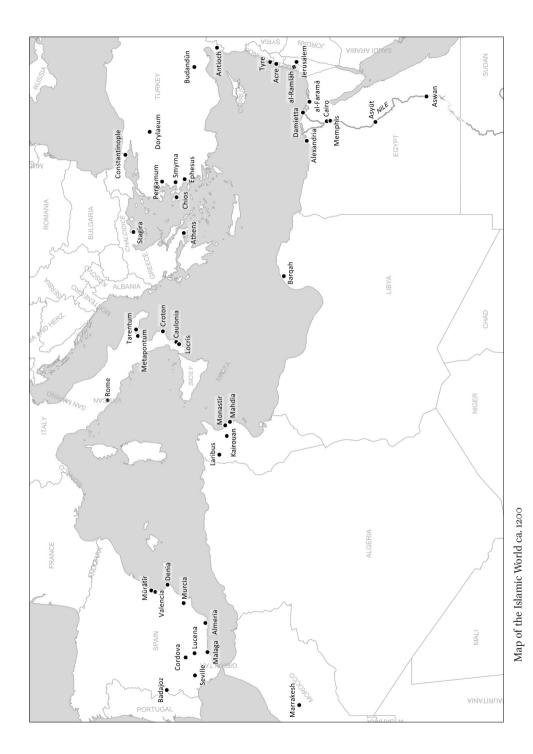
- AI Appendix 1: Ibn al-Nafīs
- AII Appendix 2: Additional Marginalia
- IAU Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah
- Ch.xx.xx Chapters within the *Uyūn* are designated by numbers 1 through 15, followed by the number of an individual biography within that chapter. A third set of numbers refers to a given subsection of a biography. Subsequent numbers in a given sequence refer to items within numbered lists, such as book-lists or lists of aphorisms.

Cross-References

The three volumes have independent pagination. Where a cross-reference does not specify a volume number, the reference will be found in the same volume.







CHAPTER 1

Introductory Remarks

In the mid-thirteenth century, a practising physician in Syria named Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah set himself the task of recording the history of medicine throughout the known world of his day. His book, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians) covers 1700 years of medical practice, from the mythological beginnings of medicine with Asclepius through Greece, Rome, and India, down to the author's day. Written as much to entertain as to inform, it is not only the earliest comprehensive history of medicine but the most important and ambitious of the medieval period, incorporating accounts of over 432 physicians, their training, practice, and medical compositions, all interlaced with amusing poetry and anecdotes illustrating their life and character.

To undertake a full edition, translation, and study of this complex treatise required a wide range of skills. For the past six years, the Wellcome Trust has generously funded a team of eight scholars to engage in making this remarkable historical source available for the first time in a complete, reliable, and (we hope) readable translation and study. Because this massive treatise is as much a piece of literature as historical chronicle, the project was titled 'A Literary History of Medicine'. The team, otherwise known as the *ALHOM Team*, consisted of Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain and Geert Jan van Gelder, Ignacio Sánchez, N. Peter Joosse, Alasdair Watson, Bruce Inksetter, and Franak Hilloowala, aided by the expert electronic skills of Daniel Burt.

While certain chapters are credited to particular team members, we all in fact read through the efforts of our colleagues and made numerous suggestions to one another. It was truly a team effort, with members bringing various approaches and backgrounds to the project – from love and knowledge of Arabic poetry to Greek and Latin classics to translation techniques or particular interests in the history of medicine.

For nearly three hundred years European scholars have shown interest in learning more of what Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah had to say in his early history of medicine. Various transcriptions and translations were undertaken (all of them incomplete), some published and some now residing unread in library vaults.

1 Earlier Translations

Sometime before 1721 the London physician Richard Mead paid for a transcription of two manuscript copies of the *'Uyūn* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Ms Huntington 171 and Ms Pococke 356) to be made by Henry Wild of Norwick (d. 1721), who was known as the 'Arabick Tailor' because of his writing out copies of Arabic manuscripts. Mead also arranged for these transcriptions to be translated into Latin by Sulaymān ibn Yaʿqūb al-Shāmī al-Ṣāliḥānī, known to Londoners as Salomon Negri (d. 1729). The purpose of this undertaking was to provide material to John Freind (d. 1728), who was at that time composing a history of medicine.¹

Only the biography of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū^c (Ch. 8.3) was actually used by John Freind, who printed Salomon Negri's Latin translation (*Vita Gabrielis Filii Bachtishuæ, filii Georgii, Ex Arabica Latine reddita a Salomone Negri Damasceno*) as a 26-page Appendix No. 1 in the second volume of his *The History of Physick: From the Time of Galen, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. Chiefly with Regard to Practice. In a Discourse Written to Doctor Mead* (London, Printed for J. Walthoe, jun. over against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, 1725–1726).

The complete (?) Latin translation made by Salomon Negri of Henry Wild's transcription was sold as lot 19 at the sale of Richard Mead's library on 8 May 1755 and was purchased by Dr. William Hunter (d. 1812); it is now in the library of the University of Glasgow. As for Henry Wild's transcription of the two Oxford manuscripts, they were bought by Thomas Hunt (then Regius Professor of Hebrew) at the sale of Mead's library and are now also part of the Bodleian's holdings (designated Ms Bodl. Or. 422 and 423).

Sometime before 1725, another partial transcription of the Bodleian MS Huntington 171 manuscript, along with an incomplete Latin translation in parallel columns, was made by John Gagnier (d. 1740 or 1741, the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Oxford). Gagnier's transcription was intended to cover portions omitted by Henry Wild. This transcription and Latin translation remained in the library of Richard Mead until his death, when it was sold (presumably to Thomas Hunt) and is now also part of the Bodleian Library (MS Bodl. Or. 295).²

¹ Savage-Smith, NCAM-1, 454–459; Dunlop, 'Arabic Medicine in England', 177. For Mead, see Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, art. 'Mead, Richard (1673–1754)' (A. Guerrini); and for Wild, see Dunlop, 'Arabian Tailor'.

² August Müller in the 1884 Königsberg printing (IAU Müller), on p. xix, of the introduction, mentions the Wild and Gagnier transcriptions of MS Huntington 171, but did not use them.

More European translations of extracts soon followed, no doubt following on from the interest in medieval Arabic medicine generated by John Freind's immensely influential *History of Physick*. Below is a chronological listing:

- Johann Jakob Reiske, *Excerpta ex Ibn Abí Uszeibi'ae historia medico-rum illustrium*. Unpublished Latin translations of a few extracts made in 1746, now in Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS N. 31 (CLXXI). Portions (with Arabic text and Latin translation) were published in 1777 in J.J. Reiske, *Miscellanea medica ex Arabum moni-mentis*, as part of J.J. Reiske and J.E. Faber, *Opuscula medica ex moni-mentis Arabum et Ebraeorum* (Halle, 1777), 1–80, Reprinted in Sezgin, *Studies* 11, 1–82.
- 1808 John Mousley, Abdollatiphi Bagdadensis vita, auctore Ibn Abi Osaiba, e codicibus MSS. Bodleianis descripsit, et Latine vertit (Oxford: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1808). Latin translation and edition of the life of 'Abd al-Lațīf al-Baghdādī (IAU Ch. 15.40), using the same two Oxford manuscripts transcribed by Henry Wild (MS Pococke 356 and MS Huntington 171)
- 1833 Friedrich Reinhold Dietz, published the Arabic text with Latin translations of the twelfth chapter of the *Uyūn* on physicians of India (based on British Library Ms Add. Rich. 7340) in a catalogue of Sanskrit medical manuscripts in the India Office Library; F.R. Dietz, *Analecta Medica ex Libris Mss. Fasciculus Primus, 2: Catalogus codicum Mss. de re medica Sanscritorum Londinensium* (Leipsig, 1833), 111–124. Reprinted in Sezgin, *Studies* 11, 83–98.
- Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* 2 vols. (London: The Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), vol. 1, APPENDIX pp. iii–xxvii. English translations of the lives of Ibn Juljul, Ibn Bājjah, and the Ibn Zuhr family (IAU Ch. 13.36 and 13.59–13.64).
- 1841 Willian Cureton, 'Extract from the work entitled 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī țabaqāt al-ațibbā', or, Fountains of information respecting classes of physicians by Muwaffik-uddin Abú-'labbás Ahmad Ibn Abú [sic] Usaibiâh; with remarks by Horace Hayman Wilson', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 6 (1841), 105–119. An English translation of lives of five Indian physicians (IAU Ch. 12.1–12.5). Reprinted in Sezgin, Studies III, 1–15.
- c. 1847 William Alexander Greenhill, London, Royal College of Physicians, MSS GREEW/264/149, 150, 152, and 153. Unpublished translations and notes made about 1847 from Oxford MS Bodl. 295 (the transcription with parallel Latin translation made by Gagnier), as well as MS

Pococke 356. Covers the the lives 'Abd Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, Ibn Juljul, and Ibn al-Bayṭār (1AU Ch. 15.40; 13.36; 14.58).

- B.R. Sanguinetti, 'Extraits de l'ouvrage arabe d'Ibn Aby Ossaïbi'ah sur l'histoire des médecins, traduction française, acompagnée de notes', *Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, 3 (1854), 230–291; 4 (1854), 177–213; 5 (1855), 401–469; 6 (1855), 129–190; 8 (1856), 175–196, 316–353. French translations of extracts from the early chapters on the origins of medicine and on Greek physicians. Reprinted in Sezgin, *Studies* 111, 16–309.
- 1880 August Müller, 'Arabische Quellen zur Geschichte der indischen Medizin', Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 34 (1880), 465–556. An edition, German translation, and extensive commentary on the twelfth chapter of the 'Uyūn (on Indian physicians). Reprinted in Sezgin, Studies 11, 99–190.
- Hamed Waly, Drei Kapitel aus der Ärztegeschichte des Ibn Abī Oşaibi'a, Inaug.-diss., Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin: G. Schade, 1910). German translations al-Hārith ibn Kaladah, al-Naḍr ibn al-Hārith, Ibn Abī Ramthah al-Tamīmī, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar al-Kinānī, Ibn Uthāl, and Abū Hakam (IAU 7.1–7.6). Reprinted in Sezgin, *Studies* II, 215–259.
- 1939 Sadik Atallah, Ibn Abi Useibià Schrift über die arabischen Ärzte und ihre Kunst. Abschnitt über die Anfänge. (Inaug.-diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1939). German translations of very short extracts from nineteen biographies of early Islamic physicians. Reprinted in Sezgin, Studies 11, 261–280.
- 1940 Ahmed A. Abou-Elgheit, *Gedanken aus Ibn Abi Useibia über die arabischen Ärzte und ihre Kunst* (Inaug.-Diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1940). German translations of very short extracts from thirty-four lives. Reprinted in Sezgin, *Studies* 11, 281–308.
- 1944 Willis Alexander McGill, 'Ibn Abī Uşaibi'a's biographies of Husain ibn Ishāq, Ishāq ibn Hunain, and Hubaish ibn al-Hasan: Ninth century physicians and translators of Baghdad'. Translator's thesis (M.A.), Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1944. Unpublished. Presents in 212 pp. an English translation (from Müller edition) of IAU Ch. 8.29–8.31.
- 1958 Henri Jahier and Abdelkader Noureddine, Ibn abi Uçaibi'a, 'Uyûn al-Anbâ' fî T'abaqāt al-At'ibbâ'. Sources d'informations sur les classes des médecins. XIII^e Chapitre: Médecins de l'Occident Musulman, Publications de la faculté mixte de médecine et de pharmacie d'Alger, 4 (Algiers: Farārīs, 1958). A French translation of the thirteenth chapter of the Uyūn.

- c. 1968 Lothar Kopf, 'Ibn Abu [*sic*] Usaibi'ah: History of Physicians', Bethesda, MD, National Library of Medicine, MS C 294, box 1. A carbon-copy of a typed draft of a translation prepared before 1969. It was commissioned by NLM but never published nor intended for publication. It covers all fifteen chapters, but omits most of the poetry, contains numerous errors and infelicities, and was never completed. It was recently made available on-line, without the (deceased) author's or library's permission, at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ibn_abi_usaibia_01.htm.
- 1981 M.N. Istanbouli, 'The history of Arabic medicine based on the work of Ibn Abi Usaybe'ah, 1203–1270'. Ph. D, Thesis in Social Science, Loughborough University of Technology, 1981. Unpublished, 345 pages, with pp. 147–216 giving a very abbreviated translation/summary of the fifteenth chapter of the *Uyūn*, employing the Müller edition.
- Franak Hilloowala, 'An analysis of Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah's 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī țabaqāt al-ațibbā' (Ahmad ibn al-Qasim Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, Syria, Egypt)'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 2000. Includes an English translation of the fourteenth chapter of the 'Uyūn. Unpublished.

In addition to the translations and editions listed above, there are many small portions or paragraphs that have been translated by others within larger studies – too many to mention here. Most of these will be cited in the notes accompanying our translation.

While we hold in great respect the efforts of those before us who have tried to translate this monumental work – and especially the Herculean efforts of Lothar Kopf, who attempted the entire treatise single-handedly – as our project developed, we found it more useful to not employ earlier translations and interpretations. Rather, we have used the new edition, based in part upon manuscripts not available to earlier editors, as the basis for our translations, and employed earlier translations only as later comparative material, if at all.

2 Earlier Editions

The German Arabist August Müller (1848–1892) published a critical edition of the Arabic text of Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah's book in 1884. His was an outstanding achievement but he had every reason to be unhappy with the result. As he writes in his German preface:

In more than one aspect the form in which the present book sees the light corresponds with neither my original intention nor my subsequent expectations. This is due to the history of its publication, a short account of which, as far as is possible and I hope as far as is necessary, will serve as justification and apology for those shortcomings that to me are most frustrating.³

This 'short account' takes some ten pages and is followed by scores of pages with critical remarks, variant readings, and corrections. Müller had been persuaded by his friend Spitta Bey (Wilhelm Spitta, 1853–1883) to have the Arabic text printed in Cairo. To his chagrin, the result was a dog's dinner. The Arabic title page of the first of its two volumes looks impressive, with its ornate border and prolix text in traditional style; it translates as

The Book of Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians Composed by the Eminent Physician and Erudite Scholar Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus as-Saʿdī al-Khazrajī Known as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah God rest his Soul Transcribed and Edited from the Manuscripts Found in Several Libraries by the Humble Man Needing God's Help and Mercy⁴ Imru' al-Qays ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān First Edition, at the Printing House of Wahb⁵ in the Year 1299 of the Hijra Corresponding to the Year 1882

One supposes August Müller is responsible for the whimsical 'translation' of his own name; Imru' al-Qays, a famous pre-Islamic name, has few sounds in common with August, but ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān, at least, means 'the Miller's (Müller's) Son'.

For all its deficiencies Müller's edition remained until now the standard edition of the text. The often-used edition by Nizār Riḍā (Beirut, 1965) is wholly dependent on Müller's; it is lightly annotated and by no means a critical edition. The edition by Muḥammad Bāsil 'Uyūn al-Sūd (Beirut, 1998) is similar; it is basically the Riḍā edition with additional indexes. The attempt by 'Āmir al-Najjār to make a new critical edition (employing seven copies not available to

³ Translation from the German by GJvG.

⁴ A customary formula of humility.

⁵ This refers to the publisher, Muṣṭafā Wahbī.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

بالت ٢ عيون الانباء في طبقات الاطباء تأليف الطبيب الفاضل العالم الأديب موفق الدين أبي العماس أحد بن القاسم بن خليفة ابن وزس السعدى الخرر جى المعروف بابن أبى اصيبعة رحمالله زمله من اللاسخ الموجودة في بعض خرائن المكتب وصححه العبد الفقير الىعون الله ورخده امرؤالقيس فالطحان *(الطبعة الاولى بالمطبعة الوهيمة الواقعة 9

FIGURE 1.1 Title page from Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah, 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ţabaqāt al-aţibbā', ed. A. Müller. 2 vols. Cairo: al-Maţba'ah al-Wahbiyyah/Königsberg: Selbstverlag, 1882

Müller), which appeared in Cairo between 1996 and 2004 in six volumes with extensive introduction, critical apparatus, and indexes, is unfortunately marred by errors, typos, and inaccuracies to such an extent that it cannot be deemed to be a proper scholarly edition.

3 The New Brill Edition and Translation

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah was by no means a reticient author. He often intervenes in the text to give his views ('I say ...'). But for the most part he is careful to avoid direct praise of his masterpiece. In the Preface, where we might expect an author to promote his talents, he instead lauds medicine. It is a discipline that aspires to 'what is good' and 'to what is pleasant'. But he does commend his work (the ' $Uy\bar{u}n$) on one point: 'no one with a thorough knowledge of [the] art has ever written a comprehensive book dealing with physicians through the ages and recounting their history in a coherent fashion'. We see then that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was proud that he was a practising physician and because he had used his knowledge to write something original. This pat on his own back is found again in a poem of his in Ch. 15: 'It is unique, no one in the past preceded me'.⁶ The general worth of the book is something he also allows into the text in the last two chapters and again confirms that he was pleased with his creation, even if modesty attributes the praise of its qualities to the acquaintances who asked for a copy.⁷

The Preface, with the original dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah stripped out in the last two versions of the '*Uyūn* (following the execution of Amīn al-Dawlah in 1250), essentially restricts itself to an account of subject material and gives a table of contents. Thus we are left to plunge into this great rolling history of persons and stories to revel in the sheer pleasure of its writing and scale. Readers who enjoy *The Best Accounts* from start to finish ought to be reminded of the famous instruction at the start of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*: 'reader, pay attention, for you are going to enjoy yourself!'

To begin to do justice to all the literary qualities and historical contexts of *The Best Accounts* is well beyond the scope of our present work. Rather, we hope that the fruit of our efforts will lead to a renewed focus on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and his book. We would be delighted to see a renaissance of work on the author with whom we have lived in close proximity for the past several years. The Wellcome

⁶ Ch. 15.49.6.1.

⁷ Cf. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah at 14.55.2, Amīn al-Dawlah at 15.49.6 (with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's poem).

Trust's support for open access publishing will surely encourage this by allowing Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah to be known anywhere in the world for free. But although we have necessarily avoided comprehensive literary or historical enquiries into the character and context of *The Best Accounts*, we have thought it desirable to include in our introduction a number of essays which serve to highlight key aspects of the book and to prompt readers to make their own investigations of these areas.

We begin with the biography of Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah and his career. Following this we discuss the genre and title of his book, setting the author's endeavours in the avowedly literary context of *adab* and high culture. The succeeding essay on the textual transmisison and manuscript tradition of the *Uyūn* is particularly important. For when we first investigated the possibility of undertaking a new text and translation of the *Uyūn* we had the good fortune to find a most important manuscript witness of the text through the good offices of Dr Peter Starr, Istanbul. This manuscript, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1923, had not been used in any earlier edition or study. It was completed in 773/1372. It turned out to be a copy of a direct copy of an autograph of the second published version of the *Uyūn*, Version 2. What makes it special is that the copyist then came across Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's draft of his final published version, Version 3. The intelligent copyist completed his work by recording additions from the draft which he wrote in the margins and on a number of interleaves. So it is that the Şehid Ali Paşa copy gives us precious information about the development of the final text authored by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah and confirmation of how it differed from the previous version. It also shows that Müller was close to solving the puzzle of how the author wrote. In this third essay we give an account of the three versions of the Uyūn and the manuscripts we have relied on to represent these versions.

We next turn to sources. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah used many of these. He takes care to name most of them scrupulously and to quote them with care. The way in which he deploys sources is of course central to his authorial art, and we have therefore included in the fourth essay below an examination of his methods of selection, quotation, and adaptation. One of the most important of these sources, and undoubtedly the main reason why previous attempts to translate the 'Uyūn, have proved vain, is the very large quantity of verse. To tackle this requires a rare technical knowledge and its character and purposes certainly merit the explanatory account of our fifth essay. It seems that our author loved the ordinary poetry of the social and professional milieux he lived in, and the inclusion of some 3600 lines of verse, mainly in the last three chapters and especially Ch. 15, testifies to the expectations and predilections of his audience. This poetry has very little to do with medicine: it is rather the currency of the educated classes, used for polite communication to patrons and friends, for lampoons and scurrilous attacks, for eulogies or congratulations.

An equally distinctive, if less surprising, feature of the work is the amount of material devoted to ancient Greek medicine. The chattering classes of the medieval Islamic world, whatever their faith or interest, were particularly keen to demonstrate knowledge of their intellectual heroes from Greek and Roman antiquity. And since the medicine of the medieval age was built upon the Hippocratic-Galenic legacy, and the study of Galen's core texts continued to be important for all students of medicine and even philosophy, the 'Greek chapters' (Chs 2-6) are expected. We offer an interpretation of how they work in our sixth essay. Our author uses them in part to establish the basic framework for the learning and behaviour expected of the physician through his detailed accounts of legendary and historical Greek doctors before he turns to his own world and the coming of Islam in Ch. 7.

We shall finish our introductory essays with the topic most dear to our author's heart: the practise of medicine. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was a hospital physician and has left a rich, if unsystematic, view of the ailments and cures of his day alongside glimpses into medical education and attainment. His concentration on the lives of his subjects led him away from a focus on the medical, as opposed to the social, aspects of medicine. Nevertheless, what Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah did in his day job was never far from his mind and historians of medicine and science have much to learn from him of orthodoxies and innovations in both theory and action.

There is a large amount of medical terminology in the *Uyūn* but rather than go through all of this in the introductory essay we have included references to it in our general subject index along with a myriad of other matters. By means of this index we have tried our best to provide a guide to readers seeking particular items. Naturally readers will wish to find information on what interests them and may have escaped our notice. The open access searchable version of the Brill volumes made available courtesy of the Wellcome Trust will allow them to do this. The indexes of places and people and the smaller indexes of Qur'anic quotations and rhymes and the glossary of weights and measures are intended to be as full as possible. These indexes will be found at the back of Volume 1.

We have described Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's book as a 'literary history' of medicine; and we have tried to produce a translation that is neither too literal nor too free. We have included notes of varying detail to the chapters to help with some of the background. These are extensive overall but we hope our readers will add to or correct the information we give. One particular feature of our annotation needs further comment. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah was extremely fond of books and took care to provide sometimes lengthy book-lists and even alternative book-lists. In these lists, a treatise is now to be taken as lost unless we state otherwise. No consistent attempt has been made to record manuscript copies of works that have yet to receive a modern edition or translation. As far as possible references have been provided to the standard bibliographic sources (such as Ullmann and Sezgin and occasionally the earlier Brockelmann) where indications of manuscripts may be found. Again, not all studies and published editions/translations of works are recorded by us, when they can be found listed in the standard bibliographical sources for a given biographical subject.

It is worth pointing finally to our two appendixes following the translation of the fiftteen chapters comprising the $Uy\bar{u}n$. One of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's great contemporaries, Ibn al-Nafīs, was not included in the $Uy\bar{u}n$, or perhaps purposefully excluded. Biographical information on him was added by copyists to two manuscripts of the book, and for completeness we give this in Appendix 1. In Appendix 2 we edit and translate various marginalia, especially poems, which could not be handled in the footnotes. This material includes a remarkable previously unpublished prayer attributed to Ibn Sīnā asking forgivenness for his love of wine.

The electronic age of rapid communication and the ability to place a document in the 'cloud' so that others could read and comment on it has allowed the team members to reside on separate continents: in the western United States, in Canada, in Germany and Holland, and of course in England. Once a year or more often we have gathered in Oxford to hammer out problems and exchange ideas, and occasionally reverse decisions made at the meeting before. It has been great fun to work on a text that has provided us with so much entertainment as well as a fascinating insight into life in another time and another place, some seven hundred years and more ago. We have found it a book such as the author's colleague and friend, Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, describes in one of his epigrams:

I stayed at home and took as my companion

a book that speaks of all kinds of virtues.

In it, whenever I take it up to leaf through what it contains,

I have a lush and pretty garden.8

⁸ Ch. 15.46.3.2.

4 Note on Transliteration

Arabic names, words, and phrases have been transliterated according to the system used in the third edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*EI Three*), with a few exceptions:

- The common feminine ending known as *tā*' *marbūțah* is *-ah*, not *-a* (when followed by a genitive it is *-at*).
- Compound names are always given as two words, as they are in Arabic script (Imru' al-Qays, 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Hibat Allāh), whereas *EI Three* writes names with Allāh as one word ('Abdallāh, Hibatallāh).
- Ibn ('son of') and Bint ('daughter of') are never abbreviated to 'b.' and 'bt.'

Place names and terms current in English appear in their customary forms, such as Mecca, Cairo, Euphrates, Islam, Qur'an. We have used *shaykh* rather than 'sheikh', because the meanings of the latter form in English ('tribal leader; member of a ruling family') are very different from its use by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah ('teacher, authoritative scholar').

CHAPTER 2

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah: His Life and Career

Franak Hilloowala

The book 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibba' (The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians), by the thirteenth-century Syrian physician Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, is of great importance to scholars today as a key source for the social history of science and medicine in medieval Islam. In addition, the work offers valuable insight into the structure and function of medieval society in the Middle East and forms a major guide to the knowledge of Greek and Indian classical learning available in the Islamic world.

But what do we know of its author, a physician from Damascus? Most of what we know today about his life and career is found in his own personal comments and observations inserted into various biographies of the physicians featured in this book. Thus, it is from the pages of the *'Uyūn al-anbā'* itself that we can attempt to piece together a biographical sketch of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's life and career.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus al-Khazrajī was commonly known by his nickname (*laqab*), Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. This nickname, he tells us, was also given to his grandfather. It literally means 'the son (or descendant) of the man with a little finger'. Most likely, it indicated that an ancestor of his had either a deformity or other distinctive quality to his little finger.

It is commonly agreed among medieval historians that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was born in Damascus. The precise date of his birth, however, is uncertain. The date 590/1194, given by some scholars,¹ seems too early because Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah informs us that his father, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qāsim, was born in 575 [= June 1179 to May 1180]. This would have made his father only 15 years of age when Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was born. On the other hand, the historian Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) records in his history, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah*, that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's death occurred in 668, in the month of Jumādā 1 [= 27 December 1269 to 25 January 1270], when he was over 70 years of age – implying simply that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was born sometime *before* 598/1201.

¹ *GAL*, I, 326 S I, 560.

From the '*Uyūn al-anbā*' we learn that in 590/1194, his father, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qāsim, was living in Cairo with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's uncle and Sadīd al-Dīn's brother, Rashīd al-Dīn, and their father. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah reports that his grandfather returned to Syria with his two sons in the year 597/1200–1201, thus making 597 [October 1200–October 1201] a more likely date for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's birth.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah composed his famous book toward the end of Ayyubid control in Syria. He and his family, and many of his colleagues, served the ruling Ayyubid princes and governors of the day, experiencing both the benefits of these elite connections and the disadvantages/dangers of political instability and competition among the governing elite. Additionally, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah must have witnessed in 658/1260 the fall to the Mongols of the cities of Damascus and Ṣalkhad,² where he was based for the latter part of his life.³

The majority of biographical material regarding the life of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and his family occurs in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of the *Uyūn al-anbā*', which are concerned with the physicians of Egypt and Syria, both regions where he and members of his family lived and worked as physicians. More specifically, we get biographical information about the careers of his grandfather, father and uncle from the biography of his paternal uncle, Rashīd al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Khalīfah, found in Ch. 15.51.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's grandfather was Khalīfah ibn Yūnus ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah, of [the tribe of] Khazraj, of the line of Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah,⁴ and he also was known as Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah. He was a physician in Damascus and served the famous Ayyubid ruler Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin),⁵ as well as his sons, and successors. When Saladin conquered Egypt in 1171, a group of physicians from Damascus accompanied him. Among them was Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's

² Şalkhad (Şarkhad) was an important town and stronghold in southern Syria set in the Hawrān region near the border of present-day Jordan. The town contains an important fortress, built between 611/1214 and 645/1247. See Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 3:401. See *E1*² art. 'Şalkhad' (M. Meinecke).

³ Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah uses the term al-Tatar, referring to the Mongols, and calls the Mongol ruler, Ilkhan. He briefly mentions the Mongol conquests numerous times. See for instance biography 15.32, where he discusses briefly the fall of Aleppo and Damascus, and biography 11.13, his comments on the poem (attributed, obviously wrongly, to Ibn Sina) on the Mongol conquests and the Mamluk victory in 1260.

⁴ Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah ibn Dulaym of the Banū l-Khazraj (d. c. 14/636), a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad; see *E1*², entry 'Sa'd b. 'Ubāda' (W. Montgomery Watt). See also Ch. 15.51.

⁵ Reg. 532–589/1138–1193, founder of the dynasty of the Ayyūbids. *E1*2 art. 'Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn' (D.S. Richards).

grandfather, as well as two oculists, Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir⁶ and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf,⁷ both of whom were acquaintances and friends of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's grandfather in Damascus and both of whom later taught Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's father and uncle during the beginning of their medical training in Cairo.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah tells us that his grandfather desired to teach his two sons the art of medicine because he, 'was well aware of its noble rank ... and held that one who was committed to its truths would be honoured and favoured in this world and given the highest rank in the world to come.'⁸ Indeed, the two sons, Sadīd al-Dīn and Rashīd al-Dīn both became successful physicians. They studied medicine in Egypt and Syria with some of the most influential teachers of the time, were attached to the famous hospitals in both Cairo and Damascus, and served the rulers of their day.

Although Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's father was the elder of the two brothers, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qāsim does not have a separate biography in the 'Uyūn al-anbā'. Rather, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah discusses his father's accomplishments within the biography of Sadīd al-Dīn's brother, Rashīd al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Khalīfah. However, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah seems no less impressed with the accomplishments of his father, who was the longer lived of the two brothers.

Our author's father, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qāsim, was born in 575/1179 in Cairo, where he continued to reside and undertook his early studies of medicine. Sadīd al-Dīn studied with the leading authorities of the day, including the physician and philosopher Maimonides (Mūsā ibn Maymūn).⁹ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's grandfather directed Sadīd al-Dīn to study the science of ophthalmology, sending him to practice under the aforementioned Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf, who was serving as an oculist at the hospital in Cairo. An interesting detail regarding their place of residence in Cairo is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah when he tells us that this hospital was the older one and not the one connected to the fort (presumably Saladin's Nāṣirī hospital established in 1171). He tells us that the older one was situated near the flea markets of lower Cairo and near to where Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's grandfather and the family lived, so that Sadīd al-Dīn was easily able to frequent the lectures at the hospital.¹⁰

⁶ For his biography and an anecdote that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah relates about Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir and the honour of the art of medicine, see Ch. 14.44.

⁷ No further information is available on this oculist (*al-kaḥḥāl*) who is mentioned at the start of Ch. 15.51.

⁸ Ch. 15.51.1.

⁹ Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Maymūn al-Qurṭubī (Maimonides) (527–606/1135–1208), Jewish theologian, philosopher and physician. For his biography, see Ch. 14.39.

¹⁰ Ch. 15.51.1

Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qāsim eventually became a famous oculist in his own right. With time, his skill became known to the courts of the Syrian Ayyubid princes and he entered into their service, attaining a good reputation and many benefits and favours from them. Sadīd al-Dīn served al-Malik al-'Ādil¹¹ while the ruler stayed in Damascus and accompanied him when he travelled. After the latter's death, he served his son, al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā,¹² and then went into the service of al-Mu'aẓẓam's son, and the house of Ayyub generally in Damascus, attending to all of al-'Ādil's sons. He also became a physician in the famous al-Nūrī hospital founded in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī (r. 541–569/1146–1175). Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah writes that the reputation of his father's skill was such that people came specifically to him to be treated.¹³ On Friday night, the twenty second of the month of Rabī'11 in 649 (= 14 July 1251), he died in Damascus and was buried at the Paradise Gate on the way to Mount Qāsiyūn.¹⁴

Of the two brothers, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah chose to include a biography in the 'Uyūn al-anbā' of his uncle, the younger brother, rather than his father, and thus, we can only speculate that he may have been the more successful or well-known of the two.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's uncle, Rashīd al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Khalīfah was born in Aleppo in the year 579/1183 and raised there until he began his education in Cairo. He began his study of medicine under Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir when Abū l-Ḥawāfir was head physician in Egypt during the rule of Saladin. He studied ophthalmology and surgery under Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr,¹⁵ whom al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil¹⁶ had appointed chief physician (*riʾāsat al-țibb*) in Egypt and who also held a position at the Nāṣirī Hospital.¹⁷ Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr was also one of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's sources for the later biographies in the *'Uyūn al-anbā'*.

¹¹ Al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (d. 619/1218). Ayyubid ruler. Took over the sultanate (569/1199–1200) and dispersed Saladin's sons (i.e., his own nephews). He was recognised by the Abbasid Caliph in 604/1207.

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā Sharaf al-Dīn, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil I Muḥammad reigned as governor of Damascus from 597–615/1201–1218 and was Sultan from 615–624/1218–1227.

¹³ Ch. 15.51.3

¹⁴ The Gate of Paradise (Bāb al-Farādīs, also known as Bāb al-Imārah) is one of the seven gates of Old Damascus. The gate was given its name because of its proximity to numerous water sources and lush gardens. There were initially eight gates of Old Damascus, but one was destroyed in Ottoman times.

¹⁵ For a biography of this physician, see Ch. 14.47.

¹⁶ Ayyubid ruler of Egypt from 615/1218 to 635/1238.

¹⁷ Built in 1171 by Saladin after he conquered Egypt. See Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 83–89.

When Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's grandfather finally returned to Damascus around 597/1200, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah tells us that his uncle was then 'around 20 years of age' and continued to study with influential teachers in Damascus. The scholar-physician Radī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī,¹⁸ and close friend of the family, had heard about Rashīd al-Dīn's academic accomplishments and agreed to take him on as a student. Consequently, Rashīd al-Dīn attended al-Raḥbī's *majlis* and studied medicine under him. While in Damascus, Rashīd al-Dīn was also attached to al-Nūrī hospital where, at that time, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣaraf (an otherwise unidentified physician) and the shaykh Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥāmid, known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230),¹⁹ were practising. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, Rashīd al-Dīn became a shaykh – that is, teacher – of medicine at twenty-five years of age. He had a *majlis* where he gave instruction in medicine, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah reports that many of his students became distinguished in the profession of medicine.²⁰

In addition to medicine and ophthalmology, Rashīd al-Dīn also studied other subjects such as belles-lettres, astronomy, the art of music, and the Persian language, as well as Arabic and philosophy under the guidance of Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī.²¹ Rashīd al-Dīn first studied the religious sciences and mathematics under Abū l-Tuqā Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Qurashī, known as al-Taqī.²²

Rashīd al-Dīn, like his father and brother, also served at the courts of various Ayyubid princes. Al-Muʿaẓẓam, ruler of Damascus, had heard of Rashīd al-Dīn and summoned him for an audience, praised him and asked that he serve him, but Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs uncle declined asking to remain in Damascus. After serving al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the son of 'Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhān Shāh ibn Ayyūb, the governor of Baalbek who had known Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs grandfather, Rashīd al-Dīn finally entered as a physician the service of al-Muʿaẓẓam until the latterʾs death. During his service to al-Muʿaẓẓam, at that time ruler of Damascus, he also attended to the rulerʾs two brothers, al-Malik al-Kāmil ruler of Egypt, and al-Malik al-Ashraf, ruler of the Diyār Bakr, during their visits to al-Muʿaẓẓam. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah reports that during one of these visits, al-Kāmil was so impressed, that he gave Rashīd al-Dīn a robe of honour and five hundred Egyptian dinars for his service.

¹⁸ For his biography, see Ch. 15.36.

¹⁹ He was the founder of a school in Syria devoted entirely to the study of medicine. For his biography, see Ch. 15.50.

²⁰ Ch. 15.51.2.

²¹ See Ch. 15.40.

²² Additional information on this scholar is not currently available.

In the year 616/1219, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's uncle was personally summoned by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, to the southern Syrian town of Bosra,²³ where a great epidemic was raging. to come and treat his mother and other sufferers at the court; following which he would be allowed to return to Damascus. Although in poor health from his previous activities and travelling to attend to the Ayyubid royal court, Rashīd al-Dīn nonetheless obeyed the summons and successfully treated the Sultan's mother. Shortly afterwards, however, he was stricken with an acute fever that grew worse, even after his return to Damascus. He was unable to recover, despite the care of some of the best physicians in Damascus, and died in the second hour of Monday, the seventeenth of Sha'bān, of the year 616 [= 28 October 1219] at the age of 38. He too was buried outside the Gate of Paradise as was Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's grandfather and Rashīd al-Dīn's brother, Sadīd al-Dīn.²⁴

Given his family background, it is not surprising that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also pursued a career in medicine. He studied the theoretical aspects of medicine under the tutelage of his father and uncle and with the most influential teachers and medical professionals of his day, learning the practical aspects of medicine at the al-Nūrī hospital in Damascus. His tutors were among some of the most famous of their time. They included Radī l-Dīn al-Rahbī, whom Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah refers to as shaykh (teacher) in reference to the many generations who studied the art of medicine under him. There was also the Syrian scholar Ibn al-Baytar (d. 646/1248), an authority in the field of botany ('ilm al-nabāt) and famous for his compendium on medicinal substances (K. al-Jāmi^c fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah).²⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah writes of Ibn al-Bayṭār, 'My first meeting with him was in Damascus in the year 633/1235-1236 when I also observed his easy social qualities, the range of his honourable virtues, the excellence of his disposition, the goodness of his character and the nobleness of his soul, which were beyond description.' He goes on to say of Ibn al-Baytar, 'In his company, I inspected many plants in their natural habitats on the outskirts of Damascus. Under his guidance, I also studied his commentary on the names of the medicinal substances in Dioscorides' book, and so I was able to observe at first hand his vast knowledge and his understanding of a great number of subjects.'26

²³ Bosra (ancient Bostra) is a town in southern Syria that used to be an important stopover on the caravan route to Mecca.

²⁴ Ch. 15.51.8

²⁵ For his biography, see Ch. 14.58.

²⁶ Ch. 14.58.2.

One of the most influential of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs teachers was the renowned Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī (d. 628/1230), known as al-Dakhwār,²⁷ the founder of a school in Syria devoted entirely to the study of medicine. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah also mentions that in addition to studying with al-Dakhwār in Damascus, he had earlier worked with him at the military camp of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil where al-Dakhwār and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs father served the Sultan.²⁸

Around the year 633/1235, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah went to Cairo for the purpose of continuing his medical education. He followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, uncle and father, and trained at the Nāşirī hospital. Indeed, the professional connections of Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah, his family and colleagues, to the hospitals of their day, make Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's *'Uyūn al-anbā'* one of the primary sources we now have for the history of hospitals and their function during the medieval Islamic period.

Like his father, he studied and practiced ophthalmology. Amongst others, he trained under the Jewish physician Ibn Abī l-Bayān (d. 634/1236), author of a medical formulary of compound drugs intended for use in the Nāṣirī hospital.²⁹ Of his training with Ibn Abī l-Bayān, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah says, 'Whenever we treated the patients at the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – witnessed the excellence of his achievements with regard to the knowledge and identification of diseases, the recollection of appropriate therapies, and his acquaintance with what Galen had said concerning them – all of which defies description.'³⁰

Circumstances, however, seemed to have cut short Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's studies in Cairo. He left after only one year, reportedly in 634/1236–1237, to return to Syria and into the service of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, the governor of Ṣalkhad,³¹ a stronghold in southern Syria near the border of present-day Jordan. One might speculate as to why Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah chose to cut short the beginning of a seemingly prestigious career in the hospitals of Cairo in order to serve a relatively minor Ayyubid ruler in an area that was not one of the intellectual centres of the Ayyubid Empire, in contrast to those of Cairo or Damascus.³² Indeed, some of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's circle of friends and colleagues seemed

For his biography, see Ch. 15.50. See also, Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 142–145.

²⁸ Ch. 15.50.3.

²⁹ For his biography, see Ch. 14.53.

³⁰ Ch. 14.43.1.

^{31 &#}x27;Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzamī ruled Şarkhad (or Şalkhad as it is better known today) as major-domo of the Ayyubid prince al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā from 611/1214 until 644/1247; see E12 art. 'Şalkhad' (M. Meinecke).

³² See 'Ānūtī, *Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah*; Kurd 'Alī, *Kunūz al-ajdād*; IAU Wahb.

to have questioned Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs situation in Ṣalkhad as well. A letter from Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī, a physician in his own right from Damascus and son of Raḍī l-Dīn al-Raḥbī,³³ includes a poem to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah about his situation in Ṣalkhad under the patronage of ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿazẓamī.

	Muwaffaq al-Dīn! ³⁴ What's this mindlessness of yours,
	despite the rank you have earned in knowledge and erudition?
	Have you sold your soul for something trifling and paltry?
	You sold it cheap, after being serious and assiduous for so long!
	You have been staying in a town that mocks its inhabitants;
	no sensible person of standing would be content with it.
	It is remote from all that is good; barren; nothing is there
	except rocks and blazing heat.
5	You are wasting a life that cannot be replaced:
	when a time has passed it will not return.

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī goes on:

If where you are now were a place to acquire riches, it would not compensate for spending your life in hardship.
So how is it what with the little regular pay and its meanness, and being so far from all virtuous and erudite people?
Come back, then, to the Paradise on Earth:³⁵ she has come forward for her beauty to be revealed, in her new clothes,
And do not stay anywhere else if you have earned riches, for life in any other place is not worth considering.³⁶

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's own poetry, included in correspondence to his colleagues and friends, seems to reiterate the sentiment expressed by Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī. In a reply to Ibn al-Raḥbī's poem, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah essentially refers to Ṣalkhad as somewhat of a backwater locality:

³³ For a biography of this physician see Ch. 15.37.

³⁴ That is, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah.

³⁵ Syria and Damascus are often called *jannat al-dunyā*, 'paradise of (this) world' (e.g. al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 694).

³⁶ Ch. 15.37.

- How can life be enjoyed by someone whom Time has allotted to people who are firewood!³⁷
- In their ignorance they do not know the worth of a scholar, which is not surprising in the case of ignorant people.
- I came to someone in whose courty ard my merit was wasted. Would the stupidity of the non-Arabs be aware of the intelligence of the Arabs ? 38

From an historical and strategic standpoint, Salkhad was not the insignificant backwater that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah and his colleagues mock in their poetry. It was a town and stronghold of strategic and military importance during the medieval period as it was the southernmost advance post of Syria towards the desert lands of the Arabian Peninsula, as well as a junction of important trade routes. During the Ayyubid period, when it was brought under control by Saladin in 1187, the town took on importance as a buffer to the continuous threats from crusades. The town was highly fortified, containing an important fortress, built between 611/1214 and 645/1247 by the Ayyubid dynasty. The peak of the town under the Ayyubids came under al-Mu'azzam, a well-educated ruler who had received a thorough education in belles-lettres and sciences. He became ruler of Damascus in 1198 under his father's (al-'Ādil) tutelage and was made ruler of Damascus in 1218. To hold power during his reign, which was characterized by a political struggle with his brothers, al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf Mūsā, he replaced the old guard of his father with his own men. This included the appointment of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzamī as governor and holding the *iqtā*' (fief) of Salkhad. Aybak held this iqtā' from 608-644/1211-1247, when he fell out of favour and was suspected of treason, losing his political standing. It was Aybak who sponsored major building and endowments in Salkhad.

In another poem, this one sent to a Syrian physician named Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām,³⁹ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah writes about Damascus and his longing to return home:

Perhaps a time that has gone by in Damascus⁴⁰ will return, the abode will be near after separation, Time, after its tyranny, will grant justice,

³⁷ Presumably alluding to Q al-Jinn 72:15, «As for the unjust, they are firewood for Hell».

³⁸ This unkind description of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azẓamī contrasts with the very positive entry on him in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ix:480–481.

³⁹ For his biography, see Ch. 15.54.

⁴⁰ On Jilliq as a 'poetic' name of Damascus, see below, Ch. 10.69.3.9.

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and I may meet with loved ones. For I have looked forward for so long to seeing its remains and have yearned for so long for its inhabitants.⁴¹

So what then of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's decision to move to Ṣalkhad after a potentially promising career in Cairo, and his decision to remain there despite his longing to return to Damascus? It does appear that he remained in Ṣalkhad for the remainder of his career and that he died in Ṣalkhad.⁴²

Perhaps the answer is to be found in the information that Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah presents to us about the careers of his family members. We observe that the family, in its professional capacity as court physicians, was tied to the service of the Ayyubid princes in Syria and Egypt. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah states that his grandfather had served Saladin, following him when he conquered Egypt in 569/1171: 'He had moved to Egypt when al-Malik al-Nāşir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb conquered it and was in his service and that of his sons.^{'43} In 597/1200-1201 [?] Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's grandfather returned to Syria, the same year that al-'Ādil⁴⁴ took control of the Ayyubid Sultanate. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah relates that his father, Sadīd al-Dīn had previously served al-ʿĀdil in medical matters and had asked to be excused from the leader's request to follow him on his campaigns in order to remain in Damascus. This request however, was denied and Sadīd al-Dīn finally enrolled in al-ʿĀdil's service on the 15th Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the year 609 [9 May 1213], adding that the sultan and all his sons relied on his father for medical treatment and rewarded him accordingly. Thus Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's father was serving al-'Ādil's son al-Ashraf al-Mūsā, emir of Damascus from 626/1229 to 635/1237, when Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah was summoned to Salkhad in 634/1236.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's uncle also was summoned into service of the Ayyubid princes. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah writes that while Rashīd al-Dīn was serving at the court of al-Malik al-Amjad in Baalbek, al-Mu'aẓẓam took notice of him, and al-Mu'aẓẓam engaged him in his service in 610/1213. Al-Mu'aẓẓam also appointed Rashīd al-Dīn to act as military secretary when al-Mu'aẓẓam was in Damascus, a post that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's uncle did not want. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah says that the only thing his uncle could do was to obey the order, although he was eventually released from this administrative position when the sultan finally acceded to his request. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah states that this obligation to service eventually cost Rashīd al-Dīn his life, for he fell ill in 616/1219, following a sum-

⁴¹ Ch. 15.54.

⁴² Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, year 668.

⁴³ Ch. 15.51.1.

⁴⁴ Sultan of Egypt, (r. 596–615/1200–1218).

mons to Bosra to treat members of the Ayyubid ruling family suffering from an epidemic raging there, and Rashīd al-Dīn died shortly thereafter.

Given his family's past service and his father's continuing service to the Ayyubid court, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's move to Ṣalkhad to serve as a phyician to the Ayyubid sultan's representative there, can be seen as an obligation. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's family (as was probably the case with many of the physicians and medical professionals found in the pages of the 'Uyūn al-anbā') owed their livelihood and good standing to the ruling elite of the day. We see this in another poem in the correspondence with Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī. In the poem, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah suggests that perhaps one has no power over that which is preordained:

If my staying among such people was a mistake on my part
and part of my life went by in hardship,
Well, my namesake, in the past, stayed among people
in the land of Naḥlah, complaining of time's vicissitudes. ⁴⁵
These things come pre-ordained;
nothing in this world happens without a cause. ⁴⁶

Whatever Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's reasons for remaining in Ṣalkhad, it was there that he undertook to write the 'Uyūn al-anbā', with the encouragement of others, such as the physician Amīn al-Dawlah,⁴⁷ who was the vizier for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and keen patron of the sciences. As Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah explains: 'He took a keen interest in collecting and studying books, and purchased many outstanding works in all the sciences.'⁴⁸ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also tells us that Amīn al-Dawlah heard about the book he was composing and asked to have a copy made. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah fulfilled the request and composed a panegyrical poem for the vizier that he sent along with the copy of the book.⁴⁹

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's motivation for writing the *'Uyūn al-anbā'* seems evident from the Preface, where he classifies his subject, the art of medicine (*ṣināʿat*

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⁴⁵ The famous poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), whose given name was Aḥmad like that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, said in a poem: 'My stay in the abode of Naḥlah is just as Christ's dwelling among the Jews' (*Dīwān*, 32, cf. Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī*, 20–21). Naḥlah (Nahle) being a village just north of Baalbek.

⁴⁶ Ch. 15.37.

⁴⁷ For Amīn al-Dawlah's biography, see Ch. 15.49.

⁴⁸ Ch. 15.49.6.

⁴⁹ For the dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah and the various versions of the 'Uyūn al-anbā', see the essay by Ignacio Sánchez on the manuscript tradition of the 'Uyūn al-anbā' and also Ch. 15.49 and the brief Addendum to 15.49.

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al-tibb) as among the noblest of professions. He goes on to state that 'Its excellence is attested in scripture and the provisions of law, to such an extent that knowledge of the human body is deemed to be second in importance only to knowledge of religion.'⁵⁰ He states his intentions are to focus on the 'most distinguished of physicians' – an undertaking that, to his knowledge, had not been previously attempted. He also explains that he will use the form of the biographical dictionary ($tabaq\bar{a}t$), not simply to present individual biographies of great men of medicine, but to write a comprehensive, coherent history of physicians throughout the ages from antiquity up to recent times (his own day), seemingly in an unbroken connection with a past tradition.

In addition to his desire to show the physician class as an elite class with a long and respected past, one might argue that his motivations were more selfserving in nature, a desire to make a contribution to his profession. Despite the heavy reliance on past scholarly authorities, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's use of personal narratives is a significant characteristic of the *'Uyūn al-anbā'*. He often relates his own eye-witness accounts and observations of a person, place or event, and often recounts anecdotes and information transmitted orally through family, friends and colleagues.

His target audience appears to have been the scholarly-elite (his colleagues and teachers) and the ruling-elite – either officials or princely rulers. By highlighting the famous works and accomplishments in medicine of the physicians, and the patrons who have supported the profession, he tells his patrons and rulers that it is necessary to have learned physicians at court, and perhaps, more importantly, they should be highly valued by those who seek their services.

Not only does Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah highlight the medical achievements of the physicians included in the *Uyūn al-anbā*', he also intentionally includes the other scholarly achievements of these medical professionals. He states that he has also included the accounts of 'wise men and philosophers' who also gave at least some of their attention to the art of medicine. It is notable that most of the physicians in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's *Uyūn al-anbā*' did not devote their entire time to medicine. The emphasis is on the polymath who had wide-ranging knowledge, for in the medieval period such an education identified someone as a scholar and elite. Lists of works and achievements of these physician/scholars include fields such as philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, engineering, languages and belles-lettres, and of course, as we have seen, poetry. All these subjects feature prominently in the education of a well-rounded medieval scholar

of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's day. In addition, he praises those scholars who are theological leaders within their communities as well, regardless of their religious affiliation.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's 'Uyūn al-anbā' was not his only literary contribution. As we have seen, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah himself composed poetry, examples of which are found in the 'Uyūn al-anbā'. He also wrote four other treatises on medicine or related topics that are now lost, but are mentioned by the author himself in the 'Uyūn al-anbā':

- Iṣābāt al-munajjimīn (The Predictions of the Astrologers)
- al-Tajārib wa-l-fawā'id (Experiences and Useful Lessons)
- Hikāyāt al-ațibbā' fī 'ilājāt al-adwā' (Anecdotes of Physicians on the Treatment of Illnesses)
- Ma'ālim al-umam (The Outstanding Personalities of All Nations)

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah occasionally mentions, within the text '*Uyūn al-anbā*', various scholars and colleagues who have seen his book and praised it. Thus, we know from Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah himself that he continued to work on his biography of physicians, and added to it, probably up to the end of his life. From these personal anecdotes, we see that, for Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah, the '*Uyūn al-anbā'* was a lifetime's work in which he took great personal pride. One might even argue, it was a work that he hoped would perhaps help make a name for himself and would serve to elevate the prestige of the medical profession.

It is nice to think that his life's work was not in vain, and that perhaps Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was successful in what he sought to achieve. Today, the $Uy\bar{u}n$ *al-anbā'* is one of the most useful sources available for those of us who study the social history of science and medicine. Making this work available to non-Arabic speakers creates a much wider audience of scholars and the inquisitive, who can benefit from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's efforts and perhaps enjoy the persona of this thirteenth-century physician.

Indeed, we might chose to communicate the importance of the 'Uyūn alanbā' in the same manner in which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and his colleagues did so, by citing a poem – specifically one found in the biography of his friend, colleague and contemporary, 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī.⁵¹ In this poem al-Suwaydī expresses to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah (whom he calls Muwaffaq al-Dīn) his admiration for his book on the history of physicians entitled '*The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians'* (*K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*):⁵²

⁵¹ For a biography of this physician, see Ch. 15.57.

⁵² Ch. 15.57.

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Muwaffaq al-Dīn, you have achieved what you desire and have reached the highest of splendid ranks!
You have provided a fine history of those who have gone, though their bones have now decayed.⁵³
May God single you out with His beneficence in this world and the next.

53 Compare Q al-Nāziʿāt 79:11, «when we have become decayed bones».

CHAPTER 3

'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā': Its Genre and Title

Geert Jan van Gelder

Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah's book is the first to offer a 'world history of medicine', but as a work consisting of a large number of biographies it stands in a long tradition in Arabic literature. As its title proclaims, it is part of what is called the genre of *tabaqāt*.¹ The singular, *tabaqah*, may be translated as 'layer', '(social) class', or 'category', especially a group of people who share a profession or ability. As a genre it started when Islamic scholars, keen to establish the names, dates, and reliability of the transmitters of Hadith from the time of the prophet Muhammad and his Companions, began to compile lists. An early standard work on the Prophet's Companions is Kitāb al-ţabaqāt al-kabīr (The Great Book of Classes) by Ibn Sa'd (d. c. 320/844), and even larger compilations for this category were produced in later times. A contemporary of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī (d. 231/845) compiled the first work on poets, *Tabaqāt fuhūl al-shuʿarā*, (The Classes of the Master Poets). Similar works were written on jurisprudents, theologians, Qur'an commentators, ascetics and mystics, and philologists and grammarians. The organisation of these works differs and 'class' is usually not clearly defined; the various sections may be arranged roughly chronologically or geographically. Ibn Sa'd's multi-volume work is mainly chronological; within a 'class' there may be tribal or geographical grouping, and all women are together in the final volume, segregated from men.

Among the predecessors of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is the Andalusian Ibn Juljul (d. after 384/994), who collected biographies of philosophers and physicians in his *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā'* (*The Classes of Physicians and Sages*), a work much smaller than that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and with a more limited scope. Only the last of its seven 'classes' deals with physicians in the Islamic period. Another predecessor, also from Spain, is Abū l-Qāsim Ṣā'id ibn Aḥmad, usually called Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070). His slim but important volume entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam (The Classes of Nations)* deals with the scientists and scholars

¹ See *E1*² art. 'Ţabaķāt' (Cl. Gilliot); Ibrahim Hafsi, 'Recherches'; al-Qāḍī, 'Biographical Dictionaries'; Young, 'Arabic Biographical Writing'.

of various 'civilised' nations, which to him are the Indians, Persians, Chaldaeans, Greeks, $R\bar{u}m$ (Romans or Byzantines), (pre-Islamic) Egyptians, Arabs, and Jews.

In a number of large and general biographical compilations the idea of 'class' is abandoned in favour of an alphabetical arrangement on the *ism* ('given name'), which is at least straightforward and systematic, but often cumbersome for the user because in very many cases a person is known by another part of his (more rarely her) name. Examples of such general alphabetical works are *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (*Obits of Prominent People*) by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) and the massive *al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt* (*The Completion of the Obits*) by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363). These and many other works also list the books, epistles and treatises written by scholars, so that one may call them bio-bibliographical dictionaries. Ibn al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248) adopted the same alphabetical arrangement for his dictionary on philologists and grammarians, *Inbāh al-ruwāh 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāh* (*Informing Transmitters of the Reports on Grammarians*) and in his work on philosophers and physicians, *Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā'* (*Informing Scholars of the Reports on Sages*).²

There is something unsatisfactory about a work where the mythical Hermes Trismegistus rubs shoulders with the 4th/10th-century Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' merely on account of the contingencies of the Arabic alphabet, even though this facilitates quick consultation. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah apparently did not want to write a dictionary or encyclopaedia to be used for quick reference. Rather, he intended to write a work that could be read through from beginning to end, a history showing the origins, development, and progress of medical science, so he decided to go back to the system of *tabaqāt*, combining Ṣā'id's category of 'nation' and geography with chronology; the alphabet plays no part in his book. Although the word *tabaqāt* appears in the title, the fifteen sections are called *abwāb* (sing. *bāb*), 'chapters'. Apart from the introductory first chapter, each chapter is said to contain the 'tabaqāt' of the relevant section, but this does not mean that these chapters containing the entries on individuals are subdivided: at most there is a rough chronological order. Association also played a part and may distort the chronologic al sequence.³ It is clear that the word *tabaqah* has virtually lost its meaning of 'class' or 'category' and has come to mean something like 'generation'. In fact, the word *tabaqāt* in each chapter

² Edited by Julius Lippert as Ta'rīkh al-hukamā' (The History of Sages).

³ One may compare the remark by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *al-Fihrist* (Sayyid), i:450–451, a work known to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah: 'When I mention one famous person, I let him be followed by whoever is close to him and resembles him, even though the latter may be from a later period than the former. This is my method in compiling this book.'

title could be omitted without any loss of meaning. The shortest, Chapter XII, $F\bar{i}$ tabaqāt al-atibbā' alladhīna kānū min al-Hind (literally, 'On the Classes of Physicians Who Were from India'), contains a mere six biographies and a better translation is simply 'The Physicians of India'. It is impossible, however, for reasons of euphony, to omit the word tabaqāt from the rhyming book title: 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī l-atibbā' would sound badly unbalanced. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah could have used another word, such as tarājim (biographies), or expanded his title as 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī l-hukamā' wa-l-atibbā', since many physicians in the book could be called hukamā' (sing. hakīm, 'sage' or 'philosopher', often also meaning 'physician'). One may suppose he chose tabaqāt for his book, not only on account of the alliteration (the repetition of t-b may have appealed to him), but also in order to emphasise its pedigree in a long and respectable tradition.

The word *ațibbā*' is the plural of *ṭabīb*. Originally meaning 'skilled, expert, knowledgeable', it became the most common word for physician or medical doctor, cognate with *țibb*, 'medicine, medical practice'. The feminine is *ṭabībah*; but among the 442 physicians in the book who have individual entries only one is a woman, the rather obscure Zaynab of the Arab tribe of Banū Awd.⁴ Cleopatra, listed as Kilāwubaṭrah in a series of names in the section on Socrates,⁵ is called an *imra'ah ṭabībah*, 'skilled woman' or 'woman doctor'.

Rhyming titles⁶ are extremely common in pre-modern Arabic literature from the 4th/10th century onward and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's book is no exception. Usually, they consist of two rhyming halves, the first being somewhat flowery and figurative and the second, mostly introduced by $f\tilde{t}$ ('in', but here rather 'on, about', or the equivalent of the colon preceding an English subtitle), indicating more clearly the topic of the book. The word *anbā*' ('reports', plural of *naba*') would have readily suggested itself: not only is it used in similar biographical compilations, as in the celebrated work by his contemporary Ibn Khallikān mentioned above, it also provides a rhyme, even a rich rhyme, with *ațibbā*', 'physicians'. The word '*uyūn* is one the plurals of '*ayn*,⁷ which has the basic meanings of 'eye' and often means 'well, source'. Figuratively, it may stand for anything prime, choice, select, or prominent. Thus '*Uyūn al-anbā*' can mean '*The Sources of Reports*' as well as '*Choice Reports*' and it evokes the prac-

⁴ IAU Ch. 7.10.

⁵ Ch. 4.1.11.2; in the section on Galen (Ch. 5.1.21.1) her name is spelled Qilāwubaṭr. See also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, ii:27–29, where, appearing as Qilābaṭrah, she is called a 'female sage and philosopher' (*hakīmah mutafalsifah*), author of works on medicine.

⁶ See Ambros, 'Beobachtungen'.

⁷ Other plurals are *a'yun* ('eyes'), *a'yān* ('notables, prominent people'), and *'aynāt* (plural of the 18th letter of the Arabic alphabet, called *'ayn*).

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tically synonymous title of a seminal literary anthology, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, by the polymath Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889). This work is generally considered a proto-type of what is called *'adab* literature', in which *adab* (not only 'good manners', 'proper conduct' but also *'belles-lettres'*)⁸ stands for the mixture of literary entertainment, moral education, and instruction or information that is characteristic of such works. It is obvious that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, by his inclusion of so much poetry, entertaining anecdotes, maxims and wise sayings,⁹ saw his work as standing in the same tradition. It inspired our decision to translate the title as *A Literary history of Medicine*, with a more literal version, *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians* as a kind of subtitle.¹⁰

⁸ In modern Arabic, *adab* means 'literature' but has also kept its original sense of 'good manners'. On *adab*, see e.g. *E1*² art. 'Adab' (F. Gabrieli); *EAL* 54–56 (H. Kilpatrick); Bonebakker, 'Adab and the Concept of belles-lettres'; Horst, 'Die Entstehung der adab-Literatur'; Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought* (see Ch. 3, 'History and *Adab*', 83–130).

⁹ Maxims and wise sayings (*hikam*) are more prominent in 'Uyūn al-anbā' than in, for instance, the works of Ibn Juljul and Ibn al-Qifti. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah may have been inspired by the work of the 5th/nth-century Egyptian author Mubashshir ibn Fātik, Mukhtār alhikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalām ('Choice Wise Sayings and Fine Statements'), on the ancient Greek sages.

¹⁰ Other translations of the title include: Fountains of Information respecting the classes of Physicians (Cureton, 'Extract'); Sources of Information regarding the Classes of Physicians (Young, 'Arabic Biographical Writing', 174); and The Sources of Knowledge about the Generations of Physicians (Reynolds, Interpreting the Self, 60).

The Textual and Manuscript Tradition of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*ʾ

Ignacio Sánchez

1 The Edition of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's Work

The first edition of the *Uyūn*, made by the German scholar August Müller and published under the pen-name of Imru' al-Qays al-Ṭaḥḥān, saw the light in Cairo in 1882. Much to his despair, this publication was flawed by innumerable mistakes resulting from the stubbornness and lack of diligence of Muṣṭafā Efendī Wahbī, the owner of the Cairene press commissioned to print the books. Müller was forced to sponsor a reprint of the text accompanied with long lists of variant readings and corrections and a detailed introduction describing the difficulties of editing this work and his problems with the publisher.¹ This second edition was printed in Königsberg in 1884.

The Königsberg edition of the '*Uyūn* also served as the basis for two further editions. The first of them was published in Beirut in 1965 by Niẓār Riḍā. Riḍā's work as editor essentially consisted of amending the Arabic text of Müller's edition by incorporating some of the corrections listed in the second edition of 1884 and adding some minimal – and haphazard – annotation; this edition still contains numerous errors, and the index of names is chaotic. Riḍā's edition of 1965 was, in turn, the basis for yet another non-critical edition made by Qāsim Wahhāb, published in Beirut in 1987.

In addition to these two publications that rely directly on Müller's editorial work, we also have a second critical edition made by ' \bar{A} mir al-Najj \bar{a} r, originally published in Cairo in 1996 and reprinted in 2001–2004. Al-Najj \bar{a} r worked with eight manuscripts, some of them unknown to Müller, and took also into consideration Q \bar{a} sim Wahh \bar{a} b's edition of 1987. This publication does not have the multitude of typographical and editorial mistakes that marred the text edited by Müller – though some mistakes are noticeable especially in his edition of the poetry – but it is not free from problems. Najj \bar{a} r is not as careful as Müller when

¹ The dealings and disagreements of Müller with his publisher are described in detail in the first pages of Müller's introduction to his second edition of the *'Uyūn al-anbā'*: 'Vorwort', v– xvi.

it comes to differentiating between the different textual traditions, and he occasionally adopts readings that differ from the majority of the manuscripts without further explanation, or even without citing any manuscript to support them.²

A further complication that affects all the editions arises from the peculiarities of the *Uyūn* itself, already pointed out by Müller in the long introduction to his 1884 edition. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah suggests in several instances that he wrote different versions of his work, and the extant manuscripts bear testimony to this variety. The identification of the different textual traditions is extremely problematic but is crucial both for the edition and for the evaluation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's method.

Textual variations present obvious problems when it comes to producing an authoritative edition. In this regard, Müller's edition cannot be praised enough; he was able to identify different recensions and trace the chronological evolution of the text and, consequently, to select the manuscripts containing the latest version of the work. But this came with a caveat: the great divergences in the contents of the manuscripts and the nature of the additions found in the latest stage of the work cast doubt on the authorship of several passages. Müller, who was aware of the use of a draft copy of the author (*musawwadah*) in some manuscripts,³ confessed that he was unable to ascertain whether the passages that appear in these copies and are lacking in the other manuscripts were added by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah himself or by a copyist after his death. He had particular doubts about the use of Ibn al-Qifti's *Ta'rīkh al-hukamā*^{',4}

The challenges that a new edition of the text poses to its editors are various: first, one must establish an authoritative text, freed of the many mistakes that are found in previous editions; second, we must identify and separate the different textual versions of the *'Uyūn al-anbā'* and the manuscript traditions associated with each version of the work; finally, the doubts cast on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's authorship of some passages should be revised in the light of new manuscript evidence, especially regarding the material taken from Ibn al-Qiftī and the lacunas that Müller considered to be indications of posthumous additions.⁵

² On these editions see Hilloowala, 'An Analysis of Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah', 200–203.

³ Specifically, he believed that the Cambridge, University Library, мs Or. 1461 (n in Müller's edition), and the London, British Library, мs Add. 7340 (d in Müller's edition) were redacted using Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's *musawwadah* after the death of the author. See Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 867–877.

⁴ See Müller, 'Vorwort', xxi, and the discussion below.

⁵ See Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 857 f.

2 Müller's Study of the Textual and Manuscript Traditions

The best way to approach the study of the manuscript tradition of the 'Uyūn al-anbā' is to climb on the shoulders of Müller's gigantic scholarship. Müller's edition was based on an large number of manuscripts that he discussed both in the introduction to the Königsberg edition of 1884,⁶ and in a couple of journal articles, later collected by Fuat Sezgin in his *Studies on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a* (1270) and his 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'.⁷ In these articles, Müller concluded that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah wrote two recensions of the treatise, and that, in addition, it is possible to identify a third recension that included rearranged materials.⁸ Müller also argued that the differences in the copies ascribed to the second version of the text might be the result of additions made after the death of the author, especially the glosses or quotations from Ibn al-Qifṭī's Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā', only accessible to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in the last years of his life.⁹

The existence of at least two versions of the 'Uyūn al-anbā' was deduced from internal evidence. The first version – and the manuscripts preserving it – is clearly identifiable from a dedication to the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah that is not present in later versions of the text. As Müller notes, the last date mentioned in the manuscripts containing this dedication is 639/1242.¹⁰ In the manuscripts in which this dedication is not present, there are additions in which Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'ah refers to an earlier version of his work on at least three occasions.¹¹

The dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's references, together with a careful collation of many of the manuscripts, drove Müller to identify two textual traditions. Additionally, he pointed out the existence of a third hybrid recension of the text represented by the copy of the work held at

7 Specifically, Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', and 'Über Ibn Abi Oçeibi'a' [reprinted in Sezgin, *Studies* 1, 139–263; and Sezgin, *Studies* 11, 191–214].

⁶ See Müller, 'Vorwort'.

⁸ Vernet, in his article of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, referred to these versions as 'a major and a minor' plus a 're-written version after the author's death', see *E1*² art. 'Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah' (J. Vernet). For the sake of clarity, I will refer to Müller's versions of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's text as *recensions 1, 2, and 3*. The classification used in our edition and in this study, which does not correspond with Müller's, will be referred to as *Versions 1, 2, and 3*.

⁹ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 858–859, and 882 f.

¹⁰ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 856. See below the discussion on the dating of the versions pp. 55–56.

¹¹ See below pp. 54–55.

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Recension 1	Recension 2	Recension 3 (amalgamation of previous recensions)
c = Munich, Staatsbibliothek, мs Or. 243–244	d = London, British Library, мs Add. 7340	a = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, мs Wetzst. 323 and мs Spren- ger 312
p = Oxford, Bodleian Library, мs Pococke 356	e = London, British Library, мs Add. 25736	
t = Tübingen, Universitätsbib- liothek, мs M. A. v1.14	f = London, British Library, мs Add. 23364	
v = Vienna, Nationalbiblio- thek, MS 1164 (Mxt. 180)	g = Gotha, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1769	
	i = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, мs Supp. Ar. 674	
	k = Leiden, Universiteitsbiblio- theek, мs Or. 59b (1st part)	
	l = Leiden, Universiteitsbiblio- theek, MS Or. 59b (2nd part)	
	m = Oxford, Bodleian Library, мs Marsh 153	
	n = Cambridge, University Library, мs Or. 1461	
	s = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, мs Suppl. Ar. 5939 (Schefer 2116)	

 TABLE 4.1
 IAU's recensions (Müller)

the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and preserved in two volumes, MS Wetzst. 323 and MS Sprenger 312. This third version, according to Müller, contained abridged biographies resulting from the amalgamation of the two previous versions, i.e., the recension dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah and the second recension written by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah after 639/1242. Table 4.1 shows Müller's tripartite classification of the manuscripts.¹²

¹² See Müller, 'Vorwort', xvii–xxi.

The identification of the manuscripts containing the first recension of the text does not pose many problems since they all share a clear set of characteristics, the most evident of which are the presence of the dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah (lacking in later versions) and the lack of references to events that happened after the year 639/1242. The singularity of the hybrid Berlin copy clearly sets it apart from other versions of the text.¹³ But the manuscripts that Müller ascribed to the second recension, on the contrary, show important divergences in need of further elucidation.

For Müller, the numerous textual variants present in the copies with recension 2 might have resulted either from common accidents in the textual transmission or from posthumous editorial interventions, or from both - hence his doubts about Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's authorship of a significant number of passages. Müller believed that the major part of the additions and changes from recension 1 to recension 2 were made during the life of the author. These changes are mainly revisions resulting from personal experiences that enriched the information about the physicians, especially after 639/1242, and from a systematic use of Ibn al-Qiftī's Ta'rīkh al-hukamā'.14 More serious doubts were raised, however, by the comments written in the margins of the Cambridge, University Library, MS Or. 1461 (siglum n in Müller's edition). This manuscript, which contains a full copy of the 'Uyūn an-anbā', reproduces in the margin of f. 231a a marginal note present in the exemplar from which it was copied. In this note, the copyist of the exemplar (used as source for the Cambridge MS) stated that parts of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's work were not present in the first exemplar he had used, which was a copy in the author's handwriting; and that these additional sections were taken from a second exemplar that was the autograph draft of Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah (musawwadat al-muşannif).15

The marginalia in the Cambridge manuscript describe the copyist's struggle to reproduce the contents of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's *musawwadah*, but these marginal comments were not made by the copyist of the Cambridge MS himself, but rather by the copyist of the manuscript from which it was itself copied, as stated in a clarification in the same hand added after the colophon:¹⁶

¹³ None of the manuscripts used by Müller or Najjār, nor any of those consulted for this study show any relationship with the Berlin MS, on which see below p. 63.

¹⁴ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 856.

¹⁵ See Cambridge, University Library, MS Or.1461 f. 231a; and Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 867 f. This marginal note is discussed below, see pp. 43 and 47.

¹⁶ See Cambridge, University Library, мs Or.1461 f. 326a.

This copy [i.e., the Cambridge Ms] was copied from the exemplar that had been copied from the autograph of the author and [then] collated with his [the author's] draft, may God have mercy on him and pardon his faults.

Müller believed that the majority of the variants that represent the transition from recension 1 to recension 2 correspond with the changes and updates in the *musawwadah* to which the marginalia of the Cambridge MS refers. But these variations are far too many: 'In long sections of our text in all manuscripts' – says Müller – 'every page presents a great number of variants, omissions or arrangements'.

The main question that confronted Müller was to what extent these changes were due to authorial revision or to a posthumous intervention of a copyist. But the annotations reproduced in the Cambridge MS are virtually incomprehensible without the exemplar from which it was copied. Fortunately, this exemplar has been identified as Istanbul MS Şehid 'Ali Paşa 1923, the existence of which was unknown to Müller – or to any other editor. Müller was certainly conscious of the problems that his lack of information presented, so much so that his discussion of the *musawwadah* is to a great extent a succession of unanswerable questions. The first of them is obviously: 'How was the copyist [of the Cambridge MS] able to know the state of the *musawwadah* and to describe it, if he did not have it in front of him?'.¹⁷

Upon reading the marginal note in the Cambridge MS that refers to the use of both the author's autograph and the author's draft, Müller's first interpretation was that the clean copy (mubayyadah) was an exemplar of recension 1, not least because the copyist states that it was written for some eminent men ($ak\bar{a}bir\ al-n\bar{a}s$) and the manuscripts with the first recension have the dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah. Consequently, it would be plausible to assume that the *musawwadah* referred to by the copyist would be the last version of the work – in progress towards recension 2 – in the author's hand.

Müller noticed, however, that the identification of the clean autograph (*mubayyadah*) with recension 1 was not certain, since some of the biographies present in all manuscripts with recension 1 are lacking in the Cambridge $Ms.^{18}$

¹⁷ See Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 869. For the Istanbul Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923, see Section IV below.

¹⁸ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 872.

Müller was unable to provide a clear answer to this issue, although he suggested that these omissions and similar variants might have been the result of accidents in the textual and manuscript transmission of the *mubayyadah* (the use of 'ein Doppelgänger' with notable differences), or even had been produced by the intervention of the copyist of the Cambridge MS.¹⁹

Müller's intuition was, again, correct, but not his explanation. The exemplar to which he referred as the 'clean copy' (*mubayyaḍah*) is not a heavily modified version of the first recension dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah. As we will discuss below, the author's autograph to which the copyist of the Cambridge MS refers is an intermediate version (Version 2 in our edition), that should be placed between the first version dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah and the last one represented by the *musawwadah*. This could only be known by directly examining the Istanbul Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923 from which the Cambridge MS was copied.

Müller's introduction to the 1884 edition of the '*Uyūn* is mainly concerned with distinguishing between the different recensions. His article on the text and the language of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's work, published that same year, examines in detail the chronology of the additions and its implications for assessing the authorship of the variants in recension 2. As mentioned, Müller was unable to make his mind up about the use of Ibn al-Qiftī's *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, but he found some instances that suggested a possible posthumous intervention by later editors. The first example is the addition of small glosses, such as that explaining the etymology of the ethnonym 'Sabians' at the beginning of the life of Thābit ibn Qurrah,²⁰ which is missing in the manuscripts with recension 1; or the gloss commenting on the significance of Monastir's *rābiṭah* in the biography of Ibn al-Jazzār.²¹ Müller, however, admitted that he had no way of knowing whether these glosses stemmed from the draft of the author or not. As can be seen in the Istanbul Ms Şehid Ali Paşa – discussed below –, these glosses were added by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah himself.

A further example of suspicious additions spotted by Müller is the filling of blank spaces. At the beginning of the biography of al-Suhrawardī, for instance, the manuscripts from both recensions 1 and 2 have left a blank space instead

¹⁹ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 875–876. The missing biographies of the Cambridge MS correspond, in fact, with biographies written on some interleaves added to the Şehid Ali Paşa manuscript that have not come down to us, and might have been lost when the Cambridge MS was copied.

²⁰ 'It is said that the Sabians are related to Ṣāb, that is Ṭāṭ the son of the prophet Idrīs, may salutations be upon him', see Müller, i:215.26–27 [= Ch. 10.3.1].

^{21 &#}x27;Monastir – the latter is a place for devout Muslims bound to God (*murābiṭah*), well-known for its blessings (*barakah*) and mentioned in the history books, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea', see Müller, ii:38.7 (incorrectly written *al-mustanīr*) [= Ch. 13.3.2.1].

of the name of al-Suhrawardī's father. This omission was also recorded by Ibn Khallikān when he quotes from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in his biography of this scholar, stating that there was a blank space after 'ibn' just where the name of al-Suhrawardī's father should have appeared. Of all the manuscripts consulted by Müller only the Berlin Ms (Müller's **a**), which belongs to recension 3, has filled the blank space with '*A-m-r-k-ā*'.²² This seems to be an obvious example of scribal intervention, but the Berlin Ms (recension 3) is by no means representative of the textual tradition of the '*Uyūn al-anbā*'.²³

In the light of these conjectures, Müller attempted a chronological classification of the manuscripts based on their stemmatic affinities and his interpretation of the role played by the use of the *musawwadah*. He divided the manuscripts into the four types described in Table 4.2.²⁴

As will be discussed below, this classification cannot be maintained in view of the direct copy of the *musawwadah* preserved in MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1923. But, for all the difficulties, and despite the doubts about the authorship of some additions, Müller was certainly correct when he identified the possible stages in the transmission of the work, and also when he selected the best manuscripts among those at his disposal. He identified London British Library MS Add 7340 (d in Müller's edition, **R** in ours), and Cambridge MS Or. 1461 (Müller's **n**, not used in our edition) as those containing a most complete version of the work, since he believed that they had made use of the *musawwadah* of the author. The third of the core manuscripts for Müller was the London British Library Add. 23364 (Müller's **f**, in our edition **L**), copied from an exemplar endowed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah to the *maqṣūrah* of Ibn 'Urwah. This selection, as Müller argued, was also supported by indirect later witnesses, whose quotations from the 'Uyūn al-anbā' reproduce the text as it can be read in these manuscripts rather than the contents of recension 1.²⁵ On the whole,

²² Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 858–859. All MSS consulted in our edition have the blank space, except for H, which has 'Amīrak', i.e., the correct name (see Ch. 15.18.1).

²³ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 859. The relevance of this recension 3 is somehow exaggerated in the article of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, where Vernet states: 'From the two redactions a not very careful copyist produced a re-written version after the author's death', see *E1*² art. 'Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a' (J. Vernet).

²⁴ Müller, 'Über Text und Sprachgebrauch', 885–888. In this classification, Müller does not refer to the Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 153 (m) and the Gotha, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1769 (g), since they contain partial or incomplete copies; for his comments on these MSS see Müller, 'Vorwort', xxiv. He does not discuss at this point the manuscripts with recension 1 either, since they do not present the kind of variants that might result from the use of the *musawwadah*.

²⁵ Müller, 'Vorwort', xx.

1	2A	2B	2C
Recension 1: version dedicated to Amīn al- Dawlah.	Recension 2: tran- scriptions from IAU's <i>musawwadah</i> made before the death of the author or shortly there- after.	Recension 2: lacunose manuscripts, corrected (perhaps by the author) but without further addi- tions.	Recension 2, manu- scripts posthumously corrected with IAU's <i>musawwadah</i> .
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. 243 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 356 Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. A. VI.14 Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 1164 	 London, British Library, MS Add. 25736 London, British Library, MS Add. 23364 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Supp. Ar. 674 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 59b (1st part) 	 Berlin, Staatsbiblio- thek, Ms Wetzst. 323 and Ms Sprenger 312 (one of the copies used in this Ms would have belonged to this group) Leiden, Universiteits- bibliotheek, Ms Or. 59b (2nd part) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms arabe 5939 	 London, British Library, MS Add. 7340 Cambridge, University Library, MS Or. 1461

TABLE 4.2 Classification of MSS according to the use of the musawwadah (Müller)

and taking into consideration the difficulties of the textual transmission of the work, Müller's intuition was usually spot on, and his edition stands out as one of the monuments of 19th-century scholarship. He was wrong, however, about the use of the *musawwadah* and its implications, as will be discussed below.

3 Najjār's Discussion of the Manuscripts

In contrast with Müller, Najjār provides a very succinct description of the manuscripts used in his critical edition of the *Uyūn al-anbā*' and does not discuss at all the implications of the different textual versions of the text. From his description and the footnotes referring to the biographies wanting in each manuscript, it is possible to infer that four out of the eight copies on which he based his edition belong to the first version of the work, easily identifiable by the presence of the dedication and the absence of the last nine biographies of chapter 15; these manuscripts are Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS 2104 *Ta'rīkh Ṭal'at*; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS 182 *Ta'rīkh*; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub,

MS 1341 *Ta'rīkh Taymūr*; and Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. A. VI.14, the latter also used by Müller.²⁶ Najjār chose Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS 2104 *Ta'rīkh Ṭal'at*, dated in 1003/1595, as the basis for the edition of the first part of the book, since it was the oldest copy available to him containing this section.²⁷

The other four manuscripts used in Najjār's edition are: Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 219 *Ta'rīkh*, which is the base manuscript for chapters 8–14 due to its early date (707/1308); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS 2/1144 (Cod. Ar. CIXXI), which contains chapters 7–15; Istanbul, Ahmad III, MS 2860/71 *Ta'rīkh*, which contains chapters 11–15; and Istanbul, Ahmad III, MS 2859/70, which goes from the end of chapter 12 to the end of the work. In addition to these manuscripts, Najjār also consulted Qāsim Wahhāb's edition of the *Uyūn al-anbā'*, printed in Beirut in 1987.

Najjār approached his edition without apparently paying attention to the differences between versions, as if the textual variants were only the product of divergences in the manuscript traditions. In his edition, for example, the first seven chapters are only covered by manuscripts containing Version 1 of the work, without any collation of the manuscripts he used representing later versions, which are used by him only for chapters 8 to 15.

4 Manuscript Şehid Ali Paşa 1923

Most of the questions that troubled Müller in his study were related to the use of the *musawwadah*, which he could only envisage from the vague indications found in the Cambridge Ms. This manuscript was copied from Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923, a volume of 307 folios held at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. Examination of this manuscript sheds extraordinary light onto the complicated history of the textual transmission of the *Uyūn*.

The Şehid Ali Paşa MS originally contained a full copy of an early version of the *Uyūn* taken from a manuscript that had been directly copied from the author's autograph. Afterwards, its copyist found and used as an exemplar the autograph draft of the author (*musawwadah*); when he collated his copy with this second manuscript, he found variant readings, with which he corrected the

²⁶ For the description of the manuscripts see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿā, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-atibbā'*, ed. Najjār, i:101–108.

²⁷ Najjār does not state precisely what he means by 'the beginning of the book (*awwal al-kitāb*)', but in a later commentary he seems to refer to the first eight chapters, see Najjār, i:102.

text, and additional information that was added in the margins and on interleaves pasted to the volume.²⁸ The revision of works and the coexistence of various versions is not an oddity in the writerly practices of the pre-Modern Islamic lands. Famous works such as Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Risālah*, for instance, have come down to us in two versions.²⁹ Autograph *musawwadāt* are not rare either and author's drafts of relevant works have survived and been studied, such as Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*;³⁰ and sometimes even edited, as in the case of the *musawwadah* of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiţaț*.³¹

These two exemplars on which the Şehid Ali Paşa MS is based are the ones mentioned in the colophon of the Cambridge MS known to Müller, but the identification of their contents and their relationship with the versions of the work is only possible thanks to the diligence of the copyist of the Istanbul manuscript, who was careful to mark all the additions and variants. By looking at the distribution of the text in this manuscript, is possible to differentiate between (1) the version represented by the main body text, copied in the first place and (2) a second, extended version consisting of the body text with interlineal or marginal corrections from the variants found in the *musawwadah* together with additions written in the margins and interleaves taken from the author's draft, which might be full biographies, extended paragraphs, or small additions and glosses.

The colophon of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS (see Fig. 4.1) was most likely written before its collation with the *musawwadah*, since it does not make any reference to textual variants and additions:³²

تم كتاب عيون الأنباء في طبقات الأطباء على يد أقل عبيد الله المشمولين بنعمته والراجين غفرانه بسعة رحمته المتوسلين إليه بعظم ربوبيته أن يصلى على النبي المرسل رحمة لكافة خليقته وعلى آله وصحبه ويسلم تسليماً كثيراً عبد الهادي بن أبي المفضل بن أبي الفرج وكان الفراغ من تعليقه في يوم ٥ ٢٧ ٨ من عام ٧٧٣ للهجرة النبوية على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة والسلام والتحية والإكرام وذلك بلطف الله وكرمه وتطوله ونعمه له الحمد كثيراً أولاً وأخيراً

²⁸ See Fig. 4.3, where an entire biography is added in margin.

²⁹ See Bergsträsser, 'Neue Materialen.'

³⁰ See Bora, 'A Mamluk Historian's Holograph'.

³¹ Edited by F. Sayyid; see al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat K. al-Mawāʿiẓ*. On the different autographs of this work and their additions, see Witkam, 'Reflections on al-Maqrīzī's Biographical Dictionary'.

³² See Istanbul MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1923, f. 306a.

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FIGURE 4.1 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1923, fol. 306a showing colophon. Completed 27 Sha'bān 773 (4 Mar 1372). Copyist: 'Abd al-Hādī ibn Abī l-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faraj. Siglum A in edition

The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians was completed by the humblest servant among those who enjoy the grace of God, trust in His great mercy for their forgiveness, and who asks Him, with the power of His divinity, to cherish the Prophet sent as mercy to all His creatures, and his people and companions, and to grant them many blessings, 'Abd al-Hādī ibn Abī l-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faraj. It was finished on 27 Shaʿbān 773 of the Hijrah [4 Mar 1372].³³ May its author receive the most perfect blessings, greetings and honours. This was accomplished thanks to God's kindness and magnanimity, and His generous grace; to Him is all praise from the beginning to the end.

The copyist, however, left two explanatory notes expressing his doubts and explaining the process of collation and the problems he had to solve. The first one was written at the beginning of Ch. 14 (see Fig. 4.2):³⁴

حاشية قال كاتبها وجدت في مسودة المصنف أسماء لم ترد النسخة المنقول منها والمنقول منها نسخة قد نقلت من نسخة كتبها المصنف بخطه أيضاً وهجس بخاطري أنه أهمل الأسماء من المبيضة إما لأنه أراد الاختصار لكونهم لا فائدة فيهم وإما لغرض ما آخر وأردت أن لا تكون هذه النسخة ناقصة اسماً من الأسماء الواردة المسودة وكنت قد أوردت ما وجدته غير وارد النسخة المنقول منها في الأبواب المتقدمة من هذا الكتاب في هذه النسخة كل اسم حيث أورده المصنف في مسودته خشية أن يكون الناقل من مبيضته أهملهم والآن وقع في نفسي أن أورد جميع الأسماء الواردة المسودة على ذلك

The writer of this marginal note said: I found in the draft of the author names that were not in the exemplar copy. And the exemplar is a copy that was transcribed from a copy also written by the author in his own hand. It occurred to me that he omitted names in the fair copy either because he intended to compose an abridgement, since they [i.e. the omitted names] are of no benefit or for some other reason. I did not want this copy to lack a single name from amongst those found in the draft [of the author]. I

³³ The date in this colophon, written in black ink actually reads the 9th month, i.e., Ramadān, but the number was corrected on top, in red, to 8. The correction is appropriate for otherwise the date of the week (Friday) does not match.

³⁴ See Istanbul мs Şehid Ali Paşa 1923, f. 215b.

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FIGURE 4.2 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1923, fol. 215b. *Ḥāshiyah* by the copyist at the beginning of chapter 14

FIGURE 4.3 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1923, fol. 200a, with an entire biography in the margin

2 0

FIGURE 4.4 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1923, fol. 45a showing placement of sayings on the octagonal mausoleum of Aristotle

have included whatever was not present in the exemplar in the preceding chapters of this book in this copy, each name at the point where the author [Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah] mentioned it in his draft, out of concern that the copyist of his [Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's] fair copy had omitted them. And now it has occurred to me that I should include all of the names present in the author's draft following one another in lists ($q\bar{a}$ 'im $\bar{a}t$) and indicate their positions [in the text] as far as I am capable and able to do so. From God I ask assistance in this.

The second marginal note was copied next to the colophon (see Fig. 4.1):³⁵

قال كاتبها أما بعد حمد الله والصلوة على نبيه وآله أنني قد اجتهدت وبالغت في المقابلة على هذه النسخة جهد الطاقة من نسخة المصنف ووجدت في مسودته بخطه شيئاً لم يورده في النسخة المنقولة بخطه التي أظهرها وخدم بها أكابر الناس فأوردته حفظاً لذكره ولإحاطة العلم وانتهيت فيها إلى الصاحب أمين الدولة فوجدت هذه النسخة فيها زيادات كثيرة في ترجمة هذا الاسم وما بعده فتركت المقابلة إذ ذاك من هناك إذ لا زيادة فيها والله أسأله التوفيق والهداية وله الحمد على نعماته

The copyist says: praise be to God and blessing on His prophet and his family. I have meticulously collated this copy with the copy of the author to the best of my efforts. Then I found in the draft of the author, in his handwriting, things that he had not included in the autographed exemplar that he presented and dedicated to important people, so I included this in order to preserve what he reports and to encompass all knowledge. I reached up to [the biography of] al-Ṣāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah [al-Ghazāl] and I found that this copy had many additions in the biography under this name and in the following. I abandoned the collation from this point onwards, since there is no extra material.

In the first of these notes the copyist refers to three manuscripts, two of them autographs: on the one hand, the exemplar from which he had made the initial copy (*al-nuskhah al-manqūl minhā*), which had been copied from an autograph (*qad nuqilat min nuskhah katabahā al-muṣannif bi-khaṭṭihi*);³⁶ on the other

³⁵ See Istanbul мя Şehid Ali Paşa 1923, f. 306a (left margin).

³⁶ The colophon of the Cambridge MS states that it had been directly copied from an autograph, see above pp. 35–36.

hand, the copyist had direct access to a draft copy in the author's handwriting (*musawwadah*) – from this draft he took additional passages and biographies not included in the first manuscript he had used.

The reference to the collation of the manuscript with the *musawwadah* is, however, rather puzzling since the collation marks reveal a procedure that is quite the opposite of the description that can be read in the colophon.

The collation notes found in the manuscript are the following (with reference to the exemplar used for the collation in brackets): f. 120b (*nuskhat al-aşl lil-muşannif*); f. 130b (*musawwadah lil-muşannif*); f. 140b (*nuskhat almuşannif*); f. 142a (without reference to exemplar); f. 147a (without reference to exemplar); f. 150a (without reference to exemplar); f. 150b (without reference to exemplar); two in f. 160b (one without reference to exemplar, one stating *nuskhat al-aşl bi-khațţ al-muşannif*); f. 167a (*nuskhat al-muşannif*); f. 170b (without reference to exemplar); f. 180b (*nuskhat al-muşannif bi-khațțihi*); f. 192b (*nuskhat al-muşannif bi-khațțihi*); f. 198b (without reference to exemplar); f. 208b (without reference to exemplar); f. 232b (without reference to exemplar); f. 238b (without reference to exemplar); f. 258b (*nuskhat almuşannif*); f. 268b (without reference to exemplar); f. 278b (without reference to exemplar); f. 288b (without reference to exemplar); f. 278b (without reference to exemplar); f. 288b (without reference to exemplar).

The last collation note occurs on f. 288b, just before the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah (15.49), as stated in the colophon. But this is not due to the numerous additions that the copyist found afterwards, but rather because the differences between the text taken from the first exemplar and that of the *musawwadah* are minimal after this point, as the lack of marginalia and collation notes show. This is also proved by the correspondence between the last part of the work and the copy of the manuscript personally endowed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah to the *maqṣurah* of Ibn 'Urwah and that is now in British Library Ms Add. 23364.

It is difficult to find an explanation for the copyist's claim about abandoning the collation after the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah. In this marginal comment he refers to the collation with the copy of the author (*nuskhat al-muṣannif*): this might mean that he stopped collating his copy, once finished, with the first exemplar; or also that he might have had access to the original autograph from which the manuscript he used had been copied. However, the references in the collation notes are inconsistent, and, even though they only refer to the *musawwadat al-muṣannif* in one instance, they stop just when the differences between the main body text and the text of the *musawwadah* are minimal, which suggest that the collation referred to by the copyist is a collation with the author's draft. The most plausible explanation, though speculative, is that he stopped the collation because there were no further additions *after* the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah (Ch. 15.49), as it happens, and that the copyist mistakenly referred to additions after this biography ($m\bar{a} \ ba' dahu$) instead of the additions that occur before ($m\bar{a} \ qablahu$).

Further marginal notes also refer inconsistently to the exemplars consulted by the copyist. The first of them is a customary reference to the end of a *juz*' in the exemplar (*al-aṣl al-manqūl minhu*) from which the main body text was copied, which occurs in f. 58b.³⁷ The first mention of a second copy, later referred to by the copyist as *musawwadah*, occurs on f. 102a, right at the end of the biography of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayfūrī (8.10): "I have found an addition in another copy that I have annexed before [this biography]" (*wajadtu ziyādah fī nuskhah ukhrā qad aḍaftuhā qablahā*). This addition is, in fact, a long text complementing the biography of Ibn al-Ṭayfūrī that the copyist added on an interleaf between f. 100 and f. 101. Up to this point – i.e., the first seven chapters and the first ten biographies of chapter 8 – the intervention of the copyist is limited to minor corrections in the margins and occasional marginalia with personal comments introduced by the term *ḥāshiyah.*³⁸

The first reference to the second copy as the *musawwadah* occurs shortly afterwards in f. 115b, when marking the end of a *juz*' in a marginal note: 'This is the end of the second *juz*' of the copy of the author in his draft ($h\bar{a}dha \bar{a}khir al-juz$ ' $al-th\bar{a}n\bar{n}min$ *nuskhat* al-*muşannif* $f\bar{i}$ *musawwadatihi*)'. A similar marginal note marking the end of the third *juz*' comes on f. 167; however, this time it refers to the copy as *nuskhat* al-*muşannif*, not *musawwadah*: 'This is the end of the third *juz*' of the author ($h\bar{a}dha \bar{a}khir$ al-juz' al-th $\bar{a}lith$ *min nuskhat* al-*muşannif*, not *musawwadah*: 'This is the end of the third *juz*' of the copy of the author ($h\bar{a}dha \bar{a}khir$ al-juz' al-th $\bar{a}lith$ *min nuskhat* al-*muşannif*)'. As happened with the collation notes, these references are inconsistent. There is no reference to a second *juz*' following the mention to the end of the first *juz*' of $al-aşl al-manq\bar{u}l$ *minhu* on f. 58b, which is written in the body text and clearly refers to the first exemplar used by the copyist; instead, we find a marginal reference to the end of the second *juz*' in the *musawwadah* on f. 115.

Despite the inconsistency of the references, the explanations of the copyist and the clear separation between the main body text and the additions in margins and interleaves clearly reveal the use of two different versions and,

³⁷ It reads: tamma al-juz' al-awwal min tajzi'at al-aşl al-manqūl minhu min kitāb 'Uyūn alanbā' fī tabaqāt al-aţibbā' min nuskhah bi-khaţt al-muşannif raḥimahu Allāh wa-yatlūhu fī l-juz' al-thānī min tajzi'atihi: 'wa-min alfāz Jālīnūs ...'.

³⁸ For instance, marginalia referring to al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik in order to provide a date for Hippocrates (Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923, f. 18a); or a note comparing the travels of Galen with the *hijrah* of the Prophet Muḥammad (Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923, f. 48a).

most importantly, allow us to identify the exact additions and variants added at a later stage. But which versions are these? Müller's considerations about the Cambridge MS that is a copy of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS are also applicable in this case. The most intuitive would be to assume that they represent the two recensions identified by Müller, especially when the copyist claims that he copied the first text from a work that had been presented to important people ($ak\bar{a}b\bar{i}r$ al- $<math>n\bar{a}s$). But, as Müller had already noticed, even though this seems to refer to the patronage of Amīn al-Dawlah, the dedication is absent from these manuscripts and their contents do not present any characteristic that might point to a first recension.

5 Versions of the Text

Müller tried to find a solution to the conundrum of the different versions of the *Uyūn* by postulating the existence of copies that had incorporated parts of the author's draft at different stages. As the classification in Table 4.2 shows, he postulated that some manuscripts were partial transcriptions of the author's *musawwadah* (type 2A), some were lacunose manuscripts corrected during the lifetime of the author (type 2B), and some posthumously corrected using the author's draft (type 2c). A major problem in Müller's approach is the centrality he attributes to the role of the *musawwadah*, all the more so since he did not have access to the direct copy of the author's draft from which the Cambridge MS stems.

But there is a second aspect largely overlooked in his study of the manuscript tradition: the need of a systematic discussion of the number, nature and order of the biographies included in each manuscript of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's work. Apart from the obvious discussion of the nine last biographies of chapter 15, which are devoted to physicians who were not active before 639/1242 and consequently lacking in the first version, Müller only dealt with the differences in the number of biographies included in each copy as textual variants.

If we focus on the number and distribution of the biographies included in each manuscript, it is possible to find clear patterns regarding their inclusion in the work, the chronology of the different versions of the text, and their relationship. In an important number of manuscripts this corresponds with the distribution of the biographies in the Şehid Ali Paşa MS – that is, all the biographies added in the margins of this copy belong to the last version of the work and the biographies present in the main body text belong to a previous version that *is not* the version dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah.

IL. 1.

FIGURE 4.5 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 356, fol. 281b, colophon. Completed 15 Rajab 869 (13 Mar 1465) in Mecca. Siglum **B** in edition. Complete copy of Version 1

151651 Lizoller 12.1 11.1. J.1. : 11: . ect وخمال allei 2.11 الشين =N1 Kelly. الطبعدوانق الشنب إوالنوعاؤال 1:111-1 الاحلاجوا en alleverellare Lase 9 1. 91 :- 3 فالاضاء الشهد ومعظمال 12110 1:1. 0 =11 antillula ind 1.11 بن والته ول انبن امنوا وهو web 9 مع المرابعة المرابعة المكالي فع Est Colles ----.... 111000 البلقع : واط الواصلت الف 16-11cm المبوطفا فيمرح فاللاسالوج علقت - عاالين در عدامج تعى والتقطي وتظل bee 11:33: 11. الفسي الديع عتادا ف Pulles العون العدة وغانة 31 : فَلَدَى inter 1320 Hitz ese المراليان ليقيا حقالة فغالت فع فعالته rillaliz. وتم فكأنهار فالتكل -111 وقالص Sel1:1; a=11, 11, 1 الاحيان فتجعن ~11 : with reflect eille 1_111: عفى سم الشلك وسمواد : لمعمد ي مامغنى ياد فالتعاليلالمفس نعبيا . وفلم نشوب التروابى - كذاونياك تراب لانصلام ويعلق مشعال المنس عصاء باشراك تموقعن اضطل فالولاما الجا- لف لجه عن الد

FIGURE 4.6 London, British Library, MS Add. Rich. 7340. fol. 125a, with a prayer attributed to Ibn Sīnā asking for forgiveness for drinking wine, copied into the margin of his biography. Dated 22 Rajab 1017 (1 Nov 1608) in Isfahan. Copyist: Ibn Muḥammed Shafī^c Mulla Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. Siglum R of edition. Complete copy of Version 3

بهوتم د د ایناله ا براحوالد ف byl. 1800 Samas (Salue O 1/2 1' cul 0 00

FIGURE 4.7 London, British Library MS Add. 23364, fol. 251b, colophon. Dated 10 Rajab 669 (22 Feb 1271), Damascus. Copyist: Syrian physician Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm
 Muḥammad al-Suwaydī al-Anṣārī, copied from the copy endowed by IAU to the Maqṣūrah of Ibn 'Urwah. Siglum L in edition. Partial copy of Version 3

In view of these findings, it is possible to identify three versions of the text, with the addition of the hybrid version represented by the Berlin MS. The existence of these three versions is also supported by internal evidence provided by the author himself, and by their textual particularities.

5.1 Version 1

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah makes explicit reference to the existence of an early version of his work on at least four occasions. The first instance occurs in the biography of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah:

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – received a letter from Muhadhdhab al-Dīn while he was in the military encampment of al-Manṣūr al-Ṣāhirī in the month of Shawwāl in the year 667 [June 1269] (...) In the letter, he stated that he had found in Cairo a copy of this book that I have written on the classes of physicians and that he had acquired it, making it part of the collection in his library.

Ch. 14.55.2

The second reference is found in the biography of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's teacher Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī:

I – Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah – say: It is curious to note that the judge Rafī' al-Dīn went over a copy of this book in my presence, in which I had not included him. He looked through it, but stopped when he had finished [reading] the account of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī. He was much impressed by it and spoke: 'You have included him, but you have omitted others who were greater than he', referring to himself.

Ch. 15.20

The third, more extensive reference occurs in the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah as it appears in later versions of the work: $^{\rm 39}$

When Amīn al-Dawlah – may God have mercy upon him – was occupying the office of vizier in Damascus in the days of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, he was a close friend of my father's. One day he said to him, 'Sadīd al-Dīn, I have heard that your son has composed a book on the classes of

³⁹ His biography in Version 1 is, in fact, a eulogy that can be read as a continuation of the dedication; it has been edited and translated as an addendum to biography Ch. 15.49.

physicians that is unprecedented. All the physicians in my service praise him greatly for his highly valuable book. I have in my library more than twenty thousand volumes, but none in that particular domain. I would like you to send him a letter and ask him to have a copy of that book made for me.' At that time I was in Ṣarkhad, at the court of its ruler, the emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'aẓẓamī, and subject to his orders. Upon receiving my father's letter, I went to Damascus, taking along with me the rough drafts of my book. There, I called upon the illustrious copyist Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who did a lot of copying work for us: his handwriting was excellent, and his mastery of the Arabic language was admirable. I gave him space at our home, where he copied the book in a fairly short time, putting it into four sections, in quarter Baghdādī format.

Having had these bound, I composed a panegyrical poem for the Ṣāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah and sent all these items to him by the hand of the chief judge of Damascus, Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī, who was one of the teachers with whom I was on friendly terms and under whom I had studied and read a section of Ibn Sīnā's *Book of Remarks and Admonitions (K. al-Ishārāt wa-ltanbīhāt)*. When Amīn al-Dawlah read the book and poem, he was greatly surprised and extremely happy. He sent the judge back with a large sum of money and honorary robes for me, along with many expressions of gratitude. 'It is my desire that you notify me of every new book you write,' he said.

Ch. 15.49.6

A last, brief reference occurs in the biography of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's friend Ibn al-Suwaydī, who wrote some verses in praise of his book (Ch. 15.57.2).

After the report on the patronage of Amīn al-Dawlah, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah added a *qaṣīdah* that he had written to praise the generosity of the dedicatee of the work. Only eight verses of the poem are quoted in the first version of the work, but Versions 2 and 3 contain the entire *qaṣīdah* and the date of its composition: the beginning (*awā'il*) of the year 643/1245.⁴⁰ This date corresponds with the last year of Amīn al-Dawlah's vizierate in Damascus, and is consistent with the last date mentioned in the manuscripts containing the first version, which is 642/1244–1245. However, the death date of al-Jīlī that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah gives in the biography of this physician included in Versions

⁴⁰ Müller, ii, 237 [= Ch. 15.49.6.1].

2 and 3 is Dhū l-Ḥijjah of 641/May-June 1244.⁴¹ If we accept the accuracy of this date and take al-Jīlī's death as the *terminus ante quem*, the first version of the work should have been finished and sent to Amīn al-Dawlah no later than 641/1244.

The differences between the first version of the ' $Uy\bar{u}n$ al-anbā' and later versions are both qualitative and quantitative. In terms of the number of biographies it contains and their order, Version 1, which corresponds with Müller's recension 1, is defined by the following characteristics:

 These manuscripts include the following dedication to the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah:⁴²

وخدمت به خزانة المولى الصاحب الوزير العالم العادل الرئيس الكامل سيد الوزراء ملك الحكماء إمام العلماء شمس الشريعة أمين الدولة كمال الدين شرف الملة أبي الحسن بن غزال بن أبي سعيد أدام الله سعادته وبلغه في الدارين إرادته

[*The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*] is a contribution to the library of the great, learned and just minister, the paragon of masters, lord of viziers, wisest of wise men, chief of learned men, glorious sun of religion, Amīn al-Dawlah Kamāl al-Dīn Sharaf al-Millah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saʿīd, may God prolong his happiness and grant him his wishes in this world and the next.

- 2. The last nine biographies of Ch. 15 (15.52–15.60) are lacking in all the manuscripts containing the dedication, since these physicians were not active at the time of the composition of this first version before 641/1244.
- 3. In manuscripts with Version 1 the biographies of Ḥakam al-Dimashqī (7.7), 'Īsā ibn Ḥakam (7.8), and al-Tamīmī (14.14) are included in Ch. 15 rather than in Ch. 7 and Ch. 14, as in the manuscripts of Versions 2 and 3.
- 4. These manuscripts contain only 350 biographies, 84 less than those present in the last version of the work. With minor exceptions that can be considered accidents of transmission, the missing biographies are the same in all of the manuscripts and reveal a clear pattern.
- 5. The text in Chs. 1–7, with exception of the dedication and minor variants, is the same in all versions.

⁴¹ Müller, ii, 172 [= Ch. 15.20].

⁴² This reproduces the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 365. The dedication is present in all the manuscripts of Version 1 consulted for this study (see table below).

Version 1 shows also its own textual characteristics. The most obvious divergences result from the lapse of time – at least twenty-four years – that passed between the preparation of the first and the later versions. Chapters 1–7 containing biographies of ancient physicians and philosophers do not show much alteration, but the biographies of physicians who lived in the Islamic period, especially those contemporary with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, were updated with new information personally acquired by the author himself, or with information taken from newly available sources.

An illustrative example of the way in which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah updated the biographies of his contemporaries can be found in the life of Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr (Ch. 15.44).

Version 1 (from MS B):43

The physician Yaʻqūb has a son who earned an outstanding reputation in the art of medicine. His name is Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr ibn Yaʻqūb. He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir, may God make his days eternal. He now enjoys this ruler's company in al-Karak.

Versions 2 and 3:

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr is the revered and learned physician Abū Manṣūr, son of the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʻqūb ibn Siqlāb. He was an

⁴³ Text edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 365, f. 262. See Fig. 4.5 with its colophon.

outstanding physician and an eminent scholar, distinguished in the theory and practice of the art of medicine and a master in the particulars and universals of medicine. He studied the art of medicine under his father and others. In al-Karak, he also studied many of the natural sciences under the learned authority Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī.

A remarkable case where the differences go beyond the mere addition of biographical and bibliographical information is the entry on al-Sāhib Amīn al-Dawlah, the dedicatee of the first version. This biography (Ch. 15.49) occupies only a few paragraphs in the manuscripts containing the first version of the work and is essentially an encomium of the dedicatee that seems to continue the eulogies of the dedication. It consists of a long passage with dithyrambic epithets, eight verses written by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah in honour of his patron, and a list of Amīn al-Dawlah's books. In later versions of the work Amīn al-Dawlah's biography still contains some encomiastic passages, but it is substantially longer⁴⁴ and of a completely different tenor. The biography in Versions 2 and 3 provides factual information about Amīn al-Dawlah's life, including negative aspects that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah would have not written about his dedicatee, such as the mention of Amīn al-Dawlah's Samaritan origins and his conversion to Islam, and a story about his venality and enrichment at the expense of the Damascene citizens. It also contains an updated list of his works. In addition to that, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah turns the eulogy of Amīn al-Dawlah into a celebration of his own work by introducing the story about the dedication of the first version of the Uyūn and reproducing his poem in praise of Amīn al-Dawlah in its entirety (16 verses in contrast with the 8 verses of the first version).

The use of additional information taken from sources that might not have been available when he wrote the first version of the text is noticeable in many cases, especially in updated book-lists. In some biographies Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also resorted to very specific works to enrich his reports; for instance, the biography of the Fatimid physician Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'ilī (Ch. 13.2) is complemented in later versions with a quotation from Ibn al-Jazzār's *Kitāb al-Dawlah*,⁴⁵ and in the biography of Abū l-Ṣalt (Ch. 13.58) some of the poems included in later versions and missing in Version 1 were taken from the *Rasā'il* of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī.⁴⁶ However, the most relevant example of the use of new

⁴⁴ In Şehid All Paşa, MS 1923, for instance, it consists of two folios, ff. 289a–291a.

⁴⁵ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 356 f. 187b, where this quote is missing.

⁴⁶ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 356 f. 195a, where this quote is missing.

sources are the quotations from Ibn al-Qiftī's *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā*', which, as Müller already noticed, was not used in the first version of the *'Uyūn*.⁴⁷

5.2 Version 2

The second version corresponds with the main body text of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS and has important quantitative and qualitative differences with regards to Versions 1 and 3. The manuscripts containing Version 2 were ascribed by Müller to recension 2 of the text, and some of them fall within Müller's type 2A, which he considered to be incomplete transcriptions of the *musawwadah*. Several characteristics allow us to identify them:

- 1. The dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah is missing in all of them.
- 2. With minor exceptions that can be considered particular accidents of transmission, the manuscripts of this group include 72 new biographies that were not present in the manuscripts of Version 1, including the last 9 biographies of Ch. 15.
- 3. Likewise, the manuscripts of this group lack 57 biographies that were present in the manuscripts of Version 1. These missing biographies are the same in all copies.
- In all the manuscripts of Version 2, the biography of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī (Ch. 15.58) occurs before that of 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī (Ch. 15.57).
- 5. Overall, the manuscripts of this version usually have a total number of 375 biographies: 15 biographies more than the manuscripts of Version 1 and 69 biographies less than Version 3 of the work. With minor exceptions that can be considered accidents of transmission, the additional and missing biographies are the same in all of these manuscripts and reveal a clear pattern.⁴⁸
- 6. The text of Chs. 1–7, with exception of the dedication and minor variants, is the same in all versions. Differences of content in comparison with Version 3, which contains a large number of additions, affect biographies from Ch. 8.10 to Ch. 15.49.

Textual differences between Version 1 and Version 2 are essentially the result of updated information, as shown by the biography of Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr (Ch. 15.44) discussed above. By contrast, the differences between Version 2 and Version 3 are exclusively quantitative: all the text present in Version 2 is kept in Version 3 with minor alterations, but a fair amount of new materials is added

⁴⁷ See the discussion of Ibn al-Qiftī in the essay on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's sources, pp. 83-84.

⁴⁸ See the list with these biographies in the appendix to this chapter.

to Version 3 and the biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 1 are recovered. This is why the layout of Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923 is so relevant for distinguishing between these two stages: all the text of Version 2 - in the main body of the copy - is kept in Version 3, which consists of the main-body text plus the additions in margins and interleaves.

The formal and textual differences between Versions 2 and 3 do not reveal anything regarding the date and the circumstances of their composition. Müller suggested that some manuscripts that belong to Version 2 might have been imperfect copies of the *musawwadah* of the author – i.e., an abridgement that stems from the complete text of Version 3. The copyist of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS also envisages the possibility of an abridgement, but he traces it back to the author since the copy of the Version 2 he used stemmed from an autograph.

Both explanations assume that Version 3 predated Version 2, but a close study of the additions shows that Version 2 is in fact an intermediate version, probably a copy of an incomplete draft that nonetheless generated a textual tradition today represented by approximately a third of all the manuscripts at our disposal. First, the presence and absence of biographies in Version 2 does not seem to follow any logic and cannot be explained by assuming that this is an abridgement. The only explanation one can adduce for the elimination of biographies that were present in Version 1 is that they were, in general, short biographies that needed to be reworked to be later added in a revised form, but the text of the major share of these short biographies that is missing in Version 2 reappears in Version 3 with the same wording they had in Version 1 the last biographies of Ch. 13 (the Maghrib and al-Andalus) are a good example of that. Second, a fair number of the additions found in Version 3 with regard to Version 2 are small glosses that clarify the extant text. The absence of these glosses in Version 2 can by no means be interpreted as an abridgement. In this regard the Istanbul Ahmed III MS 2859/70 is especially illustrative: it contains a copy of Ch. 13-15 from Version 3, but it lacks the small biography of Jābir ibn Manşūr al-Sukkarī (Ch. 15.4), which occupies a couple of lines and was missing in Version 2, and a few minor glosses added in Version 3 especially to Ch. 13. For instance, it lacks the gloss of Ishāq ibn 'Imrān's nickname 'Instant Poison':

because, for all his knowledge, he was frequently unsuccessful in his treatment, and those who made use of his services died, whence his nickname;

Ch. 13.1.1

or a comment about the city of Monastir:

the latter is a place for devout Muslims bound to God (*murābițah*), well-known for its blessings (*barakah*) and mentioned in the history books, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.⁴⁹

Ch. 13.3.2.1

Unfortunately, MS Istanbul Ahmed III MS 2859/70 only has the last three chapters of the work, but the absence of the short biography in Ch. 15.4 and the missing glosses suggest that the text of Version 2 was reworked and updated to Version 3 and that these additions might have not been present in the author's draft when the Ahmed III MS 2859/70 or the exemplar from which it derives was copied.

The dating of Version 2 is also difficult to pin down. Both Version 2 and Version 3 include the anecdotes of Abū Ḥulayqah's, al-Jīlī's, and Amīn al-Dawlah's biographies, which refer to the composition of the Version 1, but no reference is made at any point to the existence of two further versions. The latest date in the manuscripts with Versions 2 and 3 is the same: 667/1269, that is, one year – or less – before the death of the author. This date cannot be considered a later addition to the manuscripts of Version 2 since it occurs three times and in three different biographies: Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah (Ch. 14.55), Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Raḥbī (15.36), and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī (Ch. 15.57). This means that two different versions of the '*Uyūn* were copied and somehow distributed in the same year. We cannot know, however whether the distribution of Version 2 was authorised by its author – which seems unlikely – or was only a discarded draft that was copied at some point and subsequently gave rise to an independent textual tradition.

According to the testimony of the copyist of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS, both Version 2 and Version 3 stem from autographs. The colophon of the Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS ar. 5939, which is a copy of Version 2, also states that this copy was collated with an autograph. The reasons for preparing two rather similar versions are unclear and, if we consider that Version 2 lacks biographies that were present in Version 1, illogical. A possible explanation would be that the author might have worked on different drafts from which different fair copies were made, but this is only speculation. In any case, there is no doubt that Version 2 comprised a differentiated textual tradition represented by a large

^{Examples of these glosses or very short additions missing in Ahmed III MS 2859/70 can be found in: 13.1.1; 13.2.1; 13.3.2.1; 13.3.2.3; 13.3.4 no. 6; 13.3.4 no. 27; 13.22; 13.24.1; 13.24.2; 13.24.2; 13.24.3; 13.26; 13.36.2.1; 13.58.2.1; 15.5; 15.12.}

number of manuscripts, nor that, as we will discuss below, the contents of both versions came from the pen of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah.

5.3 Version 3

As with the previous version, there is no evidence to date accurately the completion of Version 3 beyond the fact that it was finished sometime between 667/1269 and the death of the author in 668/1270.

The differences with regard to the second version are essentially quantitative. The manuscripts of this group were also ascribed by Müller to the recension 2 of the text, most of them falling into Müller's types 2B and 2C. The most relevant characteristics of Version 3 are:

- 1. The dedication to Amīn al-Dawlah is missing in all these manuscripts.
- The biographies included in these manuscripts correspond, with minor exceptions that can be considered accidents of transmission, to those included in our and Müller's edition – i.e., the last version of the work. Complete copies have a total number of 434 biographies.
- 3. In all the manuscripts of this version, unlike those of Version 2, the biography of 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī (Ch. 15.57) occurs before that of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī (Ch. 15.58).
- 4. All the text from Version 2 is kept in Version 3 with only minor variants.
- 5. The text of Chs. 1–7, with exception of the dedication and minor variants, is the same in all versions. Differences of content in comparison with Version 2, which lacks the information added to Version 3, affect biographies from Ch. 8.10 to Ch. 15.49.

The text of Version 3 corresponds with the entire text of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS – i.e., the main body text together with the additions from the *musawwadah* placed in the margins and on interleaves. The authorship of these additions is confirmed by the oldest manuscript of the work that has come down to us, also with Version 3, which is a direct copy of the author's fair copy given as a *waqf*, British Library MS Add. 23364 copied in Damascus in 1271.⁵⁰

Some minor textual differences found in manuscripts containing Version 3 deserve attention, such as the glosses missing in the Ahmed III MS 2859/70 commented above, which might point to final minor additions written in the *musawwadah* once a fair copy of it had been made. In general, the text within

⁵⁰ This is stated in the colophon, see London, British Library, MS Add. 23364, f. 251b; see Fig. 4.7. The *waqf* copy of this work is also mentioned in Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, xiii:299. The institution referred to as *maqsūrah* in the colophon is the library of the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* founded by the Shāfi'ī scholar Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Urwah al-Mawşilī in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus; see al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, i:62.

the manuscripts of this version shows the common variants of any textual tradition. Version 3 of the *Uyūn al-anbā*' is the last and most complete version of the text.

5.4 Hybrid Versions

A last question that merits discussion is the existence of manuscripts showing a significant degree of editorial intervention. The Şehid Ali Paşa MS is, in fact, a hybrid of Versions 2 and 3, but thanks to the meticulousness of the copyist both versions are clearly separated. The copyist of the Leiden MS Universiteits bibliotheek Or. 59b (Gb in our edition) was also puzzled by the existence of two different versions when he tried to collate his text but, unlike the copyist of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS, the text he had already copied belonged to Version 3 and the second text he had at his disposal to Version 2 - i.e., it was a shorter version. He did not leave any explanation of his method, but he diligently added, right after the end of his copy of Version 3, the text of biographies in Chs. 14.31–15.60 as he found them in Version 2.

The most notable of these hybrid versions is the Berlin MS preserved in two volumes: Wetzst. 11.323 and Spreng, 312. Müller discussed this manuscript at length and adopted some of its variants in his edition. If we examine the number and distribution of biographies in this version, it reveals itself as an amalgamation of Version 3 with previous versions: it contains all the biographies of Version 3, but their order sometimes follows that of Version 1. For instance, Hakam al-Dimashqī (Ch. 7.7) and 'Īsā ibn Hakam (Ch. 7.8) occur at the beginning of chapter 15 instead of in chapter 7. Changes in the arrangement are also noticeable in biographies in Chs. 13.25, 13.27, 13.28, 13.29, 13.38, 13.40, 13.42, 13.43, 13.44, 13.45, 15.15, 15.16, 15.19, 15.20, which are missing in Version 2, but included in this copy in places that do not correspond with the order they occupy in Version 3. Biographies 13.30, 13.31, 13.32, 13.33, and 13.34, missing in Version 2, are also lacking in this manuscript. None of the manuscripts consulted in this study is related to the Berlin Ms, and it seems that it did not generate any textual tradition.

6 Classification of Manuscripts

If we exclude the hybrid Berlin MS, the manuscripts considered in this study can be divided as follows in terms of the version they contain:⁵¹

⁵¹ Not all these MSS have been used in the edition, those that have been used are referred to with lower-case sigla for Müller's edition, and capitalized sigla for ours.

Version 1	Version 2	Version 3
 Tübingen, Universitäts- bibliothek, Ms M. A. VI.14 (t) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Pococke 365 (p/B) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Hunt 171 Istanbul, Murad Molla, Ms 1464 Istanbul, Fatih, Ms 4438 Istanbul, Fatih, Ms 4438 Istanbul, Hamidiye, Ms 1028 Istanbul, Nurusmaniye, Ms 3560 Istanbul, Yeni Çami, Ms 891 	 Leiden, Universiteitsbiblio- theek, MS Or. 76 (Gc) Istanbul, Damad Ibrahim Paşa, MS 935 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 153 Istanbul, Ahmad III, MS 2860 Leiden, Universiteitsbiblio- theek, MS Or. 59a (l/Ga) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 419 London, Wellcome Insti- tute, MS Arabic 432 London, Wellcome Insti- tute, MS Arabic 433 Istanbul, Köprülü, MS 1104 Gotha, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1769 (g) 	 Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa, MS 1923 (unknown to Müller/A) Cambridge, University Lib- rary, MS Or. 1461 (n) London British Library Add. 23364 (f/L) London, British Library, MS Add. 25736 (e/S) London, British Library, MS Add. 7340 (d/R) Leiden, Universiteitsbiblio- theek, MS Or. 59b (addenda from V2) (k/Gb) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Ar. 5939 (s/P) Istanbul, Ahmad 111, MS 2859/70 (H) Damascus, Maktabat al- Asad al-Waţaniyyah, MS 148 Ţ M (former 4883) [fairly abridged version]

7 Problems of Authorship

The analysis of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS also allows us to answer many of the questions raised by Müller about the authorship of some of the additions incorporated to what he called the second recension, since all the text included in the MSS of Version 3 appears in the marginal additions copied from the *musawwadah* with a few minor exceptions easily identifiable as scribal interventions.

The most obvious of these apocryphal additions are the death dates added to the biographies of physicians that outlived the author, deceased in 668/1270. This can be found in two of the manuscripts used in our edition, the Ahmad III MS 2859/70 (H in our edition) and British Library Add. 7340 (R in our edition), which add death dates to biographies in Chs. 15.52 (Badr al-Dīn Ibn Qādī

Ba'labakk, d. 670/1271), 15.53 (Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī, d. 675/1276), 15.57 ('Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī, d. 690/1291), 15.58 ('Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī, d. 685/1286), 15.60 (Ibn al-Quff, d. 685/1286).

A close examination of the copy of the *musawwadah* and the rest of the manuscripts also shows that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah left some blank spaces in the place of names and dates, probably in the hope of eventually finding the missing information.⁵² As Müller noted in his study, the addition of the missing names and dates might reveal a later intervention. The example adduced by Müller was the name of al-Suhrawardī's father, added posthumously to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's work in the Berlin Ms and, among the manuscripts used in our edition, also in the Ahmed III MS 2859/70 (not used by Müller). Overall, there are twenty-one small blanks left to be completed in the *'Uyūn al-anbā'*. Apart from the addition of the name of al-Suhrawardī's father, we have found only one other instance in which a blank space is filled in one of the manuscripts, MS Ahmed III 2859/70, which gives the death date of Abū Marwān ibn Abī l-ʿAlā' ibn Zuhr, missing in the rest of our copies. These additions are isolated cases and do not cast any doubt on the authorship of the contents added to Versions 2 and 3.

It is also worth noting that the copyist of the British Library MS 7340 added two marginal notes after the long book-lists in the biographies of al-Kindī and al-Sarakhsī referring to blank pages: 'The author (*al-muṣannif*) left here an additional blank page, perhaps with the hope of adding other works that he had not mentioned' (Ch. 10.1.14);⁵³ and 'The author (*al-muṣannif*) left a blank space of approximately a page' (10.2.3.4).⁵⁴ This copyist does not give any reference concerning the exemplar used in his copy, but this was a common practice attested in bibliographical works, such as Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, and there is no evidence of the addition of further titles in any manuscript.

Some editorial work by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah is also noticeable if we compare the *musawwadah* with copies containing Version 3. In some cases, it is possible to trace it back directly to the author, as the following marginal note in the Şehid Ali Paşa MS (f. 232a) shows:

⁵² Specifically, these blanks occur in Chs. 10.2.3.2 (date); 10.45 (name); 10.50 (date); 10.63.3 (date); 10.77.2 (date); 11.19.3 (date); 11.24 (place); 13.40 (name); 13.61.3.2 (date); 13.62.3 (date); 14.8 (name); 14.31.6 (date); 14.47.2 (date, filled in Ms H); 14.50 (date, filled in Version 1); 15.1.4 (date); 15.9 (date); 15.11.2 (date); 15.13 (date); 15.18.1 (name, filled in Ms H and Berlin Ms); 15.23.4.2 (date); 15.46.4 no. 3 (date).

⁵³ See London, British Library Add. 7340 (R in our edition, d in Müller's), f. 85a.

⁵⁴ See London, British Library Add. 7340 (R in our edition, d in Müller's), f. 86a.

The copyist [of this note] says: I saw in the draft copy of the author some verses satirizing the aforementioned Ibn Jumay^c, which he had crossed out and abandoned; he did so after discussing this with al-Ṣāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Maṭrūḥ and were not to be included in the fair copy. He said [that] in his draft copy.

These expunged verses do not appear in any of the consulted copies, but three other poems from the *musawwadah* that had disappeared from Version 2 were copied in the margin of the manuscript.⁵⁵ These poems do not appear in the copy of the *waqf*-manuscript or in other copy containing Version 3, but there is no doubt that they come from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's pen since they are present in Version 1.⁵⁶

A second example of editorial work is the suppression of titles from the book-list of the biography of Ibn al-Quff (Ch. 15.60.2), the last biography of the work. In the copy of the *musawwadah* we find five additional titles, of which three seem to refer to lost works or works in progress of which the author was aware (no. 8 is 'not extant', no. 9 is a draft, and no. 10 was left unfinished). These titles are not present in any other copy of Versions 2 and 3 with the exception of the Cambridge MS (Müller's **n**), which is a direct copy of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS, and the amalgamated version of the Berlin MS (Müller's **a**).⁵⁷ Since these titles are not in the copy of the manuscript endowed by the author to the *maqṣūrah* of Ibn 'Urwah (Müller's f, in our edition L), it is likely that they are the result of direct authorial intervention by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah, who would have supervised the production of the *waqf*-copy himself.

If we exclude the occasional posthumous interventions discussed above, among all the variants and additions present in the different versions of the manuscripts there is only one instance that raises doubts about Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's authorship. In the biography of Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī (Ch. 15.32) the text

⁵⁵ See Şehid Ali Paşa MS, f. 232a.

⁵⁶ These poems have been added to our edition.

⁵⁷ Following Müller, and for the sake of completion, we decided to keep these titles as part of the main text of the work.

containing the report of the al-Malik al-Nāṣir's defeat at the hands of the sultan Aybak is clearly corrupt in the the Şehid Ali Paşa Manuscript (Ms A in our edition) copied from the *musawwadah*, the copy of the *waqf*-manuscript, and other copies. All these manuscripts have lacunas in the report and wrongly identify the sultan Qutuz as the opponent of the Ayyubid prince.⁵⁸ There are, however, two manuscripts with Version 3 that have a slightly more extended and correct version of the story, naming Aybak instead of Qutuz: Ms Ahmed III 2859/70 (our H), and British Library Add. 7340 (Müller's d, in our edition **R**).⁵⁹ The fact that the copy of the *waqf*-manuscript has preserved the corrupt version suggests that the text in Mss H and **R** is the result of a later editorial intervention. However, a close examination of the fragment reveals scribal mistakes, such as homoioteleuton, which seems clear in the text omitted after *ilā*, and the abrupt ending:

Long version (MSS H and R), with variants and additions in bold letters:

وهرب الملك الناصر يوسف من دمشق إلى جهة زيزاء وملك النواحي وما زال الحافظي به إلى أن سلمه إلى هولاكو فبقي عنده إلى أن تسلمه على ما هو مشهور وكان الملك الناصر لما ورد دمشق في سنة ثمان وأربعين وستمائة إلى مصر وقصد أن يملكها فخرجت عساكر مصر وملكها يومئذ الملك المعز المعروف بأيبك التركماني فكسر الملك الناصر وتفرقت عساكره وزال ملكه عن مصر بعد أن ملكها وعاد إلى الشام وبقي حاكماً عليه إلى سنة ثمان وخمسين وستمائة فطرق البلاد العدو على ما هو مشهور

Short version (rest of MSS):

وهرب الملك الناصر يوسف من دمشق إلى مصر وقصد أن يملكها فخرجت عساكر مصر وملكها يومئذ المظفر سيف الدين قطز فكسر الملك الناصر وتفرقت عساكره وزال ملكه

In this case, it is likely that the version in H and R might be a posthumous correction since in the Şehid Ali Paşa Ms this passage is part of the main body text, i.e., the text common to Versions 2 and 3, and the copyist did not register any variant in the *musawwadah*. But in view of the obvious corruption of the passage and the absence to references to any source as the origin of this informa-

⁵⁸ Al-Nāșir Yūsuf was defeated by Aybak's forces in the battle of al-Ṣāliḥiyyah in 1250.

⁵⁹ Müller kept in his edition the corrupt version of the story, without referring to variants in the 'Lesarten'. In our edition we have followed the text of MSS H and R.

tion, we should not exclude the possibility that it might have been corrected through the intervention of the author, or from the collation of his notes.

The British Library MS Add. 7340 has yet another addition at the end of the biography of Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī (Ch. 15.38), with five verses that are not present in the rest of the manuscripts from any version and might be the result of a posthumous edition.⁶⁰

Finally, it is worth noting that in at least two manuscripts the biography of Ibn al-Nafīs was added at the end of the work.⁶¹ Of course, this should not be ascribed to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah.

Appendix

1 Biographies Missing in Version 1 Compared with Version 2 and Version 3

Biographies missing in Version 1 and present in Version 2 [72 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 1 and present in Version 3 [83 biographies]		
Chapter 8			
8.7 Khașīb al-Nașrānī	8.7 Khașīb al-Nașrānī		
8.17 Isrā'īl ibn Sahl	8.17 Isrā'īl ibn Sahl		
8.32 Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū'	8.32 Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū'		
8.33 Bukhtīshū' ibn Yūḥannā	8.33 Bukhtīshū' ibn Yūḥannā		
8.35 'Īsā ibn Yaḥyā	8.35 'Īsā ibn Yaḥyā		
C	hapter 9		
9.12 Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar	9.12 Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar		
9.13 Ibn Nāʻimah	9.13 Ibn Nāʿimah		
9.14 Zarūyā ibn Mānaḥūh al-Nāʿimī al-Ḥimṣī	9.14 Zarūyā ibn Mānaḥūh al-Nāʿimī al-Ḥimṣī		
9.15 Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī	9.15 Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī		
9.16 Pethion the Translator	9.16 Pethion the Translator		
9.17 Abū Nașr ibn Nārī ibn Ayyūb 9.17 Abū Nașr ibn Nārī ibn Ayyūb			
9.18 Basīl al-Muţrān 9.18 Basīl al-Muţrān			
9.20 Mūsā ibn Khālid	9.20 Mūsā ibn Khālid		
9.21 Usṭāth	9.21 Usṭāth		
9.22 Khayrūn ibn Rābiṭah	9.22 Khayrūn ibn Rābiṭah		
9.23 Theodore the Syncellus	9.23 Theodore the Syncellus		

⁶⁰ See London, British Library MS Add. 7340, f. 185b.

61 See Appendix 1 following the fifteen chapters comprising the *Uyūn*.

Biographies missing in Version 1 and present in

Biographies missing in Version 1 and present in

Version 3 [83 biographies]

Chapter 10		
10.6 Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān 10.6 Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān		
10.7 Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī	10.7 Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Harrānī	
10.11 Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ghālib	10.11 Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ghālib	
10.12 'Abdūs	10.12 'Abdūs	
10.14 Daylam	10.14 Daylam	
10.15 Dāwūd ibn Daylam	10.15 Dāwūd ibn Daylam	
10.26 'Īsā the physician of al-Qāhir	10.26 'Īsā the physician of al-Qāhir	
10.28 Also missing in Version 2	10.28 Ishāq ibn Shalīțā	
10.35 Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Saʿīd	10.35 Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Saʿīd	
10.39 Al-Fadl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī	10.39 Al-Fadl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī	
10.40 Abū Nașr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr	10.40 Abū Nașr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr	
10.41 Ibn Dīnār	10.41 Ibn Dīnār	
10.47 Also missing in Version 2	10.47 Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī	
10.48 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī	10.48 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī	
10.51 Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī	10.51 Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī	
10.57 Isḥāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī	10.57 Isḥāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī	
10.60 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad	10.60 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad	
10.72 Saʿīd ibn Uthrudī	10.72 Saʿīd ibn Uthrudī	
10.73 Al-Ḥasan ibn Uthrudī	10.73 Al-Ḥasan ibn Uthrudī	
10.78 Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh	10.78 Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣāʻid ibn Hibat Allāh	
Chap	ter 11	
11. 3 Rabban al-Ṭabarī	11.3 Rabban al-Ṭabarī	
11.9 Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū	11.9 Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū	
11.10 Also missing in Version 2	11.10 Al-Fasawī	
Chapter 12		
12.2 Şanjahal	12.2 Şanjahal	
12.3 Shānāq	12.3 Shānāq	
12.4 Also missing in Version 2	12.4 Jawdar	
12.5 Mankah al-Hindī	12.5 Mankah al-Hindī	
Chap	ter 13	
13.56 Khalaf al-Zahrāwī	13.56 Khalaf al-Zahrāwī	
13.57 Ibn Bakkalārish	13.57 Ibn Bakkalārish	

(cont.)

Version 2 [72 biographies]

(cont.)
(1

Biographies missing in Version 1 and present in	Biographies missing in Version 1 and present in
Version 2 [72 biographies]	Version 3 [83 biographies]

Chapter 14		
Chap	ter 14	
14.1 Balīṭīyān	14.1 Balīţīyān	
14.2 Also missing in Version 2	14.2 Ibrāhīm ibn 'Īsā	
14.3 Al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak	14.3 Al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak	
14.4 Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl	14.4 Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl	
14.12 Also missing in Version 2	14.12'Īsā ibn al-Biṭrīq	
14.13 A'yan ibn A'yan	14.13 Aʿyan ibn Aʿyan	
14.15 Also missing in Version 2	14.15 Sahlān	
14.18 Al-Ḥaqīr al-Nāfiʿ	14.18 Al-Ḥaqīr al-Nāfiʿ	
 14.45 Fath al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Hawāfir 14.46 Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Fath al-Dīn ibn Abī	 14.45 Fath al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Hawāfir 14.46 Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Fath al-Dīn ibn Abī	
l-Hawāfir 14.48 Afdal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī 14.49 Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā 14.52 Also missing in Version 2 14.53 Also missing in Version 2 14.54 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Hulayqah 14.55 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Abī Hulayqah 14.56 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd	l-Hawāfir 14.48 Afdal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī 14.49 Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā 14.52 Abū Naşr ibn Abī Sulaymān 14.53 Abū l-Fadl ibn Abī Sulaymān 14.54 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Hulayqah 14.55 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Abī Hulayqah 14.56 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd	

Chapter 15

15.4 Also missing in Version 2	15.4 Jābir ibn Mansūr al-Sukkarī
15.12 Also missing in Version 2	15.12 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Waqqār
15.15 Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī	15.15 Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī
15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ
15.19 Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī	15.19 Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī
15.20 Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī	15.20 Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī
15.21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī	15.21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī
15.22 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī	15.22 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī
15.25 Al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl	15.25 Al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl
15.31 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī	15.31 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī
15.32 Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī	15.32 Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfizī
15.38 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī	15.38 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī
15.52 Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk	15.52 Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk
15.53 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī	15.53 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī
15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām	15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām
15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh	15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh
15.56 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh	15.56 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh
15.57 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī	15.57 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī
15.58 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī	15.58 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī
15.59 Muwaqqaf al-Dīn Yaʻqūb al-Sāmirī	15.59 Muwaqqaf al-Dīn Yaʻqūb al-Sāmirī
15.60 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff	15.60 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff

2 Biographies Missing in Version 2 Compared with Versions 1 and 3

Biographies added to Version 2 and missing in Version 1 [72 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 1 [57 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 3 [69 biographies]
	Chapter 8	
8.7 Khaşīb 8.17 Isrā'īl ibn Sahl 8.32 Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū' 8.33 Bukhtīshū' ibn Yūḥannā 8.35 'Īsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm	8.10 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī 8.11 Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī 8.23 Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb al-Abrash 8.24 Jibrīl, 'the oculist of al- Ma'mūn'	8.10 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī 8.11 Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī 8.23 Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb al-Abrash 8.24 Jibrīl, 'the oculist of al- Ma'mūn'
	Chapter 9	
 9.12 Al-Hajjāj ibn Maţar 9.13 Ibn Nāʿimah 9.14 Zarūyā ibn Mānaḥūh al- Nāʿimī al-Himşī 9.15 Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Himşī 9.16 Pethion the Translator 9.17 Abū Naşr ibn Nārī ibn Ayyūb 9.18 Basīl al-Muţrān 9.20 Mūsā ibn Khālid the Translator 9.21 Usţāth 9.22 Khayrūn ibn Rābiţah 9.23 Theodore the Syncellus 	9.38 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks	9.38 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks
	Chapter 10	
 1 0.6 Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah 1 0.7 Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al- Ḥarrānī 1 0.11 Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ghālib 1 0.12 'Abdūs 1 0.14 Daylam 1 0.15 Dāwūd ibn Daylam 1 0.26 'Īsā, the Physician of al- Qāhir 1 0.35 Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Yamāmī 1 0.39 al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī 	10.6 Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah 10.47 Also missing in Version 1	10.47 Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawşilī

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Biographies added to Version 2 and missing in Version 1 [72 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 1 [57 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 3 [69 biographies]
 10.40 Abū Naşr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī 10.41 Ibn Dīnār 10.48 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī 10.51 Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī 10.57 Isḥāq ibn 'Alī al-Ruhāwī 10.60 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb 10.72 Saʿīd ibn 'Alī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Uthrudī 10.73 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Uthrudī 10.78 Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Mu'ammil 		
	Chapter 11	
11. 3 Rabban al-Ṭabarī 11.9 Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū	11.10 Also missing in Version 1	11.10 al-Ḥasan al-Fasawī
	Chapter 12	
12.2 Şanjahal 12.3 Shānāq (Cāṇakya) 12.5 Mankah al-Hindī (Māṇikya or Maṅkha)	12.4 Also missing in Version 1	12.4 Jawdar
	Chapter 13	
13.56 Khalaf al-Zahrāwī 13.57 Ibn Bakkalārish	 13.11 Aḥmad ibn Khamīs ibn 'Āmir ibn Duminj 13.25 'Umar ibn Ḥafş ibn Barīq 13.27 Muḥammad ibn Tamlīkh 13.28 Abū l-Walīd ibn al-Kattānī 13.29 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kattānī 13.30 Aḥmad ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥafşūn 13.31 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Jābir 13.32 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Malik al-Thaqafī 13.33 Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Ushūnī 	 13.11 Aḥmad ibn Khamīs ibn 'Āmir ibn Duminj 13.25 'Umar ibn Ḥafş ibn Barīq 13.27 Muḥammad ibn Tamlīkh 13.28 Abū l-Walīd ibn al-Kattānī 13.29 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kattānī 13.30 Aḥmad ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥaf şūn 13.31 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Jābir 13.32 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Malik al-Thaqafī 13.33 Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Ushūnī

(con	t.)

Biographies added to Version 2 and missing in Version 1 [72 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 1 [57 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 3 [69 biographies]
	13.34 Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūn	13.34 Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūn
	al-Jabalī al-ʿIdwī	al-Jabalī al-'Idwī
	13.38 Ibn Baghūnish	13.38 Ibn Baghūnish
	13.40 Al-Rumaylī	13.40 Al-Rumaylī
	13.42 Ibn al-Nabbāsh	13.42 Ibn al-Nabbāsh
	13.43 Abū Jaʿfar ibn Khamīs al- Ṭulayṭulī	13.43 Abū Ja'far ibn Khamīs al- Ṭulayțulī
	13.44 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-	13.44 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-
	Raḥmān ibn Khalaf ibn 'Asākir al-Dārimī	Raḥmān ibn Khalaf ibn 'Asākir al-Dārimī
	13.45 Ibn al-Khayyāț	13.45 Ibn al-Khayyāț
	13.48 Ishāq ibn Qasṭār	13.48 Ishāq ibn Qastār
	13.49 Ḥasdāy ibn Isḥāq	13.49 Ḥasdāy ibn Isḥāq
	13.50 Abū l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy	13.50 Abū l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsu ibn Ḥasdāy
	13.69 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd	13.69 Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd
	13.70 Abū Marwān ibn Qablāl	13.70 Abū Marwān ibn Qablāl
	13.71 Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Dānī	13.71 Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Dānī
	13.72 Abū Yaḥyā Qāsim al-Ishbīlī	13.72 Abū Yaḥyā Qāsim al-Ishbīlī
	13.73 Abū l-Ḥakam ibn Ghalindū	13.73 Abū l-Ḥakam ibn Ghalindū
	13.74 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Ḥas- sān	13.74 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Ḥas- sān
	13.75 Abū l-'Alā' ibn Abī Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān	13.75 Abū l-'Alā' ibn Abī Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān
	13.76 Abū Muḥammad al- Shadhūnī	13.76 Abū Muḥammad al- Shadhūnī
	13.77 Al-Mașdūm	13.77 Al-Mașdūm
	13.78 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maslamah al-Bājī	13.78 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maslamah al-Bājī
	13.81 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nadrūmī	13.81 Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadrūmī
	13.82 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Sābiq	13.82 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Sābiq
	13.83 Ibn al-Ḥallā' al-Mursī	13.83 Ibn al-Ḥallā' al-Mursī
	13.84 Abū Isḥāq ibn Ṭumlūs	13.84 Abū Isḥāq ibn Ṭumlūs
	13.85 Abū Jaʿfar al-Dhahabī	13.85 Abū Jaʿfar al-Dhahabī
	13.87 Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Kanbarānī	13.87 Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Kanbarānī
	Chapter 14	
14.1 Politianus (Balīțīyān)	14.2 Also missing in Version 1	14.2 Ibrāhīm ibn ⁽ Īsā
14 2 al-Hasan ibn Zīrak	14 5 Khalaf al-Tülünī	14 5 Khalaf al-Tülünī

14.3 al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak 14.4 Sa'īd ibn Tawfīl

14.13 A'yan ibn A'yan

14.5 Khalaf al-Ṭūlūnī

14.6 Nasṭās ibn Jurayj

14.7 Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās 14.7 Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās

14.5 Khalaf al-Ṭūlūnī 14.6 Nasṭās ibn Jurayj [astās 14.7 Ishāo ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās

Biographies added to Version 2 and missing in Version 1 [72 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 1 [57 biographies]	Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 3 [69 biographies]
 14.18 Al-Haqīr al-Nāfi⁶ 14.45 Fath al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Hawāfir 14.46 Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Fath al- Dīn ibn Abī l-Hawāfir 14.48 Afdal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī 14.49 Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā ibn Abī Fānah 14.54 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Hulayqah 14.55 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad ibn Abī Hulayqah 14.56 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd 	 14.9 Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀzār al-Isrā'īlī 14.10 Yūsuf al-Naṣrānī 14.12 Also missing in Version 1 14.15 Also missing in Version 1 14.16 Abū l-Fatḥ Manṣūr ibn Sah- lān ibn Muqashshir 14.19 Abū Bishr, the Physician of the ʿAẓīmiyyah 14.20 Ibn Maʿshar the Physician 14.24 Isḥāq ibn Yūnus 14.28 Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn 14.35 Al-Raʿīs Hibat Allāh 14.37 Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍāʿī 14.38 Abū l-Maʿalī ibn Tammām 14.40 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Raʿīs Mūsā 14.41 Abū al-Barakāt ibn Shaʿyā 14.52 Also missing in Version 1 14.57 Asʿad al-Dīn ibn Abī l- Ḥasan 	 14.9 Mūsā ibn al-'Āzār al-Isrā'īlī 14.10 Yūsuf al-Naşrānī 14.12 'Īsā ibn al-Biţrīq 14.15 Sahlān 14.16 Abū l-Fatḥ Manşūr ibn Sahlān ibn Muqashshir 14.19 Abū Bishr, the Physician of the 'Azīmiyyah 14.20 Ibn Ma'shar the Physician of the 'Azīmiyyah 14.20 Ibn Ma'shar the Physician 14.24 Isḥāq ibn Yūnus 14.28 Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn 14.35 Al-Ra'īs Hibat Allāh 14.37 Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍā'ī 14.38 Abū l-Ma'ālī ibn Tammām 14.40 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ra'īs Mūsā 14.41 Abū al-Barakāt ibn Sha'yā 14.52 Abū Naşr ibn Abī Sulaymār 14.53 Abū al-Faḍl ibn Abī Sulaymān 14.57 As'ad al-Dīn ibn Abī l- Ḩasan
	Chapter 15	
 15.15 Sukkarah al-Halabī 15.17 Ibn al-Şalāḥ 15.19 Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī 15.20 Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī 15.21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khusraw-shāhī 15.22 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī 15.25 al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl (Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān) 15.31 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī 15.32 Zayn al-Dīn al-Hāfizī 15.38 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī 15.52 Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Baʿlabakk 15.53 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī 	 15.4 Also missing in Version 1 15.7 Jābir ibn Mawhūb 15.12 Also missing in Version 1 15.14 Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al- Bayāsī 15.57 Also missing in Version 1 15.58 Also missing in Version 1 	 15.4 Jābir ibn Mansūr al-Sukkarī 15.7 Jābir ibn Mawhūb 15.12 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Waqqān 15.14 Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al- Bayāsī 15.57 ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī 15.58 ʿImad al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī

al-Kullī

Biographies added to Version	Biographies missing in Version
2 and missing in Version 1 [72	2 and present in Version 1 [57
biographies]	biographies]

Biographies missing in Version 2 and present in Version 3 [69 biographies]

 15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām
 15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh
 15.56 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh
 15.57 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī
 15.58 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī
 15.59 Muwaqqaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb al-Sāmirī
 15.60 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff

(cont.)

Written Sources and the Art of Compilation in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*ʾ

Ignacio Sánchez

Introduction

The scholarly appreciation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is based, to a great extent, on the large number of sources used in the composition of the *Uyūn al-anbā' fī țabaqāt al-ațibbā'*. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was certainly not the first author to compile a bio-bibliographical work of this kind. His debt with previous scholars such as Ṣā'id al-Andalusī and Ibn Juljul is repeatedly and explicitly acknowledged, and also with his contemporary Ibn al-Qiftī, who is quoted in later versions of the work. The amount of references and direct quotations found in the *Uyūn* is, however, unmatched by any of these cognate works. Moreover, some of the quoted or paraphrased sources, especially those used in the first chapters, have not come down to us in any other form, either in their original language or in translation, making of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah the last witness of a fair number of lost works that offer a unique glimpse into the Greek and Islamic intellectual history.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah also parts ways from previous compilers when it comes to record the activities of physicians and men of science. He treats these individuals as authors, paying attention not only to their scientific prowess, but also to their literary achievements, especially in the field of poetry. A prolific poet himself, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah seems to have envisaged an ideal image of the physician that combines the virtues of the *adīb* with those of the philosopherphysician of the Galenic tradition.¹ The *Uyūn* is, in this regard, a literary history of medicine.²

¹ Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah was a prolific poetry writer according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (*al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, vii:229); although no *dīwān* by him has come down to us, some of his poems are included in the *Uyūn*. On poetry in the *Uyūn* see van Gelder's essay below, pp. 123–141.

² The belletrist nature of this work has not received much appreciation in scholarship. Vernet, in his article of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, acknowledged the value of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's biographies despite 'some long series of verses which have nothing to do with the main theme'; see EI^2 art. 'Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah' (J. Vernet).

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Encyclopaedic Works and Compilations

For many scholars, the appearance of compilations based on a large number of sources like the *Uyūn* and the loss of many of the works they quote are the two sides of a same coin. A rather widespread opinion, best represented by Ch. Pellat's article in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, maintains that it was the anxiety prompted by the threat of foreign invasions that moved Arab authors to produce compilations of an 'encyclopaedic nature' from the 8th/13th century:

All these works and many others besides, even if it is difficult to regard them as encyclopaedias since they only contain one specific section of information, were to become the instruments of a new form of encyclopaedia born of the vicissitudes of history, particularly of the fear of seeing the disappearance of the vast mass of knowledge accumulated over the centuries and of the concern to salvage at least a part from the irreparable catastrophe represented by the Mongol invasions and the fall of Baghdād in $656/1258.^3$

The river Tigris running black with ink after the Mongol invasion of Baghdad is not only a literary commonplace, but also a scholarly trope. For all the importance of factors such as invasions and wars, the reasons behind the loss of many of the books that were available to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah are varied and uncertain. As Konrad Hirschler has argued, evidence for the destruction of libraries is flimsy, and the fate of books and the libraries that hold them depended to a great extent on the preferences of readers and collectors.⁴

On the other hand, both the notion of 'encyclopaedic work' and the social – and deterministic – explanation of the appearance of compilations has been challenged in recent years.⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah reports on the destruction caused by the Mongol armies in several instances, but his words do not suggest any existential angst of the kind postulated by Pellat. The introduction to

³ EI² art. 'Mawsūʿa' (Ch. Pellat); the works to which he refers are Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān and Muʿjam al-udabā', Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt, and the works of Ibn al-Qifțī.

⁴ On the destruction of libraries see Hirschler, Written Word, 127–130.

⁵ On the relationship between the Mongol invasions and the rise of encyclopedism, see Muhanna, *The World in a Book*, 1–19. For an overview of the debates on encyclopedism, see Weaver, 'What wasn't an encyclopaedia?'

the 'Uyūn, for all its brevity, offers some clues for discerning the author's motivations that are better understood if we consider that the first version of this work was written and distributed before the appearance of Ibn al-Qiftī's Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā' or at least before Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah knew of it. There were certainly earlier works on medicine and physicians, but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah claims to have written the first comprehensive history of medicine:

To my knowledge, however, none of these masters of the art of medicine and no one with a thorough knowledge of that art has ever written a comprehensive book dealing with physicians through the ages and recounting their history in a coherent fashion.

Preface

The personal ambition behind this enterprise becomes obvious when Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah indulges himself in describing the positive reception of his book and reproduces the encomiastic words of some of his contemporaries, including those of the dedicatee and patron of the first version of the work, Amīn al-Dawlah.⁶

But Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's aim was not only to satisfy his ego. The 'Uyūn is also a sincere encomium of medicine and a defence of the role that the physician plays in society. This is perfectly illustrated by the way in which the author explains why his father and uncle learned the art of medicine:

My grandfather had in mind to teach them both the art of medicine, because he was well aware of its noble rank and the people's great need for physicians, and held that one who was committed to its truths would be honoured and favoured in this world and be given the highest rank in the world to come.

15.51.1

The preface to the *Uyūn* also introduces a clear theological stance that is further developed in the first chapter of the work: medicine is a gift that God bestowed on his subjects millennials ago and that has evolved in the course of time. Physicians are instruments of God's will and vindicating their role throughout history is a way of fulfilling God's purpose:

I hope by this means to enable the reader to glean some understanding of the learning that Almighty God enabled these men to acquire and

⁶ See below p. 112.

the copious natural talent and intelligence that He bestowed upon them. Many of them, though they lived long ago and their days are past, stand in much the same relation to us as a teacher does to his pupil, or a recipient of kindness to his benefactor, owing to the advantages that we derive from their written works and the benefits found in the material they gathered together in their books.

Preface

The plan of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's work, his selection of materials, his vindication of the figure of Galen as a paragon of wisdom, and his strategies of compilation are to a great extent governed by this idea which, in the 7th/13th century, was a rather contentious stance.⁷

Books and Libraries

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was able to write such a comprehensive work because he had access to a wide range of sources. References to the origin of the books he used are, in general, scarce. But it is possible to find occasional glimpses into his quest for information when he consults autographs of fellow physicians,⁸ and also in the occasional references to libraries and reading practices that appear in some biographies.

Damascus was a city renowned for the quantity and the quality of its *waqf* libraries.⁹ We cannot know how many of them were frequented by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah, but in the ' $Uy\bar{u}n$ he provides some information about specific med-

⁷ The revealed nature of sciences and the relationship between prophecy and medicine had been the subject on many debates since the 3rd/9th century, probably best represented by the polemic between Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, on which see Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Proofs of Prophecy*. On this polemic see also Griffel & Hachmeier, 'Prophets as Physicians of the Soul'.

⁸ References to autographs appear in quotes introduced by formulas such as *naqaltu* or *wajadtu bi-khatțtihi*, concretely on paragraphs: 1.7; 5.1.14; 8.26.16; 8.29.5; 8.29.21; 8.30.5; 10.8.2; 10.13.2; 10.13.4; 10.13.5; 10.23.2; 10.36; 10.37.5 no. 40; 10.38.4; 10.38.6; 10.64.3; 10.66.4; 11.5.15; 11.5.21; 11.21; 13.2.3, no. 1; 14.5; 14.21; 14.22.3.2; 14.22.5.1; 14.25.3; 14.25.7; 14.26.3; 14.31.8; 14.32.4; 15.1.1.2; 15.5.18; 15.8.4; 15.1.2; 15.17; 15.23.4.1; 15.23.5 nos. 1, 2; 15.40.1; 15.40.2; 15.40.7; 15.40.8; 15.47.1; 15.49.6.2.

⁹ Still a century later, the Egyptian Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1366) said in his introduction to his commentary to Ibn Zaydūn's *Epistle*: 'I knew of books in a number of the endowed libraries in Damascus that are helpful for the researcher and a useful aide-mémoire for the new generations of intelligent men.' (*Sarḥ al-'uyūn*, 14). On the Damascene libraries, see the introduction to Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*, 1–17.

ical collections, such as that of his teacher al-Dakhwār, who founded a medical *madrasah*. About al-Dakhwār's books and lessons Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah says:

He never taught anyone unless there was a copy of that book at his disposal for the student to read. He examined and collated it, and if there was an error in the copy that the pupil was reading, he would have it corrected. The copies that the shaykh Muhadhdhab al-Dīn's pupils perused were known for their faultlessness, and most of them were in his own handwriting. His medical and philological books, such as the *K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by al-Jawharī, the *Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris, and the *K. al-Nabāt* by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī, were constantly within reach.

15.50.5

A second large collection of books accessible for students of medicine in Damascus and mentioned in the *Uyūn* was the library of Ibn al-Muṭrān, purchased after his death by 'Imrān al-Isrā'īlī, one of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's teachers (15.23.4.1).

In addition to these libraries, Damascene bookshops may have held very old materials, if we believe the author's claim about Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's autographs:

I have found large numbers of these works [i.e. Hunayn's books], and have purchased a good many of them. They are written in *muwallad* Kūfic script in the handwriting of al-Azraq, Hunayn's secretary. The letters are written very large, with broad strokes, and the lines are widely spaced. The paper is very heavy, being three or four times as thick as the paper manufactured nowadays, while the sheets are trimmed to about one third the size of a sheet of Baghdādī paper. Hunayn had his works published in that fashion to make them bulkier and increase their weight, inasmuch as he was paid weight for weight in silver dirhams. It is thus clear that he used that particular type of paper deliberately. Small wonder, then, that the manuscripts have lasted so well for so long.

8.29.21

During his stay in Egypt, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was also able to use what was left of the library of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, as stated in the biography of this author, where he claims to have consulted many books 'in his handwriting concerned with the writings of the Ancients' (14.23.1). Also from Egypt came the books that Saʿīd ibn Hishām al-Ḥajarī Ibn Mulsāqah copied from the personal library of the bibliophile Ifrā'īm ibn al-Zaffān, which was acquired by the Ayyubid alAfḍal so that these books would not abandon Egypt: 'This is why I have come across a great number of medical books – says Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah –, as well as volumes on other topics, bearing the name of Ifrā'īm as well as the honorific titles of al-Afḍal.' $(14.26.2)^{10}$

Another library associated with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is that of the *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn 'Urwah, a *Dār al-ḥadīth* to which he bequeathed a copy of the 'Uyūn.¹¹ Abū l-Faḍl ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis, a physician included by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in this work (15.33), also donated his books to this institution. We do not know, however, whether it might have held a collection of medical works.

Apart from these brief remarks, nothing is known about other libraries that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah may have used in his stays in Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo.

Sources Employed in the 'Uyūn

The sources used by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah cover a wide variety of disciplines and genres, which range from historical chronicles to medical and philosophical treatises, *adab* compilations, and poetic $d\bar{w}ans$. Many of them, as happens with the 'Uyūn itself, are of an eclectic nature and defy a clear classification, but they may be broadly subsumed under the following rubrics.

I Universal and Local Histories, Chronographies, and Geographical Works

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's use of universal histories and chronicles is almost exclusively restricted to the chapters on the pre-Islamic period, where they are employed to discuss chronologies concerning the lifetime of the legendary inventors of medicine and the first physicians. Most of these sources are of Christian origin, such as Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos* (2.1.2), which was not consulted directly, but rather quoted from Ibn Juljul's *Țabaqāt al-ațibbā*'; an unidenti-

¹⁰ On the Fatimid and Ayyubid libraries, see Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 7–15.

¹¹ This is indicated in the colophon of MS L, which is a direct copy of this exemplar; see Fig. 4.7 on p. 53. On the *Maqşūrah* of Ibn 'Urwah (*Dār al-ḥadīth al-'urwiyyah*), see al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, i:61–67.

fied *Akhbār al-jabābirah* (*History of the Tyrants*) (2.1.1), or the chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea cited as part of the discussion of the dates of Galen's lifetime (5.1.8.1).¹²

Chronologies, annals and dynastic histories by classical Islamic historians are also rare, and they are usually employed as a source of anecdotes. In Ch. 7, focused on the origins of Islam, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes from al-Wāqidī (7.5.6), al-Ṭabarī (7.5.6), and from the *K. Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj* attributed to certain Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim (7.9.1–7.9.4);¹³ an anecdote from al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* is also quoted in 10.12.2.

Similarly, only a few identifiable works of local history are quoted in the '*Uyūn al-anbā*': Ibn al-Yasa's *al-Mu'rib 'an maḥāsin ahl al-Maghrib* is used in the chapter on North Africa and al-Andalus (13.52, 13.61.2.2); Ibn al-Dāyah's *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn* is used in the first biographies of Ch. 14, dealing with the Ṭūlūnid period (14.3, 14.4.1–14.4.4); and Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd ibn Yaḥyā, *K. Ta'rīkh al-Dhayl*, which is essentially a history of Egypt, is also used to retrieve information about two Christian physicians (14.10–14.11).

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah only refers to geographical works on three occasions; surprisingly, two of these quotes seem to be misattributions. The famous report of Aristotle's tomb in Sicily by Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited the island and speaks in first person in his *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, is ascribed to al-Masʿūdī's *al-Masālik wa-lmamālik* (4.6.3.3). This *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* attributed to al-Masʿūdī is also quoted when discussing the location of the tomb of Galen (5.1.21.1), but the report comes from al-Iṣṭakhrī's *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*. Al-Masʿūdī's *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* is also briefly paraphrased in the biography of Aristotle to provide information that his father, Nicomachus, was a Pythagorean (4.6.1).

11 Histories of Science, Medicine and Philosophy

a General Biographical Works

General histories of medicine, science and philosophy are not only the most often quoted works, but also the genre that informs the structure of the *Uyūn* and Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's narrative.

Despite the title, the biographical entries are not organised in formal *taba-qāt*, i.e., generations of scholars; rather, they combine geographical and chronographic criteria. In this regard, the *Uyūn* clearly follows the model laid by

¹² The quotation is apparently embedded in 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's enquiry into the matter.

¹³ Both quotations have not been found in the extant works of these authors and seem to be secondary quotes taken from a Shi'ite source.

Ibn Juljul in his *Tabaqāt al-aṭibbā*', which stands out as the most influential of all the works consulted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah and the most extensively quoted and paraphrased source. Overall, there are more than fifty passages with paraphrases and quotations from this work.¹⁴ Special mention should be made of Ch. 13, devoted to the physicians of North Africa and al-Andalus, since it is to a great extent a reproduction of Ibn Juljul's model, and the text of the biographies of the *Tabaqāt al-aṭibbā*' is quoted or paraphrased and sometimes complemented with later sources, especially Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's *Tabaqāt al-umam*. This latter work, though used especially for its information about Andalusī scholars, is also employed to write the history of pre-Galenic physicians and philosophers (4.1.11.4, 4.2, 4.3.1, 4.4.1, 4.6.4.1), and to describe the works of al-Kindī (10.1.1–10.1.3, 10.1.8).

The third great biographical work used in the *'Uyūn*, together with Ibn Juljul and Şā'id al-Andalusī, is Ibn al-Qiftī's *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's relationship with Ibn al-Qiftī requires detailed explanation. It is important to emphasise that, even though Ibn al-Qiftī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah share a large number of sources, the *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'* is only quoted nine times, especially in Ch. 14 and 15, and only in later versions of the work. The first version of the *'Uyūn* was written and distributed no later than 641/1244; we do not know whether Ibn al-Qiftī's work had been disseminated by then, but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah seems not to have been aware of it.

As Müller already noted, there are no references to the *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'* in the first version of the *Uyūn*, but they appear in later versions.¹⁵ Direct quotes from Ibn al-Qiftī's work can be found in five biographies (10.77.3, 11.3, 11.21, 14.14.3, 14.22.3.1–14.22.3.2). Additionally, there are three references to Ibn al-Qiftī that are not present in the extant version of the *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'* (13.3.4 no. 5, 15.23.2–15.23.2.1, 15.36.1.1).

The text that has come down to us is not the original work by Ibn al-Qiftī, but an epitome written by al-Zawzanī in 647/1249, one year after the death of the author.¹⁶ Some scholars have argued that the quotations of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah that are not present in al-Zawzanī's recension may have been part of the lost, original version of the *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥukamā*'. For instance, in Version 3 of the *'Uyūn* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah added the following gloss to the list of the works of Ibn al-Jazzār:

¹⁴ For the quotations and paraphrases see the Appendix to this chapter.

¹⁵ See the discussion in the essay on the manuscript tradition pp. 31–75.

¹⁶ See *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-Ķifţī' (A. Dietrich).

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qiftī reports (*wa-ḥakā*) that he saw in Qifṭ a large book written by him [i.e. Ibn al-Jazzār] on medicine entitled *Nourishment for the Sedentary (Qūt al-muqīm)*, which comprised twenty volumes.

This statement is not in the extant text of the *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā*'. In the introduction to his edition of al-Zawzanī's recension, Lippert claimed to be absolutely confident that this fragment stemmed from Ibn al-Qiftī's original version, because there were not many sources available for Ibn al-Jazzār.¹⁷ Lippert also believed that the original version of the *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā*' was the source of another short quotation that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiah attributes to Ibn al-Qiftī in the biography of al-Raḥbī and which is missing in al-Zawzānī's recension: 'Al-Ṣāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qiftī has told me that the physician al-Raḥbī closely followed the basic principles that are necessary for the preservation of health.' (15.36.1.1).¹⁸

Lippert may be right when he attributes these discrepancies to the editorial work of al-Zawzānī, but we should not exclude two other possibilities: the quotes may either be secondary quotations that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah took from an unidentified source in which Ibn al-Qiftī is used, or they may be personal communications. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and Ibn al-Qiftī were contemporaries and at the very least they shared a common acquaintance, since al-Raḥbī was one of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's teachers. It is not unlikely that they could have met in Cairo or Aleppo. Likewise, the gloss to Ibn al-Jazzār's title is a personal report (*ra'aytu*), and another unidentified quotation in the biography of Ibn al-Muṭrān, also ascribed to Ibn al-Qiftī, ends with a personal report in first person in which Ibn al-Qiftī states that he saw (*wa-ra'aytu*) Ibn al-Muṭrān's wife in Aleppo after the year 600/1203 (15.23.2.1).

b Chronicles and Histories of Physicians

For the biographies of Greek scholars, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah primarily draws on the work of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, an obscure figure often – wrongly – identified by Arab historians with John Philoponos of Alexandria (ca. 490–575), the famous Monophysite scholar and commentator of Aristotle.¹⁹ Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī has his own and rather mythical biography in the *Uyūn*, taken from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn

¹⁷ Ibn al-Qifțī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 12 (Einleitung).

¹⁸ Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 12 (Einleitung). This statement, in almost the exact wording and without any reference to Ibn al-Qiftī, occurs also in Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 217.

¹⁹ This identification was already dismissed by Meyerhof, who suggested that this Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī was an Alexandrian physician who lived between the 5th or 6th centuries, either Palladios, Gessios or Sergios; see Meyerhof, 'Joannes Grammatikos (Philiponos)'.

Jibrīl's Manāqib al-ațibbā' (6.1.3). This portrayal of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī appears to represent three individuals: the aforementioned John Philoponos, an otherwise unknown Alexandrian medical author who wrote Galenic commentaries and summaries and, according to this report, established the canon of the sixteen Galenic books,²⁰ and a very shadowy figure who was the author of a chronology. Nothing is known about this chronology of physicians, which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah makes good use of apparently through Ishāq ibn Hunayn's History of Physicians.²¹ The extant fragments are quoted in Ch. 2, dealing with Asclepius, the mythical origins of medicine and the role of Hippocrates as saviour of the art in the island of Kos (2.1.5), and especially Ch. 3 on the successors of Hippocrates. Ch. 3 is almost entirely based on Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's history and consists of a list of names and dates in what appears to be a combination of real scholars and fictional figures. It is not unlikely that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah might have also consulted the Ta'rīkh al-atibbā' of Ishāq ibn Hunayn to write these sections instead of the chronology of Yahyā al-Nahwī, which is not listed among his books.²² Ishāq ibn Hunayn's work is also largely based on Yahyā al-Nahwī and seems to be the source of some passages on the life of Dioscorides quoted by Ibn $Ab\bar{i}$ Uşaybi'ah (4.1.11.1).

Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's *Ta'rīkh* is one of the most important classical sources in terms of biographical and chronographic information. Additionally, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes from other Greek works of different genres which also contain historical and biographical data, such as Ps.-Plato's *K. al-Nawāmīs* (2.1.2) and Plato's *Republic* (2.1.4) used in the biography of Asclepius.

Two other classical works dealing with the history of philosophy are quoted at length in the first chapters of the *Uyūn*. The first one is Porphyry's history of philosophers, entitled in Arabic *K. Akhbār al-falāsifah wa-qiṣaṣihim wa-ārāʾihim*; this is the most important source for the extended biography of Pythagoras (4.3.3, 4.3.4.1–4.3.4.4). The second work is an epistle on the life of Aristotle addressed to certain Gallus (*K. Ilā Ghalus fī sīrat Arisṭūṭālis*) and written by a biographer known in Arabic as Ptolemy al-Gharīb (fl. ca.300), i.e. 'Ptolemy the Stranger' as opposed to the familiar Claudius Ptolemy. This is in

²⁰ On these commentaries see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 89–90. A further mystification found in other sources seems to stem from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, in which Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī is said to have lived until the conquest of Egypt and met 'Amr ibn al-'Āş; this might be a confusion with the Chalcedonian patriarch of Egypt Cyrus, who negotiated with the Arab conquerors. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:178–179.

²¹ Quotations from Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī can be found in early histories of medicine and science such as Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*', or al-Sijistānī's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*.

²² On Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's use of his chronology, see Swain's essay pp. 150– 154.

fact a brief biography accompanied by a detailed and long list with Aristotle's books that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes in its entirety (biography: 4.6.2.1–4.6.2.3, 4.6.6.1; book-list in 4.6.13.1). A further work that relies on classical texts with biographical information about the proponents of the three medical schools and is used by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is Ibn Riḍwān's *Tafsīr K. al-Firaq li-Jālīnus (Commentary on Galen's On Sects)* (1.7).

Among the authors who lived in the Islamic period, the most relevant work for the chapters on Greek medicine and philosophy is al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim (The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings*). The only surviving work of this author, the *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* contains a series of biographies of Greek sages which combines historical information and gnomic literature.²³ Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik is used to provide historical information – sometimes of legendary nature – about Asclepius (2.1.3), Hippocrates (4.1.7), Pythagoras (4.3.2, 4.3.4.1–4.3.4.4), Socrates (4.4.2.1–4.4.2.5), Plato (4.5.2), Aristotle (4.6.3.1–4.6.3.2, 4.6.3.4), and Galen (5.1.21.1, 5.1.23, 5.1.25– 5.1.26, 5.1.31). The longest extracts from this work, however, are the sections of aphorisms and witty sayings included in the biographies of these eminent Greek philosophers and physicians (4.1.8.4, 4.3.5, 4.4.4, 4.5.3, 4.6.11, 5.1.35), usually complemented with maxims taken from the *Ādāb* or *Nawādir al-falāsifah* attributed to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (4.1.7, 4.1.8.2, 4.4.3, 4.6.3.5, 4.6.7.1–4.6.9, 5.1.3.4).²⁴

In the chapters on the Greek tradition several miscellaneous sources written by Arab authors stand out. Abū Ma'shar's *K. al-Ulūf*, now lost, is quoted several times as part of the discussion on the origins of medicine (2.1.1, 2.1.3, 2.1.4), and also once in the biography of the Indian physician Kankah al-Hindī (12.1). Ibn al-Muṭrān's *Garden of physicians (Bustān al-aṭibbā'*), quoted on several occasions (1.2, 1.3.1), is one of the most relevant sources in the polemic on the origins of medicine in Ch. 1, where Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah resorts to it in order to confirm the statements made in the Ps.-Galenic *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath*.

Special attention is due to the quotations of a work attributed to Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī and referred to as $Ta^{c}al\bar{l}q$ (*Annotations*). Al-Sijistānī is the alleged author of an important work on the Greek philosophical and scientific tradition, the *Şiwān al-ḥikmah*, which has only survived in an abridged version

²³ See *EI*² art. 'al-Mubashshir b. Fātik' (F. Rosenthal). Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, who had access to what was left of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātiq's personal library, also quotes him from another unidentified source in 10.22.3.

In many ways, the works of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik and Hunayn ibn Ishāq can be considered works of *adab*. The discussion of this concept and the role of *adab* in Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's narrative discussed below should also be taken into consideration for these works.

that, as Dimitri Gutas has suggested,²⁵ might stem from an intermediary.²⁶ The ascription of this work to al-Sijistānī has been discussed in scholarship, since all the documentary basis for this attribution is a single remark by Zahīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī. Gimaret and Wadad al-Qadi cast doubt on al-Sijistānī's authorship, and the latter suggested that the author of the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah* was Abū l-Qāsim, a disciple of the philosopher Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī.²⁷ Kraemer, in turn, claims that the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah* was a compendium compiled by al-Sijistānī's students.²⁸

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is relevant to this discussion. He quotes four times from a work by al-Sijistānī, which he refers to as Ta'alīq (*Annotations*) (2.1.1, 4.6.3.5, 6.1.2, 15.1.3.1). A further reference to al-Sijistānī occurs when describing the famous dream in which Aristotle appeared to al-Ma'mūn. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah states that he quotes from an autograph of certain Ḥasan ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣanādīqī, and that al-Sijistānī was, in fact, transmitting the report of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (8.29.5);²⁹ information on Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī is also taken from al-Sijistānī's Ta'ālīq in Ch. 15 (15.1.3.1), and it is not implausible that the story of al-Ma'mūn's dream may have been also part of this work. As Dunlop noted, none of the quotations of the 'Uyūn can be found in the text of the Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah preserved in the abridged version that has come down to us,³⁰ and it seems that these quotations are the only extant evidence of al-Sijistānī's lost Ta'alīq fī l-ḥikmah.

Histories of medicine and physicians are the most important source for the chapters focused on the Islamic period. The entries on the Syriac Christian physicians from the school of Gundeshapur are largely based on a history written by a Nestorian scholar and translation named Pethion. Parts of this work have survived in the chronicles by Elias of Nisibis and Barhebraeus, with passages close to those quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah concerning Jurjīs ibn Bukhtīshū' for events which occurred in the years AD 765 and 768.³¹ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah refers to Pethion as 'the translator' and has a brief entry on him on Ch. 9. His work, never referred to by title,³² is quoted at length in Ch. 8, especially with

²⁵ See Gutas, 'Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah', 646.

²⁶ See Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*.

²⁷ Gimaret, 'Sur un passage', 154–155; al-Qadi, *Kitāb Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*'.

²⁸ See the detailed discussion in Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam*, 119–135.

²⁹ A report on Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī is also quoted from al-Sijistānī's *Taʿālīq* in 15.1.3.1.

³⁰ See Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, xiv.

Elias of Nisibis, *Opus Chronologicum*, i:178–180; Barhebraus, *Chronicum Syriacum*, 125–126.
 For further bibliographical references see: http://www.late-antique-historiography.ugent
 .be/database/works/97 [consulted: 25/02/2019].

^{32 &}lt;sup>(Ubayd</sup> Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū' refers to this work as *akhbāruhu*, i.e. Pethion's news or notices, see 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū', *On Apparent Death*, 152 (§ 81).

regard to the Bukhtīshūʿ family (8.1.1–8.1.2, 8.2, 8.3.2–8.3.5, 8.3.20–8.3.21, 8.4.2, 8.4.8, 8.25.1).

The most important source for the chapter on Syriac physicians is Ibn al-Dāyah's *Akhbār al-aṭibbā*'. This work has not come down to us and all we know from it are the quotations in the 'Uyūn and Ibn al-Qifṭī's *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā*'.³³ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah never mentions the title of the work and introduces these quotations with the formula *qāla* Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm. A secretary to Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, the musician and half-brother of the caliphs al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd, Ibn al-Dāyah was a privileged witness to the history of the 'Abbasid courts of Baghdad and Samarra in the 3rd/9th century, in which a large number of Syriac physicians worked. He is quoted at length in Ch. 8, where his work is used as one of the main sources for fourteen biographies.³⁴ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also reproduces a long anecdote from Ibn al-Dāyah's *Akhbār al-aṭibbā*' in the biography of Galen, narrating an expedition of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī to visit the house of the physician at Smyrna (5.1.16.1).

Two other major works written by physicians largely focused on medical stories and anecdotes stand out as the most important sources for Chs 8 and 10. The most extensively used is 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū's *Manāqib al-aṭibba'* (*The Merits of Physicians*). As a member of a famous family of physicians, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl could benefit from the recollections and reports of his relatives and their personal archives. This work, written in 423/1032, has not come down to us, but the excerpts quoted in the 'Uyūn suggest that 'Ubayd Allāh had a good knowledge of classical sources and was a competent historian. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah shows admiration for his scholarship and largely relies on him to shed light onto the contradictory reports about Galen's lifetime (5.1.7, 5.1.8.1–5.1.8.2, 5.1.11–5.1.13);³⁵ 'Ubayd Allāh is also the main source for the life of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī (6.1.3). Most of the quotations from the *Manāqib al-ațibbā'*, however, occur on chapters 8, 10, and also 11.³⁶ The anecdotes quoted from this work describe the lavish life of the famous physicians of the 'Abbasid court are similar to those found in *adab* works.

A second source largely used in chapters 8 and 10 is Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah's *Ta'rīkh*, which according to the description that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah provides in the biography of this physician is a 'chronicle he wrote in which he mentions the occurrences and events which took place during the

³³ See *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-Dāya' (F. Rosenthal).

³⁴ See Appendix for exact references.

³⁵ Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah seems to have expanded his quotes from 'Ubayd Allāh with other sources; see the footnotes to these sections.

³⁶ See the Appendix for exact references.

time of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh until the time of al-Ṭā'i^c li-Allāh'³⁷ (10.5.1). There are large quotations from this chronicle in the biographies of the members of the Banū Qurrah family, including autobiographical reports in the entry of Thābit Ibn Sinān (10.3, 10.4, 10.5, 10.6). Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also employs information from this work in three other biographies of this chapter (10.16, 10.26, 10.28).

There is a third medical work that, despite its title, seems to have been conceived of as a collection of anecdotes and is quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in four biographies of Ch. 10, sometimes with long extracts: Ibn Butlān's *M. Fī 'illat naql al-atibbā' al-maharah tadbīr akthar al-amrād allatī kānat tu'ālaj qadīman bi-ladwiyah al-hārrah ilā al-tadbīr al-mubarrad (An essay on the reason the master physicians changed the regimen for most of the diseases which were, of old, treated with hot medicines to a cold regime)*. This work is also lost.

c Particular Histories and Autobiographies

Together with these comprehensive historical and biographical works, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah occasionally used other texts focused on particular topics or individuals in order to provide additional information or to discuss specific matters.

Ch. 9 seems to be entirely based on an unacknowledged history of translators, most likely of Syrian origin, if we judge by the rendition of foreign names. The parallels between the '*Uyūn* and the *K. al-Fihrist*, which also fails to provide references to any source, suggest that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and Ibn al-Nadīm relied on the same work.

Other works that can be listed under this rubric are Abū Saʿīd Zāhid al-'Ulamā''s *K. fī l-Bīmāristānāt*, a lost history of hospitals from which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes on one occasion (11.5.2); or the book on medical errors from which he quotes in Ch. 10: Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī's *K. Warṭat al-ajillā' min hafwat al-ațibbā'* (*The Perils of Patricians due to the Errors of Physicians*) (10.13.5).

It is also worth noting that several biographies rely on autobiographical reports. The most relevant example is the entry on Ibn Sīnā, which is largely based on the author's autobiography and the continuation by his pupil Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī (11.13.2.1–11.13.3.19). Autobiographical works are also quoted in the biographies of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (8.29.14–18.29.21),³⁸ Ibn al-Haytham (14.22.4.1–14.22.4.4), Ibn Riḍwān (14.25.1–14.25.2), and 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (15.40.2–15.40.4).

³⁷ Al-Muqtadir ruled in 295–320/908–932, and al-Tā'i' li-Allāh – or al-Tā'i' li-Amr Allāh – in 363–381/974–91. Thābit ibn Sinān died in 363/973–974.

³⁸ This work, in all certainty apocryphal, bears the title *R. fimā aṣābahū min al-miḥan wa-l-shadā'id (On his trials and tribulations).*

111 Bibliographical Works

One of the most important traits of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's scholarship is his diligent search for titles. The *Uyūn* is not only a precious source of biographical information but probably the richest bibliographical source for the history of medicine. Unlike the quotations used to provide biographical information, the origin of the book-lists is rarely acknowledged and, with a few exceptions, it is impossible to ascertain their origin.

The most important bibliographical source is Ibn al-Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist*, which is used to provide historical information in at least twenty occasions³⁹ and is likely one of the unacknowledged sources behind many booklists.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah also had access to an important number of catalogues. The *Uyūn* not only bears witness to the preservation of book-lists of Greek origin, but also to the continuation of this practice among physicians and philosophers in the Islamic period. Among the classical bibliographies we can mention the long list of works of Pythagoras, taken from Porphyry's History, which reproduces the list compiled by the philosopher Archytas (4.3.6.1) and the philosopher Plutarch (4.3.6.2). The list of Aristotle's books is copied from the epistle of Ptolemy al-Gharīb (4.6.13.1), and in the biography of Galen Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah quotes from two books of Galen, namely On My Own Books (5.1.9-5.1.10.2, 5.1.28) and Marātib qirā'at kutubihi (The Order for Reading his Books) (5.1.3); and also from two books of Hunayn ibn Ishāq: the Risālah (5.1.37) and the M. Fī dhikr al-kutub allatī lam yadhkurhā Jālīnūs fī fihrist kutubihi (On the Books not listed by Galen in the Catalogue of his Works) (5.1.38).⁴⁰ The list of books in the biography of Hippocrates seems to come also from classical sources, since it was most likely taken from the book-list that Ibn al-Ridwan had translated from Greek by Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd and included in his K. al-Taṭarruq ilā al-saʿādah bi-l*tibb*⁴¹ (4.1.9.2).

The book-lists of authors who lived in Islamic times are sometimes taken from autobiographical works. Such seems to be the case of Ibn Sīnā's book-list included by al-Jūzjānī in the biography of his teacher (11.13.3.2), later complemented by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah himself (11.13.8). The autobiography of Ibn al-Haytham also includes a long list of books (14.22.5.1).

³⁹ See the Appendix for exact references.

⁴⁰ The latter is not acknowledged by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah; on this work by Hunayn ibn Ishāq see the footnote to Ch. 5.1.38.

⁴¹ See Ibn Ridwān, *Weg zur Glückseligkeit*, 15–16.

In some cases, it is possible to point to lists collected by other scholars as the likely source of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. Thus, he may have relied on Ibn al-Imām, the editor of the works of Ibn Bājjah, for the long list of books in the biography of the philosopher (13.59.4), and also used an extant book-list in his biography of Ibn Rushd, similar to the one to be found in the Escorial Library (13.66.6).⁴² In some cases, the existence of a previous catalogue can be ascertained when we collate the text of the 'Uyūn with cognate sources. For instance, the similarities and slight differences of the extended lists of al-Kindī's books in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, Ibn al-Nadīm, and Ibn al-Qiftī suggests that they used a common, unacknowledged source.

a Adab and Poetry

The Galenic contention that the good physician should be an expert in both medicine and philosophy is implicit throughout Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's narrative. He not only includes biographies of philosophers in his work, but also quotes long excerpts from philosophical works, and lists books of philosophy next to those of other sciences. To this Greek ideal, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah adds a third notion: adab. In Islamic times this concept encompassed both the idea of good behaviour and manners, and the possession of a vast general and literary culture.43 Adab can also be broadly - and vaguely - understood as a literary genre of miscellaneous works that provide both instruction and entertainment. This definition is, of course, arbitrary and some of the works listed under the rubric 'histories', such as 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's Manāqib al-ațibba', the Nawādir al-falāsifah (or Adab al-falāsifah) attributed to Hunayn ibn Ishāq, and al-Mubashshir ibn al-Fātik's Mukhtār al-hikam would fit in this category well. The works discussed below as adab are only those that do not deal exclusively with medical or scientific topics, but the following considerations may also be applied to works of a similar nature listed under other rubrics.

In terms of his use of literary motifs and anecdotes Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is more indebted to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's *Manāqib al-aţibbā*' than to the compilations of Ṣā'id al-Andalusī and Ibn Juljul. The accomplished physician portrayed in the 'Uyūn is also an *adīb*. This image is conveyed by means of two narrative strategies: on the one hand, physicians are presented as paradigmatic courtiers, taking part in the social activities of the court and enjoying the favour of the caliphs, especially in the golden age of the 'Abbasid period that Ibn Abī

⁴² El Escorial Ms Árabe 884 ff. 82b–83a, discussed in Cruz Hernández, *Abū l-Walīd Muḥam-mad Ibn Rušd*, 359–369.

⁴³ For an overview see *EI Three* art. 'Adab' (J. Hämeen-Anttila et al.).

Uşaybi'ah seems to regard with nostalgia; on the other hand, physicians appear as actors of the cultural community: they are poets, fluent in the art of epistle-writing (*inshā*'), and are able to reply with witticisms and provide advice in the form of sapiential maxims.

Adab literature and poetry is used as a source of factual information and anecdotes, but is also instrumental in conveying the ideal of what a physician should be. A good example to illustrate this point is the biography of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' which ends with two poems of praise composed in his honour: the first by Abū Nuwās probably taken from Ibn al-Buṭlān's *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'*, the second by the caliph al-Ma'mūn, quoted from al-Iṣfahānī's *K. al-Aghānī* (8.3.23). Thus Ibn Bukhtīshū' appears not only as a man of science, but as a central member of the caliphal court celebrated by rulers and poets.

Rich literary works such al-Iṣfahānī's *K. al-Aghānī* are used for different purposes, not only to quote poetry as in the aforementioned example and, possibly, as an unacknowledged source of many other poems throughout the book. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah employs the *K. al-Aghānī* also as a source of historical information and anecdotes in the chapter on the beginning of Islam and the first Muslim physicians (7.2.3, 7.2.4, 7.5.1–7.5.5). It is also likely that another major *adab* compilation, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, may have been used in this chapter without acknowledgment.

Most of the quotations from *adab* works appear in the biographies of the famous physicians who work at the 'Abbasid courts of Baghdad and Samarra. For instance, in the biography of Yuḥannā ibn Māsawayh, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes from al-Khālidī's *K. al-Tuḥaf wa-l-hadāyā* (*Book of Gifts and Precious Things*) (8.26.15), from a work by Jirāb al-Dawlah – likely the lost *Tarwīḥ al-arwāḥ wa-miftāḥ al-surūr wa-l-afrāḥ* – (8.26.16), and from al-Ṣūlī's *K. al-Awrāq* (8.26.17). The biography of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq contains quotations from al-Sarakhsī's *K. al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī* (8.29.11), and Ibn al-Dāyah's *R. fī l-mukāfa'ah* (8.29.13). In Ch. 10 Ibn Abī Uṣayb'ah also quotes from Ibn al-Dāyah's *K. Ḥusn al-'uqbā* (10.1.7), Ibn Qutaybah's *K. Farā'id al-durr* (10.1.10), al-Tanūkhī's *K. al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*, quoted in one biography (10.62.3) and later in Ch. 11 (11.5.1–11.5.12), and al-'Antarī's *al-Nawr al-mujtanā* (10.69.3.1).

It is important to note that many of the anecdotes quoted from 'Ubayd Allah ibn Jibrīl's *Manāqib al-aṭibbā*' are of the same tenor as those found in these works. More importantly, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah often adopts this tone of narrative to write the biographies of his contemporaries, which are based on his own experiences and do not rely on written sources. Perhaps the most conspicuous example is the recreation of the 'skill-test motif' whereby a physician advances in his career after being put to the test by his employer, usually a ruler. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah incorporates this motif in several instances, especially for teachers and members of his family, as in the biography of al-Dakhwār (15.50.1), or the stories about his father included in the biography of his uncle (15.51.3).

Another defining trait of the '*Uyūn* is the large number of verses that its author quotes, many of them their own.⁴⁴ When quoting poetry, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah only refers to a written source on a few instances. Together with the aforementioned *K. al-Aghānī*, we also find a reference to al-Ma'arrī's *Kitāb Istaghfir wa-staghfirī* (5.1.33), 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī's *Kharīdah* (15.13), or al-Jilyānī's *al-Tuḥfah al-jawhariyyah* (15.8.4).

b Particular Works Written by Physicians and Philosophers

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah sometimes quotes from the works composed by the physicians and philosophers about whom he is writing to provide additional biographical information or discuss the data given in other sources. There are occasional references to medicines and treatments, or philosophical matters, but these texts are mainly used as historical sources.

The most relevant of all the authors quoted is, needless to say, Galen. In many ways, Galen is the alpha and omega of the *'Uyūn*. The first quotation of the work comes from the *Commentary of Hippocrates' Oath*, which was believed to be a Galenic work (1.1); the last quote of Ch. 15 is from Galen's *Examination of the Best Physician*, brought up by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah to extol the skills and virtue of his uncle (15.51.3).

In his biography of Galen, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah expressed his intention of writing a monograph on this physician: 'My intention is to write a monograph setting out all noteworthy material of this sort which I have found throughout his books and in others – if God the Exalted wills it' (5.1.27). We do not know if this work was ever written, but Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's admiration for Galen is visible in many ways throughout his work.⁴⁵ It is no wonder that Galen is far and away the most quoted author, but the quotations that we find in the 'Uyūn are not the usual ones that appear in most medical texts and reveal a profound knowledge of the Galenic corpus, thoroughly read by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah in his search for biographical and bibliographical information.

The works of Galen – or attributed to Galen – used in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ are the following:

- K. Akhlāq al-nafs (Character Traits) (4.1.3.4; 5.1.6)

- *Binaks*, i.e., *Pinax* (*On my own Books*) (2.1.2; 5.1.9–5.1.10.2; 5.1.28; 5.1.37 no. 21)

⁴⁴ On poetry, see van Gelder's essay in this volume.

⁴⁵ On Galen, see Swain's essay in this volume.

- K. Fī l-adwiyah al-mus'hilah (Laxative Drugs) (1.2)
- K. Fī l-amrāḍ al-ʿasirat al-burʾ (Diseases That Are Difficult to Cure) (5.1.19)
- K. Fī anna al-akhyār min al-nās qad yantafiʿūna bi-aʿdāʾihim (The Best People Can Derive Benefit From their Enemies) (5.1.30)
- K. Fī ārā' Abuqrāţ wa-Aflāţūn (On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato) (4.5.4 no. 5)
- K. Fī aṣḥāb al-ḥiyal (On the Methodist Sect) (5.1.19)
- K. Fī l-faṣd (On Bloodletting) (1.6)
- K. Fī l-ḥathth 'alā ta'allum ṣinā'at al-țibb (Exhortation to Study the Art of Medicine) (2.1.2)
- K. Fī l-kaymūs al-jayyid wa-l-radī' (Good and Bad Juices) (5.1.24.1–5.1.24.2)
- $H\bar{l}at al-bur'$ (Method of Healing) (1.6; 2.1.2)
- Marātib qirā'at kutubihi (The Order for Reading his Books) (5.1.3)
- K. Miḥnat al-ṭabīb al-fāḍil (Examination of the Best Physician) (5.1.18.1– 5.1.18.3; 5.1.29.1–5.1.29.3; 15.51.3)
- Nawādir taqdimat al-maʿrifah (Remarkable Stories of Prognosis) (5.1.28)
- K. Qāṭājānis (Composition of Drugs by Types) (5.1.20)
- Ps.-Galen, K. Fīl-ḥuqan (On Enemas) (1.11)
- Ps.-Galen, Tafsīr K. al-Aymān li-Abuqrāț (Commentary of Hippocrates' Oath) (1.1; 1.6; 2.1.6.1–2.1.6.4; 4.1.1)

In Ch. 1 and Ch. 2 the Ps.-Galenic *Commentary on Hippocrates' Oath* is the most important source to discuss the origins of medicine. This work was central in the polemics concerning the revealed nature of science and in the defence of medicine against theologians.⁴⁶ This commentary was often adduced by physicians as proof of Galen's acknowledgement of God and His role as creator, together with the Christianized translation of the *Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, which is not quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah.⁴⁷ The Ps.-Galenic *Commentary on Hippocrates' Oath* is quoted at length in these first chapters as part of the discussion on the origins of medicine; the other Galenic quotations are used to support claims made in this text of by other physicians. For instance, $F\bar{\iota}$ *l-adwiyah al-mus'hilah* (1.2) and the *Hīlat al-bur'* (1.6) are quoted to corroborate claims defending the importance of experience in the development of medicine, whilst the *K. Fī l-faṣd* (1.6) is quoted to prove that Galen believed that dreams may have been used by God to reveal medical knowledge.

⁴⁶ On this see Rosenthal, 'Defense of Medicine'.

⁴⁷ On 'Christian Galenism' see, Schwarb, 'Early Kalām', especially 113–120.

In Chs. 4–5 Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah shows a great ability to identify the autobiographical accounts scattered in the works of Galen and the quotes from the Galenic corpus are essentially used to provide historical, biographical and bibliographical information.

In addition to Galen, other medical works are occasionally quoted, also as part of the discussion on the origins of medicine or as sources of historical information for the pre-Islamic period, for instance Ibn al-Muṭrān's *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* (1.2, 1.3.2), Oribasius, *al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr* (1.7), the anonymous *K. al-Diryāq* (1.8), al-Rāzī's *K. al-Khawāṣṣ* (1.10), or Abū Ma'shar's *K. al-Ulūf* (2.1.1, 2.1.3, 2.1.4).

In the rest of the chapters, particular medical or philosophical works are mostly used, as with the Galenic corpus, for the autobiographical accounts they might contain, or to illustrate particular aspects of a physician's work mentioned in his biography. The short entry on the life of Dioscorides reproduces an autobiographical remark from the introduction to the Materia Medica (4.1.11.1), and Plato's Apology is quoted in the biography of Socrates to show that he had never had problems with the law before his conviction (4.4.3). Al-Ruhāwī's Adab al-tabīb, in spite of the diverse topics it addresses, is only quoted in Ch. 8 as source of biographical information; and the same can be said about Ibn Hindū's K. Miftāh al-țibb (6.4, 11.8.5) and Abū l-Khațțāb's K. al-Shāmil fī *l-tibb* (10.37.4, 10.58.2, 11.8.3). On the other hand, the entry on the life of Hippocrates is complemented with quotations from his Oath (4.1.3.1), his Medical Law (Nāmūs) (4.1.3.2), and his Testament (al-Waşiyyah) (4.1.3.3), which set the standards of behaviour for all physicians and work with the long extracts from Galen's practice in Ch. 5 to show the 'best physician'. The biography of Aristotle has a long quotation from al-Fārābī's Ihṣā' al-'ulūm explaining the contents of the Organon (4.6.5.1).

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is certainly interested in conveying messages that go beyond the scope of a given biography. This is especially relevant in Ch. 7, where the topic of the superiority of prophecy over other kinds of knowledge is brought up after the biography of the son of al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah, misidentified by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah as al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Alqamah ibn Kaladah, a bitter enemy of Muḥammad. Interestingly enough, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not quote from a Muslim treatise, but from the Ps.-Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs* (7.2.2), which was also used in the discussion on the origins of medicine in Ch. 2 (2.1.2).

c Documents and Personal Letters

Although the 'Uyūn is essentially based on narrative sources and oral reports, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah may have had access to at least one documentary source and to the personal correspondence of some physicians. The biography of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' includes a long inventory of the goods and properties of the physician taken, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, from Ibn Bukhtīshū''s personal account book: 'An account book was found in Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl's cabinet containing records written by the secretary of the elder Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', with corrections in Jibrīl's handwriting' (8.3.22). This may well be a secondary quote from an unacknowledged source, perhaps 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū's *Manāqib al-ațibbā*'; but it is worth noting that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah decided to reproduce the entire document, describing in excruciating detail the wealth of the physician.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah also refers to epistolary sources that may have been drawn from compilations. For instance, in the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, he quotes from letters sent by Amīn al-Dawlah to his son (10.64.15), and to Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Ṣā'id (10.64.19.17), al-ʿAzīz Abū Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid (10.64.19.19), Ibn Aflaḥ (10.64.19.19), and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (10.64.19.19). He also quotes from letters addressed to Amīn al-Dawlah by Ibn al-Sharīf al-Jalīl (10.64.17.1) and Ibn Aflaḥ (10.64.19.18). All these epistolary interchanges contained poetry, as also does a letter written by certain secretary named Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Abū l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, which includes an epigram reproduced in the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn Ghazāl (15.49.6.2) that, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, was copied from the handwriting of the author – we cannot say whether this was a letter or an edited volume of poems.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also had access to the correspondence that his father and uncle had with fellow physicians and explicit use of this family archive is acknowledged in the biography of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, where he reproduces part of a letter that this physician sent to his father (15.40.7).

d Oral Sources

A proper study of oral sources in the *Uyūn* would require a separate essay; the following are only a few general remarks to provide some contextualisation.

The chapters on the pre-Islamic period and the beginning of Islam are almost entirely based on written sources, with very rare remarks based on personal communications, such as that of certain Jamāl al-Dīn al-Si'irdī referred to in Ch. 1 who had told Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah about a plant similar to the one mentioned by Galen. Chs. 8, 10, 11, and 12 have only a few minor comments based on oral communications.

It is in Ch. 13 where personal reports begin to play an important role. This chapter can be divided into two sections: biographies 13.1–13.66 follow to a great extent the *tabaqāt* of Ibn Juljul and are based on written sources; bio-

graphies 13.67–13.88, in contrast, were composed thanks to the oral information provided by an Andalusī traveller that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah met in Damascus in 643/1237.⁴⁸

A simple look at the Appendix with the list of quotes and paraphrases suffices to show that Chs. 14–15 are for their most part based on personal experiences and oral reports, since a large number of the physicians included in these chapters were contemporaries of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. These two last chapters abound in poetic quotation, but the scarcity of quotations of written sources contrasts with the rest of the work.

Method and Treatment of Sources

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah has traditionally been regarded as an uncritical compilator. This contention stems from Müller's study on the sources of the 'Uyūn al-anbā', specifically from a paragraph praising the intellectual honesty of its author. Müller claims that Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's references and his methodical identification of sources is entirely worthy of praise.⁴⁹ This diligence, however, is but the result of lacklustre scholarship. According to Müller, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah uncritically copies everything he finds with subservient mentality,⁵⁰ and that he shows lacunae in the fields of history and geography, and poor acquaintance with astronomy and mathematics.⁵¹

Müller's analysis of the 'Uyūn was biased as a result of 19th-century Orientalist obsession with originality and decadence. This led him not only to overlook the active role of Ibn Uṣaybi'ah as compiler and reject any originality in his work, but also to dismiss the medical thought of his fellow physicians altogether ('Medical research was dead since Ibn Sīnā').⁵² Müller's opinion was echoed by Vernet in an article of the influential second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, where he also presents the 'Uyūn as a mere collection of texts taken from previous sources:

⁴⁸ See 13.63.2 and the corresponding footnote.

⁴⁹ Müller, 'Über Ibn Abī Oçeibi'a', 270. The value of the '*Uyūn* as repository of quotations from ancient texts had already be praised by scholars since its discovery; for an overview see Waly, *Drei Kapitel*, 1–19.

^{50 &#}x27;Er schreibt seine Vorlagen, wie sie sind, gut oder schlecht, mit gradezu sklavischer Traue ab, ohne auch nur nächstliegenden Verbesserungen vorzunehmen'; see Müller, 'Über Ibn Abī Oçeibi'a', 271.

⁵¹ Müller, 'Über Ibn Abī Oçeibi'a', 271.

⁵² Müller, 'Über Ibn Abī Oçeibi'a', 263.

He based his work on the bibliographical productions of his predecessors (Ibn Djuldjul for example), and a comparison between their texts and that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a shows how he either copies them, very often literally, or summarizes them, and how this mass of raw material was amplified by successive additions.⁵³

Vernet also denounced the biases of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah (the physician Ibn al-Nafīs was not included in his book), and the author's indulgence in poetic quotations that have nothing to do with the main topic of the book.

These negative opinions have been contested by other scholars, who present the 'Uyūn in a more positive light. Ullmann noted that this work was not conceived of as a history of a particular scientific discipline, but rather as a collection of biographies of relevant personalities in the field of medicine. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's acquaintance with fellow physicians, says Ullmann, allowed him to write an extraordinary cultural and historical portrait of his time.⁵⁴ In his Ärztliches Leben und Denken im arabischen Mittelalter, Bürgel also calls attention to Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's role in the selection and critique of sources, rejecting Müller's claim that this author copied uncritically.⁵⁵ Specifically, Bürgel points to Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's use of different sources to write his biography of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his discussion of the lifetimes of al-Rāzī and of Galen.⁵⁶

The projection of concepts such as 'originality' and 'criticism' onto a 13th century work is anachronistic. A proper contextualization of the author's method should rest on his engagement with the scholarly practices proper to his time,⁵⁷ and on the discussion of the medieval understanding of originality, borrowings, and 'intellectual theft',⁵⁸ which falls beyond the scope of this essay. A further problem is that the scholarship on the 'Uyūn has traditionally read this work against the background of medical literature or 'proper' histories of medicine, as if the literary contents of the text were but a superfluous embellishment. The notion of *adab*, as discussed, was central in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's conception of the ideal physician. He is very careful in his selection of anecdotes and poetry, and discusses the false attribution of verses in several

⁵³ See *E1*² art. 'Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a' (J. Vernet).

⁵⁴ Ullmann, Medizin, 232.

^{55 &#}x27;Müller tut aber unserem Autor unrecht, wenn er ihm vorwirft, seine Vorlagen völlig unkritisch kopiert zu haben'; see Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, xx–xxi.

⁵⁶ Bürgel, Ärztliches Leben, xxi.

⁵⁷ In general, see Rosenthal, *Technique and approach*.

⁵⁸ See *E1*² art. 'Sarika' (W.P. Heinrichs). Medieval depictions of plagiarism might be found in Ullmann, *Der verstohlene Blick*, 174–183.

instances, but this has not been regarded as 'criticism' since it does not belong to the field of medicine.

The following sections aim at discussing the methodology followed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah when dealing with the sources that we have surveyed above. But it should be emphasised that the *'Uyūn* is a 'literary history of medicine' and the author's aims and methods can only be properly understood if we approach this work as such.

a Structure of the Entries and Combination of Sources

The first chapter of the $Uy\bar{u}n$ is a rather contentious survey of the different points of view on the origins of medicine. This chapter may have been partly inspired by Galen's work on sects and its Arab commentaries,⁵⁹ but its structure is similar to the *maqālāt* works that convey different, sometimes discordant opinions from various scholars. It ends with the exposition of the author's own opinions.

Chapters 2 and 3 consist mainly of long lists of names due to the poor knowledge of the disciples of Hippocrates and other pre-Galenic physicians, but the rest of the chapters contain biographies of scholars. All these biographical entries present a rather similar structure: they begin with a customary eulogizing paragraph – in which the source of information is usually unacknowledged – followed by basic biographical information taken on most occasions from medical histories (Pethion, Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, etc.), or from comprehensive bio-bibliographical works (Ibn Juljul, Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, Ibn al-Nadīm). Subsequently, the author may complement the information with quotes – or paraphrases – taken from selected sources; these additions often consist of anecdotes that bear witness to the skills of the physician, his success at the court, or, more rarely, his piety. In the case of contemporaries or contemporaries of his teachers Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah relies on oral reports and personal recollections.

These core biographical sections are normally followed by examples that illustrate the physician's worth in the field of *adab*, understood in the broad sense of both literary education and good manners and morals; these examples may include poetry, witticisms, or – especially in the biographies of philosophers – aphorisms. The entries end with a list of books, which are sometimes glossed although the source of the bibliographical information is rarely acknowledged.

⁵⁹ Ibn Ridwān's commentary on Galen's K. al-Firaq is explicitly mentioned (1.7). This work has not come down to us, but Ibn Ridwān deals with the story of medicine and its mythical prophetic origins in the unpublished R. Fī Sharaf al-țibb.

A paradigmatic example could be the biography of Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah (13.58). It begins with a eulogizing paragraph providing basic biographical information for which no source is acknowledged (13.58.1), complemented with the story of Abū l-Ṣalt's imprisonment in Alexandria as related to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Manṭiqī (13.58.2.1–13.58.2.2). Then, and as illustration of Abū l-Ṣalt's literary skills, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah copies part of an epistolary interchange between Abū l-Ṣalt and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, written in rhymed prosed and with epigrams (13.58.3.1–13.58.3.2); and poems written by Abū l-Ṣalt on various topics (13.58.4.1–13.58.4.9). The biography ends with the list of his works (13.58.5).

The use of sources in the different versions of the '*Uyūn* also deserves comment. The additional information incorporated to Versions 2 and 3 of the work does not seem to be related to the availability of sources with one exception: Ibn al-Qiftī. As discussed, the first version of the '*Uyūn* was published before *Ta`rīkh al-atibba*' (or at least before it was known to our author) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah was only able to use Ibn al-Qiftī in later versions. Versions 2 and 3 also have additional verses, and additional items in the book-lists; some of these additions may come from sources that were not previously available for Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, but this cannot be known owing to the scarce references provided for these particular sections.

b Quotation and Paraphrase

As Müller claimed rather dismissively, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah copied what he saw, reproducing the texts as he encountered them without correcting the Arabic. In terms of the fidelity to the original text, the quotations of the *'Uyūn* are worthy of praise and have preserved traces of middle Arabic that other would have been polished by other scholars.⁶⁰

Another trait that sets Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah apart from other compilators is the special attention he paid to acknowledging the origin of his information. This awareness is sometimes reflected in his comments about other physicians. When glossing on the *Comprehensive Book* (*K. al-Ḥāwī*), for instance, he states:

In it al-R $\bar{a}z\bar{z}$ gathers everything about diseases and their cures which he found to be dispersed among all other medical books from the Ancients and those who came after them until his own time and he attributes every quote to its source.

11.5.25 no. 1

⁶⁰ On the language of the *Uyūn*, see Müller, 'Text'.

A further reference to the acknowledgement of sources comes up in the biography of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʻqūb ibn Siqlāb, who used to quote Galen at all times:

Whenever he was asked a question on some medical problem or a certain passage, whether difficult or otherwise, he would simply reply by saying 'Galen says' and quoting some of Galen's utterances. For this he was greatly admired. Sometimes, when quoting some of Galen's sayings, he even indicated such and such page of a certain chapter of Galen's works, referring to the copy in his possession, for he had studied that copy so many times that he had become wholly accustomed to it.

15.43.1

A similar statement is also made about Ibn al-Bayțār:

he never mentioned a drug without also citing in which chapter it is to be found in the book of Dioscorides or Galen, and even under which numbered item it appears amongst all the drugs mentioned in that chapter.

15.58.2

Referring to chapters, as Ibn al-Bayțār did, was a rather common practice in medical scholarship; not so the mention of item numbers. Ibn Siqlāb's references to the pages of his own copies of Galen is a curious rarity, impossible to implement in the pre-print era beyond the limits of one's personal library. In a time were texts circulated in manuscript copies and particular passages were difficult to find, quotations were the best way of acknowledging the source material.⁶¹ References to other works were rudimentary, but, rudimentary as it may have been, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah had a method.

c Acknowledged Quotations

In general, direct quotations in which the source is explicitly mentioned are far more numerous than paraphrases. Almost all of them are introduced with the formula *qāla fulān*, although it is also possible to occasionally find *ḥakā fulān* or *ḥaddatha fulān*, which is a formula most commonly used for oral sources. In most biographical entries, these quotations are juxtaposed without any personal intervention.

⁶¹ See Rosenthal, *Technique and Approach*, 37–40.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'āh usually provides the name of the authority and sometimes also the title of the work from which he is taking his information, but he is not consistent. If we take a look at the references to Ibn al-Nadīm we find that both name and title are given in most of the quotations (4.6.3.5, 6.1.2, 8.29.6, 10.1.6, 10.1.9, 10.4.2, 10.22.2, 15.5.9), but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah may simply refer to Ibn al-Nadīm (8.26.4, 10.1.12, 10.44.3, 11.4, three times in 15.5.9).

In other cases, probably assuming the familiarity of his audience with these works, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not provide the titles of the books he quotes. For instance, Ibn al-Dāyah (d. 265/878), the author of an often-quoted history of physicians is referred to as Yusūf ibn Ibrāhīm (8.3.6, 8.3.11, 8.8.2, 8.8.3, 8.9, 8.26.14, 8.26), and once as 'Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm the astrologer, known as Ibn al-Dāyah' (8.3.10). The title of his work, *Akhbār al-aṭibbā'*, is never mentioned. This is also the case of the quotations from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's *Manāqib al-aṭibbā'* and those from Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's history, which are introduced with the name of the authors only.

The quotations from the biographical works of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī and Ibn Juljul deserve special mention. These authors are most of the times acknowledged with their names only, although the titles of their works are occasionally mentioned.⁶²

d Second-Hand Quotations

There are several instances of second-hand or secondary quotations taken from compilations in which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not acknowledge the compiler, but rather quotes an utterance as if came directly from the original source. In Ch. 1, for instance, there is a long passage directly attributed to Andromachus, which is in fact a secondary quote taken from the *K. Diryāq*, itself unacknowledged (1.8). Ch. 2 has a quotation from Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos*, a work surely unknown to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, introduced with 'alā mā ḥakā Hurūsiyus ṣāḥib al-qiṣaṣ (2.1.2). This, like a following quote by Galen, was taken from not from Orosius' or Galen's works, but from Ibn Juljul's Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā', which is also unacknowledged.

Some of these secondary quotations can be traced back to Ibn al-Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist*, unacknowledged in these cases. In Ch. 2 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes from Thābit ibn Qurrah using the formula *'wa-min khaṭṭ Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Harrānī lammā dhakara al-Baqāriṭah qāla*'. This quote does not come from an autograph consulted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, who always uses a verb in the first person in these cases (*wajadtu, ra'aytu, naqaltu*), but most likely from Ibn al-

⁶² See the Appendix to this chapter for precise references.

Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist*, in which the words of Thābit are introduced by a similar rubric (*min khaṭṭ Thābit fī l-Baqāriṭah*).⁶³ A quote from some ancient history book in which Hippocrates is said to be contemporary of Kay Bahman, is also an unacknowledged second-hand quote from the *K. al-Fihrist* (4.1.5).

Since many of the works used by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah have not come down to us, it is impossible to pin down all these secondary quotations, but some quotes from 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century individuals introduced by *qāla* without further references are probably second-hand quotes taken from an unacknowledged source, perhaps Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Dāyah's lost history of physicians. This seems to be the case of the quotations attributed to Maymūn ibn Hārūn (8.3.13), Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (8.20.3), an unidentified Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī (8.4.12, 8.14, 8.20.12), Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Ṭūmār al-Hāshimī (8.32.2–8.32.3), and Abū 'Alī ibn Makīkhā (10.8.10).

e Beginning and Ending Quotations

Medieval Arab authors are usually careful to mark the beginning of a quotation. The commonest formula to introduce these passages, also employed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah on most occasions, is $q\bar{a}la/hak\bar{a}/haddatha fulān$ which often appears rubricated or overlined in red in manuscripts. When the relevance of a source or the value of the manuscript consulted needs to be emphasised, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah resorts to paraphrases with a verb in first person, such as *wajadtu* or *naqaltu*. This is a common formula to introduce quotations from autographs (*naqaltu min khațți-hi*).⁶⁴

Marking the end of a quotation is an entirely different matter, and a major problem for editors. End of quotes are only occasionally indicated; they are sometimes marked with textual formulae, such as *intahā* or *qāla*, sometimes with rubrics in manuscripts.⁶⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is, in this regard, also rather methodical. On occasion, he may explicitly mark the end of the quote with the expression *hādhā mā dhakarahu* or *hādha ākhar mā dhakarahu* (1.8, 5.1.13, 8.29.3, 11.13.4). But most biographical entries consist of juxtaposed quotations from sources and poetry in which the beginning of a new quote (*wa-qāla* ...) also marks the end of the previous one. When he glosses a quote or continues with his own narrative after a quotation, this transition is marked with verbs in the first person, usually *aqūlu* ('I say'), or periphrasis with *naqaltu* ('I copied'), *wajadtu* ('I found'), etc.⁶⁶

⁶³ See Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist (Sayyid), 2/1:288.

⁶⁴ See the references to autographs above in note 8.

⁶⁵ See Rosenthal, *Technique and Approach*, 39.

⁶⁶ On the use of these first-person formulae, see below p. 110.

f Unacknowledged Borrowings

The majority of the quotations in the *Uyūn* are acknowledged. There is also a number of unacknowledged quotes and paraphrases that, although not identified with a specific reference, are contiguous or almost contiguous with acknowledged quotations. The most obvious example is offered by the chapter on al-Andalus, the first part of which is almost entirely based on Ibn Juljul and Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī.

Most biographies of Ch. 13 begin with a paragraph that paraphrases one of these authors without acknowledgement and continues with an acknowledged quote. The use of Ibn Juljul and Ṣāʻid al-Andalusī in biographies that only have a few lines is not always acknowledged, especially if they have been quoted before; for instance, biographies 13.41–13.49 are a slightly paraphrased quotation from Ṣāʻid al-Andalusī, who is not mentioned in this section; and biographies 13.30–13.33 are also an unacknowledged borrowing from Ibn Juljul, to whom the brief biography 14.5, in fact a paraphrase from the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*', is also not attributed.

Another work occasionally paraphrased without acknowledgement is the *K. al-Aghānī*, but these paraphrases occur in proximity to acknowledged quotations from the work in Chs. 7 and 8.⁶⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist*, despite being one of the most often quoted texts, is used without acknowledgement as the source of the biographies of Oribasius and his followers (5.2.1), of biographies 8.36–8.38, and of some passages in the biography of Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah (10.3.2.1–10.3.2.3, 10.3.12).

This practice suggests that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was particularly scrupulous in marking direct quotations and, usually, also isolated paraphrases; in contrast, the paraphrases that appear next to acknowledged quotations were not always identified. The lack of references in these cases cannot be interpreted as an attempt to conceal the origin of the information.

There is one exception to this rule. In Ch. 14 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes from a work that is neither acknowledged in this section nor mentioned in any other part of the *Uyūn al-anbā*': Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Dāyah's *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* (14.3, 14.4.1–14.4.4). An unidentified work by Aḥmad Ibn al-Dāyah is quoted in 7.6, also his *R. fī l-mukāfa*'ah (8.29.13), and his *K. Ḥusn al-ʿuqbā* (10.1.7).

The origin of book-lists is only acknowledged when they are part of larger quotations from bio-bibliographical sources, such as Porphyry, Ptolemy al-Gharīb, al-Jūzjānī, or Ibn al-Haytham.

⁶⁷ See the Appendix for details.

g References and Cross-References

Giving exact references to texts in manuscripts was impossible, but medieval authors divided their texts into units that helped locate quotations. Most of the works were divided into $maq\bar{a}l\bar{a}t$, 'books' or 'sections', which in turn were divided into chapters, $abw\bar{a}b$. Referring to a particular $maq\bar{a}lah$ and a $b\bar{a}b$ to indicate the origin of quotes was a common practice in medical literature, especially for references to the Galenic and the Hippocratic corpus. Other extended works such as Ibn al-Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist* also used these divisions.

Glimpses of this kind of scholarly awareness can be perceived in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's treatment of book-lists, where he often notes the number of $maq\bar{a}$ $l\bar{a}t$ of every book, and in a few quotations, especially from Galenic works. For instance, he quotes from Galen's *K. al-Akhlāq* referring to the first $maq\bar{a}lah$ (4.1.3.4, 5.1.6), from the first $maq\bar{a}lah$ of Galen's *Commentary on the Prognosis* (4.1.9.2, 52), from the first $maq\bar{a}lah$ of Porphyry's *History of Philosophers* (4.3.3), from the second $maq\bar{a}lah$ of Galen's *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* (4.5.4); he locates a reference to Galen's first visit to Rome 'at the very start of the first section ($maq\bar{a}lah$) of the *Anatomical Procedures*' (5.1.8.2), and reproduces a quote from Ibn al-Muṭrān with a reference to the fourth $maq\bar{a}lah$ of Galen's *Anatomy According to the Views of Hippocrates* (5.1.14). These are, however, exceptions. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's references to the quoted works do not follow the medical practice. His aim is not to help the reader to find a particular text in a referenced work, but rather to quote texts by giving credit to their authors.

Referrals to other books and cross-references to sections of the $Uy\bar{u}n$ are also rare. The $Uy\bar{u}n$ consists, in its major part, of a series of biographies that can be read independently. There are no explicit cross-references to other biographies and chapters of the work, even when the author makes remarks about previous discussions. For instance, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah refers to the claim that Hippocrates was 'the first to consign the art of medicine to written works' when he points out that the report of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī contradicts that (3.5), but he does not refer the reader to Ch. 2, where this was discussed.

References to other works are also exceptional and circumscribed to catalogues and to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs own books. At the very end of the biography of Galen, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah states: 'Should anyone wish to refer to their titles or to Galen's aim in each of them, he may consult this book [i.e. his *Pinax*]' (5.1.40). In the biography of al-Rāzī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah also refers the reader to a book of his entitled *Anecdotes of Physicians in Treating Illnesses* (*K. Ḥikāyāt al-aṭibbāʾ fī ʿilājāt al-adwāʾ*), in which he has collected further anecdotes about this physician (11.5.13); he does the same in the biography of al-Badīʿ al-Aṣṭurlābī, in this case referring to another book of his that has not come down to us either, entitled *The Correct Predictions of the Astrologers (K. Iṣābāt al-munajjimīn)* (10.67.3)

h Editing Quotes

Since most of the works quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah are lost, it is impossible to assess the accuracy of all his quotations and to detect possible editions. The collation of his text with extant works shows that he had a deep respect for his sources. There are only a couple of instances in which quotations seem to have been edited.

The first of them is a quote from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jībrīl about the origins of medicine that contains a citation from Galen (in 5.1.9–10). It is likely that Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah has edited the quotation from the *Akhbār al-aṭibbā*' by amplifying the citation of Galen. A second case occurs in Ch. 10, where a quote from Ibn al-Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist* seems to have been expanded in Version 3 of the 'Uyūn using Ibn al-Qifṭī's Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā':

The scribe Ibn al-Nadīm of Baghdad says in *The Catalogue* (*K. al-Fihrist*)⁶⁸ that the Caliph al-Qāhir bi-Allāh urged Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah to convert to Islam whereupon he fled to Khorasan for fear of the Caliph. Subsequently, however, he did convert, and returned to Baghdad a Muslim, where he died.

10.4.2

The version in Ibn al-Qifțī, found also in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's *musawwadah* and in Ms R, reports the caliph request and adds:

but he [i.e. Sinān] strongly refused. Then al-Qāhir threatened him and Sinān, fearing him and the severity of his strength, entered Islam and settled for a time. Then he witnessed something from al-Qāhir that frightened him and he fled to Khorasan.⁶⁹

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also adds supplementary information to book-lists. These sections often come from unacknowledged catalogues and the additions from the author's hand can only be noticed when he makes them explicit, usually with a verb in first person. The most relevant examples concern the book-lists taken from classical catalogues which are supplemented by a further list of

⁶⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist (Sayyid), 2/1:313.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Qifțī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 190.

works known to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and not included in the *pinax*. For instance, in the list of Aristotle's works, taken from Ptolemy al-Gharīb, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a appends a supplementary list with works not mentioned by Ptolemy that he had personally seen, most of them apocrypha (4.6.13.3).

i Critique of Sources

Scholarly appreciation for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah rests on the assumption that he was, above all, a trustworthy and methodical amanuensis who did not engage in textual or source criticism. It is true that most of the biographies consist of a collection of information from varied sources that the author rarely discusses. But this contention overlooks two main facts. First, the *Uyūn* is a 'literary history of medicine' aimed, among other things, at conveying an ideal image of the physician in which *adab* plays a crucial role; it cannot be compared undiscriminatingly with biographical works more focused on the history of science, such as Ibn Juljul's and Ṣā'id al-Andalusī's *tabaqāt*, let alone with scientific works in which scholarly practices are driven by different aims and rely on different methodologies. Second, the critical approach of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is evident in his treatment of some sources, notably classical works dealing with pre-Islamic medicine, and also poetry.

There are several instances in the *Uyūn* in which discordant reports are weighed against each other, especially when the reports are contradictory. The first occurrence of contradictory reports is in the biography of Asclepius (2.1.3) in which Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah points out that al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik claims once that Asclepius was a pupil of Hermes, whilst on another occasion he says that:

Asclepius was a man of the antediluvian age, and that he was a pupil of Agathodaemon the Egyptian. Agathodaemon figured among the Greek and Egyptian prophets. The name means 'the fortunate'.⁷⁰

The claim that Asclepius brought the art of medicine to the Greeks is also contrasted with a statement from Abū Ma'shar's *K. al-Ulūf*:

This Asclepius was not the first practitioner of the art of medicine to be deified. Furthermore, he was not the originator of that art: he learned it from his predecessors, walking the path that they had trodden.

2.1.3

⁷⁰ A Greco-Egyptian god who is represented in Arabic tradition as one of the ancient Egyptian sages. On his importance as an authority in the occult sciences, see *E1²* art. 'Aghāthūdhīmūn' (M. Plessner).

This statement is followed by other reports on the life of Asclepius – sometimes contradictory – from Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, Thābit ibn Qurrah, and the Ps.-Galenic *Commentary on Hippocrates' Oath* (2.1.5). In this case, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not express his own opinion, he simply collects reports that might convey discordant opinions.

The same procedure is followed when discussing the lifetime of Aristotle:

The *shaykh* Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Manṭiqī⁷¹ in his *Annotations* (Taʿalīq) states that, 'Theophrastus was appointed by Aristotle, who lived sixty-one years. As for Plato, he lived a long life'. Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī, in turn, says in his *Catalogue* (*K. al-Fihrist*) that 'Aristotle died when he was sixty-six years old'.⁷² And Isḥāq [ibn Ḥunayn] claimed that Aristotle lived sixty-seven years.

4.6.3.5

On other occasions, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah intervenes in the discussion casting doubt on the quality of the information. For instance, after quoting the anecdote about Polemon's physiognomical assessment of Hippocrates, he adds: 'I [i.e., Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah] say: This story has also been told about the philosopher Socrates and his students.' (4.1.6).

The most relevant example is perhaps his engagement with Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's *Ta'rīkh*. This work, also used extensively by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, was one of the few comprehensive sources for the history of Greek medicine available for Arab historians, at least in the time of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. But its information proved to be often contradictory when compared with other sources, some of them judged to be more reliable, such as Galen. The first reference in which the contradictions between Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī and other sources are explicitly noted occurs in the section on the disciples of Hippocrates. The legendary reports on Hippocrates' life discussed in Ch. 2 present him as the saviour of the art of medicine and the first physician who composed medical books. Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's account is contradictory:

 $I - Ibn Ab\bar{i} U\bar{s}aybi'ah - say: John the Grammarian's account of these works, assuming it is accurate and that they really were composed as he asserts, is a refutation of those who allege that Hippocrates was the first$

Al-Sijistānī al-Manțiqī is the author of the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*. See his biography at Ch.
 11.7.

⁷² See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 309; ed. Sayyid, ii:159.

to consign the art of medicine to written works, because the individuals who composed them were much earlier than Hippocrates.

3.5

The differences between Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī and other sources are also raised in the section on the disciples of Hippocrates, fourteen according to Yaḥyā, twelve according to other sources (4.1.10.1). The most critical remarks against this chronographer, however, occur in the biography of Galen, where his information is contrasted with the many autobiographical accounts scattered in the Galenic corpus. In Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs own words,

The length of Galen's life was 'eighty-seven years. He was a youth and a student for seventeen years and a scholar and a teacher for seventy years'. So runs the account of John the Grammarian. In the same way I have based myself on John's reports for the divisions in the lives of the previously mentioned great master physicians down to my own time with respect to their studying and their teaching.⁷³ This matter requires careful scrutiny for information on it cannot be restricted, as has been indicated. Indeed, logic dictates that some of it is inconceivable and this includes his information that Galen was a youth and a student for seventeen years and a scholar and a teacher for seventy years. The only way to check what he says is to use the reports of Galen himself. Following statements by someone like Galen about himself is preferable to following the words of someone else about him.

5.1.3

The sections of poetry also contain occasional examples of source criticism, especially concerning the authorship of the poems. For instance, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah notices that a poem by Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī of philosophical tenor is sometimes wrongly attributed to Ibn Sīnā (10.51.2); in the entry on Muḥammad ibn al-Mujallī al-'Antarī he discusses how a poem has been also attributed to Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Buṭlān (10.69.3.1). In the biography of Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah also expresses some doubts about the attribution to Ibn Sīnā of a poem foreseeing the advent of the Mongols; perhaps due to his own interest in astrology he concludes: 'God knows best if al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs really composed this poem or someone else, but it occurred to me that I should quote the poem here, whether it is by Ibn Sīnā or someone else.' (11.13.7.9).

⁷³ Cf. Rosenthal, 'Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn', p. 66/76.

j First-Person Interventions

In addition to the aforementioned cases in which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, explicitly or implicitly, pointed out to contradictions in the sources, there are other explicit authorial interventions that deserve attention.

1 Introductory Formulae with Verbs in First Person These formulae are often used to mark the end of a quotation and the beginning of a new one. On most occasions, however, they introduce personal remarks about the information previously given, or emphasise the contradictory or complementary nature of two different pieces of information.

The verb $aq\bar{u}lu$ sometimes marks the end of citation or the beginning of a new quote, but it might have other uses. The first chapter begins with a statement in first person introduced by $aq\bar{u}lu$ and contains several sections in which the author speaks using the first singular or plural person. In the rest of the chapters the formula $aq\bar{u}lu$ may be used to mark the author's glosses to citations, names, and titles; and to introduce personal opinions and experiences, such as his discussion of the contradictory reports on Galen's lifetime (5.1.4).

The formulae *naqaltu* and, less often, *wajadtu* may also mark a transition often a citation, but they are especially used when Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah emphasizes that his source was an autograph.⁷⁴ This is the usual formula to introduce unidentified sources, referred to as *ba'd al-tawārīkh* (8.3.9, 8.4.3, 8.12.2), *ba'd al-kutub* (8.4.13), *ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar qadīm* (5.1.8.2), or *ba'd tawārīkh al-naṣārā* (6.1.3).

2 Personal Opinions

The expression of personal opinions referring to sources is extremely rare. But there is one instance in which the voice of the author let itself be clearly heard and guides his selection of sources. In Ch. 1, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah surveys the different thesis concerning the origins of medicine (1.4), but he himself holds the opinion that medicine is God's gift to His creation, since it has been directly conveyed by prophets (1.5), revealed in dreams (1.6, 1.7), or might stem from divinely inspired instincts that are especially observable in animals (1.11); but he also acknowledges that large part of it has been acquired by mere chance (1.8, 1.9), or empirical observation (1.10) and has evolved over time.

The veracity of reports is discussed in a couple of instances by appealing to personal experiences. A story told by Galen in *On Laxative Drugs* about a plant that produces nose-bleeding is confirmed with a personal report about a plant

⁷⁴ See occurrences above footnote 8.

with similar effects, although Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah is unable to say whether the drug mentioned by Galen is the same one about which he has been informed (1.3.1). A second example is the claim that al-Rāzī had been a moneychanger before becoming a physician. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah proves the accuracy of this report stating:

It is said that early in his life al-Rāzī was a moneychanger. This is supported by an old manuscript I have seen of al-Rāzī's book *al-Manṣūrī*, which has pages missing at the end and is badly deteriorated with age. Its title is in the same script as the rest of it and is as follows: *'The Manṣūrī Compendium, composed by Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī the moneychanger* (Ṣayrafī). The owner of the manuscript said that it was in the handwriting of al-Rāzī.'

15.5.18

3 Biases and Censorship

For many scholars, the first name that comes to mind when the 'Uyūn is mentioned is a physician about whom Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not say a single word: Ibn al-Nafīs. One of the flaws denounced by Vernet in his article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was precisely 'the one-sidedness of the choice of subjects: he provides no mention of persons such as Ibn Nafīs, who, like him, was a pupil of Ibn [*sic*] al-Dakhwār (d. circa 628/1230), but whom he disliked'.⁷⁵

This omission was also noted by medieval scholars and the biographies of Ibn al-Nafīs taken from other sources have been sometimes added in the margins of the manuscripts of the ' $Uy\bar{u}n$.⁷⁶ We do not really know Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's reason for not including Ibn al-Nafīs in his collection of biographies. For all the relevance of Ibn al-Nafīs, this omission only does not justify Vernet's contention. But there are other biases and omissions that deserve attention.

The arbitrariness behind the selection of materials in this kind of collection is always difficult to assess. It depends to a great extent on the availability of sources, which in the case of the *'Uyūn* is especially relevant in some chapters. For instance, the chapter on al-Andalus essentially relies, in terms of written sources, on Ibn Juljul's *Tabaqāt al-aṭibbā*'. As noted by Balty-Guesdon, Ibn Juljul only pays attention to eastern scholars active during the pre-Buyid period and excludes eminent Andalusī physicians who served under Abū 'Āmir al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002) such as 'Arīb ibn Saʿīd (d. ca. 369/980).⁷⁷ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah inher-

⁷⁵ EI² art. 'Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a' (J. Vernet).

⁷⁶ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁷ Balty-Guesdon, 'Les *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā*".

its Ibn Juljul biases. Moreover, the last biographies of this chapter are based on the oral reports of Abū Marwān al-Balkhī, a scholar from Seville, and almost all these physicians are from or have affiliation with this city. This chapter is affected by a twofold bias that should not be attributed to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah.

Other omissions point to different constraints. The biographies of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn Ghazāl (15.49) and Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī (15.20) are especially relevant in this regard. The first version of the *Uyūn*, dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah, did not have an entry on al-Iīlī, even though he was a notable physician and personal friend of Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah. His biography, added to Versions 2 and 3 of the work, has a Pirandellian anecdote in which this physician complained about not having been included in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's book. We also learn from this biography that al-Jīlī had earned the enmity of the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, who had him thrown down a cliff. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's decision of not including a biography of al-Jīlī in the version of his work dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah was most likely an act of prudence. A comparison of the treatment of Amīn al-Dawlah in the first, dedicated version and in later versions of the work supports this hypothesis: whilst the biography of the dedication is, in fact, a eulogy,⁷⁸ the biography in Versions 2 and 3, written after the death of Amīn al-Dawlah and in which the dedication disappears, includes negative information. This is an obvious case of self-censorship that may also have influenced the way in which other biographies were written and the identity of the physicians included in different versions of the work.

If we turn to the kind of information conveyed in the 'Uyūn, it is evident that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah tried to protect the image of physicians, and he occasionally dismisses the veracity of sources that might damage the reputation of his admired figures. In the biography of Galen, for instance, he quotes from an unknown source in which the death of Galen was attributed to a diarrhoea that he misdiagnosed and was unable to cure. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah claims that this is a fictional, fabricated story (*hādhihi al-ḥikāyah aḥsabuhā mufta'alah* 'an Jālīnus) (5.1.22). Likewise, in his biography of his admired al-Rāzī Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah never mentions the physician's polemical opinions on prophecy and the reports about al-Rāzī's unbelief are strongly contested in a gloss to a work entitled 'On publicizing his claims about the vices of the Saints' (*K. fīmā yarūmuhu min iẓhār mā yaddaʿī min 'uyūb al-awliyā*'):

 $I - Ibn Ab\bar{i} U$, aybi'ah - ay that this book, if he did indeed compose it (and God only knows), may have been composed by an evil opponent of

⁷⁸ This biography has been edited and translated as an addendum to Ch. 15.49.

al-Rāzī and attributed to him so that whoever comes to see it or hear of it will form a bad opinion of al-Rāzī. Al-Rāzī, however, is far above having any dealings with such a subject or compiling a work on this matter. Even some of those who criticize al-Rāzī – or rather excommunicate him – such as 'Alī ibn Riḍwān⁷⁹ of Egypt and others name this book *al-Rāzī's book on the false-miracles of the Prophets (K. al-Rāzī fī makhārīq al-anbiyā'*). 11.5.23 no. 166

A further example is his rejection of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's critiques against the works of al-Kindī:

 $I-Ibn\ Ab\bar{\imath}\ Uṣaybiʿah - would say that what Judge Ṣāʿid has said about al-Kindī is unjust and does not detract from al-Kindī's knowledge, nor should it prevent the people from studying his books and deriving benefit from them.$

10.1.8

Conversely, the immorality of Yūḥannā ibn Masawayh is explained by appealing to his lack of religion:

I say that Ibn Māsawayh acted in that way because he was deficient in virtue, in religion, and fidelity. He was not a Muslim, but he did not even hold to his own religion, as is evident from the stories given above related by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm. No sensible person should give credit to, nor a prudent person rely upon, someone who does not have a religion which he follows and to which he is bound.

8.26.18

Despite this argument based on the poor religiosity of Ibn Māsawayh, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is also conspicuously scrupulous about theological debates. He quotes hadiths transmitted by physicians who also excelled in this field but avoids engaging on the discussion of prophetic medicine⁸⁰ and does not quote any theological source in his discussion of prophecy. His defence of medicine as a revealed science in Ch. 1 is based on the works of physicians, especially, the Ps.–Galenic *Commentary of Hippocrates' Oath*; and, more relevantly,

⁷⁹ See his entry Ch. 14.25.

⁸⁰ Prophetic medicine was already an unavoidable topic in the time of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah; on the works on *al-țibb al-nabawī*, see Ragab, *Piety and Patienthood*, 46–94.

his defence of the superiority of prophecy over knowledge relies on the Ps.– Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs* (7.2.2).

Appendix: Identified Written Sources

This appendix lists all the sources employed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in constructing the 'Uyūn al-anbā'. Some of the sources are acknowledged and some not. The authors are listed alphabetically, with chapter and section references. Those quotations that are acknowledged will be indicated by (a.q.), with acknowledged paraphrases indicated as (a.p.); (a.s.q.) indicates acknowledged secondary quote. Unacknowledged quotations will be marked (u.q.) and unacknowledged paraphrases (u.p.). Poetry is not included unless there is explicit reference to a written source.

'Abd al-Lațīf al-Baghdādī, aphorisms copied from various works – 15.40.8 (a.q.)

- 'Abd al-Lațīf al-Baghdādī, autobiography (sīratuhu) 15.40.2–15.40.4 (a.q.)
- 'Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-l-i'tibār fī l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa-lhawādith al-mu'āyanah bi-ard Mişr (Information and Details about Events Witnessed and Incidents Observed in the Land of Egypt) – 15.40.5 (acknowledged used of the book to provide biographical information); 15.40.6 (a.q.)
- 'Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī, letter sent to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's father 15.40.7 (a.q.)
- 'Abd al-Lațīf al-Baghdādī, unidentified source 10.64.3 (a.q.); 10.66.4 (a.q.); 11.21 (a.q.)
- 'Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr, *K. al-Taysīr fī l-mudāwāh wa-l-tadbīr (Facilitation of Treatment and Regimen)* 1.7 (a.q.)
- Abū ʿAlī ibn Makīkhā, unidentified source 10.8.10 (a.q., likely a secondary quote)
- Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī, personal report 8.4.12 (a.s.q. taken from unknown source); 8.14 (a.s.q.; no reference to source); 8.20.12 (a.s.q.; no reference to source); 8.29.10 (a.q.; no reference to source)
- Abū Bakr al-Khālidī and Abū 'Uthmān al-Khālidī, *K. al-Tuḥaf wa-l-hadāyā* (Book of Gifts and Precious Things) 8.26.15 (a.q.)
- Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, al-Muʿtabar (Lessons in Wisdom) 1.11 (a.p.)
- Abū l-Faḍl ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Muhandis, *M. Fī ru'yat al-hilāl, (Treatise on the sighting of the new moon)* 15.33 (a.q.)
- Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *K. al-Aghānī* (*Book of Songs*) 7.2.3 (u.q. likely); 7.2.4 (a.q.); 7.5.1 7.5.5 (a.q., a.p.); 8.7 (a.p.)
- Abū Hafş al-Kirmānī, Akhbār al-Barāmikah (History of the Barmakids) 12.5 (a.q.)
- Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Imām, prologue to the collected works of Ibn Bājjah – 13.59.2.1–13.59.2 (a.q.)
- Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi', unidentified source 10.3.7 (a.q.)
- Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ashʿath, *K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah (On simple drugs)* 10.46.4 no. 1 (a.q.)

- Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ashʿath, *K. al-Ghādhī wa-l-mughtadhī (On Food and Nutrition)* 15.3.1.3 (a.q.)
- Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib, *K. al-Shāmil fī l-ṭibb (The Comprehensive Book of Medicine)* 10.37.4 (a.q.); 10.58.2 (a.p.); 11.8.3 (a.q.)
- Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-yatīmah* (A Completion of the Unique Book of its Time) – 11.9.1 (a.q.)
- Abū Maʿshar, *Kitāb al-ulūf (Book of Thousands*) 2.1.1 (a.q.); 2.1.3 (a.q.); 2.1.4 (a.q.); 12.2 (a.q.)
- Abū Muḥammad Badr ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, personal reports 8.4.6–8.4.7 (a.s.q. from unknown source)
- Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ṣayrafī, likely *Qānūn dīwān al-rasā'il (Rules of the Chancellery)* 13.58.3.1–13.58.3.4 (a.q.)
- Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī, K. Fī iẓhār ḥikmat Allāh fī khalq al-insān (On the Manifestation of God's Wisdom in the Creation of Man) 11.12 (a.q.)
- Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, *K. Warṭat al-ajillā' min hafwat al-aṭibbā' (The Perils of Patricians due to the Errors of Physicians)* 10.13.5 (a.q.)
- Abū Saʿīd Shādhān ibn Baḥr, K. al-Mudhākarāt (Book of Memoranda) 10.1.5 (a.q.)
- Abū Saʿīd Zāhid al-ʿUlamā', K. Fī l-bīmāristānāt (On Hospitals) 11.5.2 (a.q.)
- Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn Abī l-Ṣalt, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah (Egyptian Epistle)* 14.27.2– 14.27.3 (a.q.)
- Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī, *Taʿālīq (Annotations)* 2.1.1 (a.q.); 4.6.3.5 (a.q.); 6.1.2 (a.q.); 15.1.3.1 (a.q.)
- Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī, unidentified source 8.29.5 (a.s.q. taken from Ibn al-Nadīm, who quotes from certain Ḥasan ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣanādīqī)
- Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī, biography of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.2.1–11.13.3.19 (a.q.)
- Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām al-Baghdādī, *K. al-amthāl (Book of Proverbs)* 7.5.5 (a.q.)
- Abū Yaḥyā al-Yasa' ibn 'Īsā ibn Ḥazm ibn al-Yasa' in *The Book that Declares the Good Qualities of the People of the West (al-Mu'rib 'an maḥāsin ahl al-Maghrib)* – 13.40 (a.p.); 13.52 (a.p.); 13.61.2.2 (a.q.)
- Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, K. al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī (Amusement and Entertainment) – 8.29.11 (a.q.)
- Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Makkī, *K. al-Mujarrad fī l-aghānī* (*Book of Songs Only*) 8.3.23 (a.q.; misattributed to Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī)
- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah, unidentified source 7.6 (a.q.)
- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah, *R. fī l-mukāfaʾah (Epistle on Recompense)* 8.29.13 (a.p.)
- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah, K. Ḥusn al-ʿuqbā (Book of Fortunate Outcome) – 10.1.7 (a.q.)
- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Dāyah, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (History of Ibn Ṭūlūn)* 14.3 (u.p.); 14.4.1–14.4.4 (u.p.)

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'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Abī l-Maʿālī Saʿd ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥaẓīrī, *K. Zīnat al-dahr (The Adornment of the Age)* – 10.65.3 (a.q.)

Amīn al-Dawlah ibn Ghazāl, letter to the vizier Burhān al-Dīn – 15.49.6.2 (a.q.)

- Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, letter to al-ʿAzīz Abū Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid 10.64.19.19 (a.q.)
- Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, letter to Ibn Aflah 10.64.19.19 (a.q.)
- Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, letter to Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad – 10.64.19.1 (a.q.)
- Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, letter to his son 10.64.1 (a.q.)
- Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, letter to Jamāl al-Ru'asā' Abū l-Fatḥ Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Ṣāʿid 10.64.19.17 (a.q.)
- Amīn al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bayyāsī, unidentified source 15.17 (a.q.)
- Anonymous, *K. al-Diryāq* (*Book of Antidotes*) 1.8 (s.q. attributed to Andromachus the Younger; the *K. al-Diryāq* is not acknowledged).
- al-'Antarī, *al-Nawr al-mujtanā* (*The Blossom Plucked*) 10.69.3.1 (reference to the work to confirm authorship of poem)
- al-Bayhaqī, Mashārib al-tajārib wa-ghawārib al-gharā'ib (Draughts of Experiences and Waves of Wonders) 5.1.5 (a.q.)
- al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-jamāhir fi maʿrifat al-jawāhir* (*Collected Information on Precious Stones*) 8.4.11 (a.q.)
- Bulmuzaffar ibn Mu'arrif, unidentified source 11.5.15 (a.q.); 11.5.21 (a.q.)
- Dioscorides, Hayūlā 'ilāj al-țibb (De materia medica) 1.11 (a.p.); 4.1.11.1 (a.q.)
- Eusebius of Caesarea, unidentified source 5.1.8.1 (a.s.p., likely taken from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jībrīl)
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Waşiyyah (Testament) 11.19.6.1 (a.q.)
- al-Fārābī, *duʿā*' (prayer) 15.1.4 (a.q.)
- al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm (Enumeration of Sciences)* 4.6.5.1 (a.q., no reference to title)
- al-Fārābī, unidentified source 15.1.2 (a.q.)

Galen, Akhlāq al-nafs (Character Traits) – 4.1.3.4 (a.q.); 5.1.6 (a.q.)

- Galen, *Bīnaks*, i.e., *Pinax* (*On my own Books*) 2.1.2 (a.q.); 5.1.9–5.1.10.2 (a.q.); 5.1.28 (a.p.); 5.1.37 no. 21 (a.q., title not given)
- Galen, K. Fīl-adwiyah al-mus'hilah (Laxative drugs) 1.2 (a.p.).
- Galen, K. Fī l-amrāḍ al-ʿasirat al-bur' (Diseases That Are Difficult to Cure) 5.1.19 (a.q.)
- Galen, K. Fī anna al-akhyār min al-nās qad yantaftʿūna bi-aʿdāʾihim (The Best People Can Derive Benefit From their Enemies) – 5.1.30 (a.q.)
- Galen, K. Fī ārā' Abuqrāṭ wa-Aflāṭūn (On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato) 4.5.4 no. 5 (a.q.)
- Galen, *K. Fī aṣḥāb al-ḥiyal (On the Methodist Sect)* 5.1.19 (reference to confirm information of Galen's *Kitāb fī l-amrāḍ al-ʿasirat al-bur*').

Galen, K. Fīl-faṣd (On Bloodletting) – 1.6 (a.p.).

- Galen, *K. Fī* l-ḥathth 'alā ta'allum ṣinā'at al-ṭibb (Exhortation to Study the Art of Medicine) – 2.1.2 (a.s.q. quote taken from Ibn Juljul's Ṭabaqāt; Ibn Juljul is not acknowledged)
- Galen, *K. Fī l-kaymūs al-jayyid wa-l-radī*' (*Good and Bad Juices*) 5.1.24.1–5.1.24.2 (a.q.) Galen, *Hīlat al-bur*' (*Method of Healing*) – 1.6 (a.p.); 2.1.2 (a.p.)
- Galen, Marātib qirā'at kutubihi (The Order for Reading his Books) 5.1.3 (a.q.)
- Galen, *K. Miḥnat al-ṭabīb al-fāḍīl (Examination of the Best Physician)* 5.1.18.1–5.1.18.3 (a.q.); 5.1.29.1–5.1.29.3 (a.q.); 15.51.3 (a.q.)
- Galen, Nawādir taqdimat al-maʿrifah (Remarkable Stories of Prognosis) 5.1.28 (a.q.)
- Galen, K. Qāṭājānis (Composition of Drugs by Types) 5.1.20 (a. p.)
- Galen, unidentified work (*fī mawāḍi' kathīrah*) 2.1.2 (a.s.q. taken from Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqat*; Ibn Juljul is not acknowledged).
- Ps.-Galen, *K. fī l-ḥuqan* (*On Enemas*) 1.11 (secondary quote–Herodotus with acknowledgement of the source).
- Ps.-Galen, *Tafsīr K. al-Aymān li-Abuqrāț* (*Commentary of Hippocrates' Book of Oaths*) 1.1 (a.p.); 1.6 (a.q.); 2.1.6.1–2.1.6.4 (a.q. includes glosses by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the translator of this text); 4.1.1 (a.p.)
- Hakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jilyānī, *qaṣīdah* entitled *al-Tuḥfah al-jawhariyyah* (*The Jewelled Precious Gift*) 15.8.4 (a.q.)
- al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿīd al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ḥikam wa-l-amthāl (The Book of Aphorisms and Proverbs)* 10.1.13 (a.q.)
- Haysa-Baysa, letters 10.68.1.3–10.68.1.4 (a.q.)
- Hilāl al-Ṣābi', unidentified source 10.4.9 (a.q.); 10.8.7–10.8.9 (a.q.)
- Hippocrates, *K. al-Aymān* (*Oath*) 4.1.3.1 (a.q.)
- Hippocrates, Nāmūs al-țibb (Medical Law) 4.1.3.2 (a.q.)
- Hippocrates, *al-Waṣiyyah* (*Testament*), also known as *Tartīb al-țibb* (*Etiquette of Medicine*) – 4.1.3.3 (a.q.)
- Hunayn ibn Isḥāq, *K. al-ʿAshr maqālāt fī l-ʿayn (Ten Treatises on the Eye)* 8.29.22 no. 2 (a.q.)
- Hunayn ibn Ishāq, M. Fī dhikr al-kutub allatī lam yadhkurhā Jālīnus fī fihrist kutubihi (On the Books not listed by Galen in the Catalogue of his Works) – 5.1.38 (a.q.; no reference to title)
- Hunayn ibn Ishāq, Nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-hukamā' (Anecdotes of the Philosophers and Wise Men), also known as Adab al-falāsifah 4.1.7 (a.q.); 4.1.8.2 (a.q.); 4.4.3 (a.q.); 4.6.3.5 (a.q.); 4.6.7.1–4.6.9 (a.q.); 5.1.34 (a.q.)
- Hunayn ibn Ishāq, Risālah (Letter) 5.1.37 (a.q., sometimes heavily paraphrased)
- Hunayn ibn Ishāq, R. Fīmā aṣābahū min al-miḥan wa-l-shadā'id (On his trials and tribulations) – 8.29.14–8.29.21
- Hunayn ibn Ishāq, unidentified work 4.1.11.1 (a.q.); 5.1.39 no. 167 (a.q.); 8.31 (a.q.)

- Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-farīd (The Unique Necklace) 7.1.2-7.1.4 (u.p. likely)
- Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Nīsābūrī, Sharḥ K. al-Masā'il (Commentary of [Ḥunayn's] Questions) 8.29.22 no. 1 (a.q.)
- Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr K. Manāfiʿ al-aʿḍāʾ li-Jālīnus* (Commentary on Galen's On the Usefulness of the Parts) – 11.17 (a.q.)
- Ibn Bakhtawayh, K. al-Muqaddimāt (Prolegomena) 5.1.22 (a.q.); 10.1.12 (a.q.)
- Ibn Buțlān, *Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʾ (The Physician's Dinner-Party)* 8.30.5 (a.q.); 10.38.6 no. 10 (a.q.)
- Ibn Buțlān, M. Fī 'illat naql al-ațibbā' al-maharah tadbīr akthar al-amrāḍ allatī kānat tu'ālaj qadīman bi-l-adwiyah al-ḥārrah ilā al-tadbīr al-mubarrad (An essay on the reason the master physicians changed the regimen for most of the diseases which were, of old, treated with hot medicines) – 10.8.2 (a.q.); 10.13.2–10.13.4 (a.q.); 10.23.2 (a.q.); 10.36 (a.q.)
- Ibn Buțlān, *Maqālah ilā ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān (Essay Addressed to ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān) –* 14.25.5 (a.q.)
- Ibn Buțlān, Waq'at al-ațibbā' (The Battle of the Physicians) 10.38.2 (u.q.); 10.38.3 (a.q.)
- Ibn Buțlān, unidentified source 6.1.1 (a.p.); 8.26.16 (a.q.); 10.38.4 (a.q.); 14.25.3 (a.p.)
- Ibn Ḥawqal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ (The Shape of the Earth)* 4.6.3.3 (a.q., wrongly attributed to al-Masʿūdī's *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*).
- Ibn al-Haytham, autobiography and list of own books from unidentified source 14.22.4.1–14.22.4.4 (a.q.); 14.22.5.1 (a.q.)
- Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb wa-minhāj al-ṭullāb (Key to Medicine and Guide for Students)* 6.4 (a.q.); 11.8.5 (a.q.)
- Ibn al-Jazzār, K. Akhbār al-dawlah (History of the [Fatimid] Dynasty) 13.2.2.1–13.2.2.2 (a.q.)
- Ibn Juljul, K. Tafsīr asmā' al-adwiyah al-mufradah min kitāb Diyusqūrīdis (Explanation of the names of the simple drugs in the book of Dioscorides) 13.36.2.1–13.36.2.4 (a.q.)
- Ibn Jumay' al-Miṣrī, *Taṣrīḥ al-maknūn fī tanqīḥ al-Qānūn (Making Explicit what is Concealed: On Examining the Canon)* 13.61.2.1 (a.q.)
- Ibn al-Muțrān, Firdaws al-hikmah (Paradise of Wisdom) 1.2 (a.q.); 1.3.2 (a.q.)
- Ibn al-Muțrān, unidentified source 5.1.14 (a.q.)

$$\begin{split} \text{Ibn al-Nad}\bar{\text{Im}}, \textit{K. al-Fihrist} & (Catalogue) - 2.1.5 (u.s.q); 4.1.5 (u.q.); 4.6.3.5 (a.q.); 4.7 (u.q.); \\ & 4.8.1 - 4.8.2 (u.q.); 5.2.1 (u.q.); 5.2.2 (u.q.); 6.1.2 (a.q.); 8.26.4 (a.q.); 8.29.6 (a.q.); 8.36 - \\ & 8.38 (u.q.); 10.1.6 (a.q.); 10.1.9 (a.q.); 10.3.12 (u.q.); 10.4.2 (a.p.); 10.22.2 (a.q.); 10.44.2 (a.q.); 11.1 (u.q.); 11.4 (a.q); 11.5.9 (a.q.) \end{split}$$

Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamā*' (*History of Learned Men*) – 10.77.3 (a.q.); 11.3 (a.q.); 11.21 (a.q.); 14.14.3 (a.q.); 14.14.6 (a.q.); 14.22.3.1–14.22.3.2 (a.q.)

- Ibn al-Qifțī, unidentified source 13.3.4 no. 5 (a.q.; maybe oral report); 15.23.2–15.23.2.1 (a.q.); 15.36.1.1 (a.q.)
- Ibn Qutaybah, K. Farā'id al-durr (The Unique Pearls) 10.1.10 (a.q.)
- Ibn Riḍwān, autobiography 14.25.1-14.25.2 (a.q.)
- Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id* 4.1.9.1 (u.p. in several instances)
- Ibn Riḍwān, K. Ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī ʿalā Jālīnūs (Resolution al-Rāzī's Doubts regarding Galen) 11.8.4 (a.q.)
- Ibn Riḍwān, al-Kitāb al-nāfi^c fī kayfīyyat taʿlīm ṣināʿat al-ṭibb (Useful Book on How to Study the Art of Medicine) 6.3.1–6.3.4 (a.q.)
- Ibn Riḍwān, *Tafsīr K. al-Firaq li-Jālīnus* (Commentary of Galen's On Sects) 1.7 (a.q.)
- Ibn Ridwān, al-Tațarruq ilā l-saʿādah bi-l-țibb (Attaining Happiness Through Medicine) –

4.1.9.2 (u.p.; list of books seems to be largely based on Ibn Riḍwān)

- Ibn Riḍwān, sayings from unidentified work 14.25.7–14.25.8 (a.q.)
- Ibn Riḍwān, unidentified work 4.1.2 (a.p.)
- Ibn Rushd, K. al-Kulliyyāt (Book of Generalities) 13.66.2 (a.q.)
- Ibn Sīnā, *M. Fī naqḍ Risālat Ibn al-Ṭayyib fī l-quwā l-ṭabī'iyyah (Refutation of Ibn al-Ţayyib's On the Natural Faculties)* 10.37.2 (a.q., no reference to title)
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Ṭūmār al-Hāshimī, unidentified source 8.32.2–8.32.3 (a.q., likely secondary quote taken from an unacknowledged source)
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī al-Ḥuṣrī, *Nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-ẓarf (The Light of the Eye and the Blos-som of Wit)* 8.4.5 (a.q.; probable confusion with al-Ḥuṣrī's *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb*)
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim *K. Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj (Reports of al-Ḥajjāj)* 7.9.1–7.9.4 (a.q./a.p.)
- 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Kharīdah (Book of the Unbored Pearl)* 15.13 (a.q.)
- Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, *Ta'rīkh al-aṭibbā'* 4.1.11.1 (u.q., likely); 4.1.11.2 (u.p., likely); 4.1.11.3 (a.p.); 4.6.3.5 (a.q.); 5.1.2 (u. p.); 5.1.4 (a.p.); 5.2.1 (u.q.)
- Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, personal report 8.20.3 (a.s.q.; no reference to source, likely to be Ibn al-Dāyah)
- Ishāq ibn Hunayn, unidentified source 8.30.2 (a.q.)
- al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik (Routes and Realms)* 5.1.21.1 (a.p., wrongly attributed to al-Masʿūdī's *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*)
- Jamāl al-Mulk Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aflaḥ, letter to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh and Amīn al-Dawlah's reply 10.64.19.18 (a.q.)

- al-Jawharī, al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-lughah (The Correct [Forms] in Language) 7.1.1 (a.p.)
- Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', first person report 8.3.8 (a.s.q. taken from certain history book *baʿḍ al-tawārīkh*)
- Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', personal account book 8.3.22 (a.p.)
- Jirāb al-Dawlah, unidentified source, likely the lost *Tarwīḥ al-arwāḥ wa-miftāḥ al-surūr wa-l-afrāḥ* – 8.26.16 (a.q.)
- al-Jurjānī, K. al-Kināyāt (Book of Metonyms) 10.3.8 (a.q.)
- al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād (History of Baghdad)* 8.26.17 (a.q.; no reference to title)
- al-Maʿarrī, *Kitāb al-Istighfār (Asking for Pardon)*, i.e. *Kitāb Istaghfir wa-staghfirī* 5.1.33 (a.q.)
- al-Masʻūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf (The Book of Notification and Verification)* 4.6.1 (a.q.); 5.1.6 (a.s.q. taken from Ṣāʻid al-Andalusī's *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*; Ṣāʻid al-Andalusī is not acknowledged)
- Maymūn ibn Hārūn, first person report (a.s.q.; probably from Ibn al-Dāyah's *Akhbār al-ațibbā'*)
- al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim (The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings)* – 1.5 (a.p.); 2.1.3 (a.q.); 2.1.7 (a.q.); 4.1.7 (a.q.); 4.1.8.4 (a.q.); 4.3.2 (u.q.); 4.3.4.1–4.3.4.4 (a.q.); 4.3.5 (a.q.); 4.4.2.1–4.4.2.5 (a.q.); 4.4.4 (a.q.); 4.5.2–4.5.3 (a.q.); 4.6.3.1–4.6.3.2 (a.q.); 4.6.3.4 (a.q.); 4.6.11 (a.q.); 5.1.21.1 (a.q.); 5.1.23 (a.q.); 5.1.25– 5.1.26 (a. p.); 5.1.31 (a.q.); 5.1.35 (a.q.)

al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, unidentified source – 10.22.3 (a.q.)

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbdī, unidentified source – 13.61.3.1 (a.q.)

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Abū l-Qāsim ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī,

- poem copied from an autograph 15.49.6.2 (a.q.)
- Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī, epistle 15.31.1 (a.q.)
- Oribasius, al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr (Great Handbook) 1.7 (a.q.).
- Orosius, *Tawārīkh (Historia adversus paganos*) 2.1.2 (a.s.q. taken from Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt*; Ibn Juljul is not acknowledged)
- Pethion, *Ta'rīkh* (*History*) 8.1.1–8.1.2 (a.q.); 8.2 (a.q.); 8.3.2–8.3.5 (a.q.); 8.3.20–8.3.21 (a.q.); 8.4.2 (a.q.); 8.4.8 (a.q.); 8.25.1 (a.q.) [IAU never gives the title]

Plato, K. al-Siyāsah (Republic) – 2.1.2 (a.q.)

- Plato, Ihtijāj Suqrāţ 'alā ahl Athīniyah (Apology of Socrates to the People of Athens) 4.4.3 (a.q.)
- Ps.-Plato, *K. al-Nawāmīs* (*Laws*) 2.1.2 (a.s.p. taken from Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt* Ibn Juljul is not acknowledged); 7.2.2 (a.q.).
- Porphyry, K. Akhbār al-falāsifah wa-qiṣaṣihim wa-ārā'ihim (Book of the History of Philosophers, their Stories and Opinions) – 4.3.3 (a.q.) 4.3.6.1–4.3.6.2 (a.q.)
- Ptolemy al-Gharīb, K. Ilā Ghalus fī sīrat Arisṭūṭālis (Epistle to Gallus on the Life of Aristotle) – 4.6.2.1–4.6.2.3 (a.q.); 4.6.6.1 (a.q.); 4.6.13.1 (a.q. with book-list)

- al-Quțb al-Mișrī, Sharḥ al-kulliyyāt min K. al-Qānūn li-l-shaykh al-ra'īs Ibn Sīnā (Commentary on the 'Generalities' of the shaykh al-ra'īs Ibn Sīnā's Canon of Medicine) – 11.20 (a.q.)
- al-Rāzī, Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā, K. al-Khawāṣṣ (On Occult Properties) 1.10 (a.p.)
- al-Rāzī, Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā, *al-Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* (*Comprehensive Book*) 5.1.32 (a.p.); 12.3 (acknowledged as bibliographical source)
- al-Rāzī, Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā, *al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī (The Manṣūrī Compedium)* 11.5.18 (acknowledged reference to full book title taken from autograph)
- al-Ruhāwī, Adab al-ṭabīb (Practical Ethics of the Physician) 8.3.8 (a.q.); 8.4.10 (a.q.); 8.8.1 (a.q.); 8.12.1–8.12.2 (a.q.); 8.20.2 (a.q.); 8.23.1 (a.q.); 8.24 (a.q.); 8.25.2–8.25.6 (a.q.); 8.26.2 (a.q.)
- Ṣadaqah al-Sāmirī, aphorisms and poems copied from autograph 15.47.1–15.47.2.1 (a.q.)
- Şāʿid al-Andalusī, K. *Ṭabaqāt al-umam (The Categories of the Nations)* 4.1.1.4 (a.p./ a.q.); 4.2 (a.q.); 4.3.1 (a.q.); 4.4.1 (a.q.); 4.6.4.1 (a.q.); 10.1.1–10.1.3 (a.p.); 10.1.8 (a.q.); 11.5.8 (a.q.); 13.4 (u.p.); 13.5.1 (a.q.); 13.6.1.1–13.6.1.2 (a.q.); 13.7 (u.p.); 13.8 (u.p.); 13.9 (a.q.); 13.10 (u.p.); 13.11 (u.p.); 13.21.1 (u.p.); 13.24.1 (u.q.); 13.27.2 (a.q.); 13.29.2 (a.q.); 13.34.1 (u.p.); 13.34.2 (a.q.); 13.37 (a.q.); 13.38.1–13.38.2 (a.q.); 13.39.2 (a.q.); 13.41–13.49 (u.q./u.p.); 13.60.2 (a.q.); 15.1.3.2 (a.q.)
- Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr, *M. Fī maraḍ al-marāqqiyyā* (*On Hypocondria*) 10.13.6 (a.q.)
- Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, Naẓm al-jawhar (The String of Jewels) 14.1 (a.q.)
- al-Sayyid al-Naqīb al-Kāmil ibn al-Sharīf al-Jalīl, letter to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh – 10.64.17.1 (a.q.)
- Shānāq (Cāṇakya), Muntakhal al-jawhar (Sifted Jewels) 12.3 (a.q.)
- al-Ṣūlī, K. al-Awrāq (Book of Folios) 8.26.17 (a.q.)
- al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh (History) 7.5.6 (a.q.); 10.12.2 (a.q.)
- al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj baʿd al-shiddah* (*The Book of Relief after Hardship*) 10.62.3 (reference to the work to confirm information); 11.5.11–11.5.12 (a.q.)
- Thābit ibn Qurrah, unidentified work 2.1.5 (a.s.q., taken from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*; Ibn al-Nadīm is not acknowledged)
- Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit, unidentified source 8.4.9 (a.q., probably a.s.q. from unknown source); 8.23.2 (a.p.; unidentified source, could be his *Ta'rīkh*)
- Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah, *Ta'rīkh* (*History*) 10.3.6 (a.q.); 10.3.9 (a.q.); 10.3.11 (a.q.); 10.4.4.1–10.4.4.8 (a.q.); 10.5.2 (a.q.); 10.5.3–10.5.4 (a.q.); 10.10.5 2 (a.q.); 10.16 (a.q.); 10.26 (a.q.) [title given only in 10.4.4.1; 10.5.3; 10.26]
- al-Țurț
ūshī, Sirāj al-mulūk (The Lamp of Kings) 15.3.1.5 (a.p.)
- ^cUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn ^cUbayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū^c, *Manāqib al-ațibba^c* (*The Merits of Physicians*) 5.1.7 (a.q.); 5.1.8.1–5.1.8.2 (a.q.); 5.1.11–5.1.13 (a.q.); 6.1.3 (a.q.); 8.5.2– 8.5.4 (a.q.); 8.29.7 (a.q.); 8.39 (a.q.); 10.8.3–10.8.6 (a.q.); 10.17 (a.q.); 10.27–10.30 (a.q.); 10.44.4 (a.q.); 10.46.2 (a.q.); 11.5.6 (a.q.); 11.5.22 (a.q.); 11.12 (a.q.); 14.20 (a.q.); 15.2 (a.q.) [title given only in 6.1.3; 8.29.7]

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Unidentified author, Akhbār al-jabābirah (History of the Tyrants) – 2.1.2 (a.p.)

- Unidentified chronicle $(ba \dot{d} al taw \bar{a}r\bar{\iota}kh) 10.14.2.1 10.14.2.2$ (a.q.)
- Unidentified reports translated from the Greek (*baʿd al-mawāḍiʿ al-manqūlah min al-yunānī*) 4.1.1 (a.q./a.p.)
- Unidentified source 8.4.3–8.4.4 (a.q.; *baʿḍ al-tawārīkh*); 8.4.13 (a.p. *baʿḍ al-kutub*); 8.5.5 (a.p./a.q. probably from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's *Manāqib al-aṭibba'*; introduced by *mā jarā lahu*)
- Unidentified source of Syriac origin Ch. 9 (source also used in Ibn al-Nadīm's *K. al-Fihrist*).
- Unnamed learned scholar (ba'd al-mashāyikh) 15.1.1.2 (a.q.)
- al-Wāqidī, Ta'rīkh (History) 7.5.6 (a.q.)
- al-Wāthiq bi-Allāh, *K. al-Bustān (The Garden)* 7.1.5 (a.p.; nothing is known about this work)
- Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, *Ta'rīkh* (*Chronology*) 2.1.5 (a.p.); 3.1 (u.p.); 3.2 (a.q.); 3.3 (u.p.); 3.4 (u.p.);
 3.5 (u.p./a.q.); 3.6 (u.p.); 4.1.10.1–4.1.10.2 (a.p.); 4.1.10.4–4.1.10.5 (u.p.); 5.1.3 (a.p.); 5.1.4 (a.p.) [IAU never gives the title]
- Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā, K. Taʾrīkh al-Dhayl (Supplement to History) 14.10–14.11 (a.q.)
 Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah, Akhbār al-aṭibbā' (Accounts of Physicians) 5.1.16.1– 5.1.16.5 (a.q.); 7.7.2 (a.q.); 7.8.2–7.8.3 (a.q.); 8.3.6–8.3.7 (a.q.); 8.3.10–8.3.12 (a.q.); 8.3.14– 8.3.19 (a.q.); 8.8.2–8.8.6 (a.q.); 8.9 (a.q.); 8.10.2–8.10.4 (a.q.); 8.11 (a.q.); 8.13.2–8.13.4 (a.q.); 8.18.1–8.18.4 (a.q.); 8.19.3–8.19.5 (a.q.); 8.20.4–8.20.11 (a.q.); 8.21.2–8.21.4 (a.q.); 8.25.7–8.25.8 (a.q.); 8.26.5–8.26.14 (a.q.); 8.27.2–8.27.4 (a.q.); 8.29.2–8.29.3 (a.q.); 12.6 (a.q.) [IAU never gives the title]

CHAPTER 6

Poetry in *Uyūn al-anbā*'

Geert Jan van Gelder

Poetry is a very prominent feature of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's book. Its presence was obviously important to the author and to his intended readership. It was only in modern times that western scholars showed explicit signs of impatience with it.¹ In his lecture 'Ueber Ibn Abi Oçeibi'a und seine Geschichte der Aerzte' August Müller, the editor of the first scholarly edition, mentions that the author, in addition to his medical studies,

unfortunately devoted himself so persistently to *adab* and poetry that the *qaşīdahs* and shorter poems composed by himself and others drove to well-justified despair the otherwise quite patient copyist of the excellent model of the Brit. Mus. manuscript Add. 7340.²

Müller speaks of the 'polite letters and poetic dedications' that the author 'included all too conscientiously in his book'.³ Juan Vernet, in his entry on the author in the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, says somewhat scathingly that the book contains 'some long series of verses which have nothing to do with the main theme'. It is true, much of the poetry is not at all about medicine and medical topics. Worse, perhaps, much of it can only be called mediocre in quality. This did apparently not bother the author. To him the large quantity of poetry was an essential part of his book, and it is obvious that he included several entries on physicians because they composed poetry, rather than being important doctors.

The work, in the version edited here, contains some 3,600 lines of verse; the exact number depends on how one counts the lines, unequal in length, of strophic poems. They are very unevenly distributed. There is no poetry in chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, and 12, which deal with non-Arabs. Chapter 4, on the ancient Greeks, surprisingly has one Arabic line attributed to Socrates. The chapter on

Implicit indications of the same attitude from earlier periods may be deduced from the fact that some manuscripts of the book omit much of the poetry, as the following quotation from Müller illustrates.

² In Müller, 'Über Ibn Abī Oçeibi'a', 262 (my translation).

³ Ibid., 263.

Iraq has many lines (965) and by far the most are found in the chapter on Syria (1,672). They are composed by some one hundred different poets, whether mentioned by name or quoted anonymously.

1 Forms

There are many epigrams and short pieces, but also a good number of longer pieces or *qasīdah*s,⁴ such as an ode of 92 lines⁵ by Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Fadl (better known as Ibn al-Qattān, although not named thus in the book) on a *kātib al-inshā*' (chancery scribe) in Baghdad;⁶ a pseudo-prophetic ode by pseudo-Ibn Sīnā on the Mongol conquests of 52 lines;7 or an ode on Saladin of 82 lines by al-Jilyānī.⁸ Some humorous poems by Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī are also long: one about a 'domestic scandal',⁹ another on a badly made pair of shoes.¹⁰ The great majority of poems are in standard form, with monorhyme (aaaaaa ...) and in one of the traditional metres, which are always quantitative, not unlike Classical Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit versification. There are also nineteen poems that employ the $d\bar{u}bayt$ form (with the rhyme scheme aaba or aaaa) and metre. Originally Persian (the hybrid Persian-Arabic word means 'two-liner' or 'distich'), it is in Persian more usually called *rubā'iyyah*, 'quatrain' – paradoxically with an Arabic word – counting the rhyming units. Chapter 13, on Spain, contains a few strophic poems (muwashshahāt, singular muwashshahah), including some famous ones. With their short lines and many rhymes they are often set to music and, indeed, some are still being performed even today.

⁴ Many Arabists use *qaṣīdah* for a 'polythematic' poem of some length, often a panegyric ode introduced with a lyrical introduction on love, nature, or a gnomic passage. In premodern critical usage, however, the term is used for any longer poem, to be distinguished (not always clearly) from a shorter piece or epigram, called *qiţ'ah* or *maqţū'ah*, misleading terms because, literally 'piece' or 'cut-off', they wrongly suggest that any short piece is a fragment of a longer poem.

^{5 &#}x27;Line' or 'verse' is *bayt* in Arabic; its length is variable, dependent on the metre chosen by the poet. A typical *bayt* is so long, by English standards (up to thirty syllables, mostly divided between two hemistichs of equal or nearly equal length), that in our translations it almost always takes two lines.

⁶ Ch. 10.68.2.2 ('O woman who left me').

⁷ Ch. 11.13.7.9 ('Beware, dear son').

⁸ Ch. 15.11.2.1 ('A vigorous, astute man's comfort').

⁹ Ch. 15.8.7 ('Any domestic scandal'); see van Gelder, 'The Joking Doctor'.

¹⁰ Ch. 15.17 ('My plight is bewildering').

Virtually all the poetry is in Classical Arabic ($fush\bar{a}$), though occasionally with 'Middle Arabic', 'vernacular' elements. The closing strophe (*kharjah*) of a *muwashshahah* may also contain vernacular Arabic,¹¹ as does an isolated line in non-standard metre, sung by Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī:¹²

Bee-hunter, here's a job for you: Come on, go out early, get some honey!

Some poems are composed in a rather shaky Arabic, particularly those by Najm al-Dīn al-Lubūdī.¹³ He simply does not know his grammar, using the moods erratically and doing other strange things. Although Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's own prose style is not free from colloquialisms and linguistic oddities, as already pointed out at length by August Müller,¹⁴ his poems (eleven pieces with a total of 197 lines) are relatively free of them.

2 Themes: Medical Poems

Classifying poems by their form is much easier than trying to classify them by theme. Almost all the traditional modes or themes of Arabic poetry – praise, invective, elegy, vaunting, wisdom, religion, mysticism, love, wine, didactic verse, pornography, riddles, etc. – can be combined, either in a natural way, such as elegy and praise, elegy and wisdom, wisdom and religion, love and wine, or in a conventional manner such as the many panegyric odes that open with a lyrical or amorous passage, a convention so common in Arabic that it has become natural. In what follows the main themes and subjects of the poems in $Uy\bar{u}n al-anb\bar{a}$, will be briefly discussed.

In pre-modern Arabic one finds countless didactic poems on every conceivable subject: versified knowledge, meant to be memorised, and without literary pretensions. Most of them use the simple *rajaz* metre and paired rhyme (*aabbccdd* ..., which allows for long poems). Among them are medical poems, such as the famous medical poem by Ibn Sīnā,¹⁵ or his poem on the causes of fevers,¹⁶

¹¹ See Ch. 13.63.8.2 (the last line of a *muwashshaḥah* by Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr).

¹² Ch. 15.8.1.

¹³ Ch. 15.31.2-5.

¹⁴ Müller, 'Ueber Text und Sprachgebrauch'.

¹⁵ Avicenna, *Poème de la médicine*.

¹⁶ Ibn Sīnā, Urjūzah fī asbāb al-ḥummayāt.

and many others.¹⁷ One might have expected to find similar poems in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's book, but they are not there. He does refer to the practice: of his contemporary Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah he says,¹⁸ 'As for verse in *rajaz* metre, I have never seen any physician in his time who was quicker in composing it than he. He could take any medical work and render it in the *rajaz* metre in an instant, staying loyal to its contents and doing justice to the beauty of its words.' But he does not quote any examples. After all, his book is not intended as a medical manual. There are, however, some poems with general medical advice, such as one by the same Ibn Raqīqah that begins:¹⁹

Beware of eating your fill, shun it!
Digest one kind of food before eating another.
Do not have sex often, for by doing it continually one invites illness.
Don't drink water straight after eating and you will be safe from great harm,
Nor on an empty stomach and being hungry, unless you have a light snack with it ...

Or Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-'Antarī's advice to his son, beginning:²⁰

My dear son, memorize my admonition and act by it, for all medicine is gathered in the text of my speech: Before all medication for a sick one, be concerned with preserving his strength from day to day. Existing health is preserved with likes, but in opposites lies the cure of every sickness. Have as little sexual intercourse as you can, for it is the water of life that is poured into wombs ...

There are several short epigrams in this vein. It also happens that medical matters are discussed in poetic exchanges between physician and patient. The vizier Abū Ṭālib al-ʿAlawī sent a few lines to Ibn Sīnā, complaining of pustules on his forehead, and the latter replied with a poem recommending, among

¹⁷ See e.g. Mattock, 'The Medical Muse' (on an anonymous *urjūzah* on the symptoms of impending death).

¹⁸ Ch. 15.46.1.

¹⁹ Ch. 15.46.3.6.

²⁰ Ch. 10.69.3.1.

other things, a purge, the application of leeches, and abstention from meat.²¹ The famous Syrian knight and poet, Usāmah ibn Munqidh complained about his bad knees in a poem addressed to Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh and asked for a balm,²² which was duly sent. The vizier al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allah politely asked the physician-translator Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, in a humorous epigram, about the latter's bowel movements after having taken a purgative:²³

Let me know me how you were last night and how you felt, And how often the she-camel took you to the Empty Abode.

He alludes to the ancient euphemism taken from Bedouin practice of going a short distance into the desert for relieving oneself. The answer came promptly and politely:

I was fine, happy, and relaxed in body and spirit. As for travelling, the she-camel, and the Empty Quarter, My respect for you made me forget, O goal of my hopes!

Self-mockery is common. The poet-physician Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl, known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, describes his less successful visits to the privy.²⁴ Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī, 'the joking doctor' pretends that his poetry has curative properties:²⁵

... So tell the people who think my medical skill will give them relief that it will benefit them if it is mixed with poetry.

²¹ Ch. 11.13.7.6 ('May God cure and banish the complaint ...').

²² Ch. 15.13 ('My knees are at the service of al-Muhadhdhab ...').

²³ Ch. 8.30.5.

²⁴ Ch. 10.68.2.6 ('Often have I gone to the privy ...').

²⁵ Ch. 15.8.13.

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3 Poems on Physicians

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah quotes an epigram by the great poet and prose writer Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) in praise of the physicians of the past, beginning:²⁶

Blessings on that man, Galen, and the companions of Hippocrates ...

Hippocrates (Abuqrāț or Buqrāt) and Galen (Jālīnūs) are very often mentioned. Ibn al-Budhūkh composed a poem in praise of Galen's books.²⁷ Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn does so too, listing them alongside Aristotle and some others in a vaunting poem boasting of his medical expertise.²⁸ In poems in praise of physicians they are said to be 'the successor of Hippocrates in our age';²⁹ 'He has surpassed Hippocrates in knowledge and wisdom';³⁰ 'If Galen were alive in his era he would learn and revise under him'.³¹ A nephew of the Andalusian anthologist Ibn 'Abd Rabbih sent his uncle a poem saying that he had taken Hippocrates and Galen as his 'companions' during his phlebotomy, when the uncle had not responded to an invitation to be present at the procedure. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih replied with a poem justifying himself by pointing out his nephew's miserliness: 'You found that Hippocrates and Galen would not eat and burden a host with expenses.'³²

That even the great ancient doctors could not avoid death is a common motif in wisdom poetry and elegies: 'Hippocrates was not saved from death by his medical skill, ... Galen could not avoid a natural death' (in an elegy by Yūsuf ibn Hibat Allāh on the physician Ibn Jumay^c)³³ and an anonymous poem found on the flyleaf of manuscript B of '*Uyūn al-anbā*' points out that Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Galen and Ibn Sīnā all died of various diseases: the only true medicine is God's word. The same motif was used in an anonymous lampoon on Ibn Sīnā, alluding to two of his major works on philosophy:³⁴

²⁶ Ch. 5.1.33.

²⁷ Ch. 15.10 ('How noble, books by Galen!').

²⁸ Ch. 8.30.4 ('I am the son of those ...').

²⁹ Ch. 14.51.3.

³⁰ Ch. 15.37.4 (line 3 of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's poem beginning 'My Lord, O Sharaf al-Dīn').

³¹ Ch. 15.45.3 (line 20 of poem beginning 'Her phantom came at night').

³² Ch. 13.24.3.

³³ Ch. 14.32.4 (line 11 of poem beginning 'O my eye, let flow the tears').

³⁴ Ch. 11:13.5.

This Avicenna, mankind's foe, died wretchedly of constipation. He was not cured by his own *Cure* nor salvaged by his own *Salvation*.

4 Praise Poems, Elegies, and Vaunting Poetry

The most prestigious kinds of poetry were panegyrics ($mad\bar{h}$) and elegies ($rith\bar{a}'$): praising the living or the dead. Both genres are well represented in the book, especially in the entries on the author's contemporaries. Although many of them are full of clever conceits, striking imagery, learned allusions, and ingenious wordplay, they are not among the more appealing poems to a modern readership, especially when much of their rhetorical brilliance is lost in translation. The customary hyperbole, the unrelenting reference to 'lofty qualities' (al- $ul\bar{a}$), 'excellence' or 'eminence' (fadl), the endless series of words for generosity, munificence, benefaction, liberality, beneficence, bounteousness, etc., and the constant need of copious annotation: all this can make for tediousness. To the author and his colleagues, however, they were relevant, serving as tokens of friendship and esteem, an essential part of polite social intercourse between educated equals, between patron and dependent, or between subject and ruler. An anecdote told about Ibn al-Muṭrān tells how a poem could function as a way to introduce oneself to a potential medical patron.³⁵

The panegyrics include, naturally, poems on physicians but there are also eulogies on others, such as odes on rulers: one by the polymath Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Khwārazm Shāh, congratulating him on defeating an enemy;³⁶ a lengthy ode on Saladin by al-Jilyānī;³⁷ an ode on a high official in Baghdad by Ibn al-Qatṭān.³⁸ The opening of the last-mentioned poem, 'O woman who left me and did not care!', illustrates the ancient and very common convention of opening an ode with a lyrical or elegiac introduction about past love.

Among the elegies are a poem by Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn al-Munajjim on the death of the important scholar Thābit ibn Qurrah;³⁹ a poem by Ibn al-Shibl al-Baghdādī on his brother Aḥmad;⁴⁰ a short piece by the author on the Ayyubid

³⁵ Ch. 15.23.3.

³⁶ Ch. 11.19.6.2 ('Religion's pavilion has been extended ...').

³⁷ Ch. 15.11.2.1 ('A vigorous, astute man's comfort lies in embarking boldly ...').

³⁸ Ch. 10.68.2.2 ('O woman who left me').

³⁹ Ch. 10.3.11 ('Ah, everything but God is mortal ...').

⁴⁰ Ch. 10.51.3 ('Extreme sorrow and joy is an ending ...').

ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb;⁴¹ and another short poem by Sadīd al-Dīn Ibn Raqīqah on the death of a son.⁴² Perhaps not surprisingly the lastmentioned piece seems to the modern reader more heart-felt than the others; but true feelings are not incompatible with clever poetic conceits: the poem ends as follows:

You were perfect; then fateful death came to you. Likewise, an eclipse may come to a moon when it is full.

Akin to praise poetry is the ancient and very important genre of *fakhr*, boasting or vaunting poetry. Above, mention was made of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn's poem in which he claims intellectual descent from the ancient Greek physicians and philosophers. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-ʿAntarī, a poet-physician with a predilection for philosophical and esoteric themes, describes himself in high-flown, almost blasphemous terms:⁴³

... My mind is a niche, my soul is a glass that shines with the burning lamp of understanding, And my light is from the divine Light that is always cast on to my essence, without being poured out, And my oil is from the olive tree with its sweet oil, that is exalted above description in East or West ...

This is an unmistakable allusion to the famous Qur'anic 'light verse' in which God's light is described in similar words. Poets commonly boast of their own poetic skills. The poet-physician Ibn Hindū describes how, after having abandoned poetry, he resumed it 'while rhymes slipped from my tongue, like a torrent sliding hurriedly from a hill', surpassing the masters of the past.⁴⁴ Some poems by Ibn Sīnā are a blend of boasting, complaint, and wisdom poetry (on which see below). In one of them he claims:⁴⁵

With which glorious feat could anyone be compared with me? With which noble deed could the nations imitate me? ...

⁴¹ Ch. 14.56.3 ('Beware your time as much as you are able ...').

⁴² Ch. 15.463.10 ('Dear son, you have left in my breast ...').

⁴³ Ch. 10.69.3.2.

⁴⁴ Ch. 11.9.2.5.

⁴⁵ Ch. 11.13.7.3 ('O encampment').

As for eloquence, ask me as someone experienced in it: I have been the tongue of yore in the mouth of Time ... The maiden of the sciences of truth was unadorned until understanding and the pen, with my exposition, unveiled her.

This poem together with the two that follow it is characterised by an archaicising diction and style, full of rare words and expressions. They may well be the three poems mentioned in an anecdote, earlier in the entry on him.⁴⁶ Rebuked by a grammarian, Abū Manṣūr al-Jabbān, for his deficient knowledge of Arabic, Ibn Sīnā takes a few years to study the Arabic lexicon and ancient poetry. Then he composes three poems, together with three prose epistles, claiming to have found them somewhere amongst the Bedouins. Abū Manṣūr, asked to explain their difficulties, falters, then realises he has been fooled.

5 Invective and Lampoon (*hijā*')

The epigram on Ibn Sīnā quoted above is one of many poems, mostly short, that mock, ridicule, abuse, vilify, or satirise others. Ibn Buțlān mocked his colleague, 'Alī ibn Riḍwān:⁴⁷

When his face showed itself to the midwives they turned on their heels in regret, Saying (but lowering their voices for decency's sake), 'Ah, if only we had left him in the womb!'

Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn is lampooned for his lack of medical skill in in epigram by a certain Jirjis al-Faylasūf ('George the Philosopher'), with the following punchline:⁴⁸

... Three things enter at the same time: his face, a bier, and the man who washes the corpse.

A similar attack is made on the poet-physician Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī:49

⁴⁶ Ch. 11.13.3.13.

⁴⁷ Ch. 10.38.3; see also below, under 'Translating poetry'.

⁴⁸ Ch. 14.27.3.

⁴⁹ Ch. 15.8.2.

... Whenever he visits a patient in the morning he composes an elegy for him the same day.

Ibn Jumay^c is mocked by a fellow physician:⁵⁰

... He cannot determine the urine of a sick man in the glass, even when he rolls it on the tongue. And the strangest of all is that he takes a fee for killing his patient, from the next of kin.

Arabic lampoons make frequent use of obscenity and scatology; there is relatively little of this in the book. An example of obscenity and scatology combined is this epigram by Ibn Hindū on an unknown person:⁵¹

How strange, this Emir's constipation! How did he get so sick? Yet he gets a daily enema, administered by a prick.

A special kind of lampoon is self-mockery. An example by Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī was quoted above; he made several more, such as epigrams describing how he got his facial scar by falling on his face when drunk.⁵²

6 Wisdom Poetry, Complaint

The word *hakīm*, literally, 'wise',⁵³ very often serves as a substantive noun meaning 'sage, physician, or philosopher' – the senses are often hard to distinguish and they regularly overlap. It is not surprising, therefore, that our physicians pose as sages and philosophers, churning out prose maxims and saws as well as gnomic poems and epigrams in verse, of the kind called *hikmah*. Ibn Uṣaybi'ah quotes very many of them: countless short epigrams and some longer pieces. Gnomic lines and passages are also very common in other poetic genres, not-

⁵⁰ Ch. 14.32.4.

⁵¹ Ch. 11.9.2.5.

⁵² Ch. 15.8.3 ('I fell on my face ...' and 'Wine has left on my cheek ...').

⁵³ It should not be confused with *hākim*, 'ruler, sovereign', or *hakam*, 'arbiter' (both from the same prolific Semitic root, found in Hebrew e.g. in *hākām* 'sage, wise', which through Yid-dish became *goochem* ['xooxəm], 'clever', in colloquial Dutch).

ably elegy and panegyric. Among the longer wisdom poems are notable compositions by Ibn al-Shibl⁵⁴ and Ibn Sīnā, such as his famous poem on the descent of the soul as a bird,⁵⁵ or poems on grey hair and old age.⁵⁶ Complaint (*shakwā*) about the times is a common ingredient, as in another poem by Ibn Sīnā.⁵⁷

Many one-liners, some by famous poets, others anonymous, may be quoted as proverbs, to comment on an event or circumstance. On his death-bed, the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik utters a line to his son: 'Many a person asking about us wants us to die, | male or female, while their tears are flowing in streams!'.⁵⁸ He is presumably quoting, but the poet is unknown. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, criticising a colleague for his ignorance, remarks: 'As the poet says: "He tucks up his robe to wade into deep waters | but the waves engulf him on the shore"'.⁵⁹ The poet, as our author probably knew, was the great al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), many of whose lines are eminently quotable as proverbs. On an elegiac note on the passing of time, he quotes, again without attribution, a line by Abū Tammām (d. 231/846): 'Then those years passed and those who lived in them, | and it was as if years and people were dreams.'⁶⁰

7 Love Poetry (*ghazal*)

An ancient form of love poetry called *nasīb*, usually of the elegiac kind, reminiscing about past love, may open a longer poem, introducing other themes. Examples are found in some of the *qaṣīdahs* or odes quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. Independent poems about love, whether sad and serious or frivolous, hetero- or homoerotic, are called *ghazal*. There are many such poems, mostly short. The beloved's sex is not always given explicitly, but very many poems are about young boys. Many love epigrams by Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh are quoted. Here is one on a woman, by Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh:⁶¹

⁵⁴ Ch. 10.51.2 ('By your Lord! O revolving celestial sphere ...').

⁵⁵ Ch. 11.13.7.1 ('There descended to you from the highest place ...').

⁵⁶ Ch. 11.13.7.2 ('Have you not woken up from the night of childishness ...?') and 11.13.7.4 ('Here is grey hair!').

⁵⁷ Ch. 11.13.7.3 ('O encampment that has been made unrecognizable by events and antiquity!').

⁵⁸ Ch. 7.6.

⁵⁹ Ch. 14.27.2. For other such lines by al-Mutanabbī, see Ch. 15.31.1 ('And when I saw ...'); 15.40.4 ('A wound cannot hurt a dead man'); 15.52.1.2 ('This is a prayer ...').

⁶⁰ Ch. 15.50.4.

⁶¹ Ch. 10.64.19.8.

- I embraced her when night's dark veils were hanging down; then I became aware of the coolness of her jewels, shortly before dawn.
- So I kept them warm, fearing that they might awake her, while taking care not to melt her necklace with my hot breath.

And another is on a boy, by al-Badī^c al-Asțurlābī, one of countless Arabic poems on boys with incipient beards that herald the imminent ending of a love relationship:⁶²

Did pens stumble when writing the line of his cheek-down, stretching the letters, the mole being the spot where they tripped?Or did the line become a circle when the dot became the centre of that orbit?And, since his saliva is wine, are his teeth then the pearly bubbles, neatly strung by the wine?⁶³

8 Bacchic Verse

Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-'Antarī, whose daring self-praise was quoted before, also composed some less controversial religious verse, such as his piece on the virtues of the Shariah.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, he is one of the innumerable poets who extolled wine, asking for 'A choice old wine, like the sun in colour and luminescence, purer than imaginings', to be poured 'from the right hand of a fair white antelope, one of the Turks, like a full moon'.⁶⁵ Ibn al-Shibl compares wine in a glass to the spirit in a human body: both glass and body seem lighter with it.⁶⁶ Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh mentions the two glasses he spent his life with: the wine glass and the inkwell.⁶⁷ Abū Nuwās, the foremost Bacchic poet in Arabic, says that he asked the Christian doctor Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' about the proper

⁶² Ch. 10.67.4.1. For other poems on cheek-down, see Ch. 10.56 ('O you whose incipient beard ...'); 10.67.4.1 ('They said to me ...', 'One with a shapely appearance ...'); 11.9.2.2 ('A downy beard ...', 'They said, "The lover's heart ...", 'Now there is a true testimony ...', 'You, whose face ...', 'It is bad enough ...'); 13.58.4.8 ('Youthful passion ...'); 15.46.3.8 ('A slender youth ...'); 15.58.1 ('When your dark cheek-down ...'); 15.58.2 ('Yes, my heart ...').

⁶³ The bubbles, caused by mixing the wine with water, are a common motif in Bacchic poetry.

⁶⁴ Ch. 10.69.3.13 ('The Shariah, with its salvation ...').

⁶⁵ Ch. 10.69.3.9 ('Shaʿbān has come ...').

⁶⁶ Ch. 10.51.5 ('The glasses, that came to us empty ...').

⁶⁷ Ch. 10.64.19.3 ('With two glasses ...').

quantity of wine that one should drink; the reply was four pints, since human constitution consists of four humours. 68

Although drinking wine is forbidden to Muslims, wine poetry is very common in pre-modern Arabic literature and references to drinking are rife. Physicians recommend it. Ibn Hindū says that wine (here called sharāb, 'drink') can restore a ruin (*kharāb*).⁶⁹ Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, in a 'wisdom poem' addressed to his son, tells him to divide his lifetime in three: seeking wisdom in the first part of his life, and looking forward to death in the last; but 'Earn money in the second, eat and drink wine, and do not desire wickedness'.⁷⁰ He describes a night with 'a bright-faced young gazelle' who prevented a hangover by taking pomegranate juice straight after drinking wine. He composed, however, also two epigrams explaining that he has abandoned drinking wine: not because the Shariah forbids it, but because it causes 'reason to rust' and it disagrees with his nature and character.⁷¹ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī advises drinking wine in case the wine promised in the Hereafter turns out to be a false promise (since the Qur'an itself mentions it, this sounds distinctly heretical).⁷² Ibn Raqīqah, in a 'medical advice' poem, says, 'abstain from drinking wine', but continues with '... Balance the mixing of your wine with water', as if he knew that his first recommendation would not be heeded.⁷³ Altogether, there are some forty poem in which wine is enjoyed or described in glowing terms, not counting the very frequent lines in which wine is used in erotic and other comparisons. Many poems combine Bacchic and amorous elements, such as when the wine-pourer is at the same time the poet's beloved:

... Pour me wine, and you will cure the anguish of a heart that at night, since you left, is a companion of worries.⁷⁴

Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī imagines that the red wine is pressed from the Ganymede's rosy cheeks:

... It is passed round by someone with Babel's glances,⁷⁵ with a mouth delicious to kiss, sweet of teeth.

 $^{68 \}qquad \text{Ch. 8.3.23} \ (\text{`I asked my friend Ab\bar{u} '\bar{I}s\bar{a} \dots').}$

⁶⁹ Ch. 11.9.2.3 ('The army clergyman ...').

⁷⁰ Ch. 10.69.3.4 ('Divide your lifetime ...').

⁷¹ Ch. 10.69.3.13 ('Since the fire ...', 'I have abandoned ...').

⁷² Ch. 15.18.2 ('Enjoy your blessings ...').

⁷³ Ch. 15.46.3.6 ('Beware of eating your fill ...').

⁷⁴ Ch. 10.56, by Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Nīlī.

⁷⁵ i.e., with bewitching eyes.

He who is delighted by the wine's beauty would say, 'Has this wine been procured from his cheeks?'⁷⁶

These lines are part of a longer, panegyric poem on a patron, which shows how genres and themes may freely be combined.

9 'Social Verse'

Some poems can be described as 'social verse', exchanged between friends and colleagues (in Arabic the genre is sometimes called *ikhwāniyyāt*, 'brotherly poems'). Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī, writing from Damascus. sends a poem with friendly reproaches and praise of Damascus to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah who is in Cairo:⁷⁷

... Come back, then, to the Paradise on Earth: she has come forward for her beauty to be revealed, in her new clothes,And do not stay anywhere else if you have earned riches, for life in any other place is not worth considering.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿāh responds with another poem, saying how much he misses his friend and complaining about the stupidity of his Mamluk patrons:⁷⁸

- ... In their ignorance they do not know the worth of a scholar, which is not surprising in the case of ignorant people.
- I came to someone in whose courtyard my merit was wasted. Would the stupidity of the non-Arabs be aware of the intelligence of the Arabs?

He himself described Damascus in glowing terms in another poem, addressed to his colleague Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ch. 15.8.6 ('Love has called you ...').

⁷⁷ Ch. 15.37.4 (lines 11–12 of the poem beginning 'Muwaffaq al-Dīn! What's this mindlessness of yours ...').

⁷⁸ Ch. 15.37.4 (lines 21–22 of the poem beginning 'My lord, O Sharaf al-Dīn ...').

⁷⁹ Ch. 15.54 ('Perhaps a time that has gone by in Damascus ...').

10 Ekphrastic Poems and Riddles

There is hardly any poem that does not contain a description of a place, wine, a person, an animal, nature, and so forth. A special genre is the short epigram describing an object, ideally in a witty manner, with a poetic conceit, a striking simile or metaphor, or a play on words. Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah quotes epigrams on a bowl with apples,⁸⁰ on marigold (or anemones),⁸¹ on a horse,⁸² on fleas (who seem to 'know more about veins than Hippocrates'),⁸³ on an astrolabe,⁸⁴ and on a brazier.⁸⁵ Several of these poems, among them the three last-mentioned, make a point of not naming the object explicitly, which turns them into riddles. Similar riddling epigrams are those on fish,⁸⁶ a cloud,⁸⁷ a needle,⁸⁸ on the shadow,⁸⁹ and on a doormat.⁹⁰ The solution is normally provided in introductory words such as 'He said, by way of a riddle on a needle'. A special kind of riddle is that on names. Often they are difficult to translate without extensive annotation. In a riddle on the name 'Uthmān it is said that if one-fifth is taken away eight remain. The name is written, in Arabic with five letters; if the first is taken away the four remaining letters can be read as *thamānⁱⁿ*, 'eight'.⁹¹ Other name riddles make use of the numerical values of Arabic letters;⁹² the poem by Ibn Khalīfah on the name Abū l-Karam is a particularly forbidding example ('I give my life in ransom for a man half of whose name is the square root of Q, and whose fifth is L plus Y plus K. // The sixth of its letters multiplied by its half and a fourth part are like the eight nice ones ...').93

- 82 Ch. 13.58.4.6.
- 83 Ch. 13.58.4.7.
- 84 Ch. 13.58.4.7.
- 85 Ch. 13.58.4.7.
- 86 Ch. 10.64.19.2 ('They have donned cuirasses ...').
- 87 Ch. 10.64.19.9 ('One that comes over us ...').
- 88 Ch. 10.64.19.9 ('One that earns a living ...') and 10.65.3 ('One with a wide-open mouth in her foot ...').
- 89 Ch. 10.64.19.9 ('A thing of bodies yet not itself embodied ...').
- 90 Ch. 10.64.19.10 ('I spread my cheek for guests ...').
- 91 Ch. 15.58.5 ('I asked all people ...').
- 92 In the Latin alphabet this only works with c, d, i, l. m. v, x, but in Arabic every letter has a numerical value.

⁸⁰ Ch. 10.69.3.7.

⁸¹ Ch. 11.9.2.4.

⁹³ Ch. 15.51.10.3.

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11 Humorous Poems

Wit and humour are often found especially in epigrammatic poetry, whether invective, satirical, or merely descriptive. Abū l-Ḥakam, already quoted several times above, a wit whom I dubbed 'the Joking Doctor', composed two long poems included in the book. One is a description of a disastrous party given by him, entitled *Ma'arrat al-bayt*, freely translated as 'The Domestic Scandal';⁹⁴ it is one of the relatively few classical Arabic poems that have a title. The other one is a poem put in the mouth of a friend and colleague, a long complaint on a badly made pair of shoes, in which numerous technical terms from the fields of logic and geometry are employed.⁹⁵

Using such technical terms in poetry is to be expected from scientists and physicians. Al-Badī^c al-Aṣṭurlābī, physician, philosopher-theologian, and maker of astrolabes, describes a comely youth in Euclidean terms: 'His cheekdown is an equator and his mole | a point on it, and his cheek a triangle.'⁹⁶ Speaking of his love for several people, he proclaims: 'My heart is the centre and they are to it | a circumference, and my passions are radii to it.'⁹⁷ Ṣadaqah al-Sāmirī uses the technical vocabulary of the syllogism in a scurrilous epigram on a triangular sexual encounter between a slave, his mistress, and his master;⁹⁸ in another piece his employs the well-worn procedure of using grammatical terms in an obscene sense.⁹⁹

A common form of wit is punning, now frowned upon as unworthy of true poetry but immensely popular with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's contemporaries. Not all of them are meant to be funny: they are part and parcel of Arabic literary diction and style. The book includes countless examples by major and minor poets. Many epigrams are based on a play of words, as when Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah makes 'my tears in streams' ($admu\tau l$ - $humma\tau$) rhyme with 'when they are with me' ($idh hum ma\tau$).¹⁰⁰ Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah composed a piece of four lines with nearly identical rhyme-words: $in j\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ ('fi they are generous'), $in j\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ ('support'), $an j\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ ('courageous men'), and $an j \bar{a} d\bar{u}$ ('highlands').¹⁰¹ Obviously, such word-play is normally impossible to translate, but the reader who

⁹⁴ Ch. 15.8.7 ('Any domestic scandal ...').

⁹⁵ Ch. 15.17 ('My plight is bewildering ...').

⁹⁶ Ch. 10.67.4.1 ('One with a shapely appearance ...').

⁹⁷ Ch. 10.67.4.3 ('My heart is divided ...').

⁹⁸ Ch. 15.47.2.1 ('Durrī, his mistress and his master').

⁹⁹ Ch. 15.47.2.2 ('Ibn Qusaym, now you pretend to know grammar').

¹⁰⁰ Ch. 13.58.4.6 ('I thought of their absence ...').

¹⁰¹ Ch. 15.46.3.3 ('Let it be your nature ...').

does not know Arabic ought to be aware of the punning, especially if it is the *raison d'être* of an epigram; in such cases the relevant words have been added in transliteration.

12 A 'Prophetic' Poem Ascribed to Ibn Sīnā

Unique in its genre, among the poetry in the book, is a strange poem of 52 lines ascribed to Ibn Sīnā that seems to predict the destructive Mongol campaigns in the 7th/13th century in considerable detail.¹⁰² Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah has some doubts about the attribution, but this still earned him derision by a later author, al-Ṣafadī, for leaving open the possibility that Ibn Sīnā composed it. Al-Ṣafadī's reasons for rejecting it are twofold, logical and literary: Ibn Sīnā could not possibly have foretold such details, nor would he have composed such doggerel. One can only agree with al-Ṣafadī.

13 Attributions and Corrections

In the countless Arabic anthologies, biographies, histories, and many other genres that contain poetry, the poems are mostly attributed to their poets. As is clear from the above, however, it also happens often that lines or short poems are quoted anonymously: 'As someone said ...', 'as the poet says ...'. It is not always clear if the one who quotes is aware of the identity of the poet. One presumes that Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah knew that the often-quoted line, 'When Death plunges its talons in, | you will find that every amulet is of no avail' is from a famous poem by Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī (d. c. 28/649),¹⁰³ but one cannot be sure. I have tried to identify the poets of every anonymous piece but have not succeeded in every case; some lines and short pieces have always been transmitted anonymously and others have been ascribed in the sources to two or more poets, the truth remaining hidden. What is certain, however, is that Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's attributions are sometimes wrong, due either to his sources or to a faulty memory. Whenever I discovered such a misattribution I have provided details in a note. He ascribes, for instance, an epigram to Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah that is in fact by the much earlier Ibn al-Mu'tazz,¹⁰⁴ and another piece to al-

¹⁰² Ch. 11.13.7.9 ('Beware dear son, the tenth conjunction ...').

¹⁰³ Ch. 15.50.5.

¹⁰⁴ Ch. 13:58.4.9 ('You, unique in flirtation ...').

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Ṣāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah that is by Abū Firās.¹⁰⁵ In numerous other cases it is difficult to decide between the attribution by our author and different ones in other sources.

It is also obvious that the text of poems contains errors. Some lines do not scan correctly or have faulty vocalisations, which may be due to a copyist, such as that of MS A, who adds very many vowels but whose knowledge of prosody leaves something to be desired. Other lines are clearly misremembered or wrongly copied. Many of such errors become evident when one reverts to other, mostly older, sources or to the collected verse $(d\bar{t}w\bar{a}n)$ of the poet in question, if available. This poses a dilemma to the editor and translator: should Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's text be followed, or ought the correct, original version, as intended by the poet, be respected? Generally, I have opted for the latter course, always pointing out the divergence in notes. In some cases it is impossible to determine which is the original version, in which case Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's version could be kept, except when it is clearly faulty. In notes at the beginning of each poem I have provided earlier (and sometimes later) sources, though not exhaustively in the case of lines and poems that are frequently quoted, nor have I given the many variants found in such sources, except when these could shed some light on the interpretation.

14 Translating Poetry

There are two basic approaches to translating pre-modern Arabic poetry: either a more or less faithful rendering in prose, without metre or rhyme, or a recreation that results in a kind of modern English poetry, perhaps with some kind of metre (or even rhyme, even though that is unfashionable in many highbrow circles today). For our translations we have opted for the former, staying close to the original, yet trying to avoid sounding like a crib, but not afraid of some exoticising elements. Unusual idioms and allusions to matters not known to the average English reader are not glossed over or omitted; rather, they are explained in notes. As said above, untranslatable word-play can be shown by providing some transliterations in the text or in a note.

In a 'free' translation a translator is free to cheat, skirting over problems and omitting obscurities – of which there is an abundance in classical Arabic poetry. In our procedure this is as impossible as it is undesirable: scholarly integrity demands confessions of ignorance. The frequency of parenthesised

¹⁰⁵ Ch. 15:49.6.2 ('Speak to this glorious lord ...').

question marks and notes about problematical lines in the poems quoted in the book will eloquently attest to this.

As it cannot be denied that (as an eminent Arabist said to me once) much of the poetry in *Uyūn al-anbā*' is mediocre, attempting to craft high-quality, poetic English equivalents would be a waste of effort and would distort the nature of the originals. There is one genre, however, where I have occasionally given in to the temptation of producing 'poetry' or at least verse: it is light verse, lampoons or humorous poems, which in English call for metre and rhyme. Thus, after giving the more or less straightforward prose rendering of a mocking epigram by Ibn Buțlān on his colleague Ibn Riḍwān, quoted above ('When his face showed itself to the midwives ...'),¹⁰⁶ I decided to add a rhymed alternative version:

As soon as the midwives saw his face they were distraught and left the room, And whispered (to avoid disgrace), 'We should have left him in the womb.'

The same has been done with an obscene lampoon by Ibn Hindū (quoted above) and the anonymous epigram on Ibn Sīnā's death (also quoted above).¹⁰⁷ Of the other long poem by Abū l-Ḥakam, about a rowdy party, also mentioned there, I have only given a rhymed version, copiously annotated. It is a revision of an earlier publication and it seemed undesirable to add a version in plodding prose.

¹⁰⁶ Ch. 10.38.3.

¹⁰⁷ For a rhymed version of the long poem by Abū l-Hakam al-Maghribī about the badly made shoes, mentioned above under 'Humourous Poems', see the selected and shortened translations of IAU in *Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah; Anecdotes and Antidotes. A Medieval Arabic History of Physicians. A new translation* (Oxford World's Classics).

CHAPTER 7

The Greek Chapters and Galen

Simon Swain

1 The Focus on Galen

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's grand sweep of physicians starts with ancient Greece. In this he is a man of his time, since knowledge of the ancients and their wisdom was an essential part of membership of the chattering classes. In medicine in particular the legacy of the ancients was all around, in practice, in theory, in anecdotes and examples of behaviour, and no history of physicians wanted to ignored the Greek origins of the profession. Following the ancients themselves, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah traced the origins to the Greek semi-god Asclepius, who for Arabic authors was essentially an historical figure living before The Flood. From the first and second chapters concerning the invention of medicine and the role of Asclepius in it, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah advances steadily and comprehensively towards late-antique Alexandria and the sources of medicine for his own culture and times (Ch. 6). In so doing he had spent nearly a quarter of his book on Greco-Roman antiquity, and well over a quarter of this material is itself focussed on the dominant figure of Galen (Ch. 5). The Arabic Galen - Jālīnūs - not only commands the first six chapters of the *Uyūn* but maintains a strong presence in the rest of the work. He is one of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's heroes, central to his own training as a physician, the last of the eight 'great master physicians' beginning with Asclepius, and in memorable words 'the Seal of physicians' (khātam al-ațibbā', Ch. 5.1.2, cf. 3.2).¹ Chs. 3-4 on the heirs of Asclepius, on Hippocrates and the leading ancient philosophers, prepare the way for this greatest physician-philosopher in Ch. 5, while Ch. 6 rounds off his influence and legacy in late antiquity and heralds the Islamic era where the Hippocratic-Galenic system was naturalized and remained the basis of theory and practice. The dominance of this professional system based on the legacy of antiquity is reinforced by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah throughout the Uyūn, and he takes virtually no notice of alternatives, such as

¹ Cf. Qur'an 33:40 Muḥammad as the 'Seal of Prophets' (*khātam al-nabiyyīn* rather than *khātam al-anbiyā*). See also Hershkovits & Hadromi-Allouche, 'Divine Doctors', 51.

'prophetic medicine', magic or astrology.² It is no surprise that Galen receives the longest individual biography.

Was Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah right to concentrate on him so much? When we look in broad terms at the development of Islamic medicine in the centuries up to his time, there is a progression from the age of translations from Greek in the period of the 2nd-4th (8th-10th) centuries, when Galen and other Greek authors had no peers,³ to the period of the independent authority of canonical writers in Arabic from Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313/925) and Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) onward. There arose a small but significant literature of criticism of Galenic thought, beginning with al-Rāzī's *Doubts about Galen*,⁴ which focussed mainly on philosophical considerations or whether the physician really had to be a philosopher at all.⁵ The celebrated outline of medicine in the Kitāb al-Kulliyyāt (Generalities)⁶ of Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198) followed much of the Galenic programme but also criticized Galen's logic and threw a purer Aristotelianism against him. Yet Ibn Rushd shows the tension involved in replacing and criticizing while also wishing to follow and honour: he was a close reader of Galen and wrote summaries of key Galenic works, albeit these once again show independence of thought.⁷ There were medical advances too, no doubt helped by the more systematic training and observation available in Islamic hospital medicine, that showed Galen had not known everything.⁸ But a physician still had to study, or claim to have studied, a good deal of the Galenic corpus in order to be taken seriously. If Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's teacher, al-Dakhwār, ever heard 'the words of Galen ... concerning diseases and their treatment, or the fundamentals of medicine (wa-l-uṣūl al-țibbiyyah),' he would leap up and shout, 'That is medicine!' (hādha huwa al-tibb, Ch. 15.50.3). Al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1231) worked at the 'Great (Nūrī) Hospital' at Damascus and Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah records that it was there that he himself 'began to study the works of Galen' with him (ib.). Neither the brilliant systematization introduced by Ibn Sīnā nor the great

² On these, Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, ch. 5, and Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Medicine as seen through the '*Uyūn al-anbā*'', below.

³ Age of the translations: see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, Endress, 'Die wissenschaftliche Literatur'; and for Galen in particular Hunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah, Neue Materialen*, and *Galen Translations*.

⁴ Pines, 'Rāzī critique'; Pormann, 'Philosophical Topics', 22–32.

⁵ E.g. Ibn Hindū, Miftāḥ (Tibi), 35-36, (Manṣūri), 81-83.

⁶ Ch. 13.66.6 no. 4.

⁷ Cf. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 167. For modern editions of his summaries, see the notes to titles 16–23 of Ibn Rushd's works at Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah 13.66.6.

⁸ See Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Medicine as seen through the 'Uyūn al-anbā", below.

Islamic invention of the teaching hospital seriously weakened the practical and emotional tie to Galen, and this is exactly the situation reflected in the $Uy\bar{u}n.^9$

Ibn Rushd's summaries of Galen were part of a large production of such works that kept Galen available and useful in new forms, through epitomes, paraphrases, commentaries and other forms of interpretation. Most of these works were a good deal shorter than the original source texts and this made them easier to learn and easier to teach. A physician of the 10th century, Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath (d. ca. 360/970), had the bright idea of introducing proper divisions into the main Galenic texts:

It was Ahmad who gave divisions to each one of the sixteen books of Galen by sentences, chapters, and sections and divided them such as none before him had done and thus provided a great aid to those who study the books of the eminent Galen. For it is now easy to find all that one seeks therein and his divisions are as landmarks which point to what one wishes to read and by which every section of the book, its contents, and purpose may be known.

10.46.1

But many others preferred to reduce the bulk of their reading. The production of adaptations in various compendious forms such as questions and answers or summaries had begun in late antiquity (e.g. the *Alexandrian Summaries*, see below), but is a very marked feature of the Islamic period. These 'small texts' show that practitioners had neither the time nor – perhaps – the education to immerse themselves in the full Galen but needed accessible and practical treatises to use in the real world. Ibn Riḍwān (Ch. 14.25; d. 453/1061), an Egyptian devoted to the books of the ancients and an important source for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, made a series of 'useful extracts' (*fawā'id*) from Hippocrates, Philagrius, Plato, Porphyry and especially Galen (Ch. 14.25.9 nos. 43–50, 95–96) – while taking care also to condemn lazy students who relied on shortcuts alone.¹⁰ He and Ibn Zuhr *père* (Ch. 13.61; d. 525/1130–1131) objected to books expressing 'doubts' about Galen and penned a surviving refutation of Rhazes.¹¹

⁹ On the rareness of criticism of Galen, see Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 412–416, with interesting comments from Maimonides, and his study of Ibn Rushd, Bürgel, *Averroes, 'Contra Galenum'*.

¹⁰ *M. fī Sharaf al-țibb*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 691, fol. 120^r 7–9 'summaries and commentaries ... are the main reason why the best qualities of medicine have become extinct: students waste many years of their lives studying them.'

¹¹ Cf. Ch. 14.25.9 no. 51; Ch. 13.61.4 no. 4.

Both original thinkers and writers, they show that Galen's popularity and utility was not at risk from modern methods of teaching and learning.

By the 13th century the large number of high quality, standard works that reduced the importance of the original Galen while advancing knowledge of the Art took their place alongside a Galen now available in new forms. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah acknowledges that the Alexandrians made a significant contribution to the invention of summary literature (Ch. 6.5.1). He does not share reservations about laziness nor mention the negative, anti-Christian allegations about the decline of medicine before its rescue by the caliphs that were played into accounts of the production of summary literature.¹² The only low points of medicine for Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah occurred before its revival by Hippocrates and its second rescue by Galen, both of whom in different ways emphatically reestablished the highest standards.¹³ Once Galen had trounced his opponents, there was no looking back. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's focus on Galen reflects for sure the currency of Galen. There is no nostalgia for a lost golden age. In Ch. 15 of the Uyūn, for example, he shows full well his belief in the quality of the physicians of his own day and the vitality of medicine in his generation. Overall the *Uyūn* is a celebration of a progress that shows no sign of stopping. Galen's function as the 'seal' of medicine is entirely compatible with this, hence Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's desire to share with his readers the large amount of biobibliographical information the Greek had left behind. The core features of the Galenic system, except in so far as they appear in the contents of certain books, were not of interest in this literary history, nor did his readers need instruction in them. In accordance with what he states in his Preface about the professional and moral excellences of the discipline's stars, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's task in the 'Greek' chapters was to present model physicians, stories and legends about them, and of course useful bibliographies of their writings. For this purpose, the best examples were provided by Hippocrates and Galen alongside the five 'most distinguished philosophers among the Greeks'. These form the subject matter of Chs. 1-4.

¹² See Gutas, 'Alexandria'. Cf. at the end of this chapter on Ibn Abjar al-Kinānī.

¹³ Ch. 4.1.1 Hippocrates, 5.1.2 on Galen's confrontation with *al-ațibbā' al-sūfisțā'iyyūn*, meaning the Methodists (also 4.1.10.4).

2 The Origin and First Appearance of the Art of Medicine (Chapter One)

To reach Galen, Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah first had to traverse history from Asclepius; and to write history, he needed a source. Finding one for the very start of medicine was not a problem. For in a work that Arabic writers regarded as authentic but modern scholars do not, Galen himself had given information about the beginnings of medicine and in particular the nature of its originator, Asclepius. The work in question is a commentary on the famous *Oath* of the Hippocratic corpus. The *Oath* itself is a short piece that takes its place alongside several 'deontological' writings on the obligations and self-presentation of the physician to his colleagues and publics.¹⁴ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah makes pointed use of it in Ch. 4 when he wishes to outline the ideal Hippocratic. Islamic physicians built on this literature with their own crafted presentations of the physician's conduct.¹⁵ The commentary is in fact unlikely to be by Galen, for it is never mentioned in the Greek tradition and its content is unlike any of the genuine Hippocratic commentaries.¹⁶ But it was written in the name of Galen¹⁷ and absorbed into the corpus like a number of other works, and was thus available in the ninth century for translation by Hunayn ibn Ishāq.¹⁸ The beginning of the Oath ('I swear by Apollo the Physician, Asclepius, Health, Panacea, and all the gods and goddesses ...') is formulaic – for the work is not religious – but it gave Galen the Commentator the cue to discuss in detail both the role of Asclepius, which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah draws on for Ch. 2, and the origins of medicine, which he uses from the outset in Ch. 1.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was fortunate in having another of his heroes, the great translator and expert on Galen, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (Ch. 8.29), as a guide to the difficult material of the commentary. Although Ḥunayn inserts explanations into his Galenic translations from time to time,¹⁹ the extensive notes to

¹⁴ It may be earlier than some of these writings, which are Hellenistic (i.e. third to first century BC), and is dated to the 'late fifth or early fourth century' by Craik, *Hippocratic Corpus*, 149.

¹⁵ The best known text is *Practical Ethics of the Physician (K. Adab al-ṭabīb)* by Isḥāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī (Ch. 10.57; mid to late 3rd/9th century).

¹⁶ For these, see Ch. 5.1.37 nos. 87–102, 122 [= 185], cf. 155, 156, 157 [= 184].

¹⁷ Cf. the fragment cited at Ch. 1.6: 'Pergamum, which is my native city'. Galen famously complains at the start of *On My Own Books* of a supposititious work found in a bookshop at Rome and inscribed, "The Physician, by Galen". It is not out of the question, however, that the commentary on the *Oath* is genuine.

¹⁸ Hunayn's biography is at Ch. 8.29.

¹⁹ Vagelpohl, 'Translator's Workshop'.

the commentary on the *Oath* reveal his and his readers' vivid interest in the topic. When Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah says, 'Let us begin by reviewing Galen's account, together with material we have adduced, in an effort to pin down these various divergent views', i.e. about the genesis of medicine (Ch. 1.1), he makes it clear that the structure of the chapter is his;²⁰ but in his review of Galen's meaning he practically merges with Ḥunayn. Nor are Galen and Ḥunayn easy to distinguish as Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah sets out the basic questions and positions that follow: medicine was, he says, either eternal or created; if created, it was either created when man was or it was invented later; if invented later (the majority view), it was inspired by God or was the discovery of man.

Galen/Hunayn deals with human invention first so as to emphasize, it seems, the subsequent remarks on the role of the divine ('Among those who hold that the art of medicine comes from God ...'), which inspired men through dreams and also inspired them to gain 'practical experience', an emphasis underscored by direct quotation from Galen that 'God ... created the art of medicine and inspired man with it'. The scene set, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah turns to a trusted source, Saladin's famous physician, Ibn al-Muṭrān, to bolster the arguments for human ingenuity. Ibn al-Muṭrān concludes a long discussion by stating that, although Galen and Plato have indicated that divine inspiration was behind medicine and Asclepius, it is nevertheless human ingenuity that counts and to deny this 'is an error' (1.2). After a short aside Ibn al-Muṭrān is quoted again on the contribution of experience and reasoning and we are left with Ibn al-Muṭrān's conclusion that Galen in his book on the invention of the arts²¹ 'in essence says nothing more than I have' (1.3.2).

The Galen who was presented to the Abbasid translators was the product of a number of Christian filters, as we see on many pages of Ch. 5 dealing with his chronology. This did not worry Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, even if he was conscious of it. It is noteworthy too that the main arguments in Ch. 1 are given over to Galen through the medium of two Christian commentators, Ḥunayn and Ibn al-Muṭrān.²² With their help Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is in a position to let Galen propose both divine inspiration and human ingenuity as the constituents of medical knowledge (1.4 'the art of medicine must have been, for the

²⁰ Cf. Brentjes, 'Narratives'; in general and still the authoritative discussion, Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary'.

²¹ *De constitutione artium*, in three books, of which the book on medicine survives as *De constitutione artis medicae*.

²² In the biography of Ibn al-Muṭrān Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah reports Ibn al-Muṭrān's conversion to Islam from al-Qifṭī in a passage not preserved in the surviving version of the *Ta'rīkh* (Ch. 15.23.2).

most part, broadly consistent with the above discussion', i.e. divine inspiration and human experimentation), and he is now free to go into details. He makes a quick tour of various signs of divine origin (1.5), then turns to the promising topic of dreams (1.6 'in second place'), starting of course with remarks acknowledging inspiration from dreams in Galen's On Bloodletting,²³ Method of *Healing*, and *Commentary on the Oath*, topped up (1.7) by citations of Oribasius (d. ca. 390/400), a commentary on Galen by Ibn Ridwan, and the Facilitation by Ibn Zuhr *fils* (Avenzoar). Following this we are offered a long account (1.8 'in the third place') illustrating the role of 'serendipity' (*al-musādafah*), which is allegedly taken from one of Galen's own sources, Andromachus the Younger, confirmed (1.9) by a story told by al-Tanūkhī and an anecdote about the pharmacologist, Philo of Tarsus, whose famous analgesic was known solely through Galen's account of it in On the Composition of Drugs by Places. Fourthly (1.10) Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah describes imitation of animals as a source of medical knowledge, citing Rhazes and Galen (On Enemas).²⁴ Finally (1.11 'in fifth place') he discusses divine inspiration in animals, citing among others Dioscorides. He concludes (1.12) that, because man stands 'at the apex of the animal kingdom', he must have been divinely inspired and thenceforward applied experimentation and reasoning, with the result that he transformed his instincts into the rules and principles of medicine.

This flagship chapter is a beautiful essay on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's profession, its antiquity, and its centrality to human life. It is dominated by Greek sources or sources imbued with Greek perspectives, and with their help the question of the origin of medicine announced at the start as 'difficult' – so said Galen – is elegantly resolved to the neat position where the deity inspires and man gains experience. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah steps aside from more polemical elements to the discussion of the role of medicine, which claimed it opposed God's will.²⁵ For him medicine was quite in tune with the divine. This position was the perfect basis for moving on in Ch. 2 to Asclepius, a very special type of human being who was, we are told, most people's idea of 'the first known physician' and a good empiricist to boot (2.1.1).

²³ I.e. the *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem*.

²⁴ *De clysteribus et colica*, a lost pseudo-Galenic work. Cf. Ch. 5.1.39 for Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's introduction to this and other such writings.

²⁵ Rosenthal, 'Defense of Medicine', citing for the defence 'Abd al-Wadūd (cf. 'Uyūn 10.66.3), Ibn Hindū (biography at 11.9) and the Christian physician Ibn al-Quff (15.60, the last biography).

3 Physicians Who Perceived the Rudiments of the Art of Medicine and Initiated the Practice of That Art (Chapter Two)

Ch. 2 has similarities with Ch. 1, for almost all of the second half is direct quotation from Galen/Hunayn. The first half depends closely on works by two Muslim writers, Abū Ma'shar's famous Book of Thousands and al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings, both of which themselves draw on ancient 'Hermetic' literature. For al-Mubashshir, an author with deep classical interests, Asclepius is the pupil of Hermes the First, who features as the fount of religion and science. In Abū Maʿshar Asclepius becomes the pupil of a third Hermes. The tradition of no fewer than three Hermes-figures in Arabic, as we see it in Abū Ma'shar, appears to rest on a conflation of the pagan 'Hermetica' with the Christian chronological traditions that lie behind his historically informed astrology and made him so useful for those intent on understanding ancient times.²⁶ Again it is Greek tradition that dominates Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's presentation and he draws on several other real or inauthentic (Ps.-Plato, K. al-Nawāmīs) Greco-Roman sources, not always accurately or from originals, including Galen,²⁷ to confirm the divinity of Asclepius. The first half of the chapter ends appropriately with a quotation from a pagan, the Sabian scholar Thābit ibn Qurrah (via Ibn al-Nadīm's Fihrist, as often in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah), which links Asclepius to his descendant Hippocrates and the revival of medicine (2.1.5).

In the second half of Ch. 2 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah reverts to Galen's commentary on the *Oath*. In his *Risālah* Ḥunayn specifies the addition to his translation of 'annotations (*sharḥ*) I made on passages judged difficult (*mustaṣʿabah*)'.²⁸ Behind this judgement one hears the voices of pupils (including his son Isḥāq, cf. below) and friends requesting explanations of Galen's lengthy description of a Greek god. In the passage as we have it, Ḥunayn battles to bring the descriptions back to medical science. Dryness (an allusion to the main ancient etymology of Asclepius²⁹) was easy to deal with: 'an individual dies only when there is a preponderance of dryness and cold'. Or take the dull gloss of the teacher on Galen's assertion that Asclepius was held divine because physicians needed to have the 'ability of the diviner': 'this is a reference to medical prognosis'

²⁶ See van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, esp. ch. 4.

²⁷ Orosius, could not have made the mistake Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah attributes to him most carelessly of thinking that Christianity preceded paganism. In fact the passage (Ch. 2.1.2) is taken from Ibn Juljul, who was not so casual himself.

²⁸ Hunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 40/32.

²⁹ Cf. Ch. 2.1.2.

(2.1.6.1). But when it came to Galen's 'discussion of pictorial representations of Asclepius' (2.1.6.2–3), Hunayn struggled partly because Galen's Commentary did the work itself but partly because the material was not easy to tie to science (cf. the prosaic comment at 2.1.6.2 that, 'the marshmallow plant has warming properties in some degree, etc.'). None of this matters to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah for he is in the company of two favourites and he concludes with a section of the commentary that is a paean to good health (2.1.6.4).

His job is completed by the briefest note on Apollo (2.2). He makes no connection between Apollo and divinity. He might have done so given that the deformed name transmitted here (A-y-l-q) is identified earlier as a deity (2.1.2 'Temple of A-y-l-q, which was dedicated to the sun'). But he is now in a different register, following Ibn Juljul and a Judaeo-Christian chronology that placed Apollo alongside the Old Testament leader, Barak the Judge. His mind is on the legacy of Asclepius and the last of his line in Hippocrates, the man who made medicine a fully-fledged discipline.

4 The Greek Physicians Descended from Asclepius (Chapter Three)

In Ch. 1 Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah had concluded that medicine developed from divine inspiration and human experience and at the start of Ch. 2 he had highlighted the empiricist credentials of medicine's founder, Asclepius. In case readers have not been following, he begins Ch. 3 with a reminder that medicine depended on 'practical experience'. Asclepius' successors abided by 'the empirical system' (3.1, cf. 3.2), for the time being at any rate. For information about these successors Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah had to turn to a new source and one he regarded as unreliable, John the Grammarian (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī). John's life itself is narrated in Ch. 6 on the late-antique Alexandrian school of medicine. Thirty five works of medical and philosophical commentary are attributed to him there (6.2).

There is no reason to doubt that a real late-antique commentator called John did exist. It is also quite certain that in the Arab tradition this medical John, who is unknown except in Arabic, was confused with the John the Grammarian who is more usually known as John Philoponus ('Lover of Toil'), i.e. the distinguished Christian commentator on Aristotle. The philosophical John died around 575 but a transmission error in Arabic of a date he gives in one of his commentaries catapulted him into the era of the Arab conquest of Egypt.³⁰ The confusion

³⁰ See Ch. 6.1.2 with n. 16: the Arabic of his commentary on the *Physics*, as quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm, placed him in AD 627/28 rather than the 517/18 of the Greek text.

was welcome to anyone looking for a thread from Alexandria to the Arabs, as we shall see. In the list of John's books in Ch. 6 (quite a few being authentic works of John Philoponus), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah makes no reference to John the Grammarian's chronology of physicians, the work he uses in Chs. 3–5 for dates and names. The omission might have been the result of familiarity or disapproval, but it is also clear that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah knew this chronological account only through Ishāq ibn Hunayn's History of Physicians, a work surviving as an epitome and partial text in the Siwān al-hikmah.³¹ In his introduction to the vizier Abū l-Husayn al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 291/904),³² Ishāq follows Galen's commentary on the Oath for the origins of medicine. He does not acknowledge the source; but we may assume he expected readers to have known it. He had a problem, however: his addressee is known to have been uncompromising, and had instructed the philosopher to tell him who was the first and who was the last physician: 'Let me have it in a hurry and do not postpone' (trans. Rosenthal). Thus knowing that John the Lover of Toil did a good job and had been around when the Arabs came, Ishāq looked to the chronology of physicians by John for the right answers. That this John had nothing to do with Philoponus was something he was presumably unaware of. In any case the credentials of Philoponus discouraged him from having doubts.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah makes good use of John's information in Chs. 3–4. But he was not happy with it. The discontent boils over in Ch. 5. As we shall see below, the life of Galen posed a problem that is true of all ancient physicians: a dearth of independent accounts. Hippocrates had lived long enough ago in the past for the biographical machine to produce fictitious letters and a decent quantity of semi-fictional biography, which are the typical productions of the Hellenistic or early Roman imperial eras.³³ Galen, who lived into the 3rd century AD, was a little late for this and anyway gave too many facts about himself in his often self-referential writings. At some point in late antiquity somebody saw the opportunity to pull off a master stroke by inventing a few additional

Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Hunayn' (epitome, including Ishāq's introduction); Dunlop, Şiwān alhikmah, §§19–26 for a fuller text including numerous mainly unclear Greek names (cf. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah Chs. 3–4) but lacking Ishāq's preamble. Ishāq's biography is at 'Uyūn Ch. 8.30.

³² E1² art. 'Wahb', no. 3 (C.E. Bosworth). Cf. Ch. 8.30.1, 5 for al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh's acquaintance with Ishāq. One of the interlocutors in the discussion pictured in Ishāq's forword is 'Abd Allāh ibn Sham'ūn, to whom Ishāq addressed a treatise on preserving one's memory (8.30.6 no. 11).

³³ Including Soranus' Life of Hippocrates, which survives in a number of versions: Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives*; Smith, *Hippocrates*.

facts about him in order to appropriate him for Christianity. The potential relationship of the two greatest healers – Galen and Jesus – was a story too good to ignore, not to mention the dividend for true believers of a medical bent. It is possible that Galen's use of a book ascribed to the last of the Ptolemies, Queen Cleopatra, in his *Composition of Drugs by Places*³⁴ assisted the story, for if we wish to be vague about chronology, she is almost in the right time zone. It is highly likely that the chronological John had made Galen her pupil, and therefore that John is indeed the chronological culprit.³⁵ But the Christian Ishāq took things a stage further. At the end of his *History* and speaking in his own person he pegs the dates of the physicians to the dates of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. From this it is apparent that Galen in his 20s or 30s overlapped with Christ and was, as others developed the story, at the right age to be the uncle of Paul the Apostle (or Luke).³⁶

The effect of this linkage was highly dangerous: medicine was sectarianized. We shall see below how Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah dealt with the case of Galen in particular. What is relevant now – since John is so important in the early chapters we are discussing – is Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's view of John. In Ch. 5.1.3 he swiftly demolishes the chronographer's neat division of the lives of the physicians into years of study and years of practice by quoting Galen himself.

The length of Galen's life was 'eighty-seven years. He was a youth and a student for seventeen years and a scholar and a teacher for seventy years'. So runs the account of John the Grammarian. In the same way I have based myself on John's reports for the divisions in the lives of the previously mentioned great master physicians down to my own time with respect to their studying and their teaching. This matter requires careful scrutiny for information on it cannot be restricted ... Indeed, logic dictates that some of it is inconceivable and this includes his information that Galen was a youth and a student for seventeen years and a scholar and a teacher for seventy years. The only way to check what he says is to use the reports of Galen himself.³⁷

³⁴ See Ch. 5.1.21.1 and note.

So in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, quoted Ch. 5.1.21.1 ('studied medicine with a woman called Cleopatra'). Cf. Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Hunayn' 69/79 with the fuller version of the text at Dunlop, *Şiwān al-hikmah* ll. 364–365, where she is named.

³⁶ See Ch. 5.1.4 with notes.

³⁷ John's 87 for Galen is no more reliable than Alexander of Aphrodisias' remark that Galen had a Socratic revelation at 80 (Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, l. 100).

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah then begins a lengthy session refuting both John and Isḥāq for their assumptions and sloppy scholarship. The reader who has learnt so late that John is not a good source may want to know why Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah used him in the first place. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does raise the possibility at Ch. 3.5 that John is not accurate but lets it pass, and first readers would certainly miss any doubts. John was indispensable for supplying the names of Greek physicians and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah had no reason to doubt these were real. He does not question in any way the sequence of the 'great master physicians' that John records since he had no evidence to the contrary.

Thus it is that he sets out in Ch. 3 the scheme of Ghūrus, Mēnas, Parmenides, Plato the Physician, Asclepius the Second, Hippocrates and Galen. The origins of this scheme are obscure. The presence of the real pre-Socratic philosopher Parmenides and the Plato doublet indicate philosophers were on the mind of its inventor, as they would be for anyone trained in the Galenic tradition. In which case, and given the level of deformation Greek names can suffer in the process of transmission, the philosophers Anaxagoras and Anaximenes may lie behind the forms we have somewhat arbitrarily vocalized as Ghūrus and Mēnas.³⁸ The result is fantastic. Its purpose was to establish the combination of experience and logic that typify the Hippocratic-Galenic physician. Menas concluded that the 'empirical system ... should be supplemented with analogy $(qiy\bar{a}s)$ '. Parmenides (3.4) takes this too far claiming only 'analogy' (deductive reasoning) is useful. Our inventor knew the basics of the doxographical tradition and names as Parmenides' pupils physicians associated with promoting both the two fundamental approaches of Empiricism and Rationalism and, third, the Galenic bugbear of Methodism: Acron (an older contemporary of Hippocrates who is no more than a name to us), Diocles (a major figure of the 4th century BC), and Thessalus (a physician influential in 1st century AD Rome). Only in John's fantasy world could these three become Parmenides' students. It is Plato the Physician (3.5) who comes to the rescue: by reviewing earlier writings he realizes (as some ancient texts averred) that both experience and reason are necessary. At this point Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah pauses to note that, if there is truth (*haqīqah*) in John's account, the view that Hippocrates was the first to write down medicine must be wrong. The problem thus raised is for the time being shelved, which is odd as Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah clearly did not believe John on the specific matter.³⁹ Asclepius the Second is then brought on (3.6) to transition us to Ch. 4 and the real medicine of Hippocrates.

³⁸ Anaxagoras actually occurs in full in 3.5 (and is a likely error for the physician Praxagoras), and at Ch. 4.1.10.1 we again find *gh-w-r-s* and read (Prax)agoras.

³⁹ Cf. Ch. 4.1.2 the report of Ibn Riḍwān that medicine was taught orally before Hippocrates

At this point in Ch. 3 ('At his death, Plato left six pupils ...'), as in the rest of the chapter, John serves up a mishmash of names, some of which are obvious, real forms but are not necessarily identifiable. There is no sense to these: some are solidly Greek, some (as far as we can tell) Roman (Furius, Gallus, Marcus, Matthaeus, Maximinus, Sergius, Severus). A majority cannot be construed. If one assumes the names were all real and found in some lost doxographical account, it is clear that our author has mixed them up and defied any chronological reality, whether by will or by ignorance.

One gets the feeling that the names of Ch. 3 partially function as decoration for the lives of the eight great master physicians in John's scheme. The overall level of fiction or confusion and the Christianizing tendency may reveal in John the chronographer a non-Greek, Syriac author, who was untroubled by historical accuracy and mainly interested in claiming medicine for his religion. Isḥāq gives no information about the language he read John's work in.⁴⁰ But it would be strange for an Alexandrian Greek physician to have produced such nonsense. It is surely very doubtful that this unchronological John is the same John who wrote commentaries on Galen (Ch. 6). These are Greek works in origin and no Greek author would have come up with John's farrago. The truth of his identity is beyond recovery, but it is clear that those who look to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and John for a chronography of real lost Greek physicians will be disappointed. Quite a few names can be guessed at with varying degrees of plausibility. Not a few are genuine and identifiable, but all in all John's grasp of dates was at least weak.

5 Greek Physicians to Whom Hippocrates Transmitted the Art of Medicine (Chapter Four)

Ch. 4 is a complex achievement. Hippocrates takes up about one fifth of the chapter. We then have accounts of a number of physicians between him and Galen. This in turn is followed by a long section on the philosophers concentrating, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah says (4.1.11.4), on Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and including important figures such as Theophrastus and Alexander of Aphrodisias. The philosophical list is determined by Ṣā'id al-

decided to write it down, 4.1.9.1 Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah on the fact that 'Hippocrates was the first to set down the art of medicine in writing'.

⁴⁰ Note Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's report that John was *al-Askalānī* (Ch. 6.1.1), i.e. from Ascalon in Palestine. The spelling of the town, against the normal '*Asqalān* in Arabic, perhaps reflects the Aramaic spelling which begins with the '*Ālep*.

Andalusī's *K. Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, and all its members were well known to Arabic authors. Aristotle, the embodiment of logic, fills not far short of one third of the whole.

The philosophers have nothing much to do with medicine or physicians, but their presence is easy to explain. Galen emphasized the importance of philosophy to the practice and theory of medicine, especially Aristotelian logic. The leading physicians of the Islamic Middle Ages often combined philosophical and medical learning. The tools of Aristotle were the key parts of Christian and Muslim learning. The philosophers Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah focusses on were all known but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's readers surely expected to learn more about them from him. He in turn enjoys telling them. For Pythagoras and Aristotle in particular he had excellent sources in the form of Porphyry's history of philosophy and Ptolemy's life of Aristotle (see below). He does not stint.

It is Hippocrates alone who is named in the title of the chapter. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah offers biographical details that are similar to the fact and fiction preserved in ancient sources. But biography is not quite his goal. At 4.1.2 he turns to one of his most valued Arabic sources, the 11th-century Egyptian physician Ibn Ridwan, to affirm that Hippocrates was the first to promulgate medicine in writing. The quotation, from an unknown work,⁴¹ finishes with Hippocrates' concern for the morality of medical students and the behaviour of practitioners. The following generous citation by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah from three deontological works (Oath, Law, Testament) is extremely important for the Uyūn because here for the first time Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah sets out his key expectations about the conduct of a medical doctor in any period. Examples of Hippocrates' 'practice and treatment' follow along with his establishment of the rules (qawānīn) of medicine, rejection of royal patronage, treatment of the poor, and continence ('embracing virtue in hardship and distress', 4.1.4–6). The section ends with the description, according with his own injunctions, of Hippocrates' appearance and comportment, quoted from Mubashshir ibn Fātik (4.1.7).

Two other new features of the life of Hippocrates recur in subsequent biographies: lists of sayings and books. His fifty-three 'wise sayings' are divided into three parts. First is a section that has some overlaps with material in the *Şiwān al-ḥikmah* but is of unclear provenance (4.1.8.1), followed by sayings preserved in Ḥunayn's *Nawādir al-falāsifah* (4.1.8.2),⁴² which are enlivened with the longish discussion of 'passionate love' (*'ishq*) drawn from there (4.1.8.2–3). The third section is taken from Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Choicest Maxims*. The

⁴¹ Cf. the lost *M. fī madhhab Abuqrāṭ fī taʿlīm al-ṭibb*, Ch. 14.25.9 no. 21.

⁴² Note Hunayn's non-standard translation of the famous first maxim of the *Aphorisms*, Ch. 4.1.8.2 no. 33.

content of this sayings material, blending moralizing sententiae with more 'scientific' pronouncements, presents Hippocrates the man of virtue and expertise. It consolidates the picture that has emerged and prepares us for the fruits of his work, his books, which combine (4.1.9.1) 'enigmatic language' (lughz) – the often obscure material of works like *Aphorisms* and *Epidemics* – with conciseness and explanatory information.

The canon of Hippocrates' twelve most famous books is almost certainly derived from Ibn Riḍwān,⁴³ a source who is used extensively in Ch. 6 for details of the Alexandrian curriculum. The information about each of the twelve gives this first proper biographical list a 'strong' feel which is enforced by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's assertion that these books show 'the right principles and order'. The rest of the corpus, as Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah knew it, is registered for the most part by title alone. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah notes that 'some of them are falsely attributed' (4.1.9.2) but presumably felt that most of these works were genuine for he includes among them those he quoted earlier (*Law, Testament, Oath,* the last two with important comments).

In our translation we have included a new heading at 4.1.10.1, 'The Followers of Hippocrates'. But for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah the followers were Hippocrates' family and students, with names taken largely from John, and are part of a single Hippocrates section. Some of the names of immediate successors can be restored on the basis of the largely fictional Brussels Life of Hippocrates⁴⁴ but regrettably not the name of the daughter of Hippocrates.⁴⁵ Most of the names of those 'between Hippocrates and Galen' (4.1.10.2–5) can also be guessed at reasonably, and they show the now familiar jumbled chronology. The main gain of these sections for us is the list of fifty-seven titles written by Rufus of Ephesus, drawn largely from Ibn al-Nadīm (4.1.10.2). The other important figure is Dioscorides (4.1.11.1), whose *De materia medica* was extremely well known to Arabic medicine.⁴⁶ After him the list of physicians 'between Hippocrates and Galen' continues. Some of these (Cassius, Alexander of Tralles) lived long after Galen.

It is Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn who says he has added philosophers to John's history and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah names him for those listed at 4.1.11.3. But a more congenial source, Ṣā'id al-Andalusī's *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, is cited to prepare readers for what comes next. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī is the immediate basis for Ibn Abī

⁴³ See notes ad loc. Ch. 4.1.9.1. On the canon of twelve, cf. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 27.

⁴⁴ Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives*, 24–28, 131–134.

⁴⁵ Ch. 4.1.10.1 *M*- \bar{a} -l- \bar{a} -n- \bar{a} \bar{A} -r-s- \bar{a} ; cf. similar forms in the *Şiwān* and the *Fihrist* in the notes to the Arabic text.

⁴⁶ We have again introduced a new heading for the English.

Uşaybi'ah's brief report of Empedocles (4.2) and he is cited to introduce Pythagoras (4.3.1). Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah has a trick up his sleeve at this point: Porphyry's *K. Akhbār al-falāsifah wa-qişaşihim wa-ārā'ihim*, the great history of philosophy which is lost in Greek bar the biography of Pythagoras.⁴⁷ Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's Pythagoras refines the model established by his Hippocrates because the account of Porphyry, mediated for the most part through al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, for the first time allows details of a life actually led. Thus the opening summary by Qādī Şā'id quickly yields to Porphyry's account, which is soon credited directly to al-Mubashshir (4.3.4.1–3). Mubashshir was too good a source to let go and Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah draws on him next for Pythagoras' *hikam*. But he turns back to Porphyry for the books of Pythagoras (4.3.6.1–2). The two passages quoted, of unknown origin in Arabic, are important because they are not in our Greek text.

The Socrates who follows (4.4) also offers little of medical interest. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah again begins with Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, but thereafter is wholly dependent on Mubashshir. The account is dominated by the gripping narration of the last days of Socrates (4.4.2.3–4) and by sayings material, which is cut down from al-Mubashshir's extensive list but is still substantial. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's Plato (4.5) is broadly similar, except that the introduction is made for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah by Ibn Juljul. Mubashshir provides what biographical details there are, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah then offers a selection from his also very extensive complement of sayings. But Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, an author who was inordinately fond of his bibliographical lists, turned to his own unidentified source for the book catalogue, an ordering that is found only here in Arabic literature.

Next comes Aristotle. The Aristotle is the *pièce de résistance* of Ch. 4 and is the fourth longest life overall, running to some 6850 words in our Arabic text (cf. Ibn Sīnā at approximately 7200, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq 7700, Galen 15700). Although for sound chronological reasons Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah follows it with Theophrastus and Alexander of Aphrodisias, we should see it as a mirror of the Hippocrates, which (if we include every biography in Ch. 4.1 as Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah intended) amounts to some 6000 words. The Aristotle shows Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah at his most competent. Ibn Juljul's introduction holds up the main act for no more than a few sentences. Ptolemy the Stranger's *Epistle to Gallus on the Life of Aristotle* – a work surviving only in an epitomized form in Greek – is brought on immediately.⁴⁸ This provides Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah with a real life once again. He splices Ptolemy with al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, then briefly imports

⁴⁷ See A. Segonds' appendix on the Greek tradition, in Des Places, *Porphyre*.

⁴⁸ For basic bibliography and discussion, see Toulouse, 'Ptolémée'.

Hunayn ibn Ishāq before embarking on a discussion of Aristotelian philosophy courtesy of Sāʿid al-Andalusī and al-Fārābī, on whose Ihsā' he draws extensively (4.6.5.1). Job done, he tails the life with Aristotle's will (from Ptolemy, 4.6.6.1). But he was clearly determined to bulk out the biography of his non-medical subject and turns to some light reading in the form of fictional history from Hunayn's Ādāb (here: Nawādir) al-falāsifah. This work serves to remind us that even as knowledgeable a scholar as Hunayn was happy to include a good deal of pseudo-history to make his books of philosophers' wisdom more appealing. Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah makes no comment on the fiction of Plato's clash with Aristotle at the court of King Rufistanes, but since he knew better history perfectly well from Ptolemy we may assume he included the tale simply to entertain readers in the middle of a very long account.⁴⁹ As with Plato and Socrates, he extracts from al-Mubashshir a list of sayings (4.6.11) before turning back to Ptolemy for a bibliography to which he triumphantly adds 'many other books by Aristotle that were not listed by Ptolemy' (4.6.13.3). The bibliographer in him has to have the final word and he goes the extra mile by including bibliography for Theophrastus (4.7) and Alexander of Aphrodisias (4.8). This last figure is not only a prominent Aristotelian but also 'the contemporary of Galen, whom he met' and with whom he argued bitterly (4.8.2, titles nos. 20-22 for philosophical disputes).

6 Galen – Physicians from or after the Time of Galen (Chapter Five)

6.1 The Limits of Fiction

The biography of Galen of Pergamum (129 to ca. 216AD^{50}) is arguably the most important single life in the *Uyūn*. Its meaning to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is clear from the fact that he effectively allotted it a whole chapter by itself. The chapter actually consists of two parts: a section on Galen's life and doings, including a lengthy enquiry into the chronology of his lifetime, using arguments drawn from the chronographers and from Galen's own works to prove that he was not a contemporary of Christ; and a long section listing and commenting on Galen's writings, for which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah relied principally on two works of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. The chapter is closed by a short section on the physicians who came

⁴⁹ Cf. below on fiction about Galen in the *Siwān al-ḥikmah*.

⁵⁰ The current orthodoxy among classicists that Galen lived to the age of 87 rests on John the Grammarian. John's division is useless (see above for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's rejection of it at 5.1.3), but it is clear from internal evidence in the corpus that Galen died around 216 or perhaps a little earlier.

after Galen, most of them from late antiquity, which leads neatly to the short Ch. 6 on the late Alexandrian curriculum, itself a kind of appendix to the 'Galen' inasmuch as the curriculum it discusses was based, of course, on his works.

The biography of Galen is present in all three versions of the *Uyūn*, and like the other 'Greek' chapters in essence belongs to the first. It is interesting to note some signs of revision in Version 3. That Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah re-read his 'Galen' late in his life for the final edition of his book is unsurprising. And although several other chapters are longer (Chs. 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15), there is no individual biography that is longer; indeed 'Galen' is twice the length of the second longest, Hunayn ibn Ishāq.⁵¹ This length is achieved by incorporating in the first half of the life long quotations from Galen that show the deep pleasure Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah drew from repeating the words of his hero relating to his conduct and ability. The list of Galen's works in the second half - taken from Hunayn's *Risālah* on the translations he made and from the short treatise he wrote on material 'not listed by Galen in the Catalogue of his books'52 - is a comparable investment, which highlights the achievements of one hero through the comments of another. The commissioner of MS Gc (Version 2) heavily abbreviated this list, presumably (and not unreasonably) taking the view that the information was available elsewhere and that he could therefore omit much of it beyond the book titles themselves.⁵³

With the exception of the abbreviated book-list in Ms Gc, the manuscripts of the three versions of the Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's history are highly consistent. Mss Ga (Version 2) and Gc have a number of readings in common, and R (Version 3) occasionally shows trivial errors and signs of haste in copying out this longest individual life. There are, however, some interesting examples of differences between the three versions. I shall consider several illustrative passages later and also say something about Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's use of other authors, for, as we have already discussed,⁵⁴ he relies on many standard works and in Ch. 5 we are able to compare his text with these major authors: Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, Ibn Juljul, al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, Ibn al-Nadīm, and Ibn al-Qiftī. Where there are differences (esp. for Ibn Juljul and al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik), it is difficult to know how far Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah represents innovation

⁵¹ For an approximate Arabic word count of Galen, Hunayn, Ibn Sīnā, Aristotle, Hippocrates, see above. Cf. e.g. al-Fārābī (2848), Ibn al-Muţrān (3070), Ibn al-Haytham (3980), 'Abd al-Laţīf al-Baghdādī (5590).

⁵² See Ch. 5.1.37 n. 228, 5.1.38 n. 428.

⁵³ Though even he retains in full the romantic vignette of Hunayn's search for manuscripts of *On Demonstration* (5.1.37 no. 115).

⁵⁴ Above, Ch. 5, on Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs written sources.

as opposed to imperfect quotation from memory or a variant written tradition of the work in question. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah also drew on sources now lost such as the physician ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ⁵⁵ for the chronology of Galen and the courtier Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah⁵⁶ for the long anecdote about the location and dimensions of Galen's house. Of the lengthy extracts from Galen's *On My Own Books, Good and Bad Juices,* and *Examination of the Best of Physicians*,⁵⁷ comparison may be made with the unedited Arabic of the first and the edition of the last.⁵⁸

No-one had written a biography of Galen. But Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah was undaunted. As he put it towards the half-way point of his account (5.1.27),

There is a vast amount of information about Galen. There are stories useful to people who examine them, and snippets and anecdotes scattered all over his books and throughout the reports passed down to us about him. There are many stories detailing his treatment of the sick and testifying to his ability and skill in the art of medicine.

He continues by saying that it is his intention to compose a separate monograph on all of this material 'if God the Exalted wills it'. Yet it is difficult to see what kind of treatment such a work could have been given. He might have assembled additional passages from Galen or drawn on the fairly imaginative stock of stories about Galen that circulated in salon literature and were presumably invented to address the absence of a comprehensive biography from ancient times and thus cater to the demand to know more about one of the giants of antiquity. Had Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah mined all the references Galen made about himself, he would surely have had trouble pulling them together into a satisfactory whole. Had he included fictional accounts in his own rather serious study of the 'seal' of physicians, he would have seemed incoherent.

As an example of the problems of harmonizing sources in the overall context of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's presentation, consider for a moment 5.1.17, where he includes an extract from Ibn Juljul misdating Galen to the reign of Nero, information that runs counter to his huge effort to find accurate dates that takes up the opening sixth of the life. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah did not spot the problem,

⁵⁵ See Ch. 5.1.7. He was the 11th-century member of a family of physicians active from the 760s. On his place within the family, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 110 no. 7. His biography is at Ch. 8.6.

⁵⁶ See Ch. 5.1.16.1. Client of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, the half-brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

⁵⁷ Ch. 5.1.37 nos. 1, 76, 112.

⁵⁸ Good and Bad Juices is lost in Arabic.

perhaps because the name of the emperor was transmitted in a form so different from its appearance in 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's chronology, which he had quoted earlier. Again, whereas Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's citation of al-Bayhaqī's statement (5.1.5) that St Paul was Galen's nephew and that Galen 'believed in Jesus' is a spur to turn to the evidence of Galen's own writings and begin the task of an historical dating, the repetition of the claim at 5.1.21.2 ('so he left Rome intent on Jerusalem') as a bridge to take readers from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik on Galen's travels and death/burial to the story of the disease that killed him (5.1.22) shows a quite careless judgement, even if the story is signalled as dubious ('another source'⁵⁹). Of course the tale of the great physician and the great healer of bodies and souls was so tempting that readers must have expected it to be mentioned. But having artfully introduced the fiction as a springboard for rejecting it in the first part of the life, it was not a good idea to let it stand unchallenged later. The following anecdote of Galen making ice in summertime in a futile attempt to cure himself is explicitly labelled 'a fiction' (5.1.22), and the mixture of fiction and scientific knowledge (the observation that saltpetre removes heat from water) relocates Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah momentarily from the library to the dinner party, where of course many of his anecdotes and quotations of poetry throughout the *Uyūn* naturally reside.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah certainly wanted to entertain, but he was not usually prepared to include outright fictions about Galen in a chapter designed to edify. It is easy to demonstrate this by comparison with the (deliberate) nonsense we find in a purely belletristic work like the Cabinet of Wisdom, which seems to have been composed around the middle of the 11th century⁶⁰ The difference from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah is that, even though the fictional material on display in the *Cabinet* was intended as entertainment, to have included such stories in the Uyūn would have unbalanced the careful image of the physician hero. Consider the story in the Cabinet⁶¹ of Galen's relations with two fictional kings of his own day, Nīfās and Bāz. Galen, we are told, lived in a town called 'Macedonia' in Egypt 'where he was the favourite doctor of good king Nīfās'. Nasty king Bāz lived in the Magrib. The good king was obliged to send his favourite physician to him after Baz threatened war if Galen did not cure one of his girls with signs of leprosy on her face. Various stories follow. The tyrant cannot bear the thought that Galen will have to look at the girl, so Galen cleverly uses a mirror. Galen refuses to eat the tyrant's unhealthy food. He writes him a 'memo' $(dust\bar{u}r)$ to

⁵⁹ In fact the source is Ibn Juljul.

⁶⁰ The work was written in the circle of al-Sijistānī al-Manțiqī (cf. Ch. 11.7): see Kraemer, Philosophy 119–123, al-Qādī, Kitāb Şiwān al-ḥikma'.

⁶¹ Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, ll. 2200–2340.

remind him that he had predicted he too would suffer from leprosy, and a 'treatise' (*maqālah*) on the prognosis of epidemic diseases. The tyrant fails to heed Galen's dietary advice and suffers for it: his hair thins, his eyelids lose shape, his nails shrink. Now Galen escapes disguised as a black man. Bāz, ill, follows him and pretends to enrol as a pupil but Galen recognizes him and turns him into a civilized Greek! Further stories focus on Bāz's son Glaucon, who becomes Galen's star pupil and Nīfās' heir. The second part of this narrative contains nineteen sayings of Galen (including an extract from *Character Traits*). It is followed by one further piece of information: 'Abū l-Nafīs said, "Galen tended to lisp".'⁶²

The *Cabinet* throws in a few facts of the Galenic story to add to the entertainment. Glaucon is the philosopher to whom Galen dedicated the *Ad Glauconem, De methodo medendi,* which was part of the Alexandrian introductory syllabus.⁶³ The deposit of the 'memo' in the royal stores recalls Galen's account of storing his books in the royal depositories of the Temple of Peace at Rome, which was well known in his biographical tradition because of the great fire which consumed them and Galen's sanguine reaction to the loss.⁶⁴ The last words of the biography offer a tantalizing remark that perhaps alludes to Galen's interest in what he calls *to traulizein.*⁶⁵ It no doubt raised a smile to have this remark follow the sayings material, for how better to have fun at the expense of a wise sayer than to mention his speech impediment?

6.2 Galen in Time and Space

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was fully aware that there were entertaining fictions in circulation about his hero. He himself cheerfully admits one tale of this kind, concerning Galen's death, and carefully labels it, as we have noted. In general, though, amusement of this sort was not part of his plan any more than it was in other 'Greek' chapters.⁶⁶ The chronological linkage of Galen and Christ as found in Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's history of physicians on the basis of the chronology of John the Grammarian,⁶⁷ and the specific claim in other sources that

⁶² l. 2398 *kāna Jālīnūs althagh*. Cf. l. 3555 Abū l-Nafīs 'had a wonderful memory for the stories, best lines, and witty sayings of the philosophers'.

⁶³ No. 6 in the list of Galen's works in Ch. 5.1.37.

⁶⁴ See Ch. 5.1.26.

⁶⁵ I.e. 'lisping'; see Wollock, *Noblest Animate Motion*, 191–192, 283–285; and cf. Ullmann, *WGAÜ* 681 s.v. τραυλός for the translation of the word by the root *l-th-gh*.

⁶⁶ Cf. the tale of Plato, Aristotle, King Rufistanes and his son Nitaforas in Ch. 4.6.7.2. The story also circulated independently, see note ad loc.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 152, Ch. 5.1.4 with notes.

Galen was the uncle of Paul (or Luke)⁶⁸ was an altogether different type of fiction and had to be included to be rebutted. It could not be ignored for, as has been noted, it involved a Christian appropriation of Galen.⁶⁹ The best way to meet this fictitious presentation of his hero was to use Christian chronographical material against it. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah introduces the story in 5.1.5 from a no longer extant history of Persia by the Muslim littérateur al-Bayhaqī. In another of his works, the surviving *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, al-Bayhaqī ascribes it to the Christian intellectual Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043), noting that Ibn al-Ṭayyib claimed descent from Paul.⁷⁰ The legend came to be known also in Byzantium. Our sources for it are late and that may suggest influence from Arabic literature.⁷¹

A man as prominent as Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn could not be sidelined. In his text as preserved there is no explicit attempt to exploit the linkage but the sums make it clear. Luckily, then, help was at hand for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū'. 'Ubayd Allāh is known for his *Memorandum for the Sedentary and Provision for the Traveller* (from which he abstracted the definitions titled the *Medical Garden*) and a treatise on the maladies of the soul. His lost *Manāqib al-ațibbā'* (*Merits of Physicians*) was an important source for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah.⁷² In an otherwise unknown epistle he addressed head-on the question 'whether Galen's lifetime coincided with Christ', and from this Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah quotes extensively at 5.1.7–13. With the help of other Christian authors 'Ubayd Allāh presents a fairly accurate summary of the regnal years of rulers from Alexander to Antoninus (= Antoninus Pius), the last however being confused with his successor Antoninus whom we call Marcus Aurelius. 'Ubayd Allāh alleviated the dullness of too much chronology by recounting the legend of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the creation of the Septuagint, which Ibn Abī

⁶⁸ See 5.1.5 with note.

⁶⁹ Cf. Bürgel, Ärztliches Leben, 401, on the 'Christianisierung der Antike'.

⁷⁰ See note to Ch. 5.1.5.

In the 12th century Tzetzes devoted a section of his *Chiliades* (§ 397 ed. Leone) to proving that Galen was not a contemporary of Nero – people who said this 'talk out of their stomachs' – by noting that Galen had cited Nero's contemporary Andromachus the Elder; while Michael Glycas, *Annals* (p. 430 ed. Bekker), dismisses the 'popular' tale of Galen's meeting with Mary Magdalen and his deduction that Christ possessed medical earths from her report of his healing of the blind. The Byzantine encyclopaedia called the *Suda* (turn of the 11th century) s.v. γ 32 confirms the true dating. George the Monk followed by Tzetzes puts Galen under Caracalla (211–217); cf. Boudon-Millot, *Galien* pp. bxxxviii–xc.

⁷² For the works of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū' see Ullmann, Medizin, 110–111, 230; Ullmann, Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften, 28; Klein-Franke, Über die Heilung. Further, p. 88 above.

Uşaybi'ah included for the same reason. He finished his discussion of Galen's dates with two passages from Galen's well-known *Character Traits*, which contain firm dates, and from his summary of the *Republic*, where he mentions the Christians' quasi-philosophical perfection.

So pleased was Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah with 'Ubayd Allāh as an antidote to Ishāq that he unconsciously allowed him a paragraph of Christian apologetic propaganda on Christians' possession of a double bliss, the happiness of the Law and the happiness of intellectual ethical superiority (5.1.13). His techniques commended themselves and in 5.1.6 he himself took from Ibn al-Nadīm an extract from *Character Traits* as an immediate counter to al-Bayhaqī's report that Paul was Galen's nephew. 'Ubayd Allāh's citation of the summary of the Republic also provided inspiration, for in 5.1.14 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah invokes an autograph manuscript of Ibn al-Mutran, in which he had collected various passages where Moses and Christianity are mentioned in Galen's works.⁷³ The several allusions to Christians and Jews in Galen are in fact extremely important,⁷⁴ for they are among the earliest observations of Christianity by pagan authors. In his Ecclesiastical History Eusebius reports from a treatise written by an orthodox apologetic writer of the early 2nd century, possibly Hippolytus of Rome, that Galen 'is perhaps even being offered obeisance by some' Christians, apparently wishing to polish up their logic, which Galen both specialized in and reproved Christians and Jews for ignoring in favour of blind faith.⁷⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not say if Ibn al-Mutran assembled the passages in order to prove that Galen lived at a time when Christianity was well established or whether he wished to indicate Galen's attitude towards two of the religions of the Book. In fact the three passages quoted are fairly critical. But as far as Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah in concerned, they backed up the arguments of 'Ubayd Allāh, and put distance between his hero and Jesus.

It is clear from the next section (5.1.16.1–5) that it was just as important for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah to locate Galen in space. His information comes in the form of a long extract from the Baghdadi intellectual Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah, who wished to set readers straight on the extent of the ancient Roman empire in the East and the size and appearance of Galen's house in Smyrna.⁷⁶ The discussion turns

⁷³ See below on the late addition of this passage.

⁷⁴ Walzer, Jews and Christians, is the basis of most modern discussion on this topic.

⁷⁵ Ch. 5.28.14; Euclid, Aristotle, and Theophrastus were also mentioned. Cf. Barnes, 'Galen', 407–411, 417.

⁷⁶ No record of a *manzil* or *dār* in Smyrna survives in Greek, but cf. 5.1.25 for Galen's period of study there. It was common for wealthy families to have widely distributed landholdings in his period, including multiple local citizenships. His home town of Pergamum is not far from Smyrna. On Ibn al-Dāyah, see p. 88.

humorously on the relative status of physician and emperor *versus* that of the caliph (i.e. Hārūn al-Rashīd) and his own physician, Jibrīl ibn al-Bukhtīshū[,], whom Ibn Abī Uṣaybi[,]ah knew to be great great grandfather of [,]Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl.⁷⁷ This forms a neat bridge to the next section (5.1.18), where Ibn Abī Uṣaybi[,]ah turns to Galen's character and ethics and starts by citing a long extract from *Examination of the Best Physician (De cognoscendo optimo medico)* on his avoidance of noblemen's levees at Rome and his preference for study-ing and furthering the art of medicine, as illustrated by his unmasking of a charlatan and his love of 'direct practice' rather than 'rote learning' (5.1.19–20). This allows the introduction of various biographical details and for this Ibn Abī Uṣaybi[,]ah turns to a favourite book, al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Choicest Maxims*.⁷⁸

We have considered how Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah uses al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik in general above.⁷⁹ His function in the first extract used by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah here (5.1.21.1) is to provide basic information about Galen's travels and to introduce the topic and location of his death. Since he also mentions Galen's father's passion for education, when Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah returns to al-Mubashshir in 5.1.23 he uses him to emphasize the role of the father and to picture the young Galen as an anti-social swot. He backs up al-Mubashshir with a long quotation from Galen's *Good and Bad Juices* lauding his father's wisdom and his advice to steer clear of his 'young friends' excessive appetites and their demanding and irresponsible behaviour' (5.1.24.1), and then returns to al-Mubashshir for details of Galen's teachers and library.

It is curious, as we have seen, that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah pauses at this point (5.1.27) to inform us, as if in conclusion, that he cannot provide all the useful and entertaining stories scattered throughout Galen's work but will one day pen a separate work on them. For in fact he starts up again, referring to Galen's wonderful skills in *On Prognosis (De praecognitione*; 5.1.28), and quoting at length once more from the *Examination of the Best Physician* to illustrate his amazing cures and predictions (5.1.29). He ends with two short quotations from a lost work on his generosity to pupils and patients alike (5.1.30). The first half of the chapter is topped with al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik on Galen's personal appearance, a disquisition on the form of his name in Greek with the help of Rhazes, and some verses from a lost poem of the great al-Ma'arrī in celebration of the

79 Above, p. 86.

⁷⁷ For Jibrīl, see Ch. 8.3.

Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim (Ch. 14.23.4 no. 2). See Rosenthal, 'Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition', 145–147, 156–157 for a list of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's extensive quotations.

enduring legacy of Galen and Hippocrates. This, as MS A notes, brings to a close 'the first volume [*juz*'] according to the division in the exemplar'.⁸⁰

6.3 Sayings and Books

A large part of the material produced by the biographical machinery of antiquity and the Middle Ages consisted of sayings designed to illustrate the sayer's wit and wisdom. In the Greek tradition, however, as we see it in the gnomologies of the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods, Galen does not feature. The reason is probably that in comparison with the figures of classical and Hellenistic Greece he already lived too late to be included, especially as it seems that his position as the king of medicine was not assured till the 4th century.⁸¹ But in the Arabic tradition Jālīnūs was accorded a small number of pronouncements. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah makes use of those in the earliest collection, Ḥunayn's *Stories of the Philosophers and the Sages and Examples of the Manners and Culture of the Teachers of Old*,⁸² and from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik.

Since the preservation of utterances is a fundamental part of Islamic culture and enormous care was taken to demonstrate the veracity of such material, there is no reason to suspect that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah doubted the authenticity of what he includes. But he is also clear that the sayings have an overriding function of providing evidence of Galen's intelligence and knowledge. The fourteen aphorisms from Hunayn centre on two topics much discussed in Arabic literature, worry (*hamm*) and sorrow (*ghamm*), and love as a disease of the soul.⁸³ For the physician the interest lies in the relationship of mind and body posed by such problems. Some of the sayings reflect actual commentary by Galen, and one of these sayings is a quotation from *Character Traits*. The sixteen sayings recorded from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik are more pithy but there are also echoes of the Galenic corpus including two reworkings of passages in the *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas*. To these Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah adds some from other, unspecified sources including finally a quotation from Galen's commentary on the *Oath*. The words are well chosen – 'we will not find that everybody is recept-

⁸⁰ мs A, fols <u>5</u>8b–<u>5</u>9а.

⁸¹ For example in Oribasius.

⁸² Nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-ḥukamā' wa-ādāb al-mu'allimīn al-qudamā'.

⁸³ They are part of a wider subgenre called *faraj ba'd al-shiddah* (relief/deliverance from distress); see e.g. the work of this title by the 10th-century qadi al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj* or al-Kindī's *R. fi l-hīlah li-daf' al-ahzān* with Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 245–266. On the subliterature of love as a disease of the soul, see Klein-Franke, *Über die Heilung*, Biesterfeldt, Gutas, 'Malady', Rosenthal, 'As-Sarahsî on Love'. In general, Biesterfeldt, *Galens Traktat*.

ive to the art of medicine but we need someone whose body and soul are well suited to the purpose'. So ends the presentation of his model's sentiments.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah loved bibliography. For the first serious list of his book he manages 61 works (Hippocrates). In Ch. 4 he then peaks with 142 titles for Aristotle. We may compare among others Avicenna (11.13): Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah lists 101 works; while for Ibn al-Haytham (14.23) he has 182 plus 30 summaries of Galenic works, there are 226 for Rhazes (11.5), and for al-Kindī (10.1) no fewer than 283. Galen has only 188; but in no other biography does Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah include as much information. For this he was able to draw on the descriptive catalogue of Ḥunayn, as he happily admits. He stays close to Ḥunayn's words and ordering, keeping to the record of the books and omitting extraneous comments. Ḥunayn was as much an enthusiast for Galen as Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and several times revised the description of his life's work of translating Galen.⁸⁴ It is clear that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah kept texts similar to our two surviving versions open on his desk: thus in title no. 110 he begins following version 'A' as usual but switches to 'B' to include further information found there, signalling the switch with the phrase, 'Ḥunayn says ...'

The first eighteen titles following the two (bio-)bibliographical works with which Hunayn/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah begins (*De libris propriis, De ordine librorum suorum*) are essentially the books that formed the Alexandrian canon, though details and order differ somewhat from the famous structure of seven stages quoted from Ibn Riḍwān's *Kitāb al-nāfi*^c in Ch. 6.⁸⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah includes full information on these works and fairly full information for other key or interesting writings (*De anatomicis administrationibus, De usu partium, De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus, De compositione medicamentorum, De demonstratione*), adding comments as necessary (e.g. *On My Own Books* used to amplify Hunayn on title no. 21). He was no doubt pleased to import into the list title no. 102a – it is not in the *Risālah* as transmitted to us – to illustrate Galen's reaction to criticism of title no. 102.

So important was Galen that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah finishes the life with an extensive list of books attributed to him, drawing first (5.1.38) on Ḥunayn's supplementary bibliographical study,⁸⁶ and noting 34 additional works alluded to or translated, he says, by Ḥunayn (but not in his bibliographical works) or by others (titles 155–184). Of these he pauses to give full information on no. 167 *Secret Remedies* (*K.fī l-adwiyah al-maktūmah*) on the elements of Galen's prac-

⁸⁴ See Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations* (Lamoreaux), pp. xxi–xxvi for interpretation of the publication history, cf. Gutas, 'New "Edition".

⁸⁵ See below.

⁸⁶ Hunayn ibn Ishāq, Neue Materialen, 84–98.

tice that he shared with those 'who possessed the right qualities and the soundest judgment'. He ends the study of his hero quietly:

In conclusion I would note that Galen certainly wrote many other books that translators did not find or that were lost in the course of time ... Should anyone wish to refer to their titles or to Galen's aim in each of them, he may consult (*On My Own Books*).

5.1.40

6.4 Variations between Versions

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's interest in his Galen is obvious from the evidence for revision between the different versions of the Uyūn. Here we must distinguish between scribal or patrons' preferences and authorial changes. It is clear that the scribe of MS Gc wished, or was instructed, to reduce the length of Ch. 5. His preference for cutting the information Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah gives on Galen's books in 5.1.37-39 has been mentioned: from title no. 15 onward this reduction is drastic and includes whole entries (title no. 19), though he does take care to preserve most of no. 79 De compositione medicamentorum (perhaps indicating an interest in pharmacology) and was intrigued by the lost *De demonstratione* (no. 115) both because of the story of Hunayn's search for its manuscripts and because of an apparent philosophical bent that is evident from the inclusion of all of title no. 124 (Galen's summaries of the Platonic dialogues). He also copied out most of no. 167 Secret Remedies, which illustrates Galen's esotericism. There are also significant omissions by this scribe in the first juz'. Half of the quotation from On My Own Books in 5.1.1087 and most of 5.1.12 and all of 5.1.13 are left out,88 thereby seriously undermining Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's chronological investigation into Galen's dates. It looks as if he or his patron had had enough of this long disquisition. MS Gc also omits the whole of the story of Galen's residence quoted from Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah (5.1.16). Whether this was a case of pruning is unclear, since 5.1.15 and 5.1.17 are short excerpts from Ibn Juljul and the omission may therefore have been caused by accidentally skipping over the intervening text.

MS B (our representative of Version 1) unsurprisingly lacks some items included later. It does not include Ibn al-Muṭrān's collection of passages in Galen pertaining to Christ and Moses (5.1.14). It also lacks most of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's

⁸⁷ *On My Own Books* 1.11–16, 2.1 ed. Boudon-Millot = Ch. 5.1.10.2 'One day it happened ... when I was thirty-seven years old'.

⁸⁸ From "Ubayd Allāh notes that ...'

discussion of the form of Galen's name in Greek and Arabic (5.1.32, information from Qādī Najm al-Dīn) and the poem of al-Ma'arrī that ends the first *juz*' (5.1.33). MS B omits titles 187–188 in 5.1.39. Perhaps Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah did not know of these pieces of information at the time of writing.⁸⁹ Some omissions and additions pertain to Christianity. B along with Gc and Ga omits the word 'Apostles' in 5.1.8.1. It looks as if the term was added by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in a later revision; but no change of attitude towards Christianity is evident and we have rather a difference between MSS BGaGc and AR. Thus BGaGc read 'crucified' in 5.1.8.1 against the revised 'raised up high' in AR, which was acceptable to Islam, and they add a note about Christ's Resurrection 'according to the witness of the Apostles', which was removed in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's final revision. Where the last version reads 'Christ was baptized in the Jordan by the hand of John the Baptist', the words 'in the Jordan ... Baptist' are omitted by BGaGc, pointing to an addition in AR. Here GaGc substitute in parenthesis 'he speaks as he believes', referring unflatteringly to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's Christian source, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl. A little later, with reference to Vespasian's destruction of the Jews, where Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah ('Ubayd Allāh) notes God's promise 'about the coming of Christ (Peace Be Upon Him!)', for the words in brackets BGaGc substitute 'and there was no return for them' i.e. the Jews. Further evidence of a difference between BGaGc and AR is clear from 5.1.20, a passage added from Ibn Juljul. Although Ibn Juljul drew on a Galenic work of interest to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, De compositione medicamentorum, 90 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah failed to identify the extract, which his source had mangled. But it seems, to judge by this addition, that he felt the need to include in his final version a further witness to Galen's preference for what the text calls 'direct practice'. Sometimes a revised reading shows up in R and A margin: so under Domitian 'the city of 'Ayn Zarbā was razed'; in ABGaGc we read 'the city of Ra's al-'Ayn was plundered'.⁹¹ A margin and R margin present the same comment, 'migration from place to place means leaving the first for the second, and this migration path is that of the Prophet, God bless him and his family and preserve them!, from Mecca to Medina' to 5.1.4 (mention of the Hijra) or 5.1.5 (mention of Galen's belief in Christ).

The most interesting instance of revision by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah is a marginal addition in Ms A from Ḥunayn that is correctly located by a caret mark⁹² but

⁸⁹ MS R omits Titles 33 and 104 – but the habits of the scribe suggest that this is due to carelessness.

⁹⁰ See the full description and comments by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah at title no. 79.

⁹¹ See note to Ch. 5.1.8.2.

⁹² The $b\bar{a}$ ' Hindiyyah (Υ), indicating a second source copy: Gacek, Manuscripts, 250.

appears in Gc and R in the text body in two different and incorrect locations. In A it comes under title no. 7 (*De ossibus ad tirones*) in the list of Galenic works and consists of a longish acknowledged quotation ('Hunayn says ...'). R however adds it in the text of title no. 8 (*De musculorum dissectione*) while Gc places it in title no. 6 (*Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi*). There are slight differences between all three. This intervention indicates that Gc and R had sight of a copy where the additional quotation was placed in the margin but the *signe de renvoi* was obscure or absent. The scribe made his own choice about where the extra text should go.⁹³ In all cases scribes may of course have consulted sources for themselves and that may explain differences or more accurate readings, for example in no. 16 (*The Great Book of the Pulse*), where BGaR offer Hunayn's *ajnās* where others have *aṣnāf* and a little later *aṣnāf* where the others have *ajnās*.

One notable feature of the text is the way Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah handles his sources. In general he stays close to the traditions as we have them. The lion's share of quotation consists of Galen's own works, On My Own Books, Good and Bad Juices, and Examination of the Best of Physicians. In the case of the last, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah is accorded manuscript authority by the editor, Iskandar.94 The value of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's text for editions of the other works he uses is well known. Bergsträsser/Lamoreaux (Hunayn ibn Ishāq), Rosenthal (Ishāq ibn Hunayn/John the Grammarian), Sayyid (Ibn Juljul), Lippert (Ibn al-Qiftī), Badawī (al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik) all benefit strongly from the text of Best Accounts. The editor of the Cabinet of Wisdom, Dunlop, cited Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah extensively for the parts of the work that draw on John's History of Physi*cians*. But though Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah stays very close to these texts, there are changes, which are due to differing recensions, imperfect copies, quotation from memory, or the introduction of deliberate changes for reasons of style or to fit the context. The case of the lengthy quotation from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl (5.1.7–13) on the question of whether Galen lived at the same time as Christ is a particularly interesting case because 'Ubayd Allāh himself included citations of other authors in his answer. We have a very much shorter version of this ris-

Cf. Müller, 'Lesarten', 14 records the presence of the addition in R (his 'd') but places it at i, 91 l. 16, where it is in Ms A. He records it as a marginal addition in his 'n' (a descendant of A) and in Paris, BnF Suppl. ar. 674, which appears to belong to Version 2 in general but here at least will represent an addition present in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's final text. In Ms A the marginal addition is introduced by the word *hāshiyah* ('marginal note', 'gloss'), which is usually used for the scribe's own observations and comments. Note that in both A and R the addition is signalled after a similar phrase, *li-l-muta'allimīn* (A) / *ilā l-muta'allimīn* (R), which may account for R's confusion.

⁹⁴ Iskandar, Examinations.

 $\bar{a}lah$ in Ibn al-Qifțī (126–128 Lippert), who begins by saying that 'Ubayd Allāh 'wrote an excessively long account of the matter' (126.13). It is obvious that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah strongly disagreed about 'Ubayd Allāh's usefulness. It would be nice to know if he looked up any of the cited material for himself, but it is at any rate difficult to believe that 'Ubayd Allāh's long citation of Galen's *On My Own Books* (5.1.9–10) has not been amplified by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah himself.

We know that Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah used different recensions of Hunayn's Risā*lah* (cf. above) and where there are considerable differences between his guotation of an author and the text as transmitted to us, Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah may well be using a recension we do not know of. Take al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, from whom he quotes extensively and accurately in 5.1.21.1, 23, 25–26, 31, 35 (sayings material). In 5.1.31 on Galen's appearance and attitude towards emperors half of the quotation is not found in the edited text of Badawī, who notes Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah has additional material but does not say whether he thinks it is genuine.⁹⁵ A more problematical case is Ibn Juljul, who is used in 5.1.15, 17, 20, 21.2. There is absolutely no doubt that Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah knew Ibn Juljul directly, but it is not easy to determine why there are differences. Quotation from memory may be indicated. The sayings material in 5.1.34–35 reveals a little more of Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's choice. In 5.1.34 Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah uses material from Hunayn's Nawādir al-falāsifah. In 5.1.35 the material comes from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik but Ibn Abī Usaybiʿah omits sayings also found in Hunayn and includes them in 5.1.34 using Hunayn's version. Finally a word about Ibn al-Nadīm. He is used verbatim in the important counter to al-Bayhaqī in 5.1.6 (see above) and then in 5.2.1 for the books of Oribasius and in 5.2.2 for Philagrius, though we see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah intervening to reorder slightly and note the error in his text under Philagrius title no. 9 'structure of the womb', showing a faulty copy or sloppy note-taking and leading Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah unthinkingly to miss the very common (Galenic-)Hippocratic doctrine of 'suffocation of the womb'.⁹⁶ Faulty memory is again a possibility: when Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah records a comment by al-Mas'ūdī 'in his book on routes and realms', he is in fact referring to the geographer al-Istakhrī (5.1.21.1).

6.5 The Value of Galen

Current scholarship interprets Galen as a prime witness to the scientific, intellectual, and literary cultures of his time.⁹⁷ He is seen as a key figure in the

⁹⁵ Badawī, Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, 293 n. 1.

⁹⁶ Cf. Galen, Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarii 17b.824 Kühn 'not real suffocation but lack of breath' (οὐ πνίγα ... ἀλλ' ἄπνοιαν).

⁹⁷ See in general Dihle, *Greek and Latin Literature* (Galen index s.v.) and specifically on Galen

development of medical theory and practice (in particular in the areas of anatomy and physiology), as a hugely important codifier of now largely lost Hellenistic work on pharmacology and dietetics with his own original contributions to make, as a systematizer of Hippocratic notions of pathology who shaped the legacy of Hippocrates for subsequent generations (in particular the theory of the four humours and the three organic systems of brain, heart, and liver), and as a philosopher who demanded that physicians should be philosophically trained and presented his own independent thoughts on logic with a determination to modernize ancient authorities by bringing Plato, Aristotle, and Posidonius into harmony with his own deep knowledge of Hippocratic physiology.⁹⁸ He is viewed as a pivotal figure in the vibrant Greek culture of the early Roman empire (which is often referred to, following a remark by the 3rd-century author Philostratus, as the 'second sophistic'),99 a man whose command of all fields of knowledge, including the study of correct language that was so valued by the elites of the age, propelled him into a spectacular career from his early days treating gladiators in Pergamum up to the court life of imperial Rome and long service as physician to the emperors. Like others of this age, Galen was obsessed with understanding 'the ancients', but like Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah in his day, was also sure of his own era's advances and excellence. His egotism and vicious criticism of others, which are excessive but not untypical of ancient Greek culture at any time, show an ambition to enjoy status and success in the deeply competitive and dangerous cultural-political circumstances where he contended for primacy.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah was in tune with Galen's circumstances, for most of his physicians operated in the environs of dynasts of one sort or another and had to fight for glory and repute, as many of the biographies recount. This is why he dwells on examples of Galen's feuds (5.1.10 Martialius). It is why he devotes so much space to the disquisition of Galen's status relative to the emperor and in comparison with the situation of the court physician of the Caliphate (5.1.16). It is why he records with obvious admiration his 'miracle' cures in the context of his repudiation of the luxury and laziness of contemporary physicians (5.1.18, 28–29). The great effort to pin down Galen's dates serves to insert him fully into the history of the emperors (5.1.8–9).

himself and the aspects mentioned here, with full bibliographies, *inter alios* Barnes & Jouanna, *Galien*; Boudon-Millot, *Galien de Pergame*; Gill, Whitmarsh, & Wilkins, *Galen*; Hankinson, *Galen*; Nutton, *Medicine*, chs. 15–16.

⁹⁸ De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis (Ch. 5.1.37 no. 46).

⁹⁹ Schmitz, Bildung und Macht; Swain, Hellenism and Empire; Whitmarsh, Second Sophistic.

As has been remarked, Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah mainly keeps his Galen free of popular stories or rejects them. As part of his preservation of Galen's scientific legitimacy he offers no criticism at all of his verbosity or boastfulness. He is a model for all physicians. Thus it is entirely wrong to couch Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah's biography in debates about the 'decline' of Greek culture in Galen's own day such as they were voiced in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries.¹⁰⁰ Classical scholarship in that period, especially in Germany, was quick to condemn Greek intellectuals of the empire and the condemnations too often coincided with racial slurs of impurity. These old debates should not be resurrected, since they imposed views of their own time to an excessive degree and represented a deeply inadequate understanding of the richness of imperial Greek society. Bürgel's regressive suggestion that 'guardians of "genuine" Humanism in the West today' show a well-known disparagement of Galen is simply wrong.¹⁰¹ His appeal to the 'free Spirit' that signifies the West, as opposed to the love of dogmatic thought and absolute regard for authority that characterize near eastern and Islamic intellectual life and in particular the Islamic reception of Galen,¹⁰² has but one valid point if one is charitable: though Galen experimented in theory and practice, though he questioned authority and sustained it by bringing it up to date, later generations were reluctant to question Galen himself and thus handed him an almost total dominance in the field of medicine. And so for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, who was not backward looking and who publicized the considerable merits of his contemporaries and their predecessors in the Islamic empire, Galen was his hero and his dominance was unchallengeable; but medicine, nonetheless, continued to produce representatives of the highest quality.

7 Alexandrian Physicians and Their Christian and Other Contemporaries (Chapter Six)

To reach Islam, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah had to go via Alexandria, and this is the theme of Ch. 6. His readers knew that Greek medicine had been shaped in the late-

¹⁰⁰ As in the recent treatment by Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 400, drawing on Ilberg, *Galens Praxis* (from 1905). Ilberg saw Galen's self-regard as proof that he was a *Graeculus*, a 'Greekling', rather than a true Hellene of old; there is nothing to this.

¹⁰¹ Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 400, on Galen who 'bekanntlich im Abendland heute von manchen Hütern des "echten" Humanismus gern etwas abschätzig beurteilt wird'.

¹⁰² Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 409: 'der "autonome Geist" ein Signum des Abendlandes ... umgekehrt Dogmatisierung und Verabsolutierung von Autoritäten ein charakteristischer Zug des vorderorientalischen und damit auch islamischen Geisteslebens'.

antique world. But it is not until well into Ch. 5 that he mentions Alexandrian interventions (for example incorporating Galen's On Muscles in the collection known as The Small Book of Anatomy, Ch. 5.1.37 no. 8103). In Ch. 5.2 he adds a short appendix on the major physicians after Galen, beginning with the Alexandrians of late antiquity. These were 'among the commentators on Galen's books, and summarized and abridged them'.¹⁰⁴ The list, however, is slightly different from that at the start of Ch. 6, which includes John the Grammarian. John has been mentioned a handful of times in Chs. 3–4, and his presence is felt behind the lists of names of physicians. His importance as a source is signalled and questioned at 3.5.¹⁰⁵ But nothing prepares us for his ascendancy in Ch. 6.1–2. The explanation for it is simple: he embodies the transfer of medicine from Greek to Arabic because 'he was still living at the time of the advent of Islam'. The confusion here between John the Grammarian who was better known (and better known to us) as the philosopher John Philoponus with a John who had an interest in medicine and wrote a chronology of physicians taken up and adapted by Ishāq ibn Hunayn has been discussed above where it was suggested that this latter John was perhaps a Syriac author with a sectarian agenda to align medicine and Christianity and very unlikely to be identical with the medical author also called John the Grammarian, who wrote several commentaries on Galen listed at Ch. 6.2. A date from one of the philosopher John Philoponus' works placed him just after the Hijra owing to a transmission error in the text.¹⁰⁶ This was just what the biographical machine needed. It somehow generated fictions about John recounting his religious differences with the Byzantine authorities. These tales are cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah from the Fihrist and in particular and at length from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's Manāqib al-atibbā'. As we have it, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl does not make John live at the time of the conquest of Alexandria. Indeed he places him in the midst of the Christological disputes of the mid-5th century, confusing him, wilfully it appears, with a Constantinopolitan archimandrite called Eutyches (Ch. 6.1.3). But this did not stop a good story.

¹⁰³ Cf. title nos. 10, 14, 79.

We cannot tell if the three major focusses of Ch. 5.2, Oribasius ('physician to King Julian'), Paul of Aegina, Philagrius ('close to this time'), who were not Alexandrians, are associated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah with Alexandrian scholarship. It looks as if he is filing some known, important names as best he could; cf. Ch. 4.10.1–11.3 where key figures and their bibliographies are woven into the lists of names, and below on the quiet end to Ch. 6.

¹⁰⁵ He appears as John of Alexandria at Ch. 4.1.11.3 in a list of philosophers, some of whom are identical with physicians mentioned at Chs. 5.2.1 or 6.1.1.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 150.

Content that he had understood his man, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah goes on to quote 35 book titles by John. First come real philosophical commentaries by the real John Philoponus, most of which survive in Greek. There follows a series of commentaries on Galen which are undoubtedly genuine and – why not? – by a medical John writing in Greek in late antiquity. Finally the list, taken perhaps from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl, offers additional philosophical titles, some of which are certainly by John Philoponus (e.g. against Aristotle). Curiously Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah does not include the chronology of physicians in the listing, perhaps because he knew it only through Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn. The main achievement was a full identity for a crucial bridge between antiquity and what succeeded it.

After John, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah turns to his ever trustworthy Ibn Riḍwān for an account of what the Alexandrians were teaching at the time of the Arab invasion, quoting from the *Kitāb al-nāfi*' (6.3.1–4). The account is a detailed exposition of seven 'levels' of instruction used by the 'Alexandrians'. It is Ibn Riḍwān's way of rationalizing the Sixteen Books represented by the Alexandrian Summaries. But it is surely no more than a teacher's fantasy of a planned syllabus read by perfect students, and when the teacher concludes by saying that, 'the approach adopted by the Alexandrians was well calculated to motivate learners, stimulate their interest in the art of medicine, and impel them to study all of Galen's works', we enter his dreams where the world of summaries, extracts, and reworkings of the canonical materials for convenience and speed of learning and use is ignored and his own collection of snippets (the *Fawā'id*) conveniently forgotten.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah knew how medicine was taught for he tells us in later books that he studied this or that text. For now he quotes another trusted author, Ibn Hindū, from his *Miftāh al-țibb wa-minhāj al-țullāb*. Ibn Hindū's book was itself a summary of medicine with much useful information for learners and teachers. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's understatedness should not obscure the consciousness of its juxtaposition with the rigorous Ibn Riḍwān. He loved Ibn Hindū and quotes a good deal of poetry in his biography of him at Ch. 11.9. Ibn Hindū maintains he is quite happy with the summaries of the Sixteen and he points out to his own teacher, the physician Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Khammār,¹⁰⁷ who he records voicing an objection to the content of the Alexandrian curriculum, that students may progress to the hard stuff in due course. Diplomatically Ibn Hindū avers, with an attempt at a literary flourish (cf. 11.9.1), that his teacher was right as well, of course, by citing how Nature encourages learning.

¹⁰⁷ Biography at Ch. 11.8.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah no doubt smiled quietly as he noted in conclusion the great range of the Alexandrian summaries and their focus on Galen and Hippocrates (6.5.2).

To end the chapter Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, as usual doing the best he can, gathers a motley selection of physicians from Antyllus (2nd century) to Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn (9th century), telling us that extracts from them can be found in 'the great compendium entitled al-Hāwī, by al-Rāzī'.

8 To Islam

The end of Ch. 6 marks a major break in Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah's book. Ch. 7 bears the title 'Arab and other physicians of the earliest Islamic period', and with the first of these biographies, al-Harith ibn Kaladah, we are in a firmly Arab world of tribes and the Prophet and, above all, a lengthy provision of wisdom by the semi-legendary physician to the famous Sassanian ruler, Kisrā Anūshirwān (Chosroes Anushirvan), who had a significant career in Arabic literature but in reality was long dead by the time of al-Hārith. This section, completely fictional, circulated independently, which shows its popular nature (advice on food, wine, sex, as well as the four humours). And although the physician himself was historical, his medical interests are completely unknown and he is used instead to show the quality of 'the physician of the Arabs' at this early point in Islamic history.¹⁰⁸ The next three names are also Muslim, but the last of them, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar al-Kinānī, is a convert who was the successor in the Alexandrian school 'carrying on the tradition of the Alexandrians who have been mentioned earlier in this work'. In the year 99(717) 'he moved the school of medicine to Antioch and Harrān; since then, medical instruction has become widespread in various regions'. With a quiet nod to the narrative constructed in Abbasid times to explain how and why (i.e. as a result Christian hostility to learning) Greek philosophy came to be transferred to Islam, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah notes the diffusion of Greek medicine into the different lands (fil-bilād).¹⁰⁹ But the story from this point on is also the story of the entry of medicine - especially of Christian physicians - into the Islamic court.¹¹⁰ Hippocrates

¹⁰⁸ Ullmann, Medizin, 19–20.

¹⁰⁹ Gutas, 'Alexandria', esp. 187–188 (it is not clear why Antioch and Harrān are the named stages of the transmission to Baghdad); cf. above and note again Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's own avoidance of negative stereotyping. Cf. Ch. 15.1.2 for al-Fārābī's famous version of the story, with Gutas, 155–156.

¹¹⁰ Biographies 5.5 to 5.9. The chapter ends, however, with the brief note on the very tradi-

had pointed out the danger of consorting with kings. The flagship biography of Hunayn ibn Ishāq (8.29) represented the problem through Hunayn's (alleged) autobiography. Rivalry and danger at court are constant themes in the *Uyūn*. The perfect balancing act had been performed, of course, by Galen. He served kings but they allowed him to go when and where he wished. They honoured him but he was not beholden to them. If Galen was not replicable in full in later times, his example as *khātam al-ațibba*' remained universal, and Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah made a successful effort to keep it so by both magnifying and moderating the status of the physician wherever he lived in accordance with the model his Jālīnūs had established.

tional female practitioner, Zaynab 'the physician of the Banū Awd'. Once again we see Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah filing a name he felt was important at the very end of a chapter.

The Practice of Medicine as Seen through the *Uyūn al-anbā*'

Emilie Savage-Smith

For over twenty years, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah collected material for his 'Uyūn alanbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' concerned with the lives led by physicians, past and present, and their education, their social standing, and their achievements. He opens his world history of physicians with reflections on how humans have come to know of medical cures. While he is a great admirer of Greek learning (particularly, of course, that of the most influential of physicians, Galen) he does not allow any one group of people – including the Greeks – to claim to be the originators of medicine. He sees medicine as being practised, in one form or another, by all human societies.

To Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, the practice of medicine is the noblest of occupations – one that was continually evolving and developing up to and including his own day. He was clearly proud of the role of physicians in society and proud of the Damascene physicians of his day, who stood at the culmination of two millennia of slowly developing medical knowledge.

Because the '*Uyūn* is at heart a social and literary history of physicians, focusing upon the trials and tribulations, successes and failures, of medical practitioners throughout the ages, it was not intended as a systematic presentation of medical theories and therapies. Nonetheless, in amongst the hundreds of anecdotes presented, and the seemly endless lists of writings undertaken by physicians, we can find ample evidence of the various ailments that plagued the societies of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's day and the attempts made to cure them.

Of course, the physicians with which he associated, or about whom he could obtain any information, were (with a single exception) male and were urban physicians serving the elite. In other words, the *Uyūn* does not present the full spectrum of medical care. It is reasonable that there would be more information available regarding court physicians or physicians at major hospitals or otherwise prominent in a city than there would be about physicians in rural areas or those tending to the poor or to the women's quarters. The role of women as providers of medical care is essentially invisible and inaudible; invisible and inaudible because not one single document or treatise written by a Muslim female medic or midwife has been preserved from the Middle

East before the nineteenth century (which contrasts markedly with medieval European sources where midwives do speak through preserved documents). Having said that, information does emerge from this history regarding concern for medical care in rural areas, and while only one semi-legendary female medical practitioner is named, women do figure prominently as patients and patrons.¹ Some conditions described in the *Uyūn*, however, are distinct to women, including retained menstruation or excessive loss of blood during menstruation. Being able to diagnose and predict if a wife or concubine was pregnant or not, seems to have been a skill highly prized amongst court physicians – an example being the physician to the caliph al-Mahdī who was able to predict through urine analysis the pregnancy and the sex of the births of both Hārūn al-Rashīd and his elder brother.²

Much is learned of hospital medical care, but, judging from the 'Uyūn, the medical scene itself was quite pluralistic. Some physicians engaged with medicine solely on a theoretical basis; some were known for their cures; some were known for skills in treating a particular ailment; some were known for their diagnostic skills or ability to detect apparent death, Moreover, it was customary for a physician to be a very learned man who composed treatises on a wide range of topics, many of which were not directly concerned with medicine – Ibn Sīnā being a prime example. Indeed, some included in this history appear better known for their poetry (or in one case being the brunt of a satirical poem) than for their medical successes.

Therefore, it must be constantly kept in mind that the $Uy\bar{u}n$ is a literary history of medicine whose main purpose was to promote knowledge of the importance of the medical profession and, along the way, to entertain the reader. It was not intended to provide a guide to medical care or to be a dull record of medical statistics.

Moreover, rivalry and disputes between physicians form an important and appealing literary topic exploited by Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah to the fullest. In fact, the disputes often display more about the characters of the disputants than they do about everyday medical care. Within this background of competition and disputation the reader can glimpse the religiously mixed medical communities of the early Islamic world, where Jews, Christians, Sabians, Zoroastrians and Muslims interacted closely with each other in a variety of settings, especially at the courts of rulers and in hospitals.³

¹ For specific references to passages concerning topics mentioned in the following discussions, consult the Subject Index to Vols. 2 and 3 at the back of Volume 1.

² Ch. 8.8.

³ For the general interaction of *dhimmīs* (non-Muslims) and Muslims in early Islamic society, see Sahner, *Christian Martyrs under Islam*.

SAVAGE-SMITH

Hospitals and Institutions

The 'Uyūn is one of the most important sources preserved today for the history of hospitals. The term used for hospital, *bīmāristān*, is a Persian word meaning literally 'place for the sick', and there was no Greek or Arabic word used for the institution at this time.⁴ It is in Islamic lands that we first see the establishment of hospitals for teaching, training, and treatment, as well as serving as places of convalescence for those recovering from illness or accidents, or as charitable housing for the indigent and those without families to care for them.

Only the Abbasid foundations in Baghdad and the Ayyubid in Syria and Egypt are mentioned in the *Uyūn*. The famous Mamluk hospital in Cairo, the Manṣūrī, receives no attention because it was not founded until sixteen years after Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's death, and by this time attitudes toward medical care and physicians appear to have changed from those of the Ayyubid period, of which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah was so proud. The foundation document of the Manṣūrī hospital, dated 12 Ṣafar 685/9 April 1286 specified that only Muslim physicians were to be employed and only Muslims to be taken as patients.⁵ This restriction comes at a point when the Muslim population had probably reached a majority for the first time, and it contrasts markedly with the attitudes of the Abbasid and Ayyubid rulers, where the directives were to extend medical care to non-Muslims (*dhimmīs*) as well as Muslims, and where Christian, Jewish, and Muslim physicians often worked together in hospitals and at the courts of rulers (though not always amicably, it has to be said).

In other words, the *Uyūn* was composed before the Islamization of medical practice. After the third quarter of the thirteenth century Muslims come to dominate the medical scene and non-Muslims appear marginalized.

In the course of composing the *'Uyūn*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah provided especially important information on the early establishment of *bīmāristāns*. Of the Abbasid hospitals in Baghdad, Chapter Eight mentions⁶ one possibly built on the Karkhāyah canal around the year 800 by Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak, vizier to Hārūn al-Rashīd (*reg.* 170–193/786–809) and refers to hospitals in Gondēshāpūr as forming models for the early Baghdadi hospital. Greater detail is provided in Chapter Ten: a *bīmāristān* founded by Badr al-Mu'taḍidī, the

⁴ It was not until the modern period that the Arabic word *mustashfā*, 'place where healing is to be sought', became the normal word for 'hospital'.

⁵ Northrup, 'Al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī'; Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*. 163–170; Gutas, 'Ibn al-Nafīs's Scientific Method', 142–144; Lewicka, 'Medicine for Muslims'.

⁶ See the Subject Index to Vols. 2 and 3 at the back of Volume 1 under 'hospital' for specific references to chapters and subsections.

steward (*ghulām*) of caliph al-Muʿtaḍid bi-Allāh (*reg.* 279–289/892–902) and three foundations between 914 and 920 established by the caliph al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh (*reg.* 295–320/908–932), by his mother Shaghab, and by his 'good vizier' 'Alī ibn 'Īsā, as well as a fifth hospital founded by Ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924), several times vizier to al-Muqtadir, and yet another established by Abū l-Ḥasan Bajkam.⁷ The most famous and important of the Baghdadi *bīmāristāns* was no doubt the 'Aḍudī hospital founded by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah in 371/981, and both Chapters Ten and Eleven contain biographies related to work in the 'Aḍudī *bīmāristān*.

The Ayyubid hospitals in Cairo are discussed in Chapter Fourteen, with particular emphasis on the Nāṣirī hospital founded in 566/1171 in Old Cairo by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), after whom it was named. The Nāṣirī hospital was created by modifying a part of the palace built by the Fatimid caliph al-ʿAzīz in 384/994 so that it could serve as a hospital.⁸ In Chapter Thirteen there is a mention of an unspecified *bīmāristān* in Fustat.

The fullest accounts of hospitals and their administration and functioning are to be found in Chapter Fifteen, for both Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah and his family had direct experience with the *bīmāristān* established in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī around 569/1174. A small hospital, sometimes referred to as al-Bīmāristān al-Ṣaghīr, was situated to the west of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads and had been functioning about half a century before Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī founded what came to be called the Nūrī hospital to the east of the Great Mosque.⁹ The accounts provided by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah are the major evidence for what physicians may have been doing within the hospital walls. There are also scattered references in the *Uyūn* to other hospitals: in al-Raqqah, Rayy, Marrakesh, Mayyāfāriqīn, and Jerusalem.¹⁰

Recently, Ahmed Ragab has used Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'ah as a major source for his thesis that the circle of Damascene physicians connected to Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230), the often-mentioned teacher of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, developed a practice for hospitals that dominated in the Levant and Egypt in the thirteen and fourteenth centuries. That practice was based on a revival of interest in the 'practical' writings, such as the $H\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), whose lengthy biography is given in Ch. 11.5, as well as the $Q\bar{a}n\bar{u}n f\bar{i} l-tibb$ of Ibn Sīnā, whose biography is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah in Ch. 11.13.¹¹

⁷ See Pormann, 'Islamic Hospitals'.

⁸ See Rageb, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 84–89.

⁹ Pormann & Savage-Smith, 96–100; Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 52.

¹⁰ See the Subject Index to Vols. 2 and 3 at the back of Volume 1 under 'hospital'.

¹¹ Ragab, Medieval Islamic Hospital, 139–175; see also review article by Nahyan Fancy in

We have no real data on any of these institutions – no statistics on patients, nor on what diseases were treated, or the success rates of treatments. The hospitals were for those travelling, or without families, or the poor. It is unlikely that any truly wealthy person would have gone to a hospital unless taken ill while travelling far from home, for in most circumstances the medical needs of the wealthy and powerful would have been administered at home. Until the hospitals developed as teaching centres, and probably long after that, physicians and medics of all sorts would conduct their practices either in the homes of the elite or in a shop ($dukk\bar{a}n$), where they also held teaching sessions ($maj\bar{a}lis$).

2 'Prophetic Medicine', Magic & Astrology

It is after the 'Uyūn was composed that interest really grew in what is called 'Prophetic Medicine' (*al-tibb al-nabawī*), a genre of medical writing in which clerics and legal scholars advocated the traditional medical practices of the Prophet's day rather than the medical ideas assimilated from the Greeks and extended by learned physicians into Islamic lands.¹² While some treatises on Prophetic Medicine were composed in the ninth century, the genre did not become widely popular until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and these works continue to be so today. The treatises on the topic by the legal scholar Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/1350), the historian al-Dhahabī (d. 749/1348), and the theologian Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (d. 91/1505) are still available in modern printings. It is significant that this alternative form of medical thinking is not even mentioned in the 'Uyūn and is essentially invisible in the lists of compositions by the subjects of the biographies.¹³

Nor is any magical therapy described in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ – no talismans, no amulets, no magic-medicinal bowls, though we know that at least one magic-medicinal bowl was made in 565/1169 for Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, the Ayyu-

Nazariyat $_{3/1}$ (2016), $_{137-146}$ and response by Ragab in *Nazariyat* $_{3/2}$ (2017), $_{125-134}$; and Savage-Smith, 'The Working Files of Rhazes' for a different interpretation of the Rāzī materials.

¹² See Perho, *The Prophet's Medicine*; Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 71–75, 150–152.

¹³ Only twice does the topic come up in the lists of hundreds of books: a commentary on Prophetic traditions concerned with medical matters is listed amongst the writings of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh (Ch. 10.64.20 no. 10) and amongst the books composed by Najm al-Dīn al-Minfākh (Ch. 15.56.2 no. 4). Neither are preserved today.

bid founder of the great hospital in Damascus that bore his name (the N $\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ B $\bar{i}m\bar{a}rist\bar{a}n$) and which plays a large role in the later chapters of the $Uy\bar{u}n$.¹⁴

Astrology, on the other hand, and its usefulness in diagnosis and prognosis, was part of the Greek medical scene and continued to be so in later centuries. While medical magic may be absent from the $Uy\bar{u}n$, there are examples for the use of illusions to cure psychosomatic ailments and one instance of the visual illusions created by a magician to cause amazement. In other words, the dominance of the learned professional system of medicine is reinforced by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah throughout the $Uy\bar{u}n$.

3 Brain, Mind, and Psychosomatic Disorders

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah was particularly attracted (as probably were his readers also) to the dramatic reports of physicians able to detect if a person were still alive when others thought they had died. Avoiding pre-mature burial by being able to detect that a person had not actually yet died is a matter of concern found from antiquity through to modern times and formed a particular category of diagnosis and prognosis.¹⁵ Amongst the works attributed to Galen is a *Treatise on Prohibiting Burial Within Twenty-Four Hours* (*M. fī taḥrīm al-dafn qabl arbaʿ wa-ʿishrīn sāʿah*).¹⁶ This treatise later formed the centrepiece for a discourse on apparent death by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshūʿ (d. 450s/1058–1066), which has recently been edited and translated.¹⁷ Curiously, however, this treatise on apparent death and avoiding pre-mature burial is not amongst the compositions attributed to him in his biography given in Ch. 8.6, though there is no reason to deny its attribution.

Apparent death (*saktah*) was defined by Ibn Hindū (d. 423/1032), whose biography is given in Ch. 11.9,¹⁸ as occurring 'when there is loss of sensation and movement caused by an excess of blood or a cold thick humour filling the ventricles of the brain, thus preventing the passage of the psychic pneuma and causing the person to look as though he is asleep, although he is not'.¹⁹ In

¹⁴ Now in the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, Inv. no. MTW1443; see Maddison & Savage-Smith, Science, Tools and Magic, i:82–83; Savage-Smith, 'Medicine in Medieval Islam', 161 fig. 5.3.

¹⁵ See Bürgel, Ärztliches Leben 266–272.

¹⁶ See Ch. 5.1.39 no. 163.

^{17 &#}x27;Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū', *On Apparent Death*.

¹⁸ Ch. 11.9.

¹⁹ Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 71.

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Chapter Ten²⁰ we read of the Sabian physician Thābit ibn Qurrah (d. 288/901) performing, on his way to the palace of the caliph, a 'Christ-like act' by reviving a butcher who people thought to be dead. In Chapter Twelve²¹ an Indian physician revives a cousin of Hārūn al-Rashīd who was thought to have died, while in Chapter Fourteen²² the Jewish physician Ibn Jumay', sitting near his shop in the candlestick market in Fustat, stops a funeral procession to resuscitate a person about to be buried. In Chapter Fifteen we learn of the eleventh-century Jacobite Christian physician in Damascus, al-Yabrūdī, using induced vomiting to revive people who have lost consciousness because they overate some food (horse meat washed down by beer; too many carrots; or apricots eaten with hot bread).²³ Saktah (apparent death) also makes less spectacular appearances in the form of strokes, apoplexy, and fainting.

Physicians who could cure psychosomatic ailments with ingenious ruses formed another lively topic for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. In Chapter Eight,²⁴ a physician cures one of Rashīd al-Dīn's concubines of her inability to lower an arm by seizing the hem of her robe 'as though intending to lift it', at which point she recovered the function of her limbs. In Chapter Fourteen,²⁵ the Egyptian physician al-Tamīmī relates a story about his father who, when drunk, fell from a considerable height onto the floor of an inn and lost consciousness; upon awakening he rode off with no recollection of the event until the innkeeper later reminded him of it and told him he was lucky to be alive, at which point his father was wracked with pain and required many days for recovery. This anecdote then reminds Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah of another story²⁶ in which a group of travelling merchants stop to rest and one of them is bitten by a snake; another of the merchants tells the one bitten that nothing had happened except he hit his foot against a thorn while sleeping, and so the victim continues with no pain or ill effect until a few days later when it is revealed that he was bitten by a snake, at which point he is in excruciating pain and ultimately dies.

In Chapter Ten,²⁷ we have the extraordinary account of Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī curing a patient who suffered from melancholia and was convinced that at all times he had an amphora on his head; the cure was achieved by having one servant put an amphora on the roof of the house, which he would

- 25 Ch. 14.14.4.
- 26 Ch. 14.14.5
- 27 Ch. 10.66.2.

²⁰ Ch. 10.3.9.

²¹ Ch. 12.6.

²² Ch. 14.32.3.

²³ Ch. 15.3.1.2; 15.3.1.3; 15.3.1.5.

²⁴ Ch. 8.3.3.

break as a second servant swung a club above the head of the patient. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah ends the account with the intriguing statement: 'This is a great type of treatment and a number of the ancient physicians such as Galen and others had similar cases of treatment by illusion, and I have mentioned a great deal of this in another book.' Regrettably, that book is not preserved today.

While hiccups are not considered a psychosomatic ailment, psychological cures were employed in curing them (as they often are today). There is, for example, the case²⁸ of a woman with a severe case of hiccups cured when servants startled her by simultaneously pushing over the edge of the roof and breaking a number of large jars filled with water. In another instance, obesity was cured by instilling a great fear in the patient so that he would not eat.²⁹

4 Categories of Bodily Illness

As for the more mundane ailments and illnesses, they are what we might expect in a pre-modern society. It is the everyday complaints that dominate. When we try to interpret the medical concerns in the medieval period we should keep in mind the problems of obtaining good quality drinking water and the limited and monotonous diet. Malaria was endemic throughout the Mediterranean basin and slowly spread elsewhere, while in the pre-antibiotic era relatively minor infections could have very serious consequences. There were no x-rays or CT scans or any way of looking 'inside' the body, and no general anaesthetics and no reliable analgesics. Yet, even given these very limited conditions, the *physiological* longevity held at around 80 years of age – that is, the length of life usually attained when the principal causes of death other than aging are ruled out (childhood infections, childbearing, epidemic infectious diseases, war and famine). The biological limit of life expectancy in the adult male does not seem to have changed since proto-historical times, for it is more a *biological* than social parameter - that is, until very recent modern times in modern wealthy and well-fed societies.³⁰ Thus the average life expectancy of about 80 years for the adult male population is reflected in the biographies presented by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah.

As for the afflictions to which the populations were subject, eight general categories seem to emerge from the $Uy\bar{u}n$:³¹

²⁸ Ch. 8.4.11.

²⁹ Ch. 8.8.5.

³⁰ Grmek, Diseases in the Ancient Greek World, 105–109.

³¹ See the Subject Index to Vols. 2 and 3 at the back of Volume 1 for specific references to

Gastro-intestinal complaints dominate: general abdominal pain, 'weak-1. ness of the stomach' (*duf al-maʿidah*), flatulence (*rīh*), indigestion (*qusūr fi l-hadm*, and other terms), nausea (*ghathayān*), rumbling in the belly (*qarāqir*), pain in the belly (*wajaʿal-batn*), and vomiting (*qay'*). Diarrhoea and dysentery (is'hāl, dharab), chronic as well as uncontrollable, were especially prevalent. Dropsy (istisqā') and colic (qawlanj) are very frequently mentioned, but just what was meant by these terms is uncertain. Three types of dropsy were distinguished by Ibn Hindū (d. 423/1032): *ziqqī* (like a water-bag) when the fluid can be heard to rumble in the belly, $lahm\bar{i}$ (like meat) with a hard swelling 'on the liver' as well as fluid in belly, and *tablī* (like a drum) with a large quantity of wind as well as fluid, producing drum-like sound when tapped,³² Today, dropsy is defined as a pathological accumulation of diluted lymph in body tissues and cavities, but such precision is not applicable to medieval accounts, where it remains an imprecise term for any accumulation of fluid in the abdominal cavity.

The same vagueness and imprecision apply to the term 'colic', which covered a range of complaints of the bowels that were accompanied by pain in the belly and other symptoms. As William Webb stated in a medical dissertation on colic submitted in 1798, when discussing the history of colic:³³ 'The word colic might with propriety be blotted out of the annals of medicine; but as custom has established it as a word to express certain symptoms or stages of an intestinal disorder, it will perhaps be proper too retain it.' And so the term has been retained here.

Haemorrhoids (*bawāsīr*) and fissures caused by them appear to have been a very troubling problem to a large part of the population in classical antiquity and in medieval Europe as well as in the medieval Middle East. Yet, somewhat surprisingly, haemorrhoids are only mentioned twice in the course of the *Uyūn*, and one of those occurs in a book title.

Bladder and kidney stones (calculi, *hajar fī l-mathānah/haṣāh*) are mentioned more times than a modern reader might expect. It has been noted that idiopathic bladder stone disease, especially in children, was and is endemic in India, Iran, Turkey and Egypt, and appears also to have

passages where various illnesses are discussed. It should be kept in mind that retrospective diagnosis of a condition is fraught with difficulties and exact identifications are often impossible; for a discussion of these issues, see Álvarez Millán, 'Disease in tenth-century Iran and Irak', 59–73.

³² Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 74.

³³ Webb, 'An inaugural dissertation on the colic', 7.

been common in classical Greece, especially in boys.³⁴ Yet, in none of the instances mentioned in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ is surgery undertaken, though in one instance³⁵ much is made of the fact that surgery was avoided. The procedure for surgically removing a calculus impacted in the urethra³⁶ was an ancient one, well described in antiquity and in Arabic surgical tracts,³⁷ yet not undertaken in the accounts given in the $Uy\bar{u}n$.

- 2. Respiratory ailments, including those of the nasal cavity and paranasal sinuses, form the next largest category of complaints. These include: asthma, bad breath, breathlessness, catarrh and head colds, persistent coughs, nosebleed, putrid or bad humours in the chest, and especially what has been translated as 'pleurisy', a translation of *shawṣah* or *birsām*. In the case of the latter term there has been much confusion in the medical literature with the term *sirsām* or *sarsām* meaning 'severe headache' and rendered by some as 'phrenitis'.³⁸ As a result, the condition being referred to often remains open to speculation.
- 3. Pains of all sorts form another category of ailments, including headaches, earaches, sore joints and the pain of gout. Curiously, toothache is not mentioned in the accounts in the *Uyūn*, though there are several references to the use of a toothbrush (*siwāk*) and toothpick (*khilāl*), as well as one occurrence of a discharge from teeth. The care of the teeth and gums are topics of treatises mentioned in book-lists.
- 4. Skin conditions form the fourth category: carbuncles, erysipelas, scabies, severe itching, scrofula. Ulcers and ulcerations $(qarh pl qur\bar{u}h)$ of all sorts, including suppurating and inflammatory ulcers (dubaylah/naghlah) play a large role in the medical profile. A whitlow (an ulcerated inflammation of the area around the nail of a toe or finger, an uncommon complaint in modern urban society) is depicted as potentially causing death if the finger involved does not heal properly or had not been amputated in time.³⁹ The transmissible skin conditions of leprosy (*judhām*, which can also be elephantiasis), measles (*hasbah*), smallpox (*judarī*) and another form of pox called *humayqā*° are mentioned several times.

³⁴ Grmek, Diseases in the Ancient Greek World, 112.

³⁵ Ch. 10.76.2

³⁶ A calculus in the kidney or ureter would have been inaccessible and untreatable.

³⁷ See Bitschai & Brodny, *Urology in Egypt*; Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery in Islamic Lands', 315.

³⁸ See Dols, *Majnūn*, 57–58, Carpentieri, 'On the Meaning of *Birsām* and *Sirsām*'.

³⁹ Ch. 10.66.3.

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Cancer, on the other hand, gets only a single mention, where it is said that the early tenth-century physician Yūsuf al-Sāhir, who is the subject of the biography, 'suffered from a cancer (*saraṭān*) on his forehead which made it impossible for him to sleep, and it was for that reason that he was dubbed al-Sāhir ('the insomniac')'.⁴⁰ The disease is not mentioned in later entries. It has been suggested that the infrequency of cancerous disease in ancient and medieval populations as compared with our contemporary societies is due in part to the chemical pollutants of modern societies⁴¹ and current methods of diagnosis.

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The fifth category comprises the general conditions: fevers and swellings on various parts of the body, many of them inflamed. These were generally treated with cooling compresses. A swollen penis, however, gets treated by being hit with a stone so as to exude pus that has formed round a bit of grain acquired while sodomizing an animal.⁴²

Paralysis, particularly partial paralysis ($f\bar{a}lij$, hemiplegia), figures very frequently in the accounts, as well as spasms, convulsions, and cramping. Epilepsy (sar'), a disorder well-known in antiquity, occurs a number of times in the *Uyūn* as well.⁴³

Gout (*niqris*) is mentioned in chapters covering all time periods. A general 'wasting disease' (*sill*), sometimes rendered as 'consumption', occurs several times, but not in the later chapters. A more precise identification cannot be made at this distance, but the term could have included what today we call pulmonary tuberculosis, which has been known since the arrival of mankind and would have been contagious. Jaundice and a general paleness of the skin are also mentioned (for which the consumption of mutton was the cure).

Of the pestilential diseases, the vague terms $t\bar{a}'\bar{u}n$ and $wab\bar{a}'$ occur in various accounts. Identifying the precise nature of the pestilences and epidemics is difficult if not impossible without further evidence; interpretations vary from measles or smallpox, to influenza, pneumonia, tuberculosis, ergotism, and famine, as well as bubonic plague itself, depending upon time and place.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ch. 8.39. *Sarațān* also occurs in some book titles, such as a treatise by Philagrius (Ch. 5.2.2 no. 11).

⁴¹ Grmek, Diseases in the Ancient Greek World, 72.

⁴² Ch. 13.21.2.1.

⁴³ For a study of epilepsy in medieval Islam, see Jolin, 'Epilepsy in Medieval Islamic History.'

⁴⁴ See Conrad, '*Tāʿūn* and *Wabā*"; Conrad, 'Epidemic disease in formal and popular thought'.

6. Various mental and emotional disorders form another group of ailments: melancholia, insomnia (*sahar*), anxiety and worry (*hamm*), agitation (*qalaq*), distress (*karb*), sadness and sorrow (*huzn/ghamm*), corruption or disorder of the mind (*fasād al-ʿaql | ikhțilāt*), and hypochondria. These tended to be treated with various regimens.

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- 7. The treatment of abscesses (*khurūj*) and small growths, as well as snakebites and the bites of wild animals form yet another category.
- 8. Eve ailments make up the final group of disorders, including ophthalmia (ramad), sore eyes, pain in the eye, blindness in general, and cataracts. More will be said below about the latter. At this point, we should pause to note what is *absent*; pannus (*sabal*) gets not a single mention, while pterygium, trachoma, prolapsis, chalazion, hypopyon, fistulas, and trichiasis⁴⁵ occur only as direct quotations from Galen's treatise On Examinations by Which the Best Physicians are Recognized⁴⁶ – that is, the conditions are mentioned only in the context of Greek medicine. This is most surprising, for Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah himself was trained as an oculist, and he came from a family of oculists. The omission of these conditions for which Syrian oculists in particular made considerable advances in their treatment is puzzling. We can only assume that the author's interest in recording the social lives and achievements of his family overrode any interest in the details of practice. There is also the possibility that the oculists of his day did not themselves perform the therapies described in the technical literature for these eye ailments, but others actually carried out the procedures. A third possibility is that the intricate therapeutic techniques described in the technical literature were more in the category of 'thought experiments' than actual procedures performed routinely.

5 Surgery and Amputation

Amputation of gangrenous limbs gets only a single mention, and that in the course of students disagreeing with a teacher, Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, regarding the proper treatment of whitlow.⁴⁷ In this account the students learn

⁴⁵ For these eye ailments and their treatments in Arabic medical literature contemporaneous with IAU, see Savage-Smith, 'Ibn al-Nafis's *Perfected Book on Ophthalmology*'; Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery', 316–319.

⁴⁶ See Iskandar, *Examinations*, 116–117, and Ch. 15.51.3.

⁴⁷ See above, under skin conditions, no. 4 in Categories of Bodily Illness.

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that their teacher was correct and that if the finger is not amputated in time, then the patient may lose the entire arm or even die.⁴⁸ Other accounts in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ speak of treating a limb following an amputation carried out as punishment.

Missing entirely from the *Uyūn* is the setting of broken bones, except for a statement that 'Plato the Physician' taught one Phanias, 'the skills of setting broken bones and reducing luxations'.⁴⁹ This omission probably reflects the fact that in some localities bone setting was performed by a specialist medic. The Syrian physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī (d. 604/1208),⁵⁰ for example, clearly distinguished bone-setters, oculists and surgeons from general physicians in his *The Experts' Examination for All Physicians.*, and this division of labour is borne out by the accounts given elsewhere in the *Uyūn*.

There is also no mention of the removal of splinters and arrow heads⁵¹ – perhaps again explained by the separation of functions amongst the medical practitioners, or by the fact that most of the patients were not working-class manual labourers. The treatment of an arrow wound, however, does get a mention.⁵² The relatively little attention given these topics when compared to medical compendia may also reflect the fact that the physicians forming the focus of the *Uyūn* were, for the most part, court physicians or attending a ruler (and not the soldiers) while the ruler was on military campaign.

While psychological cures and occasionally music would improve the condition of a patient, for most ailments and disorders at this time the first order of therapy was diet, followed by drugs, with surgery resorted to only when absolutely necessary.⁵³ Even cautery (*kayy*)⁵⁴ – a type of minor surgery consisting of the application of a heated metal instrument or caustic substances to a given part of the body – is essentially never mentioned. Cupping (*hijāmah*) is mentioned once as a means of staunching bleeding.

Surgery, in fact, plays a very minor role in the *Uyūn*. Even a tonsillectomy, which is essentially a procedure for removing a growth, is not mentioned, though it was described in antiquity and continued, according to the Arabic

⁴⁸ Ch. 10.66.3. Amputation of gangrenous limbs was a topic in nearly every surgical manual; see Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery', 316 and sources cited there.

⁴⁹ Ch. 3.5. There are however, some book titles that refer to setting broken bones (Chs. 4.1.9.1 no. 12; 4.1.9.2 no. 29; 4.1.10.2 no. 39; 11.5.25 no. 69 and no. 182).

⁵⁰ *Imtiḥān al-alibbā`li-kāffat al-aṭibbā*'. His biography is given in Ch. 15.34, although this treatise is not named. For the treatise, see Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*.

⁵¹ A book on arrowhead extraction, however, is attributed to Hippocrates (Ch. 4.1.9.2 no. 59).

⁵² Ch. 10.10.2.

⁵³ See, for example, Ch. 15.51.3.

⁵⁴ See *EI Three* art. 'cautery' (C. Álvarez Millán).

technical literature, to be practised (with better instrumentation) and was a procedure quite within the capabilities of the day. 55

The fact that a given physician was skilled with the knife is recorded a couple of times,⁵⁶ but there is, in fact, in the *Uyūn* only one mention of invasive surgery actually taking place, and that is for dropsy (or ascites).⁵⁷ In the earlier Greek literature dropsy was said to be treated by inserting a metal tube, or cannula, through an incision in the abdominal wall and drawing off the liquid (paracentesis). The procedure was repeated in Arabic medical manuals, though most writers, such as Ibn Sīnā, warned against it except under special circumstances. In the major treatise by the Andalusian physician Khalaf ibn 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī (fl. c. 1000), which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah praised as 'a perfect book as regards its content' in his biography given in Ch. 13.56, al-Zahrāwī said the following:⁵⁸

When you have been trying medical treatment for ... dropsy and your treatment is ineffective, then consider: and if the patient be in a low state or suffer from another disease besides dropsy, such as cough or diarrhoea or some such, then beware of attempting operative treatment since it will be of uncertain outcome. But if you see that the patient has plenty of strength and suffers from no other complaint beside the dropsy, and is of neither tender nor advanced age, then the operative procedure is [as follows] ...

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's teacher, al-Dakhwār, who had been a student of the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 578/1191)⁵⁹ told Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah⁶⁰ that he had accompanied Ibn al-Muṭrān to the great Nūrī hospital in Damascus where he worked, He was present when a surgeon ($jarā'ih\bar{i}$) by the name of Ibn Ḥamdān treated a patient with dropsy ($istisq\bar{a}$ ' $ziqq\bar{i}$) by puncturing the swollen abdomen and draining off a yellow liquid, while Ibn al-Muṭrān watched the patient's pulse during the operation. The patient weakened and so the surgeon stopped the draining and applied a dressing. The patient's wife was with him, and Ibn Muṭrān instructed her not to remove the dressing or change it in any way until he

⁵⁵ Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery in Islamic Lands', 315–316.

⁵⁶ Chs. 14.17; 14.31.1

⁵⁷ Or ascites. See Ch. 15.23.4.2.

⁵⁸ See Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery in Islamic Lands', p. 311 and n. 15 where specific references are given to this passage and to similar statements in other Greek and Arabic medical writers.

⁵⁹ His biography is given in Ch. 15.23.

⁶⁰ Ch. 15.23.4.2.

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could examine the patient the next day. The patient, however, felt so much better during the night that he insisted his wife remove the dressing, which she did, and he died.

This case recorded in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ is one of the very few testimonies to paracentesis actually being performed, though in this case the patient dies – not, it should be noted, because the physician did anything wrong, but because the patient's wife failed to follow instructions. This case history also reflects a division of labour amongst the medics, for the person performing the paracentesis is designated a surgeon ($jar\bar{a}ih\bar{i}$) while the physician whose biography is being presented at this point (Ibn al-Muṭrān) only observes the operation and gives directions for the after care. Particularly worth noting is that Ibn al-Muṭrān monitors the pulse during the operation, and this function of a physician has not been previously noted in the literature.

Dropsy, with its associated distended abdomen, was either a relatively common complaint or one that caught people's imagination, for the illustration on the cover of the present publication is a manuscript painting made in Baghdad in 1224 inserted into a copy of the Arabic translation of Dioscorides' treatise on medicine substances.⁶¹ It shows a physician with two patients, one with an enormous swollen stomach, possibly awaiting paracentesis.⁶²

6 Drugs and Medicaments

As for the medicinal drugs used by the physicians, a large proportion of the plants described by Dioscorides and Galen would not have been known in various regions of the Middle East. The differing climatic conditions of the desert, marsh, mountain and coastal communities meant that the species of medicinal plants, as well as animal species and mineral resources, varied greatly from one region to another. Sometimes there were related local species and varieties that could be identified as similar to those described by Dioscorides

⁶¹ Washington D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, S1986.97a. See also Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 123–124 and fig. 4.1.

⁶² In James Morier's entertaining *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, first published in 1824, the picaresque hero becomes a physician's assistant; in Ch. xix his master mocks a Frankish doctor at the Persian court who ignores Galen and Avicenna, and 'stabs the belly with a sharp instrument for wind in the stomach'. To this, Morier made a note saying: 'This alludes to tapping in cases of dropsy; an operation unknown among the Persians, until our surgeons taught it them', apparently unaware of the antiquity of paracentesis and convinced that it must have been invented by Europeans. See Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba*, 97–98.

or Galen, but in some instances the substances described in the Greek sources meant little to an Arab practitioner. Conversely, the broader and different geographic horizons of Islamic writers brought them into contact with new drugs. These 'new' drugs included camphor, musk, the myrobalans (a type of plum) and the lemon (which has a mild antiseptic property), as well as commodities previously unknown to Europe, such as cotton.⁶³ A wide range of medicinal substances can be seen in the '*Uyūn*, many of which were also foods and aromatic substances.

Laxatives, purgatives, emetics, and 'digestives' or other stomachics (*jawārish*; *jawārishn*) were usually simple drugs, though syrups made of honey mixed with cooked apples or other fruit were popular. Oxymel (*sakanjubīn* or *sakanjabīn*), a syrup made of honey and vinegar, often combined with other ingredients, such as quince, was a popular remedy throughout the ancient and medieval literature for fevers and indigestion.⁶⁴ A compound remedy employing very many ingredients was often referred to as a 'theriac' (*tiryāq*) and could be used as an antidote for poisoning or as a panacea for virtually any ailment. Theriacs frequently had special names and particular physicians became famous for compounding them. The formulation call *tiryāq al-fārūq*, for example, became particularly popular in Egypt, and the Jewish physician Ibn Jumay' compounded it for Saladin.⁶⁵

When it comes to pain management, there is surprisingly little use of opium in the $Uy\bar{u}n$, though in the general medical manuals opium was considered the most powerful of pain killers,⁶⁶ along with (in descending order of effectiveness) mandrake, other varieties of poppy, hemlock, the soporific black night shade, and lettuce seeds. Of these alternative analgesics, only mandrake (*luffāh*) occurs in the $Uy\bar{u}n$, where in one instance it is included in a mixture of oxymel and other ingredients compounded to aid sleep, and in the second instance it is used as an aromatic incense.⁶⁷

As for opium (*afyūn/abyūn*) itself, it is said that Galen 'journeyed to Egypt and stayed there for a while examining Egyptian medicaments, particularly opium in the territory of Asyūț, which is one of the provinces of Upper

⁶³ See King, 'The New *materia medica* of the Islamicate Tradition'; Amar & Lev, *Arabian Drugs*; Paavilainen, *Medieval Pharmacotherapy*.

⁶⁴ See Chipman, *Pharmacists in Mamluk Cairo*, 185–186, 193–196; Tibi, *Medicinal Use of Opium*, 93, 152; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 60; Marin & Waines, 'Ibn Sīnā on *Sakanjabīn*'.

⁶⁵ Ch. 14.32.1; see also 14.54 and 14.14.6.

⁶⁶ Tibi, Medicinal Use of Opium.

⁶⁷ Ch. 10.13.3 and Ch. 8.4.7. Hemlock $(q\bar{u}niy\bar{u}n)$ is mentioned in Ch. 4.4.3.2 in connection with the death of Socrates.

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Egypt',⁶⁸ and in another instance it is said that the eighth-ninth century military commander, poet and musician Abū Dulaf suffered from a chronic stomach complaint (*mabțūn*) for which opium was one of several options recommended by his friends and physicians.⁶⁹ The only clinical application of it in the '*Uyūn* is when al-Dakhwār, the teacher of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, directed that opium should be added to barley water and given to a patient in the hospital suffering from mania (*māniyā*), and it is said the patient improved at once.⁷⁰

In Chapter Seven there is a mention of edible earths or clays,⁷¹ but otherwise medicinal earths are noticeably lacking in the *Uyūn*. In the Greek medical literature several types of medicinal earths, usually called *terra sigillata*, were included amongst the materia medica, and in Chapter Five it is said that Galen travelled to Chios to see the production of *terra sigillata*.⁷² While in the Arabic translations of Greek treatises the medicinal earths were discussed in fairly comprehensible terms, only in Persia and the eastern provinces did Islamic medieval physicians display any direct experience with medicinal earths, and even then they did not apparently employ the ceremonies and make the intricate distinctions between different types of medical earths that are given in the Greek literature. In most of the medieval Arabic literature from central and western Islamic lands the medicinal earths were simply a dead literary tradition. However, after the Ottomans took direct control of the north Aegean island of Lemnos in 1479, it seems that Mehmed the Conqueror took a direct interest in reviving the custom of the annual harvest (6 August) of the Lemnian medicinal earth, possibly inspired by a reading of Galen's book on On Simple Drugs. And the production of special pottery containers for the earth developed in the seventeenth century. But this remarkable activity, which caused Europe to be interested in the medicinal earths as well, was not an outgrowth of the medieval Arabic medical tradition.73

7 Regimen and Treatment

Regimen and diet were fundamental to the maintenance of health and recovery from illness. Much is said about the topic throughout the *Uyūn*. Regimen,

⁶⁸ Ch. 5.1.21.1. In Ch. 1.8, opium is used not as a medicament or sedative but as a lethal drug.

⁶⁹ Ch. 8.20.11.

⁷⁰ Ch. 15.50.4.

⁷¹ Ch. 7.9.2.

⁷² Ch. 5.1.21.1

⁷³ See Raby, 'Terra Lemnia'.

on occasion, included bloodletting at established regular intervals.⁷⁴ Cupping $(hij\bar{a}mah)^{75}$ employed in general regimen is mentioned a number of times in the chapters covering the earlier periods, but there is little mention of it in the later chapters.

Diet was, as in Greek medical theory, of great importance in maintaining health. Opinions differed, however, as to when and what you should eat and how much. Numerous aphorisms throughout the *Uyūn* provide guidance on eating habits, regimen, bathing, and sexual intercourse. For example: al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafī, a legendary Arab physician and contemporary of the prophet Muḥammad, is alleged to have said:⁷⁶

Shovelling in more food on top of food already taken will be the ruin of any creature; it is enough to kill wild beasts in the heart of the steppe.

and also:

Never enter the bath when you have just eaten, and moreover, never sleep with your women while intoxicated, or rise from your bed at night while naked, or sit down to eat while angry. Avoid stress, for you will be more relaxed; eat sparingly, and you will sleep better.

Two hundred years later we find in Baghdad the Christian physician Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/857) saying:77

You should have food that is new and wine that is old.

A teacher of Ibn Sīnā, the Christian physician Abū Sahl al-Masīhī (d. 410/1010), is credited with saying: 78

Taking a nap during the day after eating is better than swallowing a beneficial syrup.

Amongst the many aphorisms on diet, regimen and general medical etiquette attributed to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 313/925) are:⁷⁹

⁷⁴ For example, Ch. 8.3.22; 8.20.

⁷⁵ See *EI Three* art. 'Bloodletting and Cupping' (C. Álvarez Millán).

⁷⁶ Ch. 7.1.3.

⁷⁷ Ch. 8.26.19 no. 4.

⁷⁸ Ch. 11.12.

⁷⁹ Ch. 11.5.23 nos. 3, 7, 18, and 1.

Life is too short to understand the effect of every plant growing on earth, so use the most well-known for which there is a consensus and avoid the unusual. Confine yourself to what you have tried and tested.

When convalescents crave a certain food which is harmful to them the physician should contrive to manage the situation in such a way as to replace that foodstuff with something whose qualities are appropriate, and not simply refuse the patients what they crave.

If the physician is able to treat a patient using foodstuffs rather than medicines, he has been truly fortunate.

Certainty in medicine is an unattainable goal, and the treatment of patients according to what is written in books, without the skilful physician using his own judgement, is fraught with danger.

Physicians often disagreed regarding diet and regimen. For example, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah himself was of the opinion that it was not desirable to eat unless you had a genuine appetite. In the biography of the Syrian physician Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (d. 631/1233), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah says:⁸⁰

Once, I was with Raḍī al-Dīn, studying some of al-Rāzī's remarks on the order of eating food. Al-Rāzī states that a person should eat twice a day and then once on the following day. 'Pay no attention to that advice,' Raḍī al-Dīn said to me. 'On the contrary, remember to eat whenever you have a real appetite, at all times, no matter whether it is once or twice during the day, day or night; for it is eating with a real appetite that benefits the body, whereas the opposite is harmful'. And he was right.

Another Syrian physician, Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah (d. 636/1238), put his 'good advice' into poetry:⁸¹

Beware of eating your fill, shun it! Digest one kind of food before eating another.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ch. 15.36.1.2.

⁸¹ Ch. 15.46.3.6.

⁸² Literally, 'inserting food upon food' (*idkhāl al-ṭaʿām ʿalā l-ṭaʿām*)a practice condemned earlier by al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah (see n. 76 above).

	Do not have sex often, for by doing it
	continually one invites illness.
	Don't drink water straight after eating
	and you will be safe from great harm,
	Nor on an empty stomach and being hungry,
	unless you have a light snack with it.
5	Take a little of it: that is useful
	when you have an aching, burning thirst.
	Make sure your digestion is sound, that is the basic principle.
	Purge yourself with laxatives once a year.
10	But do not rest continually, for this makes that
	every humour in you will be made unhealthy.
	Drink as little water as possible after exercise
	and abstain from drinking wine.
	Balance the mixing of your wine with water, for this preserves
	the innate heat that always burns in you.
	But do not become inebriated, shun it forever, ⁸³
	for drunkenness is something for common people.
	Keep your soul well away from its cravings,
	and you will attain eternity in the Abode of Wellbeing. ⁸⁴

A topic that was common in Greek treatises on regimen and hygiene but conspicuously absent from most Arabic materials, including the $Uy\bar{u}n$, is organized physical exercise. including wrestling. Exercises continued to be described in great detail in the Arabic versions of Greek treatises, even though there were neither gymnasiums nor palaestras in Islamic towns. They represent repetitions of a practice that had little relevance to life in medieval Islam, particularly in the western provinces. It is true that wrestling was extensively discussed in Persian literature, but even in the eastern provinces the concept of a gymnasium was not equivalent to that in earlier Greek societies.

⁸³ Maliyyan means 'for a long time', which would sound odd.

⁸⁴ *Dār al-Salām*, i.e. Paradise (see Q Yūnus 10:25); *salām* is often, but not quite accurately, translated as 'peace' (which here would also fail to convey the physical association).

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8 Breaks with Tradition

While medical theory remained anchored in the teachings of earlier Greek figures, particularly Galen,⁸⁵ over the passing centuries medical practices were modified and adapted to changing circumstances and available medicaments.

For example, in the early eleventh century a major change of regimen for certain illnesses was introduced. In the biography⁸⁶ of Ṣā'id ibn Bishr ibn 'Abdūs, a Baghdadi hospital physician, we read that he was the first person in Baghdad to realize that certain conditions – in particular, facial paralysis, lassitude, and partial paralysis – that had previously been treated with hot medicines responded better to a cold regimen, even if that went against the precepts of the Ancients.

It is in the area of ophthalmology that we can see in the accounts given by Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah the greatest innovations that had taken place since the time of the great Galen. Cataracts were and are a common problem throughout the Middle East. Though today we know that cataracts are due to an opaque lens, in medieval literature it was said that an opaque fluid was interposed between the lens (their 'crystalline humour') and the pupil of the eye. When treating cataracts, the technique commonly used was an ancient one, known to classical antiquity and possibly originating in India. This ancient technique of 'couching' pushed the lens to one side using a thin needle, rather than removing it.⁸⁷ Curiously, couching (*qadh al-'ayn*) is mentioned only once in the *Uyūn*, where it is said that the tenth-century oculist Ibn Waşīf al-Ṣābi' refused to perform couching on a patient because the potential patient had been dishonest with him about how much money he had with him to pay for the treatment.88 This passage does suggest the procedure was commonly done, since in the anecdote the patient refused treatment was one of seven being couched that day.

In the fifteenth chapter of the ' $Uy\bar{u}n$, however, there is an account⁸⁹ of the Syrian physician Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, mentioned above for giving 'good advice' in poetic form, also removing cataracts (*al-mā*' *al-nāzil*):

⁸⁵ The concept of disease was based upon the Greek notion of disease arising from a disturbance in the mixture of the four fundamental humours; see Grmek, 'The Concept of Disease'.

⁸⁶ Ch. 10.13.2; see also Ch. 10.23.2; and 10.38.6 no. 7.

For a general discussion of the couching of cataracts in the medieval period, see Pormann & Savage-Smith, 127–128 and sources cited in the notes.

⁸⁸ Ch. 10.9.2.

⁸⁹ Ch. 15.46.1.

from the eyes of many persons, who, thanks to his skill, were able to see again. The instrument that he used for that purpose was hollow and curved, so that during the operation, the fluid could be more efficiently extracted, with the result that the treatment was more effective.

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This passage is important evidence that at least some physicians attempted to remove a soft cataract by suction through a hollow needle⁹⁰ rather than push it to one side with a couching needle. The removal of a cataract through a hollow needle was also discussed by the Egyptian oculist 'Ammār ibn 'Alī al-Mawṣilī, who worked during the reign of al-Ḥākim (996–1021); Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah provides a biography of him and mentions his ophthalmological manual, in which 'Ammār claimed much success with the technique, but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah does not mention the hollow needle technique in association with 'Ammār or any other oculist other than Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah.

If such a procedure was in fact actually successfully carried out, it could only have worked on a soft juvenile cataract. Caution is needed, however, when interpreting the evidence for such procedures.⁹¹

9 Conclusion

The ailments and disorders in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ are not terribly dissimilar to those found in the collection of nearly 900 case histories by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 313/925) reflecting the medical concerns in Iraq and Iran.⁹² It is of course never possible to establish a precise disease profile of a country or region on the basis of written treatises, whether they are medical treatises or literary compositions, such as the $Uy\bar{u}n.^{93}$ Moreover, the sources used by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah span hundreds of years and extend across the Mediterranean basin and beyond, thus making comparisons very fragile. In

⁹⁰ See Pormann & Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic Medicine, 126 fig. 4.2 for an illustration of a couching needle and also a 'hollow needle', illustrating an Arabic ophthalmological treat-ise written in Syria between 1256 and 1275 by Khalīfah ibn Abī al-Maḥāsin al-Ḥalabī, who is not given a biography in the Uyūn.

⁹¹ For texts suggesting that the use of a 'hollow' instrument was experimental at best, see Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 131–135; Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery', 318–319; Savage-Smith, 'Medicine in Medieval Islam' 164–165.

⁹² Álvarez Millán, 'Disease in tenth-century Iran and Irak', 73–88.

⁹³ See Biraben, 'Diseases in Europe', 345–348 for a discussion of this issue in the context of our knowledge of medicine as practised in the monasteries. Even palaeopathological evidence is not a representative sample.

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addition, we cannot use the high incidence of psychosomatic illnesses or detections of apparent death portrayed in the $Uy\bar{u}n$ as evidence for their frequency within the society, or even as evidence that these physicians were especially good at treating such conditions, for these illnesses provided entertaining narrative frameworks – much as amnesia becomes a modern convenient literary narrative tool.

Unfortunately we lack hospital records and similar documents that would allow us to better estimate the frequency of illnesses and the success rate of therapies described in the $Uy\bar{u}n$. Nonetheless, the limited evidence does suggest that a rather practical medical care was being dispensed. To a large extent the syrups of honey and other ingredients, the salves of camphor and herbs, are much like the patent medicine of not so long ago, while many of the treatments – the hot and cold compresses for headaches and swellings, the induced vomiting with quince when the stomach required emptying, the use of laxatives to open the bowels – are not unlike the domestic medicine dispensed in homes today.

The medicine on view in the *Uyūn* is not modern urban medicine, but nonetheless practical and basic medicine, particularly when you think about the lack of the modern technologies and chemicals that wealthy and affluent parts of the world today take so for granted. The Abbasid and Ayyubid physicians portrayed in the *Uyūn* were for the most part practising a rational, reasonable, and sensible medicine, and one that in many cases did help the patient.

List of Biographies by Chapter in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿahʾs *ʿUyūn al-anbā*ʾ

Note: Numbers have been assigned to the biographies by the editors; they are not part of the original Arabic text. Other physicians are discussed as well, but in contexts that did not merit assigning them their own numbered biography.

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- 10.32 Abū Yaʻqūb al-Ahwāzī
- 10.33 Naẓīf al-Qass al-Rūmī
- 10.34 Abū Saʿīd al-Yamāmī
- 10.35 Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Yamāmī
- 10.36 Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā
- 10.37 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib
- 10.38 Ibn Buțlān
- 10.39 al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī
- 10.40 Abū Nașr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī
- 10.41 Ibn Dīnār
- 10.42 Ibrāhīm ibn Baks (Bakūs)
- 10.43 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks
- 10.44 Qusțā ibn Lūqā al-Baʿlabakkī
- 10.45 Miskawayh
- 10.46 Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ashʿath
- 10.47 Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī
- 10.48 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī
- 10.49 Ibn Qawsayn (Qūsīn)
- 10.50 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Alī al-Kaḥḥāl
- 10.51 Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī

- 10.52 Ibn Bakhtawayh
- 10.53 Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Ṣāʿid ibn al-Ḥasan
- 10.54 Zāhid al-ʿUlamāʾ (Abū Saʿīd Manṣūr ibn ʿĪsā)
- 10.55 al-Muqbilī
- 10.56 al-Nīlī
- 10.57 Isḥāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī
- 10.58 Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh
- 10.59 Ibn Jazlah
- 10.60 Abū l-Khațțāb
- 10.61 Ibn al-Wāsițī
- 10.62 Abū Ṭāhir ibn al-Barakhshī
- 10.63 Ibn Şafiyyah
- 10.64 Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh
- 10.65 Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn al-Tilmīdh
- 10.66 Awḥad al-Zamān (Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī)
- 10.67 al-Badīʿ al-Aṣṭurlābī (Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī)
- 10.68 Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl
- 10.69 al-ʿAntarī (Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh)
- 10.70 Abū l-Ghanā'im Hibat Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Uthrudī
- 10.71 'Alī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Uthrudī
- 10.72 Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Uthrudī
- 10.73 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Uthrudī
- 10.74 Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī
- 10.75 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī
- 10.76 Abū Nașr ibn al-Masīḥī
- 10.77 Abū l-Faraj Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Tūmā
- 10.78 Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Mu'ammil
- 10.79 Ibn al-Māristāniyyah
- 10.80 Ibn Sadīr
- 10.81 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Habal
- 10.82 Shams al-Dīn [ibn Muhadhdhab al-Dīn] ibn Habal
- 10.83 Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus

CHAPTER ELEVEN: Physicians in the Lands of the Persians (Bilād al-ʿajam)

- 11.1 Tayādūrus (Theodorus)
- 11.2 Barzawayh
- 11.3 Rabban al-Ṭabarī
- 11.4 Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī
- 11.5 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī
- 11.6 Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī

- 11.7 Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī
- 11.8 Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār, known as Ibn al-Khammār
- 11.9 Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū
- 11.10 al-Ḥasan al-Fasawī
- 11.11 Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ al-Qamarī (or, al-Qumrī)
- 11.12 Abū Sahl al-Masīķī
- 11.13 al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā
- 11.14 al-Īlāqī
- 11.15 Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī
- 11.16 Ibn Mandawayh al-Iṣfahānī
- 11.17 Ibn Abī Ṣādiq
- 11.18 Ṭāhir ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sinjarī
- 11.19 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī)
- 11.20 al-Quțb al-Mișrī
- 11.21 al-Samaw'al
- 11.22 Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qalānisī al-Samarqandī
- 11.23 Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī
- 11.24 al-Sharīf Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʻīl

CHAPTER TWELVE: Physicians of India

- 12.1 Kankah al-Hindī
- 12.2 Ṣanjahal
- 12.3 Shānāq (Cāņakya)
- 12.4 Jawdar
- 12.5 Mankah al-Hindī (Māņikya or Maṅkha)
- 12.6 Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: Physicians Who Were Prominent in the Western Lands and Settled There

- 13.1 Isḥāq ibn 'Imrān
- 13.2 Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī
- 13.3 Ibn al-Jazzār
- 13.4 Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, known as Ibn al-Samīnah
- 13.5 Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, known as al-Majrīțī
- 13.6 Ibn al-Samh
- 13.7 Ibn al-Ṣaffār
- 13.8 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Zahrāwī
- 13.9 al-Kirmānī
- 13.10 Ibn Khaldūn
- 13.11 Aḥmad ibn Khamīs ibn ʿĀmir ibn Duminj (Domingo?)

- 13.12 Hamdīn ibn Ubbā
- 13.13 Jawād al-Ṭabīb al-Naṣrānī (the Christian Physician)
- 13.14 Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Rūmān al-Naṣrānī
- 13.15 Ibn Malūkah al-Naṣrānī
- 13.16 'Imrān ibn Abī 'Amr
- 13.17 Muḥammad ibn Fatḥ Ṭumlūn
- 13.18 al-Ḥarrānī
- 13.19 Aḥmad and ʿUmar, sons of Yūnus ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥarrānī
- 13.20 Isḥāq the Physician
- 13.21 Yaḥyā ibn Isḥāq
- 13.22 Sulaymān Abū Bakr ibn Tāj
- 13.23 Ibn Umm al-Banīn al-Aʻraf
- 13.24 Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih
- 13.25 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Barīq
- 13.26 Aşbagh ibn Yaḥyā the Physician
- 13.27 Muḥammad ibn Tamlīkh
- 13.28 Abū l-Walīd ibn al-Kattānī
- 13.29 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kattānī
- 13.30 Aḥmad ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥafṣūn
- 13.31 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Jābir
- 13.32 Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Malik al-Thaqafī
- 13.33 Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Ushūnī
- 13.34 Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūn al-Jabalī al-ʿIdwī
- 13.35 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Haytham
- 13.36 Ibn Juljul
- 13.37 Abū l-ʿArab Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad
- 13.38 Ibn Baghūnish
- 13.39 Ibn Wāfid
- 13.40 al-Rumaylī
- 13.41 Ibn al-Dhahabī
- 13.42 Ibn al-Nabbāsh
- 13.43 Abū Jaʿfar ibn Khamīs al-Ṭulayṭulī
- 13.44 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khalaf ibn ʿAsākir al-Dārimī
- 13.45 Ibn al-Khayyāț
- 13.46 Munaḥḥim ibn al-Fawwāl
- 13.47 Marwān ibn Janāķ
- 13.48 Ishāq ibn Qastār
- 13.49 Hasdāy ibn Ishāq
- 13.50 Abū l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy
- 13.51 Abū Jaʿfar Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy

- 13.52 Ibn Samajūn
- 13.53 al-Bakrī
- 13.54 Abū Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī
- 13.55 al-Sharīf Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī
- 13.56 Khalaf ibn 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī
- **13.57** Ibn Bakkalārish (?)
- 13.58 Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
- 13.59 Ibn Bājjah
- 13.60 Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr
- 13.61 Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Zuhr
- 13.62 Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-'Alā' ibn Zuhr
- 13.63 al-Ḥafīd (the grandson) Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr
- 13.64 Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥafīd Abī Bakr ibn Zuhr
- 13.65 Abū Jaʿfar ibn Hārūn al-Turjālī
- 13.66 Abū l-Walīd ibn Rushd
- 13.67 Abū Muḥammad ibn Rushd
- 13.68 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Mūrāțīr
- 13.69 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd
- 13.70 Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Qablāl
- 13.71 Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Dānī
- 13.72 Abū Yaḥyā ibn Qāsim al-Ishbīlī
- 13.73 Abū l-Ḥakam ibn Ghalindū
- 13.74 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān
- 13.75 Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Abī Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān
- 13.76 Abū Muḥammad al-Shadhūnī
- 13.77 al-Mașdūm
- 13.78 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maslamah al-Bājī
- 13.79 Abū Jaʿfar ibn al-Ghazāl
- 13.80 Abū Bakr, the son of al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Zuhrī
- 13.81 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nadrūmī
- 13.82 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Sābiq
- 13.83 Ibn al-Ḥallā' al-Mursī
- 13.84 Abū Ishāq ibn Țumlūs
- 13.85 Abū Jaʿfar al-Dhahabī
- 13.86 Abū l-ʿAbbās ibn al-Rūmiyyah
- 13.87 Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Kanbanārī
- 13.88 Ibn al-Aşamm

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: Famous Physicians in Egypt

- 14.1 Politianus (Balīțīyān)
- 14.2 Ibrāhīm ibn 'Īsā
- 14.3 al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak
- 14.4 Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl
- 14.5 Khalaf al-Ṭūlūnī
- 14.6 Nasțās ibn Jurayj
- 14.7 Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nasṭās
- 14.8 al-Bālisī
- 14.9 Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀzār al-Isrāʾīlī
- 14.10 Yūsuf al-Naṣrānī
- 14.11 Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq (Eutychius)
- 14.12 ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq
- 14.13 A'yan ibn A'yan
- 14.14 al-Tamīmī
- 14.15 Sahlān
- 14.16 Abū l-Fatḥ Manṣūr ibn Sahlān ibn Muqashshir
- 14.17 'Ammār ibn 'Alī al-Mawșilī
- 14.18 al-Ḥaqīr al-Nāfi'
- 14.19 Abū Bishr, 'the Physician to Rulers'
- 14.20 Ibn Maʿshar the Physician
- 14.21 'Alī ibn Sulaymān
- 14.22 Ibn al-Haytham
- 14.23 al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik
- 14.24 Isḥāq ibn Yūnus
- 14.25 'Alī ibn Riḍwān
- 14.26 Ifrā'īm ibn al-Zaffān
- 14.27 Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn
- 14.28 Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn
- 14.29 Ibn al-'Aynzarbī
- 14.30 Bulmuzaffar ibn Muʿarrif
- 14.31 al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Ra'īs al-Ṭibb (Abū l-Manṣūr 'Abd Allāh)
- 14.32 Ibn Jumay
- 14.33 Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar
- 14.34 Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid
- 14.35 al-Ra'īs Hibat Allāh
- 14.36 al-Muwaffaq ibn Shūʻah
- 14.37 Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍāʻī
- 14.38 Abū l-Maʿālī ibn Tammām
- 14.39 al-Ra'īs Mūsā ibn Maymūn (Maimonides)

- 14.40 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ra'īs Mūsā
- 14.41 Abū l-Barakāt ibn Shaʻyā
- 14.42 al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī
- 14.43 Ibn Abī l-Bayān
- 14.44 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir
- 14.45 Fatḥ al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir
- 14.46 Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Fatḥ al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir
- 14.47 Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr
- 14.48 Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī
- 14.49 Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā ibn Abī Fānah
- 14.50 Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī Sulaymān
- 14.51 Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān
- 14.52 Abū Nașr ibn Abī Sulaymān
- 14.53 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī Sulaymān
- 14.54 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah
- 14.55 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah
- 14.56 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd
- 14.57 Asʿad al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥasan
- 14.58 Diyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Bayṭār

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: Famous Syrian Physicians

- 15.1 Abū Nașr al-Fārābī
- 15.2 'Īsā al-Raqqī, known as al-Tiflīsī
- 15.3 al-Yabrūdī
- 15.4 Jābir ibn Mansūr al-Sukkarī
- 15.5 Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī
- 15.6 Mawhūb ibn Zāfir
- 15.7 Jābir ibn Mawhūb
- 15.8 Abū l-Ḥakam (al-Andalusī al-Mursī)
- 15.9 Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam
- 15.10 Ibn al-Budhūkh
- 15.11 Hakīm al-Zamān 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jilyānī
- 15.12 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Waqqār
- 15.13 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh
- 15.14 Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī
- 15.15 Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī
- 15.16 'Afīf ibn Sukkarah
- 15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ
- 15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī
- 15.19 Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī

- 15.20 Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī
- 15.21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī
- 15.22 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī
- 15.23 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān
- 15.24 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥājib
- 15.25 al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl (Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān)
- 15.26 Abū Manṣūr al-Naṣrānī
- 15.27 Abū Najm al-Naṣrānī
- 15.28 Abū l-Faraj al-Naṣrānī
- 15.29 Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sāʿātī
- 15.30 Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī
- 15.31 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī
- 15.32 Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī
- 15.33 Abū l-Faḍl ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Muhandis
- 15.34 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī
- 15.35 Saʿd al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
- 15.36 Raḍī l-Dīn al-Raḥbī
- 15.37 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī
- 15.38 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī
- 15.39 Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī
- 15.40 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī
- 15.41 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrā'īlī
- 15.42 'Imrān al-Isrā'īlī
- 15.43 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿqūb ibn Ṣiqlāb
- 15.44 Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr
- 15.45 Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī
- 15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah
- 15.47 Ṣadaqah al-Sāmirī
- 15.48 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Sāmirī
- 15.49 Amīn al-Dawlah
- 15.50 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī, known as al-Dakhwār
- 15.51 my paternal uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Khalīfah
- 15.52 Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk
- 15.53 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī
- 15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām
- 15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh
- 15.56 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh
- 15.57 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī
- 15.58 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī
- 15.59 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʻqūb al-Sāmirī
- 15.60 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff

Appendix 1: Ibn al-Nafīs

Appendix 2: Additional Poetry

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Glossary of Weights and Measures

Note: All weights and measures varied with time and place. Only approximate values can be given today. In some cases the measure is both obvious and vague, as in *kaff* meaning a 'handful' of an ingredient. The classic study of weights and measures in Islamic lands is the 1955 study of Hinz, *Islamische Masse*; it implies, however, a greater precision than existed in earlier times. See also, Mercier, 'Geodesy'; Chipman, *Pharmacists in Mamluk Cairo*, 88–93; and in *EI*² art. 'Makāyīl (A.)' for measures of capacity, 'Mawāzīn' for weights, and 'Misāḥa' for length and surface measurement, as well as art. 'Dīnār' (G.C. Miles) and 'Dirham' (G.C. Miles).

- bashīzajāt Meaning uncertain; a measurement of girth. The ending -ajāt shows that it is from Persian. According to Steingass (*Persian-English dictionary*), a *pishēza* is something small: 'the scale of a fish; a small, thin piece of money; the skirt of a tent; a thin layer of metal between the handle and the blade of a knife'. Perhaps in Ch. 8.8.5, the distance between the perforations of a belt.
- cubit (dhirā') An ancient unit of length that may have originated in Egypt close to 5,000 years ago, approximately equivalent to the length of the human arm from elbow to fingertip. The Egyptian cubit (ca. 52 cm) was used to calibrate the nilometer at Roda, an island in the Nile near Cairo. Other definitions of a 'cubit' were also used, some defining it as 24 digits or 32 digits.
- dānaq or dāniq A small coin, onesixth of a dirham in value, as well as the corresponding weight (roughly half a gram). It is derived from Middle Persian dānag, 'seed, grain'.

- dinar (*dīnār*) A gold coin weighing about 4.25 grams. Its name derived from the Roman *denarius*. First shaped by the Umayyad coin reform in 77/696, 'dinar' is still the name of various national currencies.
- dirham (dirham) A basic unit of weight (slightly over 3 grams) as well as a silver coin. As a monetary unit, its value varied greatly. It dates back to the Greek drachma, which, borrowed as *darāhim*, sounded like an Arabic plural and thus gave rise to the singular form dirham. It formed the basis of Islamic weighing in the pre-modern era. Dirhams are still used today in a number of Arab countries. The *shujāʿī* or *tājī* dirham was a coin minted in Baghdād by 'Adud al-Dawlah, bearing the inscription 'Adud al-Dawlah wa-Tāj al-Millah Abū Shujā'; see Abbott, 'Two Būyid Coins'.
- *faddān* A commonly agreed quantity of land, loosely reckoned as the quantity of land which a yoke of oxen can plough in one day.
- *fitr* The distance between the ends of the outstretched thumb and index

finger. It is to be distinguished from the *shibr*, the span of the hand.

- *kurr* A unit of quantity, defined as six ass-loads of a commodity. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.
- *mann* A measure of capacity as well as a unit of weight, both of which varied considerably depending on time and place. It was usually about two *rațls* – that is, approximately 1.6 kg.
- *mīl* The *mīl* is defined as 4,000 *dhirā*^c (usually translated 'cubit'). The length of the cubit varied at different times and places, but if we take 50 cm as an approximation of a *dhirā*^c, then a *mīl* would have measured about 2 km.
- *mithqāl* A basic unit of weight usually equivalent to 1+3/7 dirhams, or nearly 4.4 grams, though its value varied greatly. It was also a gold coin of that weight.
- parasang (*farsakh*) An ancient Iranian unit of distance, roughly equal to 3.5 miles or 5.5 km. The Arabic *farsakh* (from the Parthian *frasakh*, Old Persian *parāthanga*, cf. Greek *parasangēs*, modern Persian *farsang*) was most often defined as equal to 3 Arabic miles (*mīl*) or 12,000 cubits.

- *qințār* A unit of weight. In Egypt the value ranged between 45 kg (the *qințār fulfulī* of Alexandria) and 96.7 kg (the *qintār jarwī*).
- *rațl* or *rițl* A measure of capacity as well as a unit of weight, both of which varied considerably depending on time and place. The Baghdad *rațl* weighed approximately 400 grams and as a measure of liquids or capacity it was equivalent to approximately 400 ml. Depending on locality and time, a *rațl* could vary greatly from anywhere between 120 grams to 2.5 kg. The word is derived from Greek *litron* (cf. 'litre').
- *shibr* A unit of length equivalent to the span of a person's hand, or the maximum distance between the tip of the thumb and the little finger.
- tapia (*tābiyah*) A unit of measure, used exceptionally (see Ch. 13.64.2.2). It was roughly equivalent to 10 spans. The *tapia* originates from a Maghrib term for a panel of wall made with mud pressed and dried in a wooden-frame; in Spanish it is *tapia*, Portugese *taipa*.

Index of Verses to Vol. 2

This index covers the edition of the Arabic text of *Uyūn al-anbā*, and provides an alphabetic list of initial rhyme words of all poems, the metre and the number of verses for each poem, the poet, and the section numbers. Names of poets not mentioned by IAU but given in the English annotation are between square brackets. If no name is given in the index, the poet is unknown.

الفصل الشاعر عدد اليحر القافية الأسات ć ابن هندو ۲ متقارب حاءَهُ 11.9.2.5 أبو الحكم المغربي مخلّع البسيط ٢ دُواءَهْ 15.8.12 کامل مرقّل مَساءَهُ سديد الدين بن رقيقة 15.46.3.5 ٨ ۶ ۶ محمود الورّاق فَناءُ طويل ٤ AII.3.2 ابن أبي أصيبعة كامل وسَناءُ 15.20 19 [ابن شبل البغدادت] خفىف بُقاءُ ٣٩ 10.51.3 نجم الدين اللبودتي اكتفاءُ خفىف ٤ 15.31.4 الشُفَصاءُ شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ خفيف ۲ 15.37.3 ۶ [الخيزران؟] 8.26.15 ٣ وافر والشفاء رشيد الدين أبو حُليقة البلواء كامل ۲ 14.54.15 عزّ الدين السويدي كامل الأغضاء 15.57.1 ۲ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ الأهواء ٨ 10.64.19.9 رجز صدقة السامرتي رائى 15.47.2.2 ۲ دوييت

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8.29.15	[يُنسب إلى عدّة من الشعراء]	٣	بسيط	حُسِدوا
14.36.3	الموفّق بن شوعة	٣	بسيط	ر و پیل
10.64.17.3	الطغرائيّ	۲	منسرح	الجسد
13.63.8.2	أبو بكربن زهر		موشحة	نَكُدُ
15.58.7	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	دوبيت	الجلد
15.49] 615.31.1 [Add.	[المتنبّي]	١	طويل	ناقد
11.13.3.6	أبو العتاهية	١	متقارب	أنه واحدُ
14.27.2	[امرأة من غامد]	١	متقارب	فارسٌ
				واحدُ

11.9.2.1	ابن هندو	۲	كامل	الفاردُ
5.1.33	أبو العلاء المعرّيّ	٣	بسيط	زادوا
15.46.3.3	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	بسيط	جادوا
10.64.19.1	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	كامل	تَنْقَادُ
15.46.3.5	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	كامل	وفَسادُ
15.45.3	مهذّب الدين السُّطيل	٥٢	طويل	ء بعيد
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	منسرح	جُلْمودُ
11.13.7.8	ابن سينا	۲	كامل	جديدُ
				د
10.64.19.8	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	طويل	عندي
13.58.4.7	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	طويل	الوَجْدِ
13.61.3.2	أبو العلاء بن زهر	۲	طويل	هند
15.8.15	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	۱.	طويل	بُعْدي
10.63.3	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ؟	۲	خفيف	للتَّرَدَّي
10.69.3.8	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	خفيف	قَصْدي
15.51.10.2	رشيد الدين عليّ بن خليفة	٥	كامل	ي ند
15.45.3	ابن أبي أصيبعة	٨	طويل	ء مهتـدي
7.5.5	عاتكة بنت زيد	٦	كامل	ور س معر د سرر
11.7	أبو الحسن البديهيّ	٣	كامل	بمرصد
10.62.3	أحمد بن البرخشيّ	۲	سريع	مُرْشِلِ
10.64.19.4	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	بسيط	والجلَدِ
10.68.2.3	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	٥	بسيط	البَلَدِ
15.58.4	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٤	بسيط	أحَدِ
8.29.1	[أبو نواس]	۲	منسرح	الأَحَدِ
10.64.19.19	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٣	طويل	حامدِ
15.37.3	شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ	٥	طويل	المُعانِدِ

محمّد بن جکّینا	٢	سريع	قاصد
[أبو فراس]	٣	سريع	فاقد
ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	بسيط	والبادي
صدقة السامريّ (؟)	٣	مخلّع البسيط	والسَّدادِ
السيّد النقيب بن الشريف (؟)	٤٤	وافر	والمعادي
ابن هندو	۲	سريع	وإفسادي
ابن المنجّم المصريّ	٢	متقارب	اليهودي
بديع الزمان الهمذانيّ	۲	كامل مرفّل	حديد
هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	۲	سريع	رِفْدِهِ
عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٥	سريع	قَدِّه
بلهظفّر بن معرّف	٢	متقارب	حَدَّها
			ذ
أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	متقارب	الخُوَذْ
			ذَ
شمس العرب البغدادتي عبد العزيز	٦	رمل	قَذَى
عبد المنعم الجليانيّ	٤	مخلّع البسيط	مَلاذا
			ۯ
أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	کامل مرقّل	ؾؘۘڝؘڐۜۯ
أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	کامل مرقّل	المظقَّر
أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٤	هزج	الأحوَرْ
ابن سينا (؟)	۲	طويل	الحَذَرْ
نجم الدين اللبودتي	۲	طويل	والفِكَرْ
رجل من كنانة	V	متقارب	المَطَرْ
سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٣	متقارب	التمر
عبد المنعم الجليانيّ	۲	سريع	النُّفُر
أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٤	رجز	وَزَرْ
	[أبو فراس] ابن الصائغ العنتريّ صدقة السامريّ (؟) السيّد النقيب بن الشريف (؟) ابن هندو ابن المنجّم المصريّ هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطّان) بديط الزمان الهمذانيّ عماد الدين الدنيسريّ عماد الدين الدنيسريّ مثم العرب البغداديّ عبد العزيز مين الدولة بن التلميذ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ أبو الحكم المغربيّ ابن سينا (؟) ابن سينا (؟) مدد المنعم الجليانيّ	 ٣ [أبو فراس] ٣ ابن الصائغ العنتري ٣ صدقة السامري (؟) ٣ السيّد النقيب بن الشريف (؟) ٢ ابن هندو ٢ ابن المنجّم المصري ٢ بديع الزمان الهمذاني ٢ معاد الدين الدنيسري ٥ عماد الدين الدنيسري ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ ٢ إبر الميذ إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى	سريع ٣ [أبو فراس] بسيط ٣ ابن الصائغ العنتري علم البسيط ٣ صدقة السامري (؟) وافر ٤٤ السيّد النقيب بن الشريف (؟) سريع ٢ ابن هندو متقارب ٢ ابن هندو كامل مرقل ٢ بديع الزمان الهمذاني سريع ٢ ابن هندو سريع ٢ ابن بن الفضل (!بن القطّان) متقارب ٢ ابن هندو سريع ٢ معاد الدين الدنيسري متقارب ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ متقارب ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ متقارب ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عنع البسيط ٤ عبد المنعم الجلياني متقارب ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عنع المام مرقل ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عنع السيد العربي ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عنم الدين الدولة بن التلميذي أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عنم الدين الدولة بن التلميذ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عام مرقل ٢ أمين الدولة بن التلميذ عام مرقل ٢ أمين

	البديع الأصطرلابيّ		سريع	العثار
15.58.1	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٣	سريع	استدارْ
10.68.2.3	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	٤	سريع	السرير
15.47.2.2	صدقة السامري	۲	دو بيت	ليسير
15.58.7	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	دو بيت	ونُفورْ
				ز
10.64.8	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	سريع	قعرا
15.56.1	جمال الدين بن مطروح	٤	كامل	زُ ه را
15.48	يوسف السامرتي	٣	مجتث	دهرا
15.47.2.1	صدقة السامرتي	٥	بسيط	السَّهَرا
15.58.2	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٨	بسيط	خبرا
10.64.19.10	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٣	متقارب	نارا
10.56	سعيد بن عبد العزيز النيليّ	٤	خفيف	كثيرا
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	سريع	أحرَهْ
15.57.2	عزّ الدين السويديّ	٣	سريع	الفاخرَهْ
10.68.2.6	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	٣	رمل	مَرارَهْ
				ر
10.64.19.9	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٦	طويل	أجر
10.64.19.6	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	كامل	ه ^و نشر
15.37.3	شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ	٤	طويل	مُنْذِرُ
15.46.3.2	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٣	طويل	يڤْدِرُ
15.46.3.10	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٦	طويل	^{تو و} يتسعر
14.27.3		٣	مجزوء الخفيف	تقصر
15.46.3.5	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	كامل	يعذر
13.58.4.4	أبو الصلت أميّة	٤٤	بسيط	الظَّفَرُ
AII.4	ابن هاني الأندلسيّ	٣	كامل	القَمَرُ

>	طويل	طويل	طائرُ
-	كامل	كامل	القاهرُ
و	وافر	ر افر	اضطرا
و	وافر	وافر	جُبارُ
-	كامل	كامل	مُعارُ
-	كامل	كامل	وقطارُ
•	طويل	طويل	أصيرُ
شهورُ ب	بسيط	مشہورُ بسیط	المشهور
ب	بسيط	بسيط	الشأن
		و ر	مشهو
-	خفيف	خفيف	التكديرُ
و	وافر	وافر	و يسير
و	وافر	وافر	الأخيرُ
و	وافر	وافر	تجُورُ
د	دوبيت	دوبيت	منزُورُ
۵	متقارب	متقارب	تذكارُه
			ڔ
•	طويل	ہ ہرِ طویل	من الد
>	طويل	طويل	و عمري
>	طويل	طويل	والعُمرِ
>	طويل	طويل	مصر
•	طويل	ى بو طويل	مع الده
	طويل		بالهجر
-	کامل مرقّل	کامل مرفّل	دَهْرِي
-	كامل مرفّل	کامل مرقّل	ر. يجري
J.	سريع	سريع	الفَجْرِ
	-	-	

10.68.2.5	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	۲	رمل	التبر
AII.11	[الحسن بن بشر الدمشقي]	٤	منسرح	الأغمي
10.69.3.12	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٩	طويل	و ہ مسہر
11.9.2.2	ابن هندو	۲	كامل	لمصور
10.68.2.1	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	١٤	كامل	مُعَشَرِ
11.13.2.11		١	كامل	المُشْتَري
13.58.4.8	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	كامل	^و ، کر مشتري
15.1.4	الفارابيّ	٣	كامل	الأبهر
15.1.4	الفارابيّ	٤	كامل	المتفجّر
10.64.7	[عدّة من الشعراء]	٣	مجزوء الخفيف	ء بمدبر
11.13.7.6	ابن سينا(؟)	۲	بسيط	النَّظَرِ
15.33	أبو الفضل بن عبد الكريم المهندس	٨	بسيط	من البَشَرِ
10.69.3.8	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	منسرح	فِتْنةَ البَشَرِ
13.58.4.7	أبو الصلت أميّة	۱۰	منسرح	والسَّفَرِ
10.69.3.2	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	طويل	طائر
11.9.2.3	ابن هندو	٢	طويل	الجواهر
14.51.3	عضد الدين بن منقذ	۲	متقارب	والشاكر
11.13.7.9	[يُنتحل إلى ابن سينا]	٥٢	كامل	النافرِ
10.67.4.3	البديع الأصطرلابي	۲	بسيط	العِذارِ
10.69.3.13	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	بسيط	النارِ
15.58.4	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	بسيط	ناري
10.69	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	مخلّع البسيط	كالحمار
15.18.2	شهاب الدين السهروردتي	٦	وافر	عن الديارِ
15.40.7	[إسحاق بن إ براهيم الموصليَّ (؟)]	١	وافر	من الديارِ
7.5.4	خالد بن مهاجر	٦	مجزوء الكامل	الحصار
10.64.19.7	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	خفيف	بادِّکارِ

14.36.3	الموفّق بن شوعة	٧	بسيط	الزُّورِ
10.68.2.5	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطّان)	٣	متقارب	السطور
15.46.3.6	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	كامل	والتصوير
13.68.2	ابن موراطير		موشحة	الحرير
10.62.3	أحمد بن البرخشيّ	۲	طويل	هجره
15.40.4	[أبو نواس]	١	مديد	ؿٞڔؘؚۿ
13.58.4.8	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	كامل	عذاره
10.64.19.11	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	مجزوء الكامل	أيرك
				; j
13.58.4.9	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	طويل	عاجزُ
				ڔ
15.1.4	[يُنسب إلى عدّة من الشعراء]	٥	متقارب	حيّز
				سَ
13.24.3	سعید بن عبد ربّه	٣	طويل	وجالينوس
13.24.3	أجمد بن عبد ربّه	٣	طويل	جليس
14.32.4	ابن المنجّم المصريّ	٣	متقارب	والهندسَه
				بس
15.29	فخر الدين بن الساعاتيّ	۲	سريع	فارش
11.9.2.3	ابن هندو	۲	طويل	وجُلّاسُ
10.69.3.3	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	خفيف	وقياش
				سِ
10.64.19.7	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	طويل	سِ ءَم
10.64.19.7 10.81.5	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ ابن هبل	۲	طويل طويل	
				أَمْسِ الأُنْسِ •
10.81.5	ابن هبل	٩	طويل طويل	أمس الأُنْسِ
10.81.5 15.46.3.1	ابن هبل سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۹ ۱۷	طويل طويل	أُمْسِ الأُنْسِ يا نفْسي على الشمْسِ

طَلْعةُ الشَّمسِ	هزج	10	ابن أبي أصيبعة	15.52.1.1
النَّحْسِ	سريع	۲	البديع الأصطرلابيّ	10.67.4.1
نَكِّسِ	متقارب	٧	الكنديّ	10.1.13
الأثحيَسِ	كامل	۲	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	10.64.19.10
الغَلَسِ	بسيط	۲	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	10.64.19.8
ووَساوِسي	كامل	۲	أبو سليمان السجستانيّ	11.7
والرئيس	وافر	۱۰	حسن بن عليَّ الجُوينيّ	14.31.8
ر » مسه	سريع	٢	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	10.68.2.6
لبْسِهِ	كامل	۲	أبو الصلت أميّة	13.58.4.8
ش				
مشى	كامل	۲	أبو العلاء بن زهر	13.61.3.2
و ش				
ڹؚػ۠ڔؽۺؙ	خفيف	۲	البديع الأصطرلابيّ	10.67.4.1
شِ				
عَرْشِ	مخلّع البسيط	۲	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	10.64.19.11
محرِّشِ	طويل	۲	ابن هندو	11.9.2.1
والغَبَشِ	منسرح	٧	أبو الصلت أميّة	13.58.4.5
والارتعاشِ	سريع	۲	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	15.8.9
الطيَّاشِ	كامل	۲	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	10.64.19.3
صَ				
شخْص	وافر	٣	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	15.46.3.3
ص				
مستخصُ	وافر	۲	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	10.68.2.5
تجمصصوا	مجزوء الخفيف	٦	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	10.68.2.7

				ضَ
10.67.4.3	البديع الأصطرلابيّ	۲	سريع	فَرْضا
				ر ض
10.51.4	ابن شبل البغداديّ	۲	بسيط	العَرَضُ
13.61.3.2	أبو العلاء بن زهر	٣	بسيط	عِوضُ
15.50.6	مهذّب الدين عبد الرحيم	٣	كامل	أعراضُ
				ۻؚ
15.8.3	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٤	طويل	الأرْضِ
15.8.8	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٤	طويل	الغَضِّ
15.37.3	شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ	۲	طويل	يتمضي
15.46.3.7	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	رمل	للمركضِ
10.64.19.7	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	بسيط	معتاضِ
10.64.19.7	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	خفيف	مِراضِ
10.64.2		۲	وافر	نقيض
				طَ
10.64.19.6	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	بسيط	غَلَطا
				طُ
10.67.4.3	[يُنسب إلى عدّة من الشعراء]	۲	طويل	مَنوطُ
10.69.3.6	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	كامل	التخليطُ
				ط
11.13.7.4	ابن سينا	19	متقارب	غَطِّهِ
				ظُ
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	٤	طويل	فظ
				ڠ
15.46.3.4	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۱.	طويل	تطبعا
A11.13	الجلياني	٥	طويل	تصدَّعا

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14.54.16	رشيد الدين أبو حُليقة	١	مجزوء المتقارب	اجتمعا
10.62.3	محمَّد بن عليَّ بن المعلَّم الحرثيَّ	۲	سريع	مرفوع
10.62.3	أحمد بن البرخشيّ	٤	سريع	متبوعا
10.64.19.10	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	خفيف	جميع
15.46.3.2	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	خفيف	وَجُوعا
10.64.19.14	عليّ بن أفلح	٤	رمل	هٰذي الْجَاعَه
10.64.19.14	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٤	رمل	شْكون
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14.30	بلمظفّر بن معرّف	۲	متقارب	الطبيعَه
15.47.2.1	صدقة السامري	٤	منسرح	<u>مجمو</u> عه
10.64.19.11	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	بسيط	مطالعَهُ
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15.37.2	شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ	00	طويل	مَصرَعُ
15.50.5	[أبو ذؤيب]	١	كامل	تَنْفَعُ
10.51.5	ابن شبل البغداديّ	۲	بسيط	والطَّمَعُ
11.9.2.1	ابن هندو	۲	بسيط	تنجزع
15.11.2.3	عبد المنعم الجليانيّ	٤	بسيط	وَرَعُ
8.30.4	إسحاق بن حنين	٦	طويل	ويافعُ
13.58.4.9	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	طويل	فواجعُ
15.1.4	[يُنسب إلى عدّة من الشعراء]	٦	مخلّع البسيط	انتفائح
10.64.19.4	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	طويل	رفيعُ
AII.12	الجلياني	۱.	بسيط	ملسوغُ
10.64.11	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	١	كامل	يَضِيعُ
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15.31.3	نجم الدين اللبودتي	١٦	طويل	موضع
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13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	متقارب	الهُمّع
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10.64.19.7	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	كامل	الأدمع
10.75	ابن سينا	مصراع	كامل	الأرفع
11.13.7.1	ابن سينا	۲.	كامل	وتمنع
15.51.10.2	رشيد الدين عليٌّ بن خليفة	٤	رجز	أدمعي
13.63.8.2	أبو بكربن زهر		موشحة	تسمع
10.64.19.4	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	١	طويل	بالتوأضيح
10.69.3.5	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	كامل	طبعه
15.46.3.3	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	كامل	بطبعه
11.9.2.4	ابن هندو	۲	سريع	غُ اللُثْغَهُ فْ
15.58.2	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	طويل	حَلَفْ
15.51.10.3	رشيد الدين عليَّ بن خليفة	٧	سريع	وكاف
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11.9.2.1	ابن هندو	۲	طويل	طَرْف
15.46.3.9	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	بسيط	الشُرَفا
11.9.2.1	ابن هندو	۲	منسرح	واختلف
10.64.17.2	ابن الهبّاريّة	٣٣	رمل	شغفه
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10.64.19.13	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٦	طويل	حرجف
10.64.19.5	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٤	منسرح	العَجَفُ
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15.31.5	نجم الدين اللبودتي	۲	دوبيت	تعسفها

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410.64.19.1 15.13	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ أو النقّاش	٢	متقارب	خَفي
10.65.3	أبو الفرج بن التلميذ	۲	متقارب	مُدنفِ
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	سريع	تنطفي
10.69.3.8	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	بسيط	الكُلَفِ
10.69.3.10	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٥	بسيط	أُسَفِ
15.18.1.4		۲	بسيط	شَرَفِ
11.19.3	ابن عنين	۲	كامل	خاطفِ
11.19.3	ابن عنين	٧	كامل	خاشف
10.64.19.13	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	وافر	شريف
10.64.19.5	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	كامل	اللَّهِيفِ
10.64.19.6	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٣	منسرح	تكافيه
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15.46.3.5	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	طويل	الغَرَقْ
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10.51.4	ابن شبل البغداديّ	٩	طويل	رِفْق
15.58.5	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٤	طويل	والصِّدْقا
15.51.10.4	رشيد الدين عليَّ بن خليفة	٤	خفيف	حقًّا
10.51.4	ابن شبل البغداديّ	۲	خفيف	عُقوق
10.69.3.3	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	كامل	والتصديقا
11.9.2.2	ابن هندو	۲	منسرح	غَرِقَه
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14.55.2	أبو سعيد محمّد حُليقة	١	طويل	ر ^و تعشق
14.55.2	ابن أبي أصيبعة	١٧	تُشْرِقُ	ت <i>ُشرِقُ</i>

7.2.3	قُتيلة بنت الحارث	۱۰	كامل	س ^و موفق
15.46.3.2	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	كامل	، ^{و و} ین ف ق
15.8.9	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٢	منسرح	عَشِقوا
13.58.4.2	ظافر الحدّاد	۲۸	طويل	دِرْياقُ
15.46.3.4	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	وافر	يستفيق
15.1.4, AII.11	الفارابيّ	۲	طويل	ہ وہ صلقہ
15.46.3.3	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٣	كامل	أوراقه
				قِ
10.64.19.10	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	طويل	صِدْقِ
15.46.3.4	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	طويل	الرژقِ
10.64.19.19	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	طويل	المفرّقِ
15.54	ابن أبي أصيبعة	٣٦	طويل	التفرُّقِ
10.69.3.10	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۱۰	طويل	جِلَو
15.13	عیسی بن هبة اللہ النقّاش	٣	متقارب	يرزق
15.46.3.2	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٢	بسيط	تَثِقِ
15.58.3	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٦	رمل	حرقي
13.24.3	سعید بن عبد ربّه	٥	طويل	خالقي
10.69.3.13	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٢	طويل	وأخلاقي
15.46.3.9	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	١٤	بسيط	أشواقي
15.58.7	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٢	كامل	والأحداق
10.67.4.4.	البديع الأصطرلابي	٢	خفيف	العراقِ
15.58.7	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٢	دوبيت	باقي
13.58.4.7	أبو الصلت أميّة	۱٦	رجز	الغُسوقِ
11.13.7.8	ابن سينا	٢	وافر	الرحيقِ
13.58.4.5	أبو الصلت أميّة	٢	كامل	إ بريقِهِ

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15.8.12	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٣	متقارب	المَلِكْ
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15.58.7	عماد الدين الدنيسرتي	۲	دوبيت	أراك
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15.58.2	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	كامل	مَغْناكا
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15.46.3.8	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	خفيف	فيكا
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11.9.2.2	ابن هندو	۲	كامل	نُسْكي
15.51.10.1	رشيد الدين عليٌّ بن خليفة	۱.	مجتث	بعلبكي
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15.52.1.2	[المتنبّي]	١	طويل	فَعَلْ
10.64.19.5	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	مخلّع البسيط	رہ تر ہ یوکل
11.9.2.5	ابن هندو	٤	طويل	غَزَلْ
13.58.3.1	أبو الصلت أميّة	١	كامل	أجل
14.56.3	ابن أبي أصيبعة	٥	كامل	عَدَلْ
11.9.1	أبو منصور الثعالبيّ	٤	رجز	مشتمِـلْ
13.58.4.8	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	رجز	زُحَلْ
15.8.1	أبو الحكم المغربيَّ (؟)	١	وزن غير خليليّ	العَسَلْ
15.37.5	شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ	۲	دو بيت	عَذولْ
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15.46.3.7	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٣	طويل	حَلّا
15.58.1	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٥	طويل	الكَحْلا
11.13.7.7	ابن سينا	٣	كامل	اللا

15.46.3.10	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	كامل	وبَحمالا
10.64.19.16	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	11	بسيط	مفلولا
11.13.7.5	ابن سينا	۲۸	وافر	المُحيلا
AII.10	أبو العلاء بن زهر	۲	كامل	وغالَني
8.3.23	المأمون	٤	هزج	والملَّه
15.58.3	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٧	كامل	أعدله
15.58.1	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٦	مجتث	هالَه
15.47.2.2	صدقة السامري	٤	منسرح	منحولَه
11.19.6.2	فخر الدين الرازيّ	٥	طويل	رجاكها
15.51.1.1	[أبو العتاهية]	١	متقارب	إلّا لَها
8.3.18	ربيعة الرقي	١	كامل	قاكها
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11.9.1	ابن هندو	۲	طويل	هُطْلُ
15.25	ابن عنين	٩	طويل	الفضْلُ
15.58.2	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٥	طويل	عَدْلُ
10.69.3.4	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	۲	خفيف	و، و غفل
8.3.23	أبو نواس	٥	مجزوء الوافر	عقْلُ
11.13.7.7	ابن سينا	۲	طويل	أَوَّلُ
11.16	عبد الرحمن بن مندويه	۲	طويل	وتُذْهَلُ
14.48.3	محمّد بن حسن الغنويّ	١٢	طويل	الفضائلُ
15.21	عزّ الدين محمّد بن حسن الإربليّ	11	طويل	المحافلُ
[15.49 Add.	أبو العلاء المعرّيّ	١	طويل	[الأوائلُ
10.64.19.1	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	سريع	زائلُ
14.27.3	جرجس الفيلسوف	٣	سريع	الفاضلُ
15.31.2	نجم الدين اللبودتي	١٧	كامل	القائلُ
15.46.3.2	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	۲	كامل	حائلُ

11.19.6.2	فخر الدين الرازيّ	٥	طويل	ضَلالُ
15.43.3	[حسَّان بن الحباب القُشيريِّ؟]	۲	بسيط	أسمالُ
10.69.3.5	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٤	طويل	ودليلُ
11.16	عبد الرحمن بن مندويه	۲	طويل	طويلُ
15.46.3.2	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	خفيف	يقولُ
15.51.10.4	رشيد الدين عليٌّ بن خليفة	١	وافر	يُزُولُ
15.58.6	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٣٥	وافر مخمّس	النحولُ
15.58.4	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	كامل	مقتولُ
15.8.5	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٣٦	طويل	حِبالُها
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15.8.14	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	۲	طويل	جَهْلِ
15.46.3.10	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٥	طويل	بالجهّلِ
15.17	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٦٣	طويل	الفَضْلِ
14.27.3		٣	طويل	العقْلِ
15.46.2	[لبيد؟]	٤	طويل	الطِّفْلِ
15.48	فتيان بن عليَّ الشاغوريّ	۲	منسرح	بالفضْلِ
13.58.4.9	[ابن المعتزّ]	۲	سريع	قَتْلي
15.8.11	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٩	طويل	المفَشْكلِ
15.51.10.3	رشيد الدين عليّ بن خليفة	٦	سريع	بالمُشْكِلِ
10.64.19.5	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	كامل	فجمل
11.19.3	ابن عنين	۲۱	كامل	الأفضلِ
[15.59	ابن عنين	۲	كامل	[أفْكلِ
15.4	ظافربن جابر السکرٽي	۲	كامل	علْمَ لي
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	متقارب	أن تَلي
10.64.19.3	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	بسيط	الأَزَلِ
13.58.4.8	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	بسيط	والأمَلِ

15.58.5	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	٣	بسيط	جَبَلِ
15.46.2	أبو طالب	٤	طويل	للأراملِ
14.27.2	[المتنبّي]	١	متقارب	الساحلِ
7.5.6	کُثیر	۲	سريع	بالباطلِ
10.68.1.4	حيص بيص	٥	كامل	العادل
15.58.4	عماد الدين الدنيسريّ	۲	كامل	قائلِ
11.5.24	أبو بكر الرازيّ	٢	طويل	تَرْحالي
15.31.3	[نجم الدين اللبوديّ]	٩	بسيط	حالِ
11.9.2.1	ابن هندو	۲	مخلّع البسيط	الجمال
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	مخلّع البسيط	الجِلالِ
15.11.2.2	عبد المنعم الجليانيّ	٤	مخلّع البسيط	بالسؤالِ
10.64.19.10	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	خفيف	الوصالِ
11.13.7.8	ابن سينا	٤	كامل	عُذّالي
13.58.4.5	أبو الصلت أميّة	۱۰	كامل	بِسالي
10.64.19.10	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	۲	کامل مرقّل	والزيال
10.83.6	كمال الدين بن يونس	٢	منسرح	بالي
11.9.2.1	ابن هندو (؟)	٣	منسرح	آمالي
8.30.5	إسحاق بن حنين	٣	هزج	والبال
8.30.5	القاسم بن عبيد الله	۲	هزج	الحال
10.68.2.2	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	٩٢	ähulu	الوصالِ
15.46.3.7	سديد الدين بن رقيقة	٤	خفيف	والأصولِ
10.69.3.11	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	كامل	بالتعليل
15.40.8		١	كامل	التحصيلِ
10.64.19.15	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	٢	طويل	وفَضْلِهِ
15.25	القاضي الفاضل	١	كامل	بكحْلِهِ
10.64.19.11	أمين الدولة بن التلميذ	١	كامل	وصاليها

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10.38.3	ابن بطلان	۲	طويل	النَّدَمْ
15.8.1	أبو الفضل الملحيّ	۱۱	طويل	الحكم
15.8.14	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٣	طويل	سَلَم
13.58.4.9	أبو الصلت أميّة	٣	مجزوء الرمل	وتَبرَّمْ
13.63.8.2	أبوبكربن زهر		موشحة	ونديم
13.58.4.6	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	وافر	فاغتزمه
				ŕ
11.13.7.8	ابن سينا(؟)	٣	طويل	فأغنم
15.37.5	شرف الدين بن الرحبيّ	۲	دوبيت	دِما
10.69.3.9	ابن الصائغ العنتريّ	٣	طويل	والقوادِما
13.3.3	كشاجم	٤	طويل	عظاما
10.65.3	أبو الفرج بن التلميذ	٨	وافر	طعاما
15.8.12	أبو الحكم المغربيّ	٢	مخلّع البسيط	وظُلْمَه
11.9.2.3	ابن هندو	٢	سريع	خِدْمَه
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13.58.4.9	أبو الصلت أميّة	۲	طويل	و م أنعم
7.1.6		٤	مجزوء الخفيف	تكآموا
14.47.1	القاضي المهذّب نفيس الدين	١	كامل	أتهموا
10.68.2.4	هبة الله بن الفضل (ابن القطَّان)	۲	بسيط	م <i>تر</i> و متهم
11.13.7.3	ا بن سينا	٤٣	بسيط	وہ ر ہ تتھم
7.6	عبد الملك بن مروان	١	طويل	سواجم
10.67.4.3	البديع الأصطرلابي	۲	متقارب	يهواهم
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- 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, philosopher and physician, also known as Ibn
 - al-Labbād (557–629/1162–1231) 10.64.3; 10.66.4; 11.21; 14.22.5.2 no. 68n; 14.33.3n.; 15.18.1.1n; 15.31.6 no. 16; 15.37.1; 15.40; 15.45.1; 15.51.1.2
- 'Abd al-Malik al-Bājī, father of Abū Marwān al-Bājī 13.63.2
- 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar al-Kinānī, physician of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (*reg.* 99–101/717–720) 7.1.5; 7.3; 7.4
- 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwân, fifth Umayyad caliph (*reg.* 65–86/685–705) 7.6; 8.13.2
- 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr, unidentified 7.1.5; 7.1.6
- 'Abd al-Masīḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥimṣī al-Nā'imī see Ibn Nā'imah
- 'Abd al-Mu'min, Almohad ruler (d. 558/1163) 13.62.1; 13.62.2.1; 13.62.4 no. 2; 13.63.3; 15.40.3
- 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, Damascene physician, served Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf 15.11.2
- 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, son of al-Jilyānī, oculist 15.11.2
- 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn 'Umar see al-Jilyānī
- 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, man of letters and lexicographer 7.5.4n; 7.5.5n
- ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī see al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash'ath, leader of a revolt against the Umayyad governor, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf 7.9.4n
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Haytham, Andalusian physician **13.35**; 13.36.2.3
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd, son of commander Khālid ibn al-Walīd

7.5.2; 7.5.3; 7.5.5

- 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāşir, Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus (d. 350/961) 13.15; 13.16; 13.19.1; 13.21.1; 13.21.2.2; 13.22; 13.23; 13.25; 13.26; 13.27.1; 13.28; 13.32; 13.33; 13.36.2.1; 13.36.2.2; 13.36.2.3; 13.49
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān (d. 262/875–876), brother of the vizier 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān AII.2.3
- 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad al-'Āmirī see al-Badī' 'Abd al-Razzāq
- 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās, brother of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās 7.6
- 'Abd al-Wadūd al-Ṭabīb, transmitter 10.66.3
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī, courtier of al-Mu'taṣim 8.20.5
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī, grandfather of Abū Mayyah 8.19.3n
- 'Abd Yashū' ibn Bahrīr, translator associate of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' 9.35
- 'Abd Yashū' ibn Naṣr, physician of al-Hādī 8.2
- 'Abd Yashūʻ al-Jāthalīq, catholicos at Baghdad (ca. 360/970) 10.8
- 'Abdān, student of Ibn al-Ṭayyib 10.37.4
- al-ʿAbdī, Humām al-Dīn *see* Humām al-Dīn al-ʿAbdī
- 'Abdisho' bar Bahrīz ('Abdīshū' ibn Bahrīz), metropolitan and translator **9.35**
- 'Abdūn ibn Makhlad, brother of Ṣāʻid 10.10.3n
- 'Abdūs the Physician 10.12
- 'Abdūs ibn Zayd physician 8.14; 8.29.10n
- al-Ābī, Abū Saʿd (*or* Saʿīd) Manṣūr ibn al-Ḥusayn, man of letters and vizier 8.20.6n; 10.8.10
- 'Abīd ibn al-Abras, pre-Islamic poet 15.45.3 (p)
- al-Abīwardī, poet (d. 507/1113) 10.64.19.8n Abraham *see* Ibrāhīm
- al-Abrash *see* Ayyūb, known as al-Abrash
- Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawābah see Ibn Thawābah
- Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zayd see Thaʿlab
- Abū l-'Abbās ibn al-Rashīd, ?son of Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.25.7

Abū l-'Abbās ibn al-Rūmiyyah see Ibn al-Rūmivvah Abū l-'Abbās ibn Wādih al-Ya'qūbī, 3rd/9th-c. polvmath 4.1.9.1n; 8.3.15n; 8.3.16n Abū l-'Abbās ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, son of al-Kindī 10.1.12; 10.1.14 no. 223 Abū l-'Abbās al-Jayyānī, physician 15.45.1 Abū l-'Abbās al-Kanbanārī, Ahmad ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muhammad, Andalusian physician 13.87 Abū l-'Abbās al-Khasībī, secretary and then vizier of al-Muntasir 8.4.3 Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Muhammad see Khwārazmshāh Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mūn Abū l-'Abbās al-Nabātī, herbalist 15.45.1n Abū l-'Abbās al-Qarrābī, Almohad poet 13.66.3 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Zakariyyā al-Dāʿī, missionary for the Fatimid Mahdī 13.2.2.2 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn Hamdūn, man of letters 7.5.6n; 7.6n; 8.4.7n Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Hūd al-Judhāmī al-Mutawakkil (d. 635/1237-1238), ruler of Murcia 13.81.2; 13.81.2n; 13.87; 13.87n Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husavnī al-Qādī al-Sharīf, Almohad qadi 13.64.2.1 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kattānī 13.29 Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd, Andalusian physician and poet 13.69 Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Īsā ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Naggāsh, father of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Nagqāsh 15.13 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, unidentified contemporary of IAU 13.88.2 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Malik al-Thaqafī Andalusian physician 13.32 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad, brother of the qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī 13.65 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad, grandson of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Hafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr 13.63.8.2 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad, son of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Dānī 13.71 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Alī al-Hasan ibn Abī Yūsuf Hajjāj al-Khaţīb, Almohad qadi 13.63.2.1

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, secretary of several Abbāsid caliphs (d. 296/908) 8.4.12

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Baghdādī Ibn al-Karīm see Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mahrī al-Uṣūlī, qadi in Bougie 13.636.3

 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd al-Bajjānī, poet who lived in Cordova (d. ca. 400/1009–1010) 13.29.2

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Nūr al-Dawlah Abū Shujā' al-Āmirī al-Ma'mūn, Fatimid vizier 13.51.1; 13.51.4 no. 1

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Wāthiq see al-Muhtadī bi-Allāh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mālaqī (of Malaga), unidentified copyist 14.25.4

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Andalusī judge and grammarian 13.29.2

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nadrūmī, Muḥammad ibn Şaḥnūn, Andalusian physician 13.81

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nātilī, tutor to Ibn Sīnā 11.13.2; 11.13.3; 11.13.4; 11.13.5

Abū 'Abd Allāh Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Khuzā'ī al-Marwazī, 3rd/10th-c. Hadith scholar 7.3n

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣiqillī 13.36.2.3

Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī, patron of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.8. no. 9

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Abī Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān, Andalusian physician 13.75

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Nazīk 10.38.4

Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī see al-Ma'arrī

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Maḥfūẓ ibn al-Masīḥī (*or* al-Musabbiḥī?), physician 10.71

Abū l-ʿAlā' Muḥammad, physician and son of Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥafīd Abī Bakr ibn Zuhr 13.64.2.2

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Ṣāʿid ibn al-Ḥasan, physician in al-Raḥbah (d, 464/1072) 10.53

Abū l-ʿAlā' ibn Zuhr see Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-ʿAlā'

Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĪsā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ (active 325/936), vizier of al-Rāḍī and al-Muttaqī 10.5.3

Abū ʿAlī al-Fārandī al-Ṭūsī, transmitter 15.51.7

- Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Abān (Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī), grammarian (d. 377/987) 15.40.2
- Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Juwaynī al-Kātib see al-Juwaynī
- Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn Bishr al-Ramlī, poet 10.64.19.7n
- Abū 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min, governor (*ṣāḥib*) of Seville 13.80.1
- Abū 'Alī ibn Bunān ibn al-Ḥārith, *mawlā* of al-Muqtadir 10.44.5 no. 61
- Abū ʿAlī ibn Makanjā, Christian scribe 10.8.10
- Abū 'Alī ibn Mawșilāyā, secretary of Abū l-Qāsim al-Maghribī 10.13.3; 10.38.4
- Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samḥ, Christian Aristotelian 10.38.4
- Abū ʿAlī ʿĪsā ibn Isḥāq ibn Zurʿah see ibn Zurʿah
- Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 303/915), Mu'tazilite from Basra 14.22.4.3n; 14.22.5.1 no. 8
- Abū 'Alī al-Manşūr ibn Abī l-Qāsim Aḥmad al-Musta'lī bi-Allāh ibn al-Mustanşir see al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh
- Abū 'Alī al-Muhandis al-Miṣrī (active 550/1155), author of an epigram attributed to al-Badī' al-Asturlābī 10.67.4.3n
- Abū 'Alī al-Nīsābūrī, contemporary of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.8 no. 62
- Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī, unidentified historian 8.4.12; 8.14; 8.20.12; 8.29.10
- Abū ʿĀmir ibn Yannaq al-Shāṭibī, Andalusī poet and historian 13.61.3.1
- Abū 'Amr al-A'jamī, courtier of Hārūn al-Rashīd 12.5
- Abū 'Amr al-Zajjājī, transmitter 15.51.7
- Abū l-ʿArab Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad, Andalusian physician 13.37
- Abū l-Aşbagh 'Īsā ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 379/989), Andalusī historian and secretary of al-Ḥakam 11 13.18
- Abū l-Asbagh 'Īsā Ibn Ḥayyawayh, contemporary of Ibn Juljul 13.17
- Abū l-ʿAshā'ir, perhaps Abū l-ʿAshīr (Jaysh) ibn Khumārawayh, grandson of Ibn Ṭūlūn 14.44
- Abū l-ʿAskar al-Ḥusayn ibn Maʿdān, ruler of Makrān (Mukrān) 14.25.9 no. 42

- Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah, poet (d. 211/826) 8.3.19n; 11.13 n.; 15.52.1.11; AII.9
- Abū 'Awānah, al-Waḍḍāḥ, *muḥaddith* (d. 170/786 *or* 176/792) 7.1.5
- Abū l-ʿAynā' al-Miṣrī, teacher of Abū l-ʿAlā' ibn Zuhr 13.61.3.1
- Abū Ayyūb Muḥammad ibn al-Rashīd, a son of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.26.11n
- Abū Bakr, the first caliph after Muḥammad's death 7.1.5
- Abū Bakr, the son of al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Zuhrī, Andalusian physician 13.62.3; 1**3.8**0
- Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Rāzī, jurist 11.5.12
- Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Jābir, Andalusian physician 13.31
- Abū Bakr 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Quhistānī, poet (ca. 435/1043), ?author of lines ascribed to Ibn Sīnā 11.13
- Abū Bakr al-Barqī, contemporary of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.2.10; 11.13.8 nos. 3, 4
- Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, prominent jurist and traditionist 7.5.4
- Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, Mālikī jurist 13.59.4; 13.65
- Abū Bakr ibn Qārin al-Rāzī, physician, student of al-Rāzī 11.5.12
- Abū Bakr al-Khālidī, 4th/10th-c. poet and man of letters, brother of Abū 'Uthmān al-Khālidī 8.26.15
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, known as Ibn Ḥamdūn, source of al-Tanūkhī 11.5.12
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Sarrāj, grammarian (d. ca. 330/942) 7.1.6n; 15.1.3.3
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, transmitter 10.81.3
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl al-Raqqī, physician, commentator on Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq 10.17
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd, patron of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.8 no. 55
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz 8.19.2

Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Walīd al-Turtūshī see al-Turtūshī Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī see al-Rāzī Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, son of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, perhaps identical to Divā' al-Dīn al-Rāzī 11.19.6 Abū Bakrah ibn al-Hārith ibn Kaladah, son of the slave-girl Sumayyah and, probably, the physician al-Hārith ibn Kaladah 7.1.1 Abū l-Bagā' 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Husayn al-'Ukbarī, grammarian (d. 616/1219) 10.79 Abū Barā' 'Āmir ibn Mālik, tribal hero 15.8.4(p) Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Awḥad al-Zamān Hibat Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Malkā, Jewish philosopher and physician 1.11; 10.58.4; 10.64.2; 10.66; 10.68.2.6; 10.81.4; AII.5 Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍāʿī, physician serving Saladin (d 598/1201) 14.37 Abū l-Barakāt ibn Sha'yā, al-Muwaffaq, Jewish physician of Egypt 14.41 Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar, Karaite Jewish physician of Egypt with the honorific name of al-Sadīd (the Well-Guided) 14.33 Abū Bishr, tabīb al-'azīmiyyah, physician in Egypt under al-Hākim 14.19 Abū Bishr al-Baqarī 10.29 Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnān (or Yūnus), Christian Aristotelian translator (d. 328/940) 6.5.1; 10.18; 10.20; 10.21; 10.22.1.2; 15.1.2; 15.1.3 Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Hassān al-Andalusī see Ibn Juljul Abū Dhi'b, transmitter 7.5.2 Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī, poet (d. ca. 26/647) 15.50.5n Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn 'Īsā ibn Idrīs, 2nd-3rd/8th-9th-c. commander, poet and musician 8.20.11 Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid, Egyptian physician known as al-Muhadhdhab 14.34; 14.43.2 Abū l-Fadā'il Muhammad ibn Nāmāwar al-Khūnajī see al-Khūnajī Abū l-Fadl, transmitter, unidentified pupil of Abū l-Barakāt 10.66.3

Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, literary man and historian 8.10.2n; 8.26.17n Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿĀriḍ, physician 11.16 nos. 1.3, 1.13 Abū l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf *see* Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf

Abū l-Faḍl ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Muhandis, geometrician and physician 15.33

Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī Sulaymān, Christian physician of Egypt (d. 644/1246) 14.53

Abū l-Faḍl ibn al-Milḥī, patient of Abū l-Hakam 15.8.1

Abū l-Faḍl Ismā'īl ibn Abī l-Waqqār, physician 15.12

Abū l-Fadl al-Isrā'īlī, teacher of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī 15.50.5

Abū l-Fadl Kutayfāt, student of Ibn al-Ṭayyib 10.37.4

Abū l-Fadl Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Mawṣilī al-Ṣūfī, probably 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's paternal uncle Sulaymān (b. 528/1133) 15.40.1

Abū l-Falāḥ, student of Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath 10.46.2

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Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī (*or* al-Iṣbahānī), author of *K. al-Aghānī* 7.1.6n; 7.2.3; 7.5.2; 7.5.4n; 7.5.5n; 7.10; 8.3.23; 8.4.7n; 8.7n;

8.26.14n; 8.29.11n; 15.33 no. 3; 15.50.7 no. 2

Abū l-Faraj al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Mastūr, poet 10.64.19.5n

Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī l-Faḍāʾil ibn al-Nāqid 14.34.1

Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Yamāmī, physician of Hamadan 10.35; 11.13.8 no. 88

Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ḥadīd, transmitter 15.3.1.1 Abū l-Faraj ibn Ḥayyān, maternal uncle of Ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 578/1191) 15.3.1.4

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Abū l-Faraj (al-Naṣrānī), Christian physician serving under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and al-Malik al-Afdal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī 15.23.1.2; 15.28

Abū l-Faraj Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Tūmā, physician (d. 620/1223) 10.77

Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā 10.36

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Abū l-Faraj Ya'qūb ibn Killis, Jewish vizier of Fatimid al-'Azīz (318–380/930–991) 14.14

Abū l-Fatḥ ibn Muhannā al-Naṣrānī, unidentified Christian 15.27

Abū l-Fatḥ Manṣūr ibn Sahlān ibn Muqashshir see Ibn Muqashshir

Abū l-Fath al-Nīsābūrī 10.38.4

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Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, poet (d. 357/968) 15.49.6.2n

Abū Ghālib al-'Aṭṭār, protector of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.3.7

Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sahl ibn Bashrān al-Naḥwī al-Wāsitī, transmitter 7.2.3; 7.5.2

Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn, transmitter 7.2.3; 7.5.2

Abū Ghānim, father of Abū Muslim 8.10.4

Abū Ghānim al-ʿAbbās ibn Sunbāt, Biṭrīq al-Baṭāriqah 10.44.5 no. 11

Abū l-Ghawth ibn Niḥrīr al-Munayḥī, 4th-5th/10th-11th-c. poet 10.64.19.5n

Abū l-Ghiṭrīf al-Biṭrīq, patriarch of Armenia 10.44.4; 10.44.5 nos. 4, 8, 9, 19

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī, author of *Akhbār al-Barāmikah* 12.5n

Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Yaḥyā al-Hintātī (*or* Īntī), companion of Ibn Tūmart 13.66.3

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yahyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī see Yūsuf al-Isrā'īlī

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf, Shihāb al-Dīn, oculist in Egypt, teacher of IAU's father ca. 1200 15.51.1

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Mūrāṭīr, Andalusian physician **13.68**; 13.69; 13.81.1; 13.87

Abū Ḥakam, Christian physician serving Muʿāwiyah 7.6

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Abū l-Rabī' al-Kafīf, unidentified Andalusī scholar exiled to Lucena 13.66.3

Abū l-Rajā', unidentified transmitter 15.3.1.1

Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī see al-Bīrūnī Abū l-Rāzī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd,

prefect of al-Bașrah during governorship of Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.3.15 Abū Sa'd Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī al-Baghdādī, transmitter (d. 517/1123–1124) 7.2.3; 7.5.2

Abū Sahl al-Kūhī, 4th/10th-c. astronomer 10.4.9 no. 19

Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī, Christian physician (d. 401/1010) 10.64.20 nos. 13, 17; **11.12**; 11.13.8 no. 22; 11.20

Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht, member of the Nawbakht family of courtiers (real name Kharkhashā Damāh Ţīmādhāh Mādhariyād Khusraw Abhamshād), associate of al-Manşūr 8.9

Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī [al-Ṭabīb] 10.13.5

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Abū Saʿīd ibn al-Muʿawwaj, 5th/11th-c. official 10.61

Abū Sa'īd ibn Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb see Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd ibn Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb

Abū Sa'īd Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq Atabeg Țughtakīn, Būrid ruler of Damascus (d. 564/1169) 15.8.1

Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī, translator; perhaps identical with Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī

Abū Saʿīd Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm, secretary to al-Muțīʿ li-Allāh 10.29

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Abū Salīm, courtier of Hārūn al-Rashīd 12.6

Abū l-Ṣalt (active 10th-c.), bonesetter at the ʿAḍudī Hospital 11.5.6

Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Abī l-Ṣalt al-Andalusī al-Ishbīlī, physician and poet (d. 528/1134) **13.58**; 15.4711; 14.27.1; 14.27.2; 14.27.3 Abū l-Sammāl al-Asadī, poet 7.10n Abū Sagr Wahb ibn Muhammad al-Kalwadhānī see Abū Saqr Wahb ibn Muhammad Abū l-Sarāvā al-Sarī ibn Mansūr al-Shavbānī, Shi'ite rebel 8.3.14n; 8.18.3 Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān, Christian physician of Egypt (d. 613/1216) 14.51; 14.54.3; 14.54.4; 14.54.13 Abū Shās, poet 15.58.6n Abū l-Shawk Fāris ibn Muhammad ibn 'Annāz (reg. 401–437/1010–1045) 11.13.3.4 Abū Simāk al-Asadī, poet 7.10 Abū Sufyān ibn Harb ibn Umayyah, father of Muʿāwiyah and opponent of Muḥammad 7.1.1; 7.2.1; 7.2.3 Abū Suhayl, transmitter 7.5.2 Abū Sulaym Faraj, Turkish mawlā of Hārūn al-Rashīd and governor 12.6 Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā ibn Abī Fānah, Christian physician from Jerusalem serving Fatimids 14.49; 14.50n Abū Sulaymān ibn Bābashādh see Ibn Bābashādh Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī see Abū Sulaymān Muhammad ibn Tāhir Abū Sulaymān Muhammad ibn Tāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, known as al-Mantiqī, philosopher 1.5; 4.1.8.1n; 4.6.3.5; 2.1.1; 6.1.2; 8.29.5n; 8.30.6n; 11.7; 11.8. no. 13; 13.34.1; 15.1.3.1 Abū Tāhir Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Silafī al-Isfahānī, teacher of Hadith 15.33 Abū Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī (known as Ibn Qațramīz, 'Son of Big Bottle'), scholar 8.6 no. 5 Abū Ţāhir [Muḥammad] ibn Baqiyyah see Ibn Baqiyyah Abū Ţāhir ibn al-Barakhshī see Ibn al-Barakhshī Abū Ṭāhir Ismā'īl ibn Jumay', son of Ibn Jumay' 14.32.5 no. 1n Abū l-Ṭāhir Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm ibn Muʿizz ibn Bādīs, Zirid emir of Mahdia 13.58.4.3; 13.58.5 no. 1 Abū Tālib, uncle of 'Umar ibn Ma'add 13.3.2.1

Abū Ţālib ibn 'Abd al-Muţţalib, uncle of Muḥammad 15.46.2
Abū Ţālib al-'Alawī, *al-wazīr*, unidentified vizier 11.13

Abū Tammām, poet (d. ca. 231/845) 7.2.3n; 8.29.15n; 10.68.1.4n; 15.22; 15.50.4n

Abū Tammām al-Bārid ('the Cold One'), 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn al-Ḥusayn, 6th/12th-c. poet 10.68.2.5n

Abū l-Ṭayyib Azhar ibn al-Nuʿmān, unidentified (? contemporary of Ibn Ridwān or = the Shi'ite theologian Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥārithī al-ʿUkbarī al-Mufīd) 14.25.9 no. 40

Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, Shāfiʿite jurist (d. 450/1058) 10.38.4

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Abū l-Tuqā Şāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Qurashī alias Taqī al-Dīn, teacher of IAU's paternal uncle 15.51.1

Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Faqīh (the Jurist), i.e. Aḥmad al-Maʿṣūmī 11.13.8 no. 98

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Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī, pupil and amanuensis of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.1; 11.13.2.11; 11.13.3.1; 11.13.8

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām al-Baghdādī, 8th-c. grammarian and Qur'anic scholar 7.5.5; 15.40.3; 15.40.9 no. 1

Abū 'Uthmān, relative of Abū Nuwās' mistress Janān 8.19.3

Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ see al-Jāḥiẓ

Abū ʿUthmān al-Jazzār al-Yābisah, contemporary of Ibn Juljul 13.36.2.3

Abū 'Uthmān al-Khālidī, 4th/10th-c. poet and man of letters, brother of Abū Bakr al-Khālidī 8.26.15

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translator and physician of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā (active 302/924-925) 8.29.8; 9.36; 10.16 Abū l-Wafā' Mahmūd al-Dawlah al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik see al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik Abū l-Walīd Hishām ibn Ahmad ibn Hishām see Ibn al-Waqashī Abū l-Walīd ibn al-Kattānī see Ibn al-Kattānī Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd see Ibn Rushd Abū l-Wahsh Wuhaysh al-Asadī Sab' ibn Khalaf, poet (d. 579/1184) 15.8.12 Abū Yahvā al-Marwazī, teacher of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus 10.20; 15.1.3.1 Abū Yahyā, son of Abū al-Qāsim al-Maghribī 10.13.3 Abū Yaḥyā, source of an anecdote about the court of the caliph al-Mutawakkil 8.26.15 Abū Yaḥyā ibn Qāsim al-Ishbīlī, Andalusian physician 13.72 Abū Yaʻqūb al-Ahwāzī 10.32; 11.5.6 Abū Yaʿqūb al-Khuraymī, Ishāq ibn Hassān, poet courtier of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn (d. 214/829) 10.5 Abū Ya'qūb ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Īsā see Yūsuf al-Khūrī or al-Qass (the priest) Abū Yaʻqūb Yūsuf see Yūsuf I Abū Yūsuf al-Kātib 'the Secretary', translator 9.29 Abū l-Zāhir Ismāʿīl, acquaintance of Ibn al-Mutrān 15.23.1.3 Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā al-Bayyāsī see al-Bayyāsī Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī the Logician see Yahyā ibn 'Adī Abū Zakariyyā Yahūdā ibn Saʿādah see Ibn Saʿādah Abū Zakkār, singer under Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.3.16 Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mūsā ibn Yūjān, vizier of the Almohad ruler al-Mansūr 13.63.7 Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, 9th-c. grammarian and lexicographer 7.1.1; 8.29.22n Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, Aḥmad b. Sahl (d. 322/ 934), philosopher and contemporary of al-Rāzī 11.5.9; 11.5.25 no. 125 Abū Zur'ah 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Şafwān al-Azdī al-Başrī, transmitter 10.81.3 Abū Zur'ah Tāhir ibn Muhammad ibn Tāhir

al-Maqdisī al-Hamadhānī, scholar of Hadith (481/1088-566/1170) 15.40.1 Abuqrāt see Hippocrates Achilles, legendary ancient Greek hero 4.4.2.3 Acratus 'the musician', Greek philosopher 4.1.11.3 Acron of Agrigento, prominent Empiricist physician of antiquity 3.4 'Ād, legendary pre-Islamic Arabian people 7.1.1n; 14.32.4(p); 15.17(p) Adam, first man 5.1.7; 5.1.8.1; 10.51.2(p); 14.54.16 al-ʿĀḍid bi-Allāh (Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mawlā Abī l-Hajjāj Yūsuf ibn al-Imām al-Hāfiz li-Dīn Allāh), last Fatimid caliph of Egypt (d. 567/1171) 14.31.6 al-'Ādid li-Dīn Allāh see al-'Ādid bi-Allāh al-'Ādil see al-Malik al-'Ādil 'Adnān, legendary ancestor of the northern Arabian tribes 8.10.4n 'Adnān ibn Nașr al-'Aynzarbī see Ibn al-'Avnzarbī 'Adud al-Dawlah, Abū Shujā' Fannā Khusraw, Būyid emir (d. 372/983) 8.5.2; 8.5.3; 10.4.9 nos. 8, 17; 10.8.3; 10.25; 10.29; 10.31; 10.32; 10.33; 10.42; 11.5.3;11.5.3; 11.5.4; 11.5.5; 11.5.6 'Adud al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā', vizier to al-Mustadī' bi-Amr Allāh 10.63.2 al-'Adud ibn Munqidh, 'Adud al-Dīn [or 'Adud al-Dawlah] Abū l-Fawāris Murhaf ibn Usāmah (d. 613/1216), son of Usāmah ibn Munqidh 14.51.3 Aephicianus, associate of Satyrus 5.1.25 Aeschines, Greek statesman and orator (d. 314 BC) 10.1.14 no. 205 Aetius of Amida, 6th-c. medical author 4.1.10.2n; 4.5.1n; 6.5.2 al-Afdal see al-Malik al-Afdal Afdal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī see al-Khūnajī 'Afīf al-Dīn Abū l-Hasan 'Alī ibn 'Adlān al-Nahwī al-Mawşilī, grammarian (d. 666/1267) 10.81.2 al-Afdal ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh, Fatimid vizier 487-515/1094-1121 14.26.2; 14.31.2n; 14.31.4n

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Akhzam, son of a poet 14.55.2n; 15.58.1

- Alā' al-Dawlah, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyār (d. 433/1041–1042), Kākūyid ruler of the Jibāl region 11.13.3.2 no. 12; 11.13.3.7–11,18,19; 11.13.8 nos. 13, 14, 53
- 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Khwārazm Shāh see 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Tekish Khwārazm Shāh
- 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubādh, Seljuq sultan of Rūm (*reg.* 616–634/1219–1237)–
- 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Tekish Khwārazm Shāh, ruler of the Khwārazm-Shāh dynasty (*reg.* 596–617/1200–1229)
 11.19.6.2 (incorrectly as 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Khwārazm Shāh); see also s.v. Khwārazm Shāh
- 'Alā' al-Mulk al-Alawī, vizier under Sultan Khwārazm Shāh 11.19.5
- 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Naṣr, brother of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah, physician 14.55.3
- 'Alam al-Dīn Qayşar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Musāfir al-Ḥanafī see Qayşar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Musāfir
- al-ʿAlawī, patron of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.3.9 Albinus, Platonist and teacher of Galen
- 4.1.11.3; 5.1.21.1n
- Alexander of Aphrodisias, 3rd-c. Aristotelian philosopher 4.1.11.3; 5.1.26 (confused with Alexander of Damascus); 4.8; 14.25.2; 14.30; 15.1.5 no. 27; 15.40.3
- Alexander of Damascus, Aristotelian philosopher 5.1.25
- Alexander the Great, Macedonian king 1.4; 4.1.11.3; 4.6.11 nos. 46, 85, 88; 4.6.13.1 no. 120; 4.6.13.3 nos. 126, 128, 129, 141; 5.1.8.1 (era of Alexander); 10.4.4.2n
- Alexander of Tralles, physician of late antiquity 4.1.11.2
- Alexandrians, late-antique physicians responsible for systematizing and sum
 - marizing Galen 5.1.37 nos. 79; 5.2.1; 6.1.1; 6.3.1–6 (curriculum of the Sixteen Books of Galen); 10.57 no. 3; 10.64.20 no. 8
- Alfonso II, king of Portugal 13.71n Alfonso VIII, king of Castile 13.66.3; 13.71n 'Alī, known as al-Fayyūm, Christian patron

of translators including Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, governor of the Egyptian district of Fayyūm **9.45**

- 'Alī, son of caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh 10.76.2
- 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī 10.25; 14.25.9 no. 64n
- 'Alī [ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā], brother of the Ibn Sīnā 11.13.2.1 n. 12; 11.13.3.15; 11.13.8 no. 16
- 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, last of the
 'Rightly Guided' caliphs 7.1.1; 7.1.5;
 7.2.3; 7.5.3n; 7.5.6; 10.1.7n; 11.13.7.9;
 13.58.4.6(p); 14.22.3.1n; 14.14.3n; 15.46.2;
 15.46.3.2; 15.51.7; AII.2.1
- 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī, dream interpreter: probably an error for Makkī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī, q.v.
- 'Alī ibn 'Ayyāsh, transmitter 10.81.3
- 'Alī ibn Bulbul (al-wazīr) 10.13.5
- 'Alī ibn Hāmid, oculist, father of the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī 15.50.1
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, fourth Imam of the Twelver Shi'is 15.51.7
- 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks, Abū l-Ḥasan, physician at 'Aḍudī Hospital (d. 394/1003–1004) 9.38; 10.43; 11.5.6
- 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Alī al-Kaḥḥāl (The Oculist) 10.50
- 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh, Abū l-Ḥasan, twice vizier under al-Muqtadir billāh (d. 334/996) 8.29.8n; 9.36; 10.4.4.1; 10.4.4.2; 10.4.5; 10.4.9 no. 6; 10.16; 11.5.25 no. 117; 14.22.4.4
- 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Māhān, guard commander under caliphs al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.3.17
- 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Raba'ī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Naḥwī (the Grammarian) (d. 420/1029) 10.38.4
- 'Alī ibn al-Jahm, poet active mainly in Baghdad (d. 249/863) 13.58
- ʿAlī ibn al-Mahdī, son of al-Mahdī, known as Abū Quraysh 8.8.2
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Tamīmī, son of the physician al-Tamīmī 14.14.8 no. 1
- 'Alī ibn Mūsā, al-Riḍā, eighth imam of the Twelver Shi'is 8.3.111; 15.51.7

'Alī ibn Rabban al-Tabarī see 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Tabarī 'Alī ibn Ridwān see Ibn Ridwān 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Tabarī, 3rd/9th-c. physician 11.3; 11.4; 11.5.1; 12.2 nos. 3n, 11n 'Alī ibn Sulaymān, physician-astrologer under the Fatimid 14.21 'Alī ibn Wahbān 11.5.25 no. 192 'Alī ibn Wāhsūdhān the Daylamite (d. after 304/917), governor of Rayy 11.5.14; 11.5.25 no. 192n 'Alī ibn Yahyā, known as Ibn al-Munajjim, secretary, companion of al-Ma'mūn; patron of Hunayn ibn Ishāq 8.29.22 nos. 6, 7; 9.41; 10.3.14 no. 41 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn, Almoravid ruler (reg. 500-537/1107-1142) 13.61.4 no. 9 Alīnūs al-Iskandarānī see (Pseudo-)Elias the Neoplatonist Almohads (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*) 13.63.3 Almoravids (*al-Murābiţūn*) 13.61.1; 13.62.1; 13.63.3 Āluh (Aluh) see Ibn Hāmid ibn Muhammad, Abū Nasr al-'Azīz Ahmad Amalric (King Mārī; al-Malik Mārī), Amalric I of Jerusalem (reg. 558-569 /1162-1174) 14.49.2; 14.49.3 al-A'mash see Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī Amasis, Egyptian pharaoh 4.3.4.2 Amat al-'Azīz, favourite slave of al-Hādī, to whom she bore eight children 8.10.3 Ambracis, maidservant of Aristotle 4.6.6.2 Amenophis, mythical Greek king 2.2 al-'Amīd, vizier 8.5.4 al-'Amīdī, Rukn al-Dīn Abū Hāmid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Samarqandī, Hanafī jurist at Bukhārā (d. 615/1218) 10.83.2 al-Āmidī, Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Abī 'Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Sālim al-Taghlibī al-Āmidī, theologian and philosopher (d. 631/1233) 10.22.3; 14.23.1; 15.1.1.1; 15.22; 15.50.5 al-Amīn, Muḥammad, caliph (reg. 193-198/809–13) 8.3.5; 8.3.7n; 8.3.14n; 8.3.17; 8.15.1n; 8.20.4n; 8.25.2n; 8.27.4n; 12.5n Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Fath ibn Abī l-Najm, Christian Physician 15.27

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- 'Ammār Dhū Kubār (*recte* Kināz), early 2nd/8th-c. poet 7.1.6n
- 'Ammār ibn 'Alī al-Mawṣilī, oculist under al-Ḥākim 14.17

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'Amr ibn Muḥammad al-Nāqid, transmitter 10.2.2.1

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 - Treatises specified: 9.13n; 9.37n; 14.21 no. 5 (doubts about *On Vision*); 14.22.4.1; 14.22.5.1 nos. 1, 16, 17 (various paraphrases); 14.30; 15.1.5 nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 41, 43, 72, 74, 78, 81, 87, 97, 98, 102, 104, 108, 109; 15.40.9 nos. 40, 41; 15.51.1
 - Cited in poetry: 8.30; 11.19; 13.58; 15.17; AII.1(p)
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- Arius, nicknamed 'the Critic', physician of antiquity 4.1.11.2
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al-Azraq, secretary of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq 8.29.6

Bābak, head of the Persian Khurramī religious and social movement, rebel against caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taşim
 (d. 223/838) 8.11; 8.20.111

al-Badīʿ ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khiḍr al-ʿĀmirī, Abū l-Qāsim, poet of unknown date 15.23.4.2

Badī^c al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ Manşūr ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Dā'im al-Wāsiţī, known as Ibn Sawād al-'Ayn, transmitter 10.68.2.1; 10.68.2.2; 10.68.2.3

al-Badī^c (*or* Badī^c al-Zamān) al-Asţurlābī, Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad, physician and poet (d. 534/1139) 10.64.2n, 10.67; 10.68.2.4; 10.68.4

Badī^c al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008), originator of the genre of *maqāmah* 10.67

al-Badīhī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, 4th/10th-c. poet 11.7

Badr al-Dīn Abū l-ʿIzz Yūsuf ibn Makkī, known as Ibn al-Sinjārī 10.66.8; 10.81.3

- Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Baʿlabakk, physician, transmitter 15.37.1, 15.50.6; **15.52**
- Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' (Badr al-Dīn Abū l-Fadā'il al-Malik al-Raḥīm), freedman who became regent of Mosul in 607/1210–1211 (d. 657/1259) 10.81.2; 10.83.3

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahrām al-Samarqandī *see* al-Samarqandī, Badr al-Dīn

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Bahā' al-Dawlah see Manşūr ibn Dubays

Bahā' al-Dīn 11.19.7 no. 22

^{&#}x27;Azūr ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baladī al-Yahūdī 10.46.4 no. 14

Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Sāʿātī, poet, brother of physician Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān 15.29

Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Thanā' Maḥmūd ibn Abī
 l-Faḍl Manşūr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl
 al-Ṭabarī al-Makhzūmī, judge and physician – 15.39 (601/1204–1205)

Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1234– 1235), military judge and biographer of Şalāḥ al-Dīn 15.40.3

Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Nafādah? = *adīb* and poet Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Nafādah

Bahlawān, House of, Ildegizid *or* Eldigüzid dynasty in Azerbaijan 11.21

Bahmanyār (Abū l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān), pupil of Ibn Sīnā (d. 456/1067) 11.13.8 no. 41; 15.40.3

Bahrām Gūr (Bahrām V) (*reg.* 420–438), fifteenth Sasanid king of Persia 11.1

al-Bājī see 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maslamah

Bajkam, Abū l-Ḥasan (*recte* Abū l-Ḥusayn), military commander (d. 319/941) 10.4.8; 10.4.9 no. 4; 10.5.4

Bākahr, an otherwise unrecorded Indian physician and scholar 12.2

Bakhtiyār see 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār

al-Bakrī, Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī

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Baldwin, Prince, son of Amalric, Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, leprous (*reg.* 1174–1183) 14.49.3

Baldwin v of Jerusalem, son of Baldwin IV 14.49.3n

al-Bālisī, physician during Ikshidid dynasty (active 355/966) 14.8

Balīțīyān see Politianus

al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl see Abū Zayd al-Balkhī

Balmuzaffar ibn Mu'arrif *see* Bulmuzaffar ibn Mu'arrif

al-Bandahī, unidentified singer 15.23.4.2(p)

Bānū, a sister of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.25.6

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Banū Awd, tribe of Zaynab 7.10

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- Hishām I al-Riḍā, emir of al-Andalus in 172– 180/788–796 13.24.1
- Hishām 11 al-Mu'ayyad bi-Allāh, caliph in al-Andalus in 365–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013 13.19.3; 13.31; 13.34.1; 13.36.1; 13.36.3 nos. 1, 3
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- Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh ibn Ilghāzī ibn Artuq see Timurtāsh ibn Ilghāzī
- al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh, grandfather of Abū ʿAlī al-Qiyānī 8.20.12
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- al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm, a source for the historian Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī 8.26.17
- Husayn ibn Kharmīn, known as Ibn Kharmīl, ruler of Herat 11.19.3
- al-Ḥusayn al-Khādim, eunuch serving al-Maʾmūn 8.24
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Ibn 'Anāyā al-Isrā'īlī see Bishr ibn Bīshī

Ibn al-Anbārī, Sadīd al-Dawlah Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm, *kātib al-inshā*ʾ in Baghdad chancery (d. 558/1162– 1163) 10.68.2.2 Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥyī l-Dīn (d. 638/1240), Andalusī mystic and poet 13.62.2.2; 13.63.8.1

- Ibn 'Asākir, author of *Ta'rīkh Dimashq* (d. 571/1176) 15.49.6
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Ibn al-Baladī, Sharaf al-Dīn, vizier under al-Mustanjid 10.63.2

Ibn Baqiyyah, Abū Ṭāhir [Muḥammad], vizier of 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār (d. 367/978) 10.8.2

- Ibn al-Barakhshī, Abū Ṭāhir Muwaffaq al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās, physician and littérateur from Wāsiṭ (d. after 560/1165) 10.62
- Ibn Barhān, Abū l-Fatḥ Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, grammarian and jurist (d. 520//1126) 15.40.2
- Ibn Barrī, grammarian 15.40.9 no. 26
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Ibn al-Bawwāb, famous calligrapher (d. 413/1022) 15.57.1

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- Ibn al-Biṭrīq, translator of Greek into Arabic under al-Ma'mūn 4.5.4n; 8.29.5; **9.32**
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- Ibn Buţlān, al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdūn, Christian physician (d. 458/1066) 4.1.10.2n; 6.1.1; 8.3.23n; 8.6; 8.26.16; 8.30.5; 10.8.2; 10.13.2; 10.13.4; 10.23.2; 10.36; 10.37.4; 10.38; 10.69.3.1; 14.25.1n; 14.25.3 (quoted); 14.25.5; 14.25.9 nos. 22n, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 102; 15.23.5n
- Ibn al-Dahhān, Fakhr al-Dīn (also Abū Shujāʿ), Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, astronomer (d. 590/1194) 10.66.4; 15.24
- Ibn al-Dahhān *see also* Wajīh al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī Ibn Dahn (*or* Ibn Dhan) the Indian, trans-

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- Ibn al-Dakhwār, 'Alī, see Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230)
- Ibn al-Darrī, Yūsuf ibn Durrah, poet (d. 545/1151) 10.64.19.11n

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- Ibn al-Dāyah, Abū l-Ḥasan Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāsib, courtier and assistant to Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, author of *Akhbār al-atibbā*'
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- Ibn al-Dayjūr, Egyptian teacher of music 15.51.1
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- Ibn Duminj [Domingo?], Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Khamīs ibn ʿĀmir **13.11**
- Ibn Durayd, grammarian (d. 321/933) 7.1.6n; 8.3.16n
- Ibn Durustawayh ibn al-Marzubān al-Fasawī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, grammarian (d. 347/958) 15.40.2
- Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umarī, encyclopaedist (d. 749/1349) 4.4.4n; 7.1.6n; 7.8.1n; 7.10n; 8.3.23n; 8.30.5n
- Ibn Faḍlān (Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qasim Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Hibat Allāh al-'Allāmah al-

of Shāfi'ī law in Baghdad 15.40.2 Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī (d. 395/1004), philologist 15.50.5 Ibn Fasānjas [or Fasānajis], Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās, unidentified 11th-c. critic of astrologers and enemy of Ibn al-Haytham 14.22.4.3 nos. 13, 14 Ibn Fatḥ Țamlūn, Muḥammad 13.17

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- Ibn Fātik see al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik
- Ibn al-Fawwāl see Munaḥḥim ibn al-Fawwāl'
- Ibn al-Furāt, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 312/924), vizier to al-Muqtadir 10.5.2
- Ibn Ghalindū see Abū l-Ḥakam ibn Ghalindū
- Ibn al-Ghazāl see Abū Jaʿfar ibn al-Ghazāl
- Ibn Habal (or Hubal), Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Baghdādī, also known as al-Khilāṭī 10.66.8; 10.81
- Ibn Habal (or Hubal), Shams al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, physician (b. 548/1153) 10.82
- Ibn al-Habbāriyyah, al-Sharīf Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, poet (d. 504/110– 1111 *or* 509/1116) 10.64.17.2, 10.64.19.2n; 10.65.2; 10.68.2.4n 15.8.7n
- Ibn Ḥafṣūn see Aḥmad ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥafṣūn
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- Ibn al-Ḥallā' al-Mursī, Andalusian physician 13.83
- Ibn Ḥamawayh, Abū l-Fāḍl Muḥammad, judge 11.18 no. 1
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Ibn Ḥamdān, surgeon at the al-Nūrī hospital in Damascus 15.23.4.2

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- Ibn Hamdūn al-Nadīm (Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Hamdūn), littérateur and companion of caliphs al-Maʾmūn, al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Mutawakkil (d. 264/877– 878) 8.4; 8.26.16
- Ibn Hāmid ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naşr al-'Azīz Aḥmad, nicknamed Āluh or Aluh, mustawfī ('accountant–general') under the Seljuq Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh (d. 525/1131) 10.64.19.19
- Ibn Hammūyah see Ibn Hamawayh
- Ibn Hāni' al-Andalusī, poet (d. ca. 362/973) 10.51; AII.4
- Ibn Hawqal, 4th/10th-c. geographer 4.6.3.3n Ibn al-Haytham, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-
 - Hasan ibn al-Haytham, mathematician, writer on optics (d. 430/1039) 10.38.4; 12.11; **14.22**; 14.23.1; 14.25.9 nos. 45n, 63; 15.40.9 no. 158
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- Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Andalusī polymath 13.59.2.1; 13.86.1
- Ibn Hibbān, traditionist 7.5.6n
- Ibn Hindū, Abū l-Faraj 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, poet and physician author of *K. Miftāh*
 - *al-tibb* (d. 420/1029) 6.4 (discussion of Alexandrian curriculum); 10.64.19.4n; 10.64.19.7n; 11.8.5; **11.9**
- Ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik, author of a biography of Muḥammad 7.2.3n
- Ibn Hubal see Ibn Habal
- Ibn Hubayrah, Abū l-Muẓaffar 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad, Ḥanbalī scholar, vizier to caliphs al-Muqtafī and al-Mustanjid (d. 560/1165) 10.63.2, 10.68.2.5
- Ibn Hubayrah, 'Izz al-Dīn, vizier, patronized by Saladin (d. 560/1165) 15.40.3; 10.68.2.3n
- Ibn Humayd, transmitter 7.2.3
- Ibn al-'Ibrī see Bar Hebraeus

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Ibn Isḥāq, vizier of the Umayyad emirs in Cordova 13.20

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Ibn Jahwar, Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik, vizier under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III 13.21.2.1

Ibn Jakkīnā (Jakīnā, Hakīnā), al-Hasan b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad, 6th/12th-c. poet 10.64.17.3; 10.64.19.6n; 10.67.4.1n; 10.67.4.3n

Ibn al-Jammālah, copyist of Ibn al-Muṭrān 15.23.4; 15.23.4.1

- Ibn Jamī' see Ibn Jumay'
- Ibn Janāh see Marwān ibn Janāh
- Ibn al-Jarrāḥ see Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Jarrāḥ ibn Dāwūd and see Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Īsā ibn Dā'ūd and see 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ see al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad ibn al-Jarrāḥ and see 'Īsā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ
- Ibn Jazlah, Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī, 5th/11th-c. physician 10.59; 14.58.4 no. 1n
- Ibn al-Jazzār, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Khālid, 4th/10th-c. physician 4.1.10.2n; 13.2.2.1; **13.3**; 13.25; 13.35 no. 2

Ibn Jinnī, Abū l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān al-Mawṣilī, grammarian (d. 392/1002) 15.40.9 no. 25

Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), Andalusī traveller and writer 13.74

- Ibn Juljul, Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Hassān al-Andalusī, physician, author of *Tabaqāt* al-aţibbā' wa-l-hukamā' (d. after 384/954)
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- Ibn Jumay^c or Ibn Jamī^c, Al-Shaykh al-Muwaffaq Shams al-Riyāsah Abū l-'Ashā'ir Hibat Allāh ibn Zayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Ifrā'īm ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ismā'īl ibn Jumay^c al-Isrā'īlī, Jewish physician 13.61.2.1;

14.32; 14.36.3; 14.43.2; 15.40.9 no. 87 Ibn al-Jundī, al-Qāḍī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad

ibn Hārūn al-Ghassānī, transmitter Ibn al-Khayyāt, Abū Bakr Yahyā ibn Ahmad, 10.81.3 Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām, 2nd/8th-c. historian 7.9.4n; 7.10n; 8.26.13n Ibn al-Karīm see Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Kātib al-Baghdādī ibn al-Karīm Ibn Karnīb (or Kurnayb), Abū Ahmad al-Husayn ibn Abī al-Husayn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd 10.3.14 no. 27; 10.19; 10.21 Ibn Kashkarāyā see Abū l-Husayn Ibn al-Kattānī (or al-Kitānī), prefect of Damascus in time of al-Yabrūdī 15.3.1.6 Ibn al-Kattānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn, Andalusian physician (d. ca. 420/1029) 13.29 Ibn al-Kattānī Abū l-Walīd Muhammad ibn al-Husayn, Andalusian physician 13.28; 13.29.1 Ibn Kazūrā 10.23.2 Ibn al-Khadir al-Halabī, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm, known as al-Sutayl, poet (d. 655/1257) 10.64.19.1; 10.67.2; 10.67.4.2; 10.76.3; 10.67.4.1; 10.67.3; 45.3; 15.50.6 Ibn Khaldūn, historian (d. 808/1406) 8.3.22n Ibn Khaldūn al-Hadramī, Abū Muslim 'Umar ibn Ahmad (d. 449/1057) 13.5.1; 13.10 Ibn Khallikān, biographer (d. 681/1282) 8.3.16n; 8.29.11n; 8.30.5n; AII.8.1; AII.10 Ibn al-Khammār, Abū l-Khayr al-Hasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā ibn Bihrām (Bihnām), teacher of Ibn al-Țayyib and Ibn Hindū 6.4; 10.37.4; 11.5.20; 11.8; 11.9.1 Ibn Khanbash al-Yūnānī, Ibrāhīm (name occurs also as Ibn Hanbash, Ibn al-Habashī, Ibn Hubaysh), commander of the Fatimid army 13.2.2.1 Ibn Kharūf, 'Alī ibn Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Kharūf, poet, grammarian (d. ca. 609/1212) 15.50.6 Ibn al-Khashshāb, Abū Muhammad (or Abū Ahmad) 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Baghdādī, grammarian (d. 567/1172) 11.21; 15.40.2; 15.40.9 no. 26;

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- Ibn Mar'ah also known as Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Abī l-Futūḥ al-Baghdādī 15.52.2n
- Ibn al-Māristāniyyah, Abū Bakr 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī l-Faraj 'Alī ibn Naşr ibn Hamzah, physician (d. 599/1203) 10.79
- Ibn Masarrah, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, Esotericist (Bāṭinī) philosopher from Cordoba (d. 319/931) 4.2
- Ibn Māsawayh see Mīkhā'īl ibn Māsawayh and Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh
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- Ibn Miknasah al-Iskandarī, poet 15.58.3n
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- Ibn al-Minfākh see Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh
- Ibn Mu'ahhal (?Mūhal), poet (?= 'Ibn Mūhad al-Shāțibī') 13.68n
- Ibn al-Muʻallim al-Hurthī, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī, poet from Wāsiţ (501–1108/592–1196) 10.62.3
- lbn al-Mu'ammil, Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣā'id ibn Hibat Allāh, physician (d. 591/1195) 10.78
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- Ibn al-Mudabbir, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, known as *al-Kātib*, high official under

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Ibn Muhājir, founder of law-college in Mosul 15.40.3

- Ibn Mulsāqah, Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Hishām al-Ḥajarī, known as Ibn Mulsāqah, copyist in Fatimid Egypt 14.26.1
- Ibn Mulūkah al-Naṣrānī 13.15
- Ibn al-Munajjim, Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, Abbasid littérateur (d. 300/912) 10.3.11
- Ibn al-Munajjim, Abū 'Īsā 10.44.2
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- Ibn Munqidh, 'Aḍud al-Dīn (*or* 'Aḍud al-Dawlah) Abū l-Fawāris Murhaf ibn Usāmah (d. 613/1216), poet, son of Usāmah ibn Munqidh 14.51
- Ibn Munqidh, Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah Abū l-Muzaffar Usāmah *see* Usāmah ibn Munqidh
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- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh, translator of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* (d. ca. 137/755) 11.2; 4.6.111
- Ibn Muqashshir Abū l-Fatḥ Manṣūr ibn Sahlān, Christian physician 14.15; **14.16**; 14.18; 14.20n
- Ibn Muqlah, Abbasid vizier, famous calligrapher (d. 328/940) 10.5.3; 10.5.4; 14.29.3n
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- Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 'Abd Allāh, Abbasid prince and poet (d. 296/908) 8.3.19n; 13.63.8.2n
- Ibn al-Muṭrān, Muwaffaq al-Dīn, Abū Naṣr Asʿad ibn Ilyās, personal physician of Saladin, teacher of al-Dakhwār, author of *Bustān al-ațibbā' wa-rawḍat al-alibbā'*

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- Ibn Nafādah see Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Nafādah
- Ibn Nafīs, Abū l-Ḥasan see Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Nafīs
- Ibn al-Nafīs, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Abī l-Ḥazm al-Qurashī (or al-Qarashī) (d. 687/1288), physician AI
- Ibn al-Naḥḥās, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Abū l-Qāsim ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Kātib, poet 15.49.6.2
- Ibn Nā'imah ('Abd al-Masīh ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Himşī al-Nā'imī), translator of Greek philosophy 9.13; 9.37n
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- Ibn al-Naqqāsh, see Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh
- Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb, orator and preacher, author of *al-Khuṭab al-nubātiyyah* (d. 374/984–985) 15.40.9 no. 15
- Ibn al-Qabīdī, Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Wafā' ibn Aḥmad al-'Umarī (active 610/1213), poet 10.68.2.4n
- Ibn Qablāl see Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qablāl
- Ibn Qāḍī l-Yaman, Sharaf al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Kātib, poet (b. 589/1193) 15.49.6.2
- Ibn Qamāniș al-Hindī, unidentified Indian king 12.3 no. 4
- Ibn al-Qāsim, son of Abū Dulaf and taxcollector under al-Muʿtaṣim 8.20.11

- Ibn Qaţramīz see Abū Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī
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- Ibn Qawsayn (Qūsīn), physician in Mosul 10.49
- Ibn al-Qaysarānī, Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn Dāghir, poet (d. 548/1154) 10.67.4.2
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, writer on law and theology (d. 751/1350) 7.9.2n
- Ibn al-Qiftī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī, vizier and biographer author of *Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā*' commonly referred to as *Tārīkh al*
 - hukamā' (d. 646/1248) 4.1.5n; 4.1.9.1n;
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- Ibn al-Quff, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʻqūb ibn Ishāq, Christian physician (d. 685/1286) 10.3; 10.37.3; **15.60**
- Ibn Qusaym, unidentified 15.47.2.2(p)
- Ibn Qūsīn see Ibn Qawsayn
- Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, Islamic polymath (213–276/828–89) 7.1.6n; 8.29.22n; 10.1.10; 15.40.2; 15.40.9 no. 1
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- Ibn Raqīqah, Abū l-Thanā' Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shujā' al-Shaybānī al-Ḥanawī, Sadīd al-Dīn, physician author of K. Mūdiḥat al-ishtibāh fī adwiyat al-bāh
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- al-Īlāqī, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf *or* Sharaf al-Zamān Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Īlāqī of Bākharz in Persia, student of Ibn Sīnā 11.14; 15.30
- Ilghāzī ibn Artuq, Najm al-Dīn, Artuqid ruler (*reg.* 507–516/1115–1122) 10.75.1
- Iliyyā' al-Qass, 5th/11th-c. Christian priest 10.59.1; 10.59.2 no. 5
- 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Qarā Arslān ibn Dāwūd ibn Artuq, 12th-c. Artuqid ruler of Kharpūt (Harpūt) 15,18,3 no. 2
- 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī, physician and literary scholar 15.58
- 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī see al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī
- 'Imād al-Dīn al-Salmāsī 15.22
- 'Imrān (Amram), father of Moses in Ex. 6:20 and the father of Maryam/Mary in Qur'an 11.13.7.7
- 'Imrān ibn Abī 'Amr 13.16; 13.17
- 'Imrān al-Isrā'īlī, Awḥad al-Dīn ibn Şadaqah, Jewish physician student of Radī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (d. 637/1240) 15.23.4.1; 15.36.1.1; 15.42
- 'Imrān the Short (al-Qaṣīr), transmitter 10.2.2.1
- Imru' al-Qays, a Bedouin (not the homonymous poet) 10.69.3.2n; 15.25
- Iqbāl al-Dawlah 'Alī al-'Āmirī (*reg.* 436– 468/1044–1076), petty king of Denia 13.48
- al-Irbilī, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan [= al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad] al-Ghanawī al-Darīr, poet (d. 660/1262) 14.48; 15.21
- 'Īsā, expert in jurisprudence, brother of Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Dāyah 14.49.2; 14.49.3
- 'Īsā, a boy, subject of an epigram 15.58.7 'Īsā, Jesus son of Mary 15.23.4.2(p);
 - 15.58.7(p); see also al-Masīh
- 'Īsā 'the Muslim', early 3rd/9th-c. physician 8.15.1
- 'Īsā, known as Abū Quraysh, apothecary and personal physician to al-Mahdī 8.2; 8.8
- 'Īsā ibn Abī Khālid, early 3rd/9th-c. physician, a contemporary of Sahl al-Kawsaj 8.15.1

'Īsā ibn 'Alī, uncle of al-Mansūr 8.3.10 'Īsā ibn 'Alī, student of Hunayn ibn Ishāq, physician to al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh 8.3.10n; 8.34 'Īsā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāh, Abū l-Qāsim, poet (d. 391/1001) 10.22; 14.22.4.4n 'Īsā ibn al-Bițrīq, Christian physician, brother of Saʿīd ibn al-Bitrīg 14.11; 14.12 'Īsā ibn Hakam al-Dimashqī, known as Masīh 7.6; 7.8; 8.3.10n; 8.3.22n; 8.15.1 'Īsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nūh ibn Abī Nūh, scribe of al-Fath ibn Khāgān 8.26.9 'Īsā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur'ah, Abū 'Alī 10:23; 14.25.9 'Īsā ibn Ja'far ibn al-Mansūr, cousin of Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.3.22; 8.8.5 'Īsā ibn Māhān, guard commander under al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.3 'Īsā ibn Māsarjīs (or Māsarjawayh), physician and translator 9.9 'Īsā ibn Māssah al-Başrī, medical writer (d. ca. 275/888) 8.3.8; 8.4.10; 8.8.1; 8.12.2; 8.20.2; 8.23.1; 8.25.2; 8.26.2; 8.28 'Īsā ibn Mūsā, known as al-Jurjānī, son of al-Hādī 8.10.3 'Īsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muhammad, nephew of al-Saffāh and al-Mansūr 8.18.1 'Īsā ibn Qustantīn (known as Abū Mūsā), late-antique physician 6.5.2 'Īsā ibn Şahārbukht, Christian physician, student of Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū^c 8.29.22 no. 16; 8.37; 9.26 'Īsā ibn Shahlā, student of Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl, personal physician to al-Manşūr 8.1.1; 8.1.2 'Īsā ibn Usayd al-Naṣrānī, Abū Mūsā, student of Thābit ibn Qurrah 10.3.12; 10.3.14 nos. 27, 85 'Īsā ibn Yahyā ibn Ibrāhīm, pupil of Hunayn ibn Ishāq 5.1.37 no. 115; 8.35; 9.5 'Īsā ibn Yūnus 'the secretary and accountant' (al-kātib al-hāsib), patron of translators 9.44 'Īsā the physician of al-Qāhir bi-Allāh, 10.26 'Īsā al-Raqqī see al-Raqqī al-Tiflīsī al-Isfahānī, Abū l-Faraj see Abū l-Faraj 'Alī ibn al-Husayn

Ishāq ibn 'Alī, brother of Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī 8.14 Ishāq ibn 'Alī al-Ruhāwī, 3rd/9th-c. physician, author of *Adab al-tabīb* 8.3.8:8.4.10:

8.8.1; 8.12.1; 8.12.2; 8.20.2; 8.23.1; 8.25.2; 8.26.2; 8.28n; 10.57

Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, translator of Greek philosophy, author of *Taʾrīkh al-aṭibbā*ʾ (d.

ca. 298/910–911) 1.11; 4.1.10.41; 4.1.10.51;
4.1.11.11; 4.4.3; 4.5.2; 4.5.41; 4.6.3.5;
5.1.3–4 (Galen's dates); 5.1.12.1 (defective chronology); 8.20.3; 8.29.8;
8.29.221; 8.30; 8.311; 9.3; 9.4; 9.441;
10.24 no. 2

Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, secretary to Ibn Ṭūlūn 14.4.1

Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, musician (d. 235/850) 15.40n

Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, known as Bayḍ al-baghl, associate of Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm (Ibn al-Dāyah) 8.26.5

Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nasṭās (Abū Ya'qūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nasṭās ibn Jurayj), Christian physician in service of al-Ḥākim 14.7; 14.16

Isḥāq ibn 'Imrān, physician at the court of Ziyādat Allāh ibn al-Aghlab 13.1; 13.2.1; 14.4.1n

Isḥāq ibn al-Khaṣīy, friend of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq 8.29.2; 8.29.3

Isḥāq ibn Mūsā, physician (d. 363/973) and son of Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀzār

Isḥāq ibn Mūsā, Abbasid prince, son of the caliph al-Hādī and his favourite concubine, Amat al-ʿAzīz 8.10.3

Isḥāq ibn Qasṭār, Andalusian physician 13.48

Ishāq ibn al-Şabbāh, governor of Kufa under al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, and father of al-Kindī 10.1.2

Isḥāq ibn Shahrām, ambassador to Basil II (*reg.* 976–1025) 8.29.6

Ishāq ibn Shalītā, physician of al-Mutīʻli-Allāh 10.28

Ishāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī, governor under Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn 12.2 no. 6n; 12.5

Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī, medical writer

(d. 320/932 or 344/955) **13.2**; 13.3.1; 15.40.9 nos. 54, 55, 56 Ishāq ibn Yūnus, student of Ibn al-Samh 14.22.5.2 no. 91; 14.24 Ishāq al-Ṭabīb, physician in Cordova (active 287/900) 13.20 Isidore of Seville, encyclopaedist author of Etymologies (d. 636) 5.1.15 al-Iskāfī see Abū Thughrah al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī see Alexander of Aphrodisias Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht, son of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht 8.9 Ismāʿīl ibn Bulbul, Abū l-Ṣaqr, vizier of al-Mu'tamid (d. 278/892) 8.26.16; 10.3.6; 10.3.14 no. 113 Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar, brother of al-Muʿtazz 8.23.1 Ismā'īl ibn Mūsā, physician son of Mūsā ibn al-'Āzār al-Isra'īlī 10.9; 14.9 Ismāʿīl ibn Mūsā, son of al-Hādī 8.8.4; 8.10.3 Ismāʿīl ibn al-Ṣālih ibn al-Bannā' al-Qifţī, jurist 15.23.2.1 Ismāʿīl al-Zāhid (the Ascetic), Hanafī scholar of Bukhara (d. 402/1012) 11.13.2.3 Ismā'īl al-Zāfir ibn Dhī l-Nūn, emir of the tā'ifah of Toledo 13.38.1; 13.38.2 Isrā'īl the bishop (unidentified) 15.1.2 Isrā'īl ibn Sahl, early 3rd/9th-c. physician 8.17 Isrā'īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī, Christian personal physician of al-Mutawakkil 8.12; 8.26.12; 9.49 Ișțifan ibn Basīl, translator (d. ca. 298/910) 4.1.11.1n; 8.29.9; 9.19; 13.36.2.1 Ītākh (or Aytākh), Turkish general 8.20.5n 'Izz al-Dawlah, brother of Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Ibn al-Şūfī 15.8.6 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār, Būyid Emir (d. 366-367/977) 10.8.2; 10.29; 10.30 'Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Khidr ibn Abī l-Ghālib Nasr al-Azdī al-Himsī 10.75.4 no. 1 'Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh (or 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mu'azzamī or 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzamī), Ayyubid governor of Şarkhad 15.23.3; 15.37.4; 15.46.3; 15.48; 15.49.1; 15.51.2

'Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhān Shāh ibn Avyūb, Avyubid governor of Baalbek 15.51.2 'Izz al-Dīn al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Ghanawī al-Rāfidī al-Irbilī al-Darīr (d. 660/1262), poet, philosopher, teacher of Ibn al-Quff 14.48.3; 15.21; 15.60.1 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī see Ibn al-al-Suwaydī al-Jabbān see Abū Mansūr al-Jabbān Jabhar, otherwise unknown Indian physician and scholar 12.2 Jābir ibn Hayyān, Abū Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī (Geber), alchemist (d. ca. 200/810) 1.2n; 11.5.25 no. 176; 15.40.3 Jābir ibn Mansūr see al-Sukkarī, Jābir ibn Mansūr Jabrā'īl (Archangel) see Gabriel Jacob see Ya'qūb Jacob Baradaeus, 6th-c. bishop of Edessa 6.1.2 Jacobites (al-Ya'qūbivvah) 6.1.2; 6.1.3; 10.22.1.2, 14.1; 15.3.1 Ja'dah bint al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, conspirator under Muʿāwiyah 7.5.6 Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Şaqlabī, chamberlain of al-Hakam II 13.30 Ja'far ibn Kilāb, Arab tribe 15.8.4(p); 15.8.5(p); 15.8.6(p) Ja'far ibn Muhammad, last Imam recognized by both Twelver and Ismaili Shi'is (d. 148/765) 15.51.7 Ja'far ibn Mūsā, son of al-Hādī 8.10.3; 8.15.1n Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak, vizier and sponsor of Indian science (d. 187/803) 8.3.2; 8.3.16; 8.3.22; 8.10.3n; 8.15.1n; 8.20.4n; 12.6 Ja'far, al-Khalīfah unidentified 11.13.7.9 al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr, author of works of adab, theology, etc. (d. 255/868-869) 4.5.1n; 7.2.3n; 7.6n; 8.26.16; 11.5.25 nos. 40, 41; 11.16 no. 1.30; 13.63.8.2n; 15.40.9 no. 50; AII.2.2 Jahzah, Ahmad ibn Jaʿfar al-Barmakī,

courtier, man of letters, poet (d. 324/936) 8.30.5n; 10.1.13

al-Jahshiyārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 4th/10th-c. man of letters, historian 8.3.16n Jalāl al-Dīn Abū l-Fath Muhammad ibn Nubātah, al-Sāhib, unidentified high official 15.46.3.9 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, al-Qādī, pupil of Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus 10.83.3 Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Ṣadaqah, al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, vizier under al-Mustarshid 10.68.2.5n Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, (reg. 617-628/1220-1231) last ruler of the Khwārazm-shāhs 11.13 Iālīnūs see Galen al-Jamāl (Jamāl al-Dīn), unidentified subject of a love epigram by al-Dunaysirī 15.58.4 Jamāl al-Dawlah Abū l-Ghanā'im 15.8.5 Jamāl al-Dīn (Ibn al-Jammālah), copyist serving Ibn al-Muțrān 15.23.4; 15.23.4.1 Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Latīf, notable from Baghdad 15.40.3 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarastānī, judge 15.53; 15.50.6 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Hawāfir see Ibn Abī l-Hawāfir Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad al-Āmidī, son of Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Abī 'Alī al-Āmidī 15.22 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Naggāsh al-Si'irdī see al-Si'irdī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh Jamāl al-Dīn 'Uthmān (d. 658/1258)), physician brother of Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Rahbī 15.37.3 Jamāl al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Ahmad, grandson of physician Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Hawāfir 14.44.1n Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Maṭrūḥ see Ibn Matrūh Jamīl ibn Ma'mar, poet-lover (d. 82/701) 14.32.4(p) Janān, slave-girl loved by Abū Nuwās 8.19.3 al-Jānis (Jābis, Hābis?), unidentified author of a book on leadership (?) 14.25.9 no. 97 al-Jannābī al-Qarmaţī, Abū Ţāhir Sulaymān, leader of Qarmatians (d. 332/943-944) 11.13 Jarak see Caraka Jārī, otherwise unknown Indian physician and scholar 12.2

Jarīr al-Ṭabīb 11.5.25 no. 75

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al-Jarīrī, Muʿāfā ibn Zakariyyā, littérateur
(d. 390/1000) 7.1.6n
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Jarjah ibn Zakariyyā, 3rd/9th-c. Nubian chieftain 8.26.10

- al-Jawād, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 574/1178), vizier under the Zangids 10/.81.6 no. 2
- Jawād al-Ṭabīb al-Naṣrānī (the Christian Physician) (3rd/9th c.) **13.13**; 13.18
- al-Jawālīqī, Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khiḍr (d. 539/1144), lexicographer and traditionalist 15.46.2
- Jawdar (*or* Jawdhar), otherwise unrecorded Indian scholar **12.4**
- al-Jawharī, Abū Naṣr Ismā'īl ibn Ḥammād (d. 393/1002 *or* 398/1007), 10th-c. lexicographer 7.1.1; 7.2.4n; 14.32.2; 15.50.5
- al-Jawharī, al-ʿAbbās ibn Saʿīd, astronomer under al-Maʾmūn 12.3 no. 1

Jawzah, servant of Khwand Khātūn, wife of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān 15.23.2

al-Jazūlī, Abū Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. between 606/1209 and 616/1219), grammarian 13.64.2.1

Jesus see 'Īsā and al-Masīķ

Jibrīl (Archangel) see Gabriel

Jibrīl 'the oculist', oculist to al-Ma'mūn 8.24

- Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', Christian physician serving Hārūn al-Rashīd 5.1.16; 5.1.37.
- no. 115; **8.3**; 9.35; 9.49; 10.27; 11.5.6; 12.6
- Jibrīl ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū' 8.5 al-Jīlī, Rafī' al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz see Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī
- al-Jilyānī, Ḥakīm al-Zamān Abū l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥassān al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī,

physician, ophthalmologist, and poet

- (d. 600/1203–1204) 15.11; AII13; AII.14
- Jinn (jinnees, demons) 10.38.3; 10.67.4.2(p); 10.69.3.12(p); 10.69.3.13n; 11.13.7.8(p); 11.19.6.2n; 15.15 no. 57; 15.10(p); 15.56.1n; 15.57.2(p)
- Jirāb al-Dawlah, musician and wit under al-Muqtadir 8.26.16
- Jirjis, 5th/11th-c. Christian physician in Cairo 14.27.3
- Jirjis al-Faylasūf, unidentified lampoonist 14.27
- Job of Edessa (Iyob of Edessa) *see* Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī al-Abrash
- Joseph ibn Shim'on, student of Maimonides 14.39.2n
- John, mid 5th-c. Patriarch of Antioch 6.1.3 John the Baptist 5.1.8.1
- John the Grammarian/Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, conflation of John Philoponus (ca. 490– 575) and one or more unidentified late-antique medical writers, alleged con
 - temporary of 'Amr ibn al-'Āş 2.1.5; 3.2; 4.1.11.11; 4.1.11.3; 5.1.3; 5.1.4; 5.1.12.1; 6.1.1; 6.1.2; 6.1.3; 6.2; 14.22.4.3 no. 11; 15.1.5 no. 43
- John Philoponus, Neoplatonist Christian philosopher (ca. 490–575) 6.1.11; 6.1.21; 6.1.3 (imaginary biography)
- Joseph see Yūsuf
- Joseph ben Judah, see Yūsuf al-Isrā'īlī
- Jubal son of Lamech son of Methuselah
 - (Yūfāl ibn Lāmakh ibn Matūshālakh) 1.5
- al-Jubbā'ī see Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī
- Julian the Apostate 14.25.2n
- Julius Gaius Caesar, Roman general and dictator 5.1.8.1
- al-Jumaḥī see Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī
- al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad, celebrated Sufi (d. 298/910) 15.51.7; 15.51.10.1(p)
- Jurayj ibn al-Ṭabbākh, unidentified physician 14.4.4
- Jurhum, pre-Islamic Arabian people 14.32.4(p)
- al-Jurjānī, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 482/1089), author of *al-Kināyāt* 10.3.8

- Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl, first of the Christian Bukhtīshū' family of physicians 5.1.16.5; 8.1; 9.1; 9.26n
- Jūrjis ibn Mīkhā'īl 8.3.16; 8.15.1; 8.15.2
- al-Juwaynī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Juwaynī al-Kātib, known as Ibn al-Lu'aybah, poet (d. in Cairo 586/1190) 14.31, 14.31.8 al Jūgiānī sea Abī 'Libayd al Jūgiānī
- al-Jūzjānī see Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī
- Kaʻb ibn Zuhayr, 1st/7th-c. poet 14.31.8n; 15.40.9 no. 9
- Kadbānuwayh (Persian for Lady of the House), patron of Ibn Sīnā 11.13.3.3
- Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī, Abū-l-Misk Kāfūr, Ikhshīdid commander 14.6n; 14.8
- al-Kalbī, Hishām, historian 7.1.6n
- al-Kaldāniyyūn see Chaldaeans
- Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Turāb al-Kātib al-Baghdādī 11.5.4
- Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī, pupil of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī 15.39
- Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus, Abū 'Imrān (or Abū l-Fatḥ) Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Yūnus ibn Muḥammad al-Mawşilī, mathematician and jurist (551–639/1156–1242) 10.83; 15.40.3
- Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mīkā'īl, dedicatee of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī 11.19.7 no. 37
- al-Kanbanārī see Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Kanbanārī
- Kankah (or Kanakah) al-Hindī, Indian astrologer-astronomer (active ca. 775– 800) 12.1
- Kaṅkāyana, Indian physician 12.1n
- Karaites, Jewish sect 14.33.1; 14.41; 14.43.1
- Kasdaeans (al-Kasdāniyyūn) 1.5 see also Chaldaeans
- al-Kashkarī (or al-Kaskarī), Yaʻqūb, 4th/10thc. physician in Baghdad 11.5.6n
- al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, ʿImād al-Dīn, state secretary of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, anthologist (d. 597/1201) 15.13; 15.40
- Kawkīn, relation of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah 8.5.2 Kay Bahman, mythical Kayanian king
 - 4.1.5
- Kaykā'ūs ibn Kaykhusraw, al-Malik al-Ghālib, Seljuqid ruler of al-Rūm (Anatolia) (*reg.* 608–618/1211–1220) 10.82
- Kayqubādh ibn Kaykhusraw ibn Qilij Arslān,

ruler of Erzerum in Anatolia (reg. 588-593/1192-1197) 15.40.5 Kaysān ibn 'Uthmān ibn Kaysān, 10th-c. physician from Egypt and brother of the physician Sahlān 14.15 al-Kayyāl, Ahmad ibn Zakariyyā (active 3rd/9th c.), Ismaili missionary 11.5.25 .no. 136 al-Khabūshānī, Najm al-Dīn, theologian, supporter of Saladin 14.36.2; 14.36.3 Khafīf al-Samarqandī, servant of al-Mu'tadid 10.10.5 Khalaf ibn 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī, Andalusian physician 13.56 Khalaf ibn Khalīfah, poet (possibly Khalaf ibn Khalīfah ibn Sāʿid, d. 181/797–780) 15.37.2n Khalaf al-Tūlūnī, Abū 'Alī, Baghdadi physician (active 302/914) 14.5 Khālid, clan of the Jaʿfar ibn Kilāb 15.8.4(p) Khālid ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz see Abū 'Uthmān Khālid ibn al-Muhājir ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd, nobleman under Muʿāwiyah 7.5.3; 7.5.4; 7.5.5 Khālid ibn Şafwān ibn al-Ahtam al-Tamīmī, transmitter, noted for his eloquence (d. 135/752) 8.26.13 Khālid ibn Shahriyār, Khorasanian prince (active 141/758-759) 8.10.3 Khālid ibn al-Walīd, commander (d. 21/642) 7.5.2n Khālid ibn Yazīd see Ibn Rūmān al-Nasrānī al-Khālidivvān, the brothers Abū Bakr al-Khālidī and Abū 'Uthmān al-Khālidī known as al-Khālidiyyān, poets and men of letters (d. 380/990 and ca. 390/100) 8.26.15 al-Khalīl see Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl ibn Ahmad, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Farāhīdī al-Azdī, lexicographer, grammarian (d. 175/791) 8.29.1 al-Khansā', poetess (d. after 24/644) 10.51.3(p); 15.17(p) al-Khāqānī, Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad (d. 314/926-927), vizier under al-Muqtadir 10.5.2 Kharijites 10.2.3.1 Kharshā, slave-girl of Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.29.2

ician 8.7 al-Khasībī, Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad ibn 'Ubavd Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn al-Khasīb (d. 328/940), vizier 10.5.3 al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit (d. 463/1071), author of Tārīkh Baghdād 8.26.17; 8.30.5n al-Khatīb al-Dawlaʿī, preacher and student of law (d. 598/1202) 15.40.3 al-Khatīb al-Tibrīzī see al-Tibrīzī al-Khattābī, Hamd ibn Muhammad, traditionist (d. ca. 388/998) 15.40.3; 15.40.9 no 1 al-Khawātīmī see Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī Khayrūn ibn Rābitah, translator 9.22 Khayyām, 'Umar (Omar), Persian poet 11.19n al-Khayzurān bint 'Atā' al-Jurashiyyah, wife of al-Mahdī 8.2n; 8.8; 8.10.2 al-Khāzinī, 6th/12th-c. astronomer 4.6.13.3n Khindif, branch of North Arabian tribes 15.8.6(p) Khudhāwayh ibn Sahl, son of Sahl al-Kawsaj 8.15.2 Khunad Khātūn or Khwand Khātūn, wife of Saladin 15.23.2 al-Khūnajī, Afdal al-Dīn Abū l-Fadā'il Muhammad ibn Nāmawar, physician, teacher or IAU (d. 646/1248) 14.48 al-Khuraymī, Abu Yaʻqūb Ishāq ibn Hassān, poet (d. 214/829) 10.5n Khusraw see Kisrā Khusrawshāh ibn Mubādir, 4th/10th-c. king of Daylamites 8.5.3; 8.5.6 no. 4 al-Khusrawshāhī see Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī al-Khuwayyī see Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī Khwārazmshāh Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn (recte Muhammad), ruler of Khwārazm (d. 387/997) 11.8.6 no. 10 Khwārazm Shāh, Muhammad b. Tekish 'Alā' al-Dīn ('Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Khwārazm Shāh or Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh) (*reg.* 596–617/1200–1220) 11.19.3; 11.19.4; 11.19.5; 11.19.6; 11.19.7 nos. 4, 45; 11.24 al-Khwārazmī see Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm Shāh

Khasīb al-Nasrānī, 2nd/8th-c. Christian phys-

al-Khwārizmī, Muhammad ibn Mūsā, 4th/10th-c. encyclopedist 4.6.4.1n; 13.5.1 Kinānah, Arab tribe 15.46.2 al-Kindī, Yaʿqūb ibn Ishaq, philosopher (ca. 185–252/801–866) 1.1; 4.4.2.2n; 4.5.4n; 10.1; 10.2.1; 10.3.14 no. 27; 11.3; 11.5.25 no. 31; 13.61.4 no. 8; 14.22.5.2 no. 85n; 15.1.3.2; AII.2.1; AII.2.2; AII.2.3; AII.2.4 al-Kindī al-Naḥwī, Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Hasan, grammarian and teacher of literary sciences (d. 613/1217) 15.23.1; 15.29; 15.39; 15.40.3; 15.48; 15.50; 15.51.2 al-Kirmānī, Abū l-Hakam 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ahmad ibn 'Alī 13.5.1; 13.9 al-Kīshī, author of a commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms 15.60.2n Kisrā (Khusraw, Chosroes), generic name for pre-Islamic Persian kings 14.32.4(p); 15.11.2.1(p) Kisrā Anūshirwān, Sasanid ruler (reg. 537-579) 7.1.2; 7.1.3; 7.1.4; 7.1.6; 8.20.6 al-Kumayt ibn Maʿrūf al-Asadī (d. ca. 100/ 718), poet 8.29.15n Kūmiyah, Berber tribe 13.81.1 Kunnah bint Kusayrah of Thumālah (Azd), eponymous ancestress of the Banū Kunnah subtribe 7.1.6n Kushājim, Abū l-Fath Mahmūd ibn al-Husayn, poet and prose writer (d. ca. 360/970) 13.3.3 Kutāmah, Berber tribe 13.2.2.2 Kuthayyir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Kuthayyir 'Azzah, 1st/7th-c. poet 7.5.6; 15.8.5n Labīd ibn Rabī'ah, pre-Islamic poet 10.51.3(p); 15.8.4(p); 15.31.1; 15.45.3(p); 15.46.2n Laecanius Arius of Tarsus, 1st-c. AD pharmacologist 4.1.11.2 Lajhad see Hermes Lakhmids, pre-Islamic dynasty based at al-Hīrah 8.3.16n; 8.29.1n Laqīt, traditionist (?Laqīț ibn Ṣabirah, one of Muhammad's Companions) 7.3 Leon, pupil of Hippocrates 4.1.10.1

Luqmān, pre-Islamic sage 4.2; 15.17(p); 15.58.4n Lu'lu' (?Lu'lu' al-ḥājib al-'Ādilī) 15.40.3 Lycus of Macedonia, 2nd-c. anatomist 4.1.10.2; 5.1.37 nos. 23, 29, 30 Ma'add, legendary ancestor of the North Arabs 10.1.3; 15.47.2.1(p) al-Ma'arrī, Abū l-'Alā' Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān, Syrian poet and prose writer (d. 449/1057) 5.1.33; 11.19.7 no. 9n; 10.38.4; 10.51.3n; 11.19.7 no. 9n; AII3.3 Macarius, physician of antiquity 3.6 Machaon, son of Asclepius 2.1.5n; 4.6.2.1 al-Madā'inī, Abū l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Muhammad, historian (d. 228/842–843) 7.5.2; 7.5.5n Mādhava. Indian author of the Nidān or Nidāna, also called Mādhavanidāna (active ca. AD 700) 12.2 no. 3n Maʿdī Karib ibn Muʿāwiyah, pre-Islamic chieftain of Hadramaut 10.1.2 Magnus of Alexandria, late-antique physician 5.2.1 Magnus of Emesa, physician of antiquity 4.1.10.2 al-Mahdī, third Abbasid caliph (reg. 158-169/775-85) 8.2n; 8.3.11n; 8.8.1; 8.8.3; 8.8.4; 8.18.3; 8.25.8n; 12.6 Mahmūd ibn Muhammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ghūrī (reg. 602-609/1206-1212), Ghūrid ruler 10.67.5 no. 2; 11.19.3; 11.19.6 Mahmūd ibn Sebüktigin, Sultan of Ghaznah (reg. 388-421/998-1030) 11.8.3n; 11.8.4 Mahmūd ibn Zankī (or Zangī) see al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd ibn Zankī Maimonides see Mūsā ibn Maymūn al-Majd (Majd al-Dīn) ibn al-Ṣāḥib see Hibat Allāh ibn 'Alī Majd al-Dīn Majd al-Dawlah, Rustam, Būyid emir of Rayy and the Jibāl (*reg.* 387–420/997–1029) 11.13.3.3; 11.13.8 no. 11 Majd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm, father of Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk 15.52.1 Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ahmad ibn Sahnūn al-Dimashqī 15.52.2n

Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Dāyah, foster

brother of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī 14.49.2; 14.49.3

Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī, scholar, teacher of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī 11.19.1; 11.19.7 no. 30

Majnūn Laylā, Qays ibn al-Mulawwaḥ, 1st/7th-c. poet 10.3

al-Majrītī, Abū l-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, physician from Cordova

(d. 398/1007) **13.5**; 13.7; 13.8; 13.10; 13.29.2; 13.38.1; 13.45

al-Majūsī see ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī

Makhūl, transmitter 10.2.2.2

al-Makīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn see al-Qāḍī al-Makīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn

Mākird the Daylamite, 4th/10th-c. official 10.5.3

Makkī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī, Abū Muḥammad, Qur'anic scholar and dream interpreter (d. 437/1045–1046); see also 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib al-Oavrawānī 1.7

al-Makkī, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, poet (d. 248/ 862) 8.3.23n

al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb, known as Sayf al-Dīn, brother and

successor of Saladin (d. 615/1218) 11.19 no. 18; 13.86.2; 14.31.7; 14.32.5 no. 8; 14.38.1; 14.39.1; 14.43.2; 14.49.2–3; 14.50; 14.51.2; 14.54.3; 15.34; 15.36.1.3; 15.39; 15.40.5; 15.42; 15.45.2; 15.46.3; 15.46.4 no. 3; 15.47.1; 15.48; 15.49.2; 15.50; 15.51.3; 15.51.5; 15.51.6; 15.51.8

al-Malik al-'Ādil Khwārazm Shāh Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn = Ma'mūn 11 ibn Ma'mūn 1, Abū l-'Abbās (*reg.* 399– 407/1009–1017) 11.12 no. 8

al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī (*or* Zangī), ruler of Aleppo and Damascus, founder of al-Bīmāristān al-

Nūrī (al-Nūrī hospital) 14.49.21; 15.9; 15.12; 15.13; 15.15; 15.23.4.2; 15.24; 15.25; 15.33; 15.34; 15.35; 15.36.1; 15.37; 15.38; 15.39; 15.46.3; 15.50; 15.51; 15.52.1; 15.53

al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb see al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb

al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, Saladin's eldest son 14.39.1; 14.39.4 no. 3; 15.28; 15.40.3 al-Malik al-Afḍal Shahanshāh ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh (d. 515/1121), Fatimid commander 13.58.2.1; 13.58.2.2; 13.58.4.4

al-Malik 'Alā' al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn Bahrām (also known as Dāwūd Shāh), governor of Erzinjān (d. 624/1225) 15.40.5; 15.40.9 no. 96

al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ibn ʿIzz al-dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhinshāh ibn Ayyūb, Ayyubid ruler (d. 628/1230) 15.20 no. 1; 15.48; 15.49.1; 15.51.2; 15.51.11 nos. 1, 6

al-Malik al-Ankūr, probably = (Malik) al-Inkitār ('(King of) l'Angleterre'), name of Richard 1 15.50.6

al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Fatḥ Mūsā, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb = al-Malik al-Ashraf I Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀdil II Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Fatḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, of Diyarbakr, Ayyubid ruler (*reg.* 626–635/1229–1237) 15.11.2; 15.35; 15.36.1.1; 15.46.3; 15.47.1; 15.50.5; 15.51; 15.52.1; 15.53

al-Malik al-Ashraf Shāh Arman Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (?identical with al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Fatḥ Mūsā) 15.46.4 no. 3; 15.52

al-Malik al-Ashraf, the son of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Homs 15.56.1

al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, Ayyubid ruler of the city of Khilāț 15.46.3

al-Malik al-'Azīz, Fatimid caliph (*reg.* 365– 386/975–96) 14.54.3n

al-Malik al-'Azīz Uthmān, Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, son of Saladin 14.37; 14.44.2; 15.22 no. 17; 15.40.3; 15.40.9 no. 23; 15.51.1

al-Malik Bahā' al-Dawlah ibn 'Aḍud al-Dawlah = Abū Naṣr Bahā' al-Dawlah Fīrūz b. Fanā Khusraw 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, Būyid prince (*reg.* 388–403/998–1012) 11.10

al-Malik al-Fā'iz Ibrāhīm ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil 1, Ayyubid prince 15.29

al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh ibn Abī bakr ibn Ayyūb, Ayyubid governor 15.32

Mālik ibn al-Hārith al-Nakha'ī, known as al-Ashtar, supporter of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib 7.5.6

- Mālik ibn Wuhayb al-Ishbīlī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Sevillian polymath (d. 252/1130) 13.59 .2.2
- al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūnus ibn Shams al-Dīn Mamdūd ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil, Ayyubid ruler of Damascus 15.50.6; 15.52.1
- al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (= al-Malik al-Kāmil I Nāṣir al-Dīn = al-Malik al-Kāmil I Muḥammad ibn al-ʿĀdil I Muḥammad *or* Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Maʿālī Nāṣir al-Dīn), Ayyubid ruler of Egypt (*reg.* 615–635/1218– 1238) 14.45; 14.47.2; 14.49.2; 15.35; 15.37; 15.50.3
- al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (573–635/1177–1238), fourth
 - Ayyubid sultan in Egypt 14.22.2n; 14.40.1; 14.44.2; 14.45; 14.49.2;14.51.2; 14.53; 14.54.3; 14.54.4; 14.54.4–6; 14.54.8; 14.54.9; 14.54.10; 14.54.11; 14.56.1; 14.57.1; 14.57.3; 14.58.3; 15.37.3; 15.40.9 no. 14; 15.49.2; 15.50; 15.51.4
- al-Malik al-Manşūr Nāşir al-Dīn Abū l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad ibn al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Shāhinshāh ibn Ayyūb, Ayyubid ruler of Hama 15.22; 15.24; 15.46.3; 15.54
- al-Malik al-Manşūr 'Izz al-Dīn Taqī al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Farrukh Shāh Dāwūd, Ayyubid ruler of Baalbek and Damascus 15.49.1; 15.51.2
- al-Malik al-Manşūr = al-Malik al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh 11 ibn al-Qāhir Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, lord of Homs (*reg.* 581–637/1186–1240) 15.31.1; 15.31 no. 22
- al-Malik al-Masʿūd, Lord of Āmid 15.56.1
- al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Aqsīs ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil = al-Mas'ūd Yusuf, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, emir of Yemen 14.57.1
- al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Najm al-Dīn Mas'ūd, son of al-Malik al-Nāşir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb 15.51.11 no. 3
- al-Malik al-Muʻazzam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil 1, Ayyubid ruler of Damascus (576–624/1180–1227). Ayyubid ruler
 - of Damascus 14.50; 14.53; 14.56.1; 15.19; 15.22; 15.29; 15.36.1; 15.43.1; 15.43.3; 15.45.2; 15.45.3 no. 1; 15.50.3; 15.51

al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shihāb al-Dawlah Abū l-Fatḥ Mawdūd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd 11.15 no. 1

al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh, son of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb 14-54-3

al-Malik al-Muʻizz ʻIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī, Mamlūk ruler of Egypt (*reg.*648–655/1250–1255) 15.32; 15.49.3; 15.49.4; 15.49.6

al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz al-Muʿizzī, Sayf al-Dīn, Baḥrī Mamlūk (*reg.* 657–658/1259– 1260) 11.13.7.9; 15.32

al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh ibn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhinshāh ibn Ayyūb 15.20; 15.24

al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I 'Umar ibn Shāhanshāh Nūr al-Dīn, Abū Saʿīd Taqī al-Dīn, Ayyubid ruler of Hama (*reg.* 574/1178–587/1191) 15.24

al-Malik al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh 11 ibn al-Qāhir Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*req.* 581/1186–637/1240)–

al-Malik al-Nāșir Șalāḥ al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, Ayyubid ruler (d. 1260) 15.11.1; 15.11.2; 15.54(?)

al-Malik al-Nāşir Şalāḥ al-Dīn Dā'ūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu'azẓam (= al-Malik al-Nāşir II Dā'ūd ibn al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Şalāḥ al-Dīn), Ayyubid ruler of Damascus (*reg.* 624–626/1227–1229, d. 1259) 15.21; 15.35; 15.42; 15.43; 3; 15.45; 2; 15:51

al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb *see* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin)

al-Malik al-Nāşir II Yūsuf ibn al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn II, Şalāḥ al-Dīn, Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo (*reg.* 634– 658/1236–1260) 15.32; 15.49.3; 15.51; 15.54

Malik al-Nuḥāh 'King of Grammarians', Abū Nizār al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāfī (d. 568/1173) 15.8.12

al-Malik al-Qāhir Muḥammad ibn Shīrkūh I Asad al-Dīn ibn Shādhī, Naşīr al-Dīn (also known as Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh), lord of Homs (reg. 574–581/1178–1186) 15.23.4.1

al-Malik al-Saʿīd Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Artuqid ruler of Mardin 15.58.5

- al-Malik al-Şālih II Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāşir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn, Ayyubid ruler of Egypt (*reg.* 638–
 - 647/1240–1249) 14.32.2; 14.45; 14.54.3; 14.55.3; 14.56.1; 14.56.3; 14.56.2; 14.56.4 no. 1; 14.58.3; 14.58.4 no. 3; 15.31.1; 15.49; 15.52.1
- al-Malik al-Şāliḥ 'Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb – (*reg.* 635/1237–1238 and 637–643/1239–1245), Ayyubid ruler of Damascus and Egypt 15.20; 15.49.2; 15.50; 15.51
- al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf, Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo (d. 613/1216) 10.75.2; 15.18.1; 15.18.1.3; 15.23.2.1; 15.30; 15.40; 15.50.6
- al-Malik al-Ṣāhir Rukn al-Dīn, Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī, Baḥrī Mamlūk, fourth Mamlūk ruler of Egypt (*reg.* 658–676/1260–
 - 1277) 14.46; 14.54.3; 14.55.1; 14.55.2; 14.55.3; 15.32
- al-Ma'mūn, seventh Abbasid caliph (reg. 198-
 - 218/813-833) 8.3.5; 8.3.111; 8.3.13; 8.3.151; 8.3.17; 8.3.20; 8.3.22; 8.3.23; 8.4.211; 8.13; 8.15.111; 8.20.411; 8.21.111; 8.25.711; 8.26.1711; 8.29.311; 9.321; 9.321; 9.4011; 9.41; 10.1.3; 10.1.14 no. 22; 12.3 no. 1; 14.25.111; AII.2.211
- al-Ma'mūn, Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl ibn Dhī l-Nūn, king of the *țā'ifah* of Toledo (*reg.* 435– 467/1043–1074) 13.38.2; 13.39.2; 13.45
- Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn (recte Muḥammad) see Khwārazmshāh Abū l-ʿAbbās Ma'mūn
- al-Manāwī, author of a commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms 15.60.2n
- Mani (Mānī), founder of Manicheism (d. 276) 5.1.8.2n
- Manichaeans 10.1.14 nos. 114, 171
- Mankah al-Hindī (Māņikya), Indian physician and translator under Hārūn al-Rashīd 12.11; 12.2 no. 61; 12.3 no. 1; 12.5
- al-Manşūr, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 136–158/754–
 - 75) 8.1; 8.2; 8.3.4n; 8.3.10n; 8.3.17n; 8.8n;
 8.181.1n; 8.25.2n; 8.29.5n; 8.29.8n; 9.1;
 9.31n; 9.41n; 11.2; 12.5n; 14.1
- al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir, chamberlain of al-Ḥakam 11 and *de facto* ruler of al-Andalus

- between 368–392/978–1002 13.29.1; 13.35 no. 3; 13.52
- Manșūr ibn Bānās, translator 9.34
- Manṣūr ibn Dubays, Bahā' al-Dawlah, Mazyadid ruler (*reg.* 474–479/1082–1086) 10.64.2
- al-Manşūr ibn Ismā'īl [ibn Khāqān], 'Governor of Khorasan and Transoxiana' to whom IAU (apparently in error) says al-Rāzī dedicated his book *al-Manşūrī* 11.5.9; 11.5.14
- Manşūr ibn Țalḥah ibn Țāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (active 3rd/9th c.), philosopher and Tāhirid governor 11.5.25 no. 165
- al-Manṣūr, Yaʻqūb Abū Yūsuf ibn ʻAbd al-Mu'min, third Almohad ruler (r 580– 595/1184–1199) 13.63.3; 13.63.5; 13.66.3.; 13.66.4; 13.68.3; 13.72; 13.73; 13.74; 13.77; 13.79; 13.83; 13.85
- Manșūr al-Namarī, poet of the 2nd/8th c. 13.63.8.2
- Mantias, physician of antiquity 4.1.10.2; 4.11.2
- al-Manțiqī see Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir
- al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn (d. 845/1442), Egyptian historian A11.16
- Mar Elias see Elias of Nisibis
- Marcian, 5th-c. emperor 6.1.3
- Marcus, physician of antiquity, pupil of Ghūrus 3.2; 4.1.10.5
- al-Māridīnī, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Salām, physician and teacher of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl and Sadīd al-Dīn
 - ibn Raqīqah 10.64.18; 10.75; 15.18.1; 15.29; 15.46.1; 15.46.2; 15.46.3; 15.46.3.9; 15.50
- Marinus, late-antique physician 3.6; 5.2.1 Marinus of Alexandria, 2nd-c. anatomist
 - 5.1.37 no. 22
- Marinus, a king of the Greeks, perhaps to be identified with the mythological hero Minos 7.2.2
- Marius 'the Methodist' see Thessalus
- Marsyas, legendary Phrygian satyr associated with music 1.1n
- Martialius, 2nd-c. anatomist at Rome 5.1.10.1; 5.1.10.2

Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, ascetic, Sufi and traditionalist (d. 200/815–816) 15.51.7

Mārūt, one of the two angels who descended to earth in Babylon 10.68.2.2n; 15.56.1n

Marwān ibn ʿAlī ibn Salāmah al-Fanakī see Ḥujjat al-Dīn

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Umayyad caliph (*reg.* 646–645/684–5) 7.5.6; 8.19.2n

Marwān ibn Janāḥ, Andalusian physician and philologist **13.47**

Marwān (11) ibn Muḥammad al-Jaʿdī al-Ḥimār (*reg.* 127–132/744–50), last Umayyad caliph 15.31.1n

Maryam bint Bukhtīshū', sister of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', mother of Jūrjis ibn Mīkhā'īl 8.15

al-Maryamī, probably the 3rd/9th-c. Egyptian poet al-Qāsim ibn Yaḥyā al-Maryamī 13,58

al-Marzubānī, Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān, 4th/10th-c. scholar 8.29.15n

al-Marzūqī, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, author of a commentary on the Ḥamāsah of Abū Tammām 7.2.3n; 8.29.15n

Māsarjawayh (also Māsarjīs, Persian Māsargōye), Jewish Umayyad physician and translator 6.5.1; 8.19; 9.8

Māsarjīs see Māsarjawayh

Māsawayh, son of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh 8.26.12

Māsawayh Abū Yūḥannā, physician in the service of Hārūn al-Rashīd 8.25

al-Maşdūm, Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Asdūn, Andalusian physician 13.62.3; 13.63.6; **13.77**; 13.78

Māshā'allāh, astrologer courtier of Hārūn al-Rashīd 12.1n

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Masīḥ ibn Ḥakam, physician at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd 12.5n al-Masīḥī see Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī

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Masrūr, ghulām of al-Muʿtaḍid 10.10.2

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al-Mastūr, Abū l-Faraj al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, grammarian and poet (d. 392/1001–1002) 10.64

Masʿūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktegin (*reg.* 421–432/1030–1040), ruler of Ghaznah 11.13.3.17; 11.13.8 no. 5; 11.15 no. 13

al-Masʿūdī, Abu l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, author of historical and geographical works (d. 345/956) 4.6.1; 4.6.3.3; 5.1.6; 7.5.5n; 7.5.6n; 7.6n; 8.3.7n; 8.3.16n; 8.29.11n; 8.29.22n; 11.5.25 no. 201

Maternus, Triarius Maternus Lasciuius, Roman consul 5.1.12.2

Mattā ibn Yūnān (or Yūnus) see Abū Bishr Mattā

Matthaeus the Elder, physician of antiquity, pupil of Mēnas 3.3

Matthaeus the Younger, physician of antiquity 3.4

al-Māwardī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, Shāfiʿite jurist (d. 450/1058) 10.38.4

Maximinus, physician of antiquity 3.6

al-Maydānī, Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, philologist (d. 518/1124) 7.1.6n; 7.5.5n

al-Maymandī, Shams al-Kufāh Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, Ghaznavid vizier (d. 424/1032) 11.13

Maymūn ibn Hārūn, *kātib* (d. 297/909–910) 8.3.13

Maymūn ibn Qays ibn Tha'labah al-A'shā, poet (d. after 3/625) 10.1.2; 11.9.2.5n

Maymūn al-Qaṣrī, Fāris al-Dīn, Ayyubid ruler of Sidon and Nablus (d. 611/1214) 15.23.2.2

al-Māzyār ibn Qārin (d. 225/840), last of the Qārinid rulers of Tabaristan 11.4

Melissus, Empiricist physician of antiquity 3.5; 4.1.11.3

Melkites (al-Malakiyyah) 14.1; 14.6n; 14.10n; 14.15; 14.54.1n; 15.23.1n; 15.43.1

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the Mouse (*al-Fa*'r, *al-Fā*r, perhaps = Alvar), Andalusī physician 13.62.2.3

Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, founder of Umayyad dynasty (*reg.* 41–60/661–680) 7.1.1; 7.5.1; 7.5.2; 7.5.3

Muʿāwiyah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Akbar, pre-Islamic chieftain in Hadramaut, ancestor of al-Kindī 10.1

Muʿāwiyah ibn Jabalah, pre-Islamic chieftain of the Banū l-Ḥārith al-Aşghar in Hadramaut, ancestor of al-Kindī 10.1.3

Muʿāwiyah ibn Yaḥyā, transmitter 10.2.2.1

Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, the son of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-ʿAntarī 10.69.3.1

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Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris al-Musayyab ibn 'Alī al-Ḥusayn, also known as Ibn al-Ṣūfī, vizier in Damascus under Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur 15.8.4

Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī (ca. 596–664/ ca. 1200–1266), teacher of Ibn al-Quff 15.60.1

Mubārak ibn Abī l-Khayr Salāmah ibn Mubārak ibn Raḥmūn *see* Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn

Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn, physician in Egypt 14.28

al-Mubarrad, Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Azdī, philologist, grammarian (d. 285/898) 15.40.2

al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, Maḥmūd al-Dawlah Abū l-Wafā' (5th/11th c.), author of *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* 1.4; 2.1.3; 2.1.7; 4.1.5n; 4.1.7; 4.1.8.1n; 4.1.10.2n; 4.3.3n; 4.3.4.1; 4.3.4.2n; 4.3.5; 4.4.2.1; 4.4.24n; 4.4.2.5; 4.4.4; 4.5.1n; 4.5.3; 4.6.2.1n; 4.6.3.1; 4.6.3.2; 4.6.3.4; 4.6.8n; 4.6.11; 5.1.21.1; 5.1.23; 5.1.35; 10.22.3; 14.23; 14.27.1

Muḍar ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān, ancestor of one of the main branches of the 'Northern Arabs' 8.10.4n; 15.33(p); 15.46.2(p)

al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Zimām, *mawlā* (client) of al-Mahdī 10.5.2

al-Mufashkil, unidentified Jewish physician lampooned by Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī 15.8.11

- al-Mufīd, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān al-Ḥārithī al-ʿUkbarī, Imāmī Shiite theologian (d. 413/1032) 14.25.9 no. 40n
- al-Muhadhdhab Abū Saʻīd ibn Abi Sulayman see Abū Saʻīd ibn Abi Sulayman
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (known as al-Dakhwār), high-ranking Syrian physician teacher of IAU, Ibn al-Nafīs and Ibn Qādī Ba'labakk (d. 628/1230)
- and fon Qa(i ba iaback (d. 020/1230) 10.64.4; 10.66.3; 10.68.1.3; 10.68.2.1; 10.75.2; 11.12; 14.54.2; 14.56.1; 15.3.1.1; 15.3.1.4; 15.23.4.1; 15.23.4.2; 15.31.1; 15.32; 15.37.1; 15.42; 15.43.1; 15.50; 15.51; 15.52.1; 15.53; 15.54; 15.56.1; 15.56.2 no. 2; 15.57.1; AI.2
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Naşr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍir (or al-Khiḍr) al-Ḥalabī see Ibn al-Khaḍir al-Ḥalabī
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah, Egyptian physician b. 620/1223 14.54.14; 14.55
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Aḥmad see Ibn al-Ḥājib
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Habal see Ibn Habal
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh (Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh ʿĪsā ibn Hibat Allāh al-Naqqāsh al-Baghdādī),
 - Damascus physician 10.64.19.11; 14.31.5; 14.44.2; **15.13**; 15.14; 15.23.1; 15.24; 15.36.1; 15.48
- Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Sāmirī, Samaritan philosopher and physician (d. 624/1227) 15.48; 15.49.1
- al-Muhājir ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd, son of the celebrated commander Khālid ibn al-Walīd 7.5.2; 7.5.3
- Muḥammad, Prophet, Messenger of God 7.1.5; 10.1.2; 10.2.2.1; 10.2.2.2; 10.68.2.4(p) ('Aḥmad'); 10.81.3; 11.19.6.2(p); 11.19.7 no. 11; 14.22.5.1 no. 7; 14.25.9 no. 80; 14.31.8n; 15.1.5 no. 62; 15.18.2(p); 15.31.2(p); 15.31.4(p); 15.46.2; 15.46.3 .10(p); 15.51.7
- Muḥammad, son of the caliph al-Mutawakkil 8.20.5n

Muḥammad, son of caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh 10.76.2

- Muḥammad I al-Awṣat, fifth Umayyad emir of al-Andalus (*reg.* 238–272/852–86) 13.12; 13.13; 13.18
- Muhammad al-Amīn see al-Amīn

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan (or al-Ḥasan), known as 'The Pure Soul' (al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah), 2nd/8th-c. 'Alid rebel 8.18.1

- Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masarrah al-Jabalī see Ibn Masarrah
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa', son of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and secretary to al-Manṣūr 11.2n
- Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, head of police under al-Mutawakkil (d. 253/876) 8.4.10; 8.29.15n
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bazzār, poet 15.51.5n

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Zayyāt see Ibn al-Zayyāt

- Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūn al-Jabalī al-ʿIdwī, Andalusian physician (active 350/960) 13.29.2; 13.34; 13.37; 13.38.1
- Muḥammad ibn Abī l-ʿAbbās see al-Saffāḥ

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ayyūb ibn al-Rashīd, grandson of Hārūn al-Rashīd; and patient of Yuhanna ibn Masawayh 8.26.11

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, governor of Egypt in the caliphate of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib 7.5.6

Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Faḍl al-Ṭūsī, governor of Ṭūs 10.8.4

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath, son of Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath 10.46.3

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbdī, unidentified westerner physician 13,61,3,1

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Maqdisī, author of *Māddat al-baqā*' 4.5.111; 15.40.9 no. 35

Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, al-Bāqir, fifth Imam of theTwelver Shi'is 15.51.7

- Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī, Abū l-Ḥusayn, source of al-Tanūkhī 11.5.11
- Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Makhlad 'Kubbah al-Kātib', 3rd/9th-c. poet 13.58

Muhammad ibn al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf 7.9.4 Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Warrāg, source quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm 11.5.9 Muhammad ibn Husavn ibn 'Abbādah, 5th/11th-c. Andalusian grammarian 8.29.8n Muhammad ibn Ishāq, transmitter 7.2.3 Muhammad ibn al-Jahm (active 3rd/8th c.), Mu'tazilite philosoper and official 10.1.14 no. 190 Muhammad ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī see al-Tabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Muhammad ibn Khalaf al-Marzubān, 3rd/9th-c. scholar and translator 7.10 Muhammad ibn Mahmūd Khwārazmshāh, Sejljūg sultan (d. 554/1159) 10.63.3 Muhammad ibn Malik-Shāh Abū Shujās Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Seljuq ruler (*reg*. 498–511/1105–1118) 10.64.19.16(p); 10.66.9 no. 2 Muhammad ibn Marwān Ibn Zuhr al-Ivādī, father of Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr 13.60.1 Muhammad ibn Maymūn Markūsh, Andalusian grammarian and poet 13.29.2 Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Hasanī see al-Sharif Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Hasanī Muhammad ibn Mūsā, Abū Jaʿfar al-Munajjim ('the astrologer'), son of Mūsā ibn Shākir, patron of Hunayn ibn Ishāq 8.29.22 no. 29; 9.19n; 9.40; 9.47n; 10.3.2.3; 10.3.14 no. 95 Muhammad ibn Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-Malik, patron of translators, perhaps = $Ab\bar{u}$ 'Imrān Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām al-Işbahānī, high official under al-Mutawakkil (d. 246/860-861) 9.43 Muhammad ibn Sa'd, uncle of Sa'īd ibn al-Umawī, a source for Ibn Juljul 7.1.6 Muhammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Hishām al-Hajarī see Ibn Mulsāgah Muhammad ibn Sa'īd al-Tabīb, one of the Andalusī translators of De Materia Medica 13.36.2.3 Muhammad ibn Şālih, 3rd/9th-c. Abbasid prince 8.8.4 Muhammad ibn Sallām al-Jumahī, traditionist and author of Tabagāt al-shu'arā' (d. ca. 231-232/845-6) 8.7; 8.26.17

Muhammad ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Hādī, known as Ibn Mashghūf, grandson of al-Hādī (reg. 785-786) 8.26.12 Muhammad ibn Sālih ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī (d. 252/866-867 or 255/868-869) AII.2.1 Muhammad ibn Tāhir ibn al-Husayn 8.19.3 Muhammad ibn Tamlīkh, 4th/10th-c. Andalusian physician and judge 13.27 Muhammad ibn Thawāb, known as Abū l-Thallāj (?Abū l-Falāh), Iraqi physician, disciple of Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath 10.46.2; 10.46.4 nos. 1, 4; 10.47; 15.4 Muhammad ibn Tawwāb al-Mawsilī 15.4n Muhammad ibn Tughj see Ibn Tughj Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Yaḥyā, Abū l-Hasan, al-Sharīf 10.8.5; 10.8.7 Muhammad ibn Yahyā, unidentified 14.36.2 Muḥammad ibn Yasīr, poet 8.29.22n Muhammad al-Sāʿātī, clockmaker and chronometrist, father of Fakhr al-Dīn Ridwān al-Sāʿātī 15.29 Muhammad al-Shajjār, one of the Andalusī translators of De Materia Medica 13.36.2.3 al-Muhassin ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sābi' (d. 410/ 1010), father of Hilāl al-al-Ṣābi' 10.4.9; 10.8.8; 10.8.9 al-Muhtadī bi-Allāh, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn al-Wāthiq, son and successor to al-Wāthiq (*reg.* 255–256/869–70) 8.4.4; 8.16; 8.23.3n Muhyī l-Dīn, Abū l-Maʿālī Muhammad ibn al-qādīʿAlī Zakī al-Dīn (d. 598/1202), chief judge of Damascus 15.50; 15.33 Muhyī l-Dīn, judge of Marand 11.19.2 Muhyī l-Dīn ibn (al-)'Arabī see Ibn 'Arabī Mu'īn al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, brother of Sadīd ibn Raqīqah 15.46.1 Mu'in al-Din, Father of Khunad or Khwand Khātūn, the wife of Saladin 15.23.2 Mu'în al-Dîn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, Ayyubid emir 15.49.2 Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur 15.8.4n al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Ma'add, fourth Fāțimid caliph (*reg.* 341–364/953–75) 14.14.3; 14.9; 14.15n; 14.22.3.1n

Muʻizz al-Dawlah, founder of Būyid rule in Baghdad (d. 356/967) 8.5.2; 10.27

Muʻizz al-Dawlah Thimāl ibn Şāliḥ, Mirdāsid ruler of Aleppo (*reg.* 442–449/1050–1057– 8) 10.38.2

- Mujāhid al-ʿĀmirī, ruler of the *ṭāʾifah* of Denia (*reg.* 405–436/1014–1044/45) 13.7; 13.48; 13.60.2
- Mujāhid al-Dīn Qaymāz 10.81.2
- al-Muktafi, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 288– 295/902–908) 8.30.11; 9.261; 14.51

Mumahhid al-Dawlah, Abū Manşūr, ruler from the Marwānid dynasty at Mayyāfāriqīn 8.5.4; 8.5.5; 10.27

Munaḥḥim ibn al-Fawwāl, Andalusian physician 13.46

al-Munayḥī, Abū l-Ghawth ibn Niḥrīr, 4th/10th-c. poet 10.64

Mu'nis al-Faḥl, chief of police under al-Mu'taḍid 10.2.3.1

Mu'nis al-Khādim, servant of al-Mu'taḍid 10.10.5

Munkar, Islamic angel 15.8.11(p)

al-Muntașir bi-Allāh, eleventh Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 247–248/861–62) – 8.4.3al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh (Abū l-Fadl Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Mu'taḍid), Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 295–320/908–932) 8.5.2; 8.26.16n; 8.33;

9.36n; 14.5n; 15.1.3; 15.1.3.2

al-Muqbilī, Abū Nașr Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, Iraqi physician 10.55

al-Muqtadī bi-amr Allāh, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 476–478/1075–1094) 10.58.1; 10.58.5 no. 1; 10.59.1; 10.59.2 nos. 1, 2, 3

al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 295–320/908–932) 10.4.1; 10.4.4.1; 10.4.6; 10.4.7; 10.5.1; 10.44.1

al-Muqtafī li-amr Allāh (Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Mustaẓhir), Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 530–555/1136–1160) 10.63.3; 10.68.1.4; 10.72

Murshid, unidentified 10.62.3(p)

Mūsā 'the blind', Abbasid prince 8.10.3

 $\begin{array}{rl} M\bar{u}s\bar{a},Moses & {\scriptstyle 10.51.2(p);\,13.50;\,15.17(p);\,15.46;} \\ {\scriptstyle 15.40.3;\,15.46.3.6(p);\,15.56.1n} \end{array}$

Mūsā al-Hādī see al-Hādī

Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-Malik, secretary to the caliph al-Mutawakkil (*reg.* 232–247/847–

61) 8.12; 9.43n

Mūsā ibn Abī l-'Abbās al-Shāshī, governor of al-Shāsh (Tashkent) 8.10.4

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Mūsā ibn Khālid 'the Translator' (*alturjumān*), pupil of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq 8.29.8; 9.20

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Mūsā ibn Yūsuf ibn Sayyār, Abū Māhir, physician 10.24; 10.25

Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, compiler of a canonical collection of hadiths (d. 261/875) 7.1.5n

Muslim ibn al-Walīd, poet (d. 207/823) 10.64.19.5n, 13.63.8.2n

al-Mustaḍī' bi-amr Allāh, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Mustanjid, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 566–575/1170–1180) 10.63.2; 10.64.5

al-Mustaʿīn, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 248– 252/862–66) 8.4.3; 8.4.8n; 8.23.1n; 10.1.6

al-Mustaʿīn bi-Allāh, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Hūd, ruler of the *tāʾifah* of Saragossa (*reg.* 478–503/1085–1110) 13.57

al-Mustakfi bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 333–334/944–46) 10.5.1

al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 555–566/1160–1170) 10.63.2; 10.64.5; 10.66.1

al-Mustanșir (Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Mustanșir bi-Allāh), Fatimid caliph (420–487/1029–1094) 10.38; 14.25.3n; 14.25.5; 14.26.3 no. 2n

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Abbasid caliph (reg. 623-640/1226-1242) 8.4.3n; 10.38.3; 5.35; 15.40.7 al-Mustarshid bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (reg. 512-529/1118-1135) 10.62.1 al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (req. 487-512/1094-1118) 10.58.1; 10.61 al-Mu'tadid bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (reg. 279-289/892-902) 10.2.3.1; 10.2.3.2; 10.2.3.3; 10.2.4 no. 20; 10.3.2.3; 10.3.6; 10.3.14 no. 139; 10.10.1; 10.10.4; 10.10.5; 10.11; 10.12.2; 10.15; 14.5n; 14.11 al-Mu'tadid bi-Allāh Abī 'Amr 'Abbād ibn 'Abbād, ruler of the *tā'ifah* of Seville (*reg*. 433-460/1042-1069) 13.61.1 al-Mu'tamar ibn al-'Assāl, theologian 8.29.22n al-Mu'tamid, governor of Damascus 15.40.3 al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh, Ahmad ibn al-Mutawakkil, Abbasid caliph (reg. 256-279/870-92) 8.26.16n; 8.34; 8.32.1n; 10.14.1; 10.14.2.1; 14.5n Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah, 1st/7th-c. poet 14.32.4(p); 15.37.4(p) al-Mutanabbī, Abū l-Tayyib Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Ju'fī, poet (d. 354/965) 14.27.2n; 15.8.2n; 15.8.15n; 15.17n; 15.31.1n; 15.37.4n; 15.40.2; 15.40.4n; 15.46.3.6n; 15.49n (MSB); 15.52.1.2n; 15.54n al-Mutarriz, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī, grammarian, lexicographer and *adīb* (d. 456/1064) 15.31.6 no. 18 al-Mu'taşim bi-Allāh, Muḥammad Abū Isḥāq, Abbasid caliph (*reg.* 218–227/833–42) 7.1.5n; 7.8.3n; 8.3.5n; 8.4.2n; 8.4.5n; 8.4.7n; 8.4.10n; 8.11n; 8.12.1n; 8.20.1; 8.20.2; 8.20.3; 8.20.4; 8.20.5; 8.20.6; 8.20.7; 8.20.11; 8.26.4; 8.26.17; 8.27.3; 9.49n; 10.1.3; 10.68.1.4; 11.4 al-Mu'taşim bi-Allāh, Ibn Şumādih, emir of Almeria 13.40 al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh, Abbasid caliph (reg. 232-247/847-61) 8.4.1; 8.4.2; 8.4.3; 8.4.4; 8.4.7; 8.4.8; 8.4.9; 8.12.1; 8.1.2.2; 8.16; 8.20.5; 8.23.1; 8.23.2; 8.26.3; 8.26.4; 8.26.9; 8.26.12; 8.26.15; 8.26.16; 8.26.18; 8.29.71; 8.29.9; 8.29.11; 8.29.12; 8.29.13;

8.29.16; 8.29.17; 8.29.18; 8.29.19; 8.29.20; 8.29.22; 9.43n; 9.46n; 9.49n; 10.1.7; 10.4.5; 10.10.1; 10.14.2.1; 10.68.1.4; 11.4; 13.36.2.1 Mutavyam, musician 8.3.23 Mu'tazilites, al-Mu'tazilah, 'rationalist' theologians 11.5.25 nos. 53, 144; 13.4; 14.22.4.3 nos. 20, 36; 14.22.5.1 nos. 11, 12 al-Mu'tazz bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (reg. 252-255/866-69) 5.1.37 no. 101; 8.4.3n; 8.4.8; 8.23.1; 8.23.2; 8.23.3 al-Mutī' li-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (reg. 334-363/946-74) 10.5.1; 10.28; 10.29 al-Muttaqī, Abbasid caliph (reg. 329-333/940-44) 10.5.1 al-Muwaffaq Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Qudāʿī see Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Oudā'ī al-Muwaffaq bi-Allāh, Ṭalḥah ibn Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil (reg. 256-278/870-91), Abbasid prince 8.32.1; 8.32.2; 8.32.3; 10.3.6; 10.10.1; 10.10.2; 10.10.3; 10.10.4 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī, pupil of Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān 15.24; 15.34; 15.45.1; 15.50.1; 15.50.6 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām, physician and philosopher 15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-Khavr, brother of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Abī Hulayqah, oculist 14.55.3 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Naṣr 'Adnān ibn Manşūr see Ibn al-'Aynzarbī Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulavmān Dāwūd see Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān Dāwūd Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn ibn Muhammad, unidentified 10.64.19.19 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh see Ibn al-Nahhās Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muțrān see Ibn al-Mutrān, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Quff, philologist and littérateur, father of the physician Ibn al-Quff 15.60.1 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh, Abū l-Fadl As'ad ibn Hulwān, physician 15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣaraf, physician at the al-Nūrī hospital 15.51.2 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʻqūb Ibn Siqlāb see Ibn Siqlāb

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- al-Muẓaffar, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī 'Āmir, chamberlain of al-Ḥakam 11 and *de facto* ruler of al-Andalus in 392–399/1002– 1008 13.19.1
- Muẓaffar ibn al-Dawātī, 5th/11th-c. official 10.61
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- Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr, al-Qāḍī, pupil of Ibn Shūʻah and al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Raʻīs al-Ṭibb (b. 555 *or* 556/1160) 14.31.2;
- 14:31:4; 14:31:7; 14:36:3; 14:47; 15:51:1 Najāḥ al-Sharābī, Najm al-Dawlah Abū l-Yumn (d. 615/1218), official at the caliphal
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- Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ see al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 11 Ayyūb
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- Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Fāḍl As'ad ibn Ḥulwān nicknamed 'the son of the singer', physician teacher of Ibn al-Quff **15.56**; 15.59 no. 2; 15.60.1
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- Najm al-Dīn al-Qamrāwī, Abū l-Fadā'il Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā al-Kinānī (d. 651/1253), student of Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus 10.83.4
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- Nasīm, servant of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn 14.4.1; 14.4.2
- Nasīm, al-Sitt (Lady), a woman of Baghdad writing letters on behalf of al-Nāşir li-Dīn Allāh 10.77.3
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- Nāșir al-Dīn Zikrī *or* Zakarī, Ayyubid emir also known as Ibn 'Ulaymah, companion to al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb 15-49-5
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- Nebrus, ancestor of Hippocrates 4.4.1

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Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Artaq *or* Artuq, ruler of Hīnī 15.46.3

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Nuşayr (*or* Naşīr) al-Ḥalabī, unidentified 15.8.11

Nușrat al-Dīn ibn Jahān Pahlawān ibn Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz, ruler of Azerbaijan (d. 582/1186) 11.2111

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al-Qādī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974), theologian

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- Qarāṭīs, head wife or concubine of the physician Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh 8.26.8
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Qayşar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Musāfir al-Ḥanafī, 'Alam al-Dīn, known as Qayşar and as al-Taʿāsīf, mathematician and architect (d. 649/1251) 13.63.8.1; 14.22.2; 15.51.6

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Şābi'ans/Sabians, a polytheistic community in Ḥarrān (northern Mesopotamia) 1.5; 4.6.7.1; 8.29.6; 10.1.14 no. 207; 10.2.4 no. 29; 10.3.1; 10.3.2.3; 10.3.14 nos. 55, 147; 10.4.9 nos. 10, 15

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al-Marwazī al-Shafiʻī, Tāj al-Islām (al-Dīn) Qiwām al-Dīn, also known as Ibn al-Sam'ānī, biographer (506–562/1113– 1166) 15,13

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Bāb Baradān, one of the gates of Baghdad, located on the Baradān road 8.10.3; 8.25.7 Bāb al-Barīd, district in Damascus 15.57.1 Bāb al-Farādīs (or Bāb al-Imārah), one of the seven gates of Old Damascus 15.51.4, 8 Bāb al-Farai (Gate of Deliverance), the name of gates in both Damascus and Aleppo 15.18.1; 15.18n Bāb al-Fath (Victory Gate), in Seville 13.61.3.2; 13.62.3; 13.64.2.1 Bāb al-Gharabah ('Willow Tree Gate'), in Baghdad 10.64.7 Bāb al-Imārah see Bāb al-Farādīs Bāb al-Jawz (Walnut Tree Gate), in Cordova 13.21.2.1 Bāb Khirbat al-Harrās, gate in Baghdad 10.77.3 Bāb Khurāsān, a gate of al-Mansūr's Round City (Madinat al-Salām, the official name of Baghdad), located to the northeast, on the Khorasan road 8.10.3 Bāb al-Maydān see al-Maydān Gate Bāb al-Nagb, a place midway between the Bāb Khurāsān and the Bāb Baradān in Baghdad 8.10.3 Bāb al-Nasr (Victory Gate), one of the city gates of Damascus 15.20 Bāb al-Rahmah (the Door/Gate of Mercy), one of the doors of the Golden Gate in Ierusalem 14.49.3 Bāb al-Ṣaghīrah, one of the city gates of Damascus 15.52.2 Bāb Shāʿ, in al-Ruhā 14.54.3 Bāb Tūmā one of the city gates of Damascus 15.3.1.5 Bāb Zuwaylah, a gate in the southern wall of the Fatimid fortifications of Cairo 14.31.6n Babel (Bābil), ancient Babylon in Mesopotamia 1.1; 2.1.3; 2.1.4; 4.3.4.1; 10.68.2.2(p); 10.69.3.8(p); 11.13.7.9(p); 15.8.6(p); 15.56.1n Bābilyūn or Bābalyūn see Qaşr al-Shama' Bactria see Balkh Badajoz (Batalyaws) 13.21.1; 13.21.2.2 al-Badandūn, Badhandūn see Budandūn Badhdh, a district and fortress of northern Azerbaijan 8.11n Badr, a place southwest of Medina, site of a battle between the nascent Muslim community and the Meccans 7.2.3n

Baghdad (Baghdād or Baghdādh, and Madīnat al-Salām, 'the City of Peace', the official name of Baghdad) 1.11n; 2.1.1n; 4.1.11.1n; 8.1.1; 8.3.5; 8.3.15n; 8.3.16; 8.3.17; 8.4.2; 8.4.4; 8.4.111; 8.5.2; 8.5.3; 8.5.4; 8.6n; 8.7; 8.8.2; 8.8.6; 8.10.2n; 8.10.3n; 8.10.4; 8.15.1; 8.18.2; 8.20.5; 8.20.6n; 8.20.10; 8.25.2; 8.25.4; 8.25.7; 8.26.4; 8.26.5; 8.26.8; 8.27.4; 8.29.1; 8.29.5n; 8.29.9; 8.29.22; 8.30.3; 8.33; 9.11n; 9.37n; 9.38n; 9.42; 10.1.4; 10.1.6; 10.1.7; 10.1.9; 10.1.12; 10.2.3.1; 10.2.4 no. 19; 10.3.2.3; 10.3.4; 10.4.2; 10.4.4.1; 10.4.7; 10.4.8; 10.5.4; 10.6; 10.7; 10.8.2; 10.8.3; 10.8.4; 10.8.10; 10.8.11; 10.11; 10.12.1; 10.13.1; 10.13.2; 10.13.3; 10.13.5; 10.14.1; 10.15; 10.16; 10.20; 10.21; 10.22.2; 10.23.1; 10.23.2; 10.26; 10.28; 10.29; 10.31; 10.32; 10.33; 10.37.1; 10.37.3; 10.37.5 no. 40; 10.38.1; 10.51.1; 10.38.2; 10.60; 10.63.2; 10.63.3; 10.64.1; 10.64.3n; 10.64.6; 10.64.7; 10.64.12; 10.64.13; 10.64.16; 10.64.17.1n; 10.64.17.2n; 10.64.17.3; 10.66.1; 10.66.2; 10.66.6; 10.67.5 no. 1n; 10.68.1.1; 10.68.1.3; 10.68.2.11; 10.67.2.21; 10.68.2.3n; 10.68.2.4n; 10.68.2.7(p); 10.70; 10.71; 10.72; 10.73; 10.76.2; 10.77.1; 10.77.2; 10.77.3; 10.78; 10.79; 10.81.1; 10.81.2; 10.81.4n; 10.81.5n; 11.5.1; 11.5.2; 11.5.3; 11.5.4; 11.5.6; 11.5.11; 11.5.25, no. 93; 11.7; 11.8.2; 11.13.8 no. 75; 11.21; 12.2 no. 7n; 11.13.7.9(p); 12.5; 12.6; 13.1.2; 13.19; 13.34.1; 13.49; 13.61.3.1; 14.1; 14.2; 14.22.4.2 no. 19; 14.22.4.3 no. 23; 14.22.5.1n; 14.22.5.1 no. 3n; 14.22.5.1 no. 13; 14.22.5.2 no. 73n; 14.25.9 no. 22n; 14.25.9 no. 25n, 64n, 78n; 14.29.1, 2; 14.31.5; 15.1.1; 15.1.2; 15.1.3.2; 15.1.5 no. 32; 15.3.1; 15.5; 15.8; 15.12; 15.13; 15.17; 15.24; 15.35; 15.36; 15.40; AII.5 Bahnasā', a locality on the road between

Malatya and Aleppo 15.40.6 Baḥr al-Ṣulmah see Atlantic Ocean Baḥrain (al-Baḥrayn) 10.1.3 Bājarmā see Beth Garmai Bājat al-Gharb see Beja Bajjānah see Pechina Baʿlabakk see Baalbek

- Balad or Balat, a city on the Tigris 8.20.10n; 10.48; 10.66.1; 11.13.7.9(p) Balansiyah see Valencia Balkh (ancient Bactria), city in Khorasan, in the north of present-day Afghanistan 11.5.9; 11.13.2.1; 11.13.7.9(p) Baluchistan 14.25.9 no. 42n Bamyan (Bāmyān), a town in modern-day Afghanistan situated on the ancient silk route 11.19.3 Bānvās canal (Nahr Bānvās), near Damascus 10.75.1 Ba'qūbā, a place north-east of Bagdad, famous for its dates and fruit 10.68.1.4 Baradā, the river on which Damascus stands 7.7.2; 10.69.3.9(p) Baradān Bridge, one of the bridges over the Tigris in Baghdad 8.25.7 Barāhān see Fardajān Barakhsh see Warakhshah Barqah, the eastern coastal region of modern Libya 7.5.6 Basra (al-Basrah), a city on the Shatt al-'Arab waterway, southeast of Baghdad (medieval Basra is located in Zubayr, 20 km southwest of modern Basra) 1.9; 8.3.14; 8.3.15; 8.3.22; 8.4.3; 8.7; 8.19.1; 8.19.3; 8.26.17n; 8.29.1; 10.1.4; 11.10; 13.34.1; 14.22.1-2; 14.22.4.3 no. 36; 14.22.4.4; 14.22.5.1 no. 8n; 14.22.5.2 no. 80n; 15.8.8 al-Bassah, small town in Northern Palestine 13.58.4.4 Batalyaws see Badajoz Bāward (also Abīward), town in Khorasan 11.13.2.11 Bawwan, a valley in southern Persia 15.54(p) Bayn al-Qaşrayn ('between the two palaces'), a square between the eastern and western palaces built by the Fatimids in the centre of Cairo 14.51.2 Bayt Lahm see Bethlehem Bayt al-Maqdis see Jerusalem Beja (Bājat al-Gharb), city in the Alentejo region (Portugal) 13.78 Beruniy see Bīrūn Beth Garmai (Bājarmā), region around Kirkuk 6.5.1; 9.49n
- Bethlehem (Bayt Lahm) 5.1.8.1
- Bī'at Mār Tūmā (The Church of Saint Thomas), in Baghdad 10.22.3
- Bī'at Sūq al-Thalāthā' (Tuesday Market Church) *see* Tuesday Market
- Bijāyah see Bougie
- Bilād al-ʿAjam, Lands of the Persians, Greater Persia 11; 10.3.7.3; 11.5.14

Bilād al-Rūm, Lands of the Romans or Byzantines *see* Anatolia *and* Byzantine Empire *and* Asia Minor

Bilād al-Shām see Syria

Bilbays, a town in lower Egypt, northeast of Cairo on the edge of the desert 15.49.4

- Bi'r Maymūn, a well in or near Mecca, exact location uncertain 8.9
- Bi'r Zuwaylah, a well or pit near a quarter in Cairo called Ḥārat Zuwaylah, where the caliphal horses were kept 14.31.6
- al-Birbā', locality in Upper Egypt, near Panopolis 2.1.4n
- Birkat al-Fīl ('the Elephant Pond'), the largest of several ponds and marshy areas in Cairo left by the River Nile as it shifted towards the West 14.54.6
- Birkat al-Ḥabash ('the Pond of the Abyssinians'), pool or lake on the southern fringes of Fustat 13.58.4.5
- Bīrūn, formerly known as Kath and capital of Khwārazm (modern-day Uzbekistan); in 1957 renamed 'Beruniy' in honour of al-Bīrūnī 11.15
- Bistam, Bisțām, town in Persia 11.5.12
- Bithynia, ancient region in northwestern Asia Minor 4.1.11.2n; 4.6.2.1
- Bokhara (Bukhara, Bukhārā) 11.13.2.1; 11.13.2.3; 11.13.2.9; 11.13.2.11
- Bosra (Bușrā, Bostra), a town in southern Syria near the Jordan border, an important stopover on the ancient caravan route to Mecca 15,51.8
- Bostra see Bosra
- Bougie (Bijāyah), town in modern Algeria 13.66.3
- Bruttium, ancient region in southern Italy, the modern Calabria 4.3.4.3n
- Budandūn (al-Badandūn, Badhandūn, modern Bozantı), a river and town in Anatolia 8.26.17

- al-Buḥayrah, the western province of the Nile delta during the Fatimid period 14.26.3 no. 2
- Bukhārā see Bokhara
- Burj, a village near Isfahan 10.68.1.4n; 11.16n
 Būrnūs, unidentified; possibly Praesus, an ancient coastal town in eastern Crete, or Portus, the port of Rome 1.8
- Būshanj, a town in eastern Persia 8.10.4; 8.27.4
- Busrā see Bosra
- Byblos, locality in present-day Lebanon 15.20n
- Byzantine Empire (*balad al-Rūm*, 'land of the Romans') 8.26.5; 9.12n; 10.3.2.2; 10.23.2; 15.23.1; 15.39
- Caesarea (Qaysāriyyah or Qaysariyyah), a coastal town of Palestine 5.1.8.1n; 14.101
- $\begin{array}{l} \mbox{Cairo} \ (al-Qāhirah, Mişr) \ [see also \ Old \ Cairo] \\ 6.3.1n; 8.5.3; 13.51.1; 13.51.2; 13.51.3; \\ 13.58.2.1; 13.58.4.2; 13.86.2; 14.7; 14.14.3; \\ 14.14.7; 14.21 \ no. 2; 14.22.2; 14.22.3.1- \\ 2; 14.22.5.2 \ no. 91n; 14.24; 14.25.1; \\ 14.25.3; 14.25.9 \ no. 61; 14.26.3 \ no. 2; \\ 14.27.3; 14.29.2, 3; 14.31.5, 6, 8; 14.32.1n; \\ 14.33.3n, 4; 14.34.1; 14.36.2; 14.37; \\ 14.39.2n; 14.40.1, 2; 14.41; 14.42.1, 3 \ no. 3; \\ 14.43.1; 14.44.2, 3; 14.45; 14.47.2; 14.48.2; \\ 14.50; 14.51.2, 4; 14.54.3, 4, 6n, 7, 8, 15; \\ 14.55.1, 2; 14.56.1; 14.57.2; 14.58.3; 15.1.5 \\ no. 32; 15.3.1.2; 15.13; 15.14; 15.29; 15.40.3; \\ 15.40.4; 15.40.5; 15.49.2; 15.49.4; 15.50.3; \\ 15.51.1; 15.53 \end{array}$
- Campanar, town located north-west of Valencia (Spain) 13.87n
- Campanario, city in the province of Badajoz (Spain) 13.87n
- Candlestick Market see Sūq al-Qanādīl
- Canjáyar (Qanjayrah), city in the region of Almería (Spain) 13.79
- Carmona (Qarmūniyah), a city in al-Andalus 8.19.2n
- Carrhae see Harrān
- Carthage, Roman city of North Africa 5.1.8.2n
- Carystus, ancient Greek city-state on Euboea 3.4n; 4.1.9.2n

Castle of Bargā (Qalʿat Bargā), unidentified place in Armenia 10.46.4 no. 15 Caulonia, ancient town in southern Italy 4.3.4.3 Cave of Afgah see Maghārat Afgah Centuripae, Sicilian town near Mt. Etna 4.3.4.2 Ceuta (Sabtah), a city in North-Africa 14.22.3.2n; 15.41n Chaeronea, ancient Greek city of Boeotia 4.6.2.2n Chalcedon, Greek city on the Bosporus 4.1.10.5; 6.1.3 (Council of Chalcedon) Chalcidice, region in northern Greece 4.6.2.1; 4.6.6.2n Chalcis, ancient Greek city 4.6.6.2 China 8.3.16n; 14.47.1n Chios, Aegean island 2.1.1n; 5.1.21.1 Chorasmia, Chorezm see Khwārazm Church of Saint Theodore (Kanīsat Mār Thawadrus), Coptic church lying just to the south of Old Cairo 14.10 Circesium (Qarqīsiyā), town in north-eastern Svria 5.1.16.1n Citium, ancient city in Cyprus 4.1.10.3n; 4.1.10.5n; 4.1.11.3n City of Peace see Baghdad Cnidos see Knidos Constantine see Qustanțīnah Constantinople (al-Qustantīniyyah) 5.1.8.2; 5.2.15; 6.1.3; 8.26.5; 8.29.6; 9.23n; 10.36; 10.38.4; 10.38.6 no. 10; 13.36.2.2; 14.25.2n Cordova (Córdoba, Qurțubah) 1.7n; 4.2; 13.4; 13.5.1; 13.7; 13.9; 13.12; 13.23; 13.27.2; 13.29.21; 13.34.2; 13.35; 13.36.2.1; 13.36.2.3; 13.36.2.4; 13.36.3 no. 1; 13.38.1; 13.66.1; 13.66.3; 13.81.1; 13.82; 14.39.11; 15.41 Corinth, Greek city on the Isthmus 5.1.25 Cos see Kos Cranon, ancient Greek city in Thessaly 4.1.5 Crete (Iqrīțish, Iqrīțush) 1.1; 1.8n; 1.11; 4.3.4.3 (spelled *f-r-m-s*) Croton, ancient Greek city in southern Italy 4.3.4.2; 4.3.4.3 Ctesiphon see al-Madā'in Cyprus 4.1.10.1n; 4.1.10.2n; 5.1.21.1

Dabarkī (or Divrigi), small town and district of Sivas Province in modern-day Turkey 15.40.6

al-Dakhwāriyyah College, medical school in Damascus 15.50.5n; 15.57.1

Damascus (Dimashq or al-Shām, which may also refer to Greater Syria; Jilliq, properly a site in the Ghūțah, sometimes stands for Damascus, esp. in poetry) 1.4n; 2.1.3n;

4.8; 7.5.1; 7.5.3; 7.5.6; 7.7.1; 7.7.2; 7.8.3; 8.5.3; 8.26.14; 8.29.22n; 10.38.4; 10.64.13; 10.69.3.9(p, Jilliq); 10.69.3.10(p, Jilliq); 10.69.4 no. 4; 10.75.1; 10.75.2; 11.13.7.9(p, Jilliq); 13.4; 14.3; 14.22.2n; 14.31.5; 14.32.2; 14.36.2; 14.38.1n; 14.39.1n; 14.42.1; 14.42.3 nos. 3, 4; 14.44.2; 14.49.2n; 14.50; 14.51.2; 14.54.2; 14.54.3; 14.54.9; 14.55.3n; 14.56.1, 2; 14.57.2; 14.58.2; 14.58.3; 15.1.1; 15.1.1.1; 15.1.1.2; 15.1.5 no. 32; 15.3.1; 15.3.1.1; 15.3.1.2; 15.3.1.5; 15.3.1.6; 15.8; 15.9; 15.10; 15.11; 15.12; 15.13; 15.14; 15.15; 15.17 (Dimashq and Jilliq); 15.18.1; 15.18.1.1; 15.18.1.2; 15.19; 15.20; 15.21; 15.22; 15.23.1; 15.23.2.1; 15.23.2.2; 15.23.3; 15.23.4.1; 15.23.4.2; 15.24; 15.27; 15.29; 15.30; 15.31.1; 15.32; 15.33; 15.34; 15.35; 15.36.1; 15.37.1; 15.37.3; 15.37.4; 15.38; 15.39; 15.40.1; 15.42; 15.43; 15.44; 15.45; 15.46; 15.47.2.1(p); 15.48; 15.49.1; 15.49.2; 15.49.3; 15.49.6; 15.50.1; 15.50.2; 15.50.3; 15.50.5; 15.50.6(p); 15.50.7 no. 3; 15.51.1; 15.51.2; 15.51.3; 15.51.4; 15.51.5; 15.51.6; 15.51.7; 15.51.8; 15.52.1; 15.53; 15.54 (Dimashq and Jilliq); 15.56.1; 15.57.1; 15.58; 15.59; 15.60.1; AI.1; AII.15

Damascus Gate (Bāb al-Shām), in Baghdad 10.4.6

Damāwand see Dunbāwand

- Damietta (Dimyāț), a port in Egypt 10.61; 14.49.2; 14.54.9; 14.54.10; 14.54.15; 15.45.2
- Dāniyah see Dénia

Daqūqā', a town in the Jazīrah province of modern Iraq, on the main road between Baghdad and Mosul 8.5.2

Dār al-Dhahab (Golden House), a law college (*madrasah*) in Baghdad 15.40.2

Dār al-Ḥijārah, area in Damascus 15.8.1

Dār Ibn al-Zaʿfarānī (the House of Ibn al-Zaʿfarānī), in al-Ruhā 14.54.3

Dār al-Rūm, the Christian quarter of Baghdad 8.5.2; 8.25.2

Dārā, fortress town of northern Mesopotamia 5.1.16.1

Darb al-Fālūdhaj (Sweetmeats Alley), in Baghdad 15.40.2

Daybul, seaport of Sind 8.21.4n

Daylam, highlands in Iran close to the Caspian Sea, also the name of its people 10.4.9 no. 8; 11.13.7.9(p) (spelled al-Daylamān)

Dayr al-'Adhārā, a convent near the town of al-'Alth 8.25.7n

Dayr al-'Alth, a convent near the town of al-'Alth 8.25.7n

Dayr Banī l-Ṣaqr, unidentified locality not far from Baghdad or Sāmarrā 8.20.5

Dayr Durtā see Durtā

Dayr al-Jamājim, a Nestorian monastery in central Iraq 7.9.4n

Dayr al-Khandaq, monastery north of Cairo 14.50; 14.51.4

Dayr Qunnā, a Nestorian monastery on the Tigris S. of Baghdad 10.21

Dayr al-Quşayr, the Monastery of Saint Arsenius near the town of Ṭurā, south of Cairo 14.15

Dayr al-Sīq, monastery south of Jerusalem 15.43.2

Delos, Greek island 4.3.4.1

Dénia (Dāniyah), town in al-Andalus 13.7; 13.58.1; 13.60.2

Dezful, city in western Iran 8.1.1n

Dhāt al-Ajraʿ (the sandy tract), unidentified desert location 11.13.7.1(p)

Dhū Murār, unidentified place 7.5.4(p)

Dihistān 11.13.2.11

Dijlah see Tigris

Dimashq see Damascus

Dimyāț *see* Damietta

Diospolis, ancient city in Egypt 4.3.4.2

- Divrigi see Dabarkī
- Diyār Bakr (Diyarbakır), city in Eastern Anatolia 8.6n; 10.1n; 10.13.3n; 10.38.4; 11.13.7.9(p); 11.21; 14.50n; 14.54.3n; 15.17n; 15.18n; 15.22n; 15.46n

- Diyār Muḍar, region in northern Mesopotamia 14.50n; 15.17n Diyār Rabī'ah 10.38.4; 11.13.7.9(p)
- Dorylaeum, ancient Greek city in Phrygia
- Dunaysir, town (now ruins) south-west of the city of Mārdīn in modern-day Turkey 15.58
- Dunbāwand (or Damāwand), a mountain in northern Persia 8.8.4
- Durtā, place of a monastery in Iraq 10.51.6 (p)

Ecbatana see Hamadan

Edessa *see* al-Ruhā

Egypt (Misr; al-Diyār al-Misriyyah) see also Old Cairo 1.3; 1.5; 1.7n; 1.10n; 2.1.3; 2.1.4; 4.3; 4.3.4.2; 4.5.2; 5.1.16.1; 5.1.37 no. 115; 8.5.3; 6.1.2; 7.4n; 7.5.6; 8.18.3; 8.21.4; 8.26.9; 10.1.7; 10.38.2; 10.38.3; 10.38.4; 11.13.7.9; 11.20; 12.6; 13.2.1; 13.2.2.1; 13.3.4 no. 20; 13.34.1; 13.51.1; 13.58.2.1; 13.58.2.1; 13.58.4.5; 13.58.5 no. 1; 13.59.4 no. 17; 13.60.2; 13.86.1; 14.1; 14.2; 14.3; 14.4.1; 14.4.4; 14.10; 14.11; 14.13; 14.14.1; 14.14.3; 14.14.7; 14.17; 14.14.8 no. 4; 14.15; 14.18; 14.21n; 14.22.1-2; 14.22.3.1; 14.22.5.2 no. 91; 14.23.1-2; 14.25.1; 14.25.3; 14.25.9 nos. 15, 61, 100; 14.26.1-2; 14.27.1, 2, 4 nos. 2, 4; 14.28; 14.29.1, 2, 4 nos. 1, 4; 14.31.3n, 4n, 5.6n; 14.32.2; 14.32.3; 14.32.4; 14.33.3n; 14.35n; 14.36.1, 2; 14.37; 14.39.1, 2; 14.40.2; 14.42.1; 14.43.2n; 14.43.3 no. 1; 14.44.2; 14.45n; 14.46; 14.47.1, 2; 14.48.2; 14.49.1, 2; 14.50; 14.51.1, 21; 14.53; 14.54.2, 3; 14.54.4n; 14.54.9; 14.54.12n; 14.54.13; 14.55.1n; 14.55.3n; 14.56.1n; 14.56.3; 14.57.1, 2; 14.58.3; 15.1.1.2; 15.24; 15.25; 15.31.1; 15.31.2; 15.31.3; 15.31.4; 15.32; 15.33; 15.38; 15.40.1; 15.40.2; 15.40.9 nos. 57, 58, 59; 15.41; 15.45; 15.49; 15.50.3; 15.51.1; 15.54; 15.58; AI.3; AII.11; AII.16 Egyptian provinces (al-Diyār al-Miṣriyyah)

14.2; 14.14.3; 14.22.2

Elea (Velia), ancient Greek city on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy 3.4n; 4.1.11.3n Elephant Pond *see* Birkat al-Fīl

Elvira, Roman city in today's province of Granada (Spain) 13.29.2n Emesa, the modern Homs (Hims) in Syria 4.1.10.2n; 4.1.11.2 Ephesus 4.1.10.2n; 4.1.11.2n; 4.3.4.1; 6.1.3 (Robber Council of); 8.29.22n Epidaurus (Fīdārūs and Qindārūs), in the Peloponnese 1.6; 2.1.2n; 2.1.6.4n Epirus, ancient Greek state in the western Balkans 14.25.9 no. 34n Erbil (or Arbil or Irbil), city in northern Iraq, east of Mosul 15.24 Eresos, ancient Greek city on Lesbos 15.1.2 Erzerum, Erzurum (Arzan al-Rūm), city in Anatolia, modern-day Turkey 15.40.5; 15.40.6 Erzinjan (Arzanjān), city in Anatolia, modern-day Turkey 15.40.5; 15.40.6; 15.40.9 nos. 96, 160 Etruria – land of Etruscans, Tyrrhenia 1.1n Euphrates (al-Furāt), one of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia 8.26.12n;

11.13.7.9(p)

Fārāb (or Farāb; modern Otrar or Utrar), town in Khorasan now southern Kazakhstan 15.1

Faramā (Greek Pelusium), strategic city on the eastern Delta 5.1.21.1; 14.4.1

Fardajān, also known as Barāhān, a fortress near Hamadān 11.13.3.7; 11.13.8 nos. 16, 17, 18

Farghāmus see Pergamum

Farghānā, region in eastern Transoxiana 8.20.5n

Fārs see Persia

Fās see Fez

Fasā, town in Fars Province of Persia 11.10

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- Khorasan, the eastern part of Persia, including parts of what are today Central Asia and Afghanistan 7.7.2n; 8.3.7; 8.3.17; 8.10.2n; 8.10.4n; 8.11n; 8.18.2; 8.19.3n; 8.20.11n; 8.27.4n; 8.29.2n; 9.7n; 9.40n;
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- Khusrawshāh (modern Khosrow Shahr), a small settlement west of Tabrīz in Persia 15.21
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- Khwārazm (Khuwārizm, Khwārizm, Khorezm, Chorasmia), a city in the Xorazm province of present-day Uzbekistan; modern name Khiva 11.13.3.14; 11.13.7.9(p); 11.15; 11.19.6.1
- Kirmān, a province of Persia, lying south of Khorasan 8.5.2; 8.20.5n; 10.38.4; 10.64.17.2(p)
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- Kurkānj see Gurgānj
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- al-Labbādīn see Feltmakers' Market al-Lādhiqiyyah see Latakiyah La'la', a place of uncertain location 15.51.10.2(p)

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Madrasat Ibn Muhājir (Law College of Ibn Muhājir), in Mosul 15.40.3

- Madrid (Majrīț) 13.5n
- Maghārat Aqfah (the Cave of Aqfah), village and cave between the villages of Baal-

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amia 5.1.16.1n; 15.17n; 15.58; 10.75.1; 10.75.2; 10.81.2; 15.58.5 al-Mariyyah see Almería Marj al-Suffar, a large plain south of Damascus, Svria 15.40.4; 15.50.3 Marrakesh (Marrākush), city in Morocco 13.61.4 no. 9; 13.63.3; 13.64.2.1; 13.66.3n; 13.66.5; 13.68.3; 13.70; 13.71; 13.72; 13.73; 13.78; 13.87 Marw see Merv Marv see Merv Mashhad, a city in Iran 8.10.4n; 8.29.2n al-Masīr, a district within the city of Samarra 8.20.5 Mașīș (perhaps Mases in the Argolid) 4.1.11.2 Masjid see Mosque Massīsā see Mopsuestina Mā warā' al-Nahr see Transoxiana al-Mawsil see Mosul al-Maydān Gate (Bāb al-Maydān), in Mosul 10.81.4 Mayyāfāriqīn (Martyropolis; modern Silvan), settlement east of the city of Divarbakir in eastern Anatolia (now in Turkey) 8.5.4; 8.5.5; 8.6; 10.13.3; 10.41; 10.54.1; 10.54.2; 15.17n; 15.18.1.4; 15.19; 15.46.3; 15.46.3.9(p); 15.46.4 no. 3 Mazdākhān or al-Mazdaqān, a village near al-Rayy 11.19.6.1 Mecca (Makkah) 7.1.1; 7.1.6n; 7.2.1; 7.2.3n; 7.5.3; 7.5.4; 7.6; 8.3.8; 8.4.111; 8.8.31; 8.9; 10.62.3(p); 10.64.19.8n; 15.24; 15.40.4; 15.51.5; 15.51n Media see al-Jibāl Medina (al-Madīnah) 7.2.1n; 7.2.3n; 7.4n; 7.5.3n; 7.5.5n; 8.4.11n; 8.18.1n; 8.18.2n; 11.16 no. 1.38; 15.46n Medina Sidonia see Sidonia Mediterranean Sea 5.1. 21.1 ('Green Sea'); 8.21.4 ('Roman Sea'); 8.21.4; 13.3.2.1; 13.4n; 14.3n Memphis, city in ancient Egypt 2.1.3; 4.3.4.2 Mendes, ancient city in the Nile delta 4.5.1n; 4.5.4n Merv (or Merw, Marw), a medieval city in present-day Turkmenistan, now called Mary 8.10.4; 10.20n; 15.1.2; 15.1.3; 15.13n

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A Literary History of Medicine by the Syrian physician Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (d. 1270) is the earliest comprehensive history of medicine. It contains biographies of over 432 physicians, ranging from the ancient Greeks to the author's contemporaries, describing their training and practice, often as court physicians, and listing their medical works, all this interlaced with poems and anecdotes. These volumes present the first complete and annotated translation along with a new edition of the Arabic text. Introductory essays provide important background information on the stages in which the author composed the work. The reader will find on these pages an Islamic society that worked closely with Christians and Jews, deeply committed to advancing knowledge and applying it to health and wellbeing.

Emilie Savage-Smith, FBA, was Professor of the History of Islamic Science, University of Oxford. Publications include *A New Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 1: Medicine* (2012) and, with Y. Rapoport, *Lost Maps of the Caliphs* (2019).

Simon Swain, FBA, is Professor of Classics, University of Warwick. Publications include *Hellenism & Empire* (1996), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physigonomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (2007), *Economy, Family and Society from Rome to Islam* (2013).

Geert Jan van Gelder, PhD Leiden 1982; Lecturer in Arabic, University of Groningen, 1975–1998; Laudian Professor of Arabic, University of Oxford, 1998–2012. Fellow of the KNAW and the British Academy; author of many publications on Classical Arabic literature.

Contributors: Ignacio Sánchez, N. Peter Joosse, Alasdair Watson, Bruce Inksetter, Franak Hilloowala.

