



# A LITERARY HISTORY OF MEDICINE

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

VOLUME 3-2 *Annotated English Translation*

*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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## Editorial Policy

The present edition of the *ʿUyūn* represents Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘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 *ʿUyūn* 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 *ʿUyūn* 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 *ʿUyūn* – 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.

# Abbreviations

## Manuscripts

- A Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1923. Completed 27 Sha‘bān 773 (4 Mar 1372). Copyist: ‘Abd al-Hādī ibn Abī l-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faraj. [complete 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]
- H Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Ahmad III Library, MS Ta‘rīkh 2859/70. Dated 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-Jarā‘īhī ibn al-Faraj ibn Naṣr al-‘Asqalānī; 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 Muḥammad Shafī‘ Mulla Zayn al-‘Ābidīn [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-Khawālīfī 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 Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, ed. A. Müller. 2 vols. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘ah 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 Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-a‘ibbā’*, 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-Nafis

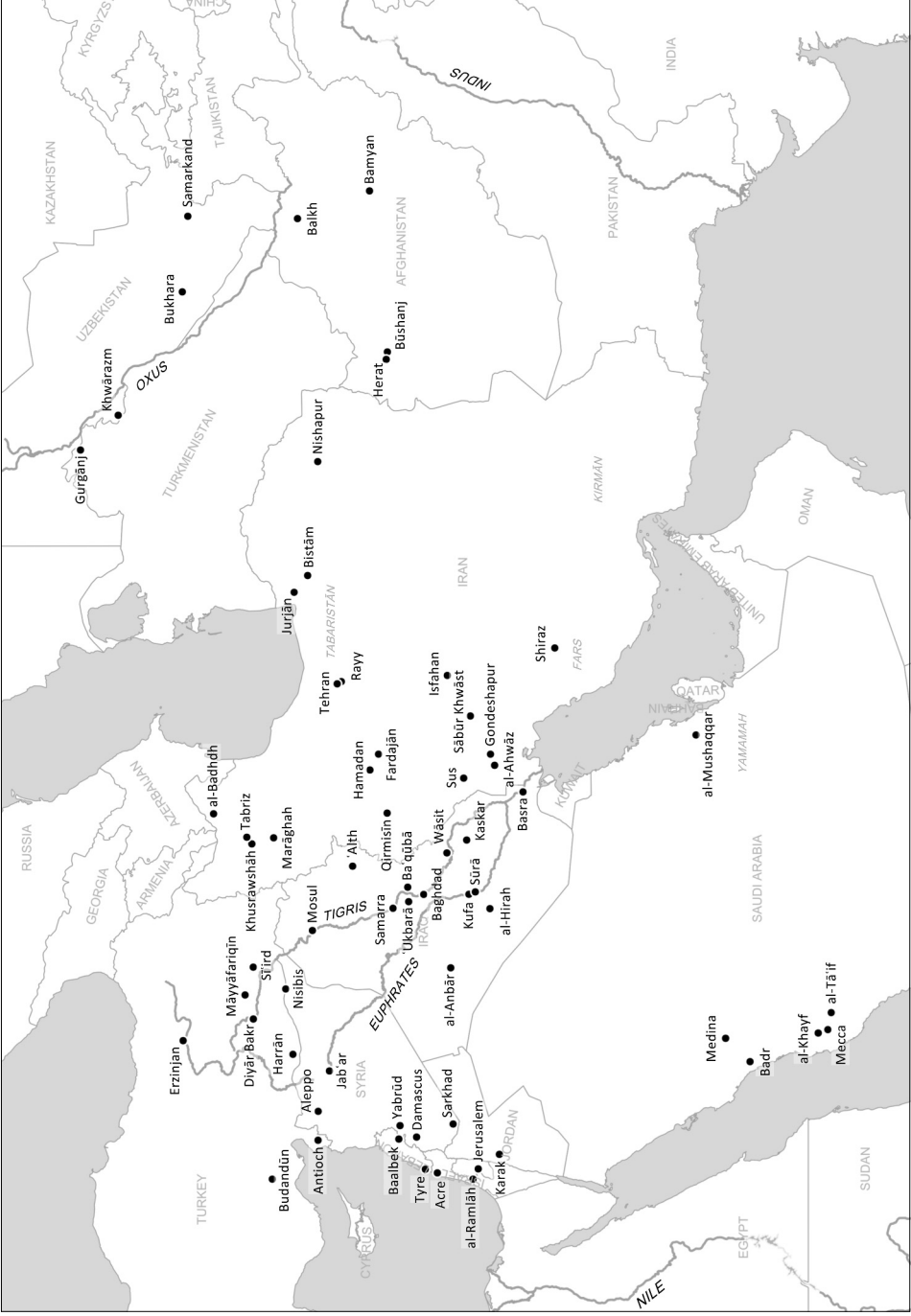
AII Appendix 2: Additional Marginalia

IAU Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah

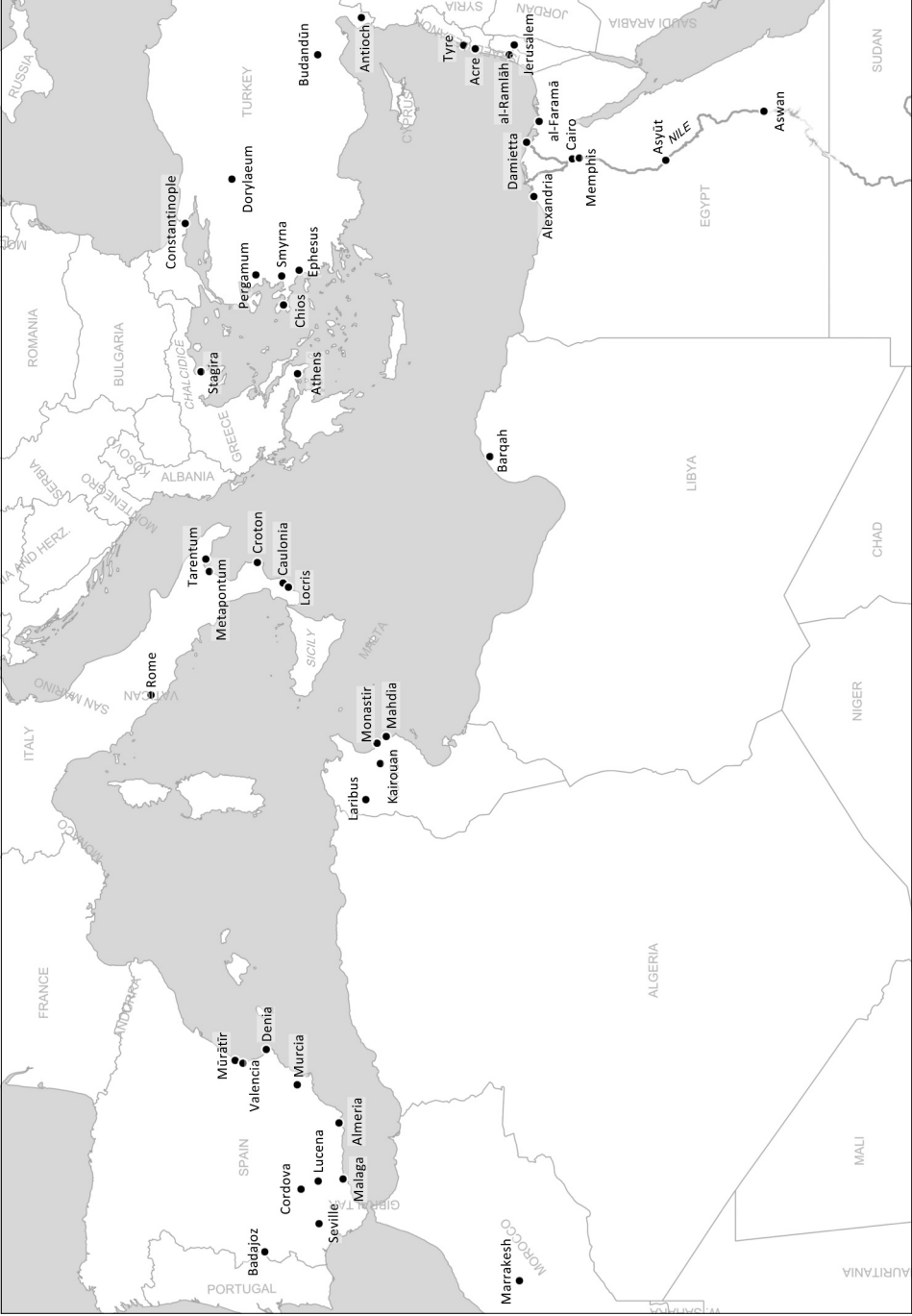
Ch.xx.xx Chapters within the *‘Uyūn* are designated by numbers 1 through 15, followed by the number of an individual biography within that chapter. A third set of numbers refers to a given subsection of a biography. Subsequent numbers in a given sequence refer to items within numbered lists, such as 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.



Map of the Islamic World ca. 1200



Map of the Islamic World ca. 1200





## Physicians in the Lands of the Persians (*Bilād al-‘ajam*)

*Translated and annotated by Alasdair Watson, N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder (poetry)*<sup>1</sup>

### 11.1 Tayādūrus (Theodorus)<sup>2</sup>

Tayādūrus was a Christian who had a good knowledge of the art and practice of medicine. Sābūr Dhū l-Aktāf<sup>3</sup> built churches for him in his city<sup>4</sup> although it is also said that the one who built the churches for him was Bahrām Gūr.<sup>5</sup>

Tayādūrus is the author of a medical compendium (*Kunnāsh*).<sup>6</sup>

### 11.2 Barzawayh<sup>1</sup>

It is said that Barzawayh was learned in the art of medicine, in which he was well-versed and was distinguished in his time. He excelled in the sciences

1 In the biographies that follow, the translators/editors will be indicated by AW (Alasdair Watson) and NPJ (N. Peter Joosse) and GJvG (Geert Jan van Gelder).

2 Translation/annotation by AW. For Tayādūrus, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 303. Although he does not mention it, the *Fihrist* is clearly IAU's source here. This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

3 The Sāsānid King Shāpūr II (r. 309–379) was known to the Arabs as Sābūr Dhū l-Aktāf (Sābūr of the shoulder blades) as it is said that he used to pierce the shoulders of his Arab captives. He is said to have followed a policy of suppression and persecution of Christians, yet here he is seen to be building churches. See: *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Shapur II' (Touraj Daryaei); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Shāpūr' (C.E. Bosworth); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sāsānids' (M. Morony).

4 Tayādūrus probably lived in Gondeshapur as Shāpūr II's court physician. See: Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāmah*, art. 'Gundīshāpūr'. For the city itself, see: *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Gondēšāpur' (A. Shapur Shahbazi & L. Richter-Bernburg).

5 Bahrām V (r. 420–438), the fifteenth Sāsānid King of Persia. See: *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Bahrām' (O. Klīma); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sāsānids' (M. Morony).

6 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 303; (Sayyid), 316, says that the *Kunnāsh* of Tayādūrus was translated into Arabic.

1 Translation/annotation by AW. This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Barzawayh (also, more properly, vowelled as Burzūyah) is the Arabic form of the Persian

of the Persians and the Indians and it was he who brought the book of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* from India to Anūshirwān ibn Qubādih ibn Fayrūz the King of the Persians<sup>2</sup> and translated it for him from the Indian language into Persian.<sup>3</sup> Then, after the advent of Islam, ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ al-Khaṭīb<sup>4</sup> translated it from the Persian language into the Arabic language.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that this book [*Kalilah wa-Dimnah*] whose fame has become great is to do with the improvement of morals and the refinement of the soul and has no peer in its subject matter. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ al-Khaṭīb was also a Persian and was the secretary of Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr.<sup>5</sup> He also translated *The Book of Categories, On Interpretation, and The Analytics* among the books of Aristotle.<sup>6</sup> In addition, he translated the introduction to logic known as the *Isagoge* of Porphyry of Tyre.<sup>7</sup> He translated in a smooth and easily-understood style.<sup>8</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa’ composed other fine works as well, including an epistle on etiquette and governance (*Fī l-adab wa-l-siyāsah*), and an epistle known as *The Solitary Pearl: on obedience to the ruler* (*al-Yatimah fī ṭā‘at al-sultān*).<sup>9</sup>

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name Burzōē, whose autobiographical chapter appears as part of the introduction of the book of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. See Ibn al-Muqaffa’, *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, 78–95. See also Sezgin, *GAS* 111 182–183; *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Borzūya’ (Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh).

2 Khusraw I, Sāsānid king (r. 531–579).

3 That is, from Sanskrit into Middle Persian or Pahlavi. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Kalila Wa-Dimna’ (C. Brockelmann); *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Kalila wa Demna’ (Multiple Authors). For how Burzūyah brought the book to Iran, see de Blois, *Burzōy’s voyage*.

4 ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. ca. 139/756). His Persian name was Rōzbeh son of Dādōē. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (F. Gabrieli); *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Ebn al-Moqaffa’, Abū Moḥammad ‘Abd-Allāh Rōzbeh’ (J. Derek Latham).

5 Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ‘al-Manṣūr’, second Abbasid caliph (r. 136/754–158/775).

6 See Ch. 4.6.5.1.

7 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Furfūriyūs’ (R. Walzer); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Īsāghūdji’ (Ed.); Dāneshpazhūh, *Mantiq*.

8 Mentioned in Sezgin, *GAS* V, 207. The translations of the logical works are also attributed to the son Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’, who was also a secretary to al-Manṣūr.

9 For a discussion of these works and whether they can be attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa’, see *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Ebn al-Moqaffa’, Abū Moḥammad ‘Abd-Allāh Rōzbeh’ (J. Derek Latham).

### 11.3 Rabban al-Ṭabarī

Al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qifṭī says in his book:<sup>1</sup>

This Rabban al-Ṭabarī was a Jewish physician and astrologer from Tabaristan.<sup>2</sup> He distinguished himself in medicine and was learned in geometry and in all forms of mathematics. He also translated philosophical books from one language to another.

Ibn al-Qifṭī continues:

His son ‘Alī ibn Rabban<sup>3</sup> was a renowned physician who moved to Iraq and settled at Samarra.<sup>4</sup> This Rabban was prominent in Judaism; Rabban, Ribbin, and Rābb being names of leading scholars in the religion of the Jews.<sup>5</sup>

When Abū Ma‘shar<sup>6</sup> was asked about the loci of rays (*maṭārīḥ al-shu‘ā’*), he spoke of them, ending by saying that those who translated the copies of the *Almagest*<sup>7</sup> taken from the Greek language neither mentioned rays nor their loci and that the matter occurs only in the copy translated by Rabban al-Ṭabarī. Ptolemy’s locus of rays, he said, does not occur in the ancient copies and was known<sup>8</sup> neither to Thābit<sup>9</sup> nor to Ḥunayn al-Qalūsī,<sup>10</sup> al-Kindī,<sup>11</sup> nor to any of the great translators, nor to the sons of Nawbakht.<sup>12</sup>

1 Translation/annotation by AW. This biography is present in Versions 2 and 3, but is not in Version 1 of the work. For Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 187.

2 Region of northern Persia on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ṭabaristān’ (Ed.).

3 See Ch. 11.4 below.

4 Abbasid capital between the years 221/836 and 279/892; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Sāmarrā’ (A. Northedge); and Northedge, *Historical Topography of Samarra*.

5 In fact, Rabban al-Ṭabarī was a Syriac Christian scholar, and it was only due to a misunderstanding of the name Rabban that he was associated with Judaism. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 236.

6 For him, see Ch. 10.1.5–6.

7 For the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Baṭlamīyūs’ (M. Plessner); Sezgin, *GAS* V, 166–174.

8 The published edition of Ibn al-Qifṭī’s text ends here (*Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 187) saying, ‘Ptolemy’s locus of rays does not occur in the ancient copies and was not known by the translators.’ It does not mention their names.

9 For Thābit ibn Qurrah, see Ch. 10.3.

10 For Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, see Ch. 8.29; 9.2.

11 For al-Kindī’s biography, see Ch. 10.1.

12 For the Nawbakht family, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Nawbakht’ (L. Massignon); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Nawbakhtī’ (J.L. Kraemer); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 176–177.

#### 11.4 Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī<sup>1</sup>

His name is Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Sahl ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, although Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī al-Kātib gives it as ‘Alī ibn Rabbal’, with an ‘l’,<sup>2</sup> and says of him that he used to be a secretary for al-Māzyār ibn Qārin.<sup>3</sup> When he converted to Islam<sup>4</sup> at the instance of al-Mu‘taṣim<sup>5</sup> he became an associate of the caliph, and his merit was seen at court. Then al-Mutawakkil<sup>6</sup> included him in his group of *nadīms*. Ibn Rabban had a good knowledge of letters and it was he who taught al-Rāzī<sup>7</sup> the art of medicine. He was born and raised in Tabaristan.<sup>8</sup>

An example of his sayings is, ‘The ignorant physician encourages death.’

Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī wrote the following books:<sup>9</sup>

1. The paradise of wisdom (*K. Firdaws al-ḥikmah*), which he arranged in seven ‘species’, each species containing thirty discourses, and the discourses containing three hundred and sixty chapters.<sup>10</sup>

1 Translation/annotation by AW. For Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 236–240; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 296; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 231. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Ṭabarī’ (D. Thomas); Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 46–95. This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

2 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 296, has ‘Alī ibn Zil *bi-l-lām*’; Cf. *Fihrist* (Sayyid), ii:296–297.

3 Al-Māzyār ibn Qārin (d. 225/840), last of the Qārinid rulers of Tabaristan. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Qarinids’ (M. Rekaya).

4 After converting to Islam apparently at the advanced age of 70, al-Ṭabarī composed two polemical works in favour of Islam named *K. al-Radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā*, and *K. al-Dīn wal-dawlah*. For editions and translations of these works published in 2016, see Ebied & Thomas, *The polemical works of ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī*.

5 Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 218–227/833–842), eighth Abbasid Caliph. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Mu‘taṣim Bi ‘llāh’ (C.E. Bosworth).

6 Tenth Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861). *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā ‘llāh’ (H. Kennedy).

7 See below Ch. 11.5.1.

8 Region of northern Persia on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ṭabaristān’ (Ed.).

9 For additional titles attributed to ‘Alī ibn Sahl ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, see Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 53–54.

10 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 239; Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 55–95 for analysis of treatise. Two editions have been published: ‘Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* (ed. al-Ṣiddiqī) and (ed. al-Jundī). An edition of the section of eye diseases was published by Qal‘āh’jī & al-Wafā’ī, *Amrād al-‘ayn*, 323–368. Two partial German translations are published: Siggel, *Die Propädeutischen Kapitel* and Thies, *Die Lehren der arabischen Mediziner Tabarī und Ibn Hubal*. For manuscript copies, see Savage-Smith, *NCAm-1*, 151–154.

2. The easement of life (*K. Irfāq al-ḥayāh*).<sup>11</sup>
3. The gift for kings (*K. Tuḥfat al-mulūk*).<sup>12</sup>
4. The medical compendium of the court (*K. Kunnāsh al-ḥaḍrah*).<sup>13</sup>
5. The benefits of foodstuffs, potions, and drugs (*K. Manāfi' al-aṭ'imah wa-l-ashribah wa-l-'aqāqīr*).<sup>14</sup>
6. The preservation of health (*K. Ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).<sup>15</sup>
7. On incantations (*K. fī-l-Ruqā'*).<sup>16</sup>
8. On cupping (*K. fī-l-Ḥijāmah*).<sup>17</sup>
9. On the classification of nutriments (*K. fī Tartīb al-aghdhīyah*).<sup>18</sup>

## 11.5 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī<sup>1</sup>

[11.5.1]

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī<sup>2</sup> was born and raised in Rayy,<sup>3</sup> but when he was in his thirties, he travelled to Baghdad and stayed there for a time. From a young age al-Rāzī was keen on the intellectual disciplines and studied

11 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 240, lists this title as *K. Irfān al-ḥayāt*. Not in Ibn Nadīm or Ibn al-Qiftī. Siddiqi, (*Medical Literature*, 53) gives title as *K. Irfāq'l-Ḥayāt*.

12 See Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 52.

13 See Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 52, where title translated as 'The Excellent Compendium'.

14 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 240; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 296; Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 52.

15 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 239; Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 53.

16 See Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 53.

17 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 239; Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 53.

18 See Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 53.

1 Translation/annotation by AW and poetry by GJvG. This biography is present in all three versions of the work. For Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 274–294, IV, 275–282, V, 282, VI, 187–188; VII, 160, 271–272; Sezgin, *ar-Rāzī: texts and studies*; *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Rāzī' (L.E. Goodman); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 128–136; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 45–60; Daiber, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī'; Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital*, pp. 145–152.

2 Al-Rāzī became well-known in the Mediaeval Latin West under many variations of his name such as Rhazes, Razes, Rasis, and even Abubetrus Rhaza Maomethus. His great compendium *al-Ḥāwī* was translated into Latin as *Liber Continens* in the late 13th century and printed a number of times from 1488, as was his *K. al-Manṣūrī* which was translated by Gerard of Cremona as *Liber medicinalis Almansoris* in the late 12th century. See Fischer & Weisser, 'Vorwort'; Jacquart, 'Note'.

3 An important city and capital of the Jibāl region of west-central Iran. *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Rayy' (V. Minorsky [C.E. Bosworth]). For a more detailed, modern study, see Rante and Afround, *Rayy: from its Origins to the Mongol Invasion*. The *nisbah* Rāzī (of Rayy) is the irregularly formed relative adjective from Rayy.

them as well as literature. He was also a poet. He began to study the art of medicine when he was older,<sup>4</sup> and his teacher in this subject was ‘Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī.<sup>5</sup>

[11.5.2]

In his book *On Hospitals* (*K. fī l-Bīmāristānāt*), Abū Sa‘īd Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ (The Abstinent Scholar)<sup>6</sup> says:

The reason al-Rāzī began to study the medical art was that when he first came to the City of Peace, Baghdad, he visited the ‘Aḍudī hospital<sup>7</sup> so that he could see it for himself. There he was fortunate enough to meet the hospital’s pharmacist, a venerable man, whom al-Rāzī questioned about drugs and who had first discovered them. The pharmacist answered that the first drug to be known was *Sempervivum* (*ḥayy al-‘ālam*)<sup>8</sup> and that this had occurred when Philon<sup>9</sup> the descendant of Asclepius<sup>10</sup> once had an inflamed swelling [*waram ḥārr*] on his forearm which caused him severe pain. During his treatment of it he felt the need to go outside to the riverside and ordered his servants to carry him to a riverbank where, as it happened, this plant grew. Philon placed some of the plant on his swelling to try to cool it and because of this his pain subsided. He continued to do this for a long time and repeated it the next day until he was cured. When the people saw how quickly he had been cured and realized that it was due to this drug they named it ‘The Life of the World’ (*ḥayāt al-‘ālam*), which, owing to frequent repetition, eventually became shortened to ‘World’s Life’ (*ḥayy al-‘ālam*). When al-Rāzī heard this, he was impressed and visited the hospital another time, where he saw a child who had been born with two faces in a single head. Al-Rāzī asked

4 For a discussion of al-Rāzī’s age when he began to study medicine, see Iskandar, *Tahqīq*.

5 For al-Ṭabarī, see previous entry Ch. 11. 4.

6 Ch. 10. 54.

7 That is, what is now (in IAU’s time) known as the ‘Aḍudī hospital, since it wasn’t until 981 or 982 that the hospital was renovated by ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah. See IAU’s comment below 11.5.5, and *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Bīmāristān’ (D.M. Dunlop); Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital*.

8 *Sempervivum* or ‘The Everlasting’ is also called Stone Crop or Orpine, a plant of the genus *Sedum*. See Lev and Amar, *Materia Medica*, 459.

9 Philon of Tarsus, a first-century (?) druggist noted for a pain-killer he devised and for being championed/adopted by Asclepius; see *Der Neue Pauly*, art. ‘Philon, Ph. von Tarsos, Pharmakologe’ (Alain Touwaide). The identical name occurs in Ch. 1 (pt 3) (Müller i. 12), where he is also called ‘a descendant of Asclepius’.

10 Ch. 2. 1.

the physicians about the cause of this, and when he was informed he was impressed again with what he had heard and continued to enquire about one thing after another, remembering everything he was told until he decided to learn the medical art and eventually became the 'Galen of the Arabs'.<sup>11</sup> This is the account of Abū Sa'īd Zāhid al-'Ulamā'.

[11.5.3]

A certain person has said:

Al-Rāzī was amongst those who took part in the building of the 'Aḍudī hospital, and 'Aḍud al-Dawlah<sup>12</sup> consulted him about the location where the hospital should be built. Al-Rāzī instructed some of his servants to hang pieces of meat in every quarter of Baghdad and noted the one in which the meat had not gone bad or putrefied quickly. He then advised that the hospital should be built there, and that is its location.

[11.5.4]

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Turāb al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, may God show him mercy, told me:

When 'Aḍud al-Dawlah built the 'Aḍudī hospital that is named after him, he intended that a group of the best and most eminent physicians should be employed in the hospital. So he enquired about the most famous physicians at that time in Baghdad and its environs. Now, they numbered about one hundred, so he chose nearly fifty from among them, based on what was known of their qualities and skill in the art of medicine, and al-Rāzī was one of those chosen. Then he narrowed these down to ten, and again, al-Rāzī was amongst them. Of the ten he chose three, one of whom was al-Rāzī, and when he examined them it was clear that al-Rāzī had the most merit so 'Aḍud al-Dawlah placed him in charge of the 'Aḍudī hospital.

[11.5.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that according to my information, al-Rāzī lived before the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah ibn Buwayh, and he frequented the hospital at a time before 'Aḍud al-Dawlah came to renovate it. Al-Rāzī also authored a

11 Al-Rāzī was, of course, a Persian by birth [if not by lineage].

12 Abū Shujā' Fannā Khusraw, Buyid emir (d. 372/983).



book describing the hospital and containing all the details of the conditions of the patients who were treated there.<sup>13</sup>

[11.5.6]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl<sup>14</sup> said:

When ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah built the new hospital, which stands by the bridge on the west side of Baghdad, he gathered physicians there from every place and settled salaries upon twenty-four physicians, among them Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks<sup>15</sup> who usually only taught medicine in the hospital because he was blind.<sup>16</sup> Also among them were Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Kashkarāyā,<sup>17</sup> who was known as ‘the Disciple of Sinān’,<sup>18</sup> Abū Ya‘qūb al-Ahwāzī,<sup>19</sup> Abū ‘Īsā Baqiyyah, al-Qass al-Rūmī,<sup>20</sup> the sons of Ḥasnūn, and a group of natural philosophers (*ṭabā’iyyīn*).

‘Ubayd Allāh continues:

My father Jibrīl<sup>21</sup> had come up with ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah from Shiraz<sup>22</sup> and was assigned a stipend along with a group of natural philosophers (*ṭabā’iyyīn*) in the hospital and among the court doctors.

He continues:

Among the oculists of merit in the hospital alongside the aforementioned people was Abū Naṣr ibn al-Daḥlī, among the surgeons, Abū l-Khayr,<sup>23</sup>

13 This book named *K. Ṣifāt al-bimāristān* is in the book-list below at 11.5.8 no. 218.

14 Ch. 8.6.

15 Ch. 10.43.

16 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 235–236.

17 Ch. 10. 31. Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Kashkarāyā, a student of Sinān ibn Thābit (d. 331/943; Ch. 10.4), is not to be confused with Ya‘qūb al-Kashkarī (or al-Kaskarī), who worked in Baghdad hospitals in the 920s during the reign of al-Muqtadir and who is not mentioned by IAU; for the latter, see Pormann, ‘Islamic Hospitals’; Pormann, ‘Theory and Practice’; Pormann, ‘Al-Kaskarī’.

18 That is Sinān ibn Thābit, see Ch. 10.4.

19 Ch. 10.32.

20 Ch. 10.33.

21 That is, Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh, see Ch. 8.5.

22 Capital of Fars province in Iran, where ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah began his career as ruler. He came to Baghdad in 364/975.

23 Possibly Ibn al-Khammār, for whom see below Ch. 11.8.

and Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Tuffāh, and his associates, and among the aforementioned bonesetters (*mujabbirīn*) there was Abū l-Ṣalt.

[11.5.7]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān [Ibn Juljul] says:

Al-Rāzī was in charge of the hospital at Rayy for a time before he began to practice and work in the ‘Aḍudī hospital. He also says that at the beginning of his career, al-Rāzī used to play the lute,<sup>24</sup> but then applied himself to medicine and philosophy, in both of which he excelled.<sup>25</sup>

[11.5.8]

In his book named *An Introduction to the Classes of the Nations* (*K. al-Taʿrīf bi-tabaqāt al-umam*), Ṣāʿid the Judge<sup>26</sup> says:

Al-Rāzī did not delve into metaphysics (*al-ʿilm al-ilāhī*) much and could not understand its higher purpose.<sup>27</sup> Because of this his thought became confused and he adopted naïve views, professed foul doctrines, and criticized certain sects about which he had no understanding and whose methods he did not follow.<sup>28</sup>

[11.5.9]

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, who is known as Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, says in his book *The Catalogue* (*K. al-Fihrist*):<sup>29</sup>

24 Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 52, also mentions al-Rāzī’s early interest in music.

25 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aʿyibāʾ*, 77–80.

26 Al-Qāḍī Ṣāʿid, that is, Abū l-Qāsim Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Taghlibī al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), judge and scholar of 5th/11th century Toledo. His *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* is his only surviving work and has been published several times. See PUA, entry 395; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī’ (G. Martinez-Gros.), where a brief evaluation of the book is given. For an English translation of the book see: Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Science in the Medieval World*. Two Spanish translations have also been published, see: Maillo Salgado, *Libro de las categorías de las naciones*; and Llaveró Ruiz, *Historia de la filosofía y de las ciencias* Cf. Vol. 1, p. 121.

27 Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 52–53; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʿrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 271–272: ‘... however, he delved deeply into theology but could not understand its higher purpose etc.’

28 Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 33, discusses al-Rāzī and criticizes his philosophy and some of his doctrines, particularly his view of Aristotle. For an assessment of al-Rāzī as heretic, see Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam*, 87–120.

29 This and the following passages are found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 299; (Sayyid), 305–307.

Al-Rāzī used to travel to various cities. He and Maṣṣūr ibn Ismā'īl were close friends, and it was for the latter that al-Rāzī composed his *Book for Maṣṣūr* (*K. al-Manṣūrī*).<sup>30</sup>

Ibn al-Nadīm continues:

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq told me that an old man from Rayy whom he had asked about al-Rāzī said: 'He was an old man with a head as large as a casket. He used to sit in his salon with his students beside him and their students beside them and even more students beside them. Someone would come and describe his symptoms to the first person he met and if he didn't know the answer, the patient would pass on to one of the others. Al-Rāzī was honourable and esteemed, amenable to the people, and kind to the poor and the sick. He would even give them generous stipends and tend to them himself.

He was constantly writing and copying, and whenever I visited him he would always be writing either a draft or a fair copy. He suffered from moisture in his eyes due to the excessive eating of broad beans (*bāqillā*),<sup>31</sup> and he became blind toward the end of his life. Abū Bakr al-Rāzī used to say that he studied philosophy with al-Balkhī.

Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm continues:

Abū Zayd al-Balkhī<sup>32</sup> was from Balkh and used to wander round to various cities and travel in the land. He had a good knowledge of philosophy and the ancient sciences. It was said that al-Rāzī claimed al-Balkhī's books on these subjects as his own. I – Ibn al-Nadīm – have seen in al-Balkhī's handwriting a great many draft copies and notebooks on many subjects

30 In fact, the book was composed in 290/903 for Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Isḥāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad al-Sāmānī (d. 302/915), who was Samanid Governor of Rayy from 290–296/902–908. See C.E. Bosworth, *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'Abū Ṣaleḥ Maṣṣūr' (C.E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), ii:901. For a discussion of the name Maṣṣūr ibn Ismā'īl, see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 78, n. 8. See also the book-list below, 11.5.25 no. 90.

31 It is difficult to see why this would be attributed to the beans. Ibn Jazlah, *Minhāj al-bayān*, s.v. *bāqillā*, mentions some harmful properties of broad beans saying that they 'dull the senses (*yuballid al-ḥawāss*), cause bloating, and bring about bad dreams.'

32 For Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), *adīb*, philosopher, geographer, and theologian, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Balkhī, Aḥmad b. Sahl' (D.M. Dunlop); *ET Three* art. 'al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd' (H.H. Biesterfeldt); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Abū Zayd al-Balkhī' (S. Movahhed, F. Negahban).

of which no complete book has ever been published. It is also said that al-Balkhī's books are to be found in Khorasan. During the time of al-Rāzī there was a man known as Shahīd ibn al-Ḥusayn whose *kunyah* was Abū l-Ḥasan and who adopted al-Balkhī's philosophy of knowledge. This man was the author of some books and held discussions with al-Rāzī in which each of them would offer criticisms of the other.<sup>33</sup>

[11.5.10]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that al-Rāzī was clever and intelligent. He was kind to his patients, striving to treat and cure them by all possible means. He constantly investigated the obscurities of the medical art and sought to discover its truths and secrets. It was the same with other disciplines, so much so that, for the greater part of his time, he had no want or concern except the study and examination of what the foremost scholars had set down in their books. In one of his own books I have even found a passage in which he states that he had a learned friend with whom he used to study the books of Hippocrates<sup>34</sup> and Galen<sup>35</sup> at night. There are many stories and lessons about al-Rāzī and the proficiency he attained in the medical art, his unique treatment of patients, the deductions he made about the prognosis of their cases, and his experience with the properties of drugs that were unknown to many other physicians. A great number of anecdotes are told of him and are related in many of his books, including some in a particular chapter of his *Comprehensive Book (al-Kitāb al-Ḥawī)*, and in his book *On the Secret of Medicine (K. fi Sirr al-ṭibb)*.<sup>36</sup>

[11.5.11]

One anecdote about his innovative diagnoses and excellent deductions is related by Abū ‘Alī al-Muḥassin ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī al-Fahm al-Tanūkhī<sup>37</sup> in his *Book of Relief after Hardship (K. al-Faraj ba‘d al-shiddah)*, as follows:

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī Abū l-Ḥusayn – who was born into a family of judges – told me: ‘A certain reliable physician told me that a young man of Baghdad came to Rayy spitting up blood – something which had afflicted him during his journey. He summoned Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, the physician famous for his skill and author of writings, and showed

33 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 299; (Sayyid), 305–307; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:197–198.

34 See Ch. 4.1.9.1–2.

35 See Ch. 5.1.37–39.

36 For further details of both books, see al-Rāzī's book-list below.

37 *Adīb*, judge, and secretary (d. 384/994). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Tanūkhī’ (H. Fāhndrich).

him what he was spitting up and described to him his symptoms. Al-Rāzī took his pulse, examined his urine, and enquired about his condition from its beginning, but al-Rāzī could see no indication of any wasting disease or ulcer and could not identify the cause. Al-Rāzī asked the man to give him time to consider the matter, at which the man panicked and said, “I am done for, since even this physician with his great skill does not know the cause.” and his condition worsened. Then al-Rāzī had an idea. Returning to the man he asked him about the water he had drunk on his journey. When man told him that he had drunk from swamps and pools, it occurred to al-Rāzī’s sharp and intelligent mind that a leech had been in the water and had entered his stomach, and that the discharge of blood was due to its effect. He said to the man, “I will come in the morning and treat you, and I will not leave until you are cured. However, there is one condition, and that is that you order your servants to obey me in all I command them to do to you.” The man agreed and al-Rāzī left. Then al-Rāzī had two large tubs of green moss (*tuḥlub akḥḍar*) gathered, which he brought with him to the man the next morning. Showing them to him, he said, “You must swallow everything in these two tubs!” The man swallowed a little, and then stopped. Al-Rāzī told him to swallow more, and when the man said that he couldn’t, al-Rāzī told the servants to take him and place him on his back. They did so, throwing him on his back and holding his mouth open, and al-Rāzī began to force the moss down the man’s throat, pressing it hard and demanding that he swallow it, like-it-or-not. He threatened to beat him, until he had made him swallow, against his will, one of the tubs in its entirety. And all the while the man was crying out for help, but nothing would avail him: al-Rāzī was relentless. Then the man said, “I am going to vomit,” at which point al-Rāzī stuffed more moss into his throat until the man vomited. When al-Rāzī examined the vomit, he found a leech in it that, since it was by nature attracted to the moss, had left its place and attached itself to it. When the man vomited, the leech emerged along with the moss. And the man got up, his health restored.<sup>38</sup>

[11.5.12]

The Judge al-Tanūkhī also said:

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, who was known as Ibn Ḥamdūn, told me that Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Rāzī,

38 al-Tanūkhī, *Faraq*, iv:199–200.

the jurist, had told him that he had heard the following from Abū Bakr ibn Qārin al-Rāzī, the skilled physician. Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥamdūn's account runs:

I met this man [Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī] who was proficient in many disciplines, including prophetic traditions which he would relate and people would record them from him. He was, however, considered to be an unreliable transmitter, although I have not heard this from him.

The Judge al-Tanūkhī says, 'Despite my frequent meetings with Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, I have never heard him say this himself.'

Ibn Qārin al-Rāzī, who was a student of medicine under Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, continues:

I heard the following account from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, the physician, after his return from being with the emir of Khorasan who had summoned him and was treated by him for a severe illness. He told me:

On my way to Nishapur I passed by Bistam,<sup>39</sup> which is half way between Nishapur and Rayy. The governor of the city received me, took me to his home, and provided every service. He asked me to look at a son of his who had dropsy (*istisqā'*) and took me to an apartment which had been set aside for him where I saw the patient, but I had no hope of curing him. So I said some diverting words in the presence of the young man, but when I was alone with his father he asked me to tell him the truth, and so I told him that his son had no hope of living. 'Allow him to do as he wishes,' I said, 'for he will not live.'

After a year I left Khorasan and passed by Bistam again, where the man received me on my return. When I met him I felt extremely ashamed, for I was sure that his son had died, and since I was the one who had foretold his death, I feared he might find me burdensome. The governor took me to his house, but I did not see anything to indicate that his son had died, although I was reluctant to ask him about his son lest I renew his grief. One day he said to me, 'Do you recognize that young man?', pointing to a handsome youth, healthy, strong, and sanguine, who was standing with the servants attending us. When I said that I didn't, he said, 'It is my son

39 MSS AB: Biqām; R: Niqām; Gc: Binqām. The name was not identifiable from any of the classical Arabic sources for geographical names. Al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, iv:223, here gives the name as Bistam (Biṣṭām), a city which does indeed lie between Nishapur and Rayy.

who you said would die when you went to Khorasan!' I was astonished. 'Tell me the cause of his recovery,' I said, whereupon the man said to me: When you left me, my son realized that you had told me he would not live, and he said to me, 'I have no doubt that this man – the greatest physician of his time – has told you I will not live. I only ask that you keep away the servants (that is, my servants who attended him), for they are persons of my own age, and if I see them in good health, knowing that I am to die, it will cause a fever in my heart which will bring my death on even more quickly. So relieve me of this by not letting me see them and let so-and-so, my nurse,<sup>40</sup> attend to me.'

I did as he asked, and every day, food for the nurse was brought along with what my son requested but not according to any particular diet. After some days, a dish of madira<sup>41</sup> was brought for the nurse to eat, which she left in a place where my son could see it and then went about her chores. She told me that when she returned she saw that my son had eaten most of what was in the bowl<sup>42</sup> with only a little remaining, the colour of which had changed.

In the old woman's own words:

So I said to him, 'What is this?' He said, 'Don't go near the bowl', and he pulled it towards himself, saying, 'I saw a great viper that came out from its hiding-place and slid towards the bowl, ate from it, then regurgitated, after which the colour of the food became as you see. I thought to myself, I am dying and I do not want to suffer great pain, and I will never have a better chance than this. So I crawled to the bowl and ate from it what I could so that I might die quickly and be relieved. When I could eat no more I returned to my place until you came.'

40 *Fulānah dāyati*. A *dāyah* is a nurse, midwife, or someone who looks after children.

41 Ar. *maḍīrah*. A special dish of meat cooked with sour milk (*al-laban al-maḍīr*) until the meat is well-done and the milk becomes thick. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2720; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Maḍīra' (Ed.). The dish is a legendary delicacy and features in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāh Maḍīr-īyah*; see al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt* (2006), 122. See also, al-Tha'ālībī, *Laṭā'if*, 12; al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies*, viii:403–404; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1993), v:2302–2303; al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-abrār* (1992), iii:226–227. Mention of the properties of madira is made in al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālī'*, ii:54. It is sometimes mistaken for a similar dish made of mutton cooked with fresh milk (*al-laban al-ḥalīb*), the benefits of which are mentioned in Prophetic medicine. See Shubbar, *Ṭibb al-a'immaḥ*, 169.

42 Ar. *ghaḍārah*. A large bowl (*qaṣ'ah*). Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālī'*, ii:54, says that madira ought to be served in blue dishes or similar, and it is certainly not polite to use white dishes; presumably for reason of contrast because the colour of the food is white. If the word *ghaḍārah* is indeed derived from Arabic and not Persian, then perhaps it carries connotations of a green dish.

The nurse continued:

I could see the madira on his hands and mouth, so I shrieked, but he said, ‘Don’t say anything to anyone, but bury the bowl and its contents in case someone eats it and dies or an animal eats it, bites a person and kills him.’ So I did as he said.

The father then continued:

Then the nurse came out to me, and when she had told me everything I was shocked and went to see my son, but found him asleep. So I said he was not to be woken until we saw what would happen. He woke at the end of the day, having sweated profusely, and asked to go to the bathroom. When he was taken there his bowels opened and that night and the next day he passed more than one hundred bowel movements, which only increased our despair. After a few days of this and little food he asked for some chicken, which he ate, and his strength began to return after his belly had been stuck to his back. Our hopes of his recovery became stronger and we kept him in isolation and his strength increased until he became as you see him now.

Al-Rāzī continues his narrative:

I was amazed at this, but recalled that the Ancients had said that when a person suffering from dropsy eats the flesh of an old and long-lived snake, hundreds of years old, he will be cured. ‘But had I told you that this was his cure you would have thought I was making false promises. And in any case, how can you tell the age of a snake even if we could find one? So I kept silent.’<sup>43</sup>

[11.5.13]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that there are a great many other similar anecdotes about al-Rāzī, a large collection of which I have included in my book *Anecdotes of Physicians in Treating Illnesses* (*K. Ḥikāyāt al-aṭibbā’ fī ‘ilājāt al-adwā’*).<sup>44</sup>

[11.5.14]

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī lived most of his life in Persia (*bilād al-‘ajam*), as it was his homeland and that of his family and brother. He was in service as physician to many of the greatest rulers of the Persians and

43 al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, iv:223–226, and for a similar story, *Faraj*, iv:213–214.

44 This book of IAU is not extant.



it was there he composed many books on medicine and other subjects, including his book *al-Manṣūrī* for al-Manṣūr ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Khāqān, the governor of Khorasan and Transoxiana.<sup>45</sup> He also composed the book which he named *The Book of Regal Medicine* (*K. al-Ṭibb al-mulūkī*) for ‘Alī, the son of the governor of Tabaristan.<sup>46</sup> Al-Rāzī also excelled in the study of the philosophical disciplines and composed many books on these subjects, all of which indicate his excellent knowledge and superb mastery. At the beginning of his career he was concerned with magic and alchemy and the like. and composed some works on these subjects also.<sup>47</sup>

[11.5.15]

I quote here from a work in the handwriting of Bulmuḏaffar ibn Mu‘arrif:<sup>48</sup>

Abū Bakr al-Rāzī used to say: ‘I do not consider anyone who has not studied the art of alchemy to be a proper philosopher, for only then will he have no need to earn a living from dubious people and will have no interest in what they own nor have any need of them.’

[11.5.16]

A certain physician told me:

Al-Rāzī once sold gold ingots to some Byzantines. They took them home with them, but a number of years later discovered that the colour of the ingots had changed somewhat and they realized they were fake so they made al-Rāzī take them back.

[11.5.17]

Another person said:

The vizier was once a guest at al-Rāzī’s house where he ate some food that was as delicious as could be. Afterwards the vizier contrived to buy one of the maids who cooked for al-Rāzī, thinking that she would cook similar food for him. When she made the food it was not the same and when

45 See above 11.5.9, and also below in the list of al-Rāzī’s books.

46 That is, ‘Alī ibn Wāhsūdhan the Daylamite (d. after 304/917), who was Governor of Rayy rather than of Ṭabaristān. See *Encycl. Iranica*, art. ‘Jostanids’ (M. Pezeshk); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Daylam’ (V. Minorsky).

47 See book-list below.

48 Ch. 14.30.

the vizier asked her about this she said that the food was the same, but all the cooking pots at al-Rāzī's house were of gold and silver. The vizier then imagined that this was the reason for the quality of the food and that al-Rāzī had acquired knowledge of alchemy. When the vizier summoned al-Rāzī and asked him to teach him what he knew of alchemy, al-Rāzī could tell him nothing and denied all knowledge of it, so the vizier had him secretly garroted.

[11.5.18]

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.

[11.5.19]

Al-Rāzī was a contemporary of Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn<sup>49</sup> and others of the time. He became blind towards the end of his life due to fluid entering his eyes. When he was advised to have his eyes couched, he said, 'No, I have seen enough of the world and am weary of it', and refused to undergo the operation.<sup>50</sup>

[11.5.20]

Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā,<sup>51</sup> who was a near contemporary of al-Rāzī, said that al-Rāzī died between the years 290 and 300-odd [between 903–921 approx.], but that he was unsure of the exact date.

[11.5.21]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – quote here from a manuscript of Bulmuḥaffar ibn Mu'arrif,<sup>52</sup> which states that al-Rāzī died in the year 320 [932–933].

49 See Chs, 8.30 and 9.2.

50 For an alleged cause of his blindness, see above Ch. 11.5.9, and also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v:160, where it is said that he was beaten on the head with his book titled *al-Manṣūrī*, at the orders of al-Manṣūr who did not like his attitude. Ibn Khallikān says he quotes Ibn Juljul, but it is not in the published *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*.

51 Known as Ibn al-Khammār. On him, see Ch. 11.8.

52 Ch. 14.30.

[11.5.22]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl<sup>53</sup> says:

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī had a great position in Rayy and the rest of the lands of the Jibāl,<sup>54</sup> and he lived until the time of Ibn al-‘Amīd,<sup>55</sup> the master of al-Ṣāhib ibn ‘Abbād,<sup>56</sup> who is the one who published al-Rāzī’s book known as *The Comprehensive Book* (*al-Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*). The book was found in Rayy after al-Rāzī’s death, and Ibn al-‘Amīd requested it from al-Rāzī’s sister and paid her many gold dinars until she produced the drafts of the book. Then, Ibn al-‘Amīd brought together the physicians who had been al-Rāzī’s students in Rayy, and they arranged the book and it was published, disorganized though it is.

[11.5.23]

Aphorisms of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī:

1. 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.
2. Frequent reading of scholarly books, and understanding the secrets therein, is beneficial to every serious scholar.
3. 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.
4. Whoever does not concern himself with the natural and philosophical sciences and the canons of logic, but inclines towards worldly pleasures, be suspicious of his knowledge, particularly with regard to the art of medicine.
5. When Galen and Aristotle are in agreement on a matter then it is correct. When they disagree, it is very difficult for the intellect to grasp the truth of the matter.
6. Hot illnesses are more lethal than cold ones due to the rapidity of the movement of fire.

53 Ch. 8.6.

54 The Arabic name for the mountainous region known in ancient times as Media. ‘Persian’ Iraq. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Djibāl’ (L. Lockart); Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 26.55 Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (d. 360/970). *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-‘Amīd’ (Cl. Cahen); *Encycl. Iranica*, art. ‘Ebn al-‘Amīd’ (Ihsan Abbas).56 Abū l-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abbād (326–385/938–995), vizier and littérateur of the Būyid period. See: *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn ‘Abbād’ (Cl. Cahen and Ch. Pellat); *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Ebn ‘Abbād’ (M. Pomerantz).

7. 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.
8. The physician, even though he has his doubts, must always make the patient believe that he will recover, for the state of the body is linked to the state of the mind.
9. Physicians who are illiterate and tradition bound, those who are young and inexperienced, those who are careless, and those who are debauched – they are lethal.
10. It is incumbent upon the physician to not neglect to question the patient about all the internal and external symptoms caused by his illness, for then he can come to a much better conclusion.
11. The patient should confine himself to a single trustworthy physician as he will err but little and often be correct.
12. The student of medicine who studies with many doctors runs the risk of falling into the errors of each one of them.
13. When the physician confines himself to experience (*tajārib*), without also using sound reasoning (*qiyās*) and consulting books, he will fail.
14. Confidence should not be placed in the excellence of the medical care provided by a physician until he reaches maturity and gains experience.
15. The physician's behaviour should be balanced – neither completely concerned with worldly matters, nor completely absorbed in otherworldly matters – and so be positioned between hope and fear.
16. As the longitude and latitude of the fixed stars change, so do the dispositions (*akhlāq*), temperaments, and habits of people change.
17. In keeping with the differences between the latitudes of cities, there are differences in dispositions, temperaments, habits, and the nature of medicines and foodstuffs, so that a drug of the second degree may be in the fourth, and *vice versa*.
18. If the physician is able to treat a patient using foodstuffs rather than medicines, he has been truly fortunate.
19. Let yourself be guided by what is subject to the consensus of the physicians, attested by sound reasoning (*qiyās*), and supported by experience (*tajribah*), but do not do so if that is not the case.

[11.5.24]

As an example of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī's poetry:<sup>57</sup>

Upon my life, I don't know, even now that decay announces  
 an imminent departure, where I shall travel,  
 Or where the spirit will dwell after its exiting  
 from the dissolved frame and the decayed body.

[11.5.25]

The following books were written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī:<sup>58</sup>

1. *The Comprehensive Book* ([*al-*] *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*)<sup>59</sup> which is al-Rāzī's greatest and most magnificent book on the art of medicine. In it al-Rāzī 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.<sup>60</sup> However, al-Rāzī died before he was able to publish the book.<sup>61</sup>
2. The book of logical demonstration (*K. al-Burhān*), in two *maqālahs*, the first of which contains seventeen sections, the second twelve sections.
3. *Spiritual Medicine* (*K. al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*),<sup>62</sup> also known as *Medicine for Souls* (*Ṭibb al-nufūs*), the purpose of which is moral improvement. It is in twenty sections.

57 Metre: *tawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:46, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:77 (followed by al-Ṣafadī's rejoinder, two verses with the same metre and rhyme); also in his *Nakt al-himyān*, 250. For a rhymed English translation, see A.J. Arberry, *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, 7.

58 See: Sezgin, *GAS* III, 274–294, IV, 275–282, V, 282, VI, 187–188; VII, 160, 271–272; Sezgin, *ar-Rāzī: texts and studies*; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Rāzī' (L.E. Goodman); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 128–136; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 45–60; al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*; Daiber, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī', 389–400 (philosophical works only); Iskandar, 'Ar-Rāzī's medical writings'; Iskandar, 'Medical bibliography'. British Library MS. Or. 5479, fols. 108–113 contains a *Fihrist kutub Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī al-mutaṭabbib wa-aghṛāḍihā* which differs from other versions.

59 See *Encycl. Iranica* art. *Ḥāwī*, *Al'* (L. Richter-Bernberg). A new Arabic edition of *al-Ḥāwī* was published in Egypt in 2012, see al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī* (ed. Ḥarbī). For other editions and studies see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 43. Cf. below 11.5.25, no. 92, and Savage-Smith, 'The Working Files of Rhazes'; Kahl, 'The Pharmacological Tables of Rhazes.'

60 For a study of some of al-Rāzī's sources, see Kahl, *The Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian sources in the Comprehensive Book of Rhazes*.

61 See above 11.5.22 for further details on the posthumous publication of *al-Ḥāwī* through Ibn al-'Amīd.

62 For an English version see: Arberry, *Spiritual Physick*.

4. On the fact that mankind has a wise and proficient Creator (*K. fī anna lil-insān khāliqan mutqinan ḥakīman*), in which there are proofs from anatomy and the properties of bodily members indicating that the generation of human beings could not have come about by chance.
5. Lectures on nature (*K. Sam' al-kiyān*),<sup>63</sup> which the author intended to be an introduction to natural philosophy, and to make it simple for the student to grasp the concepts dispersed throughout the books of physics.
6. The *Isagoge* (*K. al-Īsāghūjī*), which is an introduction to logic.<sup>64</sup>
7. A summary of the concepts of Aristotle's *Categories* (*Jumal ma'ānī Qāṭī-ghūrīyās*).
8. A summary of the concepts of Aristotle's *On Interpretation* (*Jumal ma'ānī Bārīmīnīyās*).
9. A summary of the concepts of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (*Jumal ma'ānī Anālūtīqā al-ūlā*), up to the end of the [section on] categorical syllogisms (*al-qiyāsāt al-ḥamlīyyah*).
10. The book of cosmography (*Kitāb Hay'at al-ālam*), in which the author sought to show that the earth is a sphere in the centre of the celestial sphere which has two poles upon which it revolves, and that the sun is larger than the earth and the moon smaller than it, and so on and so forth.
11. On geometers who hold to the pre-eminence of geometry (*Kitāb fī man ista'mala tafḍīl al-handasah min al-mawsūmīn bi-l-handasah*), in which the author clarifies the scope of geometry and its use and refutes those who elevate it beyond its true worth.
12. An essay on why the Simoom wind<sup>65</sup> kills most animals (*M. fī al-sabab fī qatl rīḥ al-samūm li-akthar al-ḥayawān*).
13. On what took place between al-Rāzī and Sīsin al-Mannānī<sup>66</sup> (*K. fī mā jarā baynahu wa-bayna Sīsin al-Mannānī*), in which al-Rāzī shows the error of Sīsin's doctrines and the corruptness of his Law. In seven discourses.

63 The Arabic title is a translation of the title of Aristotle's *Φυσικῆ ἀκρόασις* or *Naturalis Auscultatio*, that is the *Physics*.

64 Al-Rāzī also gave the name *Isagoge* to his book *al-Mudkhal ilā l-ṭibb* (see below book no. 202).

65 Ar. *samūm*, En. simoom. A hot, suffocating wind of the desert. See: *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Samūm' (A.J. Wensinck).

66 This Sīsin or Sīsinios the Manichean or Dualist (al-Thanawī) cannot be St. Sīsinios (Mār Sīsin) the immediate successor (*khalfah*) of Mani (d. 3rd century AD) if the book in question refers to an actual discussion between him and al-Rāzī. This book could be identical with the title *Refutation of Sīsinios the Dualist* (*al-radd 'alā Sīsin al-Thanawī*) mentioned by al-Bīrūnī (*Risālah*, p. 18), which does not imply that the two actually met.

14. On pleasure (*K. fī l-Ladhdhah*), in which his intention is to show that it is a part of comfort (*al-rāḥah*).<sup>67</sup> In a single discourse.
15. On the reason for Autumn being the cause of illnesses, and Spring being the opposite; even though the sun is in a single orbit during these two seasons (*M. fī l-ʿIllah allatī lahā ṣār al-kharīf mumarrīdan wa-l-rabīʿ bi-l-didd ʿalā ann al-shams fī hādhayn al-zamānayn fī madār wāḥid*). This he wrote for a certain state official.
16. On the difference between premonitory dreams and other types of dreams (*K. fī l-farq bayna al-ruʿyā al-mundhirah wa-sāʿir ḍurūb al-ruʿyā*).
17. Doubts and contradictions which are in the Books of Galen (*K. al-shukūk wa-l-munāqaḍāt allatī fī kutub Jālīnūs*).<sup>68</sup>
18. On how vision occurs (*K. fī kayfīyyat al-ibṣār*), in which he shows that vision does not occur due to a ray which emanates from the eye, and in which he invalidates certain figures (*ashkāl*) from Euclid's *Optics*.<sup>69</sup>
19. On the refutation of al-Nāshī<sup>70</sup> and his ten questions by which he sought to invalidate the medical art (*K. fī l-radd ʿalā l-Nāshīʿ fī masʿīlihi al-ʿasharah allatī rāma bihā naqḍ al-ṭibb*).
20. On diseases of the joints, and gout, and sciatica (*K. fī ʿilal al-mafāṣil wa-l-niqris wa-ʿirq al-nisā*), in twenty-two sections.<sup>71</sup>
21. Another smaller book on joint pain (*K. ākhar ṣaghīr fī wajaʿ al-mafāṣil*).
22. The twelve books on the 'Art'<sup>72</sup> (*al-ithnā ʿasharah kitāban fī l-ṣanʿah*):
  1. The Instructional Introduction (*K. al-Mudkhal al-taʿlīmī*).<sup>73</sup>
  2. The Demonstrative Introduction (*K. al-Mudkhal al-burhānī*).<sup>74</sup>

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Ibn Nadīm (*Fihrist* (Flügel), 334, 336), gives the form 'Sis' for his name, and mentions a number of epistles written by him. See also: Mohaghegh, *Filsūf-i Rayy*, 112.

67 That is, relief from pain (Per. *rāḥat az ranj*). This book is not extant, but an important part of it is preserved in the *Zād al-musāfirīn* of Nāṣir Khusraw (pp. 230–253). See also: Arberry, *Spiritual Physick*, 38–49; and Mohaghegh, *Filsūf-i Rayy*, 237–256.

68 For Galen, see Ch. 5 above. For this work of al-Rāzī, see Mohaghegh, *The Kitāb al-Shukūk ʿalā Jālīnūs of Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyyā Al-Rāzī*; and an Arabic edition in al-Rāzī, *al-Shukūk*.

69 For Euclid, see *EI* *Three* art. 'Euclid' (S. Brentjes & G. De Young); Sezgin, *GAS* v, 83–120.

70 Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Anbārī, also known as Ibn Shirshīr, (d. 293/906). Poet and Muʿtazilite theologian. See: *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Nāshī' al-Akbar'. (J. van Ess); al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Tajaddud), 217 (not in Flügel); Mohaghegh, *Filsūf-i Rayy*, 42–44.

71 For a similar treatise, see al-Rāzī, *M. fī l-Niqris*.

72 That is, the art of alchemy. See: *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Kīmīyāʿ' (U. Mollmann); Anawati, 'Arabic alchemy'. Al-Rāzī's alchemical books are listed by al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, 19–20. Al-Rāzī as alchemist is treated by Anawati, 'Arabic alchemy', 867–869; and Heym, *al-Rāzī and Alchemy*.

73 For an Arabic edition and study in Persian, see al-Rāzī, *al-Mudkhal al-taʿlīmī*.

74 Al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, 19, gives this work an alternative title *ʿIlal al-maʿādīn*.

3. The Book of Affirmation (*K. al-Ithbāt*).<sup>75</sup>
4. The Book of Regulation (*K. al-Tadbīr*).
5. The Book of the Stone (*K. al-Ḥajar*).
6. The Book of the Elixir (*K. al-Iksīr*). In ten chapters
7. The Book of the Nobility and Merit of the Art (*K. Sharaf al-ṣinā'ah wa-fadlihā*).
8. The Book of Arrangement (*K. al-Tartīb*).<sup>76</sup>
9. The Book of Regulations (*K. al-Tadābīr*).
10. The Book of Quotations and Symbols (*K. al-Shawāhid wa-nukat al-rumūz*).
11. The Book of Love (*K. al-Maḥabbah*).
12. The Book of Artifices (*K. al-Hiyāl*).
23. A book on the fact that the art of alchemy is more likely to exist than not exist, which he named *The Book of Affirmation* (*K. al-Ithbāt*).<sup>77</sup>
24. *The Book of Stones* (*K. al-Aḥjār*), in which he shows what is needed for this task.
25. *The Book of Secrets* (*K. al-Asrār*).
26. *The Secret of Secrets* (*K. Sirr al-asrār*).
27. *The Book of Classification* (*K. al-Tabwīb*).
28. *The Epistle of the Special Property*. (*K. Risālat al-khāṣṣah*).<sup>78</sup>
29. *The Book of the Yellow Stone* (*K. al-Ḥajar al-aṣfar*).<sup>79</sup>
30. *The Epistles of the Kings* (*K. Rasā'il al-mulūk*).
31. The refutation of al-Kindī's belief in the impossibility of the Art of Alchemy (*K. al-Radd 'alā l-Kindī fī idkhālihi ṣinā'at al-kīmiyā' fī l-mumtani'*).
32. On the fact that an excessive diet and hastening to take drugs and limiting food does not preserve the health but brings about illnesses (*K. fī ann al-ḥimyah al-mufrīṭah wa-l-mubādarah ilā l-adwiyah wa-l-taqlīl min al-aghdhiyah lā taḥfaz al-ṣiḥḥah bal tajlib al-amrād*).
33. On the fact that ignorant physicians – out of ignorance and folly – treat their patients harshly by forbidding them what they crave even when

75 Al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, 19, has *Ithbāt al-ṣinā'ah*.

76 Al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, 19, has *K. al-Tartīb, wa-huwa al-rāḥah*.

77 Cf. the third of the 'twelve books' above.

78 The word *al-khāṣṣah* as a noun means 'the elite' or 'the special property'; its meaning in the context of this incomplete title is unclear.

79 The text of MS A has *The Lesser Book of the Stone* (*K. al-Ḥajar al-aṣghar*), with 'lesser' corrected interlinearly to 'yellow'. Because many of the earlier titles concern alchemy, in this context the 'yellow stone' might refer to sulphur, a yellow stone whose importance to alchemy is fundamental.



- they are not seriously ill (*M. fī anna juhhāl al-aṭibbā' yushaddidūna 'alā l-marḍā fī man'ihim min shahawātihim wa-in lam yakun bi-him kabūr maraḍ jahlan wa-juzāfan*).
34. The conduct of the philosophers (*K. Sīrat al-ḥukamā'*).
  35. On the fact that the clay eaten as an accompaniment to wine has beneficial properties (*M. fī anna al-ṭīn al-mutanaqqal bihi fīhi manāfi'*).<sup>80</sup> This he wrote for Abū Ḥāzim al-Qāḍī.
  36. On smallpox and measles (*M. fī l-judarī wa-l-ḥaṣbah*). In fourteen chapters.
  37. On stones in the kidneys and bladder (*M. fī l-ḥaṣā fī l-kulā wa-l-mathānah*).
  38. A book for those without a physician (*K. ilā man lā yaḥḍuruḥu ṭabīb*), in which his aim was to explain illnesses at great length. In it he lists illnesses one by one and states that it is possible to cure them using commonly-found drugs. It is also known as *The Poor Man's Book of Medicine* (*K. Ṭibb al-fuqarā'*).<sup>81</sup>
  39. Commonly-found drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mawjūdah bi-kull makān*), in which he mentions drugs sufficient for a skilful physician when used with what may be found in kitchens and houses.
  40. On refuting al-Jāḥiẓ's invalidation of the art of medicine (*K. fī l-radd 'alā l-Jāḥiẓ fī naqḍ ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*).
  41. On al-Jāḥiẓ's contradictions in his book 'On the merit of scholastic theology', and his harsh treatment of the philosophers therein (*K. fī tanāquḍ qawl al-Jāḥiẓ fī kitābihi fī faḍīlat al-kalām wa-mā ghalaza fīhi 'alā l-falāsi-fah*).<sup>82</sup>
  42. Divisions and diagrams (*K. al-Taqsīm wa-l-tashjīr*) in which the author explains the divisions, causes, and treatment of diseases divided and arranged in diagrammatic format.<sup>83</sup>

80 Among the appetizers known as *nuql* often eaten as an accompaniment to wine was the edible clay of Khorasan baked into lozenges. IAU Ch. 7.9 mentions that al-Ḥajjāj was once addicted to such clay. For *nuql*, see Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbāsids*, 112–113. See also Mohaghegh, 'The title of a work of Rāzī with reference to *al-ṭīn al-nīshābūrī'*.

81 This text is preserved in at least two versions, with many alterations and omissions within each copy, suggesting that the treatise as preserved may not be entirely genuine. For details concerning the two versions, and modern editions as well as a Lithographed printing (Lucknow, 1886), see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 140. No translations or comparative studies have been published.

82 See: al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, 13, no. 89.

83 That is, a classical branch diagram (*tashjīr*).

43. *Regal Medicine* (*K. al-Ṭibb al-mulūkī*), on illnesses and the treatment of all diseases through nutrition and the addition of medicine to food where necessary and where the patient is amenable to it.<sup>84</sup>
44. On partial paralysis (*K. fī l-Fālij*).
45. On facial paralysis (*K. fī l-Laḡwah*).<sup>85</sup>
46. On the form of the eye (*K. fī Hay'at al-'ayn*).
47. On the form of the kidneys (*K. fī Hay'at al-kabid*).
48. On the form of the testicles (*K. fī Hay'at al-unthayayn*).
49. On the form of the heart (*K. fī Hay'at al-qalb*).
50. On the form of the ear hole (*K. fī Hay'at al-ṣimākh*).
51. On the form of the joints (*K. fī Hay'at al-mafāṣil*).
52. A medical formulary (*Aqrābādhīn*).<sup>86</sup>
53. A criticism of and essay on the Mu'tazilites (*K. fī l-Intiqād wa-l-taḥrīr 'alā l-Mu'tazilah*).
54. On the bitter cucumber (*K. fī l-khiyār al-murr*).
55. On how nourishment takes place (*K. fī Kayfiyyat al-ightidhā'*). This is a compendium of sayings regarding mineral medicines.
56. On the weights of compound drugs (*K. fī Athqāl al-adwiyah al-murakka-bah*).
57. On the occult properties of things (*K. fī khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'*).
58. A great book on primordial matter (*K. kabīr fī l-hayūlā*).
59. On the reason the Earth stands at the centre of the heavenly sphere in orbit (*K. fī sabab wuqūf al-arḍ wasaṭ al-falak 'alā istidārah*).
60. On the invalidity of Ibn al-Tammār's<sup>87</sup> *Spiritual Medicine* (*K. fī naqḍ al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī 'alā Ibn al-Tammār*).
61. On the fact that it is not possible for the world to be other than as we see it to be (*K. fī ann al-'ālam lā yumkin an yakūn illā 'alā mā nushāhiduhu*).
62. On motion and the fact that it is not visible but rather known (*K. fī l-Ḥarakah wa annahā laysat mar'iyah bal ma'lūmah*).
63. An essay on that fact that bodies are impelled by themselves and that motion is a natural principle (*M. fī anna lil-jism taḥrikan min dhātihi wa-ann al-ḥarakah mabda' ṭabī'*).

84 See above 11.5.14.

85 Cf. Tabatabaei et al., 'Razi's description and treatment of facial paralysis'.

86 A number of manuscripts are preserved today with an *Aqrābādhīn* ascribed to Rāzi, varying greatly in their arrangement and contents. The copy preserved in the Bodleian Library bears the title *K. al-Aqrābādhīn al-mawsūm bi-l-dustūr*; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 189 and sources cited there.

87 Brockelmann, *GAL S* i:954 identifies this person as Ḥu. at-Tammār.

64. A poem on logical matters (*Qaṣīdah fī l-mantiqīyyāt*).
65. A poem on metaphysics (*Qaṣīdah fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*).
66. A poem on Greek counsel (*Qaṣīdah fī l-‘iẓah al-Yūnāniyyah*).
67. The book of spheres and measures, abridged (*K. al-Kurā wa-maqādīr mukhtaṣarah*).
68. On explaining the cause of the fact that heat can be countered, at times by removing clothes, and at others by putting them on (*K. fī idāḥ al-‘illah allatī bi-hā yudfa’ al-ḥarr marratan bi-l-ta’arrī wa-marratan bi-l-tadath-thur*).<sup>88</sup>
69. On setting broken bones and how the pain of it subsides and the indications of its heat or cold (*K. fī l-jabr wa-kayfa yaskunu alamuhu wa-mā ‘alāmat al-ḥarr fihi wa-l-bard*).
70. On the things which divert the minds of most people away from excellent physicians and towards base physicians (*M. fī l-asbāb al-mumayyilah li-qulūb akthar al-nās ‘an afāḍil al-aṭibbā’ ilā akhissā’ihim*).
71. On the foods and fruits which should be taken at the beginning of a meal and those which should be taken at the end (*M. fī-mā yanbaghī an yuqaddam min al-aghdhīyah wa-l-fawākih wa-mā yu’akkhar minhā*).<sup>89</sup>
72. A reply to Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī’s<sup>90</sup> refutation of Galen on the subject of bitter foods (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī fī-mā radda bihi ‘alā Jālīnūs fī amr al-ṭa’ām al-murr*).
73. A refutation of the theologian al-Misma’ī’s<sup>91</sup> refutation of the Materialists (*K. fī l-radd ‘alā al-Misma’ī al-Mutakallim fī raddihi ‘alā Aṣḥāb al-hayūlā*).
74. On time-span – i.e., time – and on the vacuum and the plenum – i.e., space (*K. fī l-muddah wa-hiya al-zamān wa-fī l-khalā’ wa-l-malā’ wa-humā l-zamān*).
75. An essay explaining the error of Jarīr the Physician<sup>92</sup> when he disputed al-Rāzī’s advice to the emir Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl<sup>93</sup> to take Syrian mulberries<sup>94</sup>

88 All the mss corrupt this title and appear to read *K. fī idāḥ al-‘illah allatī bi-hā tudfa’ al-hawāmm bi-taghadhdhī wa-marratan bi-l-tadbīr*. Cf. al-Birūnī, *Risālah*, 10. This work and work no. 75 below have recently come to light and have been edited and translated together in Pormann & Selove, *Two New Texts*.

89 Cf. Kuhne Brabant, ‘Al-Rāzī on when and how to eat fruit’.

90 See his entry Ch. 10.2.

91 Abū Ya’lā Muḥammad ibn Shaddād ibn ‘Isā al-Misma’ī al-Baṣrī (d. 278/891–892), Mu’tazilite Theologian named Zurqān. See al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, xiii:148–149.

92 Jarīr the Physician has not been identified with certainty, but he is probably related to or identical with Abū Naṣr ibn Jarīr (see Ch. 10.40) or al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr (Ch. 10.39).

93 That is Aḥmad II of the Samanid dynasty, who ruled from 295–301 [907–914].

94 The black variety of mulberry was particularly associated with Syria; for their many medical uses, see Lev & Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 451–452.

- directly after watermelon while in his condition, and clarifying his reason for doing so (*M. abāna fī-hā khaṭa* Jarīr al-Ṭabīb fī inkārihi mashwara-tahu ‘alā al-Amīr Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl fī tanāwul al-tūt al-shāmī ‘alā athar al-bitṭikh fī ḥālīhi wa-īdāḥ ‘udhrihi fihā).<sup>95</sup>
76. Refutation of Anebo’s<sup>96</sup> letter to Porphyry explaining Aristotle’s metaphysical doctrines (*K. fī naqḍ kitāb Anābū ilā Furfūriyūs fī sharḥ madhāhib Aristūṭālīs fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*).
77. On metaphysics (*K. fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*).
78. On universal and particular matter (*K. fī l-hayūlā al-muṭlaqah wa-l-juz’iyyah*).
79. A letter to Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī<sup>97</sup> with supplementary responses to his answer and his answer to his response (*K. ilā Abī l-Qāsim al-Balkhī wa-l-ziyādah ‘alā jawābihi wa-jawāb hādihā l-jawāb*).
80. On metaphysics according to the doctrine of Plato<sup>98</sup> (*K. fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī ‘alā ra’y Aflātūn*).
81. A refutation of the contradictions in the second discourse of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī’s book on metaphysics (*K. fī l-radd ‘alā Abī l-Qāsim al-Balkhī fī mā nāqada bihi fī l-maqālah al-thānīyah min kitābihi fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*).<sup>99</sup>
82. On testing gold and silver and the natural balance (*K. fī miḥnat al-dhahab wa-l-fiḍḍah wa-l-mizān al-ṭabī‘ī*).
83. On being established in wisdom (*K. fī l-thubūt fī l-ḥikmah*).
84. An apology for those who play chess (*K. fī ‘udhr man ishtaghal bi-l-shaṭranj*).
85. On the wisdom of backgammon (*K. fī ḥikmat al-nard*).
86. On the tricks of those who claim to be prophets (*K. fī ḥiyal al-mutanabbī‘īn*).<sup>100</sup>
87. On the fact that the world has a wise creator (*K. fī anna li-l-‘alam khāliqan ḥakīman*).

95 For an edition and translation, see Pormann and Selove, *Two New Texts*.

96 Anebo is said to be the Egyptian prophet and priest to whom Porphyry sent questions about the divine natures. Porphyry’s letter and the reply (by the teacher Abammon) are found in Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*.

97 ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931), Mu’tazilite theologian. See *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī’ (A. Zaryab, M. Rezaee, F. Negahban).

98 See Ch. 4.5.

99 See *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī’ (A. Zaryab, M. Rezaee, & F. Negahban).

100 Al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, 20, says that this is the same as his book called *Makhārīq al-anbiyā’*. Cf. al-Rāzī’s title 166 below.

88. On sexual intercourse (*K. fī l-bāh*). This book explains mixtures (*amzāj*) and the benefit and harm of intercourse.<sup>101</sup>
89. An appendix to the book *On Sexual Intercourse* (*K. al-ziyādah allatī zādahā fī l-bāh*).
90. The Book for Maṣṣūr (*K. al-Manṣūrī*).<sup>102</sup> Al-Rāzī composed this for the emir Maṣṣūr ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad governor of Khorasan.<sup>103</sup> It is concise and brief while comprising sentences and summaries, points and rarities of both the theory and practice of the art of medicine in ten discourses:
1. An introduction to medicine and on the form and generation of bodily members.
  2. On the constitutions and forms of bodies and the humours which preponderate in them and brief diagnoses obtained through examination.
  3. On the efficacy of foodstuffs and drugs.
  4. On the preservation of health.
  5. On cosmetics.
  6. On regimen for travellers.
  7. Sentences and summaries from the art of bonesetting, surgery, and ulcers.
  8. On poisons and venomous vermin.
  9. On diseases which may occur [in the body] from head to foot.
  10. On fevers and their consequences and what needs to be known in order to establish a cure for them.
91. A discourse on natural science appended to *The Maṣṣūrī Book* (*M. aḍā-fahā ilā K. al-Manṣūrī wa-hiya fī l-umūr al-ṭabīʿiyah*).
92. *The Compendious Book* ([*al-*] *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ*).<sup>104</sup> It is also called *The all-encompassing book of the art of medicine* (*ḥāṣir šināʿat al-ṭibb*). Al-Rāzī's purpose in this book was to collect in one place, and in every branch, all the books of medicine whether ancient or modern that were available to him. It is divided into twelve sections:

101 For a study of this treatise, see Pormann, 'Al-Rāzī on the benefits of sex'.

102 For manuscripts and editions of this treatise, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 42. No complete translation has been published; the anatomical portion was translated into French, by Pieter de Koning, *Trois traités*, 1–89.

103 See above Ch. 11.5.9.

104 For a discussion of the nature of this book and whether it may be identified with *al-Ḥāwī*, see Savage-Smith, 'The Working Files of Rhazes'. For *al-Ḥāwī*, see above Ch. 11.5.25 no. 1.

1. On the preservation of health, the treatment of diseases, dislocation and fractures, and other treatments.
2. On the efficacy of drugs and foodstuffs and the requisites for medical regimen.
3. On compound drugs. In this al-Rāzī discusses the requisite drugs in the form of a medical formulary.
4. On the powdering, burning, distilling, and washing of drugs, and on extracting and preserving their useful properties, and on the extent they remain efficacious for each drug, and so on.
5. On the dispensatory for medicine in which drugs are described along with their colours, tastes, odours, and sources, and those which are of good quality and those of poor quality, and other things necessary for a dispensatory.
6. On substitute drugs. In this al-Rāzī describes what may replace each drug or foodstuff when it is not to be found.
7. An explanation of the names, weights and measures used for drugs as well as naming the bodily members and diseases in Greek, Syriac, Persian, Indic, and Arabic as in the books called *Bashaqshamāhī*.<sup>105</sup>
8. On anatomy and the usefulness of the bodily parts.
9. On natural causes as part of the art of medicine. Al-Rāzī's intention in this was to clarify the causes of diseases through natural science.
10. An introduction to the art of medicine. This is in two discourses: the first on natural science, and the second on the principles of medicine.
11. Collected treatments and recipes and such like.
12. Appendices to the books of Galen<sup>106</sup> which were not mentioned by Ḥunayn<sup>107</sup> nor are in Galen's *Pinax*.<sup>108</sup>

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that the divisions given here are not those of his book known as *al-Ḥāwī*, nor are they satisfactory [*marḍī*]. It is possible that these were drafts of books of al-Rāzī found after his death arranged in this way and considered to be a single book. This is supported by the fact that I have not seen any copy of this book nor have I heard of anyone who has seen it.

105 Transcription of the Syriac *Pushshāq-shmāhē* (Explanation of Names); see Kahl, *Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian Sources*, 39.

106 See Ch. 5.1.37–39.

107 For Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, see Ch. 8.29 and Ch. 9.2.

108 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 1. Also known as *On my own books*.

93. The Precious Book on Medicine (*[al-]Kitāb al-Fākhir fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>109</sup> This book has been recorded as being one of al-Rāzī's books since it has been attributed to him and is commonly thought to be so. In sum, it is an excellent book in which the author encompasses discussion of diseases and their cures, and the best treatments for them in a most perfect and excellent way. The greater part of it is taken from al-Rāzī's *Book of Divisions and Diagrams* (*K. al-taqṣīm wa-l-tashjīr*),<sup>110</sup> and from the Medical Compendium of Ibn Sarābiyūn.<sup>111</sup> Everything in it by al-Rāzī begins 'Muḥammad said'. Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh<sup>112</sup> wrote a gloss on this book, which is by al-Rāzī, saying, the 'Muḥammad said' often mentioned by al-Rāzī in *The Precious Book* is someone known as al-Ḥasan the physician to al-Muqtadir. He was a physician in Baghdad skilled in knowledge of medicine and whose house was a house known for medicine. He had three brothers one of whom was a skilled oculist known as Sulaymān, another – a physician but not of their rank known as Hārūn, and a third – a druggist of great repute in Baghdad for his profession and who had authored an extraordinary medical compendium (*Kunnāsh*) of his tested remedies. The compendium, however, is rarely to be found outside Baghdad.
94. On why that which is removed from the body does not reattach itself to it though small, yet great wounds which are not removed from the body do reattach even though they are much larger (*K. fī l-'illah allatī lahā ṣāra matā nqaṭa'a min al-badan shay' ḥattā yatabarra'a minhu annahu lā yaltaṣiq bihi wa-in kāna ṣaghīran wa-yalṣaqu bihi min al-jirāḥāt al-'azīmat al-qadr ghayr al-mutabarra'ah bihi mā huwa a'zam min dhālik bi-kathīr*).
95. On water chilled over ice, water chilled without ice being put into it, water boiled and then chilled in ice (*R. fī l-mā' al-mubarrad 'alā al-thalj wa-l-mubarrad min ghayr an yutraḥ fīhi l-thalj wa-lladhī yughlā thumma yubarrad fī l-jalīd wa-l-thalj*).
96. On why fresh fish causes thirst (*R. fī l-'illah allatī lahā ṣār al-samak al-ṭarī mu'attīshan*).
97. On the fact that no non-intoxicating drink exists that delivers all the good effects of intoxicating drink on the body (*R. fī annahu la yūjad sharāb ghayr muskir yafī bi-jamī' af'āl al-sharāb al-muskir al-maḥmūd fī l-badan*).

109 It is likely that this compendium was compiled after al-Rāzī's death from various sources. See Richter-Bernberg, 'Pseudo-Ṭābit, Pseudo-Rāzī, Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn'; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-7*, entry no. 47.

110 See above 11.5,25 no. 42.

111 Yūḥannā (or Yaḥyā) ibn Sarābiyūn (fl. 3rd/9th cent.); see Sezgin *GAS III*, 240–242.

112 See his entry Ch. 10.64.

98. On the signs of approaching good fortune (*K. fī 'alāmāt iqbāl al-dawlah*).
99. On the superiority of the eye over the other senses (*K. fī faḍl al-'ayn 'alā sā'ir al-ḥawāss*).
100. On the fact that the rising and setting of the sun and the other planets is not due to the movement of the earth but rather the movement of the celestial sphere (*R. fī anna ghurūb al-shams wa-sā'ir al-kawākib 'annā wa-ṭulū'ahā 'alaynā laysa min ajl ḥarakat al-arḍ bal min ḥarakat al-falak*).
101. On logic (*K. fī l-manṭiq*), in which al-Rāzī mentions everything required of logic using the vocabulary of the theologians of Islam.
102. An invalidation of the opinion of those who imagine that the planets are not in orbit and such like (*K. fī faskh ḥann man yatawahham ann al-kawākib laysat fī nihāyat al-istidārah wa-ghayr dhālik*).
103. On the fact that someone who has had no training in logical demonstration cannot conceive that the earth is a sphere with humans around it (*K. fī annahu lā yutaṣawwar liman lā durbah lahu bi-l-burhān ann al-arḍ kuriyyah wa-ann al-nās ḥawlahā*).
104. A study of whether the natural earth is clay or stone, a part of physics (*R. yabḥathu fihā 'an al-arḍ al-ṭabī'iyah tīn hiya am ḥajar dākhil sam' al-kiyān*).
105. An explanation of the fact that there are two types of composition/synthesis, etc. (*K. yuwaḍḍihu fīhi ann al-tarkīb naw'ān wa-ghayr dhālik*).
106. On habits and the fact that they are subject to natural changes (*M. fī l-'ādah wa-annahā tuḥawwalu ṭabī'atan*).
107. On the benefits of constantly blinking the eyelids (*M. fī al-manfa'ah fī iṭrāf al-ajfān dā'iman*).
108. On what causes the eyes to contract in the light and to dilate in the dark (*M. fī l-'illah allatī min ajlihā taḍīq al-nawāzīr fī l-nūr wa-tattasī' fī l-zulmah*).
109. On what causes ignorant people to claim that ice causes thirst (*M. fī l-'illah allatī lahā taz'umu al-juhḥāl ann al-thalj yu'attish*).
110. On what causes ice to burn and wound (*M. fī l-'illah allatī lahā yuḥriq al-thalj wa-yaqraḥ*).
111. On foods for patients (*K. aṭ'imah al-marḍā*).
112. Appendices to the chapter in theology on those who believe that bodies come into being and those who believe they are eternal (*M. fīmā istadrakahu min al-faṣl fī l-kalām fī l-qā'ilīn bi-ḥadath al-ajsām wa-'alā l-qā'ilīn bi-qidamihā*).
113. On the fact that some minor illnesses are more difficult to diagnose and treat, etc. (*K. fī ann al-'ilal al-yasīrah ba'ḍuhā a'sar ta'arrufan wa-'ilājan wa-ghayr dhālik*).



114. On what causes the public to blame skilled physicians (*K. fī l-‘illah allatī lahā tadhum al-‘awāmm al-aṭibbā’ al-ḥudhdhāq*).
115. On problem diseases and excusing the physician, etc. (*R. fī l-‘ilal al-mushkilah wa-‘udhr al-ṭabīb wa-ghayr dhālik*).
116. On illnesses which, due to their severity, cause death, and those which cause death due to their sudden onset such that the physician is unable to cure them, and excusing the physician for this (*R. fī l-‘ilal al-qātilah li-‘ẓamihā wa-l-qātilah li-zuhūrihā baghtah mim mā lā yaqdir al-ṭabīb ‘alā ṣalāhihā wa-‘udhrihi fī dhālik*).
117. A book on the fact that the skilled physician is not he who is able to cure all diseases for this is not possible, nor is it part of the Hippocratic Art. The physician should be shown gratitude and praise and the art of medicine should be respected and honoured even though he is not yet capable of this [i.e. curing all diseases] and he should be the foremost of his nation and his era (*K. fī ann al-ṭabīb al-ḥādhiq laysa huwa man qadara ‘alā ibrā’ jamī’ al-‘ilal fa-inna dhālik lays fī l-wus’ wa-lā fī šinā’at Buqrāṭ wa-annahu qad yastahiqqu an yushkar al-ṭabīb wa-yumdaḥ wa-an ta’ẓum šinā’at al-ṭibb wa-tashraf wa-in huwa lam yaqdir ‘alā dhālik ba’d an yakūn mutaqaad-diman fī baladihi wa-‘aṣrih*).
118. On the fact that, for all the arts, there does not exist a practitioner recognized for his art, and this is particularly so for medicine, and on what causes ignorant physicians, the general public, and women in the cities to be more successful in some of their treatments of diseases than the learned, and on excusing the physician for this (*R. fī anna al-šāni’ al-muta’arrif bi-šinā’atihi ma’dūm fī jull al-šinā’āt lā fī l-ṭibb khāṣṣah wa-l-‘illah allatī min ajlihā šāra yanjaḥu juhhāl al-aṭibbā’ wa-l-‘awāmm wa-l-nisā’ fī l-mudun fī ‘ilāj ba’d al-amrāḍ akthar min al-‘ulamā’ wa-‘udhr al-ṭabīb fī dhālik*).
119. On the tried and tested in medicine (*K. al-mumtaḥan fī l-ṭibb*) in the form of a compendium (*kunnāsh*).
120. On the fact that the soul is not a body (*K. fī ann al-naḥs laysat bi-jism*).
121. On the seven planets: on wisdom (*K. fī l-kawākib al-sab’ah fī l-ḥikmah*).
122. An epistle to al-Ḥasan ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥārib al-Qummī<sup>113</sup> (*R. ilā al-Ḥasan ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥārib al-Qummī*).
123. On the deluded soul (*K. fī l-naḥs al-mughtarrah*).
124. On the lofty soul (*K. fī l-naḥs al-kabīrah*).

113 Contemporary and favourite of Ibn al-‘Amīd; see n. 55 above.

125. On what causes Abū Zayd al-Balkhī<sup>114</sup> to have symptoms of a common cold when he smells roses in springtime (*M. fī l-‘illah allatī min aqlihā ya‘riḍ al-zukām li-Abī Zayd al-Balkhī fī faṣl al-rabī‘ ‘inda shammihī l-ward*).<sup>115</sup>
126. On the physician’s profession, and how his self, body, conduct, and manners ought to be (*R. fī miḥnat al-ṭabīb wa-kayfa yanbaghī an yakūna ḥāluhu fī nafsihi wa-badanihi wa-sīratihi wa-adabih*).
127. On the extent to which the opinions of the natural philosophers about stellar judgements may be understood, and on those who did not believe that the planets were living beings, and on what may be understood according to the opinions of those who believed they were living beings (*R. fī miqdār mā yumkinu an yustadraka min aḥkām al-nujūm ‘alā ra’y al-falāsifah al-ṭabī‘yyīn wa-man lam yaqul minhum inn al-kawākib aḥyā’ wa-mā yumkinu an yustadraka ‘alā ra’y man qāla innahā aḥyā’*).
128. On the reason that sleep causes some people to experience symptoms of the common cold in their heads (*K. fī l-‘illah allatī lahā ṣāra yuḥdith al-nawm fī ru’ūs ba‘ḍ al-nās shabīhan bi-l-zukām*).
129. On doubts about Proclus<sup>116</sup> (*K. fī l-shukūk allatī ‘alā Buruqlus*).
130. On Plutarch’s<sup>117</sup> commentary on the *Timaeus* (*K. fī tafsīr Aflūṭarkhus li-kitāb Ṭīmāwus*).
131. On the reason for the creation of wild beasts and venomous vermin (*R. fī ‘illat khalq al-sibā’ wa-l-hawāmm*).
132. A completion of the contradictions of the Materialists (*K. fī itmām mā nāqaḍa bihi l-qā’ilīn bi-l-hayūlā*).
133. On the fact that the contradictions between Materialists and Monotheists on the cause of the coming into being of the world are allowable due to the lack of a mark for the causes of action, either according to those who believe the world endures, or according to those who believe it is eternal (*K. fī ann al-munāqaḍah allatī bayn ahl al-dahr wa-ahl al-tawḥīd fī sabab iḥdāth al-‘ālam innamā jāza min nuqṣān al-simah fī asbāb al-fi’l ba‘ḍuhū ‘alā l-tamādiyah wa-ba‘ḍuhū ‘alā l-qā’ilīn bi-qidam al-‘ālam*).

114 Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Saḥl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934). See above 11.5.9.

115 On ‘rose fever’, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 143.

116 That is Proclus of Athens (d. 485). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Buruqlus’ (R. Walzer); *Brill’s New Pauly Supp. 1 vol. 2* art. ‘Proclus’ (M. Landfester).

117 Plutarch of Chaeronea (ca. 45–120), Platonist philosopher. See *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* art. ‘Plutarch’; *Brill’s New Pauly Supp. 1 vol. 2* art. ‘Plutarchus of Chaeronea’ (B. Kuhn-Chen).

134. On refuting the contradictions of ‘Alī ibn Shahīd al-Balkhī<sup>118</sup> regarding pleasure (*K. fī naqḍihi ‘alā ‘Alī ibn Shahīd al-Balkhī fīmā nāqaḍahu bihi fī amr al-ladhdhah*).
135. On exercise (*K. fī l-riyāḍah*).
136. A refutation of al-Kayyāl’s<sup>119</sup> views on the Imamate (*K. fī l-naqḍ ‘alā l-Kayyāl fī l-imāmah*).
137. On the impossibility of there being stasis and separation (*K. fī annahu lā yajūzu an yakūna sukūn wa-iftirāq*).
138. A completion of Plutarch’s Book (*K. fī itmām Kitāb Aflūṭarkhus*).
139. A refutation of the *Book of Regimens* (*K. fī naqḍ Kitāb al-Tadbīr*).
140. An abridgement of Galen’s *Method of Healing* (*Ikhtisār Kitāb Ḥīlat al-bur’ li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>120</sup>
141. An abridgement of Galen’s *The Great Book of the Pulse* (*Ikhtisār Kitāb al-Nabḍ al-kabīr li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>121</sup>
142. An epitome of Galen’s *Causes and Symptoms* (*Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-‘Ilal wa-l-a’rāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>122</sup>
143. An epitome of Galen’s *Affected Locations* (*Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-A’dā’ al-ālimah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>123</sup>
144. A critique of the Mu’tazilites (*K. al-intiqād ‘alā ahl al-i’tizāl*).
145. A refutation of and reply to al-Balkhī’s<sup>124</sup> book on the *Metaphysics* (*K. fī naqḍ kitāb al-Balkhī li-Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-ilāhī wa-l-radd ‘alayhi*).
146. On the fact that it is possible for there to be stasis and union, but not for there to be perpetual motion and union (*K. fī annahu yajūzu an yakūna sukūn wa-ijtimā’ wa-lā yajūzu an yakūna ḥarakah wa-ijtimā’ lam yazal*).
147. On the fact that the diagonal of a square does not share in its side (without the use of geometry) (*R. fī anna quṭr al-murabba’ lā yushārik al-ḍil’ min ghayr handasah*).
148. On sympathy for the learned who discourse on philosophy (*K. fī l-ishfāq ‘alā ahl al-taḥṣīl min al-mutakallimīn bi-l-falsafah*). The purpose of this book is to clarify the doctrines of the philosophers with regard to metaphysics so that the reader may be relieved of having to come to him.

118 See above 11.5.9.

119 Aḥmad ibn Zakariyyā al-Kayyāl (fl. 3rd/9th cent), Ismā‘īlī missionary, See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Kayyāl’ (W. Madelung); *EI* *Three* art. ‘al-Kayyāl’ (D. De Smet).

120 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 20.

121 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 16.

122 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 14.

123 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 15.

124 That is Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, see above 11.5.25. nos. 79 and 81.

149. On virtuous conduct and the conduct of the people of the virtuous city (*K. fī l-sīrah al-fāḍilah wa-sīrat ahl al-madīnah al-fāḍilah*).
150. On the necessity of prayers and supplications (*K. fī wujūb al-du‘ā’ wa-l-da‘āwā*).
151. *The Conclusion* (*K. al-Ḥāṣil*), in which the author’s purpose is metaphysics derived via aspiration and via logical demonstration.
152. A fine epistle on metaphysics (*Risālah laṭīfah fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*).
153. On the benefits of foodstuffs and preventing their harmful properties (*K. manāfi‘ al-aghdhīyah wa-daf‘ maḍārrihā*) in two discourses. The first treats of things which repel the harm of foodstuffs according to every season, constitution, and situation. The second treats of two topics: how to use foodstuffs, and how to prevent indigestion (*al-takhm*) and its ill effects. This al-Rāzī wrote for the emir Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī.
154. An epistle to ‘Alī ibn Shahīd al-Balkhī<sup>125</sup> affirming resurrection after death (*R. ilā ‘Alī ibn Shahīd al-Balkhī fī tathbūt al-ma‘ād*), the purpose of which was to refute those who denied resurrection and to affirm it.
155. On what causes the magnetic stone to attract iron (*K. fī ‘illat jadhb ḥajar al-maghniṭis li-l-ḥadīd*), in which there is much discourse about empty space (*khalā’/vacuum*).
156. A large book on the soul (*Kitāb kabīr fī l-nafs*).
157. A small book on the soul (*Kitāb ṣaghīr fī l-nafs*).
158. On the equilibrium of the intellect (*K. mizān al-aql*).
159. On intoxicating beverages (*K. fī al-sharāb al-muskir*), in two discourses.
160. On oxymel and its beneficial and harmful properties (*M. fī l-sikanjubīn wa-manāfi‘ihi wa-maḍārrihi*).
161. On colic (*K. fī l-qūlanj*).<sup>126</sup>
162. On the hot colic (*M. fī l-qūlanj al-ḥārr*), this is known as *The Small Book on Colic* (*K. al-qūlanj al-ṣaghīr*).
163. On Galen’s *Commentary on Hippocrates’ Aphorisms* (*K. fī tafsīr Jālīnūs li-Fuṣūl Abuqrāt*).<sup>127</sup>
164. On the craving to be sodomized, treatment and elucidation (*K. fī l-ubnah wa-‘ilājihā wa-tabyīnihā*).
165. A refutation of Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah’s<sup>128</sup> *Book of Being* (*K. fī naqḍ Kitāb al-Wujūd li-Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah*).

125 See above 11.5.9

126 For an edition and French translation of this treatise on the symptoms and treatment of abdominal pain and colic, see al-Rāzī, *al-Qūlanj*.

127 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 88.

128 Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, the ‘Philosopher of the Ṭāhirids’, and governor of Merv, Āmul, and Khwārazm. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 117.

166. On publicizing his claims about the vices of the Saints (*K. fīmā yarūmuhu min izhār mā yaddaʿī min ʿuyūb al-awliyāʿ*).  
I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿah – say that this book, if he did indeed compose it (and God only knows), may have been composed by an evil opponent of 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 ʿAlī ibn Riḏwān<sup>129</sup> of Egypt and others name this book *al-Rāzī's book on the false-miracles of the Prophets* (*K. al-Rāzī fī makhārīq al-anbiyāʿ*).<sup>130</sup>
167. On the works of the eminent and impeccable Imam (*K. fī āthār al-Imām al-fāḍil al-maʿṣūm*).
168. On purging fevered patients before maturation of the fever (*K. fī istifrāgh al-maḥmūmīn qabl al-naḍj*).
169. On the rightful Imam and his rightful subjects (*K. al-Imām wa-l-maʿmūm al-muḥiqqayn*).
170. On the qualities of students (*K. fī khawāṣṣ al-talāmīdh*).
171. On the conditions of disputation (*K. fī shurūṭ al-naẓar*).
172. On natural opinions (*K. al-ārāʾ al-ṭabīʿiyah*).
173. On the error of the purpose of the physician (*K. khaṭaʾ gharaḍ al-ṭabīb*).
174. Poems on metaphysics (*Ashʿār fī l-ʿilm al-ilāhī*).
175. A recipe for an ink paste which has no equal (*Ṣifat midād maʿjūn lā nazīra lahu*).
176. A versification of Jābir's<sup>131</sup> *Book of the Fundament* (*Naql Kitāb al-Uss li-Jābir ilā l-shīʿr*).<sup>132</sup>
177. On synthesis (*R. fī l-tarkīb*).
178. On the qualities of grammar (*R. fī kayfiyyat al-naḥw*).
179. On thirst and how it causes increase in temperature (*R. fī l-ʿaṭash wa-izdīyād al-ḥarārah li-dhālik*).
180. On the generalities of music (*K. fī jumal al-mūsīqī*).
181. On imaginations and emotions (*K. fī l-awhām wa-l-ḥarakāt al-nafsāniyyah*).
182. On surgery and bonesetting (*K. fī l-ʿamal bi-l-ḥadīd wa-l-jabr*).

129 See his entry Ch. 14.25.

130 For a discussion of this book, see Stroumsa, *Freethinkers in Medieval Islam*, 93–106.

131 For Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, see Sezgin *GAS* 111, 211–223; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Djābir b. Hayyān' (P. Kraus, M. Plessner); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 354–358, (Sayyid), 450–458.

132 For a similar title of Jābir's, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 355, and *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 453.

183. On beliefs derived from his own judgement (*K. fīmā ya'taqiduhu ra'yan*).
184. On things neglected by the philosophers (*K. fīmā aghfalat'hu l-falāsifah*).
185. *The Secret: on wisdom* (*K. al-Sirr fī l-ḥikmah*).
186. On the usefulness of bodily members (*K. manāfi' al-a'dā'*).
187. *The Sufficiency: on medicine* (*K. al-Kāfi fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>133</sup>
188. On condiments [taken with wine] (*K. fī l-mutanaqqal*).
189. The abridged medical formulary (*K. al-aqrābādḥīn al-mukhtaṣar*).<sup>134</sup>
190. On curing (*K. fī l-bur'*), in which al-Rāzī shows that composition is of two types: composition of differing bodies, and composition of bodies with similar parts and that in reality one is not like the other.
191. A letter to Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Dulaf<sup>135</sup> about philosophy (*K. ilā Abī l-Qāsim ibn Abī Dulaf fī l-ḥikmah*).
192. A letter to 'Alī ibn Wahbān<sup>136</sup> containing a single chapter about the sun (*K. ilā 'Alī ibn Wahbān fīhi bāb wāḥid fī l-shams*).
193. A letter to Ibn Abī l-Sāj<sup>137</sup> about philosophy (*K. ilā Ibn Abī al-Sāj fī l-ḥikmah*).
194. A letter to the Missionary al-Uṭrūsh<sup>138</sup> about philosophy (*K. ilā al-Dā'ī al-Uṭrūsh fī l-ḥikmah*).
195. *The Secret of Secrets: on philosophy* (*K. Sirr al-asrār fī l-ḥikmah*).
196. *The Secret of Medicine* (*K. Sirr al-ṭibb*).<sup>139</sup>
197. On the superiority of bloodletting for purging repletion from foul qualities and quantities, and the merit of bloodletting compared to other purges, and showing that there is nothing at all to prevent bloodletting when needed (*K. fī sharaf al-faṣd 'ind al-istifrāghāt al-imtilā'iyah radā'ah wa kammiyyah wa-faḍlihi 'alā sā'ir al-istifrāghāt wa-l-ibānah 'alā ann al-*

133 See Iskandar, 'Bibliographical Studies'.

134 See title no. 52 above.

135 Possibly Abū Dulaf's son 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was governor of Rayy from 252–260 (866–874). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Dulafids' (E. Marin).

136 Thus all the MSS. No contemporary of al-Rāzī of this name has been identified. It is possible that 'Alī ibn Wāhsūdḥān the Daylamite (d. after 304/917), governor of Rayy is meant here.

137 One of the Sājīd dynasty, possibly Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Sāj (d. 288/901), governor of Azerbaijan from 279/892, who also made raids into the Jibāl region, the capital of which was Rayy. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sājīds' (C.E. Bosworth).

138 That is, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Ashraf ibn 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 304/917), Zaydi Imam and governor of Tabaristan. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh' (R. Strothmann); Stern, 'Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries'.

139 This may possibly be the same of the general medical treatise titled *Sirr šinā'at al-ṭibb* that was influential through translations in the West, though the attribution of the latter treatise to al-Rāzī is questionable; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 45.

- faṣḍ lā yamnaʿuhu ʿind al-iḥtiyāj shayʿ al-battah*). This he composed for the emir Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad.<sup>140</sup>
198. *The Guide* (*K. al-Murshid*). It is also called *The Book of Aphorisms* (*K. al-Fuṣūl*).
199. On the fact that supplementary conditions which patients cannot describe require the continued presence of the physician and that he exercise some trial and error to deduce them and understand them and that they may confuse the physician (*R. fī ann al-ʿilal al-mustakmalah allatī lā yaqdir al-ʿillāʾ an yuʿabbirū ʿanhā wa-yaḥtāj al-ṭabīb ilā luzūm al-ʿalīl wal-illā istiʿmāl baʿḍ al-tajribah li-istikhrājihā wa-l-wuqūf ʿalayhā wa-tuḥayyir al-ṭabīb*).
200. A brief book on milk (*Kitāb mukhtaṣar fī l-laban*).<sup>141</sup>
201. A discussion between al-Rāzī and al-Masʿūdī<sup>142</sup> on the coming into being of the world (*Kalām jarā baynahu wa-bayn al-Masʿūdī fī ḥadath al-ʿālam*).
202. An introduction to medicine (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-ṭibb*).<sup>143</sup>
203. On tastes (*M. fī l-madhāqāt*).
204. On mild leprosy and leprosy (*M. fī l-bahaq wa-l-baraṣ*).
205. The adornment of the secretaries (*K. zīnat al-kuttāb*).<sup>144</sup>
206. Cure within an hour (*K. Burʿ [al-]sāʿah*). This he composed for the vizier Abū l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd Allāh.<sup>145</sup>
207. On haemorrhoids and anal fissures (*M. fī l-bawāsīr wa-l-shiqāq fī l-maqʿadah*).
208. A discourse on the differences between diseases (*Kalām fī l-furūq bayn al-amrāḍ*).

140 That is Aḥmad II of the Samanid dynasty, who ruled from 295–301 [907–914].

141 For two recently edited texts by al-Rāzī on whey (*Māʿ al-jubn*), which may have formed part of this work on dairy products, see Das & Koetschet, ‘Two Pharmacological Texts on Whey’.

142 That is, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), the composer of celebrated works including *Meadows of Gold* (*Murūj al-dhahab*). See *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Masʿūdī’ (Ch. Pellat).

143 Also known as *Isagoge* (Cf. no. 6 above). For an Arabic edition with glossary in Castilian, see al-Rāzī, *al-Mudkhal*. Cf. Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 46.

144 A manuscript on bookmaking techniques entitled *K. Zīnat al-katabah* and ascribed to al-Rāzī was discovered in 2011 in the National Library in Cairo. See Zaki, *Early Arabic Book-making Techniques*.

145 This short essay is preserved today in a large number of copies, suggesting that it was very popular. It concerns ailments that al-Rāzī claims can be cured within an hour’s time, including headaches, toothache, earaches, and colic. Persian and Turkish versions are also preserved. For a French translation see Guigues, ‘La guérison’; for editions, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 120.

209. On the burning sensation which can occur in the meatus of the penis and the bladder (*M. fī l-ḥurqah al-kā'inah fī l-iḥlīl wa-l-mathānah*).
210. *The Poor Man's Book of Medicine* (*K. Ṭibb al-fuqarā'*).<sup>146</sup>
211. An epistle to the vizier Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāh al-Qunnā'ī<sup>147</sup> on diseases occurring on the surface of the body (*R. ilā Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāh al-Qunnā'ī fī l-a'lāl al-ḥādithah 'alā zāhir al-jasad*).
212. An epistle to Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb<sup>148</sup> on medicine and treatment for the eyes, and on compounding medicines as required (*R. ilā Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb fī adwiyat al-'ayn wa-'ilājihā wa-mudāwātihā wa-tarkīb al-adwiyah lammā yaḥtāju ilayhi min dhālik*).
213. On the dispensary for medicine (*K. ṣaydalat al-ṭibb*).
214. On the substances of bodies (*K. fī jawāhir al-ajsām*).
215. An autobiography (*K. fī sīratihī*).
216. On the common cold and on catarrh and repletion of the head and preventing catarrh from descending to the chest, and the wind which blocks the two nostrils and prevents breathing from them (*M. fī l-zukām wa-l-nazlah wa-imitilā' al-ra's wa-man' al-nazlah ilā l-ṣadr wa-l-rīḥ allatī tasudd al-mankhirayn wa-tamna' al-tanaffus bihimā*).<sup>149</sup>
217. On substitute drugs used in medicine and on treatments and their rules and on their method of use (*M. fī abdāl al-adwiyah al-musta'malah fī l-ṭibb wa-l-'ilājāt wa-qawānīnihā wa-jihat isti'mālihā*).
218. Description of the hospital (*K. ṣifāt al-bīmāristān*).<sup>150</sup>
219. On nutriment (*M. fī l-aghdhīyah*), abridged.
220. An essay on a question posed about why people who have little sexual intercourse have long lives (*M. fīmā su'ila 'anhu fī annahu lima ṣāra man qalla jimā'uhu min al-insān ṭāla 'umruhu*). He wrote it for the emir Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī.
221. On what causes the bodies of animals to heat-up upon eating, all except humans who find that eating makes them tepid (*M. fī l-'illah allatī laḥā*

146 Cf. al-Rāzī's book no. 38 above.

147 The 'Good Vizier' (d. 334/946). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. "Alī b. 'Isā' (H. Bowen); *ET*Three art. "Alī b. 'Isā b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāh' (M.L.M. van Berkel).

148 A student of al-Rāzī.

149 This appears to be the short tract by al-Rāzī on the management of catarrh that is produced when roses are blooming, also called 'rose fever', which he composed by Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), a sufferer from the complaint. For a German translation, see Hau, 'Razis Gutachten über Rosenschneupfen'; for editions and manuscripts, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 143.

150 Cf. Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 151. See above 11.5.5.



*idhā akalat al-ḥayawānāt sakhunat abdānuhā mā khalā l-insān fa-innahu yajidu 'inda aqlihi futūran).*

222. On the qualities (*M. fī l-kayfiyyāt*).

223. On the bathhouse and its beneficial and harmful aspects (*R. fī l-ḥammām wa-manāfi'ihī wa-maḍārrihi*).

224. On laxatives and emetics (*K. fī l-dawā' al-mus'hil wa-l-muḡayyi'*).

225. On treating the eye surgically<sup>151</sup> (*M. fī 'ilāj al-'ayn bi-l-ḥadīd*).

## 11.6 Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī was an inhabitant of Tabaristan.<sup>2</sup> He was eminent and learned in the art of medicine, and was physician to the emir Rukn al-Dawlah.<sup>3</sup>

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī is the author<sup>4</sup> of a medical compendium (*kunnāsh*) known as *The [Book of] Hippocratic Treatments (al-Mu'ālajāt al-Buqrāṭiyyah)*.<sup>5</sup> It is a most excellent and useful book in which the author discusses diseases and their treatments most comprehensively. It consists of many discourses.<sup>6</sup>

151 Literally, 'with the knife' (*bi-l-ḥadīd*). Such procedures included couching for cataracts, but also using a knife to remove pterygium and other surgical procedures.

1 Translation/annotation by AW. For Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 307–308.

2 Region of northern Iran on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ṭabaristan' (Ed.).

3 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Būyah, known as Rukn al-Dawlah or 'Pillar of the Realm' (d. 366/976). Buyid Emir of the Jibal region including Ray and Isfahan from 320/932 until his death; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Rukn al-Dawla' (H. Bowen, and C.E. Bosworth).

4 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 308 (where two additional works not in IAU are mentioned).

5 For Hippocrates, see Ch. 4.1. For a facsimile of the Tehran MS Malik Milli Library 4474 copy of this work, see al-Ṭabarī, *Mu'ālajāt*. For a comparison of the *Mu'ālajāt al-Buqrāṭiyyah* and al-Ṭabarī's *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* see Elvira Wakelnig, 'Al-Ṭabarī and al-Ṭabarī: Compendia between Medicine and Philosophy', in Adamson & Pormann, *Philosophy and Medicine*, 218–254. See also Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 48.

6 It consists of ten discourses (*maqālahs*) containing a total of 473 chapters (*bābs*) between them. An edition of the fourth *maqālah* on diseases of the eye was published in 1998. For further details, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 183–189. A copy not used in the edition (apparently dated 761/1359) formerly belonging to the 17th-century scholar John Selden, with notes by Henry Wild and containing 53 of the 54 chapters of the same *maqālah* 4 is also held in the collections of the Royal College of Physicians in London. See Tritton, *Catalogue RCP*, 185, no. 23; Pormann, *Mirror of Health*, 76, no. 29.

## 11.7 Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī the Logician [*al-Mantiqī*] was an eminent scholar who was proficient in the philosophical disciplines, the intricacies of which he had mastered. In Baghdad he had met and studied with Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī.<sup>2</sup>

Abū Sulaymān had also studied belles-lettres (*adab*), and he composed poetry. An example of his poetry is the following:<sup>3</sup>

Do not envy anybody for an apparent blessing:  
 Death lies in wait for him.  
 After having attained what he hoped for,  
 will he not come to non-existence, as if he had never been?  
 If I were envious, my thoughts would not go beyond  
 envying the stars for their everlasting existence.

Another example:<sup>4</sup>

Hunger is repelled by dry bread,  
 so why do I have so many sorrows and melancholy thoughts?<sup>5</sup>  
 Death is just when it meets out equal judgment  
 between a caliph and a wretched pauper.

And another example:<sup>6</sup>

A pleasant life lies in the animal nature of pleasure,  
 not in what the philosopher says.

1 Translation/annotation by AW and GJvG. For al-Sijistānī, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Bahrām al-Sijistānī al-Mantiqī’ (S.M. Stern); Sezgin, *GAS* IV, 219, 220; VI, 61; VII, 168; VIII, 230, 236–237; Endress & Ferrari, ‘The Baghdad Aristotelians’. For a fuller study, see Kraemer, *Philosophy*.

2 See Ch. 10.22.

3 Metre: *kāmil*. Attributed to Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah and, following him, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:47 and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:165, but more reliably to al-Badihī in al-Tawḥīdī, *Muqābasāt*, 267, idem, *Baṣā’ir*, i:146. On Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Badihī see e.g. Kraemer, *Humanism*, 136–139, al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii:339–341.

4 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:47, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:165.

5 *wasāwis*, ‘whisperings; delusions, anxieties’, supposed to be caused by an excess of black bile, ‘melancholy’.

6 Metre: *khafif*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:166 (lines 1–4), Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:47 (lines 4–5, 7). Lines 5–7 lacking in R.

It is the judgment of Death's cup that it is sipped  
 equally by a fool and by a brilliant mind.  
 A stupid man will dwell beneath the earth  
 just as a sharp-witted man will dwell beneath it;  
 They become a decayed corpse, abandoned by  
 its substantial and accidental characteristics.  
 Their animal nature is annihilated  
 and their rational distinction perishes.  
 So ask the earth about those two, if a hidden answer  
 will remove doubt and argument.  
 All these attributes are void,  
 but it is impossible for the Eternal to be void.

Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī composed the following works:<sup>7</sup>

1. On the hierarchies of human faculties and the nature of the soul's premonitions as to what will occur in the world of generation (*Maqālah fī marātib quwā l-insān wa-kayfiyyat al-indhārāt allatī tundhar bihā l-nafs fī mā yahduth fī 'ālam al-kawn*).
2. A discourse on logic (*Kalām fī l-manṭiq*).
3. Many questions that were put to him and his answers to them (*Masā'il 'iddah su'ila 'anhā wa-jawābātuhu la-hā*).
4. Philosophical commentaries, anecdotes, and rarities (*Ta'ālīq hikmiyyah wa-mulah wa-nawādir*).<sup>8</sup>
5. On the fact that the celestial bodies are of a 'fifth' nature,<sup>9</sup> and that they possess rational souls (*Maqālah fī anna al-ajrām al-'uhwiyyah ṭabī'atuhā ṭabī'ah khāmisah wa-annahā dhawāt anfus wa-ann al-nafs allatī lahā hiya al-nafs al-nāṭiqah*).<sup>10</sup>

7 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Bahrām al-Sijistānī al-Manṭiqī' (S.M. Stern); Sezgin, *GAS* IV, 219, 220; VI, 61; VII, 168; VIII, 230, 236–237; Endress and Ferrari, 'The Baghdad Aristotelians'. For a fuller study, see Kraemer, *Philosophy*.

8 For a discussion of whether this title corresponds with the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, see Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, xiv. See also Kraemer, *Philosophy*, 91.

9 Or 'quintessence'.

10 Arabic edition in al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah wa-thalāth rasā'il*.

## 11.8 Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār<sup>1</sup>

[11.8.1]

Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā ibn Bihnām was known as Ibn al-Khammār (son of the vintner).<sup>2</sup> Bihnām is a Persian name composed of two words – *bih* good, and *nām* name, hence *Goodname*.

[11.8.2]

This particular Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan was a Christian<sup>3</sup> who was learned in the fundamentals and branches of the art of medicine, possessing expertise and great knowledge of its intricacies, and skilled in the philosophical disciplines as well. He composed great works on medicine and other sciences. He was also an expert translator, and he translated many books from Syriac to Arabic. I have seen some of these in his own hand in which he shows his excellence. Ibn al-Khammār studied philosophy with Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī<sup>4</sup> at Baghdad and was highly intelligent and clever. He was born in the month of Rabī‘ 1 in the year 381 [May/June 991].<sup>5</sup>

[11.8.3]

Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib,<sup>6</sup> in *The Comprehensive Book on Medicine (K. al-Shāmil fī l-ṭibb)*, said that Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār was alive in the year 330/942.<sup>7</sup>

1 Translation/annotation by AW. For Ibn al-Khammār, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 67, 165, 322–323, 334; VII, 284; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 85, 95, 227; *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Khammār’ (O.L. Lizzini); Endress & Ferrari, *The Baghdad Aristotelians*, 480–499; *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500* art. ‘Ibn al-Khammār’ (H.G.B. Teule); *Encycl. Iranica* arts. ‘Abu’l-Ḳayr b. Al-Ḳammār’ (W. Madelung), ‘Ebn Ḳammār, Abu’l-Ḳayr Ḥasan’ (W. Montgomery-Watt); Sezgin, *The School of Baghdad (4th–5th/10–11th cent.) and its achievements*. See also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, ii:205, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:41–42, (where his father’s name is wrongly given as Sawwār).

2 Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 13, says the name ‘Khammār’ is an error and explains that Maḥmūd of Ghaznah gave him an estate in Ghaznah named Khumār [?] by which Abū l-Khayr became known.

3 Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 12, relates that Ibn al-Khammār, apparently at over 100 years of age, became a Muslim after seeing the Prophet Muḥammad in a dream.

4 See Ch. 10.22.

5 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 265, where birth date given as Rabī‘ 1 331 [= November–December 942]. Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 12, says Ibn al-Khammār was born in Baghdad.

6 See Ch. 10.60.

7 See information about birth date above. It appears that these two dates have been transposed and that Ibn al-Khammār was born in 331/942 and was still alive in 380/991. However, it is

[11.8.4]

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān,<sup>8</sup> in the book *Resolution al-Rāzī’s Doubts regarding Galen* (*K. Ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī ‘alā Jālīnūs*),<sup>9</sup> says the following:

Al-Ḥasan ibn Bābā, who is known as Ibn al-Khammār, did a similar thing in our time. He progressed so far in medicine that the emir Maḥmūd<sup>10</sup> himself kissed the ground beneath his feet despite his great dominions, for Ibn al-Khammār was a philosopher with a great intellect and great knowledge.

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān also said of Ibn al-Khammār:

He was adept at dealing with lawyers, notables, magnates, and rulers. Hence, whenever he was summoned by someone known for worship and abstinence, he would walk on foot to meet him, and would say to him, ‘I offer this walk as expiation for the times I have gone to visit sinners and tyrants.’ Whenever he was summoned by those in power he would ride out to meet them in the apparel of emirs and magnates, often with a bodyguard of three hundred Turkish slaves and with fine steeds and great pomp. But he remained true to his art by being humble towards the weak as well as vying with the great and good. This was the method of Hippocrates<sup>11</sup> and Galen<sup>12</sup> and other philosophers, some of whom practised humility, abstinence, and self-restraint, while others made a display of the finest benefits of wisdom.

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more likely that he was born in 331/942 and was still alive in 1039 [possibly confirmed by MS R]. This would fit in better with the dates of his pupil Ibn Hindū (d. 423/1032), and with the fact that he served Maḥmūd [of Ghaznah] (r. 388/998–421/1030). Maḥmūd took control of Khwārazm in 408/1018 and Ibn al-Khammār was then taken to Ghaznah at a very advanced age, perhaps even 100 years.

8 For this title of Ibn Riḍwān, see Ch. 14.25.9 title 51.

9 For this title by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, see Ch. 11.5.25 title 17; For Galen, see Ch. 5.1.

10 That is Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigin, Sultan of Ghaznah (r. 388–421/998–1030). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin’ (C.E. Bosworth). According to [Zāhir al-Dīn] al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 13, the full story of Ibn al-Khammār and Maḥmūd was related in Abū l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī’s *Tārīkh*. Sadly, the relevant portion of this work has yet to come to light.

11 See Ch. 4.1

12 See Ch. 5.1

[11.8.5]

Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū<sup>13</sup> in the book *The Key to Medicine* (*K. Miftāḥ al-ṭibb*),<sup>14</sup> says that he saw in Persia a sect that used to shun (*yattaqūna min*) the art of medicine.<sup>15</sup> He says:

The leader of the sect which denied nature used to oppose my master Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Khammār the philosopher and would incite the common people to annoy him. When it so happened that the leader complained of a headache and asked Abū l-Khayr for advice as to how to cure it he answered, 'He must put a copy of his own book in which he denies the efficacy of nature under his turban so that God may cure him,' and he refused to treat him himself.<sup>16</sup>

[11.8.6]

Abū l-Khayr ibn Suwār ibn Bābā [Ibn al-Khammār] is the author of the following works:<sup>17</sup>

1. On primordial matter (*M. fī l-hayūlā*).
2. A reconciliation between the opinions of the philosophers and the Christians (*K. al-wifāq bayna ra'y al-falāsifah wa-l-naṣārā*), in three discourses.<sup>18</sup>
3. An explanation of the *Isagoge* (*K. tafsīr Īsāghūjī*), with commentary.
4. An explanation of the *Isagoge* (*K. tafsīr Īsāghūjī*), abridged.
5. On friendship and friends (*M. fī l-ṣadāqah wa-l-ṣadīq*).
6. On the conduct of the philosopher (*M. fī sīrat al-faylasūf*).
7. On the effects observed in the atmosphere arising from liquid vapour – namely, the halo, the rainbow, and fog – in question and answer format

13 See Ch. 11.9. Ibn Hindū was one of Ibn al-Khammār's students.

14 For an English translation, see Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi).

15 This phenomenon, known also in Arabic as *tark al-tadāwī*, often arises from the idea that seeking medical treatment in some way interferes with God's will or negates reliance upon God (*tawakkul*). Al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) treats of this question in some detail in his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Bürgel, *Ärtzliches Leben*, 20–24, discusses this and calls it 'Das *tawakkul*-Problem'. See also Ghaly, *Islam and Disability*, 115–119. The sect (*firqah*) mentioned here is likely a reference to a group of *Mutakallimūn* who denied causality, and which was seen by others as tantamount to a denial of nature; see Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 559 ff.; Daiber, 'God versus Causality'.

16 For another English translation of this passage, see Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), xv, 11.

17 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 67, 165, 322–323, 334; VII, 284; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 85, 95, 227; *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500* art. 'Ibn al-Khammār' (H.G.B. Teule).

18 *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500* art. 'Kitāb al-tawfiq bayna ārā' al-falāsifa wa-l-Naṣārā' (H.G.B. Teule).

(*M. fī l-āthār al-mukhayyalah fī-l-jaww al-ḥādīthah ‘an al-bukhār al-mā’ī wa-hiya al-hālah wa-l-qaws wa-l-dabāb ‘alā ṭarīq al-mas’alah wa-l-jawāb*).<sup>19</sup>

8. On happiness (*M. fī l-sa‘ādah*).
9. On explaining the opinions of the Ancients with regard to the Creator – exalted is He – and on divine laws and those who brought them (*M. fī l-ifṣāḥ ‘an ra’y al-qudamā’ fī l-Bārī ta‘ālā wa-fī l-sharā’i’ wa-mūridī-hā*).
10. On the examination of physicians (*M. fī imtihān al-aṭibbā’*). This he composed for the emir Khwārazmshāh Abū l-‘Abbās Ma’mūn ibn Ma’mūn.<sup>20</sup>
11. On the creation of the human being and the composition of his bodily parts (*K. fī khalq al-insān wa-tarkīb a‘ḍā’ihi*) in four discourses.
12. On regimen for the elderly (*K. fī tadbīr al-mashāyikh*). At the beginning of this book it is stated that Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq<sup>21</sup> composed this book in Syriac and selected what was necessary for the regimen for the elderly from the discourses of Galen<sup>22</sup> and Rufus,<sup>23</sup> along with additions from himself composed in the form of questions and answers. Abū l-Khayr then simplified it and clarified it but not using question and answer format and arranged it into twenty-six chapters.
13. On the discussions of Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī<sup>24</sup> and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs<sup>25</sup> about the form of fire and showing the falseness of Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir’s<sup>26</sup> doctrines relating to the forms of the elements (*K. taṣaffuḥ mā jarā bayna Abī Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī wa-bayna Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs fī ṣūrat al-nār wa-tabyīn fasād mā dhahab ilayhi Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir fī ṣuwar al-uṣtuquṣṣāt*).
14. On the illness known as ‘that of the soothsayers’ – that is, epilepsy (*M. fī l-maraḍ al-ma‘rūf bi-l-kāhinī wa-huwa al-ṣar’*).

19 For a study, edition, and English translation of this treatise, see Lettinck, *Aristotle’s Meteorology and its reception in the Arab world*.

20 That is, Abū l-‘Abbās Ma’mūn ibn Muḥammad, formerly governor of Gurganj and then ruler of all Khwārazm until his death in 387/997.

21 See Chs. 8.29 and 9.2.

22 See Ch. 5.1.37–39.

23 That is, Rufus of Ephesus (fl. 100AD). See Ch. 4.1.10.2; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Rūfus al-Afsīsī’ (M. Ullmann).

24 See Ch. 10.22.

25 See Ch. 10.42.

26 See Ch. 11.7.

15. The divisions of the *Isagoge* and the *Categories* by Alīnūs of Alexandria<sup>27</sup> (*Taqāsīm Īsāghūjī wa-Qāṭīghūriyās li-Ālīnūs al-Iskandarānī*). This was translated from Syriac into Arabic by al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā, who also wrote a marginal commentary on it. This I have copied from the original book (*dastūr*) in the hand of al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār.

## 11.9 Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū<sup>1</sup>

[11.9.1]

The honourable and learned scholar Abū l-Faraj ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hindū was among the most distinguished and respected persons in the intellectual disciplines, medical matters, and the literary arts. He wrote delightful prose and outstanding poetry, and is the author of famous literary works. His merits are notable. He was also an excellent scribe and worked independently in that capacity. He studied the art of medicine and the intellectual disciplines under the guidance of the shaykh Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā, who was better known as Ibn al-Khammār.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Hindū worked as an apprentice under him and became one of his most excellent students.

Abū Manṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī,<sup>3</sup> in his work *A Completion of the Unique Book of its Time* (*Tatimmat al-yatīmah*),<sup>4</sup> describes Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū as follows:

27 That is, commentaries on the two well-known works by Porphyry and Aristotle respectively. For a discussion of the identity of Alīnūs, see Gyekye, *Arabic Logic*, 15, 221 (n. 43), where he is equated with [Pseudo-] Elias the Neoplatonist (fl. 6th cent.), for whom see *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* art. ‘Elias’ (C. Wildberg).

1 Translation/annotation by NPJ and GJvG. This entry is missing from Version 1, but is extant in Versions 2 and Version 3. For biographical sources on Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū, see amongst others: *Encycl. Iranica*, art. ‘Ebn Hendū’ (L. Richter-Bernburg); The brief entry on Ibn Hindū in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, is marred by a confusion of two individuals: Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū and Abū Muḥammad ibn Hindū, and for that reason not completely reliable as background information; cf. also Khalifāt, *Ibn Hindū*; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 334–335.

2 See Ch. 11. 8 on Ibn al-Khammār. See also Teule, ‘Ibn al-Khammār’; *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Abū l-Ḳayr b. al-Ḳammār’ (W. Madelung).

3 For al-Tha‘ālibī, see art. *EI*<sup>2</sup> ‘al-Tha‘ālibī’ (E. Rowson); see also Orfali, ‘Works’.

4 MS A has the correct reading *Tatimmat al-yatīmah*, whereas the majority of the manuscripts present us with the reading *Yatīmat al-dahr*. The *Tatīmah* is, in fact, the sequel of the *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsīn ahl al-‘aṣr*. See al-Tha‘ālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīmah*, v:155; this edition bears the title *Yatīmat al-dahr*, but the last volume (no. 5) corresponds to the continuation written by al-Tha‘ālibī with the *Tatimmat al-yatīmah*, as IAU states.



He was very successful in the literary arts and sciences and possessed a delicate style and similar skills. He was peerless in his time in poetry and unrivalled in his hunt for rhetorical expressions. He composed exquisite and precious poems, refining eloquent expressions and clarifying unusual concepts, and admonishing those who might read and transmit them. «*Is this magic, or is it that you do not see?*»<sup>5</sup>

Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī adds: 'An original use of words once occurred to me. The words at the end of the following lines are mine':<sup>6</sup>

My heart is aflame with passion  
and full of worries.  
In love I have been clothed  
with the clothes of an amorous, ardent lover  
By an enticing female person,  
who would shame the full moon in the darkness.  
When my eyes whore with her,  
they perform the major ablution by means of tears.<sup>7</sup>

I was not aware that someone had already used this motif until someone recited to me these lines by Ibn Hindū:<sup>8</sup>

They asked me: How come your eyes, since they saw  
the charms of this gazelle, are shedding a torrent of tears?  
I replied, My eyes whored with its good-looking face,  
and then performed the major ablution by pouring out tears.

Then I realized that he had been the first.

[11.9.2.1]

Another example of Ibn Hindū's poetry is the following:<sup>9</sup>

5 Q al-Ṭūr 52:15.

6 Metre: *rajaz*. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii:395; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 229; idem, *Tatīmmah*, 114 (lines 3–4); Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:16; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:18.

7 The major ablution (*ghusl*) is required by Islamic law after sexual intercourse.

8 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii:395; idem, *Tatīmmah*, 114; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:16; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:49; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:18.

9 Metre: *basīṭ*. Attributed to Ibn Hindū in Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:49; to Shukr (ibn Abī l-Futūḥ) al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī, *amīr* of Mecca in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (yr 453/1061–1062), and

Strike your tents, leave a land where you have been wronged,  
 and avoid humiliation. Humiliation must be averted.  
 And depart when homelands bring you loss.  
 Mandal wood from India is mere firewood in its homeland.<sup>10</sup>

Also by him:<sup>11</sup>

My roaming in various lands has been lengthened  
 by being short of cash and long of ambitions.  
 Whenever I left one place in the evening I arrived in the morning  
 at another; my luggage never stayed in one place.  
 It is as if I am the thought of a madman who hears voices,<sup>12</sup>  
 not staying in one state for a single moment.

He also said, recommending mobility and exertion:<sup>13</sup>

My two friends, what you believe is not right!  
 You two do what you like; I am gone to do my own thing.  
 My two friends, were there no high merit<sup>14</sup> in moving on,  
 the sun and the moon would not one more day move so untiringly.

And he said as well:<sup>15</sup>

Truly, I have not delayed sending you my letters  
 because of the gossip of a slanderer or the words of a quarrelmonger;  
 But my tears, whenever I wrote, would disfigure  
 my letter; and what's the use of a disfigured letter?

And he also said the following against having a family and in favour of remaining single:<sup>16</sup>

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to *al-amīr* Abū Naṣr 'Alī ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 485/1092) in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xv:106 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:306.

10 Mandal is a kind of wood from India, used as incense.

11 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:50 (lines 2–3); attributed to 'al-qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb' (not identified) in al-'Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, 260–261.

12 A *muwaswis* is someone who suffers from *wasāwis*, 'whisperings' (see above, Ch. 11.7).

13 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 163.

14 *Tatimmah* has *naḥ'ah* 'benefit'.

15 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 156, idem, *Khāṣṣ*, 214.

16 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 164; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:50; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:14.

What has someone with a family of dependents to do with lofty deeds?  
 Only the lonely, solitary man rises up to them!  
 The sun widely roams through the sky, on its own,  
 while the Little Dipper's father stagnates.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding fortitude, he said:<sup>18</sup>

Show fortitude when worry overcomes you;  
 for the worry and he who caused it will not last.

Another example:<sup>19</sup>

They said, 'Busy yourself with others than them, for one day!  
 Deceive yourself! One's self can be deceived.'  
 My heart is moulded to fit the size of my love of them;  
 there is no space left for love of others.

Another example:<sup>20</sup>

Roses on stems tried to emulate his cheeks:  
 they matched in beauty yet they differed:  
 The roses on his cheeks increase by plucking them,  
 the real roses diminish the more they are plucked.

Another:<sup>21</sup>

Say to that moon who appears,  
 he who can make me or break me:  
 Provide a heart that departs with a kiss:  
 A traveller must have provisions.

17 The stars of the Little Dipper, or Ursa minor, are called *Banāt al-na'sh*, 'Daughters of the Bier', in Arabic; their 'father', the Pole Star, does not seem to move.

18 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 164.

19 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 157–158; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xiii:142–143; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:16; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:17; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:50.

20 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 156; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:18; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:50.

21 Metre: *sarī'*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 158; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:16; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:17.

Another:<sup>22</sup>

I wished to see the one I loved; but when I met him  
 I was bewildered and could not control my tongue nor my eyes.  
 I bowed my head in reverence and awe  
 and tried to hide my state – but it was not hidden.  
 My heart held notebooks full of reproach,  
 but when we met I did not utter one letter.

Another:<sup>23</sup>

They criticized him when he sprouted a beard. But we said,  
 ‘You criticise and have no idea of beauty.  
 He is a gazelle; it is not strange  
 that musk is created in a gazelle.’<sup>24</sup>

[11.9.2.2]

Regarding cheek-down, he said:<sup>25</sup>

A downy beard was revealed on his cheek, which did not leave  
 anything of my pious scruples or devoutness intact.  
 It was as if ants had crawled on it,  
 their feet dipped in musk.

He also said:<sup>26</sup>

22 Metre: *tawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:50 (lines 1, 3). Quoted anonymously in al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, vi:115 (lines 1–2), *Alf laylah wa-laylah* (ed. Maktabat Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣubayḥ), i:80 and iv:120. For other English translations, see Haddawy, *The Arabian Nights*, 195 (rhymed) and Lyons, *The Arabian Nights*, i:162 and (differently) iii:413.

23 Metre: *mukhalla‘ al-basī‘*. Al-Tha‘alibī, *Yatimah*, iii:394–395; idem, *Kitāb man ghāba ‘anhu l-muṭrib*, 159; idem, *Taḥsīn al-qabīl*, 63–64; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:14; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:14; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:50.

24 Dark cheek-down is often compared to musk, which is black and derived from the musk deer.

25 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Tha‘alibī, *Tatimmat*, 159; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:16; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:17; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:51.

26 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Tha‘alibī, *Tatimmat*, 159.

They said, 'The lover's heart has sobered!' But it has not;  
 and 'The cheek-down has wiped out the loved one's radiance!' But it  
 has not.  
 The hair on his cheek has not impaired him; it merely  
 showed up to chain his beauty, preventing it from absconding.

Ibn Hindū also said on the line of cheek-down:<sup>27</sup>

Now there is a true testimony for me  
 that there is nothing like his beauty for any painter:  
 A line, written around his cheek  
 by God's pen, with an inscription with fragrant musk.

He also wrote:<sup>28</sup>

You, whose face is handsome like his name:<sup>29</sup>  
 If you sleep away from me I cannot sleep.  
 I suffered tribulations before your cheek-down was there,  
 and when it appeared my tribulations increased.  
 O hairs, all of which are temptations (*fiṭan*)  
 whose essence even intelligent minds (*fiṭan*) are at a loss how to  
 describe!  
 What they criticized his cheek-down for was silly.  
 He was a tree branch; now the branch has sprouted leaves.

On displeasure with cheek-down, he says:<sup>30</sup>

It is bad enough for my heart that his cheek-down burns it,  
 so shield the eyes that drown in their tears!  
 Whenever a letter of the line of his cheek-down is written  
 it wipes out a page of his beauty.

27 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 162.

28 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 159; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:15; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*,  
 xxi:17.

29 Ḥasan, meaning 'beautiful' or 'good'.

30 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 159; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:15; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*,  
 xxi:16.

[11.9.2.3]

On drinking wine:<sup>31</sup>

I find that wine is fire and the souls are essences;  
 if it is drunk, it shows the true nature of the essences.  
 So do not ever shame your soul by drinking wine,  
 if you do not trust that its innermost secrets are good.

Another example:<sup>32</sup>

The army clergyman<sup>33</sup> enjoined us  
 to abstain from drinking wine.  
 But I disobeyed him. Wine (*sharāb*)  
 can restore a ruined house (*kharāb*).

When someone spilled some wine on his sleeve:<sup>34</sup>

Wine let itself be spilled on his sleeve  
 to kiss his sleeve respectfully.  
 If it had not intended to pay respect by what  
 it did, it would not have singled out his sleeve.

He said, writing it on a lute:<sup>35</sup>

I see that the derivation of 'lute' (*'ūd*)  
 from aloe wood (*'ūd*) is perfect:  
 One is the perfume for noses,  
 the other the perfume for ears.<sup>36</sup>

He also said:<sup>37</sup>

31 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā'*, xiii:144; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:14; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:14.

32 Metre: *kāmil muraffāl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:18.

33 Or possibly 'the jurist al-'Askarī' (after 'Askar Mukram, a place near al-Ahwāz).

34 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 159.

35 Metre: *hazaj*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 159.

36 The original meaning of *'ūd*, which lies behind both words, is '(piece of) wood'.

37 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 159, where the instrument in question is said to be a *ṭunbūr*, a long-necked stringed, plucked instrument; the name survived in Europe as *pan-dora*, *bandora*, or *bandore*, as well as *tambour(ine)*, which is a wholly different kind of instrument.

Once there was a friendly tree, whose fruits  
 were songs, plucked by drinking companions, convivial people:  
 Birds sang on it when it was flourishing;  
 and when it had withered people sang on its wood.

[11.9.2.4]

On *ādharyūn*, he said:<sup>38</sup>

On many a meadow I imagined the marigold flowers,  
 when they were ablaze.  
 To be gold that had set musk aflame  
 in stoves of peridot.

On the difficulty of being perfect, he said:<sup>39</sup>

Whenever you think that a man has attained perfection,  
 know that there is a hidden imperfection.  
 God's omnipotence is too perfect for anyone of those one sees  
 to be seen second to His perfection.

He had the following complaint:<sup>40</sup>

I was lost in al-Rayy amongst its people  
 as the letter S is lost by those who lisp.<sup>41</sup>  
 After having attained all my desires,  
 now I am pleased if I attain the merest minimum to live on.

And he said:<sup>42</sup>

38 Metre: *ramal*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 162; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:51.

39 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 163.

40 Metre: *sarī'*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 163; idem, *Khāṣṣ*, 213; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā'*, xiii:139; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:14; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:16.

41 The Arabic has 'like the letter R in (the speech defect called) *luthghah*'. Aida Tibi, who translates this epigram in her introduction to Ibn Hindū, *The Key to Medicine*, xiv, has 'In Rayy I was lost, as the letter "r" is lost by those who lisp'. *Luthghah* can refer to lisping (S becoming Th) but in Ibn Hindū's line it means 'burring' the R. It is possible, therefore, that he puns on 'al-Rayy' becoming 'al-Ghayy', 'the Error'.

42 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 160; idem, *Khāṣṣ*, 214.

We have a king who is not equipped for kingship  
 apart from wearing a crown on a day of fighting.  
 He was set up for the improvement of mankind but he is himself  
 depraved:  
 how can a shadow be straight when the stick is crooked?<sup>43</sup>

[11.9.2.5]

Another example:<sup>44</sup>

I am surprised at this Emir's constipation:<sup>45</sup>  
 how and from where did he get it?  
 He has, after all, an enema daily  
 that purges, by means of a prick,<sup>46</sup> his guts.

A witty epigram in praise of scabies:<sup>47</sup>

I am much pleased with the scabies on my hand,  
 even though it is considered among great evils:  
 Base people avoid me because of it, so that  
 I am spared shaking hands with them.

On composing poetry again after having abandoned it:<sup>48</sup>

I had given up composing poetry, scorning obscene language,<sup>49</sup>  
 feeling above eulogy, and renouncing love poetry.  
 But I still loved you, and finally poetic thoughts  
 rose up, after their once rising star had set,

43 Compare al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, i:58 (in prose): 'A shadow comes from a stick (...) but how can the shadow be straight when the stick is crooked?'

44 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 161; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:17; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Mas-ālik*, ix:51. For an alternative rhymed version of this poem, see IAU, *Anecdotes & Antidotes*.

45 Arabic *qūlanj*, *qawlanj*, *qūlinj*, or *qūlanj*, from Greek κωλικός, 'characterized by colic pain'.

46 Thus MS A and *Tatimmah*, while *Wāfi* has *bi-l-zayti* 'with olive oil', i.e., a real purge, which is in fact likely to be an expurgated version.

47 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 161.

48 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmah*, 162.

49 MS A vowels it as *ānafa man khannā* ('as the most scorning of those who produce obscene language'), which is syntactically unlikely and metrically impossible.



While rhymes slipped from my tongue, like  
 a torrent sliding hurriedly from a hill;  
 And now the verse of the two A'shās is night-blind (*'ashā*)  
 compared with it, and the verse of the two Akhṭals is drivel (*kha-*  
*ṭal*).<sup>50</sup>

[11.9.3]

Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū is the author of the following works:

1. *The Key to Medicine*. He wrote it for his peers, in ten chapters (*Miftāḥ al-ṭibb*).<sup>51</sup>
2. A treatise arousing the desire to become initiated in the science of philosophy (*al-M. al-mushawwiqah fi l-mudkhal ilā 'ilm al-falsafah*).
3. Spiritual expressions from the Greek wisdom literature (*K. al-kalim al-rūḥāniyyah min al-ḥikam al-yūnāniyyah*).
4. His collected poetry.
5. An amusing epistle entitled 'The mediation between the fornicators and the sodomites' (*Risālah hazliyyah mutarjamah bi-l-wasāṭah bayna al-zunāh wa-l-lāṭah*).

#### 11.10 al-Ḥasan al-Fasawī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥasan al-Fasawī was a well-known physician from the town of Fasā<sup>2</sup> in Persia and an outstanding practitioner and researcher of medicine. He served the

<sup>50</sup> Al-A'shā ('the Night-Blind') is the nickname of several early poets, notably Maymūn ibn Qays (pre-Islamic); the other may be Abū Quḥāfah 'Āmir ibn al-Ḥārith (A'shā Bāhilah, 'of the tribe Bāhilah', pre-Islamic) or 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh (A'shā Hamdān, 'of the tribe Hamdān', d. 83/702). There is only one famous poet called al-Akhṭal (d. ca. 92/710); there are at least four others, all obscure (see al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif*, 21–22). Perhaps Abū l-Asad al-Tha'labī, nicknamed al-Akhṭal al-Ṣaghīr ('little Akhṭal' or 'the younger Akhṭal') is intended (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 330–331) or al-Ukhayṭil ('little Akhṭal') Barqūqā (ibid., 411–412), both from the early Abbasid period. The dual may also be a joke on the part of Ibn Hindū.

<sup>51</sup> That is *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb wa-minhāj al-tullāb* (*The Key to Medicine and a Guide for Students*), eds. Mohaghegh and Daneshpajuh (Tehran 1989) and Manṣūrī (Beirut 2002). For an English translation, see Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi).

<sup>1</sup> Translation/annotation by NPJ. This entry is missing in Versions 1 and 2, but is extant in Version 3. It appears in MS A on the interleaf between fols. 175/176.

<sup>2</sup> The town of Fasā is located in Fars Province, Persia. See Yāqūt, *Muṣṣam al-buldān*, iv:260–261.

Būyid dynasty, in particular al-Malik Bahā' al-Dawlah ibn 'Aḍud al-Dawlah,<sup>3</sup> whom he accompanied on his travels and who provided him with a powerful position. The crown prince, Abū Maṣṣūr Buwayh ibn Bahā' al-Dawlah fell ill in the month of Rajab of the year 398/1008, while residing with his father in Basra, at a time when Bahā' al-Dawlah had decided to go from Basra to Tustar<sup>4</sup> to hunt and find distraction. He was very concerned about his sick son and very protective of him and, in fact, feared for him so much that he would not even allow the soldiers to visit his son. The young man had to stay with his father in a restricted environment and was not allowed to do the things he wanted to do. Now it happened that in the month of Rajab, on the eve of the day on which Bahā' al-Dawlah intended to travel, the son contracted a fever that sapped his strength considerably. One of his intimate friends said to Bahā' al-Dawlah: 'The prince is feverish. It is not advisable to move him. Therefore, it would be best to leave him where he is.'

But he [Bahā' al-Dawlah] replied: 'No, he must be carried and shall be taken out. No discussion!' The man replied: 'But he will die when he is disturbed and the period that he shall remain among us will then not be much longer'. Bahā' al-Dawlah, however, would not listen to his intimate friend, but approached the physician al-Ḥasan al-Fasawī, in whom he had much confidence. He asked him to go and see his son and report back to him. The physician went, examined his son, and then returned, saying: 'It is indeed the proper thing to do to leave him behind and postpone his departure'. He then told Bahā' al-Dawlah in a private session about the graveness of his son's illness and explained its symptoms, which caused the ruler to despair of his son's life. He then ordered that his son was to be left behind. However, the prince's fever persisted and he experienced further complications. He died on Sunday, the second of the month Sha'bān of the year 398/1008.

3 See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 154–157: Abū Naṣr Bahā' al-Dawlah Fīrūz ibn Fanā Khusraw 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (r. 388–403/998–1012).

4 The town of Tustar is located in Khuzestan Province, Persia. It is also known under the names Shūshtar, Shūstar and Tushtar. See Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, ii:29–31.

### 11.11 Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ al-Qamarī (or al-Qumrī)<sup>1</sup>

He was the leading scholar of his generation and peerless in his time. He was well-known for his excellence in the art of medicine, for he had praiseworthy methods and was distinguished in medical theory and its practical application. He – may God have mercy upon him – was an excellent practitioner and a good medical therapist who was favoured and held in great esteem by the rulers of his day and age. The shaykh and learned authority Shams al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Īsā ibn al-Khusrawshāhī<sup>2</sup> told me that the *shaykh ra’īs* Ibn Sīnā had met this physician when al-Qamarī was a very old man. Ibn Sīnā attended his study-circle, followed his lessons and profited from his knowledge of the art of medicine.

Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ al-Qamarī composed the following works:<sup>3</sup>

1. On wealth and desirables (*K. al-ghinā wa-l-munā*), being a good notebook in which he mentions diseases and their treatments in the best possible

1 Translation/annotation by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For this author (d. shortly after 390/999), who is said to have been a teacher of Ibn Sīnā (d. 426/1037) and to have practised medicine in Bukhara, see GAL, i:239, S i:424; Sezgin, GAS, III, 319; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 147; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 206–208 entry no. 51; Bürgel, *Ärztlichen Leben*, 477. The form of the *nisbah* in the modern studies just cited is consistently given as al-Qumrī. However, in al-Ṣafadī’s *Wāfi* (xii:282), which quotes IAU, the editor (Ramaḍān ‘Abd al-Tawwāb) vowels it as al-Qamarī, and Ghada Karmi, in her studies of his treatises prefers the vocalization al-Qamarī, though al-Qumrī is used as well (Karmi, ‘The Arabic medical *kunnāsh* in the 10th century’; Karmi, ‘Study based on Ghinā wa Munā’); reviewers of Karmi’s edition of *K. al-Tanwīr* have differed in their vocalization of the name (see *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994), 701–702, and *Journal of Semitic Studies* 37 (1992), 340–341).

In al-Sam‘ānī’s *Ansāb* (iv:540–541) both *nisbahs* are discussed; al-Qumrī is said to relate to a place said to be in Egypt (but our physician is in the chapter on Persians), and al-Qamarī is the *nisbah* of someone from Marw/Merv, not clearly related to a place but perhaps a *laqab*, after the moon. Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, mentions that al-Qumrī refers to Qumr, in Egypt, or to an island in the Indian Ocean (apparently the Comoro Islands, an unlikely background for someone at the Samanid court). Al-Qumrī is also the term for a collared turtle-dove (Lane, *Lexicon*, q-m-r), though that seems an unlikely *nisbah*. Of the manuscript copies of IAU employed in this edition, MSS BGcR are not vocalized; MS A is only partly vocalized and seems to read al-Qamarī rather than al-Qumrī. Given the available evidence, al-Qamarī seems a more likely *nisbah* for someone working in Bukhara than al-Qumrī.

2 He has an entry in Ch. 15.21.

3 For an edition of another treatise by him, *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyyah* (Book of Illumination Regarding Medical Technical Terminology), see al-Qamarī, *K. al-Tanwīr* (ed. Karmi). See Bürgel, *Ärztlichen Leben*, 477, for an unpublished general treatise on medicine.

way. The work contains summaries of citations by notable figures in the field of medicine, in particular what al-Rāzī mentions, scattered in his books.<sup>4</sup>

2. On the causes of maladies (*K. 'ilal al-'ilal*).

### 11.12 Abū Sahl al-Masīhī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Sahl 'Īsā ibn Yaḥyā al-Masīhī al-Jurjānī was a distinguished physician who was proficient in both the theory and the practice of the art of medicine. He was eloquent and an excellent author. He possessed a nice handwriting and was well-versed in the Arabic language. I have seen his book *On the Manifestation of God's Wisdom in the Creation of Man* in his handwriting, which reflects extreme correctness, precision, clarity, and accuracy. This book is his best and most useful work, because in it he has collected the sayings of Galen and others on the usefulness of the parts in the clearest and purest language, with valuable personal additions that point to his dazzling excellence and profound knowledge. In the introduction of his book he states:

Only he who compares our words and theirs can have knowledge of the excellence of our contribution. This comparison should be done with knowledge and impartiality, for a person who does not have knowledge of his subject is not entitled to judge it and a person who is not impartial regarding it cannot judge whether or not something is excellent and preferable to something else. The one who is most held in esteem is the impartial scholar, who meticulously examines our contribution and theirs; he will see that we have corrected, improved, supplemented, smoothed and arranged their contribution in a way that is better to the whole discourse and to each single part of it; that we have dropped

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4 The treatise was also known as *al-Shamsiyyah al-Manṣūriyyah* (The Manṣurian Sunshade) because it was dedicated to the Samanid prince al-Manṣūr (r. 387–389/997–999). For studies of this treatise and the difficulties of translating its title, see Karmi, 'Study based on *Ghinā wa Munā*'; and Karmi, 'The Arabic medical *kunnāsh* in the 10th century'.

1 Translation/annotation by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For Abū Sahl al-Masīhī (d. 401/1010), also said to have been a teacher of Ibn Sīnā (d. 426/1037), see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 326–327; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 151; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Masīhī' (A. Dietrich); Savage-Smith, 'Frankish study of Arabic medical texts'.

what is not related to this kind of science and that we have added, each in its turn, detailed and remarkable meanings, which were hidden from them, either for their subtlety or their loftiness; that we have elucidated subsequent matters by former phenomena (as opposed to what they had done), so that the principles and causes of things will be clear, and prove to be true.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have heard the shaykh and leading physician Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>2</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – say: ‘I cannot find among the early and late Christian physicians anyone whose speech is better than that of Abū Sahl al-Masīhī with regard to eloquence, articulation and verbal expression’.

It is said that al-Masīhī was the teacher of *shaykh ra’īs* Ibn Sīnā in medicine, and that it was only after the *shaykh ra’īs* first became distinguished in the art of medicine and later became an expert in it, and likewise in the intellectual disciplines, that he started composing books for al-Masīhī and dedicated them to him.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl<sup>3</sup> says that al-Masīhī lived in Khorasan and was favoured by its ruler. Al-Masīhī died when he was forty years of age.

One of al-Masīhī’s sayings is: ‘Taking a nap during the day after eating is better than swallowing a beneficial syrup’.

Abū Sahl al-Masīhī composed the following works:

1. One hundred (discourses) on the medical art (*K. al-mi‘ah fī l-tibb*),<sup>4</sup> which is his best and most famous work. It carries a marginal note by Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh,<sup>5</sup> which reads as follows: ‘The reader may rely upon this book, for it is very trustworthy, has few repetitions, is clear in expression and gives choice treatments’.
2. On the manifestation of God’s wisdom in the creation of man (*K. iẓhār ḥikmat allāh ta‘ālā fī khalq al-insān*).
3. On the natural sciences (*K. fī l-‘ilm al-ṭabī‘ī*).
4. On general medicine, in two volumes (*K. al-tibb al-kullī*).
5. On smallpox (*K. fī l-judarī*).

<sup>2</sup> See Ch. 15.50.

<sup>3</sup> See Ch. 8.6.

<sup>4</sup> For a study of this treatise, see Karmi, ‘Compendium’. For an edition by Floréal Sanagustin, see al-Masīhī, *K. al-mi‘ah fī l-tibb*.

<sup>5</sup> See Ch. 10.64.

6. Summary of the *Almagest* (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-Majistī*).<sup>6</sup>
7. On the interpretation of dreams (*K. ta'būr al-ru'yā*).
8. On pestilential diseases (*K. fī l-wabā'*), dedicated to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Khwārazm Shāh Abū l-ʿAbbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn.<sup>7</sup>

### 11.13 al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sīnā<sup>2</sup>

[11.13.1]

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Sīnā,<sup>3</sup> though too famous to need a mention and his virtues too outstanding to need to be set down in writing, he himself has recorded and described his own life and times

6 That is, Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

7 This is, Ma'mūn II ibn Ma'mūn I, Abū l-ʿAbbās (r. 399–407/1009–1017). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 178.

1 Known, of course, in the Latin West as Avicenna, Ibn Sīnā's honorific title '*al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs*' can be translated as 'The Principal Master' or 'The Foremost Teacher.' The title was also partly carried over into Latin as can be seen from references to Avicenna, for example, as '*princeps medicorum arabum*' or the Foremost of the Arab Physicians. The translation of *al-Ra'īs* as *princeps* also gave rise to the erroneous idea of Avicenna as a regal figure.; see Hasse, *King Avicenna*. The significance of the title '*al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs*' becomes somewhat clearer when compared with the title '*al-Mu'allim al-Awwal*' or 'The First Teacher', used by Islamic philosophers (especially Avicenna) when referring to Aristotle (See: Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, p. 325), and with the title '*al-Mu'allim al-Thānī*' given to al-Fārābī, a pivotal figure whose book facilitated Avicenna's understanding of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Avicenna's title could be seen as an indication of the idea that he surpassed Aristotle and became the greatest professor and interpreter of Aristotelian thought.

2 Translated and annotated by AW and GJvG. This biography is present in all three versions of the work. There is a vast literature on Ibn Sīnā. For introductions, see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ibn Sīnā' (A.-M. Goichon); *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Avicenna' (multiple authors); Sezgin, *GAS* VI, 276–280, VII, 292–302; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 74–100; Mahdavi, *Mušannafāt-i Ibn Sīnā*; Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*; Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*. For background and collected essays, see Alwishah & Hayes, *Aristotle and the Arabic Tradition*; Taylor & López-Farjeat, *The Routledge Companion to Islamic philosophy*; El-Rouayheb & Schmidke, *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic philosophy*; Adamson & Pormann, *Philosophy and Medicine*.

For primary and secondary works published between 1970 and 2009, see Janssens, *An annotated bibliography on Ibn Sīnā* (plus First and Second Supplements). The present work aims, in general, to refer the reader to work already done in the field of Avicennan studies, or to provide bibliographic notices of relevant works published since the last major bibliographical studies.

3 For a discussion of the name 'Sīnā' and a possible Central Asian Buddhist ancestry, see Lüling, *Ein Anderer Avicenna*.

in such a way that others need not do so. Hence, we confine ourselves here to what he has said of himself, as well as that which Abū ‘Ubayd al-Jūzjānī,<sup>4</sup> the Shaykh’s companion, has told of his life.

[11.13.2.1]

What follows is all that the Shaykh Ra’īs has said of himself, as transmitted from him by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Jūzjānī.<sup>5</sup>

The Shaykh Ra’īs [Ibn Sīnā] said:

My father was a man of Balkh,<sup>6</sup> from whence he moved to Bukhara<sup>7</sup> in the time of Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr.<sup>8</sup> During that time, he was employed in the administration and was given responsibility for a settlement named Kharmaythan,<sup>9</sup> one of the estates of Bukhara and a major town. Close by was a village named Afshanah<sup>10</sup> where my father married my mother<sup>11</sup> and settled, and there my mother gave birth to me and then to my brother.<sup>12</sup> We then moved to Bukhara, where I was taken to a teacher of the Qur’an and a teacher of literature (*adab*), and by the time I reached the

4 *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Abd-Al-Vāḥed Jūzjānī’ (David Pingree); Sezgin, *GAS* VI, 281–282; Al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition*, 38–48.

5 Cf. English translations by Arberry, *Avicenna on Theology*, 1–24; Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sīnā*; Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 10–19 (autobiographical part only). For a translation of Ibn Khallikān’s notice, see Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, I, 440–446. For an overview of translations into Latin some of which were printed in Italy from the early 1500s, see Hasse, *Success and Suppression*, 28–69; The Arabo-Islamic bi-bibliographical tradition is analyzed in Al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition*; For an Arabic paraphrase with additions, see al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 38–61. Cf. also Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’*, 413–426; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:157–162; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, xii:391–412; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-islām*, xxix:218–230.

6 Important medieval city and region in Greater Khorasan (now northern Afghanistan). See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Balkh’ (R.N. Frye); *EI Three* art. ‘Balkh’ (J. Paul); *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Balkh’ (Multiple authors); *Encycl. Iranica*. art. ‘Balkh’ (multiple authors).

7 Important city in Transoxiana (modern-day Uzbekistan) and seat of the Samanids. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Bukhārā’ (W. Barthold & R.N. Frye); *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Bukhārā’ (Multiple authors).

8 Samanid emir of Transoxiana and Khorasan (r. 366–387/977–997). See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Nūḥ’ (C.E. Bosworth).

9 See entry in Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), ii:427–428.

10 Brief entry in Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), i:330.

11 Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 39, gives Sitārah (Per. Star) as his mother’s name.

12 Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 39, gives his brother’s name as Maḥmūd, born five years after Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn. IAU says his brother’s name was ‘Alī. See below Ch. 11.13.3.15, and 11.13.8 no. 16.

age of ten, I had mastered the Qur'an and a great deal of literature, such that I occasioned amazement.<sup>13</sup>

[11.13.2.2]

My father was amongst those who accepted the missionary (*dā'ī*)<sup>14</sup> of the Egyptians<sup>15</sup> and was considered to be one of the Ismaili sect.<sup>16</sup> He had heard them mention the soul and the intellect in the manner they themselves speak about them and define them, and so had my brother. They would often discuss this amongst themselves and I would overhear them. I would grasp what they were saying, but my soul would not accept it. They began to summon me also to it, and words such as philosophy,<sup>17</sup> geometry,<sup>18</sup> and Indian arithmetic<sup>19</sup> would roll off their tongues. My father then began to send me to a greengrocer who was proficient in Indian arithmetic, so that I might learn it from him.

[11.13.2.3]

Then Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nātilī<sup>20</sup> came to Bukhara. He claimed knowledge of philosophy, and my father hosted him in our house hoping that I would learn from him. Before al-Nātilī came, I had been occupied with studying

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- 13 For an overview of the basic education of the time, see *EI Three* art. 'Education, general (up to 1500)' (S. Günther).
- 14 For this term, see *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Dā'ī' (M.G.S. Hodgson); *EI Three* art. 'Dā'ī (in Ismā'īlī Islam)' (P.E. Walker); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Dā'ī' (F. Daftary); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Da'wa (The Ismaili Da'wa)' (F. Daftary). The Ismailis had a base in Bukhara for their mission and had had a measure of success at the Samanid court during the latter part of the reign of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad who converted to the cause along with several other high-ranking officials. After Naṣr's death in 332/943, however, there was a purge and many Ismailis were massacred. In Ibn Sīnā's time it would have been dangerous to have been associated with the cause. See Stern, 'Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries', 77–81; Stern, *Studies in early Ismā'īlism*.
- 15 The Fatimids, an Ismaili (Shiite) dynasty, established their rule in Egypt from 358/969 until 567/1171. See *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Fāṭimids' (M. Canard); *EI Three* art. 'Fāṭimids' (H. Halm); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Fāṭimids' (P.E. Walker).
- 16 The standard work is Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*. See also *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Bāṭiniyya' (A. Daadbeh & R. Gholami); Halm, *Shīism*; Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*.
- 17 See *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Falsafa' (R. Arnaldez).
- 18 See *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ilm al-Handasa' (M. Souissi); Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *On arithmetic and geometry*.
- 19 See *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ilm al-Ḥisāb' (A.I. Sabra); *EI Three* art. 'Arithmetic' (S. Brentjes); Saidan, *The Arithmetic of al-Uqlīdisī*; Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *On arithmetic and geometry*.
- 20 Al-Nātilī has an entry in al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmah*, 22–23. See also Sezgin, *GAS III*, 315, where



law and would frequent Ismā'īl al-Zāhid [the Ascetic]<sup>21</sup> for that purpose. I was one of the best disciples<sup>22</sup> having become familiar with methods of questioning and ways of objecting to someone defending a point, in the manner customary for that group.

[11.13.2.4]

I began studying the *Isagoge*<sup>23</sup> with al-Nātilī, and when he mentioned to me the definition of genus as being that which is predicated of many entities differing in species in answer to the question, 'What is it?';<sup>24</sup> I took him aback by verifying that definition in a way the like of which had never been heard before, so that he was completely astonished and cautioned my father against occupying me with anything but learning. And so it was that whatever problem he would pose to me, I would have a better conception of it than he himself did, until I had studied the external aspects of logic with him. As for the intricacies of it, he had no knowledge of them. I then began to study books for myself and read the commentaries until I was proficient in the science of logic.

[11.13.2.5]

Similarly with the book of Euclid:<sup>25</sup> I studied with al-Nātilī five or six figures from the beginning of the book, then took it upon myself to solve the

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this al-Nātilī is equated with the second reviser (after Ḥunayn) of the Arabic translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*. Leiden MS Or. 289 (apparently copied in 475/1083, from a copy in the hand of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nātilī dated 380/990) gives his name as al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Khurshīd al-Ṭabarī al-Nātilī.

- 21 That is, Ḥanafī scholar of Bukhara Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 402/1012). See Gutas, 'Maḍhab'.
- 22 MSS ABGcR all have the reading *min ajwad al-sālikīn* as does Müller II, 2, with a marginal note in A giving the alternative reading *min zumrat al-sā'ilīn*, among the group of questioners. Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 20, has *kuntu min afrah al-sā'ilīn*, 'I was one of the most ingenious questioners', which is the better reading given what follows.
- 23 That is, Porphyry's introduction to Aristotle's *Categories* on the five universals or predicables: genus, species, (specific) difference, property, and accident. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Furfūriyūs' (R. Walzer); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Īsāghūdjī' (Ed.). For a modern English translation from Greek and commentary, see Barnes, *Introduction*.
- 24 Cf. Barnes, *Introduction*, 4. For an English translation of a brief discussion of genus by Ibn Sīnā, where he is dismissive of Porphyry, see Ibn Sīnā, *Deliverance: Logic*, 10–11.
- 25 That is Euclid's *Elements*. For Euclid in general, see Sezgin, *GAS* V, 83–120; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Uḳlīdis' (S. Brentjes); *EI Three* art. 'Euclid' (S. Brentjes & G. De Young).

remainder of the book in its entirety. Then I moved on to the *Almagest*,<sup>26</sup> and when I had completed the preliminaries and came to the geometrical figures, al-Nātilī said to me, ‘Try reading them and solving them yourself. Then show them to me so that I can make clear to you what is correct and what is erroneous.’ But, in fact, the man had not mastered the book.<sup>27</sup> I began to solve that book, and there was many a geometrical figure that he had no knowledge of until I showed it to him and gave him an understanding of it. Al-Nātilī then took his leave of me and headed for Kurkānj,<sup>28</sup> while I occupied myself with the study of books, both the essential parts<sup>29</sup> and commentaries, on physics and theology, and the doors of knowledge became opened up to me.

## [11.13.2.6]

I then sought to learn medicine and began to read the books which have been composed on that subject. Medicine is not a difficult science and consequently I excelled in it in a very short time so that the eminent physicians began to study the science of medicine under me. I tended to the sick and doors to therapies derived from experience such as cannot be described were opened up to me. In addition to this, I continued to attend studies in the law and debated about it. At that time, I was sixteen years of age.

## [11.13.2.7]

For the next year and a half I dedicated myself to learning and study; I reread logic and all parts of philosophy. During this time I didn’t sleep a single night in its entirety, nor did I occupy myself in any other way during the day. I gathered some scrap paper and for every proof (*ḥujjah*) I examined I would set down syllogistic premises (*muqaddimāt qiyāsiyyah*) and arrange them on those pieces of paper. Then I would speculate as

26 That is, Ptolemy’s *Almagest*. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Baṭlamīyūs’ (M. Plessner).

27 *qāma bi* [sth.], in this sense means to be well-versed in something. See: Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:422B.

28 The form in the MSS is Kurkānj (as entry in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv:360–361), that is Gurgānj, Ar. al-Jurjāniyyah. Main city of the region known as Khwārazm until its destruction in 618/1221. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Gurgandj’ (B. Spuler).

29 MSS AGcB: *fuṣūṣ*; R: *nuṣūṣ*. For a thorough discussion of the significance of this term, see: Bertolacci, *From Al-Kindī to Al-Farabi*. See also: Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 16.

to what might be concluded from them observing the conditions of the premises until the essence of truth was established for me in that problem. And whenever I was perplexed by a problem or could not find the middle term (*al-ḥadd al-awsaṭ*) in a syllogism,<sup>30</sup> I would frequent the Congregational Mosque (*al-jāmiʿ*)<sup>31</sup> and pray and supplicate to the Creator of the Universe (*Mubdiʿ al-kull*) until that which was incomprehensible became clear, and that which was difficult became simple.

[11.13.2.8]

I used to return at night to my house, place the lamp before me and occupy myself with reading and writing. And whenever I was overcome by sleep or felt some weakness I would turn to drink a cup of wine until my strength came back. Then I would return to my reading, and whenever the slightest sleep overtook me I would dream of those very problems so that the particulars of many problems became clear to me during sleep. And so it was until I had mastered all sciences and had become conversant with them as far as is humanly possible. All that I came to know during that time remains as I came to know it and I have not added to it to this day; hence I mastered logic, physics, and mathematics. I then turned to theology and read the *Metaphysics*,<sup>32</sup> but could not understand its content and the object of its author was obscure to me until I had read it forty times and came to know it from memory. But still I could not understand it or its meaning until I despaired of it and said to myself, 'there is no way to understand this book.' One day, though, I happened to be in the booksellers' quarter in the afternoon, and there was a broker with a volume in his hand calling for buyers. He offered it to me, but I refused it in annoyance, believing this science to be fruitless. But the broker said to me, 'buy it from me for it is cheap; I'll sell it to you for three silver dirhams for its owner is in need of the sum.' So I bought it, and it turned out to be a book by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī<sup>33</sup> on the objects of the *Book of Metaphysics*.<sup>34</sup> I returned home and read it quickly, and immediately the objects of

30 That is, the 'shared' term which the two premises of a syllogism have in common. For example, in the basic categorical syllogism *every human is an animal; every animal is a substance; therefore, every human is a substance*, the middle term is *animal*.

31 For details of the *Maṣjid-i Jāmiʿ* in Bukhara, see Narshakhī, *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, 57–61.

32 That is of Aristotle, for whom see Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 55.

33 For al-Fārābī, see Ch. 15.1.

34 For this book, which is extant, see Ch. 15.1.5 no. 97.

that book became clear to me, since I already knew it by heart. I was overjoyed at this, and the next day gave a great amount in alms to the poor in thankfulness to God, the exalted.

[11.13.2.9]

Now, at that time, Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr<sup>35</sup> was Sultan of Bukhara. It so happened that he fell ill with a disease which vexed the physicians. My name had become well known amongst them as someone dedicated to learning and study, so they mentioned me to the Sultan and asked him to send for me. Consequently, I came and took part with them in treating him and gained the distinction of entering into his service. One day I asked his permission to enter their library to peruse and read the books therein. Permission was given, and I entered a suite of many chambers each of which contained chests stacked one on top of another. In one chamber there were books on the Arabic language and poetry, in another, books on law, and similarly in every chamber there were the books of an individual science. I looked at the catalogue of the books of the Ancients and sought out those I required, and I saw books which many people have never even heard of and which I had never seen before then nor have I seen since. I read those books and absorbed what they contained, and thus came to know each author's rank with regard to learning. And by the time I reached the age of eighteen, I had completed my studies of all those sciences, and although at that time I had a greater capacity for memorizing learning, my understanding of it is now more mature. Otherwise it is the same learning, and nothing since has come to me as new.

[11.13.2.10]

There was a man in my neighbourhood called Abū l-Ḥusayn al-'Arūḍī. He asked me to compile a compendious book on this learning, so I compiled *The Compendium* (*K. al-Majmū'*)<sup>36</sup> for him, naming it after him, and in it I covered all sciences other than the mathematical. At that time I was twenty-one years of age. Also in my neighbourhood there was a man called Abū Bakr al-Barqī,<sup>37</sup> a Khorasmian by birth and a learned soul who

35 Samanid emir of Transoxiana and Khorasan (r. 366/977–387/997). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Nūḥ (11) b. Maṣṣūr' (C.E. Bosworth).

36 See below Ch. 11.13.3.2 no. 1.

37 For a discussion on the identity of al-Barqī, see Gutas, 'Maḍhab'.

was interested in law, Qur'anic commentary, and asceticism, and wished to learn more about those disciplines. He asked me to explain certain books for him, so I composed for him *Sum and Product* (*K. al-Hāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*)<sup>38</sup> in close on twenty volumes. I also composed for him a book on ethics which I entitled *On Piety and Sin* (*K. al-Birr wa-l-ithm*).<sup>39</sup> These two books are only to be found with him, and he never lent them to anyone so that they might make a copy from them.

[11.13.2.11]

Then my father died, and as my situation had become subject to vicissitudes,<sup>40</sup> I accepted some government posts. It became necessary for me to leave Bukhara and move to Kurkānj where Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Sahlī,<sup>41</sup> who loved the sciences, was a vizier. I was presented to the emir there, 'Alī ibn al-Ma'mūn,<sup>42</sup> dressed (as I usually was at that time) in the garb of a law student with a hood (*ṭaylasān*) wrapped under my neck.<sup>43</sup> I was allotted a generous monthly stipend sufficient for my needs. Then it became necessary for me to move to Nasā,<sup>44</sup> and from there to Bāward,<sup>45</sup> then to Ṭūs,<sup>46</sup> then to Samanqān,<sup>47</sup> then to Jājarm<sup>48</sup> at the border of Khorasan, then to Jurjān.<sup>49</sup> I was hoping to serve the emir Qābūs,<sup>50</sup> but during this time Qābūs was seized and imprisoned in a fortress, where he died. I then

38 See below Ch. 11.13.3.2 no. 2.

39 See below Ch. 11.13.3.2 no. 4.

40 MSS AGcRB: *wa-taṣarraftu fi l-aḥwāl*. Read with Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 40: *wa-taṣarrafat bī al-aḥwāl*.

41 Abū l-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) al-Sahlī (al-Suhaylī), vizier to the Ma'mūnids at Gurganj until ca. 404/1013. See *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Abū Sahl al-Masiḥī' (Y. Karamati).

42 Second of the Ma'mūnid Khwārazm-Shāhs (r. ca. 387/997–399/1009). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Khwārazm-Shāhs' (C.E. Bosworth), where Ibn Sīnā is mentioned in the context of Ma'mūn II's rule.

43 For *ṭaylasān*, see: Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids*, 42–43.

44 Town in Khorasan. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Nasā' (V. Minorsky & C.E. Bosworth).

45 Town in Khorasan also known as Abīward, one day's journey from Nasā. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abīward' (V. Minorsky).

46 Town and district in Khorasan. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ṭūs' (V. Minorsky & C.E. Bosworth).

47 A town close to Jājarm. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, iii:145.

48 Town in western Khorasan. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Djādjarm' (C.E. Bosworth).

49 That is Gurgān, town in the region of the same name at the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Gurgān' (R. Hartmann & J.A. Boyle).

50 Fourth Ziyārid emir of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs ibn Wushmagīr ibn Ziyār (d. 403/1012–1013). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Qābūs b. Wushmagīr b. Ziyār' (C.E. Bosworth).

went on to Dihistān,<sup>51</sup> where I became severely ill. Returning to Jurjān, I met Abū ‘Ubayd al-Jūzjānī and recited forthwith a long poem that contains these lines of the poet:<sup>52</sup>

When I became great no metropolis was large enough for me;  
when my price grew high I lacked a buyer.

[11.13.3.1]

Abū ‘Ubayd al-Jūzjānī, continues:

This, then, is what the Shaykh [Ibn Sīnā] related to me in his own words, and from here on I witnessed the events of his life:

In Jurjān there was a man named Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī who loved the sciences. He had bought a house for the Shaykh in his neighbourhood and had invited him to stay there. Every day I used to visit him [Ibn Sīnā] to study the *Almagest* and request dictation in logic, so he dictated to me the *Middle Epitome of Logic* (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-awsaṭ fī l-manṭiq*) and, for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, he composed *The Origin and the Return* (*K. al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma’ād*), and the *Book of Universal Observations* (*K. al-Arṣād al-kullīyyah*). There also, he composed many other works, such as the first part (*awwal*) of the *Canon*, and the summary of the *Almagest*, as well as a great many epistles. The remainder of his books he composed in the land of the Jabal.<sup>53</sup>

[11.13.3.2]

Here is the list (*fihrist*) of his works:<sup>54</sup>

1. The compendium (*K. al-Majmū’*), one volume.<sup>55</sup>

51 Region and town four days’ journey north of Jurjān. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Dihistān (2)’ (B. Spuler).

52 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 417, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:395.

53 The Arabic name for the mountainous region known in ancient times as Media. Persian Iraq (‘Irāq ‘Ajāmī). See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Djibāl’ (L. Lockart).

54 See Sezgin, *GAS* VI, 276–280, VII, 292–302; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 74–100; For an inventory of Avicenna’s works with bibliographical notices, see Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 411–528. For primary and secondary works published between 1970 and 2009, see Janssens, *An annotated bibliography on Ibn Sīnā*. The present work aims, in general, to refer the reader to work already done in the field of Avicennan studies, or to provide bibliographic notices of significant works published since the last major bibliographical studies.

55 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 86–93, and 417. Compiled for Abū l-Ḥusayn al-‘Arūḏī, hence this title is also known as *al-Ḥikmah al-‘Arūḏīyyah*. For an English translation of the section on Rhetoric from this book, see Ezzaher, *Three Arabic treatises on Aristotle’s Rhetoric*, 50–71.

2. *The Sum and Product* (*al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*), twenty volumes.<sup>56</sup>
3. *Equitable Judgement* (*al-Inṣāf*), twenty volumes.<sup>57</sup>
4. *On Piety and Sin* (*K. al-Birr wa-l-ithm*), two volumes.<sup>58</sup>
5. *The Cure* (*al-Shifā'*), eighteen volumes.<sup>59</sup>
6. The Canon [on Medicine] (*al-Qānūn [fi l-Ṭibb]*), fourteen volumes.<sup>60</sup>
7. Universal observations (*K. al-Arṣād al-kullīyah*), one volume.<sup>61</sup>
8. Salvation (*K. al-Najāh*), three volumes.<sup>62</sup>
9. Guidance (*al-Hidāyah*), one volume.<sup>63</sup>
10. Indications (*al-Ishārāt*), one volume.<sup>64</sup>
11. The medium-sized epitome [of logic] (*K. al-Mukhtaṣar al-awsaṭ [fi l-manṭiq]*), one volume.<sup>65</sup>
12. The book of philosophy, for 'Alā' al-Dawlah<sup>66</sup> (*[Dānish-nāmah-i] 'Alā'*), one volume.<sup>67</sup>
13. On colic (*K. al-Qūlanj*), one volume.<sup>68</sup>
14. The language of the Arabs (*Lisān al-'Arab*), ten volumes.<sup>69</sup>

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56 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 426.

57 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 426.

58 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 498.

59 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 420–422. For a full study published in 2018, see Nusseibeh, *Avicenna's al-Shifā'*. For English translations see Ibn Sīnā, *The Physics of the Healing* (trans. J. McGinnis); *The Metaphysics of the Healing* (trans. M.E. Marmura). See also Lammer, *The Elements of Avicenna's Physics*.

60 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 512–513; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 54. For a new translation of Book 1 of the *Canon* in plain English, see Abu-Asab, Amri, & Micozzi, *Avicenna's Medicine*.

61 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 432.

62 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 422–424. More fully, *Salvation from Drowning in the Sea of Errors* (*al-Najāh min al-gharaq fi baḥr al-ḡalālāt*), a phrase which appears in Avicenna's introduction to the book, and which was used as the main title for Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh's 1985 edition. For an English translation of the section on logic, see Ibn Sīnā, *Deliverance: Logic* (trans. A.Q. Ahmed).

63 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 419–420.

64 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 425.

65 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 433.

66 'Alā' al-Dawlah, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyār (d. 433/1041–1042), Kākūyid ruler of the Jibāl region. See *EF<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Kākūyids' (C.E. Bosworth).

67 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 118–119, 424–425. The *Dānish-nāmah* was written by Ibn Sīnā in new Persian. It has been shown that Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī based his *Maqāṣid al-falāsifah* on the *Dānish-nāmah*. See Janssens, 'Le Dānesh-Nāmeḥ d' Ibn Sīnā'.

68 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 515.

69 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 443–444.

15. Cardiac drugs (*al-Adwiyah al-qalbiyyah*), one volume.<sup>70</sup>
16. The abridgement (*al-Mūjazz*), one volume.<sup>71</sup>
17. Eastern philosophy (*ba'd al-Ḥikmah al-Mashriqiyyah*), one volume.<sup>72</sup>
18. Exposition of modal propositions (*Bayān dhawāt al-jihah*), one volume.<sup>73</sup>
19. The return (*K. al-Ma'ād*), one volume.<sup>74</sup>
20. The origin and the return (*K. al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*), one volume.<sup>75</sup>
21. [Philosophical] Inquiries (*K. al-Mubāḥathāt*), one volume.<sup>76</sup>

Among his epistles:

22. On decree and destiny (*al-Qaḍā' wa-l-qadar*).<sup>77</sup>
23. Astronomical instruments (*al-Ālah al-raṣḍiyyah*).<sup>78</sup>
24. The objects of [Aristotle's Book of] the *Categories* (*Gharāḍ Qāṭiḡhūr-iyās*).<sup>79</sup>
25. Logic, in verse (*al-Mantiq bi-l-shi'r*).<sup>80</sup>
26. Longer poems, advisory and philosophical (*Qaṣā'id fi l-'iḡah wa-l-ḡikmah*).
27. On letters of the alphabet (*fi l-Ḥurūf*).<sup>81</sup>
28. An investigation of dialectical propositions (*Ta'aqqub al-mawāḍi' al-jada-liyyah*).<sup>82</sup>
29. Abridgement of [the *Elements* of] Euclid (*Mukhtaṣar Ūqlīdis*).<sup>83</sup>
30. Abridgement on the pulse, in Persian (*Mukhtaṣar fi l-nabḍ bi-l-'ajamiyyah*).<sup>84</sup>

70 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 514–515.

71 Probably one of Ibn Sīnā's four short books on logic. See Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 434–435.

72 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 119–144, 425.

73 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 438.

74 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 472–479.

75 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 471–472.

76 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 428. Title added from Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḡh al-ḡukamā'*, 418; Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 48; IAU omits this title.

77 Alternative translation: *On Fate and Providence*. See Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 479–480; De Cillis, *Free will and Predestination*; Inati, *Ibn Sīnā's Theodicy*.

78 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 467.

79 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 437–438. For Aristotle, see above Ch. 6.

80 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 436, where *Urjūzah fi 'ilm al-mantiq*.

81 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 442–443. A work on phonetics?

82 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 440. A critique of the Theologians' use of analogy, published as *Fi ta'aqqub al-mawḍi' al-jadalī ... 'alladhī yuḡāwalu fīhi al-ḡukm 'alā far' bi-mīthli mā yuḡkamu bihi 'alā aṣl bi-'illah baynahumā jāmi'ah wa-ḡuwa alladhī yusam-mūhi ahl al-'aṣr min al-mutakallimīn qiyāsan.*

83 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 460–461. For Euclid, see *EI Three* art. 'Euclid' (S. Brentjes & G. De Young); Sezgin, *GAS* V, 83–120.

84 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 515–516.



31. On definitions (*al-Ḥudūd*).<sup>85</sup>
32. The celestial bodies (*al-Ajrām al-samāwīyyah*).<sup>86</sup>
33. Direction towards the science of logic (*al-Ishārah ilā 'ilm al-manṭiq*).<sup>87</sup>
34. The divisions of philosophy (*Aqsām al-ḥikmah*).<sup>88</sup>
35. On the finite and the infinite (*fī l-Nihāyah wa-l-lā-nihāyah*).<sup>89</sup>
36. A personal covenant (*ʿAhd katabahu li-naḥsīh*).<sup>90</sup>
37. *Living son of Awake* (*R. Ḥayy ibn Yaḳzān*).<sup>91</sup>
38. On the fact that the dimensions of a body are not essential to that body (*R. fī anna ab'ād al-jism ghayr dhātīyyah lahu*).<sup>92</sup>
39. Homilies (*khuṭab*).<sup>93</sup>
40. Discourse on endive (*al-Kalām fī l-hindibā'*).<sup>94</sup>
41. On the fact that it is not possible for a single entity to be both substantial and accidental (*R. fī annahu lā yajūz an yakūna shay' wāḥid jawhariyyan wa-'aradīyyan*).<sup>95</sup>
42. On the fact that the knowledge of one particular person is other than the knowledge of another (*R. fī anna 'ilma Zayd ghayr 'ilm 'Amr*).<sup>96</sup>
43. Letters to contemporaries and to dignitaries (*Rasā'il ikhwānīyyah wa-sultānīyyah*).<sup>97</sup>
44. Questions he discussed with a certain person of merit (*Masā'il jarat bay-hahu wa-bayn ba'ḍ al-fuḍalā'*).<sup>98</sup>
45. Glosses to the *Canon* [of *Medicine*] (*K. al-Ḥawāshī 'alā l-Qānūn*).<sup>99</sup>
46. *The Wellsprings of Wisdom* (*K. 'Uyūn al-ḥikmah*).<sup>100</sup>
47. The hunting-net and the birds (*K. al-Shabakah wa-l-ṭayr*).<sup>101</sup>

85 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 436–437. English translation and commentary in Kennedy-Day, *Books of Definition in Islamic Philosophy*, 85–159.

86 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 447.

87 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 436.

88 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 416.

89 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 445–446.

90 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 499.

91 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 482–423.

92 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 445.

93 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 506–511.

94 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 515.

95 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 438.

96 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 440.

97 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 504–505.

98 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 504.

99 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 514. Titles 44, 45, and 46 do not appear in any of MSS AGcRB.

100 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 417–419.

101 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 483–484. For a previously unrecorded

[11.13.3.3]

Then the Shaykh [Ibn Sīnā] moved to Rayy<sup>102</sup> where he entered the service of the Regent (al-Sayyidah) and her son, Majd al-Dawlah.<sup>103</sup> He was introduced to them by means of letters that he had brought with him containing a commendation of his merit. At that time, Majd al-Dawlah was overcome with melancholia, and the Shaykh was occupied in treating him. At Rayy he also composed *The Origin and the Return* (K. *al-Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*), and he remained there [at Rayy] until Shams al-Dawlah<sup>104</sup> sought to take that city after the killing of Hilāl ibn Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh<sup>105</sup> and the routing of the Baghdadi troops. After that, it became necessary for him to leave for Qazwīn,<sup>106</sup> and from there to Hamadān,<sup>107</sup> where he entered the service of Kadbānuwayh<sup>108</sup> to oversee her affairs. Then, Shams al-Dawlah came to know of him and summoned him to his court, as the emir was afflicted with colic. The Shaykh treated him until God restored him to health. At that court he won many robes of honour and returned home after forty days and nights, having become a confidant of the emir.

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copy dated 703/1303 and titled *Risālah marmūzah li-l-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Abī 'Alī ibn Sīnā al-Bukhārī fi waṣf tawaṣṣulihi ilā l-'ilm al-ḥaqq*, see Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Pococke 263, fols. 67a–69a.

- 102 An important city and capital of the Jibāl region of west-central Iran. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Rayy' (V. Minorsky [C.E. Bosworth]). For a more detailed, modern study, see Rante and Afround, *Rayy: from its Origins to the Mongol Invasion*.
- 103 For the Sayyidah (d. 419/1028), and her son Majd al-Dawlah Rustam, Būyid emir of Rayy and the Jibāl (r. 387–420/997–1029), see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Madjīd al-Dawla' (C.E. Bosworth); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Būyids' (S. Sajjadi).
- 104 Shams al-Dawlah, Būyid emir of Hamadān (r. 387–412/997–1021), brother of Majd al-Dawlah. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Shams al-Dawla' (K.V. Zetterstéén).
- 105 Hilāl ibn Badr was killed in 405/1015. For the family of Ḥasanwayh, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ḥasanwayh' (Cl. Cahen).
- 106 Province and city in north-west Iran. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Qazwīn' (A.K.S. Lambton & R. Hillenbrand).
- 107 Hamadhān, the ancient Ecbatana, city and province in west-central Iran. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Hamadhān' (R.N. Frye).
- 108 Per. Lady of the House.

[11.13.3.4]

It then happened that the emir went up to Qarmīsīn<sup>109</sup> to make war on ‘Annāz.<sup>110</sup> The Shaykh followed him in his service. Then, having been routed, the emir retreated towards Hamadan, after which the Shaykh was asked to assume the position of vizier. He accepted, but the troops mutinied against him, fearing for their own positions: they surrounded the Shaykh’s house, threw him into prison, raided his estates and took everything he owned, and petitioned the emir to kill him. The emir protected him, but agreed to banish him from the land in order to appease the troops, so the Shaykh withdrew to the house of the Shaykh Abū Sa‘d ibn Dakhdūk for forty days. The emir Shams al-Dawlah, once again stricken with colic, sought the Shaykh [Ibn Sīnā], who, again, attended his court. The emir was utterly apologetic to the Shaykh, who occupied himself treating the emir. He remained there in a position of honour and esteem, and the viziership was given to him for a second time.

[11.13.3.5]

I, myself, asked the Shaykh to explain the books of Aristotle.<sup>111</sup> He said that he had no time for that at that moment, but that if I agreed he would compose a book that would include everything he considered to be correct with regard to these sciences, without debating with those who held opposing views or being concerned with refuting them. I agreed, and he began with the natural philosophy (*tabī‘īyyāt*) of a book which he named *The Cure* (*K. al-Shifā’*). He had already composed the first book of the *Canon [of Medicine]* (*K. al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*), and every night, students would gather in his house and I would take a turn reading from *The Cure*, and someone else would take a turn teaching from the *Canon*. When we had finished, singers of all stripes would attend us, and the paraphernalia for a drinking party was prepared, of which we partook. Teaching usually

109 MSS AGcRB: *qūmīn/qawmayn* (vowelling uncertain). Read Qarmīsīn, that is, according to Yāqūt, the Arabized form of Kirmānshāh[-ān], a city in western Iran 30 parasangs from Hamadan on the road from Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, iv:69–70; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Kirmānshāh’ (A.K.S. Lambton).

110 MSS AGcRB: ‘Anān. Read ‘Annāz. He is, in fact, Abū l-Shawk Fāris ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Annāz (r. 401–437/1010–1045), who held territory in western Iran from his base in Ḥulwān. The battle with Shams al-Dawlah at Kirmānshāh (Qarmīsīn) took place in 406/1015. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Annāzids’ (V. Minorsky).

111 For Aristotle, see above Ch. 4.6.

took place at night, since there was no time for it during the day owing to the Shaykh's service with the emir. This state of affairs went on for some time.

[11.13.3.6]

Shams al-Dawlah then went towards Ṭārum<sup>112</sup> to fight the emir there,<sup>113</sup> but was again stricken with colic near that place. The colic became severe, and it was exacerbated by other ailments brought on by his poor regimen and his failure to follow the Shaykh's advice. The troops feared he would die. So they turned back towards Hamadan with the emir on a stretcher (*mahd*), but he died on the way.<sup>114</sup>

[11.13.3.7]

The oath of allegiance was then pledged to the son of Shams al-Dawlah,<sup>115</sup> and the Shaykh [Ibn Sīnā] was asked to become vizier. He refused and sent letters in secret to 'Alā' al-Dawlah,<sup>116</sup> seeking to enter his service and go to him and join his entourage. The Shaykh went into hiding in the house of Abū Ghālib al-'Aṭṭār, and there I asked him to complete his book *The Cure* (*K. al-Shifā'*). The Shaykh called for Abū Ghālib and requested paper and ink, which he duly brought, and the Shaykh, in nearly twenty quires of octavo paper (*'ishrīn juz'an 'alā thumn*), wrote in the script for subject headings and spent two days on it until he had written all the subject headings without having any book in front of him or exemplar to refer to, but rather from his memory and by heart. The Shaykh then placed these quires before him, took up paper and began to examine every subject and write a commentary on it. He would write fifty folios every day until he had completed all of the physics and metaphysics, apart from two books on animals and plants. Then he commenced with logic and had written

112 District of Daylam in north-western Iran. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ṭārum' (V. Minorsky & C.E. Bosworth).

113 All MSS and some other sources have the name *al-amīr* Bahā' al-Dawlah here in error for *al-amīr bihā*. Bahā' al-Dawlah had died some time previously to this in 403/1012.

114 Shams al-Dawlah died in about 412/1021–1022.

115 That is Samā' al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Shams al-Dawlah.

116 'Alā' al-Dawlah, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyār (d. 433/1041–1042), Kākūyid ruler of the Jibāl region, who took Hamadan from Samā' al-Dawlah in 414/1023–1024. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Kākūyids' (C.E. Bosworth).

one section of it, but Tāj al-Mulk<sup>117</sup> became suspicious of him for corresponding with ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah and reproached him for doing so and had him sought out. One of his enemies gave him away, so they seized him and took him to a fortress called Fardajān.<sup>118</sup> There he recited the poem that includes the verse:<sup>119</sup>

I have entered with certitude, as you can see.  
Now all doubt is on the matter of exiting.

[11.13.3.8]

He remained there for four months. ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah then went to Hamadan and captured it. Tāj al-Mulk was routed and went to that very fortress, and when ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah retreated from Hamadan and Tāj al-Mulk and [Samā’ al-Dawlah] the son of Shams al-Dawlah returned there, they brought the Shaykh with them to Hamadan, where he settled in the house of al-‘Alawī.<sup>120</sup> There he occupied himself with composing the section on logic in *The Cure*. While in the fortress he had composed *Guidances* (*K. al-Hidāyāt*), and the epistle entitled *Living son of Awake* (*R. Ḥayy ibn Yaqqān*), and *On Colic* (*K. al-Qawlanj*). As for his book *On Cardiac Drugs* (*K. al-Adwiyah al-qalbiyyah*), he had composed that when he first came to Hamadan. This situation remained unaltered for some time, while Tāj al-Mulk tried to raise the Shaykh’s hopes with fine promises.

[11.13.3.9]

It then occurred to the Shaykh to go to Isfahan, so he, his brother, two servants and myself left [Hamadan] disguised as Sufis until we arrived at Ṭabarān at the gates of Isfahan, after having suffered many hardships on the way. We were met by the Shaykh’s friends and the emir ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah’s courtiers and privy counsellors, and the Shaykh was provided with clothes and fine mounts and was housed in a quarter known as Gūn Gunbadh in the house of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bībī, which had everything

117 Tāj al-Mulk al-Qūhī (thus Ibn al-Athīr). General of the troops at Hamadan for Samā’ al-Dawlah.

118 A well-known castle near Hamadan also known as Barāhān (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), iii:870).

119 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 421; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:59; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:397; *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 21.

120 Possibly the vizier Abū Ṭālib al-‘Alawī mentioned below in the Shaykh’s poetry.

required in the way of utensils and furnishings. The Shaykh attended the court of 'Alā' al-Dawlah, where he was treated with the honour and esteem he deserved. 'Alā' al-Dawlah then designated the eve of Fridays for learned debates in his presence with all other categories of learned men in attendance. This included the Shaykh, who could not be defeated in any branch of learning.

[11.13.3.10]

In Isfahan the Shaykh worked on completing his book *The Cure* (*K. al-Shifā'*). He finished the portions on logic and the *Almagest*<sup>121</sup> and had written eptomies of [the book of] Euclid,<sup>122</sup> arithmetic, and music. In each book of the mathematical sciences he included additions he deemed necessary. In the *Almagest* he included ten optical figures, and at the end of the *Almagest*, in the section on astronomy, he included new discoveries. In the book of Euclid he identified some doubtful matters. In the arithmetic he indicated some fine properties [of numbers], and in music he included some subjects unknown to the Ancients. The book known as *The Cure* was now complete save for the two books on plants and animals which, in the year<sup>123</sup> in which 'Alā' al-Dawlah went to Sābūr Khwāst,<sup>124</sup> he wrote on the way. He also wrote *Salvation* (*K. al-Najāh*) while on the road.

[11.13.3.11]

The Shaykh [Ibn Sinā] became one of 'Alā' al-Dawlah's close confidants and courtiers, and when the emir decided to take Hamadan,<sup>125</sup> the Shaykh accompanied him. One night, conversation with the emir turned to the errors which had occurred in calendars based on ancient observations. So the emir ordered the Shaykh to work on planetary observations and placed sufficient money at his disposal. The Shaykh commenced this

121 For the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Baṭlamīyūs' (M. Plessner).

122 For Euclid's *Elements*, see *ET* *Three* art. 'Euclid' (S. Brentjes & G. De Young); Sezgin, *GAS* v, 83–120.

123 Probably around 417/1026. See: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* year 417.

124 According to Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), iii:4–5), Sābūr Khwāst is a provincial town which lies between Khūzistān and Isfahan. See also *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Luristan' (V. Minorsky).

125 This took place in 414/1023–1024. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* year 414; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Kākūyids' (C.E. Bosworth).

work and charged me with arranging the instruments and employing those who would construct them, and, eventually, many problems were solved. Errors had come into the observations due to the difficulties of frequent travel. At Isfahan, the Shaykh also composed his book for ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah (*K. al-‘Alā’ī*).

[11.13.3.12]

One of the amazing things about the Shaykh is that during the twenty-five years I spent in his company and in his service, I never knew him to read any new book he had received from beginning to end. Rather, he would seek out the difficult passages and perplexing questions and see what the book’s author had to say about them. In this way, the author’s level of learning and degree of understanding would become clear to him.

[11.13.3.13]

One day the Shaykh was sitting with the emir, with Abū Manṣūr al-Jabbān<sup>126</sup> also present. A point of Arabic language was discussed, and the Shaykh spoke about it according to his knowledge. At this, Abū Manṣūr turned to the Shaykh and said, ‘You may be a philosopher and sage, but you are not sufficiently well read in the Arabic language to be able to speak about it.’ The Shaykh recoiled at these words and devoted himself to the study of works on Arabic for three years. He had the book *The Refinement of Language* (*K. Tahdhīb al-lughah*), compiled by Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī,<sup>127</sup> sent to him from Khorasan. The Shaykh reached a rarely-attained proficiency in the Arabic language, and composed three longer poems containing obscure words. He also wrote three letters – one in the style of Ibn al-‘Amīd,<sup>128</sup> one in the style of al-Ṣābi’,<sup>129</sup> and one in the

126 Sezgin, *GAS* VIII, 228–229.

127 Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī (d. 370/980), lexicographer. See *EI* *Three* art. ‘al-Azharī, Abū Manṣūr’ (T. Seidensticker).

128 The vizier and man of letters Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (d. 360/970). See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-‘Amīd’ (Cl. Cahen); *Encycl. Iranica*, art. ‘Ebn al-‘Amīd’ (Ihsan Abbas).

129 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābi’ (d. 384/994), head of the chancery in Baghdad during the Būyid period. See *EI*<sup>1</sup> ‘al-Ṣābi’ (F. Krenkow).

style of al-Şāhib.<sup>130</sup> He had them bound into a volume, specifying a binding that had been made to look worn. Then he apprised the emir, who showed the volume to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jabbān and said, ‘We found this volume in the desert during a hunt. You must examine it and tell us what it contains.’ Abū Maṣṣūr looked at it but much of what it contained was difficult for him to understand. The Shaykh said to him, ‘What you do not understand of this book is mentioned in such and such a place in works on the Arabic language.’ Then the Shaykh informed him of many well-known works on the Arabic language from which he had learned these words. Now Abū Maṣṣūr had been talking nonsense in his comments about the well-known words in the epistles, and he now realized that the epistles must have been composed by the Shaykh, instigated by his confrontation with him that day. So Abū Maṣṣūr retracted his comments and apologized to the Shaykh. After that, the Shaykh composed a book on lexicography that he named *The Language of the Arabs* (*Lisān al-‘Arab*), the like of which had never been composed before. He did not make a fair copy of it before his death, and it remained as a draft – no-one having had the opportunity to put it in order.

[11.13.3.14]

The Shaykh gained a great amount of experience in the remedies that he applied, all of which he had planned to record in his book the *Canon* [*of Medicine*]. He had written them down on quires of paper but they were lost before the *Canon* was completed.

One example of these is when the Shaykh himself was stricken with a headache one day. He conceived the notion that some disease matter was trying to descend towards the membrane of his skull (*ḥijāb al-ra’s*) and that the occurrence of some sort of swelling was unavoidable. He had a great quantity of ice brought, crushed, and wrapped in a cloth and his head covered with the cloth. This was done so that the area gained strength and was protected from allowing the disease matter to enter and so the Shaykh recovered.

130 Abū l-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abbād (326–385/938–995), vizier and/littérateur of the Būyid period. See: *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn ‘Abbād’ (Cl. Cahen and Ch. Pellat); *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Ebn ‘Abbād’ (M. Pomerantz). See also Pomerantz, *Licit Magic: The Life and Letters of al-Şāhib b. ‘Abbād*.



Another example is that he ordered a woman with a wasting disease (*imra'ah maslūlah*) at Khwārazm not to take any drugs other than sugared rose conserve (*julanjubīn sukkarī*).<sup>131</sup> When she had taken it for a number of days to the amount of one hundred *mann*,<sup>132</sup> she was cured.

[11.13.3.15]

The Shaykh had, in Jurjān, composed the *Smaller Epitome of Logic* (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-aṣghar fī l-mantiq*), which is the one he subsequently placed in *Salvation* (*K. al-Najāh*).<sup>133</sup> A copy of this book made its way to Shiraz, and a group of scholars there studied it. Certain points were obscure to them, so they wrote them down on a quire of paper. Among that group was the judge of Shiraz, and he sent the quire to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī,<sup>134</sup> the companion of Ibrāhīm ibn Bāyā al-Daylamī, who was concerned with the esoteric sciences. The judge added to the quire a letter to the Shaykh Abū l-Qāsim, sending it by a rider, asking Abū l-Qāsim to show the quire to the Shaykh [Ibn Sinā] and to request a brief reply from him. The Shaykh Abū l-Qāsim visited the Shaykh just as the sun was yellowing on a summer's day and showed him the letter and the quire. The Shaykh read the letter and Abū l-Qāsim's reply and then placed the quire before him and set about examining it while the people conversed. When Abū l-Qāsim left, the Shaykh ordered me to bring paper. Some quires were cut from it, and I bound five quires each of ten folios in Pharaonic<sup>135</sup> quarto. We performed the evening prayer (*al-Ishā'*), candles were brought, and the Shaykh had wine fetched and bade me and his brother<sup>136</sup> sit down and start drinking. The Shaykh himself began answering the points at issue and wrote and drank until midnight, when sleep overcame me and his brother. The Shaykh told us we could go, but in the morning there was a

131 *Julanjabīn* was a conserve made with rose petals and either honey (*Julanjabīn 'asālī*), or sugar (*Julanjabīn sukkarī*). For a recipe, see Ibn Sinā, *Qānūn* Book v, *Jumlah* 1, *Maqālah* 7 = (Būlāq), iii:278.

132 See Glossary of Weights & Measures.

133 MSS RB: ... which is the one he subsequently placed at the beginning of *The Salvation* (*K. al-Najāh*).

134 Possibly the same Kirmānī as the author of a book on the principles of astrological judgments (*K. fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*). See Sezgin *GAS* VII, 193–194; *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Abu'l-Qāsem Kermānī' (D. Pingree). See also van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, 665–666; Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennian Tradition*, 175–180.

135 Ar. *Fir'awnī*, a kind of paper mentioned by Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 21. See also Gacek, *Vademecum*, 191–192.

136 MS A contains a gloss taken from a copy in the hand of IAU stating: 'This brother of the Shaykh is Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Sinā.'

knock at my door; it was the Shaykh's messenger with a summons for me from his master. When I went to him, he was on his prayer mat with the five quires before him. 'Take these to the Shaykh Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī,' he said, 'and tell him that I hastened in answering the points so that the courier would not be held up.' When I took them to him, he was utterly amazed and sent the courier (*al-fayj*) on his way. He then told others of this event, and it became a legendary story amongst the people.

[11.13.3.16]

During the time when the Shaykh [Ibn Sīnā] was engaged in astronomical observations, he invented new astronomical instruments about which he wrote a treatise. I myself spent eight years engaged in astronomical observation for the purpose of examining what Ptolemy<sup>137</sup> relates about his experience of astronomical observations, some of which became clear to me.

[11.13.3.17]

The Shaykh composed *Equitable Judgement* (*K. al-Inṣāf*), but on the day Sulṭān Mas'ūd<sup>138</sup> took Isfahan<sup>139</sup> the Sultan's troops plundered the Shaykh's possessions, including the book, no trace of which has ever been found.<sup>140</sup>

[11.13.3.18]

The Shaykh was powerful in all of his faculties but, of his appetitive faculties, the faculty for intercourse was most powerful and predominant. He frequently exercised this, so that it affected his constitution (*mizāj*). Now the Shaykh depended on the strength of his constitution, until, in the year 'Alā' al-Dawlah fought with Tāsh Farrāsh<sup>141</sup> at the gates of al-

137 For Ptolemy, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Baṭlamīyūs' (M. Plessner).

138 That is, Abū Sa'īd Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktegin of Ghaznah (r. 421/1030–432/1040). See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd' (C.E. Bosworth).

139 Mas'ūd captured Isfahan from 'Alā' al-Dawlah in 420/1029, and after several attempts, 'Alā' al-Dawlah recovered the city in 427/1035–1036.

140 In fact, some portions are still extant. For details, see Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 426.

141 Tash Farrāsh was the Turkish commander in chief of the Ghaznavid troops whom Mas'ūd sent against 'Alā' al-Dawlah.

Karaj,<sup>142</sup> the Shaykh was stricken with colic, and because he was so intent on being cured and fearing that he would be the cause of a defeat since he could not travel due to the illness, he administered to himself eight enemas in one day, so that part of his bowel was lacerated and it became ulcerated (*ḡahara bihi saḡj*). He was obliged to travel with ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah, and they made haste towards Īdhaj,<sup>143</sup> where he showed signs of the fits which can accompany colic. Still he kept on treating himself and administering enemas because of the ulcers and to prevent the colic. One day he ordered that two *dāniqs*<sup>144</sup> of celery seed be taken and mixed with the ingredients for the enema, seeking to allay the flatus. However, a certain physician who himself used to go and treat the Shaykh put in five *dirhams* of celery seed – I know not whether deliberately or in error for I was not with him – and the Shaykh’s ulcers were exacerbated due to the sharpness of the seeds. The Shaykh also took Mithridatum<sup>145</sup> for the fits but one of his servants put in it a great quantity of opium and gave it to him and he consumed it. The reason for this was that they had embezzled a large amount of money from the Shaykh’s treasury and wished to see him dead to escape the consequences of their actions. The Shaykh was taken in this state to Isfahan, where he continued to treat himself. He was so weak that he could not walk, but he continued to treat himself until he was able to walk and attend the court of ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah. But still he did not restrain himself and indulged in intercourse often. He did not fully recover from his illness, but would relapse and then recover every so often.

[11.13.3.19]

When ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah advanced against Hamadan, the Shaykh went out with him, but that same illness returned once again on the way. When they reached Hamadan the Shaykh realized that his strength had col-

142 That is Karaj [of Abū Dulaf], an ancient town of the Jibāl between Hamadan and Isfahan. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘(al-) Karaj’ (Ed.)

143 Also known as Māl-i Āmīr, a provincial city situated between Khuzistan and Isfahan. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), i:416–417; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Īdhaj’ (C.E. Bosworth).

144 See Glossary of Weights & Measures.

145 *Mithrūdītūs*, was the name of a celebrated theriac, or all-purpose electuary, allegedly composed by Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus (r. 120–63 BC); rue was a major component. See Maimonides, *On Poisons*, 301 nos. 11–12; Watson, *Theriac & Mithridatum*.

lapsed and that it would not be sufficient to stave off the disease. He left off treating himself and said repeatedly, ‘The person who used to look after my body is incapable of doing so and now no treatment will be of any use.’ He remained in this state for some days until he passed over to the precincts of his Lord.

He was fifty-three years of age [when he died], his death being in the year 428 [1037]. He was born in the year 375 [985].<sup>146</sup>

[11.13.4]

This is the end of Abū ‘Ubayd’s account of the life of the Shaykh – may God show him mercy. His grave is beneath the city walls on the south side of Hama-dan. It is also said that his body was taken to Isfahan and was buried at a place near the Gūn Gunbadh gate.

[11.13.5]

When Ibn Sīnā died from the colic which had afflicted him, one of his contemporaries<sup>147</sup> said of him:<sup>148</sup>

I saw that Ibn Sīnā is an enemy of men;  
 he died a most lowly death, of constipation.<sup>149</sup>  
 He could not cure what befell him with *The Cure*  
 and *The Salvation* did not salvage him from death.

He meant by his words ‘in prison’ the constipation of the belly from the colic with which he was afflicted, and by ‘the cure’ and ‘the salvation’ he meant the two books written by the Shaykh, and by this he intended poetic paronomasia (*jinās fi l-shi‘r*).

146 For a discussion of the evidence regarding Ibn Sīnā’s birth date, see Gutas, ‘Maḍhab’, 334–336.

147 Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, ii:162) associates these lines with Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus (for whom see Ch. 10.83), not a contemporary of Ibn Sīnā as he died in 639/1242.

148 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:162; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xii:407; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:63. For an alternative rhymed version of this poem, see IAU, *Anecdotes & Antidotes*.

149 *Ḥabs* normally means ‘detention, imprisonment’, which is also suggested by the variant *bi-l-sjn* ‘in prison’, found in *Wafayāt*. However, Ibn Sīnā was not imprisoned when he died; and compare Dozy, *Supplément: ihtibās* ‘constipation’.

[11.13.6]

An example of the sayings of the Shaykh Raʿīs is this advice (*waṣīyyah*) that he gave to one of his friends, namely Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Khayr al-Ṣūfi:<sup>150</sup>

Let God, the exalted, be the foremost and uttermost of one's thoughts, and let Him be the hidden and manifest aspect of one's every perception. And let one's own eye be salved by fixation on Him, and let one's own foot be grounded in standing before Him. Let one's intellect traverse the highest heavenly realms and the greatest signs of one's Lord which are therein, and when it descends to its earthly abode then let it glorify God, the exalted, in His works, for He is hidden and manifest; He reveals Himself to everything through everything:<sup>151</sup>

Thus in every thing He has a sign,  
showing that He is One.

When this state becomes one's second nature, the impression of the heavenly realms will be stamped upon one's soul and the holiness of the Godhead will become manifest to it. One will become familiar with the most sublime affection and experience the utmost pleasure and, instead of one's self, one will focus on One who has priority over the self. Tranquility will pour down upon one and certainty will be realized. Then one will look upon the nether world as one who has compassion for its inhabitants, one who considers its devices to be paltry, its heavy loads to be light, and, due to one's intellect, one who considers it to be altogether base, and its ways to be but error. And one should remind one's self as one harps on about the world and takes delight in its delights, and one should be amazed at one's soul and at the people of the world just as they are amazed at one who has bade 'farewell' to the world and is *in the world but not of the world*.

And one should know that the most virtuous motion is prayer, the most appropriate stasis is fasting, the most beneficial piety is charity, the most pure inner state is forbearance, and the most vain endeavour is ostentation. The soul will not be free from pollution as long as it pays attention to this or that opinion or discussion or debate or reacts to one state of affairs or another. The best of actions is that which arises from pure intentions,

150 Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Khayr (357–440/967–1049), Persian saint and mystic. It is doubtful whether he ever met with Ibn Sīnā. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abū Saʿīd Faḍl Allāh b. Abī l-Khayr' (H. Ritter); *ET Three*, art. 'Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Khayr' (O. Safi); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Khayr' (N.M. Heravi).

151 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah, *Dīwān*, 104, al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, iv:35.

and the best intention is that which stems from the precincts of knowledge. Wisdom is the foremost of virtues, and knowledge of God is the first of priorities. «*To Him ascend goodly words and He raises up righteous actions*». <sup>152</sup>

Then let one turn towards this soul that has been adorned with its essential perfection and guard it from becoming sullied with disfiguring states of subservience to material souls which, if they remain in the beautified soul, its situation will be at the time of separation as it was at the time of conjunction, since the soul's substance (*jawhar*) is neither polluted nor admixed. Rather, what pollutes the soul is the state of subservience to those concomitants. Indeed, what benefits the soul are the states of dominion, sublimity and primacy. Likewise, one should flee falsehood in word and in thought so that the state of truth occurs within the soul, and dreams and visions become true. As for pleasures, one should practice them only to improve one's nature or to preserve one's self or the species or good governance. And as for wine, one should flee from drinking it for pleasure, nay, even curatively or medicinally. One should treat every group according to its own customs and rules, and one should be satisfied with one's allotted portion and decreed amount of wealth, and one should strive a great deal to assist people, even though that may entail going against one's nature. One should not neglect the precepts of religion, and one should respect the divine codes and be regular in physical acts of worship. Then, if one secludes one's self and is free from intimacy with people, one will, all one's life, be edified by the beauty of one's soul and by the contemplation of the First King and His kingdom, and one will be kept from the pitfalls of the people<sup>153</sup> by not being known to the people. May one make a covenant with God that one will adopt this course and abide by this way, «*and God is the Liege of those who have faith, and He is our sufficiency and the best of trustees*». <sup>154</sup>

[11.13.7.1]

Some of the poetry of al-Shaykh al-Raʿīs:

152 This is a quotation of part of a verse from the Qur'an. Q. Fāṭir 35:10.

153 Reading uncertain.

154 Cf. Q al-Baqarah 2:257; and Q Āl 'Imrān 3:173. This *waṣṣīyah* is also quoted in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, xxix:229–230. MS R copies in margin a prayer on wine attributed to Ibn Sīnā, see A11.8.2.

He said regarding the soul:<sup>155</sup>

There descended to you from the highest place  
 an ash-coloured dove, inapproachable, proud,  
 One veiled from even every Knower's eye,<sup>156</sup>  
 yet herself without burka or veil.  
 She came to you with reluctance; she may well part  
 from you reluctantly too, dismayed.  
 Disdainful at first, ill at ease; but, going along,  
 getting used to living so close to desolate wasteland,  
 5 Forgetting, I think, her old haunts: sacred meadows  
 and dwellings, unhappy to have been left behind.  
 When joined to the D of Descent from the S  
 of her Station in Dhāt al-Ajra',  
 She adhered to the H of Heavy and came to stay  
 among waymarks and humble vestigial abodes.<sup>157</sup>  
 Now she cries, when she thinks of the homes of  
 her meadows, her eyes full of tears unstinting,

155 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:160–161; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:407–408; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:64–65; al-Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, 415–416; *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 19–20; and other sources, with several variants and different order of lines. The present translation and annotation of this poem have been taken, with minor changes, from van Gelder, *Anthology*, 73–74, 368. See also Carra de Vaux, 'La Kaçida'; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii:110–111; Arberry, *Avicenna on Theology*, 77–78; Alavi, 'Some Aspects', 65–72; Ibn al-Walīd, Madelung & Mayer, *Avicenna's Allegory*. It is possible that the poem is spurious, falsely ascribed to Ibn Sīnā, as an early scholar, al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222) believed, on the grounds that Ibn Sīnā did not believe in the existence of the individual soul before birth (quoted in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, 215).

156 The word *ʿarīf* 'one who knows' often refers to mystics; Ibn Sīnā, though not really a mystic himself, was certainly closer to mysticism than many other philosophers.

157 The letters in the original of lines 6–7 are *H* (*hubūt*), *M* (*markaz*), and *Th* (*thaqīl*), respectively. One wonders if there is more to it: like many of his contemporaries, Ibn Sīnā practised esoteric letter symbolism. Is it relevant that *H* and *M* are associated with fire and *Th* (of *thaqīl*, 'heavy') with earth? The commentators are silent on this point. Browne sees a 'downward curve, or arc of descent' in the letter *H* and a 'hollow point' in the *M* and he detects a pun in the name of the letter *Th* (*thā* 'defect'), but I cannot follow him here. Arberry's very free translation simply omits the difficult phrases. Dhāt al-Ajra' sounds like a typical desert toponym ('The Sandy Tract') but is not mentioned as a real place by the lexicographers; the commentary used by Carra de Vaux believes that it refers to the physical world (hence his negative rendering 'sur une terre desséchée'). Syntactically, however, it is perhaps better connected with 'her Station', in which case it should have a positive connotation (a very similar place-name, al-Jar'a', has such a connotation in a mystical poem by Ibn al-Farīḍ).

- Cooing continuously on the dung-strewn remains,  
 effaced by the four recurrent winds.
- 10 The thick, coarse net has trapped her, a cage prevents her  
 from reaching the highest regions, spacious and lush.  
 But when it is nearly time to go to those grounds  
 and departure is nigh, to that widest expanse,  
 She coos;<sup>158</sup> the covers are raised; and she sees  
 what will never be seen by slumbering eyes.  
 And she parts from all things left as allies of earth  
 that are not to accompany her,  
 And she starts to sing on the top of a lofty mount  
 – and knowledge will raise all those not raised –.<sup>159</sup>
- 15 So why was she made to descend from that high,  
 lofty place to the depth of the lowest abyss?  
 If God has made her descend in His wisdom,  
 that is hidden from even the cleverest mind,  
 Then her descent, if it had to be, was so that  
 she could hear what she had not yet heard,  
 And return with the knowledge of both worlds' secrets;  
 the rents in her dress will never be mended.<sup>160</sup>  
 For Time has crossed her path, cut her off:  
 her sun has set, never to rise again.
- 20 She was like the lightning that flashed in the meadow,  
 then vanished, as if it had never flared.

## [11.13.7.2]

Regarding grey hair, wisdom, and renunciation, he said:<sup>161</sup>

158 The version given by Carra de Vaux (followed in van Gelder, *Anthology*) has *haja'at* ('she slumbered'), which nicely anticipates the rhyme-word. However, all other texts, including A and all IAU editions, have *saja'at*, which is perhaps to be preferred; R has *haja'at* as a correction (or variant?) in the right margin.

159 This hemistich and the first of the following line are missing from R.

160 The syntax and consequently the interpretation and translation of this and the two preceding lines are by no means clear. Alavi ('Literary and Poetical Activities', 71) asserts that the particle *in* in line 16 (*in kāna ...*) is not the conditional particle but a 'lightened' (*mukhaffafah*) form of *inna*, meaning 'really' (as e.g. in Q al-Şāffāt 37:167). It is difficult to accept this; according to Wright, *Grammar*, ii:81, it should be followed by *la-*, which is missing here.

161 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:65, *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 13–14. Lines 1–2 with translation in Khan, 'Some Aspects', 38.



Have you not woken up from the night of childishness,  
     now that you have woken up from the night<sup>162</sup> of youth?  
 A dawn of grey hair has breathed in your beard  
     and its night has dissipated; so how much longer this foolish love?<sup>163</sup>  
 Your youth was a rebellious devil,  
     who was pelted away by the shooting star of your grey hair.<sup>164</sup>  
 A grey goshawk of Fate has lowered its wings  
     over my temples and chased away the crow.  
 5 Obliterated are the traces of youth and the traces of an abode of  
     theirs,<sup>165</sup>  
     that I used to know as Rabāb's dwelling-place.<sup>166</sup>  
 One has become white, bleached by the drops of my tears,  
     and the other has darkened with the raindrops from the clouds.  
 The one announces to you the demise of your soul  
     and the other means the hills will be verdant again.  
 Thus is your world on earth: mended merely to be broken again,  
     misleadingly, and built only to become a ruin.<sup>167</sup>  
 The soul, abhorring it, comes to be attached to it  
     by means of snares that prevent any movement.  
 10 But for this I would hurriedly have stripped myself  
     of this world, even though it was my skin.  
 I became aware of its recalcitrance and got over my love of it,  
     but when I came to loathe it you made it cling to me.<sup>168</sup>

162 Here, "night" refers not only metaphorically to the ignorance of youth but also to black hair, as clarified in the next line.

163 The same rhyme word, *taṣābī*, has been used in the preceding line, which would normally be considered a blemish, unless they have different meanings. This is probably the case here, for the word can refer to merely behaving like a child (*ṣabī*) or to having youthful passions (*ṣabwah*).

164 The 'rebellious devil' is from Q al-Nisā' 4:117 and al-Ḥajj 22:3; also Qur'anic is the motif of devils being pelted with meteors or shooting stars (Q al-Ḥijr 15:18, al-Ṣāffāt 37:10, al-Mulk 67:5). *Shihāb*, 'shooting star', also means 'blaze' and is cognate with the word *ashhab* 'grey' in the next line.

165 The pronoun *-hum* ('of theirs') presumably refers to the inhabitants of the abode.

166 Rabāb (more usually al-Rabāb) is a woman's name, often used in Bedouin love poetry. Alternatively, one could read *maghnā ribābī*, 'dwelling-place of allies'.

167 Khan, 'Some Aspects', 39 translates, oddly, 'And so by oversight you bring order in a world bound to be disorganized, and build it to be laid in waste.'

168 It seems that he is addressing his soul. In the preceding there are other shifts, as when he first addresses himself (lines 1–3) and then uses the 1st person (4–6) only to revert to the 2nd (7–8) and back to the 1st.

I have been afflicted with a world in which injury rose higher  
than anything save my fortitude and which is too low to for my  
rebuke.

A motley crowd of people were made to flow(?) to what is right<sup>169</sup>  
and how often was 'what is right' anything but right!<sup>170</sup>

I mix with them, but my soul is in a place  
that is elevated above them, veiled.

15 I am not one of those who are sullied with a corrupted mind,<sup>171</sup>  
when the sun's rays are dust-coloured from earth.

When the eyelids are stuck together they acquire a phantom  
and they shrink back from the core.

[11.13.7.3]

And he said:<sup>172</sup>

O encampment<sup>173</sup> that has been made unrecognizable by events and  
antiquity!<sup>174</sup>

Your inhabitants<sup>175</sup> have become doubtful, like the vestiges.

169 Reading of *وسل* (to be scanned SLL or SLSS) unclear, here for lack of an alternative read as *wa-suyyila*, which is strange. *Masālik* has *wa-sublīn* ('many paths'), which does not make syntactical sense.

170 Or, if one assumes a pun, *siwā l-ṣu'ābī*, 'other than nits', but this seems unlikely.

171 Paronomasia: *yulattikkhuhū khilātun*. The root *KhLT* ('to mix') is also used in lines 13 (*khil-ātu qawmin*, 'motly crowd') and 14 (*ukhālīṭuhum*, 'I mix with them').

172 Metre: *basīṭ*. *Dāvān Ibn Sīnā*, 14–16; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, xi:160 (line 15), 163–165 (lines 1–3, 5–8, 11–13, 18, 17, 14–16, 20, 23, 26–34); line 15 also in Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah li-Ibn al-Ḥājib*, ed. Yahyā Bashīr Miṣrī, n. pl.: *Jāmi'at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Su'ūd al-Islāmiyyah*, 1996, ii:1345. A translation of a few lines in Khan, 'Some Aspects', 39, 41. This and the following two poems, with their archaizing diction and style, could well be the poems he composed to fool the grammarian Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jabbān in the story related above (Ch. 11.13.3.13) [NB in Müller and Riḍā this grammarian is called Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jubbān; but A has the correct form. His full name is Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Jabbān al-Rāzī; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xviii:260–262, Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii:194, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:180.]

173 The poem opens with the diction of the ancient Bedouin *nasīb*, the elegiac introductory love poetry that opens countless Arabic poems. The words *rab'* ('vernal encampment'), *nu'y* ('trench', line 2), *uthfiyy* ('hearthstones', line 3), and *ṭulūl* ('remains, ruins', line 7) are four of the 'seven words of the *nasīb*' in J. Stetkevych's study 'Toward an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon'. He could have added *athar* ('vestige', line 1) and *rasm* ('trace', line 2).

174 The words *aḥdāth* and *qidam* allude to the antithesis *ḥadīth* ('new') and *qadīm* ('old').

175 The word *'ayn* has innumerable different meanings; Nizār Riḍā's gloss (*ahl al-dār*) appears correct.

- It is as if your traces are the secret about them that is with me,  
 and your trench is my obliterated, demolished<sup>176</sup> fortitude.  
 It is as if the soot-black hearthstones that still remain  
 between the meadows are black-winged sandgrouse, squatting,  
 Or a gloomy sadness that has remained in my heart,  
 about a need they did not fulfil when they were near.  
 5 Ah! Clouds have wept over it, whose tears poured down,  
 with thunder, and loaded with lightning, laughing.  
 Why did not clouds liberally rain on it with a lasting downpour<sup>177</sup>  
 of flowing tears, all of which were blood?  
 Would that the remains had answered him in whom there is always  
 a healthy love of them, and a sickness with love of them!  
 Or perhaps they are speaking silently:<sup>178</sup>  
 a circumstance may convey what words cannot convey.  
 Don't you see my grey hair, which tellingly informs you  
 that the edge of my sword that I had unsheathed is blunted?  
 10 Grey hair is promised,<sup>179</sup> hopes make promises,  
 while a man is deluded and the days pass.  
 Why is it that I see the wisdom of deeds fallen low  
 and always hear words that are all wisdom?  
 Why is it that I see excellence as excess,<sup>180</sup> to be despised,  
 while shortcoming is honoured now that honour is deemed a short-  
 coming?  
 I made my eyes roam over this world and its vain trappings  
 and I found it a dwelling in which nobody lived,  
 Like a cadaver full of maggots, the maggots having grown there  
 and deriving from it their protection and food.<sup>181</sup>

176 All editions and A have *hadim*, but *Khizānah* has *harim* ('decrepit'), which may be better since the form *hadim* does not seem to be found in the dictionaries.

177 It is not clear why *saḥāb* is treated as feminine here (*tajūd'hā*, *jūduhā*, all editions and MS A); *Khizānah* has the expected masculine forms (*lā yajūdu*, *jūduhū*).

178 The common Arabic expression is *bi-lisān al-hāl* ('with the tongue of the situation'), used for 'telling' circumstances.

179 Reading *yū'adu*, as in MS A; but one could also read *yū'idu* ('threatens'), cf. Khan, 'Some Aspects', 39: 'The old age is threatening'.

180 The word *faḍl* is used twice, with its two meanings of 'excellence' and 'superfluity'.

181 Instead of *al-irzā'* (A) *Khizānah* has *al-adhrā'*, editorially glossed as 'shelters', which would make sense.

- 15 It is equal to me if the people have been pious or debauched:<sup>182</sup>  
the likes of them no pen will describe.  
Do not envy them if their good fortune increases:<sup>183</sup>  
good fortune is useful, but it gives no protection.  
Though they live in comfort (*na'imū*) they are but cattle (*na'am*):  
cattle may live a comfortable life.  
Those who have found riches are those who lack understanding:  
those who find are not like those who do not.  
I have been created among them; also, I have been mixed with them,  
unwillingly; I cannot do without them nor they without me.
- 20 I have been made to dwell among them like a lion in a den:  
have you ever seen a lion who hides from his own species in a fort-  
ress?<sup>184</sup>  
Though those with whom I have been afflicted  
(their eyes congenitally blind, their ears deaf) have gone, I am  
Distinguished between the inhabitants of this world: distinguished  
by the least of what is in me, not by the main part and the bulk (of  
my qualities).  
With which glorious feat could anyone be compared with me?  
With which noble deed could the nations imitate me?  
Is it something like a porcupine<sup>185</sup> bristling with spines that has over-  
come me?  
Or is it something like a jackal of ..., its goods being hunks of  
flesh?(?)<sup>186</sup>

182 This line was discussed by grammarians (see above) because the Arabic has 'if people have been pious *and* if they have been debauched', which, though logically correct, is syntactically unusual.

183 The context suggests the reading *jadda jadduhumū* and *fa-l-jaddu* (with *Khizānah*), mentioned by Lane as less common than the expression *jadda jidduhum*, 'their labour became/was great'. MS A has *jadda jidduhumū* and *fa-l-jiddu*.

184 Translation uncertain. A play on words has been assumed: *ajam* 'den, thicket' and *ujum* 'fortress, stronghold' and *ra'aytu* is taken as a question, although A vowels the words as *ajam* twice and *ra'aytu*, 'I have seen'. The reading of AB (*min khaysihī*, 'from his den') must be rejected in favour of *min jinsihī* ('from his own species', as in *Khizānah*, Müller, Nizār Riḍā, and al-Najjār), required by the context.

185 *Unjuhah* is 'a large hedgehog' (*Lisān al-'Arab*); perhaps a porcupine is meant.

186 Sense unclear. *Mithlu shaghbari ḥushshin* could mean 'something like a jackal of the fruit garden' (*ḥushsh* is also a common euphemism for 'privy'). Nizār Riḍā's note explains *ḥ.shsh* as a stillborn young, still in the womb and bleeding, but the dictionaries only give the verb *ḥashsha/ḥushsha* in this sense and not the noun that is metrically required here. I have read *'rduhū* as *'arḍuhū*, 'his moveable goods'. It is not clear what the animals stand for; the 'explanation' in the next line does not help much.

- 25 The former is an old woman, but one past the child-bearing age,  
 the latter is the injustice of dominion held jointly, suspect.(?)<sup>187</sup>  
 Although pens serve me,  
 the cutting sword also serves my hand.  
 Sometimes I witness a battle with a serene mind and I resolve it  
 while brave heroes shrink from its violent course.  
 Sword blows are struck fiercely, lance thrusts are stabbing,  
 blood<sup>188</sup> flows thickly, harm is raging.  
 The cranium of Truth is covered in dust raised by them,  
 the pavilion of Falsehood is darkened by their shed blood.<sup>189</sup>  
 30 The white swords and the brown spears are red under the battle-dust,  
 while Death is judge and the heroes are contestants.  
 The most just division in my war and their war  
 is spoils to us from them and losses to them from us.  
 As for eloquence, ask me as someone experienced in it:  
 I have been the tongue of yore<sup>190</sup> in the mouth of Time.  
 No one but me knows what there is to know, marked with a distinguish-  
 ing mark  
 for those who deserve it: I am that distinguishing mark.<sup>191</sup>  
 The maiden of the sciences of truth was unadorned  
 until understanding and the pen, with my exposition, unveiled her.<sup>192</sup>

187 Again a problematical verse. The words *jūdu(n) m.sā'i l-m.lki* are incomprehensible; A and R have *mushā'*. Reading *jawru mushā'i l-mulki* gives a somewhat better sense; for the phrase *jawr mushā'* see the epigram by 'Abdān al-Iṣbahānī al-Khūzī in *al-Tha'ālibī, Yatīmah*, iii:297.

188 *Khizānah* vowels *wa-l-dammu*, with an editorial note explaining that the doubling of the *m* is occasionally found; the normal *fa-l-damu*, is metrically unusual but possible here.

189 Instead of *al-ḥaqq* ('Truth') *Khizānah* and Najjār have *al-jaww* ('the sky, or air'); instead of *al-ifk* ('Falsehood') *Khizānah* has *al-ufq* ('the horizon'). It is possible that these readings are better.

190 Instead of *qadīman*, *Khizānah* has *qawīman*, '(speaking) correctly'.

191 The line contains six words derived from the root 'LM, 'to know'.

192 Cf. Strohmaier, *Avicenna*, 88: 'Die Lanze [*qanātu*] wahrer Wissenschaft lag müßig da, bis daß das Banner meines Kommentars sie hell aufblitzen ließ' ('The lance of true science lay idle, until the banner of my commentary let it flash brightly', tr. GJvG). But the text of all editions and of MS A appears to be corrupt and the reading of *Khizānah* is to be preferred, for the following *'āṭillah* ('unadorned', a common epithet of beautiful women) and *jalāhā* ('unveiled her') make it clear that *qanātu* ('the channel' or 'the lance'), found in all other sources, is a misreading of *fatātu* ('young woman, maiden'), and *al-fahmu wa-l-qalamu* also reads better than *al-bandu wa-l-'alamu* ('the banner and the flag'). The bellicose context (lines 26–31, 35) makes the misreading understandable and it almost seems as if Ibn Sīnā was making an intricate play on words.

- 35 We destroy their souls with the terror we throw  
 into them, while their bodies are fused with the swords.<sup>193</sup>  
 The gift of this age in fertilizing my resolutions has died  
 and the parched camels have been giving dry food for them.(?)<sup>194</sup>  
 Had I wished, that which I would have disclosed – had I wished so –  
 would have been;  
 it was not fear that kept (me) silent; rather (I did so) that diffidence  
 should be observed.(?)<sup>195</sup>  
 Had I found the earth on which the sun shines wide enough  
 to put down the saddle of my resolution, I would have resolved.  
 Had my resolutions wept, prevented by diffidence,  
 and had not the multitude pervaded my road towards them, ...<sup>196</sup>  
 40 And the white (swords?) were a hoof (?) for the sword-sheaths,  
 now that the bulk(?) of horses and bridle-bits behave like mules(?),<sup>197</sup>  
 And they think that there is no bright marking except hair,<sup>198</sup>  
 and that horses have bridles at birth.  
 And justice has covered the surface of the earth,  
 so that lions eschew any pasture where there are cattle.  
 But it is a patch surrounded by misery:  
 anyone who inclines to it is contemptible and full of sorrow.

[11.13.7.4]

And he also said:<sup>199</sup>

Here is grey hair! Its onset had to come.  
 Now cut it, or dye it, or cover it!  
 Are you upset by the dew when it falls copiously?  
 Are you distressed by the sea at its shore?

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193 One wonders if this line belongs rather to the preceding martial passage.

194 Taking *hiyam* to be a poetic licence for *hīm*. The interpretation is somewhat unclear, as is the function of *bī lahā*.

195 Translation uncertain.

196 It is not clear where (or if) the apodosis of the conditionals is to be found.

197 Meaning wholly unclear. Instead of *tabāghala* ('behave like mules?') perhaps one should read *tanā'ala* ('have put on horse-shoes?'), in view of *zīlfan* ('hoof'), whatever it means here.

198 *Tahjīl* is the whiteness of a horse's fetlocks, often used metaphorically for something distinguished.

199 Metre: *mutaqārib*. *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 12–13.

- So often the branch of youth that you were pleased you,  
 when in leaf; but the leaves had to fall.  
 So do not be distressed on account of a road you have walked,  
 on the middle of which so many others have been cut off.  
 5 And do not covet, for nobody will gain a livelihood  
 other than what is his fair share.  
 So many a thing that was needed offered itself,  
 but greed then caused it to be missed, through its excess.  
 When a man is fertile in his intellect  
 he thrives in time in spite of its drought.  
 He who is too hurried to be prudent in his resolve  
 is bound to have to regret it.  
 So often flattery has murder behind it,<sup>200</sup>  
 just as hairs are plucked from a comb.  
 10 When someone who has committed an error refers  
 to an excuse, then quickly cheer him up.(?)<sup>201</sup>  
 One's soul is not tired by its powers of discernment,  
 so do not hurry to confound it.  
 Respect a grey-haired man and revile youth  
 when its acts recklessly, plodding blindly.  
 Do not be unjust in matters of justice<sup>202</sup> but be moderate; so often  
 have I written in the past in its handwriting.<sup>203</sup>  
 Often a grey-haired person has stubbornly resisted sincere advice,  
 resisting like a tragacanth<sup>204</sup> when it is stripped of its leaves.  
 15 You see him moving quickly toward a coveted object,  
 like a young camel when it is freed from its rope.  
 Often someone bored and angry wanted  
 to provoke my forbearance, but I did not grant him this.  
 Many an envious person was made to fall by encounters(?),  
 but Fate did not disdain to pick him up again:  
 He would try to lower me in my standing,  
 but the Pleiades are too high to be lowered.

200 *Ghīlah* can mean 'assassination' as well as 'deceit'. One would have expected *warā'a* 'behind' instead of *dūna*, literally 'this side of it'. The connection with the following comparison is not wholly clear.

201 Translation and interpretation uncertain.

202 Or 'blame' (reading, with Müller, Riḍā, Najjār, 'adhī instead of 'adl); this may be the better reading.

203 Interpretation unclear.

204 A thorny plant.

He remains forever angry,  
but how Fate is laughing at his anger!

[11.13.7.5]

Another example:<sup>205</sup>

Stay, you two, we shall recompense these familiar haunts with a little,  
giving the site, over which a year has passed, some rain with our tears.  
The effacement has wreaked havoc with it, as you see,  
and now no traces, no remains are left.  
We lived there for a short time,  
while suffering their remoteness<sup>206</sup> for a long time.  
He who wants this world to be stable in one condition  
seeks the impossible (*mustahīl*) from the changeable (*mustahīl*).  
5 When this world is reviewed and considered  
any greed will withdraw from it, asking to be exempt.  
My friend, inform the reproachers that I  
have abandoned my seemly behaviour in a seemly manner,  
And that I am one of those people who, once we are committed to a  
resolution,  
we let it follow by resigning it.  
Whenever our eyes and our hands flow copiously<sup>207</sup>  
you see that we disobey the rebuker.  
I stopped the tears of my eyes, being without Su'dā,<sup>208</sup>  
on the remains, where they did not find a place to flow.  
10 On my eyelids there is a furrow of tears due<sup>209</sup> to Su'dā,  
for which I set my heart as surety.  
I have pledged my loyalty to her, and my pledge  
is a pledge that will not change,  
Many a sister of hers has wooed for my heart  
but did not find a way to make me betray<sup>210</sup> her.

205 Metre: *wāfir*. *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 16–17. Lines 1–4 with translation in Khan, 'Some Aspects', 38.

206 i.e., absent loved ones or friends. Instead of *bu'dahum*, Khan, 'Some Aspects' reads *ba'dahum* ('after them'), but the verb *qāsā* normally requires a direct object.

207 'Flowing hands' probably refers to being generous.

208 Su'dā is one of the traditional names of the beloved in Arabic poetry.

209 The words 'furrow' and 'due' (i.e., what is legally due) convey the two meanings of *fard*, intended simultaneously; the latter sense is further suggested by *kafil*, 'surety'.

210 Reading *ghadrī* (MSS AR), which gives a better sense than 'udhrī' ('my excuse', MS B).



- You who reproach me, what you do is futile! Be prolix  
 all day and all night, or be a bit shorter!  
 For nothing as devoted as my heart has ever been seen,  
 nor has anything as bored as my ear ever been seen.
- 15 The reproach of grey hairs is more apt for me, if I  
 could bear it and though I strive to accept it.  
 Yes, these nights have repeated  
 over my night a time that will not cease.<sup>211</sup>  
 Would you disapprove<sup>212</sup> of the first grey hairs on my head when they  
 appeared,  
 adorning it just as lustre adorns sword-blades?  
 Do you upbraid me for my wasting away or my emaciation?  
 I have been dressed in a wasting and emaciated body.  
 Just as al-Khufaysh Abū Wujaym(?)<sup>213</sup>  
 upbraids me for not being miserly.
- 20 'Spendthrift!' he says, to detract me,  
 thinking that the loftiness of a generous man is lowliness.  
 When will the earth be wide enough for my purpose,  
 so that I can stand out or bestow amply with it.(?)<sup>214</sup>  
 He says, 'He's got a big hole in his hand!'  
 But I have patched up so many holes thereby, bestowing gifts.  
 So widen<sup>215</sup> the gaps between your fingers and do your utmost;  
 perhaps you will not go round applying yourself  
 To scandalous things. Your wealth is larger than my wealth,  
 precious things that cannot be protected by what is made contempt-  
 ible.
- 25 The scrapings of the dust<sup>216</sup> of what my spending has consumed  
 is sold for some of what you contain altogether.  
 Your loved ones warn you for the effect of my cunning,  
 but I am not scared or appalled by this.

211 i.e., the course of time has replaced my hair, once night-black, with grey hair that will not disappear.

212 The verb *ankara* has a range of meanings: 'to ignore, reject, find odd'; all of which may be present here.

213 Reading and identification unknown. Al-Khufaysh could be a diminutive of al-Akhfash, which is a nickname ('the night-blind') of several philologists all living well before Ibn Sīnā. One could also read Khafish and Wajim; MS A has *al-Kh.fys*.

214 The pronoun refers perhaps to 'my purpose'.

215 Translation of *fa-jul* conjectural (*jāla* is not normally a transitive verb).

216 The line is obscure.

You have sunk too low for me to believe there is evil in you,  
 so cheer up and do not fear ... (?)<sup>217</sup>  
 If I have frightened you unintentionally,  
 well, elephants have always frightened newly weaned camels.

[11.13.7.6]

Another:<sup>218</sup>

You have made me acquire a favour<sup>219</sup> since I was noticed  
 by the 'Sun<sup>220</sup> of Protectors' with the eyes of one who sees every-  
 thing.<sup>221</sup>  
 Thus rubies, it is said, have their origin  
 in the favourable influence of the sun on stones.<sup>222</sup>

The vizier Abū Ṭālib al-'Alawī to Ibn Sīnā, complaining of pustules on his fore-  
 head:<sup>223</sup>

The protégé of our master, the Shaykh, and his friend,  
 the seedling of his benefaction, nay, the product grown from his  
 favours,

217 The meaning of *lā tafraq (tafruq?) qabilā* is not clear to me.

218 Metre: *basīṭ*. Attributed by al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat*, 264, to Abū Bakr 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Quhistānī (fl. 435/1043, see al-Bākhārī, *Dumyah*, ii:211–223, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:539–544), also in Ibn Sa'īd, *Murqīṣāt*, 61, attr. to 'Alī ibn Ḥasan al-Balkhī.

219 The original version may be the one in *Tatimmat* and *Murqīṣāt*: *aqamta lī qīmatan* ('you have valued me').

220 All editions and AR have *Kāfi l-kufāti* (approximately, 'the protector of protectors'), which was the honorific name of the famous Būyid vizier al-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995). This is obviously an error and the version found in *Tatimmat* and *Murqīṣāt*, *Shamsu l-kufāti*, has been adopted, which also explains the feminine form *talḥazunī* (*shams* being feminine in Arabic) and fits the second explanatory line. Shams al-Kufāh was the honorific name of Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maymandī (d. 242/1032), vizier to the first two Ghaznavid sultans. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Maymandī, Abu 'l-Kāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan' (M. Nāẓim & C.E. Bosworth).

221 Instead of *mujmīlī l-naẓarī* (all editions and MS A) or *tujmīlu l-naẓarī* (R, ungrammatical), *Tatimmat* and *Murqīṣāt* have *muḥṣinī l-naẓarī* ('someone who has a good look').

222 All editions and MSS AR have *fī l-qamarī*, 'on the moon', which makes no sense; the version of *Tatimmat* and *Murqīṣāt* has been adopted. On the sun's assumed influence on the formation of stones, see e.g. al-Qazwīnī, *Ajā'ib* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 208.

223 Metre: *basīṭ*. Abū Ṭālib al-'Alawī has not been identified (cf. al-'Alawī mentioned above Ch. 11.13.3.8). As the third line implies, 'al-'Alawī' means that he was a descendant in the male line of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Complains to him – may God give him lasting life! –  
 about the traces of pustules that appeared on his forehead.  
 So be so kind as to grant him the eradication of the ailment, thus earning  
 the gratitude of the Prophet together with that of his offspring.

The Shaykh Raʿīs replied to the above verses describing in his reply what the treatment should be, saying:

May God cure and banish the complaint he has  
 on his forehead and make him healthy in His mercy!  
 As for the treatment, that consists of a purge, preceded by  
 completing(?)<sup>224</sup> the last of my verses, from the manuscript.  
 He should let loose the sucking leeches who will sip  
 some blood from the back of his neck, exempting him from cupping.  
 Meat he should shun, except light meat; nor should he  
 let his wine come near him.  
 He should daub his face with rosewater,  
 mixed with pressed willow, when he sleeps.  
 He should not tighten the button, choking him,  
 nor shout loudly in anger.  
 This is the treatment, and he who acts accordingly will see  
 good results and it will take care of his ailment.

[11.13.7.7]

And he said:<sup>225</sup>

The best souls are those that know themselves<sup>226</sup>  
 and what is due to the quantities of their quiddities,  
 And in what it is that the organs of their constitution in their forms have  
 inherited,  
 and from what they have come into existence.

<sup>224</sup> The reading of *kh.t.m.t* is unclear; a verbal form (*khatamtu*) would give strange syntax. Reading it as *khatmatu* (and assuming the *t* is an error for *tā' marbūṭah*), 'the completion of', is also odd because this word is normally restricted to the completion of reciting the Qur'an.

<sup>225</sup> Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:409; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:65; *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 11.

<sup>226</sup> Or 'their essences'.

A soul of vegetation and a soul of sense perception, assembled:  
 aren't, likewise, its/his(?) characteristics like their/its(?) characterist-  
 ics?<sup>227</sup>

Men! What a heavy loss, because of which  
 souls have never ceased to amble in their darknesses!<sup>228</sup>

And also:<sup>229</sup>

Refine your soul with knowledge so that it may rise,  
 and leave the whole, for it is a house for the whole.<sup>230</sup>  
 The soul is like nothing but a glass, knowledge  
 is a lamp, and God's wisdom is the oil.<sup>231</sup>  
 If it shines, you are alive  
 and if it is dark, you are dead.

Another:<sup>232</sup>

He poured it into the cup, unmixed;  
 it vanquished the light of the lamp.  
 He thought it was a fire,  
 so he quenched it by mixing it.

227 It is not clear to what the masculine suffix in *simātihū* and the feminine suffix in *ka-simātihā* refer. The word *naḥs* ('soul') is feminine in Arabic (as would be the plural); the words *nabāt* ('vegetation') and *ḥiss* ('sense perception') are both masculine. The 'vegetable soul' is usually linked with the 'animal soul' and the 'rational soul'; Ibn Sīnā also speaks of 'human soul'; sense perception is not a separate soul but a faculty of the soul. Perhaps *naḥsu ḥissin* should therefore be emended to *naḥsu ḥayyin*, as a variant of *naḥs al-ḥayawān* ('the animal soul'). In that case the sense of the line may be that human characteristics are like that of plants and beasts, if bereft of the rational soul.

228 The poem does not make clear what this loss – perhaps the rational soul – could be.

229 Metre: *khaff*. *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 20; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:161; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:409 (lines 1–2); Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:65–66 (lines 1–2). See transl. Khan, 'Some Aspects', 42.

230 Meaning unclear. Instead of *wa-dhari* ('and leave!'), *Wafayāt* has *fa-tarā*, 'then you will see' or 'then it (viz. the soul) will see'; *Wāfi* and a few later sources have *wa-tarā*. These readings give a much better sense.

231 This echoes a famous Qur'anic verse (Q al-Nūr 24:35): «*God is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is like a niche in which there is a lamp – the lamp in a glass, and the glass like a brilliant star – lit from a blessed tree, and olive-tree, nether from the East nor from the West, whose oil almost glows*» (tr. Alan Jones).

232 Metre: *ramal*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:410, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66; anonymously in al-Ibshihī, *Mustatraḥ*, ii:214, and attributed to a certain Faḍl al-Dawlah in al-Nawāji, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, 110. See transl. A.M. Khan, 'Some Aspects', 40.

Another:<sup>233</sup>

Come, pour it out for me: a wine like the blood of necks,<sup>234</sup>  
 O friend with the cup, full, publicly!<sup>235</sup>  
 A wine for which the Christians keep prostrating themselves  
 and to which Amram's sons<sup>236</sup> pledge their sincere loyalty.  
 If, one day when it has played its effect on them,  
 it were to say, 'Am I not your Lord?' they would reply, 'Yes, you are!'<sup>237</sup>

Another:<sup>238</sup>

Divinity descended in its humanity  
 as the sun descends in the solar houses.<sup>239</sup>  
 Someone who was fond of it<sup>240</sup> said  
 something similar to what the Christians say about Christ:  
 It, the cup, and what is mixed with it  
 are united, like Father, Son, and Spirit.<sup>241</sup>

[Another:<sup>242</sup>]

At the old tune we drank an old wine  
 that was prior to every prior, pre-existent thing.

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- 233 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:409–410, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66. See transl. A.M. Khan, 'Some Aspects', 40–41.
- 234 The version of *Wāfi* has *hāti sqinī ka'sa l-ṭilā* ('Come on, pour me a cup of "grape juice"'), with paronomasia with the following *l-ṭulā*. The word *ṭilā* was used as a euphemism for wine.
- 235 Translation of *al-malā bayna l-malā* uncertain.
- 236 Here meaning the Jews. On Amram or, in the Islamic tradition, 'Imrān, father of Moses/Mūsā, see Ex. 6:20. The Qur'anic 'Imrān is the father of Maryam/Mary, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> 'Imrān' (J.W. Fück).
- 237 See Q al-A'rāf 7:172, where the question is asked by God, calling upon all 'children of Adam' to testify.
- 238 Metre: *ramal*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:409, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66.
- 239 'Houses' translated *abrāj*, sing. *burj*, the word used for the constellations of the zodiacal signs. The word *yūh* (with the variant *yūhā*) is a rare name of the sun (see e.g. al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, *ywh*).
- 240 The following makes clear that 'wine' is meant.
- 241 Ibn Sīnā could have found the Christian image using wine and water in al-Bāqillānī's *Tam-hīd*, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Lāhūt and Nāsūt' (R. Arnaldez).
- 242 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:409, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66. See transl. Khan, 'Some Aspects', 41.

If it had not been in a place<sup>243</sup> I would have said that  
it was the First Cause, which was not caused itself.

[11.13.7.8]

[Another:]<sup>244</sup>

How strange, those people who envy me for my virtues,  
from those who censure me<sup>245</sup> to those who reproach me!  
They censure my excellence and blame my wisdom,  
but they are strangers to their own shortcoming and my perfection.  
I, with their malice and their censure,  
am like a lofty mountain that despises the butts of the ibexes' horns.  
When a man knows he is right himself  
the blame of the ignorant is insignificant to him.

[Another:]<sup>246</sup>

You with languid eyelids, are the traits  
of every young woman borrowed from excellent wine?  
It is the reddish one whose inner spirit is an enemy  
though she whispers gently as if a friend.

[Another:]<sup>247</sup>

I almost become mad (*ujannu*) from what I conceal (*ujinnu*);  
neither humans nor jinnees have seen what I see.  
Misfortunes have aimed lethal blows at me  
that penetrate and which no shield can withstand.  
My neighbours are people who, if asked for  
the crumbs of what they have eaten, would be stingy with them.

243 The 'First Cause' of the philosophers is outside the categories of time and space.

244 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66 (lines 1–3). MS Gc adds: *wa-qīla innahā li-l-Ṭuḡhrāī* ('It is said that they are by al-Ṭuḡhrāī'); MS A adds in the right margin: *hādhihi li-l-Ṭuḡhrāī* ('these are by al-Ṭuḡhrāī'). The lines are in al-Ṭuḡhrāī, *Dīwān*, 62.

245 The manuscript seems to have *'uyyābī*; a possible reading *ghuyyābī* ('those who slanderer me') is adopted by Müller, Nizār Riḍā, and al-Najjār. Al-Ṭuḡhrāī, *Dīwān*, has *'uyyābin* (or *'uyyābin*).

246 Metre: *wāfir*. *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 18.

247 Metre: *wāfir*. *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 18.

If complicated problems present themselves  
 conjecture and assumption shuffle their arrows,<sup>248</sup>  
 And if difficult matters occur  
 they abscond, lie low, and hide themselves.

[Another:]<sup>249</sup>

I complain to God about Time: its adversity<sup>250</sup>  
 has worn out my new powers, while it is always new.  
 They are tribulations aiming for me: it is as if I  
 have become a magnet while they are iron.

[And he said:]<sup>251</sup>

Hold back, beware, lest suddenly you be hurt  
 by the sword of my speech (*kalām*) or the wounds (*kilām*) of my  
 sword!

[He said:] 'If these lines are said on seeing the planet Mercury at the moment of its ascendancy, they will bring knowledge and good things, with the permission of God, the Exalted.'<sup>252</sup>

Mercury! I have, by God! long been coming and going,  
 evening and morning, hoping to see you and gain profit.  
 Now there you are! Provide me with powers with which I can reach my  
 desires  
 and obscure sciences, as a generous deed!  
 And protect me against forbidden things and all evil,  
 at the command of a King, the Creator of earth and heaven.

248 An allusion to the pre-Islamic game of *maysir*, based on chance rather than skill or knowledge.

249 Metre: *kāmil*. *Dīwān Ibn Sīnā*, 18 (in reversed order); Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66 (line 1).

250 The word *ṣarf* is ambiguous; in the plural (*ṣurūf*) it usually refers to the misfortunes brought by Time, but as a verbal noun it could also mean 'spending (time)'.

251 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

252 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:410, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:66–67. It is not certain that the lines are in fact by Ibn Sīnā himself (al-Ṣafadī: *yunsabu ilayh*). The planet Mercury is associated with science and the intellect in general.

[11.13.7.9]

Among the poems attributed to al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā is a poem on the events and circumstances that will occur at the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation of Capricorn, in the house of Saturn, which is the most inauspicious of houses, because it is the house of Saturn, the inauspicious planet of the celestial sphere, the Great Unlucky planet.<sup>253</sup> The poem begins 'Dear son (, beware of the tenth conjunction)'.<sup>254</sup> Everything that is said in the poem, about the Tatars<sup>255</sup> and how they massacred the people and destroyed fortresses, in fact happened; we have seen it in our time. One of the most amazing things said in it about the Tatars is 'Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar will annihilate them', for al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz did indeed annihilate them when he arrived from Egypt with the soldiers of Islam. His defeat of them took place in the Wadi of Kanaan, as is mentioned; it was in Ramadan of the year 658. There are many other things in the poem that came true, such as what it says about the Caliph of Baghdad: 'Likewise the Caliph, Ja'far' and the rest of the line, and the line that follows: 'His caliphate is obliterated',<sup>256</sup> and the Tatars reigned, as is mentioned. That happened at the beginning of the year 657. In this poem the poet relied on the *Book of Divination* by the Commander of the Believers, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him.<sup>257</sup> 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.<sup>258</sup>

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253 The repetitious passage may be garbled.

254 The words in the parenthesis are omitted in ms A.

255 Arabic sources frequently speak of al-Tatar or al-Tatār where the Mongols are meant; the Tatars were a tribal grouping of the Mongols (whose armies consisted for a large part of non-Mongolic Turkic troops).

256 The poem (line 50) has in fact 'will be obliterated'.

257 See e.g. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Djafir' (T. Fahd). On *jafr* and similar predictions, including poems, see e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 929–950, and tr. Rosenthal, ii:200–231; Ibn Khaldūn says that 'forgeries of poems of this type were numerous and widely practiced' (tr. Rosenthal, ii:227).

258 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:410–412 (lines 1–8, 13–15, 19–21, 24–28, 35, 37–38, 40–41, 43, 46–47, 49–52). Al-Ṣafadī speaks derogatively of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's amazement at the accuracy of the 'predictions' and says that it is unthinkable that the poet of the poem on the soul (the *Aynīyyah*) could have produced this very inferior stuff (*hādhihi l-qaṣīdah al-sāqīṭah al-rakīkah al-samjāt al-tarkīb*). It must have been composed, he thinks, by someone of the lower classes after the destruction of Baghdad. He adds that Ibn Sīnā, with his knowledge of astrology, might have made some general predictions but not such details as are given in the poem. Al-Ṣafadī might also have observed that it is odd that the poet warns his 'dear son' in the introduction against events that would not take place for centuries.



Beware, dear son, the tenth conjunction,  
 and save yourself, fleeing before everybody else flees,  
 Don't occupy yourself with pleasure to divert yourself with,  
 for death is more befitting to any unjust sinner,  
 And settle in some place in the Hijaz and stay there,<sup>259</sup>  
 and patiently endure the outrage of outrageous Time!  
 Do not resort to (other) countries, for they will all be struck  
 by the edge of the severing sword,  
 5 By men with flat noses, who come like  
 an overflowing torrent or like locusts swarming,  
 With slanting eyes; you see them as lowly  
 but how many powerful kings have they destroyed!  
 Their only aim is to shed blood, as if they have  
 to wreak vengeance on all those who prohibit and command,  
 And the destruction of what mankind has built, so that one sees  
 a desert where there were buildings, despite the builders.  
 Khorasan<sup>260</sup> will turn into places where weeds grow;  
 the inhabitants will have no one to set it right.  
 10 Likewise Chorasmia,<sup>261</sup> and Balkh<sup>262</sup> after it,  
 will become a place where no birds whistle.  
 And al-Daylamān,<sup>263</sup> its mountains and valleys,  
 and Edessa<sup>264</sup> will be made a ruin after the taking of Nishapur.<sup>265</sup>  
 And in al-Rayy<sup>266</sup> will be shed the blood of a group of people  
 from the family of Aḥmad, not with the sword of the infidel.<sup>267</sup>

259 All editions seem to have 'and stand up' (*wa-qum*), but possibly *wa-aqim* ('and stay') has lost its first syllable, becoming *wa-qim* (one notes that MS A has vowelled it thus).

260 Khorasan (Khurāsān), a large and important region, comprising areas now in Iran, Afghanistan, and Turmenistan. It was overrun by the Mongols in 617–618/1220–1221.

261 In Persian pronounced Khārāzm, in Arabic often, with a spelling pronunciation, Khuwārizm (although Yāqūt says that the *ā* is in fact to be pronounced short); a region along the lower Oxus river, south of the Aral Sea; it fell to the Mongols in 618/1221.

262 Balkh, ancient Bactria, once a town in Khorasan, now a ruin in northern Afghanistan, having been destroyed by the Mongols in 617/1220.

263 More usually called Daylam, the mountainous region south-west of the Caspian Sea; conquered by the Mongols in 654/1256.

264 Edessa (al-Ruhā in Arabic), taken by the Mongols in 658/1260.

265 Usually called Nisābūr or Naysābūr in Arabic but here appearing as Nashāwar; important town in Khorasan, sacked by the Mongols in 618/1221.

266 The ruins of al-Rayy, ancient Raghā, are south of Tehran; it was taken by the Mongols in 617/1220.

267 'The family of Aḥmad' probably refers to descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad, who

Those who have shed their blood will flee  
 as doves flee from the eagle that pounces with folded wings.  
 The Chorasmian will defeat their army  
 in the middle of the second Rabīʿ month,<sup>268</sup>  
 15 But he will die, grieving for the realm  
 that he once held, in the waves of an overflowing river.  
 His progeny will be humbled, his children will be miserable,  
 because of the appearance of a star, shining with a tail.<sup>269</sup>  
 Its appearance will be in the middle of the conjunction  
 but its luck will be like the glance of the eye.  
 His enemies will rise against him; he will meet them in battle  
 and return routed, empty-handed.  
 His last days will be in Āmid<sup>270</sup>  
 where he will go, though no one else goes there.  
 20 The bulk of his army will desert him  
 and join his depraved grim opponent.  
 In Diyār Bakr some of them will be killed  
 by the sword, both young and old,  
 And in Azerbaijan you will see the nomads<sup>271</sup> of his tents  
 set up in a great mass by an infidel foe.  
 His soldiers will perish and his army will perish,  
 broken to pieces, in every rugged desert.

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is sometimes called Aḥmad. The line may refer to the disturbances before the Mongol conquest, during which Sunnites massacred Shiʿites (see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii:117).

268 A passive form makes more sense syntactically, but A and al-Ṣafadī both have the active *yaksiru*, for which there is support in history. ‘The Chorasmian’ is apparently the last ruler of the dynasty of the Khwārazm-Shāhs, Jalāl al-Dīn; he had defeated the Mongols in the Spring of 618/1221 at Parwān but was himself defeated in Shawwāl/November of that year at the Indus river; he survived (*pace* the poet in the following line) by plunging into the river. The third and fourth months of the Islamic calendar are both called Rabīʿ.

269 It is not clear what *li-l-dhuʿābati* (all sources) could mean. It has been emended to *bi-l-dhuʿābati* and taken to refer to a comet’s tail.

270 Āmid, ancient Amida, a town in the region of Diyār Bakr in northern Mesopotamia, now in eastern Turkey and itself called Diyarbakır. Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh, having fled from Khilāṭ (see line 27) to Āmid, was attacked by the Mongols in 628/1231 and fled again, but he was murdered in a Kurdish village.

271 *Badw* (‘Bedouins’) usually refers to Arabs but here apparently the Mongol and Turkmen troops are meant. There is some pronominal uncertainty (‘his’ seems to refer to the Mongol conqueror, but in the next line it must be Jalāl al-Dīn).

- Woe on account of what the Christians will suffer from them,  
 being humbled, both young and old,<sup>272</sup>  
 25 And woe if they alight in Diyār Rabī'ah,  
 between the Tigris and al-Jāzir!<sup>273</sup>  
 They will lay Diyār Bābil in ruins, all of it,  
 from Shahrazūr to the lands of al-Sāmir.<sup>274</sup>  
 Khilāt,<sup>275</sup> after the splendour of its appearance, will turn  
 into a desert, trampled<sup>276</sup> by the frequent passing of hooves.  
 Irbil will be closed to them  
 for nine days but will be taken on the tenth day.<sup>277</sup>  
 They will tread Nineveh<sup>278</sup> underfoot<sup>279</sup> and its wealth will be taken  
 and its cattle,<sup>280</sup> from people in the vicinity.

272 Such a repetition in the rhyme (see line 21) is condemned by the critics.

273 Diyār Rabī'ah is a region in Mesopotamia, Mosul being part of it. Al-Jāzir is identified by Nizār Riḏā as a wadi between al-Kufah and Fayd, which cannot be correct as it is remote from Diyār Bakr. Yāqūt mentions Jāzir (without article) as being a village not far from Baghdad, which is ruled out for the same reason. Perhaps it should be read as Khāzir or Khāzar (without article), said to be a river between Mosul and Irbil (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ii:337).

274 Diyār Bābil: the ruins of Babylon are some 54 miles south of Baghdad; some authors, including apparently the poet, extend the 'lands of Babel' to a large area; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Bābil' (G. Awad). Shahrazūr was a district in western Kurdistan, in northern Iraq, now known as Ḥalabja. With 'al-Sāmir' (thus A, Gc, Müller, Riḏā, Najjār) Samarra must be meant, although the usual forms are Sāmarrā' or Surra Man Ra'ā; the present form is apparently a back formation from the *nisbah* 'Sāmīrī', derived from the town (R and *Wāfi* have in fact *al-Sāmīrī*, with *yā*). The extensive remains of Samarra lie on the Tigris, some 75 miles north of Baghdad.

275 Khilāt, also called Akhlāt: a town near Lake Van, now in eastern Turkey, captured by the Mongols in 642/1244.

276 ms A, Müller, Riḏā: *tadāwasa*, an otherwise not attested form of the verb *dāsa*, 'to trample'; *Wāfi* has the more normal *tudāsu* 'alā *khtilāfi*; mss R and Gc have the unmetrical *tudāsu bi-khtilāfi*.

277 Irbil (also spelled Arbil or Erbil), some 50 miles east of Mosul, was partly pillaged in 633/1235; the citadel was taken only in 656/1258. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Irbil' (D. Sourdel).

278 The ruins of Nineveh (here Nīnawah, whereas the standard form in Arabic is Nīnawā) lie on the Tigris near Mosul.

279 Reading, with ms A, *wa-yaṭawna* (or possibly *wa-yaṭūna*), a sub-standard form of *wa-yaṭa'ūna*. The reading of Müller, Riḏā, Najjār, *wa-buṭūnu* ('the inner parts of?') does not give a sense and is syntactically defective.

280 It is very unusual to find a word of this prosodical form (*dawābb*, with overlong syllable) in poetry.

- 30 Perhaps the soldiers of Mosul will appear,  
 asking for safe-conduct from the perfidious traitor.<sup>281</sup>  
 You will see them, encamped on the bank of the Tigris,  
 and they go to Balad<sup>282</sup> without flagging.  
 And you will see, towards al-Tharthār,<sup>283</sup> pillaging taking place,  
 blood flowing, and violation.  
 There will be, on the day of the burning of its splendour that  
 comes to them(?), a rain like an overflowing sea.<sup>284</sup>  
 Alas for the land and its people!  
 What will be become of them, not having anyone to aid them?
- 35 Perhaps men will present themselves to them,  
 from the clan of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, of noble tribes,<sup>285</sup>  
 Who water their horses from the Euphrates,  
 every thirsty man of them on the back of a lean horse.  
 Aleppo will meet them with an army that, if it marched  
 in the sea, it would turn dark with the dust that was stirred.<sup>286</sup>  
 When the edge of the conjunction has passed you will see  
 that they arrive at Damascus,<sup>287</sup> which is full of soldiers.  
 Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar<sup>288</sup> will annihilate them, just as  
 Thamūd was annihilated in ancient times.<sup>289</sup>
- 40 And the scion of the Imam Muḥammad<sup>290</sup> will exterminate them  
 with his severing sword of cutting edge.

281 Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', ruler of Mosul, submitted to the Mongol leader Hülegü in 642/1244–1245 and became his ally.

282 Balad (as A explains in a marginal note) is a town (also called Balaṭ) not far from Mosul.

283 A large wadi in the desert in northern Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

284 Unclear; the feminine pronoun of *zahratiḥā* cannot refer to al-Tharthār, and *allatī ta'tī-himū* is also obscure.

285 Several persons, some of them famous, were called Ṣa'ṣa'ah in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. It is not clear to whom the line refers.

286 Aleppo was taken by the Mongols in Ṣafar 658/January 1260. It is not clear why a sea would turn dark with dust, and why an army would walk into it in the first place. *Wāfi* has *ka-l-ʿajj*, 'like dust'.

287 On Jilliḳ, the name used here, see above, Ch. 10.69.3.9.

288 See the introduction to the poem. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, Mamluk sultan (655–657/1259–1260), defeated the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt with an army from Egypt in Ramadan 658/September 1260.

289 The legendary pre-Islamic Arabian people or tribe of Thamūd, often mentioned in the Qur'an, were destroyed for disobeying God and His prophet Ṣāliḥ.

290 Identity unclear.

But perhaps Time will let a group of them survive,  
     who will then be destroyed by the sword of al-Nāṣir.<sup>291</sup>  
 And the Turks will annihilate the Persians and not a trace  
     will be left of them: thus is the decree of the Mighty King.<sup>292</sup>  
 In the land of Kanaan<sup>293</sup> their corpses will remain  
     a pasture ground for wolves and every flying vulture.  
 The worshippers of the Cross will wield the sword over them,  
     with right wings and left wings.  
 45 O abode of Baghdad, with all the ... (?)<sup>294</sup> corpses  
     you hold, and heads that fly!  
 Likewise the Caliph, Ja'far, will remain in  
     a land where no one will tread its paths.<sup>295</sup>  
 Likewise Iraq, its fortresses and abodes,  
     those regions and buildings full of people:  
 The sword of the conjunction will destroy them. Ah,  
     what a journey that ruins a merchant's wealth!  
 The Byzantines will break them and will themselves be broken  
     afterwards, for a year, and there no one will set the broken bone.  
 50 His caliphate will be obliterated and his memory forgotten  
     among mankind: the doing of a Mighty Lord.  
 You will see towering fortresses razed,<sup>296</sup>  
     no refuge left in them for a traveller,  
 And you will see how its villages and lands are inhabited,  
     in exchange for familiar friends, by shy wild beasts.<sup>297</sup>

291 Identity unclear. Several rulers have honorific names such as al-Nāṣir or Nāṣir al-Dīn. Possibly he is the ruler of Aleppo and Damascus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (648–658/1250–1260), but he was captured by the Mongols and, after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt, killed by them. It is also possible that God is meant, among whose 'beautiful names' al-Nāṣir, 'the Victorious' is (rarely) listed.

292 God.

293 The expression *ard Kan'ān* is not normally used in Islamic Arabic except in the context of the history of the patriarchs and the Israelites.

294 Unclear. Reading *muḥalliqaṭin*, 'soaring in the air', would be appropriate for birds and perhaps severed heads but not corpses; *muḥallaqaṭin*, 'shaved', does not make much sense. One could think of emending it to *mukhallaḡaṭin*, 'left behind'.

295 The last Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, who was killed by the Mongols, was al-Musta'ṣim (640–656/1242–1258); his proper name was not Ja'far but 'Abd Allāh. The Ja'far mentioned here was perhaps the 'Alid proposed as caliph by al-Musta'ṣim's vizier Ibn al-'Alqamī, a Shī'ite; but the Mongols rejected him (see Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vii:470, al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, 539).

296 Form IV of the verb *hadda* is not attested elsewhere.

297 For additional marginal poems in Ms R, see A11.8.1.

A certain aged trader from Persia recited to me a longer poem by the Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā on the same subject rhyming in the unvowelled letter *rā'*, which begins as follows:<sup>298</sup>

When Mars shines in the east from the land of Babel  
 and the two inauspicious planets are in conjunction,<sup>299</sup> beware,  
 beware!  
 Strange things are bound to happen  
 and the Tatars are bound to come to your lands.

The man had only memorized part of the poem, and incorrectly at that, so I will not quote the rest of it.

[11.13.8]

Al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs wrote the following books according to our – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's – findings, and other than that which was set down previously in the account of Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī:<sup>300</sup>

1. *The Addenda* (*K. al-Lawāḥiq*). It is said that this is the commentary on *The Cure* (*Sharḥ al-Shifā'*).<sup>301</sup>
2. *The Cure* (*K. al-Shifā'*), in which the author summarized all four sciences. He composed the parts on Physics and Metaphysics in twenty days at Hamadan.<sup>302</sup>
3. *The Sum and Product* (*K. al-Hāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*), which he composed in his home town for the Jurist Abū Bakr al-Barqī<sup>303</sup> at the beginning of his career in nearly twenty volumes. It is only extant in the original copy.<sup>304</sup>
4. *Piety and Sin* (*K. al-Birr wa-l-ithm*). Also composed for Jurist Abū Bakr al-Barqī. On ethics in two volumes not to be found except with al-Barqī.<sup>305</sup>

298 Metre: *ṭawīl*. The first line is from a poem by Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān al-Jannābī al-Qarmaṭī (d. 332/943–944), in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām (Ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 301–310)*, 385.

299 Al-Dhahabī has *wa-qāranahū kaywānu* ('and Saturn is in conjunction with it'). The attribution to Ibn Sīnā is obviously spurious.

300 See above Ch. 11.13.3.2.

301 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 160–164, 427.

302 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 420–422. For a full study published in 2018, see Nusseibeh, *Avicenna's al-Shifā'*. See also Kalbarczyk, *Predication and Ontology*; Lammer, *The Elements of Avicenna's Physics*; Benevich, *Essentialität und Notwendigkeit*. For English translations of parts thereof, see Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Maḥūlāt* (trans. A. Bäck); *The Physics of the Healing* (trans. J. McGinnis); *The Metaphysics of the Healing* (trans. M.E. Marmura).

303 See above Ch. 11.13.2.10.

304 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 426.

305 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 498.

5. *Equitable Judgement* (*K. al-Inṣāf*). Twenty volumes of commentary on all the books of Aristotle<sup>306</sup> in which the author judges equitably (*anṣafa bayna*) between the Eastern and Western Philosophers.<sup>307</sup> The book was lost amongst the plunder of Sultan Mas‘ūd.<sup>308</sup>
6. The compendium (*K. al-Majmū‘*). Also known as *The Book of Philosophy for al-‘Arūḏī* (*al-Ḥikmah al-‘Arūḏiyyah*) which he composed at the age of twenty-one years for Abū l-Ḥusayn al-‘Arūḏī but not including mathematical sciences (*riyāḏiyyāt*).<sup>309</sup>
7. The Canon of Medicine (*K. al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*). He composed parts of it at Jurjān and Rayy and completed it at Hamadan. He had hoped to compose a commentary and case notes (*tajārib*).<sup>310</sup>
8. The middle Jurjānī book of Logic (*K. al-Awsaṭ al-Jurjānī fī l-mantiq*).<sup>311</sup> Composed in Jurjān for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī.<sup>312</sup>
9. *The Origin and the Return* (*K. al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma‘ād*).<sup>313</sup> On the soul. Also composed for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī at Jurjān. At the beginning of this book I have found that he composed it for Shaykh Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī.
10. Universal Observations (*K. al-Arṣād al-kullīyyah*).<sup>314</sup> Also composed at Jurjān for Abū Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī.
11. *The Return* (*K. al-Ma‘ād*).<sup>315</sup> Composed at Rayy for the ruler Majd al-Dawlah.<sup>316</sup>
12. *The Language of the Arabs* (*K. Lisān al-‘Arab*).<sup>317</sup> On lexicography. Composed at Isfahan, the author did not make a fair copy and no copy is extant, nor does it have an equal. I have seen part of this book, which is an extraordinary compilation.

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306 See Ch. 4.6.13.1–3.

307 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 426.

308 See above Ch. 11.13.3.17.

309 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 86–93, and 417. Compiled for Abū l-Ḥusayn al-‘Arūḏī, hence this title is also known as *al-Ḥikmah al-‘Arūḏiyyah*.

310 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 512–513. For a new translation of Book I of the *Canon* in plain English, see Abu-Asab, Amri, & Micozzi, *Avicenna’s Medicine*.

311 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 433.

312 See above Ch. 11.13.3.1.

313 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 471–472.

314 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 423.

315 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 471–472.

316 See above Ch. 11.13.3.3.

317 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 443–444.

13. The book of philosophy for 'Alā' al-Dawlah (*Dānish-nāmah-i 'Alā'i*).<sup>318</sup> In Persian, composed for 'Alā' al-Dawlah ibn Kākawayh at Isfahan.<sup>319</sup>
14. *The Salvation* (*K. al-Najāh*).<sup>320</sup> Composed on the way to Sābūr Khwāst while in the service of 'Alā' al-Dawlah.<sup>321</sup>
15. *Pointers and Reminders* (*K. al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*).<sup>322</sup> This is the last and finest book he composed on philosophy and which he used to conceal.
16. *The Book of Guidance* (*K. al-Hidāyah*).<sup>323</sup> On Philosophy which he composed while imprisoned in the fortress of Fardajān for his brother 'Alī. It consists of an epitome of Philosophy.
17. On colic (*K. al-Qūlanj*).<sup>324</sup> Also composed at the fortress of Fardajān. It is not extant in a complete form.
18. *The Epistle of Living son of Awake* (*R. Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*).<sup>325</sup> Also composed at the fortress of Fardajān as an allegory of the active intellect.
19. Cardiac drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-qalbiyyah*).<sup>326</sup> Composed at Hamadan and dedicated to the august and noble Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī.
20. On the pulse (*M. fī l-Nabḍ*).<sup>327</sup> In Persian.
21. On phonetics (*M. fī Makhārij al-ḥurūf*).<sup>328</sup> Composed at Isfahan for al-Jabbān.<sup>329</sup>
22. An epistle to Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī<sup>330</sup> on angles (*R. ilā Abī Sahl al-Masīḥī fī l-zāwiyah*).<sup>331</sup> Composed at Jurjān.

318 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 118–119, 424–425.

319 See above Ch. 11.13.3.2 no. 12.

320 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 422–424. More fully, *Salvation from Drowning in the Sea of Errors* (*al-Najāh min al-gharaq fī baḥr al-ḍalālāt*), a phrase which appears in Avicenna's introduction to the book, and which was used as the main title for Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh's 1985 edition (see Ibn Sīnā, *al-Najāh*). For an English translation of the section on logic, see Ibn Sīnā, *Deliverance: Logic*.

321 Probably around 417/1026. See: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* year 417.

322 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 425. Further to Shams C. Inatī's translations of parts 1 and 4, on logic and mysticism, translations of parts 2 and 3, on physics and metaphysics have been published. See Inatī, *Physics and Metaphysics*. For a study and edition of a commentary on the *Ishārāt*, see Shihadeh, *Doubts on Avicenna*.

323 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 419–420.

324 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 515.

325 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 482–423.

326 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 514–515; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 208.

327 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 515–516.

328 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 442–443.

329 Cf. Above 11.13.3.13.

330 For his entry, see above Ch. 11.12.

331 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 461.



23. On the natural faculties (*M. fī l-quwā al-tabīʿīyyah*).<sup>332</sup> For Abū Saʿd al-Yamāmī.<sup>333</sup>
24. *The Epistle of the Birds*, an allegory. A composition about what brings about knowledge of the Truth (*R. al-Ṭayr marmūzah taṣnīf fī-mā yūṣiluhu ilā ʿilm al-Ḥaqq*).<sup>334</sup>
25. Definitions (*K. al-Ḥudūd*).<sup>335</sup>
26. A treatise opposing the Epistle of al-Ṭabīb<sup>336</sup> on the natural faculties (*M. fī taʿarruḍ risālat al-Ṭabīb fī l-quwā al-tabīʿīyyah*).<sup>337</sup>
27. *The Well-Springs of Wisdom* (*K. ʿUyūn al-ḥikmah*),<sup>338</sup> summarizing the three disciplines.
28. On the converses of modals (*M. fī ʿukūs dhawāt al-jihah*).<sup>339</sup>
29. Monotheistic sermons (*al-Khuṭab al-tawḥīdiyyah*).<sup>340</sup> On metaphysics.
30. The large epitome on logic (*K. al-Mūjaz al-kabīr fī l-mantiq*). The small epitome [on *Logic*] (*al-Mūjaz al-ṣaghīr*) is the logic part of *The Salvation* (*K. al-Najāh*).<sup>341</sup>
31. The poem, in couplets, on logic (*al-Qaṣīdah al-muzdawijah fī l-mantiq*).<sup>342</sup> Composed for the Raʿīs Abū l-Ḥasan Sahl<sup>343</sup> ibn Muḥammad al-Sahlī at Kurkānj.
32. On attaining happiness (*M. fī Tahṣīl al-saʿādah*). Also known as *The Radiant Proofs* (*al-Ḥujaj al-ghurr*).<sup>344</sup>
33. On decree and destiny (*M. fī l-Qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*).<sup>345</sup> Composed on the way, when he escaped and fled to Isfahan.

332 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 517.

333 For his entry see above Ch. 10.34.

334 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 483–484.

335 For a thorough discussion of definition literature and an English translation with commentary of Avicenna's work on this subject, see: Kennedy-Day, *Books of Definition in Islamic Philosophy*.

336 That is Galen. For this work, see Ch. 5.1.37 no. 13.

337 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 517–518, where [Abū l-Faraj] Ibn al-Ṭayyib (see Ch. 10.37) instead of 'al-Ṭabīb'.

338 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 417–419.

339 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 438.

340 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 506–511.

341 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 434–435.

342 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 436.

343 Probably Aḥmad is meant here rather than Sahl.

344 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 481–482. Or the *Ten Proofs* (*al-Ḥujaj al-ʿashr*).

345 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 479–480. Alternative translation: *On Fate and Providence*.

34. On the endive (*M. fī l-Hindibāʿ*).<sup>346</sup>
35. A treatise directing towards the science of logic (*M. fī l-Ishārah ilā ʿilm al-mantiq*).<sup>347</sup>
36. On the divisions of philosophy and the sciences (*M. fī taqāsīm al-ḥikmah wa-l-ʿulūm*).<sup>348</sup>
37. On oxymel (*R. fī l-Sikanjubīn*).<sup>349</sup>
38. On eternity (*M. fī l-lā-nihāyah*).<sup>350</sup>
39. Comments recorded by the Shaykh's student Abū Manṣūr ibn Zaylā<sup>351</sup> (*K. Taʿālīq ʿallaqahu ʿanhu tilmīdhuhu Abū Manṣūr ibn Zaylā*).<sup>352</sup>
39. On the occult properties of the equator (*M. fī khawāṣṣ khaṭṭ al-istiwāʿ*).<sup>353</sup>
41. Philosophical Inquiries (*al-Mubāḥathāt*),<sup>354</sup> answering the questions of Abū l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn Marzubān,<sup>355</sup> the Shaykh's student.
42. Answers to ten questions put to him by Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (*ʿashr masʿal ajāba ʿanhā li-Abī Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī*).<sup>356</sup>
43. Answers to sixteen questions put to him by Abū Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī] (*jawāb sitta ʿasharah masʿalah li-Abī Rayḥān*).<sup>357</sup>
44. On the relation of the earth to the heavens and the fact that it is in the centre (*M. fī Hayʿat al-arḍ min al-samāʿ wa-kawnihā fī l-wasaṭ*).<sup>358</sup>
45. Eastern Philosophy (*K. al-Ḥikmah al-mashriqīyyah*).<sup>359</sup> Not extant in its entirety.
46. An investigation of dialectical propositions (*M. fī Taʿaqub al-mawāḍiʿ al-jadaliyyah*).<sup>360</sup>

346 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 515.

347 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 436.

348 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 416.

349 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 516.

350 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 445–446.

351 See al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition*, 55–57.

352 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 517.

353 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 467.

354 IAU omits this title. Title added from Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʿrīkh al-ḥukamāʿ*, 418; Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 48. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 428.

355 See Al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition*, 49–54.

356 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 449–451. For al-Bīrūnī, see below Ch. 11.15.

357 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 449–451.

358 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 447.

359 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 119–144, 425.

360 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 440. A critique of the Theologians' use of analogy.

47. Introduction to the art of music (*al-Mudkhal ilā šinā'at al-mūsīqā*).<sup>361</sup> This is other than the one found in *The Deliverance* (*K. al-Najāh*).
48. On celestial bodies (*M. fī l-Ajrām al-samāwīyyah*).<sup>362</sup>
49. On rectifying all types of erroneous regimens (*K. al-Tadāruk li-anwā' khaṭa' al-tadbīr*).<sup>363</sup> In seven discourses, composed for Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sahlī.
50. On the method of astronomical observation and how it conforms to natural science (*M. fī Kayfiyyat al-raṣd wa-muṭābaqatīhi ma'a al-ilm al-ṭabī'ī*).<sup>364</sup>
51. A discourse on ethics (*M. fī l-Akhlāq*).<sup>365</sup>
52. On alchemy (*R. fī l-Kīmīyā'*),<sup>366</sup> for Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sahlī.
53. On an instrument for astronomical observation invented by the author in Isfahan when observing the heavens for 'Alā' al-Dawlah (*M. fī Ālah raṣdīyyah šana'ahā bi-Iṣfahān 'inda raṣdīhi li-'Alā' al-Dawlah*).<sup>367</sup>
54. On the object of [Aristotle's] *Categories* (*M. fī gharāḍ Qāṭīghūrīyās*).<sup>368</sup>
55. The essay on life after death written on the Feast of the Sacrifice (*al-Risālah al-Aḍḥawīyyah fī l-ma'ād*).<sup>369</sup> Written for the emir Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd.<sup>370</sup>
56. *The Reliance of the Poets* (*Mu'taṣam al-shu'arā'*),<sup>371</sup> on prosody (*fī l-'arūd*). Ibn Sīnā wrote this in his home town at the age of seventeen.
57. On the definition of physical bodies (*M. fī Ḥadd al-jism*).<sup>372</sup>
58. *Exalted Philosophy* (*al-Ḥikmah al-'arshīyyah*).<sup>373</sup> A sublime discourse on Metaphysics.
59. *A Personal Covenant with God* (*'Ahd lahu 'āhada Allāh bihi li-nafsih*).<sup>374</sup>

361 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 468–469. For a comprehensive study of Ibn Sīnā's works on music, see El-Tawīl, *Music of Avicenna*.

362 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 447.

363 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 516; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry no. 159.

364 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 466–467.

365 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 498–499.

366 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 458–459.

367 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 467.

368 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 437–438. For Aristotle, see above Ch. 6. Cf. Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Maqūlāt* (trans. A. Bäck); Kalbarczyk, *Predication and Ontology*.

369 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 472–477.

370 Cf. Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, 140 n. 13.

371 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 444.

372 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 445.

373 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 484–485.

374 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 499.

60. On the fact that the knowledge of one particular person is other than the knowledge of another (*M. fī anna 'ilm Zayd ghayr 'ilm 'Amr*).<sup>375</sup>
61. On regimen and provisions for soldiers, slaves, and garrisons, and on land taxes (*K. Tadbīr al-jund wa-l-mamālik wa-l-'asākir wa-arzāqihim wa-kharāj al-mamālik*).<sup>376</sup>
62. Debates about the soul with Abū 'Alī al-Nīsābūrī<sup>377</sup> (*Munāzarāt jarat lahu fī l-nafs ma'a Abī 'Alī al-Nīsābūrī*).<sup>378</sup>
63. Sermons, hymns, and prose poetry (*Khuṭab wa-tamjīdāt wa-asjā'*).<sup>379</sup>
64. A letter containing an apology for sermons attributed to him (*Jawāb taḍammana al-i'tidhār fīmā nusiba ilayhi min al-khuṭab*).<sup>380</sup>
65. Abridgement of [the *Elements* of] Euclid (*Mukhtaṣar Ūqlīdis*).<sup>381</sup> Presumably the one found in *The Salvation* (*al-Najāh*).
66. On arithmetic (*M. fī l-Arithmāṭiqī*).<sup>382</sup>
67. Ten longer poems and shorter pieces on renunciation and such like ('*ashr qaṣā'id wa-ash'ār fī l-zuhd wa-ghayrihi*),<sup>383</sup> in which he describes his condition.
68. Letters in Persian and Arabic: Conversations, Correspondence, and Pleasantries (*Rasā'il bi-l-Fārisīyyah wal-'Arabīyyah wa-mukhāṭabāt wa-mukātabāt wa-hazliyyāt*).<sup>384</sup>
69. Comments on the *Medical Questions* of Ḥunayn<sup>385</sup> (*Ta'ālīq Masā'il Ḥunayn fī l-Ṭibb*).<sup>386</sup>
70. Medical rules and treatments (*Qawānīn wa-mu'ālaḡāt ṭibbiyyah*).<sup>387</sup>
71. Many medical questions (*Masā'il 'iddah ṭibbiyyah*).<sup>388</sup>
72. Twenty questions put to him by one of his contemporaries ('*Ishrūn mas'alah sa'alahu 'anhā ba'd ahl al-'aṣr*).<sup>389</sup>

375 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 440.

376 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 518.

377 Unidentified. Clearly not the traditionist of the same name who died in 349/960–961.

378 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 457.

379 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 508–509.

380 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 503–504.

381 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 460–461. For Euclid, see *EI Three* art. 'Euclid' (S. Brentjes & G. De Young); Sezgin, *GAS V*, 83–120.

382 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 467–468.

383 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 511.

384 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 504–511.

385 For Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, see above Ch. 8.29.22 no. 1.

386 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 516–517.

387 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 518.

388 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 520.

389 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 440. On logic (?).

73. Questions recorded as memoranda (*Masā'il tarjamahā bi-l-tadhākīr*).<sup>390</sup>
74. Answers to many questions (*Jawāb masā'il kathīrah*).<sup>391</sup>
75. A letter to the scholars of Baghdad asking them to judge between him and a man of Hamadan who claimed knowledge of philosophy (*Risālah lahu ilā 'ulamā' Baghdād yas'aluhum al-inṣāf baynahu wa-bayna rajul Hamadānī yadda'ī al-ḥikmah*).<sup>392</sup>
76. A letter to a friend asking him to judge between him and a man of Hamadan who claimed knowledge of philosophy (*Risālah ilā ṣadīq yas'aluhu al-inṣāf baynahu wa-bayna al-Hamadānī alladhī yadda'ī al-ḥikmah*).<sup>393</sup>
77. Answers to a number of questions (*Jawāb li-'iddat masā'il*).<sup>394</sup>
78. A discourse elucidating the nature of letters of the alphabet (*Kalām lahu fī tabyīn mā'yyat al-ḥurūf*).<sup>395</sup>
79. Commentary on Aristotle's book *On the Soul* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Nafs li-Arisṭū-ṭālīs*).<sup>396</sup> It is said that this comes from *The Book of Equitable Judgement* (*K. al-Inṣāf*).
80. On the soul (*M. fī l-Nafs*). This is known as *The Sentences* (*al-Fuṣūl*).<sup>397</sup>
81. On showing the falsehood of judicial astrology (*M. fī ibtāl aḥkām al-nujūm*).<sup>398</sup>
82. *The Book of Rarities*: on grammar (*K. al-Mulaḥ fī l-naḥw*).<sup>399</sup>
83. Chapters in metaphysics on affirming the First (*Fuṣūl Ilāhiyyah fī ithbāt al-Awwal*).<sup>400</sup>
84. Chapters on the soul and on the natural sciences (*Fuṣūl fī l-nafs wa-ṭabī'yyāt*).<sup>401</sup>
85. An epistle to Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī l-Khayr<sup>402</sup> on renunciation (*R. ilā Abī Sa'īd ibn Abī l-Khayr fī l-zuhd*).<sup>403</sup>

390 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 432.

391 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 430–431.

392 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 503.

393 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 503.

394 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 430–431.

395 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 442–443.

396 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 453.

397 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 457.

398 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 457–458.

399 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 444.

400 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 496.

401 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 457.

402 Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī l-Khayr (357–440/967–1049), Persian saint and mystic. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abū Sa'īd Faḍl Allāh b. Abī l-Khayr' (H. Ritter); *EI Three*, art. 'Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khayr' (O. Safi); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khayr' (N.M. Heravi).

403 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 527. Cf. above Ch. 11.13.6

86. On the fact that it is not possible for a single thing to be both substance and accident (*M. fī annahu lā yajūz an yakūna shay' wāḥid jawharan wa-'araḍan*).<sup>404</sup>
87. Debates on various branches of knowledge with a certain person of merit (*Masā'il jarat baynahu wa-bayna ba'ḍ al-fuḍalā' fī funūn al-'ulūm*).<sup>405</sup>
88. Commentaries and answers to questions which Abū l-Faraj, the physician of Hamadan,<sup>406</sup> gleaned from his [the Shaykh's] study sessions (*Ta'liqāt istafādahā Abū l-Faraj al-Ṭabīb al-Hamadānī min majlisihi wa-jawābāt lahu*).<sup>407</sup>
89. A discourse on realms and parts of the earth mentioned in his writings (*Maqālah dhakarrahā fī taṣānīfīhi annahā fī l-mamālik wa-biqā' al-arḍ*).
90. A short work on the fact that angles in circumferences and tangents have no quantity (*Mukhtaṣar fī anna al-zāwiyah allatī fī l-muḥīṭ wa-l-mumāss lā kammīyyah lahā*).<sup>408</sup>
91. Answers to fourteen questions posed by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Āmirī<sup>409</sup> (*Ajwibah li-su'ālāt sa'alahu 'anhā Abū l-Ḥasan al-Āmirī wa-hiya arba' 'asharah mas'alah*).
92. The smaller epitome on logic (*K. al-Mūjaz al-ṣaghūr fī l-mantiq*).<sup>410</sup>
93. On the positioning of the earth in the centre of the heavens (*K. Qiyām al-arḍ fī wasaṭ al-samā'*).<sup>411</sup> Written for Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sahlī.
94. *Keys to the Treasure Houses*: on logic (*K. Maḥātīḥ al-khazā'in fī l-mantiq*).<sup>412</sup>
95. Discourse on substance and accident (*Kalām fī l-jawhar wa-l-'araḍ*).
96. On dream interpretation (*K. Ta'wīl al-ru'yā*).<sup>413</sup>
97. A treatise refuting a work of Shaykh Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib<sup>414</sup> (*M. fī l-radd 'alā maqālat al-Shaykh Abī l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib*).<sup>415</sup>

404 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 438.

405 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 504.

406 Probably Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Yamāmī, for whom see above Ch. 10.35.

407 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 517.

408 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 461.

409 That is philosopher Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Āmirī (d. 381/992). See *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Āmirī' (E.K. Rowson); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Abū l-Ḥasan al-Āmirī' (Tabatabai et al.).

410 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 434–435.

411 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 447.

412 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 441.

413 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 526.

414 For his entry, see above Ch. 10.37.

415 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 517–518.

98. On passionate love (*R. fī l-‘ishq*).<sup>416</sup> Written for Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh the Jurist (al-Faqīh).<sup>417</sup>
99. On human faculties and their perceptions (*R. fī l-Quwā al-insāniyyah wa-idrākātihā*).<sup>418</sup>
100. A discourse explaining sadness and its causes (*Qawl fī tabyīn mā l-ḥuzn wa-asbābihi*).<sup>419</sup>
101. A treatise on a doubtful matter (*M. fī amr mashūb*).<sup>420</sup> Written for Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Sahl ibn Muḥammad al-Sahlī.

#### 11.14 al-Īlāqī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Īlāqī – that is, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Sharaf al-Dīn – was a man of noble descent, a person of culture and refinement and an expert in the art of medicine and the philosophical sciences. He belonged to a group of students of Ibn Sīnā, the *shaykh ra’īs*. Al-Īlāqī wrote an abridgment of the *Canon of Medicine*, a task that he accomplished with consummate skill.

Al-Īlāqī composed the following books:

1. Abridgment of the *Canon of [Medicine of Ibn Sīnā]* (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-qānūn*).<sup>2</sup>

416 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 480–481.

417 That is, a student of the Shaykh’s known as al-Ma’šūmī. See al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition*, 58–59.

418 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 523.

419 Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 501.

420 Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 458–459, where ‘*fī amr mastūr*’.

1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. There is disagreement amongst scholars as to when precisely al-Īlāqī lived. His name suggests that he or his family were from Īlāq, a town near Nishapur. Most often it has been said that he flourished ca. 450/1068, since IAU expressly states that he was pupil of Ibn Sīnā. Others, however, have argued that he was killed in 536/1141 in the battle on the Qaṭwān steppe in which the Seljuq Sanjar ibn Malikshāh (r. 511–552/1118–1157) suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Buddhist invaders from northern China, usually known as the Qarā Khitāy (though to the Chinese it was ‘Western Liao’). For those arguing for the later date, see *GAL* i:485 (638) and *GAL* S i:887; Richter-Bernburg, ‘Iran’s Contribution to Medicine’, 156–157; and Gutas, ‘Notes & Texts for Cairo Manuscripts’, 15 n. 13. For those giving the earlier date, see Iskandar, *Wellcome*, 51–52; Hamarneh, ‘National Library of Medicine’, 91; Iskandar, *Descriptive List*, 42; and Savage-Smith, *NCAm-1*, entries 56, 127B, 164. For the Qarā Khitāy, see *EF*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Qarā Khitāy’ (C.E. Bosworth).

2 Al-Īlāqī’s greatly abbreviated version of the first book of the *Canon* was very popular, and many copies have survived. No edition or translation has been published.

2. On causes and symptoms (*K. al-asbāb wa-l-'alāmāt*).11.15 Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī<sup>1</sup>

He is Abū l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, the word Bīrūnī referring to Bīrūn, a town in Sind.<sup>2</sup> He applied himself to the philosophical sciences, was outstanding in astronomy and astrology and acquired a fine knowledge of the art of medicine. He was a contemporary of the *shaykh ra'īs* Ibn Sīnā, with whom he held discussions and exchanged letters. I have seen the answers of the *shaykh ra'īs* to questions put to him by Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, containing instructive matters with regard to philosophy. Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī lived in Khwārazm.<sup>3</sup>

He is the author of the following books:<sup>4</sup>

1. A Collection of Fine Gems, which contains a discussion on the different types of precious stones and related topics (*K. al-jamāhīr fī l-jawāhir*). It was written for al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shihāb al-Dawlah Abū l-Faṭḥ Mawdūd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd.<sup>5</sup>

1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, see Sezgin, *GAS* VI, 261–276 and *GAS* VII, 188–192 and 288–292; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'al-Bīrūnī' (E. Wiedemann); *EI Three* art. 'al-Bīrūnī' (M. Yano); *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān' (G.C. Anawati) and 'Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān ii. Bibliography' (D. Pingree); *DSB* art. 'al-Bīrūnī' (E.S. Kennedy); Saliba, 'Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time'; Stowasser, *The Day Begins at Sunset*, 57–138.

2 Sind or Sindh is a historical region of southern Pakistan along the lower Indus River. Inhabited since prehistoric times, it was held by Muslim dynasties from the 11th century until 1843, when it was annexed to British India. Sindh became part of Pakistan in 1947. Al-Bīrūnī was, however, born far from Sind, namely in Kath (nowadays: Beruniy) in Khwārazm, near the Aral Sea in present-day Uzbekistan. Historically, modern-day Beruniy was known as Kath and served as the capital of Khwārazm during the Afrighid dynasty. In 1957, it was renamed 'Beruniy' in honour of the medieval scholar and polymath al-Bīrūnī. Beruniy received city status in 1962.

3 For the preserved correspondence between al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Sīnā, see al-Bīrūnī, *al-As'īlah wa-l-ajwibah*; Saliba, 'Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time', 409–410. There are eighteen questions set by al-Bīrūnī on Aristotelian cosmology and natural philosophy, with responses to all of them by Ibn Sīnā, with an additional fifteen questions sent by al-Bīrūnī when he was dissatisfied with Ibn Sīnā's replies; the second group of questions was answered by a student of Ibn Sīnā's, al-Ma'ṣūmī.

4 For further guides to his writings, see al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah*; Boilot, 'l'Œuvre d'al-Beruni'; Khan, *Bibliography of al-Bīrūnī*; and the works cited in n. 1 above.

5 See Anawati, *Kitāb al-jamāhīr*; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhīr* (Hyderabad), (Cairo ed), and (trns. Said).



2. Traces left from past generations (of mankind) (*K. al-āthār al-bāqiyah ‘an al-qurūn al-khāliyah*).<sup>6</sup>
3. The apothecary’s trade regarding materia medica (*K. al-ṣaydalāh fī l-ṭibb*). In it an exhaustive account is given of the knowledge of the nature of the medicaments, their names, the different opinions held about them by earlier authors and statements made about them by individual physicians and others. It is arranged in alphabetical order.<sup>7</sup>
4. The keys to [the science of] astronomy (*K. maqālīd al-hay’ah*).<sup>8</sup>
5. Projecting the sphere onto a plane (*K. taṣṭīḥ al-kurah*).<sup>9</sup>
6. The use of the astrolabe (*K. al-‘amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb*).<sup>10</sup>
7. The *Canon* written for Mas‘ūd (*K. al-qānūn al-Mas‘ūdī*). He wrote it for Mas‘ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktegin, and in it he followed the example set by Ptolemy.<sup>11</sup>
8. Instruction in the art of astrology (*K. al-taḥḥīm fī ṣinā‘at al-tanjīm*).<sup>12</sup>
9. Treatise on the correction of accidental mistakes in the book called Manual Towards the Direction in Praying (*M. fī talāfī ‘awarīd al-zallāh fī kitāb dalā‘il al-qiblah*).<sup>13</sup>
10. Epistle on the rectification of [certain] statements (*R. fī tahdhīb al-aqwāl*).<sup>14</sup>
11. Treatise on the use of the spherical astrolabe (*M. fī isti‘māl al-aṣṭurlāb al-kurī*).<sup>15</sup>
12. Shadows (*K. al-aḏlāl*).<sup>16</sup>

6 For an edition, see al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*; for a translation, al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*. See also Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 270–271 and *GAS VII*, 292 under entry 8.

7 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 272–273; for an edition and translation, see al-Bīrūnī, *al-ṣaydalāh*. See also Meyerhof, ‘Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bērūnī’.

8 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 266–267. For an edition and French translation, see al-Bīrūnī, *Maqālīd ‘ilm al-hay’ah*.

9 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 272.

10 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 269.

11 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 265–266; Saliba, ‘Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time’, 418. For editions and a Russian translation, see al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Mas‘ūdī* (Hyderabad), (al-Jundī), and (trns. Bulgakov & Rozhanskaya).

12 See Sezgin, *GAS VII*, 189–190. For the text and translation (made from a Persian manuscript), see al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-taḥḥīm li-awā‘il ṣinā‘at al-tanjīm* (Ramsey Wright); Saliba, ‘Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time’, 413–416.

13 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 275.

14 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 274.

15 See Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 275.

16 See Hogendijk, ‘Bankipore’, 145. See also al-Bīrūnī, *Ifrād al-maqāl fī amr al-ḏilāl* (Kennedy); Saliba, ‘Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time’, 412–413.

13. The astronomical table written for Mas'ūd (*K. al-zīj al-Mas'ūdī*). He wrote it for sultan Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd, the ruler of Ghaznah.
14. An abridgment of Claudius Ptolemy's book (*Ikhtisār kitāb Baṭlamīyūs al-Qalūdi*).

Al-Bīrunī died in the thirties of the fifth century [= 1038–1048].

### 11.16 Ibn Mandawayh al-Iṣfahānī<sup>1</sup>

Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mandawayh was one of the most renowned physicians of Persia, where he served a number of rulers and dignitaries. His achievements in the art of medicine are widely known and deserve acknowledgment. He originated from one of the important families in Isfahan. His father, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mandawayh, was a distinguished man of letters who possessed strong faith.

He composed good poems, of which the following lines are an example:<sup>2</sup>

Miserly men hoard possessions  
and they are distracted from what is behind these things and  
unaware.  
Upon your life, this world is nothing, desires are  
nothing, and man is merely diverted.

He also wrote:<sup>3</sup>

A man's appointed time is nigh  
while his worldly hopes are high.  
He will soon have to depart, but does not know  
to what the journey will bring him near.

1 Translated/annotated by NPJ and GJvG. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See Sezgin, *GAS*, III: 328–329; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 146; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 438.

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:55.

3 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:55 (in entry on his son Aḥmad); on 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. ca. 395/1005) see *ibid.* xvii:282–283 and Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:263.

Abū ‘Alī ibn Mandawayh al-İşfahānī is the author of the following works:<sup>4</sup>

1. A number of epistles, including the well-known *Forty Epistles on Medicine* that he addressed to fellow physicians. They are:
  - 1.1 Epistle to Aḥmad ibn Sa’d, on the regimen of the body (*R. ilā Aḥmad ibn Sa’d fī tadbīr al-ĵasad*).
  - 1.2 Epistle to ‘Abbād ibn ‘Abbās, on the regimen of the body (*R. ilā ‘Abbād ibn ‘Abbās fī tadbīr al-ĵasad*).
  - 1.3 Epistle to Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Āriḍ, on the regimen of the body (*R. ilā Abī l-Faḍl al-‘Āriḍ fī tadbīr al-ĵasad*).
  - 1.4 Epistle to Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Baḥr, on the regimen of the traveller (*R. ilā Abī l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Baḥr fī tadbīr al-musāfir*).
  - 1.5 Epistle to Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan, on the structure of the tunics of the eye (*R. ilā Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan fī tarkīb ṭabaqāt al-‘ayn*).
  - 1.6 Epistle to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Wāriḍ, on the remedy against the swelling of the eye (*R. ilā Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Wāriḍ fī ‘ilāj intishār al-‘ayn*).
  - 1.7 Epistle to ‘Abbād ibn ‘Abbās, on the description of the digestion of food (*R. ilā ‘Abbād ibn ‘Abbās fī wasf inhiḍām al-ṭa‘ām*).
  - 1.8 Epistle to Aḥmad ibn Sa’d on the description of the stomach and the intended treatment for stomach [problems] (*R. ilā Aḥmad ibn Sa’d fī wasf al-ma‘idah wa-l-qaṣd li-‘ilājihā*).
  - 1.9 Epistle to someone stricken with dropsy, on the regimen of his body and the treatment of his illness (*R. ilā mustasqin fī tadbīr ĵasadih wa-‘ilāj dā‘ih*).
  - 1.10 Epistle to Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, on colic (*R. ilā Abī Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan fī l-qūlanj*).
  - 1.11 Another epistle to the same person, on the regimen of all those affected with colic, to be applied in the days of their health, so that an attack may be prevented, with the help of God, exalted be He (*R. ukhrā ilayhi fī tadbīr aṣḥāb al-qūlanj wa-tadbīr ṣāḥib al-qūlanj*).
  - 1.12 Epistle to Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Ja‘far, on the regimen of those affected with a weakness of the kidneys, who find clysters repulsive (*R. ilā Abī Muḥammad ibn Abī Ja‘far fī tadbīr ḍuḥf al-kulā li-man yastabshi‘u al-ḥuqnah*).

4 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 328–329 for eighteen of the following treatises that are preserved today, none of which have been published or translated.

- 1.13 An epistle to Abū l-Faḍl, on the treatment of the bladder (*R. ilā Abī l-Faḍl fī 'ilāj al-mathānah*).
- 1.14 Epistle to the Principal Master, on the treatment of fissures caused by hemorrhoids (*R. ilā al-ustādh al-ra'īs fī 'ilāj shiqāq al-bawāsīr*).
- 1.15 Epistle on matters connected with sexual intercourse (*R. fī asbāb al-bāh*).
- 1.16 Epistle explaining why a rumbling is induced in the ear when fig-wood is kindled (*R. fī l-ibānah 'an al-sabab alladhī yuwallidu fī l-udhun al-qarqarah 'inda ittiqād al-nār fī khashab al-tīn*).
- 1.17 Epistle to al-Wathāy, on the treatment of pain in the knee (*R. ilā al-Wathāy fī 'ilāj waja' al-rukbah*).<sup>5</sup>
- 1.18 Epistle to Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Dalīl, on the treatment of attacks of itching in the case of old men (*R. ilā Abī l-Ḥasan ibn Dalīl fī 'ilāj al-ḥikkah al-'arīḍah lil-mashyakhah*).
- 1.19 Epistle on the effect of fluids in the body (*R. fī l-ashribah fī l-jasad*).
- 1.20 Epistle on the description of alcoholic beverages, their benefits and dangers (*R. fī wasf muskir al-sharāb wa-manāfi'ihī wa-maḍārrihi*).
- 1.21 Epistle to Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan, on the absence of nutritional properties in water (*R. ilā Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan fī anna l-mā' lā yaghdhū*).
- 1.22 Epistle describing wine, its effects, benefits and dangers (*R. fī na't al-nabīdh wa-wasf af'ālihi wa-manāfi'ihī wa-maḍārrihi*).
- 1.23 Epistle to his son, on the use of whey to treat pimples that appeared on his body when he was young (*R. ilā ibnihi fī 'ilāj buthūr kharajat bi-jasadihi bi-mā' al-jubn wa-huwa ṣaghīr*).
- 1.24 Epistle on the benefits and dangers of a beer-like beverage made from fruit (*R. fī manāfi' al-fuqqā' wa-maḍārrihi*).
- 1.25 An epistle to Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd, on 'khanadīqūn' [or 'khandīqūn'] and beer made of fruit and Abū l-Ḥusayn's reply to it (*R. ilā Abī l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd fī khanadīqūn [or khandīqūn] wa-l-fuqqā'*).<sup>6</sup>
- 1.26 Epistle to one of his friends, on tamarind (*R. ilā ba'ḍ ikhwānihi fī l-tamr al-hindī*).

5 Ibn Khaldūn mentions a daughter of Wathāy (no article!) who was the mother of Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktegin.

6 *Khanadīqūn* is possibly a corruption of *ḥandaqūq*, 'melilot or yellow sweet clover'. On the other hand, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī states that *khandīqūn* is the Persian form of *khandīdīqūn* and is

- 1.27 Epistle to one of his friends, on camphor (*R. ilā baʿd ikhwānihi fī l-kāfūr*).
- 1.28 Epistle to Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan, on the soul and the spirit according to the opinion of the Greeks (*R. ilā Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan fī l-naḥs wa-l-rūḥ ʿalā raʾy al-yūnāniyyīn*).
- 1.29 Another epistle to Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan, in defence of the fact that physicians can also contract diseases (*R. ukhrā ilā Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan fī iʿtidhār ʿan iʿtilāl al-aṭibbāʾ*).
- 1.30 Epistle dealing with the refutation of the book on the refutation of medicine attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ (*R. fī l-radd ʿalā kitāb naqḍ al-ṭibb al-mansūb ilā l-Jāḥiẓ*).
- 1.31 Epistle to Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan, dealing with the refutation of those who deny that the physician is in need of lexicographical knowledge (*R. ilā Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan fī l-radd ʿalā man ankara ḥājat al-ṭabīb ilā ʿilm al-lughah*).
- 1.32 Epistle to those in charge of curing the patients at the hospital in Isfahan (*R. ilā al-mutaqallidīn ʿilāj al-marḍā bi-bīmāristān Isfahān*).
- 1.33 Epistle to Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Saʿīd, discussing what was reported about the illness of Abū Ḥakīm Ishāq ibn Yūḥannā, the physician from Ahwāz (*R. ilā Abī l-Ḥasan ibn Saʿīd fī l-baḥṭh ʿammā warada min Abī Ḥakīm Ishāq ibn Yūḥannā al-ṭabīb al-Ahwāzī fī shaʾn ʿillatīhi*).
- 1.34 Epistle to the doctor Yūsuf ibn Yazdād, regarding his refusal to put the mucilage of linseed into the medicament for enemas (*R. ilā Yūsuf ibn Yazdād al-mutaṭabbib fī inkārihi dukhūl luʿāb bizr al-kattān fī adwiyat al-ḥuḡnah*).
- 1.35 Epistle to the physician Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ishāq, reproving him for using specific types of treatment (*R. ilā Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ishāq al-ṭabīb yunkiru ʿalayhi ḍurūban min al-ilāj*).
- 1.36 Another epistle to the doctor Abū Muḥammad, on the disease of the late emir *Shīrẓil ibn Rukn al-Dawlah* (*R. ukhrā ilā Abī Muḥammad al-mutaṭabbib fī ʿillat al-amīr al-mutawaffā Shīrẓil ibn Rukn al-Dawlah*).
- 1.37 Another epistle to Abū Muḥammad al-Madīnī, on the matter of

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a 'healing potion' the best form of which is made from wine and other ingredients (Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirah*, jūz 1, bāb 3, entry *khandīdīqūn*). On *fuqqāʾ*, see amongst others Lewicka, *Food of Medieval Cairenes*, 473–478, *passim*.

- applying hot compresses containing sorghum (*R. ukhrā ilā Abī Muḥammad al-Madīnī fī sha'n al-takmīd bi l-jāwars*).
- 1.38 Another epistle to Abū Muslim Muḥammad ibn Baḥr, written on behalf of Abū Muḥammad, the doctor from Medina (*R. ukhrā ilā Abī Muslim Muḥammad ibn Baḥr 'an lisān Abī Muḥammad al-ṭabīb al-Madīnī*),
- 1.39 Epistle on the illness of al-Ahzal Aḥmad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Burjī, and an account of the error committed by the doctor Yūsuf ibn Iṣṭifān (*R. fī 'illat al-Ahzal Aḥmad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Burjī wa-dhikr al-ghalaṭ al-jārī min Yūsuf ibn Iṣṭafān al-mutaṭabbib*).<sup>7</sup>
- 1.40 Epistle on the pains suffered by children (*R. fī awjā' al-atfāl*).
2. A notebook (*Kunnāsh*).
3. An introduction to medicine (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-ṭibb*).
4. The comprehensive book, a medical compendium comprising ten chapters (*K. al-jāmi' al-mukhtaṣar min 'ilm al-ṭibb*).
5. The aid on medicine (*K. al-mughīth fī l-ṭibb*).
6. On potions (*K. al-sharāb*).
7. On food and drink (*K. al-aṭ'imah wa l-ashribah*).
8. A very short book on medicine (*K. nihāyat al-ikhtiṣār fī l-ṭibb*).
9. The sufficient book on medicine, also known as the *Small Canon* (*K. al-kāfi fī l-ṭibb wa-yu'rafu ayḍan bi-kitāb al-qānūn al-ṣaḡhūr*).

### 11.17 Ibn Abī Ṣādiq<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Nisābūrī was a distinguished physician, well-versed in the philosophical sciences and very knowledgeable in the art of medicine. He had a strong desire to study the works of Galen, and what was written in them about the obscurities and mysteries of the medical art, and avidly explored the theoretical foundations and practical application of medicine. He used intelligible language and was an eloquent speaker. His commentaries on the books of Galen are excellent and well-arranged, an example being his commentary on Galen's *On the Usefulness of the Parts*. He took great pains in writing it and summarized its thematic purport in an outstanding manner. At the beginning, he also says: 'I have revised

7 The *nisbah* Burjī is listed in al-Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*, as derived from Burj near Iṣfahan, which would fit.

1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On Ibn Abī Ṣādiq (d. after 460/1068), see, *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Ebn Abī Ṣādeq' (L. Richter-Bernburg); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 160.

the thematic purport of this book, explained the difficult parts, deleted superfluous matter, assembled dispersed items and added material that I found in Galen's other works and in works by other authors who acquired knowledge in this field. I systematically arranged the information contained in each chapter and appended to the end of each of them explanations of the anatomy of the organ under discussion and its use, thereby making it easier for someone to gather information on the anatomy of any organ or on the use of any of its parts'. He finished this book in the year 459/1068.

A certain physician told me that Ibn Abī Ṣādiq had met the *shaykh ra'īs* Ibn Sīnā, and that he belonged to a group of disciples who studied under him. I do not regard this report as unlikely. On the contrary, it may be close to the truth, for Ibn Abī Ṣādiq was Ibn Sīnā's contemporary and they both resided in Persia. Ibn Sīnā's reputation was enormous, as were his knowledge and the number of his disciples. He was also older and enjoyed greater prestige than Ibn Abī Ṣādiq.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Abī Ṣādiq composed the following works:

1. Commentary on the book *Questions on Medicine* by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (*S. kitāb al-masā'il fī l-ṭibb li-Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*).<sup>3</sup>
2. Summary of his large commentary on the book *Questions on Medicine* by Ḥunayn (*Ikhtiṣār sharḥihi al-kabīr li-kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn*).<sup>4</sup>
3. Commentary on the *Book of Aphorisms* by Hippocrates (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*). In the copy of this commentary, a note in his own handwriting was found, dated 460/1069, stating that someone had studied it under his guidance.<sup>5</sup>
4. Commentary on the *Prognosticon* by Hippocrates (*S. kitāb taqdimat al-marīfah li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>6</sup>
5. Commentary on Galen's *On the Usefulness of the Parts* (*S. kitāb manāfi' al-a'ḍā' li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>7</sup> I have seen the original copy of this book, in which the

2 The direct association with Ibn Sīnā has been questioned by recent historians, and it has been proposed that the association with Ibn Sīnā was due to his dependence upon him rather than personal discipleship; see Richter-Bernburg, 'Iran's Contribution to Medicine', 156–157.

3 This lengthy and popular commentary on Ḥunayn's *Questions on Medicine for Beginners* is preserved in many copies; see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 150–151; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 160; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry 38. No edition or translation has been published.

4 This summary of his own commentary is preserved today in a single copy now at Yale University (Nemoy, *Yale*, 159).

5 See Pormann & Jooisse, 'Aphorisms', 221–225; Karimullah, 'Prolegomena' (especially section 11); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 30; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1* entry no. 3; Karimullah, 'Transformation of Galen's Textual Legacy'; see also Carpentieri & Mimura, 'Phrenitis', 185–190.

6 This commentary appears to be lost.

7 Preserved today in only one known manuscript (Paris, BnF, MS 2854, copied in 885/1480).

year of completion was given as 459/1068; a note on it in Ibn Abi Šādiq's own handwriting reads: 'I examined it and found it to be correct, if God, exalted be He, so wills'.

6. Abū l-Qāsim [Ibn Abi Šādiq] wrote in his own hand *The solution of al-Rāzī's doubts regarding Galen's writings* (*Ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī 'alā kutub Jālīnūs*).
7. The calendar (*K. al-ta'rikh*).

### 11.18 Ṭāhir ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sinjārī<sup>1</sup>

The shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Sinjārī<sup>2</sup> was a distinguished and outstanding physician, an expert in the art of medicine and an experienced practitioner.

He composed the following works:

1. Elucidation of the procedure that leads to the path of healing (*K. iḍāḥ minhāj maḥajjat al-'ilāj*). He dedicated it to the judge Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ḥamawayh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

<sup>2</sup> The *nisbah* in the manuscripts is written as al-Sajarī or, undotted, as al-Saḥarī, with one manuscript (R) writing it as al-Sijzī. The physician in question is Abū l-Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) Ṭāhir ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Sinjārī (or al-Sinjārī or al-Sanjārī), who has generally been dated to the early sixth/twelfth century. See Pormann & Jooose, 'Aphorisms', 225–226; Sezgin, *GAS*, III:32; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 13–15 (entry no. 4). Al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:390 has an entry on him, as Abū l-Ḥusayn *al-ṭabīb* Ṭāhir ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sijzī, but the *nisbah* al-Sijzī is an error. To add to the confusion, one notes that Brockelmann (*GAL* i:486, S i:888) lists him as 'aš-Šaḡarī'. This confusion over the names Sizjī and Sinjārī appears not to be a recent one; it originates probably from medieval times. It could very well be that because of this confusion IAU placed the entry in the wrong volume. This is a chapter about *bilād al-'ajam*, and Sinjar/Sinjār does not belong to it; Sijistān does. Sinjar is a town in present-day Nineveh Province, Iraq near Mount Sinjar.

Dietrich (*Medicinalia Arabica*, 65–69) has referred to a certain Abū Sahl Bishr ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq *al-mutaṭabbib* al-Sijzī who is mainly known as the author of a work called *al-Rasā'il al-Ṭibbiyyah* ('The Medical Epistles'). This particular author, however, is not a 6th/12th century physician, but a medical doctor who flourished during the second part of the 4th/10th century, which becomes clear from the fact that he dedicated his main work to the Šaffārid emir Khalaf ibn Aḥmad Abū Aḥmad Walī al-Dawlah (r. 352–393/963–1003; d. 399/1009), the local ruler of Sistan and adjacent regions, who was apparently a scholar in his own right (see Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 172–173). For further references to Abū Sahl al-Sijzī, see *GAL* i:277 and Sii:1029; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 325–326 and *GAS* v, 415.

<sup>3</sup> Or Ibn Ḥammūyah.



2. Commentary on urine and the pulse (*K. fī sharḥ al-bawl wa-l-nabḍ*).
3. A section of the *Book of Aphorisms* by Hippocrates (*Taqṣīm kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>4</sup>

### 11.19 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy [Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī]<sup>1</sup>

[11.19.1]

The learned authority Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī,<sup>2</sup> (also known as Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy, the son of the preacher of al-Rayy), was foremost among the later generations and a leading person among the sages of more recent times. His supremacy has become widely known, and his writings and disciples have spread throughout the world. Whenever he rode out, three hundred law students and others would walk in his retinue. Khwārazm Shāh<sup>3</sup> would come to visit him. Ibn al-Khaṭīb had a very strong desire for all the religious and philosophical sciences. He possessed a good innate character, a sharp intellect and he expressed himself well. He was extremely skilful and had a keen insight regarding the art and study of medicine. He had an extensive knowledge of literature and composed poems in Persian and Arabic. His body was plump and of middling stature, and he

4 See Pormann and Joesse, ‘Aphorisms’, 225–228; see also Carpentieri & Mimura, ‘Phrenitis’, 190–192.

- 1 Translated/annotated by NPJ and GJvG. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.
- 2 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Fakhr al-Din al-Razi’ (G.C. Anawati); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī a.k.a. Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy ‘The Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy’ is one of the most influential exponents of Islamic philosophy and theology in the era after al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (al-Rayy, South Khorasan ca. 544/1150–Herat 606/1209) rearranged the structure of the philosophical summa in the Islamic East and thus also the curriculum of philosophical studies. His work completes the process of integrating the discourse of Aristotelian philosophy (*falsafah*) into Muslim rationalist theology (*kalām*), a process that started shortly before al-Ghazālī. Original in his own thinking, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was influenced by the systematic philosophy of Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, d. 428/1037). His works were widely studied, particularly during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. His commentaries on Avicenna’s works, in which he often keeps a critical distance to *falsafah*, became the subject of super-commentaries that are among the most influential texts in Arabic philosophy and Islamic theology. Most influential, however, was his monumental Qur’anic commentary ‘Keys to the Unknown’ (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*) in which, through a well-structured rationalist analysis, he aims at resolving most questions that are brought up in the text of revelation. See also Griffel, art. ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’; *idem*, ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s Life’.
- 3 Muḥammad ibn Tekish ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (r. 596–617/1200–1220). IAU refers to him either as ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Khwārazm Shāh or Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 179.

wore a long beard. His voice was impressive. He delivered sermons in his native town of al-Rayy and in other towns. He spoke from the pulpit about various philosophical subjects, and the people came to him from all lands and regions irrespective of their scholarly pursuits and the versatility of their occupations, and each of them ultimately found what he desired.

The learned authority Fakhr al-Dīn studied philosophy in Marāghah under Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī, who belonged to the most excellent men of his time. He composed many important works. The judge Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī<sup>4</sup> related to me the following saying by shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn: 'By God, I very much regret that I have to refrain from studying during meals, for time is precious'.

[11.19.2]

Muhyī l-Dīn, the judge of Marand, told me the following story: 'In Marand, the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn attended the college where my father was a teacher. He studied religious law under him and afterwards took up the philosophical sciences by himself. He so distinguished himself in that domain that none of his contemporaries was able to match him. I also met with him in Hamadān and Herat and studied under his guidance. His study-circle was imbued with a spirit of loftiness. He even behaved haughtily towards rulers. During teaching sessions, some of his older disciples, such as Zayn al-Dīn al-Kashshī, al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī, sat next to him, followed by the remainder of his pupils and the other people in order of their rank. When someone had spoken about a certain scientific subject, the older disciples would discuss that topic with him. If a problematic topic or an abstruse concept came up, the shaykh himself participated in the discussion on it and spoke about it in a manner that would defy any description'.

[11.19.3]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Wattār al-Mawṣilī told me: 'I was in the town of Herat in the year six hundred and [...], when shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, coming from the town of Bamyān,<sup>5</sup> entered the city with great pomp and a large retinue. On his arrival, the Sultan of Herat, Ḥusayn ibn Kharmīn,<sup>6</sup> came to meet

4 On him, see Ch. 15.19.

5 Bamyān (Bāmyān) is a town in modern-day Afghanistan situated on the ancient silk route. The town was at the crossroads between the East and West when all trade between China and the Middle East passed through it.

6 Kharmīn is a variant of, or more likely an error for, Kharmīl (final *lām* can sometimes be taken for final *nūn*). He is 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Kharmīl al-Ghūrī, commonly known after his father

him and received him with great honour. The ruler would later erect a pulpit with a prayer rug for him in the front part of the dais of the mosque in Herat, so that he could sit in that place during celebrations and the masses could see him and listen to his words. On that particular day I was present with a group of other people, standing by the side of the poet Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn<sup>7</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. There was a large crowd attending this meeting. The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn was in the front part of the dais, flanked on each side by two rows of his Turkish Mamelukes leaning on their swords. The Sultan Ḥusayn ibn Kharmīn, the ruler of Herat, came to him and greeted him, and the shaykh invited him to sit at his side. Sultan Maḥmūd, the son of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī’s sister and ruler of Fīrūzkūh,<sup>8</sup> also approached and greeted the shaykh, and was invited to sit directly next to him on the other side. The shaykh then discoursed with much grandeur and eloquence on the soul. Just at that moment a dove appeared which circled around in the mosque, pursued by a hawk that was on the verge of capturing it. The dove flew from one side to another until it became exhausted, and then entered the dais where the shaykh was sitting. It flew in between the two rows of soldiers and then moved towards the direction of the shaykh, and so was lucky to be rescued’. Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn told me that he spontaneously wrote a poem about the significance of what had happened and then immediately asked the shaykh’s permission to present it, to which the shaykh agreed. It reads:<sup>9</sup>

She came to the Solomon<sup>10</sup> of this age in her distress,  
while death was looming from the wings of a raptor.

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as Ibn Kharmil. He was an Iranian military leader of the Ghūrīd dynasty, and later the semi-independent ruler of Herat and its surrounding regions. See *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Ibn Karmil’ (C. Edmund Bosworth).

- 7 Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr (or Naṣr Allāh) ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Unayn (d. 630/1233); see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ‘Ibn ‘Unayn’ (Ed.); *EAL*, ‘Ibn ‘Unayn’ (G.J.H. van Gelder).
- 8 Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ghūrī (r. 602–609/1206–1212), the ruler of Fīrūzkūh and Sultan of the Ghūrīd empire from 602/1206 to 609/1212. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī is Muḥammad ibn Sām I, Shihāb al-Dīn, Mu‘izz al-Dīn al-Ghūrī, Sultan of the Ghūrīd empire along with his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad from 569/1173 to 599/1203 and as the sole ruler from 599/1203 to 602/1206, see amongst others Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 298. Fīrūzkūh is a fortified city in the medieval Islamic province of Ghūr in Central Afghanistan, which was the capital of the senior branch of the Ghūrīd sultans.
- 9 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xix:83; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:251; Ibn al-Sha‘‘ār, *Qalā‘id*, v:141–142; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:252–253; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:74–75; Ibn ‘Unayn, *Dīwān*, 95.
- 10 Sulaymān/Solomon is famous not only for his wisdom but also because he had power over birds and beasts.

Who informed the grey dove that your place  
is a sanctuary and a refuge for those who fear?

Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn was delighted with the poem, called the poet over to him and asked him to sit next to him. After the meeting, he sent him a full robe of honour and a large sum of money. He remained his benefactor forever after. Shams al-Dīn al-Wattār told me: 'He only recited these two verses to Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy, but afterwards he added further lines to the poem'. I have found these additional lines in his collected verse. They read as follows:

O son of noble people who distribute food in winter  
in every famine or frozen snow,  
Who give protection when souls are aflutter with distress  
between cutting swords and spears dripping with blood!  
Who informed the grey dove that your place  
is a sanctuary and a refuge for those who fear?  
She came to you when her death seemed near  
but you gave her a new life.  
And if she could have been given money she would have turned  
from your hands with multiple boons.  
She came to the Solomon of this age in her distress,  
while death was looming from the wings of a raptor,  
Craving for flesh, turned by food, so that even his shadow,  
facing him, moves with pounding heart.

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn 'Unayn has reported that he obtained approximately thirty thousand dinars from Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy and through the fame he acquired in Persia. Here follows another of his poems on Fakhr al-Dīn, sent to him from Nisābūr to Herat. In it, he congratulates Fakhr al-Dīn on the occasion of the event that the Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh put him in charge of matters concerned with endowments and colleges in all the Sultan's lands, which contain many towns.<sup>11</sup>

North wind, perhaps you will carry  
my respects<sup>12</sup> to the eminent, excellent imam!

11 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:88–90; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:251 (lines 9–14); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv: 253–254 (lines 3–4, 7–14); Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:75–76 (lines 1–7, 9–21); Ibn 'Unayn, *Dīwān*, 53–55.

12 Instead of *khidamī* Yāqūt has *shawqī*, 'my yearning'.

- And halt in his sacred wadi and look  
 at the light of true guidance that shines without flagging  
 From a great Fakhri and 'Umari tree,<sup>13</sup>  
 nicely planted with deep-rooted glory,  
 With Meccan lineages, with a thriving stem  
 its branches above Arcturus;<sup>14</sup>
- 5 And ask for the rain of gifts from his hands, for often has he been  
 the substitute of rain in any barren year.  
 Blessings the clouds of which return as they first appeared;  
 the first and the second spring rain cannot be recognized in them.<sup>15</sup>  
 He is a sea who takes the place of honour in the sciences; and who has  
 ever seen  
 a sea taking the place of honour in a gathering?  
 He tucks up his garments in God's service, while trailing for the sake of  
 piety  
 and religion the free-flowing cloak of decency.  
 Through him heresies of long standing have died,  
 the darkness of which was almost not to be cleared,
- 10 And thus Islam, through him, has scaled the highest mountain  
 while other religions have sunk to the lowest abyss.  
 A man who compared him to Abū 'Alī<sup>16</sup> was in error:  
 how different they are! Abū 'Alī fell short of his scope.  
 If Aristotle had heard one word of his speech  
 he would have been overcome by a shudder;<sup>17</sup>  
 And Ptolemy would have been perplexed, if he had met him,  
 about his logical proof of every complex figure.<sup>18</sup>  
 If they were gathered with him they would know for certain  
 that the ancients were not superior.
- 15 In him wisdom has a safe refuge when  
 winds of folly shake the flanks of Yadhbul.<sup>19</sup>

13 Fakhri al-Dīn al-Rāzī's father was called 'Umar.

14 A bright star in the northern sky, a common image for loftiness.

15 Perhaps meaning that the 'rain' is continuous rather than intermittent.

16 Ibn Sīnā.

17 Or possibly, 'he would have shuddered like a woodpecker' (see the dictionaries, *FKL*).

18 The word *shakl* ('figure') is used for forms of syllogism by logicians, but in connection with Ptolemy it may rather refer to geometrical or astronomical problems.

19 A mountain in Arabia, mentioned notably in the famous pre-Islamic *Mu'allaqah* by Imru' al-Qays.

He forgives a grave sin in his generosity  
 and is liberal when asked and if unasked.  
 He has pleased God with his excellence and his defence  
 of His religion, and he has gladdened the eye of God's messenger.  
 O master, whose degrees  
 look at the sphere of the fixed stars from above:  
 There is no rank but your worth is above it,  
 for with your lofty glory what you take upon you is made felicitous.  
 20 Thus when God wishes to raise an office  
 He bestows it on you and it acquires the noblest station.  
 May your abode never cease to be a halting place for visitors,  
 and your generosity a cave<sup>20</sup> for everyone who has hopes!

[11.19.4]

Najm al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Asfīzārī told me the following:

The shaykh and learned authority Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Umar, the father of Fakhr al-Dīn, was a native of al-Rayy. He studied jurisprudence, specializing in the controversies of the different schools of Islamic law and in its theoretical foundations, until he became a distinguished authority, and was almost without rival. He taught in al-Rayy; there at fixed times he also delivered sermons which, because of their excellent content and his great eloquence, were attended by a large crowd. He thus became well-known to all the people in the region. He wrote a number of works on the theoretical foundations of Islamic law and on sermons. He left two sons behind; one of them is Fakhr al-Dīn and the other, the elder, is addressed as al-Rukn. The latter had a smattering of knowledge regarding the controversies between the different schools of Islamic law, jurisprudence and the theoretical foundations of Islamic law, but he was thoughtless and very much unbalanced. He would always follow his brother Fakhr al-Dīn and go with him wherever he went. He would defame not only him, but also those who took heed of his books and words. He would say:

Am I not older and more learned than he is and better acquainted with the polemics of the different law schools and the theoretical found-

20 All sources have *kahf* ('cave', in the sense of 'refuge') except Yāqūt, where *kaff* is glossed by the editor as either *kāfīn* ('sufficient') or *mil' kaff* ('a handful'), neither of which sounds convincing.

ations of law? Why, then, does the crowd shout 'Fakhr al-Dīn, Fakhr al-Dīn', but I never hear them shout 'Rukn al-Dīn?'

Perhaps he has written something, as he claimed he did, presenting it with the words 'This is better than anything by Fakhr al-Dīn'. He would slander his brother, so that the people became astonished at him and many of them would mark and mock him. Whenever word of something like this reached Fakhr al-Dīn, it distressed him greatly. He did not like his brother being in such a situation, with no one listening to what he had to say. He was always kind to him and repeatedly suggested that he perhaps should take up residence in al-Rayy or elsewhere, where he could visit him and spend time with him to the best of his ability. Yet whenever he posed such a question, his brother's behaviour became worse and the situation would remain exactly the same. This state of affairs continued until Fakhr al-Dīn saw the Sultan Khwārazm Shāh. He informed him about the situation of his brother and what he had to suffer because of him, and asked the Sultan to have his brother confined somewhere where he would not be able to leave and where he would be provided with everything necessary for his comfort and welfare. Thereupon, the Sultan placed Rukn al-Dīn in one of his castles and assigned to him a fief yielding an amount of thousand dinars a year. He remained there until God decided upon his fate.

[11.19.5]

The learned authority Fakhr al-Dīn was the foremost scholar of his time in all the sciences. Crowds came from everywhere to visit him. He also delivered sermons at al-Rayy and maintained a large study-circle. When he spoke, he got the better of all the other orators. He was corpulent, of average height, but had a broad chest, a massive head and a thick beard. When he died at the height of his life, the hair of his beard had turned gray. He often spoke about death and longed for it, begging God to have mercy upon him. He would say: 'I have achieved all that is humanly possible in the sciences, but I have got so far that now I only wish to meet God, exalted be He, and to glance at his noble countenance'.

Fakhr al-Dīn left two sons behind. The elder of the two had the honorific name *Ḍiyā'* al-Dīn. He studied the sciences and acquired a certain insight in it, while the younger one, who is called Shams al-Dīn, possessed extraordinary natural talents and an extraordinary intellect. Fakhr al-Dīn often praised his intelligence, saying: 'If this son of mine survives, he will become more learned than I. His excellence already revealed itself in his youth. When the learned authority Fakhr al-Dīn died, his children remained in Herat. The younger son subsequently adopted the name of his father, Fakhr al-Dīn.

The vizier ‘Alā’ al-Mulk al-‘Alawī took over the vizierate under Sultan Khwārazm Shāh. ‘Alā’ al-Mulk was a distinguished person, who was an expert in the sciences and in literature and he composed poetry in Arabic and Persian. He married the daughter of shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn. When Genghis Khan, the ruler of the Mongols, crushed and vanquished Khwārazm Shāh and killed the majority of his soldiers, and Khwārazm Shāh himself was missing, ‘Alā’ al-Mulk went to see Genghis Khan and sought refuge with him. When he arrived there, Genghis Khan received him with honours and made him one of his courtiers. When the Mongols occupied Persia, and destroyed its castles and cities and slaughtered all the citizens, sparing no one’s life, ‘Alā’ al-Mulk, perceiving that a part of the Mongol army was headed for Herat to destroy the city and kill all its inhabitants, approached Genghis Khan and asked him to ensure the protection of the children of shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy and to have them brought honourably into his presence. Genghis Khan granted him this request and promised safe conduct for them. When the soldiers were advancing to occupy Herat, they announced that the children of Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, having been granted protection, should stay in a secluded place, where they would be safe. Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn’s house in Herat had been presented to him by Sultan Khwārazm Shāh. It was one of the largest, most beautiful and most richly decorated houses, which always had been well attended by visitors. When the children of Fakhr al-Dīn heard of the announcement, they confidently remained in that house, but were joined there by an enormous crowd, which included inhabitants of the town, relatives, state officials, local notables, many lawyers and others, who thought they would be safe because of their relationship to the children of Fakhr al-Dīn and particularly by their presence in that house. The Mongols, after entering the town, killed everyone they encountered and when they ultimately got to the house, called upon Fakhr al-Dīn’s children to make themselves known. When they saw the children, they led them aside, and then massacred all the other people in the house. They brought the children of shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn from Herat to Samarkand because the ruler of the Mongols, Genghis Khan, was there at the time, and so was ‘Alā’ al-Mulk. I say: ‘I do not know what happened to them thereafter’.

[11.19.6.1]

I – ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn resided for most of his life in al-Rayy, but he also went to the region of Khwārazm, where he was taken ill. He subsequently died in Herat as the result of his illness. When his illness reached its climax, he dictated a declaration to his disciple Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Alī al-Iṣfahānī. This was on Sunday, the twenty-first day of the month Muḥarram of the year 606 [26 July 1209]. He was ill for a long time, but then died on the first



day of the month Shawwāl of the year mentioned, and went to the presence of his Lord, May God, exalted be He, have mercy upon him.

Here is the text of his testament:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Thus speaks the servant, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī, who, hoping for the mercy of his Lord and trusting in the gracious beneficence of his Master, is spending his last days in this world and is standing on the threshold of the hereafter, this being the time when every hard-hearted person will soften and every fugitive slave returns to his master. I laud God, exalted be He, with the praises uttered by his most sublime angels on the most elevated rungs of their ladders, and spoken by his greatest prophets in the most perfect moments of their visions. But I say that all of it is the result of what has already occurred and what may yet take place. Therefore, I laud Him with the praises that his divine nature and perfect gifts merit, whether I am conscious of them or not, because there is no conformity between dust and the majesty of the Lord of Lords. I pray for the angels close to Him, the prophets sent by Him and all the righteous servants of God. And I say further: Be it known to you, my brethren in faith and companions in the quest for truth, that people say: In general, when one dies one’s connections with the living are severed, except that (1) one’s good works live on in the world. These good works become a motive for prayer, which leaves a trace with God, and (2) there are the interests of one’s children, wives, the pursuit of unjust acts and the perpetration of crimes. With regard to the first aspect, be it known to you that I was a person, devoted to science, who has written about all kinds of things. No matter whatever quantity or quality I came across, whether true or false, fat or lean (i.e. weighty or trivial), I always saw in the writings I considered that this sensible world is under the direction of a Director who is transcendent above any resemblance to things that are limited in compass (*mutaḥayyizāt*) and accidentia, and whose attributes are perfect omnipotence, omniscience, and mercy.

I explored the paths of scholastic theology and the roads of philosophy, but I did not derive the same benefit from them that I have encountered in the glorious Qur’an, because the latter is capable of preserving the majesty and splendour of God, exalted be He, in their entirety, and prevents one from immersing oneself in efforts to identify contradictions and inconsistencies. It is only in science that human intellects become frustrated and fade away in these profoundly confined and hidden places. Therefore, I say: the person whom I would support most is he who sticks

to outward signs such as His Necessary Existence, His Oneness, His design [of life], His effect [on people] and the fact that He stands above eternity and is not subject to time. May such a person receive divine inspiration from God, exalted be He. And if this matter leads to lack of clarity and obscurity, then the religious authorities should reach agreement on everything that is said in the Qur'an and the sound traditions and converge upon one meaning. So be it! And if such is not the case, I say: O Lord of all beings, I see mankind agreeing that You are the most generous and merciful one. You know what my pen cannot describe or what will come up in my mind. Therefore, I call upon Your knowledge and say: If You know from me that I have intended to state as true what is false, and to state as false what is true, then do with me as I deserve. But if You know from me that I merely strove to establish that in which I firmly believed and what I imagined to be just, then let Your mercy be with my intention and not with what I did in the end. There is nothing more that the wretched can do. You are much too noble to become annoyed at a weak person for committing an error, therefore save me, have mercy upon me, overlook my error, and efface my sin. You, whose sovereignty cannot be increased by the knowledge of those who know you, nor is diminished by the errors of evildoers. I say: my religion follows Muḥammad, the Lord of the Messengers, and my book is the glorious Qur'an. I depend on both of them to pursue my religion. O God, You who hear what people are saying, who answer prayers, who make offences undone, who have mercy for the things people are saying and who support new things and make them possible, I think well of You and have a great hope in Your mercy. You say: «*I hold my servant's opinion of me in esteem*».<sup>21</sup> And You say: «*Who is it that answers the harassed when he calls unto Him*».<sup>22</sup> And You say: «*and when My servants ask you about me, then I am near*»<sup>23</sup> even if I have not achieved anything. You are the Self-Sufficient one, the Generous one, and I am the destitute and blameworthy one. I know that there is no one besides You for me and that I shall not find a benefactor other than You. I acknowledge my errors and shortcomings, my imperfections and lassitude. Let my hope not be disappointed and my prayer not be in vain. Protect me from Your torment before death, in the hour of death and after death. Make the agony of death easy for

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21 Not Qur'anic but found in the Hadith as *ḥadīth qudsī*, see Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, iv: 87a.

22 Q al-Naml 27:62.

23 Q al-Baqarah 2:186.

me, and the descent of death lighter for me. And do not cause me distress by means of pains and sicknesses. For You are the most merciful one.

I have composed or elaborated upon scientific books and followed up on the claims that were made in them by my predecessors. Thus, if these claims are correct, let the person who looks at some parts of them mention me in his pious prayers by way of grace and favour. And if these claims are not correct, then let him delete the bad sections, for I only wanted to increase research and sharpen the intellect. In doing this, I relied upon God, exalted be He.

With regard to the second matter of importance, which deals with the improvement of the situation of children and wives, I rely upon God, exalted be He, and furthermore on the representative of God, Muḥammad. O God, make him the equal of the greater Muḥammad in religion and exaltedness.<sup>24</sup> However, the great Sultan cannot offer his full attention to the improvement of the requirements of children. So I deemed it more proper (*awlā*) to entrust the tutorship of my sons to so-and-so. I commanded him with the fear of God, exalted be He, for «*God is with those who fear and with those who are beneficent*».<sup>25</sup>

And he gave the details of the testament, until the end. Then he said:

I charge him, I charge him, I charge him<sup>26</sup> to do his utmost in the education of my son Abū Bakr, for the marks of intelligence and cleverness are manifest in him. Perhaps God, exalted be He, will let him attain goodness. Hereby I command him and all my disciples and all who are indebted to me that, at the hour of my death, they should go to the greatest lengths in the concealment of my death and do not let anyone know about it. Then, they should cover me in a shroud for the grave and bury me according to the stipulations of the religious law. Let them carry me to the mountain that is near to the village of Mazdākhān [or: Mazdāqān]<sup>27</sup> and there lay me in my grave. And when they have placed me in my grave, they

24 The latter is apparently the Prophet; so who is the former Muḥammad, called God's representative? The following mention of the 'great Sultan' makes it clear that it is Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh.

25 Q al-Naḥl 16:128.

26 Such threefold repetition is occasionally found for emphasis.

27 The village of al-Mazdaqān is in the neighbourhood of al-Rayy, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldan*, v:121.

should read for me as many verses of the Qur'an as they are able. Then they should sprinkle the earth over me and after it is all concluded they should say: O Generous one, this wretched soul has come to You. Deal graciously with him!

This is the end of my last will and testament in this matter. And God, the Most High, will do as He pleases. He is omnipotent and is disposed to be beneficent.

[11.19.6.2]

Badi' al-Din al-Bundahī recited to me some of the poetry of Fakhr al-Din, the son of the preacher of al-Rayy, which he heard from the man himself.<sup>28</sup>

The utmost of the intellect's (*'uqūl*) progress is a shackle (*'iqāl*)  
 and most of people's efforts are error.  
 Our spirits are in the tether of our bodies  
 and the sum of our world is harm and evil.  
 We have not profited from our life-long search  
 except gathering 'it-is-said' and 'they-say'.  
 We have seen so many men and dynasties:  
 they all perished quickly and ceased to be.  
 So many mountain heights were scaled  
 by men:<sup>29</sup> they passed but the mountains are the same.

He also recited the following poem:<sup>30</sup>

If my soul were content with mere sufficiency, easily acquired,  
 it would not outstrip other men in noble deeds.  
 If this world were suited to it,  
 it would not despise its shortcomings or perfection.  
 I do not look at this world with a generous eye,  
 nor do I care to protect myself against its evil and imperfection.  
 And that is because I am aware that it will perish  
 and certain of its departure and dissolution.  
 I desire things for which Time is too little  
 and which all the celestial spheres find too great to attain.

28 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:250; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, iv:257–258; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:80.

29 *Wāfi*: 'by mountain-goats' (*wi'āl*).

30 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, iv:257; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:80.

He also recited the following verse:<sup>31</sup>

Our spirits do not know where they will go  
 when these corpses are hidden in the earth.  
 One sees a coming into being and a corruption that follows;  
 God knows best; there is no frivolity in His creation.

This is a reference to God's words (mighty and glorious is He): «*Deemed you then that we had created you frivolously, and that you would not be returned unto us?*»<sup>32</sup> One of the jurists recited the following verse to me by Fakhr al-Dīn, the son of the preacher of al-Rayy about his master 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Khwārazm Shāh when the latter defeated al-Ghūrī.<sup>33</sup>

Religion's pavilion has been extended and strengthened,  
 and Unbelief's belt has been undone and scattered,<sup>34</sup>  
 Through the lofty deeds(?)<sup>35</sup> of 'Alā' al-Dīn wa-l-Mulk ('the Elevation of  
 Religion and  
 Realm'),<sup>36</sup> the least of whose qualities are loftiness and rulership;  
 A sun whose brow rends the veils of the sky  
 when night is pitch-dark and black.  
 Amid the army hosts, when the dust is raised by them, he is  
 a lion, but in social gatherings he is a lord.  
 5 When he takes the lead in being generous he is  
 with what his hand holds a foaming sea.  
 When he girds himself for battle you see in him,  
 wrapped in his cuirass, a crouching(?)<sup>37</sup> lion.

31 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:257, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:80.

32 Q al-Mu'minūn 23:115.

33 Metre: *kāmil*. The Khwārazm Shāh who reigned 596–617/1200–1220, who put an end to the Ghūrīd dynasty and who was Fakhr al-Dīn's patron, was called 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Tekish, not 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, which is perhaps an error, possibly though a misreading of the word 'ulā in one version of line 2.

34 The meanings of *riwāq* include 'portico, pavilion, living quarters'; *niṭāq* is 'belt' but also 'zone, domain'.

35 See note to Arabic text.

36 The presence of the conjunction *wa-* argues against reading *wa-l-maliki*, 'and the king', because if the same person is meant there should be no conjunction. The chosen reading is a not uncommon extension of an honorific name. MS A's reading *wa-l-malaki* is of course impossible.

37 *Mulbid* means 'with matted dung attached to the posterior', which can hardly be meant

- With his exertion he attained the glorious heights he desired:  
 he who does not exert himself does not attain loftiness.  
 The efforts of Atsiz ibn Muḥammad<sup>38</sup> preserved normative customs  
 chosen by the prophet Muḥammad.  
 Should I number the precious boons bestowed on me?  
 Their multitude cannot be counted, so I shall not enumerate them.
- 10 He let his winning steeds<sup>39</sup> run according to their customs:  
 excellent horses, but he is yet more excellent.<sup>40</sup>  
 He took possession of the land with his diligence and effort  
 and all beings<sup>41</sup> obeyed and he was made sovereign.  
 From the offspring of Shapur and Darius is his descent,<sup>42</sup>  
 proud kings, though to me he is prouder yet.  
 Khwārazm Shāh *of the world*,<sup>43</sup> may you live long and may never  
 anyone in this time be seen to prove you wrong ... (?)<sup>44</sup>  
 You have annihilated the enemies of God with your sword  
 of Indian make, whose edges cut the foes.
- 15 *Today you are* the king of the age, all of it;  
 there is nothing like your loftiness, you are unique.  
 You resemble Ḍaḥḥāk<sup>45</sup> of the region with a power  
 that is hoped for and feared. *Your fortune* and may you be happy!<sup>46</sup>

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here; it could also be 'cleaving to the ground'. Alternatively, it can be connected with *lib-dah*, '(lion's) mane'.

38 Atsiz ibn Muḥammad ibn Anūshtigīn (r. 521–551/1127–1172) was the great-grandfather of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad and 'the real founder of the dynasty's splendour' (*EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs' [C.E. Bosworth]).

39 *Sawābiq* also means 'precedents'.

40 A play on two meanings of *ajwad*: 'better' (from *jayyid*) and 'more generous' (from *jūd*).

41 *Al-thaqalān*, 'the two weights' (Q al-Raḥmān 55:31) is usually interpreted as humans and jinnees.

42 Claiming the Khwārazm Shāh to be descended from the pre-Islamic dynasties of the Sasanids and Achaemenids.

43 These and the following words in italics (lines 15–16) are in Persian (as is, of course, the title Shāh, 'King').

44 It is not clear what is meant by '*alā l-jyād*' ('on noble steeds'). A has '*alā l-jihād*' ('for jihad').

45 Ḍaḥḥāk, an Arabicized corruption of the Persian Dahhāk, Zakhāk, or Zuhāk, is a king from Persian mythology, oddly chosen here, for he was a cruel tyrant.

46 *jarkh-i tū* (i.e., *charkh-i tū*) is Persian. The syntax and sense of *jarkh-i tū wa-t.s.* 'd are unclear.

The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn also composed many poems in Persian, as well as *dūbayt* poems.<sup>47</sup>

[11.19.7]

Fakhr al-Dīn composed the following books:

1. The great commentary [on the Qur'an], entitled *Keys to the Unknown* (*K. al-tafsīr al-kabīr al-musammā mafātīḥ al-ghayb*),<sup>48</sup> in twelve volumes, in his minute handwriting, not including the first sura, to which he devoted *A Commentary on sura Fātiḥah*, in one volume.
2. Commentary on sura 'The Cow', an intellectual and not a traditional approach, in one volume (*Tafsīr sūrat al-baqarah 'alā al-wajh al-'aqlī lā al-naqlī*).
3. Commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Summary* (*S. wajīz al-Ghazālī*), which was not completed, comprising only the sections on religious observance and matrimony. It should have consisted of three volumes.<sup>49</sup>
4. *The Path*, dedicated to 'Alā' al-Dīn [Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh] on the differences between the different schools of religious law, in four volumes (*K. al-tariqah al-'alā'iyyah fī l-khilāf*).
5. *The Book of Shining Proof*, on the explanation of the names and attributes of God, exalted be He (*K. lawāmi' al-bayyināt fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh ta'ālā wa-l-ṣifāt*).<sup>50</sup>
6. The book that offers the results from the science regarding the principles of religious law (*K. al-maḥṣūl fī 'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*).
7. The book that demonstrates that the use of analogy is invalid [in religious law] (*K. fī ibtāl al-qiyās*).
8. Commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *Well-Segmented Book on Grammar*, not completed (*S. kitāb al-mufaṣṣal lil-Zamakhsharī fī l-naḥw*).
9. Commentary on *The Tinder Spark*, incomplete (*S. saqṭ al-zand*).<sup>51</sup>

47 The hybrid Persian-Arabic word *dūbayt* ('two-liner') is the usual Arabic term for what in Persian is called, paradoxically with an Arabic term, *rubā'iyyah*, 'quatrain' (four hemistichs, rhyming *aaba* or *aaaa*, with a distinct metre), familiar in the west through Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam's Persian quatrains.

48 See EI<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 7.

49 This is al-Ghazālī's *K. al-wajīz fī fiqh madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi'i* (*The succinct book on Shafi'ite Substantial Law*).

50 This is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Lawāmi' al-bayyināt fī al-asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt*. See EI<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 2.

51 A verse collection by Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī.

10. Commentary on *The Path of Eloquence*, not completed (*S. nahj al-balāghah*).<sup>52</sup>
11. On the virtues of the Prophet Muḥammad's companions (*K. al-faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*).
12. On the outstanding traits of al-Shāfi'ī (*K. manāqib al-Shāfi'ī*).
13. On the ultimate understanding of the knowledge of the principles [of religious law] (*K. nihāyat al-'uqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*).<sup>53</sup>
14. The Collection, in one volume (*K. al-muḥaṣṣal*).
15. On higher issues, in three volumes, unfinished; the last one of his writings (*K. al-maṭālib al-'āliyah*).
16. The forty problems on the principles of faith (*K. al-arba'in fī uṣūl al-dīn*).<sup>54</sup>
17. The road marks [of the principles of faith]; the last one of his minor works (*K. al-ma'ālim*).<sup>55</sup>
18. On the foundation of sanctity (*K. ta'sīs al-taqdīs*), in one volume, written for the Sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who rewarded him with one thousand dinars.<sup>56</sup>
19. On fate and predestination (*K. al-qaḍā' wa l-qadar*).
20. Essay on contingency (*R. fī l-ḥudūth*).
21. On the incapacity of the philosophers (*K. ta'jīz al-falāsifah*), in the Persian language.
22. The book of proofs, dedicated to Bahā' al-Dīn, in Persian (*K. al-barāhīn al-bahā'iyyah*).
23. The book of witticisms for Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*K. al-laṭā'if al-ghiyāthiyyah*).
24. On the remedy of inability and the opposite(?) (*K. shifā' al-'ayy wa l-khilāf*).
25. On creation and resurrection (*K. al-khalq wa l-ba'th*).
26. Fifty problems on the principles of faith (*K. al-khamsīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*).
27. The book called *The Support for the Keen-eyed and the Ornament of Thoughts* (*K. 'umdat al-nuẓẓār wa-zīnat al-afkār*).
28. On ethics (*K. al-akhlāq*).
29. The Ṣāḥibī Epistle<sup>57</sup> (*R. al-Ṣāhibiyyah*).
30. Epistle dedicated to Majd al-Dīn [al-Jīlī] (*K. risālah al-majdiyyah*).

52 A collection of sayings attributed to the caliph 'Alī.

53 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 5.

54 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 12.

55 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 6.

56 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 1.

57 It was probably dedicated to someone with the title al-Ṣāhib.



31. On the immunity of the prophets from major sins (*K. 'iṣmat al-anbiyā'*).
32. The abridged book (*K. al-mulakhkhaṣ*).
33. On Eastern investigations (*K. al-mabāḥith al-mashriqiyyah*).<sup>58</sup>
34. The book of clarification: a commentary on the 'Pointers' (*K. al-inārāt fī sharḥ al-ishārāt*).<sup>59</sup>
35. The quintessence of the 'Pointers' (*K. lubāb al-ishārāt*).<sup>60</sup>
36. A commentary on the *Fountains of Wisdom* (*S. kitāb 'uyūn al-ḥikmah*).<sup>61</sup>
37. The epistle for Kamāl al-Dīn on the divine truths (*al-R. al-Kamālīyyah fī l-ḥaqā'iq al-ilāhiyyah*); he composed it in the Persian language for Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mikā'il. I have found that my master, the learned authority Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Urmawī, translated it into Arabic in the year 625/1228.
38. The Unique Gem (*K. al-jawhar al-fard*).
39. The book of observation (*K. al-ri'āyah*).
40. On geomancy (*K. fī l-raml*).<sup>62</sup>
41. The book of premises by Euclid (*K. muṣādarāt Iqlīdis*).
42. On geometry (*K. fī l-handasah*).
43. An epistle off my chest (*R. naḥthat al-maṣdūr*).<sup>63</sup>
44. A book in dispraise of the world (*K. dhamm al-dunyā*).
45. Selected works for 'Alā' al-Dīn ['Alī Khwārazm Shāh] (*K. al-ikhtiyārāt al-'alā'iyah*).
46. Selected works on the celestial world (*K. al-ikhtiyārāt al-samāwiyyah*).
47. The book of perfect knowledge of jurisprudence (*K. ihkām al-aḥkām*).
48. The book that is branded as a well-preserved secret (*K. al-mawsūm fī sirr al-maktūm*).
49. The book of the pleasant gardens (*K. al-riyāḍ al-mūniqah*).
50. On the soul (*R. fī l-naḥs*).

58 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 10.

59 This is, Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā's *K. al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* (*The book of pointers and reminders*). See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 3.

60 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 4.

61 By Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā.

62 Two Arabic manuscripts have preserved treatises on geomancy attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, one of them a didactic poem (*urjūzah*). There is also a section on geomancy in the Persian encyclopaedia of Muslim science, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm*, that he composed in 574/1178. For details, see Savage-Smith & Smith, 'Islamic Geomancy', 216–217.

63 It sounds like a medical text entitled *On the expectoration of one affected with a pectoral ailment*, but it is almost certainly something else; it is a surprisingly pedestrian idiom for something one has to get off one's chest and spit out figuratively. For another example, see the long poem in Ch. 15.23, vs. 25.

51. On prophecies (*R. fī l-nubuwwāt*).
52. Religions and sects (*K. al-mīlal wa-l-niḥal*).
53. Selected passages from the book of Tankalūshā [Teucros] (*Muntakhab kitāb Dankalūshā*).<sup>64</sup>
54. The problem of existence (*K. mabāḥith al-wujūd*).
55. A very concise book on the knowledge regarding the inimitability [of the Qur'an] (*K. niḥāyat fī al-ījāz fī dirāyat al-i'jāz*).
56. Investigations on dialectics (*K. mabāḥith al-jadal*).
57. Investigations on *ḥudūd*<sup>65</sup> (*K. mabāḥith al-ḥudūd*).
58. On the clear signs (*K. al-āyāt al-bayyināt*).
59. An essay pointing out some of the secret meanings extant in some of the Qur'anic suras (*R. fī tanbīh 'alā ba'ḍ al-asrār al-mūda'ah fī ba'ḍ suwar al-qur'ān al-'aẓīm*).
60. The Comprehensive Book, not completed. It became also known as *The Great Book on Medicine* (*K. al-jāmi' al-kabīr*).
61. On the pulse, one volume (*K. fī al-nabḍ*).
62. A commentary of the 'Generalities' in the *Canon of Medicine* [of Ibn Sīnā] (*S. kullīyyāt al-qānūn*), unfinished. He composed it for the physician Thiḡat al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sarakhsī.<sup>66</sup>
63. On anatomy from the head to the throat, unfinished (*K. al-tashrīḥ min al-ra's ilā l-ḥalq*).
64. The book of syrups (*K. al-ashribah*).
65. Problems of medicine (*Masā'il fī l-ṭibb*).
66. The 'cream' [of astronomy] (*K. al-zubdah*).<sup>67</sup>
67. On physiognomy (*K. al-firāsah*).<sup>68</sup>

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64 That is, the book on the mysteries of planets and the firmament attributed to Teucros (i.e. Tankalūshā).

65 This may be about 'definitions' or 'fixed penalties in Islamic law.'

66 The commentary as preserved today does not extend over the entire Book I of the *Canon*, but covers more than half. It is preserved in several copies, the earliest made only six years after the author's death; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1* entry 56; it is currently being edited by Ayman Shihadeh. Al-Sarakhsī had received Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī with honour and engaged him in medical discussions at Sarakhs, where Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī had stopped in 580/1184 on his way to Bukhara; see also 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's super-commentary on this work, cf. Ch. 15.40.9 no. 85.

67 The word *zubdah* 'cream,' (Lat. 'butyrum') in book titles is always a metaphor (see more than 60 titles in *GAL*). This is the *Zubdat al-idrāk fī hay'at al-aflāk*, on astronomy.

68 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati) under no. 11. Also Mourad, *La Physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsā de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*; Hoyland, 'Islamic Background to Polemon's Treatise'; and Gherstetti, 'Physiognomy and Medicine in Islamic Culture'.

## 11.20 al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī<sup>1</sup>

The authority Quṭb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Sulamī was originally from North Africa, but moved to Egypt, where he resided for a while. Afterwards, he travelled to Persia and gained fame there. He studied under the guidance of Fakhr al-Dīn, the son of the preacher of al-Rayy and became one of his most distinguished disciples. He wrote many books on medicine and philosophy, including a commentary on the whole of the ‘Generalities’ of Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon of Medicine*. In this book I have found that he gave preference to [Abū Sahl] al-Masīhī<sup>2</sup> and Ibn al-Khaṭīb over the shaykh Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā. These are his very words:

Al-Masīhī knows more about the art of medicine than the shaykh Abū ‘Alī, for my teachers gave preponderance to him over many others who surpassed Abū ‘Alī in this field.

He also said:

Al-Masīhī expressed himself more lucidly and much more clearly than the shaykh, who was inclined to use a rather restrained style in his books, to no purpose.

On the superiority of Ibn al-Khaṭīb over the *shaykh al-raʿīs* [Ibn Sīnā], he said:

This can be deduced from the utterances of these two important authorities: the latter surpassed the former with regard to theory, practice, principles of faith and doctrine.

Al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī was one of those who died in the city of Nīsābūr when the Mongols occupied Persia and killed its inhabitants.

Al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī is the author of a commentary on the ‘Generalities’ of the *shaykh al-raʿīs* Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon of Medicine* (*S. al-kullīyyāt min kitāb al-qānūn lil-shaykh al-raʿīs Ibn Sīnā*).

<sup>1</sup> Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

<sup>2</sup> See above Ch. 15.12 for his biography.

11.21 al-Samaw'al<sup>1</sup>

Al-Samaw'al ibn Yahyā ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī was an expert in the mathematical sciences and possessed knowledge of the art of medicine. He was originally from North Africa, but resided in Baghdad for a while and afterwards moved to Persia, where he remained for the rest of his life. His father, too, had a smattering of the philosophical sciences.

I have copied the following from a manuscript in the handwriting of the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī:

This young man of Baghdad, al-Samaw'al, was a Jew who converted to Islam. He died, while still at a young age, in Marāghah. He attained a high degree in computation and surpassed all his contemporaries in it. He had an extremely keen mind and reached a peak of proficiency in the science of algebra. He lived in Diyarbakir and Azerbaijan. In his algebraic epistles he refuted Ibn al-Khashshāb, the grammarian, his contemporary, who shared his interest in arithmetic and had some insight in the subject of algebra.

Al-Şāhib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qiftī said:

This al-Samaw'al, on arriving in the East, set out for Azerbaijan and entered the service of the house of al-Bahlawān and their emirs.<sup>2</sup> He lived in the city of Marāghah and there begot children, who like him followed the path of medicine. He then moved to Mosul and Diyarbakir, embraced Islam and became a true Muslim. He wrote a book, in which he demonstrated the shortcomings of the Jews, the untruth of their claims regarding the Pentateuch and the passages therein that furnish evidence of its abrogation. He assembled this material very skilfully.

He died in Marāghah around the year 570/1174.

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- 1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. Cf. also Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'* 209 (where he is called al-Samaw'al ibn Yahūdā) and Ullmann, *Medizin*, 195; *GAL*, i:643 [488].
  - 2 See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 199 and also *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ildeñizids or Eldigüzids' (C.E. Bosworth) on the Ildegizids or Eldigüzids, rulers of Azerbaijan, including Nuşrat al-Dīn ibn Jahān Pahlawān ibn Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz (d. 582/1186); but cf. al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, x:309; Shams al-Dīn Bahlawān ibn Ildekiz, ruler of Azerbaijan, d. 581/1185–1186.

Al-Samaw'al ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī composed the following works:

1. The Instructive Book on Medicine: the middle book (*K. al-mufīd al-awsaṭ fī l-tibb*). He wrote it in Baghdad in the year 564/1168 for the vizier Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Abū Ismā'īl al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī.
2. Epistle to Ibn Khudūd on arithmetic and algebraic problems (*R. ilā Ibn Khudūd fī masā'il ḥisābiyyah jabr wa-muqābalah*).
3. The incompetence of the geometers (*K. i'jāz al-muhandisīn*). He composed this work for Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Shāh Ghāzī Malik Shāh, the son of Tughril Beg; he completed its composition in the month of Ṣafar of the year 570/1174.
4. The refutation of the Jews (*K. al-radd 'alā al-yahūd*).
5. The book dedicated to Qiwām on Indian arithmetic (*K. al-qiwāmī fī l-ḥisāb al-hindī*). He wrote it in the year 568/1172.<sup>3</sup>
6. On the right-angled triangle (*K. al-muthallath al-qā'im al-zāwiyyah*), in which he included fine illustrations and figures. He wrote it for a man from Aleppo called al-Sharīf.
7. The Pulpit: on the measurement of the masses of mixed substances, to compute the quantity of their unknown parts (*K. al-minbar fī misāḥat ajsām al-jawāhir al-mukhtaliṭah li-istikhrāj miqdār majhūlihā*).
8. On sexual intercourse (*K. fī l-bāh*).

#### 11.22 Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahrām ibn Muḥammad al-Qalānisī al-Samarqandī<sup>1</sup>

This scholar was excellent in the art of medicine and took an interest in the study of the treatment and cure of diseases. He wrote a book on composite medicaments comprising forty-nine chapters, in which he mentions all essential compound medicaments. Most of it is derived from books that were considered highly reliable, such as the *Canon of Medicine*, *The Comprehensive [Book on Medicine]*, *The Complete [Book of the Medical Art]*, *The Book for al-Manṣūr*, *The Treasure [of Medicine]*, and *The Sufficient [Book on Medicine]*. The author

3 Qiwām could be the vizier Qiwām al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ṣadaqah ibn 'Alī ibn Ṣadaqah (e.g. Ibn Khalikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:231). Or it could be someone called Qiwām al-Dawlah, but this name is considerably less common. It is, however, most likely that he is Qiwām al-Dīn Ṣā'id al-Muḥannā as mentioned below in Ch. 11.22. See on him also Ullmann, *Medizin*, 308.

1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

mentions that he has also included scattered information from manuscripts of the learned authorities Qiwām al-Dīn Šā‘id al-Muhannā and Sharaf al-Zamān al-Mābarsāmī.<sup>2</sup>

### 11.23 Najīb al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar al-Samarqandī<sup>1</sup>

This scholar was an outstanding and skilful physician who composed important books and works that have become widely known. He was killed with all the others who met their death in the city of Herat when the Mongols occupied that city. He was a contemporary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, the son of the preacher.

Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī composed the following works:

1. On the nutrition of the sick (*K. aghdhiyat al-marḍā*), divided according to the type of nourishment necessary for each of the various diseases.<sup>2</sup>
2. On causes and symptoms (*K. al-asbāb wa l-‘alāmāt*), which he compiled for his private use, basing it on the *Canon of Medicine* of Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā, the Hippocratic treatments and the *The Complete [Book of the Medical Art]*.<sup>3</sup>
3. The larger medical formulary (*K. al-aqrabādhīn al-kabīr*).<sup>4</sup>
4. The shorter medical formulary (*K. al-aqrabādhīn al-ṣaghīr*).<sup>5</sup>

2 Both these scholars are found in Ullmann, *Medizin*, 308. On al-Qalānisi's book and its sources, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 307–308.

1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see *GAL*, i: 646–647 [491]; S i: 895–896; Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, 304, 336; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 170, 201–202; Iskandar, ‘A Study’, 451–479.

2 Cf. Iskandar, ‘A Study’, 458; also Müller, *Nahrungsmittel*.

3 Cf. Iskandar, ‘A Study’, 464–467.

4 Cf. Levey & al-Khaledy, *Medical Formulary of Al-Samarqandi*; cf. also Iskandar, ‘A Study’, 463, who states there that Levey & al-Khaledy's *Medical Formulary of Al-Samarqandi* is in fact the *Uṣūl tarkīb al-adwiyah* and that the latter work and the *Aqrabādhīn ‘alā tartīb al-‘ilal* could actually be the same as his *Aqrabādhīn al-ṣaghīr* or *Aqrabādhīn al-kabīr*.

5 Cf. Iskandar, ‘A Study’, 463.

### 11.24 al-Sharīf Sharaf al-Dīn Ismā‘īl<sup>1</sup>

The scholar was a physician of high standing, a man of broad knowledge and a prominent notable of the state. He was employed in the service of sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, who bestowed abundant favours upon him and placed him in a position of power. He had a monthly stipend from the sultan of a thousand dinars. Astonishing cures and excellent reports with regard to the art of medicine have been credited to his name. He died at an advanced age in the city of [...] in the days of Khwārazm Shāh.

He is the author of the following works:

1. The book of treasures, dedicated to Khwārazm Shāh, on medicine (*K. al-dhakhīrah al-khwārazm shāhīyah fī l-ṭibb*), in the Persian language, twelve volumes.
2. The book of secrets, dedicated to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn [Khwārazm Shāh], on medicine (*K. al-khafī al-‘alā’ī fī l-ṭibb*), in Persian, two small volumes.
3. On medical symptoms (*K. al-a’rāḍ fī l-ṭibb*).
4. The memorandum, dedicated to Khwārazm Shāh, on medicine (*K. yād-kār fī l-ṭibb*), in Persian, one volume.

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1 Translated/annotated by NPJ. This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

# Physicians of India

*Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter and Emilie Savage-Smith*

## 12.1 Kankah al-Hindī<sup>1</sup>

He was a prominent figure among the great scholars of India. Kankah al-Hindī knew much about the art of medicine, the effects of remedies, the characteristics of naturally generated things and the occult properties of substances,<sup>2</sup> and was one of the most learned of men regarding the configuration of the universe,<sup>3</sup> the arrangement of the spheres, and the movements of the stars. Abū

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- 1 This biography is included in all three versions of the book. There has been considerable confusion over the identity of this Kankah (or Kanakah) al-Hindī amongst early Arab historians as well as modern historians. David Pingree has convincingly argued that two and sometimes three different persons were combined together in the various preserved accounts, including this entry by IAU. Here, IAU has combined elements from the life of the physician Mankah al-Hindī, who is alleged to have travelled from India to Iraq and to have undertaken translations, with others from that of the astrologer Kankah al-Hindī (fl. ca. 775–800) who was also supposedly at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd and an associate of the astrologer Māshā' Allāh and worked more in the tradition of Sasanian astrology than Indian astrology. Yet IAU did not realize he was making this error, for he devoted a separate later entry (Ch. 12.5) to Mankah al-Hindī. Because of this conflation of two people in whatever source IAU was using, medical works have been incorrectly attributed to the astrologer Kankah al-Hindī. Eduard Sachau has also pointed out the closeness of the name Kankah with that of the ancient Indian physician Kānkāyana, which might also have contributed to the misidentification of this author (al-Bīrūnī, *Alberuni's India*, i:xxxii). A further confusion arose with the development of stories in the alchemical literature about a completely fictitious Kankah al-Hindī, who was a wondrous alchemist, the inventor of an Indian amulet and founder of a city full of mechanical devices. For a discussion of these confusions, see *DSB* art. 'Kanaka' (D. Pingree); Pingree, *Astral Omens to Astrology*, 51–62; and Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, i:19. Confusions continue in the modern literature: Sezgin, *GAS* III, 202, *GAS* VII, 95–96; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 13; Shefer-Mossensohn & Hershkovitzh, 'Early Muslim Medicine'. Ibn al-Qifṭī has an entry for Kankah (*Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 265–267), but does not mention Mankah; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions both: Kankah in *Fihrist* (Flügel 270; Tajaddud 330; Sayyid ii:223) and Mankah in *Fihrist* (Flügel 303; Tajaddud 260; Sayyid ii:315). For a general discussion of Indian sources for Arabic and Persian medicine, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 187–202; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 103–107; Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 30–45; Taha, *Compilation of Pharmacological Ideas*, 38–43.
- 2 *Khawāṣṣ al-mawjūdāt* is a common designation of hidden or occult properties in substances of potential medical or magical use.
- 3 *Ḥayāt al-'ālam* usually designates a largely non-mathematical form of astronomy, or cosmology, and was the title of a popular treatise on the topic attributed to Ibn al-Haytham (see Ch. 14.22.4.3 title no. 10).



Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī<sup>4</sup> says in his *Book of Thousands*<sup>5</sup> that Kankah was universally regarded by the ancient scholars of India as having been second to none in the science of astrology.<sup>6</sup>

Kankah is the author of a number of books, including:

1. On the *namūdār*<sup>7</sup> for [determining the lengths of] lives (*K. al-namūdār fī l-a'mār*)
2. The secrets of nativities (*K. asrār al-mawālīd*)
3. The large book on planetary conjunctions (*K. al-qirānāt al-kabīr*)
4. The small book on planetary conjunctions (*K. al-qirānāt al-ṣaghīr*)<sup>8</sup>
5. On medicine (*K. fī l-ṭibb*). This work is in the format of a compendium.
6. On delusion (*K. fī l-tawahhum*)
7. On the creation of the universe and the periodic nature of planetary conjunctions (*K. fī ihdāth al-'ālam wa-l-dawr fī l-qirān*).<sup>9</sup>

## 12.2 Ṣanjahal<sup>1</sup>

Ṣanjahal was one of the most learned and outstanding scholars of India, having been a master of the sciences of medicine and astrology, and was the author of a work entitled *The Large Book on Nativities* (*Kitāb al-mawālīd al-kabīr*).

Ṣanjahal was followed in India by a group of scholars, including Bākahr, Rāḥah, Ṣakih, Dāhir, Ankar, Zankal, Jabhar, Andī and Jārī,<sup>2</sup> all of whom com-

4 For this influential Baghdadi astrologer (d. 272/886), see *EI* Three art. 'Abū Ma'shar' (C. Burnett); Abū Ma'shar, *Kitāb al-Mudkhal al-kabīr* (Lemay); Abū Ma'shar, *On Historical Astrology*.  
5 *K. al-ulūf*; see Pingree, *Thousands*, 16.

6 Rather than directly from Abū Ma'shar, this last sentence seems to be taken from Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, who refers to Abū Ma'shar's appreciation of Kankah in exactly the same words (Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 14–15). Abū Ma'shar's description of Kankah as foremost amongst scholars of India 'in ancient times' (*fī sālif al-dahr*) again demonstrates the early confusion regarding this figure and the frequent unreliability of Abū Ma'shar, who would have been writing only a generation or two after the astrologer Kankah.

7 A *namūdār* is a method of setting up a birth-horoscope when the date of birth is not known. For an extensive discussion of this technique, see Qabīṣī, *Introduction to Astrology*, 109–111.

8 Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Qifṭī list only titles 1–4 in their entry on Kankah; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 270; Tajaddud, 330; Sayyid, ii:223); Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 267.

9 These last three titles occur only in IAU's *Uyūn al-anbā'*.

1 This biography is included in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but is missing from Version 1. Ṣanjahal is an otherwise unknown Indian physician and astrologer whose dates are unknown. He is not mentioned either in Sezgin, *GAS* III or in Ullmann, *Medizin*.

2 The reading and interpretation of these Indian names remains uncertain. See the discussion of some of them by H.H. Wilson in his addendum to Cureton, 'Extract', 115–119.

posed many well-known works on the art of medicine and other sciences. They rank amongst the great learned men of India: they were skilled in the art of medicine, and they elucidated the rules governing the science of astrology. The scholars of India study and imitate their works, transmitting them from generation to generation. Many of those works have been translated into Arabic:<sup>3</sup>

I have found that al-Rāzī,<sup>4</sup> in his *Comprehensive Book [on Medicine]* and other works, drew upon a number of works by Indian scholars, such as:

1. The *Compendium of Caraka*,<sup>5</sup> a work that ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī<sup>6</sup> translated from Persian into Arabic after it had first been translated from Sanskrit into Persian
2. The *Compendium of Suśruta*,<sup>7</sup> which discusses the symptoms of diseases, methods of treatment, and remedies. It is divided into ten chapters, and was translated into Arabic at the order of Yaḥyā ibn Khālid.<sup>8</sup>
3. The *Book of Nidān*,<sup>9</sup> which discusses the symptoms and diagnosis of 404 ailments, but does not deal with treatments.

3 This section on translation relies on Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (Flügel, 270–271 and 303; Tajaddud, 330 and 360; Sayyid, ii:223–224 and 315–316).

4 For the biography of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), see Ch. 11.5. For al-Rāzī's quotations from Caraka, see Kahl, *Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian Sources*, 86–129.

5 This is the *Carakasamhitā*, a medical compendium written by the Indian physician Caraka. The author's name was rendered into Arabic as Sharak (al-Rāzī, *Hāwī, passim*), Sirk (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Flügel 303, Tajaddud, 360, Sayyid, ii:315) or Jarak (‘Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikmah*, 578; al-Birūnī, *Alberuni's India*, 123). For the *Compendium of Caraka*, see Meulenbeld, *History of Indian Medical Literature*, 105–115; Wujastyk, *Roots of Ayurveda*, 39–103; Kahl, *Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian Sources*, 18–20; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 198; and Ullmann, *Medizin*, 104.

6 An otherwise unrecorded translator; see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 104.

7 This work is the *Suśruta-Samhitā* (*K. Susrud* in Arabic), the medical compendium of the Indian physician Suśruta (6th c. BC), considered the oldest attempt at systematizing Ayurvedic medicine. See Meulenbeld, *History of Indian Medical Literature*, 333–357; Wujastyk, *Roots of Ayurveda*, 104–194; Sezgin, *GAS* III:197–198, 200–201; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 106; Kahl, *Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian Sources*, 14–18, 72–85 (for the quotations in al-Rāzī's *Comprehensive Book*).

8 This work was translated by Mankah (whose biography is given below at Ch. 12.5). Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak was a member of the celebrated Barmakid family, who, serving as viziers to various caliphs, essentially controlled most aspects of government until 187/803, when Yaḥyā was removed from authority and imprisoned. For further information on him, see Ch. 8.2n.

9 The Arabic *K. al-Nidān* is the Sanskrit *Nidāna* (‘pathology’), alternatively known as *Rogaviniścaya* (‘diagnosing disease’). This work, also called *Mādhavanidāna*, was composed by Mādhava in about 700AD and is essentially a compilation of earlier Indian medical treatises. The *Nidāna* is quoted by ‘Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī (*Firdaws al-ḥikmah* (ed. al-Ṣiddiqī), 563, 578) and was probably translated during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 105; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 199; Wujastyk, *Roots of Ayurveda*, 14–15. Al-Rāzī quotes only a small fragment from this work; see Kahl, *Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian Sources*, 26–27, 152–153 (for the quotations in al-Rāzī's *Comprehensive Book*).

4. The *Book of Sindhashār*, whose title means *The Book of the Quintessence of Success* (*K. Ṣafwat al-nujh*).<sup>10</sup>
5. Differences in the views held by the Indians and the Greeks concerning heat and cold, the effectiveness of various medicines and the division of the year.
6. On the interpretation of the names of drugs (*K. tafsīr asmā' al-'aqqār*), in ten different languages.<sup>11</sup>
7. The *Astāngar*, a compendium.<sup>12</sup>
8. On the treatment of pregnant women in India (*K. 'ilājāt al-ḥabālā lil-Hind*).
9. A compendium on drugs used by the Indians (*K. mukhtaṣar fī l-'aqqār lil-Hind*).<sup>13</sup>
10. *The Book of Nūfashal*,<sup>14</sup> which discusses one hundred ailments and one hundred remedies.

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- 10 This is the *Siddhasāra*, ('Quintessence [of Medicine]'), written by Ravigupta (fl. ca. 650 AD). This work bears the title *K. Sindhashār* in Arabic sources and was glossed as *ṣafwat al-nujh*, i.e. 'the quintessence of success' (wrongly copied in all the manuscripts of IAU's '*Uyūn al-anbā'* as *ṣūrat al-nujh*, 'the image of success'). The *Siddhasāra* was translated by Ibn Dahn (or Ibn Dhan) the Indian (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Flügel 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:315–316); see also Sezgin, *GAS* III, 199–200 (under *Vṛnda*); Ullmann, *Medizin* 105; and Kahl, *Sanskrit, Syriac and Persian Sources*, 22–26, 134–152 (for the quotations from this book in al-Rāzī's *Hāwī*). On the title *Siddhasāra*, see Emmerick, 'Rapigupta's *Siddhasāra* in Arabic'.
  - 11 This might be the book entitled *Names of Indian Medicines* (*Asmā' 'aqqār al-Hind*) translated by Mankah for Ishāq ibn Sulaymān (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Flügel, 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:315).
  - 12 Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya-Saṃhitā*, rendered into Arabic as *K. Astānkar* (or *Astāngar*) *al-jāmi'*. For Vāgbhaṭa's treatise *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*, or *Heart of Medicine*, see Meulenbeld, *History of Indian Medical Literature*, 597–656; Wujastyk, *Roots of Ayurveda*, 236–301; and Hilgenberg & Kirfel, *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*. Current scholarship places Vāgbhaṭa's compositions at around AD 600. This work was translated by Ibn Dahn (or Ibn Dhan), said by Ibn al-Nadīm to be 'the director of the hospital (*ṣāhib al-bīmāristān*)', probably the hospital in Baghdad founded by the Barmakids (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Flügel 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:315–316). The translator's name appears to be a truncated Indian name, possibly indicating a descendant of Dhanapati; see Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 37; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 199 (Sezgin is incorrect in associating him with Gondēshāpūr); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 105; van Bladel, 'Bactrian Background of the Barmakids,' 76.
  - 13 This work is also listed by Ibn al-Nadīm with the same title; see *Fihrist*, Flügel, 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:316.
  - 14 This is presumably the name of an author who has not been identified. A marginal note in ms A provides the variant *Nāfashal*, while Ibn al-Nadīm gives *T-w-q-sh-t-l* (*Fihrist*, Flügel, 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:316) and Taha reads *Tūqashtal* (Taha, *Compilation of Pharmacological Ideas*, 40). Siddiqi tentatively suggests the interpretation *Tugashtal* (Siddiqi, *Medical Literature*, 41); Cureton, 108, reads *Fūfasal*.

11. On the treatment of women, by an Indian woman named Rūsā,<sup>15</sup> (*K. Rūsā* [?] *al-hindiyyah fi 'ilājāt al-nisā'*).
12. On sugar in India (*K. al-sukkar lil-Hind* or *K. al-sukr lil-Hind*).<sup>16</sup>
13. On the view of Nāqil the Indian on various species of snakes and their venom (*K. ra'y al-Hindī*<sup>17</sup> *fi ajnās al-ḥayyāt wa-sumūmihā*).
14. On delusion concerning diseases and maladies (*K. al-tawahhum fi l-am-rād wa-l-'ilal*), by the Indian author Abū Qubayl.<sup>18</sup>

### 12.3 Shānāq<sup>1</sup> (Cāṇakya)

Another celebrated Indian physician, the possessor of many treatments and much experience in the art of medicine and a master of various sciences and wisdom, as well as having been proficient in astrology. He was also an eloquent speaker, and stood high in the estimation of Indian kings. The following is an example of his eloquence, taken from a work of his entitled *Sifted Jewels*:

O Prince, beware the pitfalls of time, and fear the mastery of days and the anguish of inevitable death. Know that actions earn recompense, and

15 This female Indian author on women's conditions has not been identified. The name in Arabic is written in a number of ways, most commonly as Rūsā, but Rūshī and Zūsī occur as well. 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī has some quotations from the books of 'an Indian woman' on the treatment of women's diseases; see 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* (ed. al-Ṣiddīqī), 591–594.

16 Or, 'On intoxication in India', following Ibn al-Nadīm (Sayyid, ii:316) who vowels it as *al-sukr*.

17 *Ra'y al-Hindī*, meaning 'the view of the Indian', is further explained in the margin of MS A where there is a correction supplying a name between *ra'y* and *al-Hindī*, which looks like *Nāqil*. The name (together with the title) is given as Nāqil in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 317, Sayyid, ii:353).

18 An author named Abū Qubayl al-Hindī is unidentified. The name has probably become corrupted in the manuscript tradition. Ibn al-Nadīm gives the same title credited to one T-w-q-sh-t-l al-Hindī, suggesting the author was the same as the one who composed title no. 10 in this list above (*Fihrist*, Flügel, 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:316).

1 This biography is included in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but is missing from Version 1. Cāṇakya is the name of a legendary Indian sage (also referred to as Kauṭilya) as well as the minister of Candragupta Maurya (r. 321–298 BC), the founder of the Mauryan Empire; he is a well-known author on moral and political subjects, famous for a book of government entitled *Asthaśāstra*, for which some textual parallels can be found in the Arabic *K. al-Sumūm* (see Strauss, 'Giftbuch des Šānāq', 8–12). For bibliographic information about Shānāq (Cāṇakya), see the introduction to Strauss, 'Giftbuch des Šānāq'; Sezgin, GAS III, 193 (where the name is spelled Cānakya); and Ullmann, *Medizin*, 324–326.

therefore fear the consequences of time and days, for they are uncertain. Beware then of them. Fate is unknowable. Time is inconstant: fear then its change. It may return with adversity: fear then its assault. It is swift to surprise, and there is no security against its reversal. Know that the man who does not treat himself for the sickness of misdeeds committed during the days of his life will be further than ever from recovery in that abode wherein there are no remedies. The man who in time past has subdued and abased his senses for the betterment of his soul has clearly shown his excellence and made plain his nobility of nature. He who does not control his soul, of which there is only one, will not control his senses, of which there are five, and if he does not control his senses, which are few and tractable, it will be difficult for him to control his advisors, who are numerous and formidable, and then the masses of the people in the outlying regions of the country and the distant parts of the kingdom will be very far from any control.

Shānāq was the author of several books, notably:

1. On poisons, in five parts.<sup>2</sup> Mankah al-Hindī<sup>3</sup> translated it from Sanskrit into Persian, and a man by the name of Abū Ḥātim al-Balkhī<sup>4</sup> was assigned the task of transcribing it in Persian writing; he then expounded upon it to Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak. The work was subsequently translated [into Arabic] for the caliph al-Ma'mūn<sup>5</sup> by his client, al-'Abbās ibn Sa'īd al-Jawharī.<sup>6</sup> The latter was also assigned the task of reading it aloud to al-Ma'mūn. Other works by Shānāq include:
  2. On veterinary medicine (*K. al-bayṭarah*)
  3. On astrology (*K. fī 'ilm al-nujūm*)

2 For a translation and study of this work, *Kitāb al-sumūm*, see Strauss, 'Giftbuch der Šānāq'. The description of the translation process given immediately below is a literal quotation from the introduction to Shānāq's book on poisons; see Strauss, 'Giftbuch der Šānāq', 3–4; and van Bladel, 'Bactrian Background of the Barmakids', 78–79.

3 His biography is given below in Ch. 12.5.

4 Abū Ḥātim of Balkh is an otherwise unidentified translator. It is likely that he was not simply transliterating the Sanskrit into a Persian script, but actually translating it, and the language into which he was likely translating was Bactrian, a local variant; see van Bladel, 'Bactrian Background of the Barmakids', 79. It is unclear who made the translation into Arabic that was produced for Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak.

5 The seventh Abbasid caliph, r. 196–218/813–833.

6 Al-'Abbās ibn Sa'īd al-Jawharī was one of the astronomers in the service of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. He conducted astronomical observations in Baghdad in 214/829–830 and in Damascus in 217/832–833, and he also provided the earliest extant proof of the Euclidean postulate written in Arabic. For al-Jawharī, see *DSB* art. 'Al-Jawharī' (A.I. Sabra); and *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* art. 'al-Jawharī, al-'Abbās ibn Sa'īd' (M. Bolt).

4. *Sifted Jewels* (*K. Muntakhal al-jawhar*), which he wrote for an Indian king of that age whose name was Ibn Qamāniṣ al-Hindī.<sup>7</sup>

#### 12.4 Jawdar<sup>1</sup>

A distinguished figure among the scholars and learned men of India, who was highly regarded by his contemporaries, particularly as an authority on medicine. Jawdar is the author of scholarly works on various subjects, including *On Nativities* (*K. al-mawālīd*), which has been translated into Arabic.

#### 12.5 Mankah al-Hindī<sup>1</sup> (Māṇikya)

Mankah al-Hindī was knowledgeable about the art of medicine, skilled in treating disease, and moderate in his methods; a philosopher of the previously mentioned group in the Indian sciences. He was also conversant with the Sanskrit and Persian languages: it was he who translated Shānāq's *On poisons* from Sanskrit to Persian. Mankah was a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and during the latter's caliphate he travelled from India to Iraq, where he met with the caliph and treated him.

I have read somewhere that Mankah al-Hindī was in the entourage of Ishāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī,<sup>2</sup> and translated from Sanskrit into Persian and Arabic.<sup>3</sup>

7 This Indian king has not been identified.

1 In Version 3 of the book, the following biography is inserted after the biography of Shānāq; in MS A, it is written in the margin. Jawdar (or Jawdhar) is an otherwise unrecorded Indian authority. Neither Sezgin nor Ullmann provides bibliographic information about Jawdar.

1 This biography is included in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but is missing in Version 1. For bibliographic information about Mankah al-Hindī (or Māṇikya), see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 200–201; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 106; Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 296n, 356; Shefer-Mossensohn & Hershkovitzh, 'Early Muslim Medicine', 288. Mankah is also mentioned by al-Jāhiz, where he is said to be *ṣaḥīḥ al-Islām* (al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, vii:213); Tzvi Langermann suggests that Mankah is to be identified with the Indian physician Amqat, whom the physician Masīḥ ibn Ḥakam met at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd and accompanied back to India (Langermann, 'Babylonian and Indian Wisdoms').

2 Ishāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī served as governor of various regions, including Egypt, under the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, and is mentioned several times in al-Ṭabarī and various other works, although with few details and without a year of death; see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, viii:340.

3 According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Mankah translated a work entitled *Names of Indian Medicines*

The following account is taken from a copy of *The History of the Caliphs and the Barmakids*:<sup>4</sup>

Hārūn al-Rashīd once fell gravely ill. He was treated by a number of physicians, but did not recover. Abū ‘Amr al-Aḡjamī said to him, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, there is a physician in India by the name of Mankah; he is a pious man in their religion and one of their philosophers. If you were to send for him, it may be that God would bring about your recovery at his hands.’ Al-Rashīd thereupon dispatched a person to bring him to Baghdad, with a gift to persuade him to undertake the journey. Mankah went to Baghdad and attended the caliph, with the result that Hārūn al-Rashīd was restored to health; he rewarded the physician handsomely and granted him a generous pension.

One day while Mankah was walking in the Khuld palace<sup>5</sup> he saw a huckster who had spread out his cloak on the ground and placed upon it a large and varied array of drugs. The man began to describe a medicinal paste that he had concocted. ‘This medicine,’ he said, ‘is good for a constant fever, a quartan ague, a tertian ague, pain in the back, pain in the knees, abnormal phlegm,<sup>6</sup> haemorrhoids, flatulence, pain in the joints, pain in the eyes, pain in the belly, headache, migraine, dribbling of urine, paralysis, the palsy ...’. Not a single bodily ailment did he omit; his

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(*Asmā’ ‘aqāqīr al-Hind*) for Ishāq ibn Sulaymān; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid, ii:315).

4 The work referred to by IAU is Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī’s *Akhbār al-Barāmīkah*, which has survived only in quotations. One of the authors who quotes from him is al-Ṭabarī, and this anecdote can be also found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* (ed. de Goeje), iii: 111, ii:747–748.

5 A palace built by the caliph al-Manṣūr on the west bank of the Tigris. It was used by Hārūn al-Rashīd as his residence. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Al-Khuld’ (C.E. Bosworth). By ‘in’ the palace we may perhaps understand ‘in its grounds’.

6 Ibn Sīnā lists *al-khām* as one of the abnormal or ‘non-natural (*ghayr al-ṭabī‘ī*)’ forms of phlegm (*balgham*), a particularly mucoid form; see *al-Qānūn, kitāb 1, fann 1, ta’līm 4, faṣl 1*. Phlegm, one of the four humours, was thought to be found in all parts of the body, not only in the respiratory organs. When a non-natural form of phlegm occurred, various ailments resulted. *Khām* was often associated with pain in the joints. In the list of uses for individual medicaments given by Ibn Sīnā in *Kitāb 2 of the Qānūn*, there are several designated as useful for *al-khām*; for example *anzarūt* (sarcocol) is said to be useful, amongst other things, for easing *al-khām* and thick phlegm (*al-balgham al-ghalīz*) especially in the hips and joints. The word appears to be from the root *kh-y-m*, which in a medical context Dozy translated as ‘Flegme cru’; Dozy, *Supplément*, i:419. However, Oliver Kahl, when editing and translating the medical formulary of Ibn al-Tilmīdh, interpreted the word as *al-khāmm*, generally meaning decaying flesh, and in a recipe called ‘The Bishop’s Stomachic’ said it was useful against ‘foul smells’ (*al-khāmm*) as well as flatulence (*riyāḥ*) and the winds of hemorrhoids (*arwāḥ al-bawāsīr*).

medicine, he said, was a sovereign remedy for every one of them. ‘What is that fellow saying?’ Mankah asked his interpreter, and the interpreter told him. Mankah smiled. ‘One way or the other, the king of the Arabs must be an ignorant man,’ he said. ‘If the matter is as this fellow said, why has he brought me from my country, separated me from my family, and incurred the expense of my keep, when he has this wonder-worker right here, under his very nose? If the matter is not as this fellow says, why does the king not have him put to death? The law permits the execution of this fellow and anyone like him, for if that is done, only one person will have died, and by his death many will have remained alive, whereas if he is allowed to live, which would be foolishness, he will kill a person a day – indeed, he will kill two, or three, or four individuals every day, as like as not, and that would be to corrupt religion and weaken the kingdom.’

## 12.6 Ṣālīḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī<sup>1</sup>

Ṣālīḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of India. He was skilled in Indian methods of treatment, and was influential and far-sighted in the advancement of knowledge. Ṣālīḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī was in Iraq in the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Abu l-Ḥasan Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm the astrologer, known as Ibn al-Dāyah,<sup>2</sup> relates an account that he says he heard first-hand from the secretary Aḥmad ibn Rashīd, who was the client of Sallām al-Abrash<sup>3</sup> and had had the story from his patron: One day (so Ibn al-Dāyah’s account runs) the tables were set for al-Rashīd’s supper, but Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū<sup>4</sup> was not present. To tell the tale in Aḥmad’s own words:

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the book. The name Ṣālīḥ ibn Bahlah may be an Arabized and truncated form of an Indian name suggesting that he was a descendant of Bhela, whose ancient medical compendium (*Samhitā*) survives today in a single palm-leaf manuscript; see Krishnamurthy, *Bhela-Samhitā*. For bibliographic information on Ṣālīḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī, see Sezgin, *GA* 111, 201; Shefer-Mossensohn & Hershkovitzh, ‘Early Muslim Medicine’, 280.

2 For Ibn al-Dāyah, see above Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15. This anecdote has also been transmitted by Ibn al-Qifṭī, with almost the same wording; see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 215–217.

3 Abū Salamah Sallām al-Abrash is mentioned in the *Fihrist* as one of the early translators at the time of the Barmak family, ca. 750–803 (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Flügel 244; Tajaddud, 303; Sayyid, 145). Sallām al-Abrash was the author of an early translation of Aristotle’s *Physics*; see Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 71–72.

4 Personal physician to Hārūn al-Rashīd. See *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. Bukhtīshū’ (D. Sourdel). His biography is at Ch. 8.3.



Abū Salamah (meaning his patron, Sallām al-Abrash) told me that the Commander of the Faithful had ordered him to go and find Jibrīl and bid him attend the caliph at the meal, as was the regular practice. He had done so, asking for the missing physician at every suite of apartments where Jibrīl was wont to attend members of the family, but had found no trace of him. Returning, he had informed the caliph of this, whereupon al-Rashīd had burst into a torrent of curses and abuse against Jibrīl. In the midst of this, in walked Jibrīl himself. 'It would be seemlier,' he said, 'for the Commander of the Faithful to refrain from abusing me in this fashion and instead to weep for his cousin, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ.'<sup>5</sup> The caliph asked him what had happened to Ibrāhīm, and Jibrīl informed him that he had left him near death, and that he would have expired by the time of the night-prayer. Al-Rashīd was greatly affected at this news: he began to weep, and ordered the tables cleared. Such was his grief that all those who were present were moved to pity for him.

Then Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā<sup>6</sup> said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, Jibrīl's medicine is Greek medicine. Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī is no less learned in the art of medicine according to the doctrines of the Indians than is Jibrīl in the teachings of the Greeks. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks it advisable, he could have the Indian physician brought here and sent to attend Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ. We should then hear his opinion in the case, as we have heard that of Jibrīl.' Al-Rashīd took this suggestion at once, ordering Ja'far to go in search of Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī, bring him to the palace, accompany him to Ibrāhīm's sickbed, and then return with him afterward. Ja'far obeyed, and the physician went to Ibrāhīm's chamber, where he saw the sick man and felt his pulse. He then returned to Ja'far, who asked him what he had determined, but Ṣāliḥ replied, 'I will tell no one but the Commander of the Faithful himself.' Ja'far tried his utmost to make the physician divulge the information, but he steadfastly refused, and finally Ja'far went to see Hārūn al-Rashīd and told him that the Indian physician had come and had seen Ibrāhīm, but was refusing to say what he had learned from his examination. 'Show him in,' said al-Rashīd.

Ṣāliḥ entered and said to the caliph, 'O Commander of the Faithful, you are the Imam and the master of judicial decisions; no ruling of yours may

5 Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī was a cousin of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. His father, Ṣāliḥ, had been the first Abbasid governor of Egypt. The family was a powerful clan of the Abbasids during the early years of the Abbasid caliphate; see *EF<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

6 Ibn Khālid ibn Barmak. On the role of the Barmakids as sponsors of Indian sciences see Van Bladel, 'The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids', 74–86; *EF<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Barāmika' (D. Sourdel).

be overturned by any judge. I call upon you to witness, O Commander of the Faithful, and all present here, that if Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ dies this night, or from this illness, every slave belonging to Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah shall be free unconditionally, every beast of burden belonging to him shall be dedicated to charitable purposes, all his property shall be distributed to the poor, and all his wives shall be trebly divorced.' Al-Rashīd replied, 'That was a rash promise to make, O Ṣāliḥ, in a matter that must ever be hidden from mortal man.' 'Not at all, O Commander of the Faithful,' rejoined Ṣāliḥ, 'for a matter is hidden from mortal man only if no one has knowledge of it and indications of it are lacking. I said what I said on the strength of clear knowledge and unmistakable indications.'

Aḥmad ibn Rashīd's report of the account of Abū Salamah Sallām al-Abrash continues thus:

Hārūn al-Rashīd was greatly cheered at this. He began to eat, and drink was also served to him. But at the time of the night-prayer, a letter arrived for al-Rashīd from the postmaster<sup>7</sup> in Baghdad, with the news that Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ was dead. '«*Truly, we belong to God, and to Him we shall return*»,<sup>8</sup> exclaimed al-Rashīd, and he began to berate Ja'far ibn Yahyā for advising him to call in Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah, and to revile the Indians and all their medical lore. 'Oh, the shame before God,' he cried, 'that as my cousin lay on his death-bed, I was here drinking wine!<sup>9</sup> and he called for a measure<sup>10</sup> of wine, which he mixed with water and then added some salt. He then began to drink it and quickly vomited, throwing up all the food and drink that he had had in his stomach.

The next morning, al-Rashīd went to Ibrāhīm's house, where the servants met him and conducted him to a chamber next to some of Ibrāhīm's sitting-rooms. In the chamber, a carpet had been spread out on the left and another on the right, set with chairs, hassocks and cushions, while between the two carpets the floor was strewn with pillows. Al-Rashīd stood leaning on his sword and said, 'It is not fitting, in a house of mourn-

7 *Ṣāhib al-barīd*. For an account of the postal service and the functions of postmasters under the early Abbasids, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Barīd' (D. Sourdel); *EI Three* art. 'Barīd' (A. Silverstein); and Silverstein, *Postal Systems*.

8 Q al-Baqarah 2:156.

9 *Nabīdh* is properly date-wine, but it may also denote any kind of intoxicating or fermented drink, including wine made from grapes (*Dozy, Supplement*, ii:642–643; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2757).

10 *Raṭl* is a unit of weight, but is also frequently used as a unit of volume, especially in a context of wine-drinking.

ing, to sit with the bereaved family on anything more elaborate than mats. Take away these carpets and pillows!' The carpets were removed by the chamberlains, and Hārūn al-Rashīd sat on the mats on the floor. This was the regular practice of the Abbasids<sup>11</sup> from that day forward, in contrast to their previous custom.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah stood before al-Rashīd, and no one spoke a word to him. Finally, when the company could smell the scent of incense from the braziers, Ṣāliḥ shouted, 'O God! O God! that the Commander of the Faithful should condemn me to divorce my wife, that he should take her from me and marry her to another, when I am her legitimate husband<sup>12</sup> and entitled to her favours, and that she should become the wife of a man for whom she is not lawful! O God! O God! that the Commander of the Faithful should deprive me of my happiness, when no sin attaches to me! O God! O God! that he should bury his cousin alive! for by God, O Commander of the Faithful, he has not died. Only allow me to go in and see him.' Again and again he repeated these frantic words, and finally the caliph granted him permission to go alone into the room where Ibrāhīm lay.

Aḥmad ibn Rashīd's report of the account of Abū Salamah continues thus:

We began to hear a sound as of a body being slapped with the open hand. Then the sound ceased, and we heard a cry of 'God is most great!' Ṣāliḥ emerged into our midst, repeating 'God is most great!' and then he turned to the caliph and said, 'Come, O Commander of the Faithful, and I will show you something that will astonish you.' Hārūn al-Rashīd, accompanied by Masrūr al-Kabīr,<sup>13</sup> Abū Sulaym<sup>14</sup> and myself, followed him into the room where Ibrāhīm lay. Ṣāliḥ then took out a needle that he had with him and stuck it into Ibrāhīm's left hand, between the thumbnail and

11 Literally, Banū l-'Abbās, referring not only to the Abbasid caliphs but also to the many relatives, governors and generals or just privileged members of the ruling dynasty.

12 *Rabb al-farj*.

13 This is Masrūr al-Khādīm al-Kabīr, the eunuch. Masrūr is often quoted as transmitter of reports in *adab* works, notably in al-Iṣbahānī's *K. al-Aghānī*. He is also a recurrent character in the *One Thousand and One Nights*, where he appears as Hārūn al-Rashīd's companion and factotum, and also as the protagonist of the story entitled 'Masrūr the Eunuch and Ibn al-Qāribī'. On Masrūr, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 192 n. 34; al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh* (Bosworth), 303.

14 This is the Turkish eunuch Abū Sulaym Faraj, *mawlā* of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was civil governor of the Cilician frontier (*al-thughūr*) with al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 190 n. 22.

the flesh, whereupon Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ withdrew his hand and brought it close to his body. 'O Commander of the Faithful,' said Ṣāliḥ, 'does a dead body feel pain?' 'No,' replied the caliph. 'If it should be the wish of the Commander of the Faithful that his cousin should speak to him at once,' said Ṣāliḥ, 'he shall do so.' 'Pray proceed,' said the caliph. 'O Commander of the Faithful,' said Ṣāliḥ, 'I fear that if I were to treat him and he recovered consciousness to find himself wrapped in a burial shroud smelling of aromatic substances,<sup>15</sup> his heart would fail him and he would truly die; I should have no means of reviving him. But let the Commander of the Faithful order the shroud removed and Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ taken and washed again until the smell of the aromatic substances is gone, and then dressed in clothes like those he wore when he was in good health and during his illness, perfumed with his usual scent, and finally carried to a bed such as he was accustomed to sit upon and sleep in, I shall treat him in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, and he will speak to you then and there.'

Aḥmad ibn Rashīd's report of the account of Abū Salamah continues thus:

Hārūn al-Rashīd ordered me to do as Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah had suggested, and I obeyed. The caliph, accompanied by Masrūr, Abū Sulaym, Ṣāliḥ and myself, then went to the place where Ibrāhīm lay. Ṣāliḥ called for some sneezewort<sup>16</sup> and a bellows from the pharmacy,<sup>17</sup> and proceeded to blow some of the sneezewort into his nose. After he had been doing this for the sixth part of an hour, the body stirred, and then Ibrāhīm sneezed and sat up before Hārūn al-Rashīd and kissed his hand. The caliph asked him

15 *Ḥanūṭ* designates a perfume or scented unguent associated with preparations for burial. It was compounded of a number of ingredients, the most important being camphor but could also include musk, sweet rush and sandalwood and other items. It was could be applied to the body and beard as well as to the grave-clothes. See *ET* art. 'Ḥināṭa' (A.S. Triton).

16 *Kundus*, a plant apparently unknown to Greek physicians, has been identified in different ways by modern scholars. Some have aligned it with *Struthium* or 'soapwort' (*Saponaria officinalis* L., or related species or *Gypsophila strythium* L., commonly known as 'baby's breath'); see Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 328 no. 268; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 48g; Ibn al-Tilmīdh, *Dispensatory*, 313. However, Ibn al-Bayṭār states that *kundus* is not *strūthiyūn* and was not used to wash wool. Here it is clearly a sternutatory – that is, a medicine that when applied to the mucous membranes of the nose increases natural secretions and produces sneezing – and hence 'sneezewort' (*Achillea ptarmica* L.); see Tibi, *Medicinal Use of Opium*, 198 for pertinent references.

17 Dozy (*Supplement*, i:369) defines *khizānat al-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikmah* as 'pharmacie, magasin de médicaments', and *khidmat khizānat al-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikmah* as 'parmi les emplois de la cour'.

what had happened, and he answered that he had had such a sleep as he did not recall ever having had before. It had been a refreshing sleep, he said, only he had dreamed that a dog had come rushing at him, and when he had attempted to fend it off with his hand, it had bitten him on the left thumb. He had then awoken, but could still feel the pain, and he showed al-Rashīd the place where Ṣāliḥ had pricked him with the needle.

Ibrāhīm lived for a long time after this adventure. He married al-ʿAbbāsah,<sup>18</sup> the daughter of al-Mahdī,<sup>19</sup> and became governor of Egypt and Palestine. He died in Egypt, and his grave is located there.

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18 Al-ʿAbbāsah bint al-Mahdī ibn Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr was the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd and wife of Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak and, after his execution, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī.

19 The third Abbasid caliph (r. 158–169/775–785) and father of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-ʿAbbāsah.

## Physicians Who Were Prominent in the Western Lands and Settled There<sup>1</sup>

*Translated and annotated by Ignacio Sánchez and Geert Jan van Gelder  
(poetry)*

### 13.1 Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān<sup>2</sup>

[13.1.1]

Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān was a well-known physician and a renowned scholar. He was known as ‘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.

[13.1.2]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul, states:<sup>3</sup>

Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān was a Muslim native of Baghdad who went to Ifrīqiyah<sup>4</sup> during the reign of Ziyādat Allāh ibn al-Aghlab al-Tamīmī.<sup>5</sup> It was [Ziyādat Allāh] who summoned him, but [Ishāq] imposed on him three conditions of which only one was left unfulfilled: upon his arrival, the Emir was to send a camel to transport him, provide one thousand dinars for his expenses, and write a safe-conduct in his own hand so that he could return to his homeland whenever he desired.<sup>6</sup>

Medicine in the Maghreb started with Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān, and also the study of philosophy. He was a skilful physician, distinguished for his skill in compounding drugs and proficient in the differentiation of diseases.

1 There is a previous translation of this chapter into French: Jahier & Nouredine, *Ibn Abi Uṣaybī’a*.

2 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 266–267. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 125–126; *EI* *Three* art. ‘Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān’ (I. Sánchez).

3 See Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 84–86.

4 In Ibn Juljul, ‘Kairouan’, see *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 84.

5 Abū Muḍar Ziyādat Allāh III ibn ‘Abd Allāh was the last Aghlabid emir, he ruled in Ifrīqiyah in 290–296/903–907, see, in *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Aghlabids’ (G. Marçais and J. Schacht) no. 11.

6 This last condition, as explained below, was the one that Ziyādat Allāh did not fulfil.

He resembled the Ancients in his knowledge and in the excellence of his talent. Ishāq settled in Kairouan for some time and composed a number of books, such as his book entitled *The Recreation of the Soul* (*Nuzhat al-nafs*), the book *On Melancholia* (*K. Fī dā' al-mālankhūliyā*) – nothing comparable had existed before – as well as *On Bloodletting* (*K. Fī l-faṣḍ*), and *On the Pulse* (*K. Fī l-nabḍ*).

Discord arose between him and Ziyādat Allāh ibn al-Aghlab, and they become increasingly distanced from each other, to such an extent that Ibn al-Aghlab had the physician crucified. Ishāq had asked Ibn al-Aghlab for permission to travel to Baghdad, but the Emir did not grant his request. Ishāq used to observe Ibn al-Aghlab eating, and would tell him: 'Eat this, leave this.' Then a young Jew from al-Andalus came before Ibn al-Aghlab. When Ibn al-Aghlab asked him to join them, he obeyed at once. One day Ishāq was observing him while eating and said: 'Leave that, do not eat it,' but the Jew said: 'He is very strict with you.' Ibn al-Aghlab had a respiratory disease: he suffered from shortness of breath (*ḍīq al-naḥās*). The steward had brought him some curdled milk, and he wanted to eat it, but Ishāq told him not to do so, while the Jew held that there was nothing to be said against it. Ibn al-Aghlab agreed with [the Jew] and ate the curdled milk, but then during the night he suffered from such difficulty in breathing that it left him at the point of death. He had Ishāq summoned. When asked whether he had a remedy, the physician replied: 'I told him not [to eat the curdled milk], and he did not accept my advice. I do not have any [other] remedy'. The attendants said to Ishāq: 'Take five-hundred *mithqāls*<sup>7</sup> and treat him.' But he refused until the sum had been raised to one thousand *mithqāls*. This he accepted and asked the servants to bring ice, which he ordered Ibn al-Aghlab to eat until he was full. When Ibn al-Aghlab vomited it along with all the milk, which had turned into cheese due to the cold of the ice, Ishāq said: 'O Emir, had this milk entered the ducts of your lungs and stuck there, you would have died from constriction of breathing; but I exerted all my ability and extracted it before it reached there'. However, Ziyādat Allāh [Ibn al-Aghlab] said: 'Ishāq has sold my life at public auction. Discontinue his allowance!'

When his allowance was discontinued, Ishāq went to a spacious place in one of the squares of Kairouan and installed himself there with a chair, an inkwell, and sheets of paper. There, he used to write prescrip-

<sup>7</sup> In this context, a *mithqāl* is used in the sense of a monetary payment. Perhaps it means that this weight of local coinage was to be given in payment.

tions every day, thereby earning several dinars. But someone told Ziyādat Allāh [Ibn al-Aghlab]: ‘You have made Ishāq rich.’ The Emir then ordered Ishāq arrested and hauled off to prison, but the people followed him there. That night, Ibn al-Aghlab had the physician brought to the palace, where [Ishāq] told some stories and made some critical remarks that infuriated the Emir because of his excessive unjustness and foolishness. He ordered Ishāq’s forearms bled, and the blood flowed out until he died. Then the Emir ordered that the corpse should be crucified, and it remained on the cross for such a long time that a bird made its nest inside it.

One of the things Ishāq said to Ziyādat Allāh [Ibn Aghlab] that night was: ‘By God, you claim to be the chief of the Arabs, but you are no chief for them,’ and also: ‘For a very long time, I have been giving you medicines that confuse your mind.’ Ziyādat Allāh, who was already insane, was seized by melancholy and died.

## [13.1.3]

Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān is the author of the following works:

1. Simple drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*).
2. Elements and completion in medicine (*K. al-Unṣur wa-l-tamām fī l-ṭibb*).
3. On dropsy (*Maqālah Fī l-istisqā’*).
4. A succinct treatise addressed to Sa‘īd ibn Tawfīl,<sup>8</sup> the physician, offering a clear exposition of items said to cure illnesses and to contain remedies, containing all the curiosities of medicine and the pleasantries of knowledge that he wanted to present to him.
5. *The Recreation of the Soul* (*K. Nuzhat al-naḥs*).
6. On melancholia (*K. Fī l-mālankhūliyā*).<sup>9</sup>
7. On bloodletting (*K. Fī l-faṣḍ*).
8. On the pulse (*K. Fī l-nabḍ*).
9. On the causes of colic and its various types, with an explanation of its remedies (*K. ‘Ilal al-qūlanj wa-anwā’ihi wa-sharḥ adwiyatihi*). This is an epistle that he addressed to al-‘Abbās, the commercial agent (*wakīl*) of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab.<sup>10</sup>
10. On urine (*K. Fī l-bawl*), from the sayings of Hippocrates, Galen and others.
11. A book in which he collected the sayings of Galen on beverages (*sharāb*).

8 See biography in Ch. 14.4.

9 This work has been edited and translated, see Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān, *Maqālah fī l-mālankhūliyā*, further Pormann, ‘Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān’.

10 Unidentified.



12. A compilation of his questions concerning beverages (*sharāb*), after the ideas of Galen and Hippocrates in the third chapter of *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, including a discussion of wine.<sup>11</sup>
13. A discourse on the whiteness of purulent matter, the sediments in urine, and the whiteness of semen (*Fī bayāḍ al-middah wa-rusūb al-bawl wa-bayāḍ al-maniyy*).

### 13.2 Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrāʿīlī<sup>1</sup>

[13.2.1]

Ishāq ibn Sulaymān was a proficient, eloquent, and wise physician, well-known for his skilfulness and knowledge; he was a good writer and a high-minded person. His paedonymic was Abū Yaʿqūb, but he was widely referred to and known as al-Isrāʿīlī [the Israelite].

He was originally from Egypt, and initially worked as an oculist. Then he moved to Kairouan following Ishāq ibn ʿImrān, with whom he studied. He worked as physician for the Imam Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, the ruler of Ifrīqiyah.<sup>2</sup> In addition to his expert knowledge in the art of medicine, Ishāq ibn Sulaymān was proficient in logic and also engaged in other disciplines.

Ishāq lived a long life, over one hundred years, but he did not take any wife, nor did he beget any son. Once he was asked, ‘Wouldn’t you be happy if you had a child?’ And he said: ‘If ever I finish the book *On Fevers* (*K. al-Ḥummayāt*), then no!’ – by which he meant that the perpetuation of his memory was better achieved with the *Book on Fevers* than with a son.<sup>3</sup> It is reported that he also said: ‘I have four books that will keep my memory alive better than any son, and they are: *Fevers* (*K. al-Ḥummayāt*), *Foodstuffs and Medicaments* (*K. al-Adwiyah wa-l-aghdhīyah*), *Urine* (*K. al-Bawl*), and *Elements* (*K. al-Uṣṭuquṣṣāt*)’. He died around the year 320/932.<sup>4</sup>

11 I.e. Galen’s *De diaeta in morbis acutis secundum Hippocratem*. See Ch. 5.1.37 no. 78.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 295–297; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 137–138; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrāʿīlī’ (A. Altmann); Altmann and Stern, *Isaac Israeli*.

2 He was the founder of the Fatimid Caliphate and ruled in 297–322/909–934.

3 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 87.

4 Although Ishāq ibn Sulaymān was a Jew, the Muslim readers would associate this anecdote with a famous *ḥadīth*: ‘When a man dies, his good deeds come to an end, except for three

[13.2.2.1]

Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Khālīd, known as Ibn al-Jazzār,<sup>5</sup> relates in his *History of the [Fatimid] Dynasty (K. Akhbār al-dawlah)*<sup>6</sup> – that is, the beginning of the dynasty of the Imam Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, the Mahdī, who appeared in the Maghreb:

Ishāq ibn Sulaymān, the physician, said to me: When I came from Egypt to meet Ziyādat Allāh ibn al-Aghlab, I found him encamped with the army in Laribus.<sup>7</sup> I travelled there and when he received notice of my coming – for he had dispatched someone to look for me and sent me five hundred dinars to encourage me on the journey – I was admitted to his presence at the very moment of my arrival. I greeted him as befitted his rank and performed the reverences due to kings. Then I saw that his assembly had little dignity, and that love for pleasantries and for everything that raises laughter was dominant there. Ibn Khanbash, known as ‘the Greek’ (*al-Yūnānī*)<sup>8</sup> first addressed me by saying:

- Would you say that saltiness purges?
- Yes, I said.
- And would you claim that sweetness purges?
- Yes, I said.
- Then saltiness is sweetness and sweetness is saltiness
- But sweetness purges with pleasure and convenience, whilst saltiness purges with roughness, I replied.

He went on trying to get the better of me and indulging in sophistry, and when I realised what he was doing I said:

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things: everlasting charity [i.e. pious endowments], the knowledge he has left behind and from which people benefit, and a pious descendant who prays for him’, cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, i:1255 (no. 1631).

5 See biography in Ch. 13.3.

6 This work by Ibn al-Jazzār has not come down to us.

7 Laribus or Lorbeus (*al-Arīs* in Arabic) is a city in Libya where the army of Ziyādat Allāh 111 had encamped in 292/905 to fight the Fatimids. The Aghlabids were defeated there in 296/907 and Ziyādat Allāh fled to Egypt. This anecdote should be placed between 292/905 and 296/907. See Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*, 96–99.

8 A commander of the Fatimid army whose name occurs in different forms in the sources: Ibn al-Khanbash (in IAU’s manuscripts), Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥanbāsh (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* (Beirut), xxviii:58), Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥabashī (the Ethiopian) (al-Qāḍī I-Nu‘mān, *Iftitāḥ*, 168), Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥubaysh (Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, iv:260). No other source refers to him as Greek; this epithet might be inspired by his use of sophistic argumentations as shown in this anecdote.

- Would you say that you are a living being?
- Yes, he replied.
- And that the dog is a living being?
- Yes, he said.
- Then you are the dog and the dog is you.

Then Ziyādat Allāh [Ibn Aghlab] burst into great laughter and I realised that his love for jesting was greater than his love for earnestness.

[13.2.2.2]

Ishāq also said:

When Abū ‘Abd Allāh the missionary (*dā‘ī*) of the Mahdī arrived in Raqqādah,<sup>9</sup> he took me into his service, and once came to my house. He had a stone in his kidneys, and I treated him with a remedy that contained burned scorpions. I was sitting that day with a group of Kutāmah Berbers; they asked me about different kinds of diseases, but every time I answered they were unable to understand my words. I said to them: ‘You are but a herd of beasts. None of you are human except in name only.’ Word of this reached Abū ‘Abd Allāh, and when I went to see him he said: ‘You have addressed our brothers the believers of the Kutāmah in an inappropriate way. By the Noble God, if you did not have an excuse due to your ignorance of their state and of the extent to which the knowledge of the truth and the truthful people has reached them, I would certainly have you beheaded.’

And Ishāq told me: ‘And at that point I saw a man who was concerned with the seriousness of what befell him, and who had no place in him for jest.’

[13.2.3]

Ishāq is the author of the following works:

1. Fevers (*K. al-Ḥummayāt*), containing five treatises. No book on this matter is better than this one. I copy here what Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān<sup>10</sup>

9 Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Zakariyyā al-Shī‘ī (d. 298/911) was the missionary for the Fatimid Mahdī in Yemen and North Africa, where he recruited the Kutāmah Berbers for the cause of the Mahdī. Raqqādah was the palace city of the Aghlabids, located approximately 10 km southwest of Kairouan. Raqqādah surrendered to the Fatimid armies after the defeat at Laribus, in 294/909; see Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*, 98.

10 See Ch. 14.25.

wrote about it: 'I, 'Alī ibn Riḍwān, the physician, say that this book is useful and the work of a virtuous man; I have applied many of its contents and have found that there is nothing to add to it. In God is the victory and the help'.<sup>11</sup>

2. Simple drugs and foodstuffs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah wa-l-aghdhīyah*).<sup>12</sup>
3. Urine (*K. al-Bawl*).
4. Abridgement of *Urine* (*Ikhtīṣār Kitāb fī l-bawl*).
5. The elements (*K. al-Uṣṭuquṣāt*).
6. Definitions and descriptions (*K. al-Ḥudūd wa-l-rusūm*).
7. *The Garden of Wisdom* (*K. Bustān al-ḥikmah*), containing questions on metaphysics.
8. Introduction to logic (*K. al-Tadakhkhul ilā l-manṭiq*).
9. Introduction to the art of medicine (*K. al-Tadakhkhul ilā ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*).
10. On the pulse (*K. Fī l-nabḍ*).
11. On theriac (*K. Fī l-tiryāq*).
12. On wisdom (*K. Fī l-ḥikmah*), in eleven parts.

### 13.3 Ibn al-Jazzār<sup>1</sup>

[13.3.1]

Abū Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Khālid, known as Ibn al-Jazzār, was a native of Kairouan. He was a physician and son of a physician, and his uncle Abū Bakr was a physician as well. He was among those who frequented Ishāq ibn Sulaymān and his colleagues and studied with him. Ibn al-Jazzār was a cultivated man, eager to learn and study medicine and other disciplines, and good at understanding them.

11 See the edition and translation in Latham & Isaacs, *Isaac Judaeus*; also Latham, Isaac Israeli's *Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt*.

12 The title given above in Ch. 13.2.1 is *K. al-Adwiyah wa-l-aghdhīyah*.

1 Sezgin, *GAS III*, 304–307. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 147–149. This biography is included in all three versions of the work.

[13.3.2.1]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul, says:<sup>2</sup>

Aḥmad ibn Abi Khālid adopted an admirable line of conduct with regard to his behaviour, his rightful aims, and his disposition. He observed this without committing a single mistake while he was in Kairouan, and he did not indulge himself in pleasures. He attended weddings and funerals, but never ate anything there, nor did he visit any men in Ifrīqiyah, not even the Sultan, with the exception of Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of ‘Umar ibn Ma‘add, who was an old friend of his, and whom he used to visit, but only on Fridays. He used to go every year to a *rābiṭah*<sup>3</sup> by the sea at Monastir<sup>4</sup> – 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. Ibn al-Jazzār used to stay the entire summer and then travel to Ifrīqiyah.

He installed a portico over the door of his house where he placed one of his servants named Rashīq to prepare, under his supervision, an array of medicinal pastes, potions, and medicines. After examining phials<sup>5</sup> in the morning, he would order [the patients] to go through to the servant and obtain their medicine from him, thus ensuring that they would not obtain anything from anyone else.

[13.3.2.2]

Ibn Juljul also says:<sup>6</sup>

Someone trustworthy reported to me: ‘I was with Ibn al-Jazzār in the vestibule of his house. He was surrounded by people when he received the visit of the nephew of al-Nu‘mān al-Qāḍī.<sup>7</sup> He was an important young man in Ifrīqiyah who used to replace [Nu‘mān] al-Qāḍī whenever something prevented him from attending the court. There was no other place to sit but in

2 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 89.

3 A *rābiṭah* or *ribāt* is a place of retirement for ascetic Muslims, though might also refer to frontier fortresses for the voluntary fighters in the *jihād*, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ribāt’ (N. Rabbat & J. Chabbi.)

4 Monastir is a city on the coast of Tunisia, famous for its medieval *rābiṭah*.

5 These are probably urine flasks brought to him for inspection.

6 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 89.

7 Al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān (d. 363/974) is the famous Ismā‘īlī qadi of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh, well-known for his works on theology, law and history. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Nu‘mān’ (F. Dachraoui).

the vestibule of Abū Ja‘far [Ibn al-Jazzār’s house]. When Abū Ja‘far came out, the nephew of al-Qāḍī stood up, but Ibn al-Jazzār did not offer him a seat or a place to recline. The nephew of Nu‘mān showed him a flask with urine that he had with him from his cousin, the son of Ibn al-Nu‘mān, and he received a detailed answer about it, all the while remaining standing. Then he withdrew and mounted [his beast]. But he did not take this as a demeaning chore, and he regularly brought the urine to Ibn al-Jazzār every day until his cousin was cured of his illness.’

[13.3.2.3]

[Ibn Juljul] continues:<sup>8</sup>

The above source also stated: I was with him one day before noon when the messenger of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān brought a letter thanking him for taking care of the treatment of his son, as well as a bundle containing a garment and three hundred *mithqāls*. Ibn al-Jazzār read the letter and replied to it gratefully, but he rejected the money and the garment. I told him: ‘Abū Ja‘far ibn al-Jazzār, this is a gift that God has brought to you,’ and he replied to me: ‘By God, no man of the Ma‘add [i.e. the Fatimids] shall have been privileged before me.’

Aḥmad ibn al-Jazzār lived more than eighty years and died of old age in Kairouan. They found in his possession twenty thousand dinars and twenty-five *qintārs*<sup>9</sup> of books on medicine and other subjects. His desire was to travel to al-Andalus, but he could not accomplish that and remained with the Ma‘add family [i.e. the Fatimids].

[13.3.3]

Kushājīm,<sup>10</sup> praising Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn al-Jazzār and describing his book *Provisions for the Traveller* (*Zād al-musāfir*), said:<sup>11</sup>

Abū Ja‘far, you have preserved, alive or dead,  
great things to be proud of, for times to come.<sup>12</sup>

8 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 89.

9 A *qintār* is a unit of weight.

10 Kushājīm (d. ca. 350/961) was a poet native of al-Ramlah who served the Hamdanid court in Mosul, and Sayf al-Dawlah in Aleppo; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Kushādġim’ (Ch. Pellat).

11 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Kushājīm, *Dīwān*, 429 (taken from IAU); al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, vi:209.

12 Translation of *fī ṣāhri l-zamāni* (A, *Wāfi*) uncertain, but it seems better than *fī ṭuhri l-zamāni*, ‘in the purity of time’ (B, *Dīwān*).

I have seen, with us, a crowd of expert people  
 studying *The Traveller's Provisions*.  
 I am certain that if Yūḥannā<sup>13</sup> lived at this time  
 he would not have called *The Perfection* 'Perfection'.  
 I shall praise (*sa-aḥmadu*) deeds of Aḥmad that never cease  
 to be considered noble by noble people.

[13.3.4]

Ibn al-Jazzār is the author of the following works:

1. A book on the treatment of the sick, known as *The Traveller's Provisions* (*Zād al-musāfir*), in two volumes.<sup>14</sup>
2. On simple drugs (*K. Fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*), known as *The Reliable* (*al-ʿIṭimād*).<sup>15</sup>
3. On compound drugs (*K. Fī l-adwiyah al-murakkabah*), known as *The Desirable* (*al-Bughyah*).
4. On the equipment for extending the lifespan (*K. al-ʿUddah li-ṭūl al-muddah*), which is the best of his books on medicine.
5. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifṭī reports that he saw in Qifṭ a large book written by him on medicine entitled *Nourishment for the Sedentary* (*Qūt al-muqīm*), which comprised twenty volumes.<sup>16</sup>
6. Information about correct dates (*K. al-Taʿrīf bi-ṣaḥīḥ al-taʿrīkh*), which is a historical compendium containing obituaries of the wise men of his time, with entertaining anecdotes about them.
7. On the soul (*R. Fī l-nafs*), with the different opinions of the Ancients.
8. On the stomach, its diseases and treatments (*K. Fī l-maʿidah wa-amrāḍihā wa-mudāwātihā*).<sup>17</sup>
9. *Medicine for the poor* (*K. Ṭibb al-fuqarāʾ*).<sup>18</sup>

13 Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, here spelled in the Arabic with short *u* because of the metre. His book was entitled *al-Kamāl wa-l-tamām*, 'The Completion and Perfection.' See Ch. 8.26 for his biography.

14 More commonly known by its full title *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥāḍir* (*Provisions for the Traveller and Nourishment for the Sedentary*). Some chapters have been translated: see Ibn al-Jazzār & Bos, *Sexual Diseases*, and Ibn al-Jazzār & Bos, *Fevers*.

15 For an edition published in 1998, see Ibn al-Jazzār, *al-ʿIṭimād fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah* (Qashsh).

16 This reference does not appear in Ibn al-Qifṭī's *Taʿrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* (or in his *Inbāh*) and seems to be a personal communication.

17 There is an edition of this work: Ibn al-Jazzār, *K. fī l-maʿidah*.

18 This work has been edited several times; see Ibn al-Jazzār, *Ṭibb al-fuqarāʾ*, and Ibn al-Jazzār, *Mujarrabāt al-ʿaṭṭārīn*.

10. On the substitution of drugs (*K. Fī ibdāl al-adwiyah*).
11. On the differentiation between diseases whose causes are similar while their symptoms differ (*K. Fī l-farq bayna al-ʿilal allatī tashtabihu asbābuhā wa-takhtalifū aʿrāḍuhā*).<sup>19</sup>
12. Warning against bloodletting when it is not necessary (*R. Fī l-tahadhdhur min ikhrāj al-dam min ghayr ḥājah daʿat ilā ikhrājihī*).
13. On rheum, its causes and its treatment (*R. Fī l-zukām wa-asbābihī wa-ʿilājihī*).
14. On sleep and wakefulness (*K. Fī l-nawm wa-l-yaqazah*).
15. Medical experiences (*Mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb*).
16. Smallpox: causes and treatment (*M. Fī l-judhām wa-asbābihī wa-ʿilājihī*).
17. On occult properties (*K. al-Khawāṣṣ*).<sup>20</sup>
18. The advice of pious men (*K. Naṣāʾih al-abrār*).
19. The book of experiences (*K. al-Mukhtabarāt*).
20. Description of the causes giving rise to the pestilence in Egypt, the method of protecting against it, and treating one's fears of it (*K. Fī naʿt al-asbāb al-muwalladah li-l-wabāʾ fī Miṣr wa-ṭarīq al-ḥilah fī dafʿ dhālika wa-ʿilāj mā yutakhawwafa minhu*).
21. On disdain of death (*R. Fī l-istihānah bi-l-mawt*), addressed to some of his friends.
22. On the buttocks and their pains (*R. Fī l-maqʿadah wa-awjāʾihā*).
23. *The Crowned Book of Adab* (*K. al-Mukallal fī l-adab*).
24. *The Sufficient for maintaining good health* (*K. al-Bulghah fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).
25. On steam baths (*Maqālah fī l-ḥammāmāt*).
26. History of the [Fatimid] dynasty (*K. Akhbār al-dawlah*), in which he reports the advent of the Mahdī to the Maghreb.<sup>21</sup>
27. Aphorisms on various fields of learning and eloquent sayings (*K. al-Fuṣūl fī sāʾir al-ʿulūm wa-l-balāghāt*).

19 For an edition, see Ibn al-Jazzār, *al-Furūq*.

20 For an edition and German translation, see Ibn al-Jazzār, *Die Risāla fī l-Ḥawāṣṣ*.

21 This work has not survived. IAU used it in his biography of Ishāq al-Isrāʾīlī; see above, biography Ch. 13.2.



## Physicians from al-Andalus<sup>1</sup>

### 13.4 Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, Known as Ibn al-Samīnah<sup>2</sup>

Ibn al-Samīnah was another Andalusī physician from Cordova. The Qāḍī Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣāʿid states in his book *The Categories of Nations* that he was expert in arithmetic, the science of the stars and medicine. He was also well versed in many other fields of knowledge and knowledgeable in various disciplines, having been excellent in grammar, language, prosody, and the themes of poetry, law, Hadith, history and dialectics. Ibn al-Samīnah was a Muʿtazilite. After having travelled to Damascus and subsequently returned, he died in 315/927.<sup>3</sup>

### 13.5 Abū al-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, Known as al-Majrīṭī<sup>1</sup>

[13.5.1]

Al-Majrīṭī was born in Cordova and lived in the time of al-Ḥakam.<sup>2</sup> The Qāḍī Ṣāʿid states in his book *The Categories of Nations*:<sup>3</sup>

1 Marginal note in MS A: "The southern limit of al-Andalus is the Mediterranean channel that goes through a place called "the strait (*al-zuqāq*)" in front of Tangier; its width is 12 miles. [From there] this sea [i.e. the Mediterranean] extends up to Tyre, one of the cities of Syria. The northern and western limits of al-Andalus are the Great Sea known as Ocean, and also the Sea of Darkness (*baḥr al-ḡulmah*) [i.e., the Atlantic]. Its eastern limit is the mountains in which Port-Vendres (*ḥaykal al-Zuharah*, the temple of Venus) is located, which go from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic [i.e., the Pyrenees], the distance between both seas following this mountain is 3 days' journey; this is the shortest of all al-Andalus frontiers, the longest are the southern and the northern ones, each of which extends through about 30 days' journey; its western frontier is about 20 days' journey long.' This is most likely a paraphrase of al-Marrākushī, *Muʿjib*, 5–6.

2 This biography is included in all three versions of the work.

3 Cf. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 65.

1 I.e. 'of Madrid'. This biography is included in all three versions of the work. For Maslama al-Majrīṭī (d. 398/1007), see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Majrīṭī' (J. Vernet); *EI Three* art. 'al-Majrīṭī, Maslama' (J. Casulleras); and *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus* art. 'al-Maʿrīṭī' (F. Rius).

2 Al-Ḥakam II, son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, was the second caliph of Cordova; he ruled in al-Andalus in 350–366/961–976. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ḥakam II' (A. Huici Miranda).

3 Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 69.

He was the leading expert in mathematics in al-Andalus in his time, having been more knowledgeable than anyone before him in astronomy and the movement of the planets. He dedicated himself to the observation of the stars and studied with passion the book of Ptolemy known as the *Almagest*. He composed a fine book as a complement to the science of numbers, known among us as *Applied Mathematics* (*K. al-Mu'āmalāt*), and a book in which he summarized the planetary equations<sup>4</sup> in the astronomical tables of al-Battānī.<sup>5</sup> Al-Majrīṭī took an interest in the astronomical tables of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārazmī,<sup>6</sup> having converted its Persian dates to Arabic dates, calculated the mean motions of the planets<sup>7</sup> for the start of the Hijrah, and added to it some good tables, but he followed al-Khwārazmī's book, despite its errors, and did not call attention to erroneous passages. I [Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī] have referred to this in the book I composed on the correction of planetary equations and the determination of the mistakes committed by the astronomers.

Abū l-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad died before the beginning of the civil war,<sup>8</sup> in the year 398/1008. He left behind a number of excellent students, greater than those of any other Andalusian scholar; the most famous of them are Ibn al-Samḥ, Ibn al-Ṣaffār, al-Zahrāwī, al-Kirmānī, and Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>9</sup>

[13.5.2]

Some of the works composed by Abū al-Qāsim [Maslamah al-Majrīṭī] are:

1. *Applied Mathematics* (*K. al-Mu'āmalāt*).<sup>10</sup>

4 *Ta'dil* is a technical term in planetary astronomy designating the correction or equation applied to mean positions of the Sun, Moon and planets to derive their true positions. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ta'dil' (D.A. King).

5 Al-Battānī (d. 317/929), known as Albategni or Albatenuis in Medieval Europe, is one of the most famous Arab astronomers. The book to which the text refers is his astronomical treatise with tables known in Arabic as *Kitāb al-Zīj*. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Battānī' (C. Nallino).

6 Al-Khwārazmī (fl. ca. 232/847) is also a renowned mathematician and astronomer; the work mentioned in the text is presumably the *Zīj al-Sind'hind*, a treatise with astronomical tables. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Khwārazmī' (J. Vernet).

7 *Awsāt al-kawākib* are the mean motions of planets and a topic in most astronomical tables. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Zīj' (D.A. King); King & Samsó, 'Astronomical Handbooks'.

8 The civil war (*fitnah*) that followed the demise of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus took place in 399–422/1009–1031.

9 Cf. Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 69. On these students, see below the biographies nos. 13.6, 13.7, 13.8, 13.9, and 13.10 respectively.

10 This work has not survived, but it is possible that the *Liber mahamaeth* ascribed to Juan of Seville (12th c.) might have been a translation of this treatise or of the homonymous works

2. Summary of the planetary equations in the astronomical tables of al-Battānī (*Ikhtišār ta'dīl al-kawākib min zij al-Battānī*).<sup>11</sup>

### 13.6 Ibn al-Samḥ<sup>1</sup>

[13.6.1.1]

Abū l-Qāsim Aṣḥabagh ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Samḥ al-Muhandis (the geometer) al-Gharnāḥī lived in the time of al-Ḥakam.<sup>2</sup> The Qāḍī Ṣā'id says:<sup>3</sup>

Ibn al-Samḥ was well-versed in the science of numbers and geometry and was knowledgeable about astronomy and the movement of the planets. In addition, he was interested in medicine. He composed valuable treatises such as:

1. Introduction to geometry (*K. al-Mudkhal fī l-handasah*), which is a commentary on the book of Euclid.
2. The benefits of numbers (*K. Thimār al-'adad*), known as *Applied Mathematics* (*al-Mu'āmalāt*).
3. The nature of numbers (*K. Ṭabī'at al-'adad*).
4. A lengthy book on geometry in which he deals with the divisions of the straight line, the arc, and the curve.
5. Two books on the instrument called the astrolabe: the first of them deals with the determination of the design for its construction and is divided into two sections; the second deals with its use and the determination of all its applications and is divided into one hundred and thirty chapters.
6. He also composed astronomical tables according to one of the schools of India called Sind. This is a long book divided into two parts, one with the tables and the other with a commentary on the tables.

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written by Ibn al-Samḥ (see below, Ch. 13.6) and Ibn al-Ṣaffār (Ch. 13.7); see *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus*, art. 'al-Maḥrīḥī' (F. Rius). *Mu'āmalāt* treatises encompassed practical uses of arithmetic for commercial purposes.

11 This work has not survived.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn al-Samḥ' (D. Pingree); *EI Three* art. 'Ibn al-Samḥ' (J. Samsó); *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Samḥ, Abū l-Qāsim' (M. Comes); *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (ed. T. Hockey) art. 'Ibn al-Samḥ' (M. Ruis); Sezgin, *GAS VI*, 249.

2 That is, between 350/961 and 366/976, when al-Ḥakam II ruled in al-Andalus.

3 Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 69–70.

[13.6.1.2]

The Qāḍī Šā'id continues:<sup>4</sup>

His student Abū Marwān Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā ibn al-Nāshī al-Muhandis (the geometer)<sup>5</sup> told me that he died in Granada during the rule of the emir Ḥabbūs ibn Māksin ibn Zīrī ibn Manād al-Šanhājī,<sup>6</sup> on a Tuesday night, twelve nights before the end of the month of Rajab, in the year 426 [29 May 1035], being 56 years old in solar years.

[13.6.2]

The works composed by Ibn al-Samḥ are:

1. Introduction to geometry (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā l-handasah*).<sup>7</sup>
2. *Applied Mathematics* (*K. al-Muʿāmalāt*).<sup>8</sup>
3. The nature of numbers (*K. Ṭabīʿat al-ʿadad*).<sup>9</sup>
4. The large book on geometry (*K. al-Kabīr fī l-handasah*), in which he deals with the divisions of the straight line, the arc, and the curve.<sup>10</sup>
5. Determination of the design for the construction of the astrolabe (*K. al-Taʿrīf bi-šūrat šanʿat al-ašturlāb*), in two sections.<sup>11</sup>
6. On the use of the astrolabe and the determination of its applications (*K. al-Amal bi-l-ašturlāb wa-l-taʿrīf bi-jawāmiʿ thamaratihī*).<sup>12</sup>
7. Astronomical tables according to one of the schools in India called *Sindh* (*Zīj ʿalā aḥad madhāhib al-Hind al-maʿrūf bi-l-Sindʿhind*), which is a

4 Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 70.

5 Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā ibn al-Nāshī was a disciple of Ibn al-Samḥ versed in arithmetic, geometry, medicine and astronomy, see Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 72.

6 Ḥabbūs ibn Māksin (or Maksān) was the first emir of the Zirid dynasty in Granada and ruled in 410–429/1019–1038. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Zirids' (A. Tibi).

7 This work has not survived.

8 This work, cf. above, has not survived.

9 This work has not survived.

10 It is possible that a fragment of this work has survived in a Hebrew translation of a previous translation of the work into Greek, see *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Samḥ, Abū l-Qāsim', 228.

11 The second part of the work has come down to us in a unique copy, London, British Library MS Add. 9602, and was translated into Catalan and commented on by Viladrich, *El "Kitāb al-ʿamal bi-l-ašturlāb"*. Two chapters of the part dealing with the construction of the instrument have survived in Escorial MS 972: see Viladrich, 'Dos capítulos'.

12 This title refers presumably to the second section of the *K. al-taʿrīf bi-šūrat šanʿat al-ašturlāb*; see previous note.

long book divided into two parts: one of them with the tables, the other with a commentary on the tables.<sup>13</sup>

### 13.7 Ibn al-Ṣaffār<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar was also expert in the sciences of numbers, geometry, and the stars, and he settled in Cordova to teach them. He composed an abridged astronomical table following the school of Sind’hind, and a book on the use of the astrolabe that is concise, well written, and easy to understand. Abū l-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, known as al-Majrīṭī,<sup>2</sup> was one of his many pupils. Ibn al-Ṣaffār left Cordova after the beginning of the civil war<sup>3</sup> and settled in Denia,<sup>4</sup> on the eastern coast of the Sea of al-Andalus, during the rule of the emir Muḥāhid al-‘Āmirī.<sup>5</sup> He died there, God have mercy on him, leaving behind many students in Cordova. He had a brother called Muḥammad, who was known for his expertise in the use of the astrolabe; before him no one in al-Andalus had been more excellent in that art.<sup>6</sup>

The works of Ibn al-Ṣaffār are:

1. Abridged astronomical table following the school of Sind’hind (*K. Zīj mukhtaṣar ‘alā madhhab al-Sind’hind*).<sup>7</sup>
2. On the use of the astrolabe (*K. Fī l-‘amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb*).<sup>8</sup>

13 This work has not survived.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. For Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar al-Ghāfiqī, known as Ibn al-Ṣaffār (d. 426/1035), see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Ṣaffār’ (B.R. Goldstein); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Ṣaffār’ (J. Casulleras); *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (ed. T. Hockey) art. ‘Ibn al-Ṣaffār’ (M. Ruis); and Sezgin, *GAS* v, 356–357, *GAS* vi, 250–251.

2 See above biography 13.5.

3 That is, before 399/1009.

4 The city of Denia (*Dāniyah* in Arabic), a coastal town in the north-eastern district of Alicante, become an important petty kingdom (*tā’ifah*) after the civil war, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Dāniya’ (C.F. Seybold and A. Huici Miranda).

5 Muḥāhid al-‘Āmirī, a manumitted slave of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Manṣūr, became the first petty king of the *tā’ifah* of Denia after the fall of the caliphate in 403/1013. He ruled there in 405–436/1014–1045. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Muḥāhid’ (D.J. Wasserstein).

6 Cf. Ṣā’id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 70.

7 Some fragments of this work have survived in a Judaeo-Arabic manuscript and have been edited by Castells & Samsó, ‘Seven Chapters’. It is the earliest preserved Arabic source related to the *Sind’hind* and deals with lunar and solar eclipses, the determination of the longitude of a place, lunar parallax, and the division of the houses of the horoscope.

8 This popular work has survived in several manuscripts containing different versions.

### 13.8 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Zahrāwī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Zahrāwī was learned in arithmetic and geometry, and well versed in the science of medicine. He composed a noble work on applied mathematics following the method of demonstrative proof,<sup>2</sup> namely, the book entitled *On Principles*. He learned much about the mathematical disciplines from Abū l-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, known as al-Majrīṭī,<sup>3</sup> and was associated with him for some time.

Al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Zahrāwī is the author of a book on applied mathematics (*al-mu‘āmalāt*) following the method of demonstrative proof, entitled *On Principles* (K. *al-Arkān*).

### 13.9 al-Kirmānī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Ḥakam ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Kirmānī was born in Cordova. He was a scholar who was highly versed in the science of numbers and geometry.

The Qāḍī Ṣā‘id says:<sup>2</sup>

His student, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Yaḥyā, the geometer and astronomer, told me, referring to al-Kirmānī, that he had never met anyone comparable to him in the science of geometry, and that no one measured up to him in solving its problems, clarifying its questions, and dealing fully with all its parts.

Al-Kirmānī travelled to the lands of the East and came to Ḥarrān, in Mesopotamia. There he dedicated himself to the study of geometry and medicine, subsequently returning to al-Andalus, where he settled in the city of Saragossa, on the frontier [of al-Andalus]. He brought with him the epistles known as the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* (*Rasā’il Ikhwān*

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There is an edition and Spanish translation based on the manuscript kept in the Escorial Library: Millás Vallicrosa, ‘Los primeros tratados de astrolabio en la España árabe’. See *ET* *Three* art. ‘Ibn Ṣaffar’ (Casulleras) for Latin and Hebrew versions.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work.  
 2 These first sentences are taken from Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 70.  
 3 See above biography no. 13.5.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work.  
 2 Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 70–71.

*al-Ṣafāʾ*),<sup>3</sup> and no one is known to have introduced them into al-Andalus before him. He took an interest in medicine and became a notable practitioner with remarkable insight into cauterisation, cutting, amputation, lancing and other medical techniques. However, he was not well versed either in astronomy<sup>4</sup> or in the art of logic.

Abū l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy al-Isrāʾīlī,<sup>5</sup> who knew him well, told me that his position in al-Andalus was unrivalled as regards knowledge of the speculative sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naẓariyyah*). Abū l-Ḥakam al-Kirmānī, may God have mercy upon him, died in Saragossa in the year 458/1066, at the age of ninety years or a little less.<sup>6</sup>

### 13.10 Ibn Khaldūn<sup>1</sup>

Abū Muslim ʿUmar ibn Aḥmad ibn Khaldūn al-Ḥaḍramī belonged to one of the noblest families of Seville and was also among the students of Abū l-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad.<sup>2</sup> He was an expert in philosophy, and was also famous for his knowledge of geometry, astronomy, and medicine. Like the philosophers, he sought ethical perfection, a balanced life, and right conduct. He died in his home town [i.e., Seville] in 449/1057. One of the most illustrious students of Abū Maslamah ibn Khaldūn was Abū Jaʿfar ibn ʿAbd Allāh, known as Ibn al-Ṣaffār al-Mutaṭabbib (the physician).<sup>3</sup>

3 The Brethren of Purity (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*) were a coterie of anonymous – and most likely Ismāʿīlī – scholars active at the end of the 4th/10th cent.; they composed an encyclopedic work known as the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*. On these authors and their work see El-Bizrī, *Epistles*. On the introduction of the Epistles to al-Andalus, see Fierro, ‘Bāṭinism in al-Andalus’, and de Callataÿ, ‘Again on Maslama Ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī’.

4 Lit. *ʿilm al-nujūm al-taʿlīmī*. Al-Fārābī differentiates between two kinds of science of stars, the *ʿilm aḥkām al-nujūm*, which deals with the signs of the planets and the prediction of the future; and the *ʿilm al-nujūm al-taʿlīmī*, focused on the physical interaction between the planets and stars and the earth and on the calculation of their movements, see al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣāʾ*, 84.

5 See Ch. 13.50.

6 Cf. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 70–71.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. See Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 71.

2 That is, al-Majrīṭī, see above biography 13.5.

3 This last sentence is unintelligible and was presumably miscopied by IAU. The corresponding passage in Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī’s *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, which introduces the six following biographies in that work, states: ‘Some of the most illustrious disciples of Abū l-Qasim Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṣaffār were: Ibn al-Barghūth, al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn Shahr, al-Qurashī, al-Aṭṭāsh al-Marwānī, and Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār’, see Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 71.

### 13.11 Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Khamīs ibn ‘Āmir ibn Duminj [Domingo?]<sup>1</sup>

Born in Toledo, he was an expert in geometry, astronomy, and medicine; he also engaged in the disciplines of language, and knew much poetry by heart. He was contemporary with the qadi Abū l-Walīd Hishām ibn Aḥmad ibn Hishām.<sup>2</sup>

### 13.12 Ḥamdīn ibn Ubbā<sup>1</sup>

Ḥamdīn ibn Ubbā lived in the days of the emir Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awsaṭ,<sup>2</sup> and was a skilled and experienced physician. He was related to the Banū Khālīd<sup>3</sup> through his mother and had estates and revenue in Cordova. He never rode a mount that had not been raised in his estate, nor ate anything not produced in his own fields, nor wore any clothes not made with the linen of his land, nor appointed anyone to his service except the sons of his servants.

### 13.13 Jawād al-Ṭabīb al-Naṣrānī (the Christian Physician)<sup>1</sup>

Jawād also lived in the days of the emir Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup> To him we owe the medicinal confection (*la‘ūq*) named ‘al-Jawādī’, and the ‘Monk’s Remedy’ (*dawā’*)

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1 See Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 74. This biography is missing in Version 2.  
2 Abū l-Walīd Hishām ibn Aḥmad ibn Hishām, known as Ibn al-Waqashī, was the qadi of Talavera (Toledo). He was an outstanding scholar knowledgeable in many disciplines, and a poet; see his biography in Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 74.

1 This biography is present in all three versions. The manuscripts render this name as Ḥamdīn ibn Uththā or Abbān. The correct form is given by Fu‘ād Sayyid in his edition of Ibn Juljul’s *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 93. With exception of the opening reference to the ruler, this biography is a verbatim quotation from Ibn Juljul.  
2 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Muḥammad I was the fifth Umayyad emir of al-Andalus; he ruled in 238–272/852–886. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Andalus’ (E. Lévi-Provençal).  
3 The Banū Khālīd were a family of clients of the Umayyads who achieved great power and prestige in al-Andalus during the emirate and the caliphate, see Puertas, *Linajes de poder*, Ch. 4.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. See Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 93–94. See also *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Abī Ḍawād’ (A. López y López), esp. p. 754 for Jawād al-Ṭabīb.  
2 I.e., Muḥammad I, see above Ch. 13.12 and the corresponding note.



*al-rāhib*): Other medical potions and powders, all of them of botanical origin (*shajāriyyah*), are ascribed to him, and also to Ḥamdīn and to all the Hamdīn family.

### 13.14 Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Rūmān al-Naṣrānī<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Rūmān, the Christian, was proficient in medicine and excelled in that domain in his time. He was from Cordova and lived close to the church of Saint Acisclo,<sup>2</sup> in a house known as The House of Ibn al-Shaṭajayrī, the poet.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rūmān acquired considerable wealth and estates by practising medicine. He made [medicaments] with his own hands and was knowledgeable about remedies made from arboreal plants. Useful remedies made by him appeared [for the first time] in his land. Naṣṭās ibn Jurayj, the Egyptian physician,<sup>4</sup> wrote an epistle on urine addressed to him. Khālīd was succeeded by his son, whom he called Yazīd, but he did not excel in medicine to the same degree as his father.

### 13.15 Ibn Mulūkah al-Naṣrānī<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Mulūkah, also a Christian, lived in the days of the emir ‘Abd Allāh<sup>2</sup> and at the beginning of the reign of the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir.<sup>3</sup> He also made [medicines] with his own hands and performed bloodletting himself. At the door of his house there were thirty chairs for seating patients.

1 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 303; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Rumān’ (A.C. López y López). This biography is included in all three versions of the work.

2 Transcribed in Arabic as *sh-n-t a-kh-l-j*. On this church see Arjona Castro, ‘Iglesia de San Acisclo’.

3 On the poet Ḥabīb ibn Aḥmad al-Shaṭajayrī (d. ca. 430/1038), see al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām* (2002), ii:164–165.

4 His biography is found at Ch. 14.6.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work.

2 ‘Abd Allāh I was the seventh emir of Cordova, he governed in 275–300/888–912.

3 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, last emir and first caliph of Cordova, governed as emir in 300–316/912–929, and as caliph until 350/961.

### 13.16 ʿImrān ibn Abī ʿAmr<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Abī ʿAmr was a noble physician who served the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān<sup>2</sup> as physician and made pills of aniseed (*ḥabb al-anīsūn*) for him. He was learned and intelligent. Ibn Abī ʿAmr is the author of a compendium (*kunnāsh*).<sup>3</sup>

### 13.17 Muḥammad ibn Faṭḥ Ṭumlūn<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Faṭḥ Ṭumlūn was a client of ʿImrān ibn Abī ʿAmr.<sup>2</sup> He excelled greatly in medicine, surpassing in it all other people of his time, but did not attend [at court]; when he was summoned to do so, he asked to be excused, appealing to the emir in person, and finally was excused. There was not a single person of note in his time who did not need his services.

Ibn Juljul says:<sup>3</sup>

Abū l-Aṣḅagh ibn Ḥayyawayh<sup>4</sup> told me: I was with the vizier ʿAbd Allāh ibn Badr at a time when his son Muḥammad was afflicted with ulcerations all over his body. There were many physicians present, including Ṭumlūn. Each one of them said something about the ulcers, but Ṭumlūn remained silent. The vizier said to him: ‘Don’t you have anything to say about it? Because I have seen that you remain silent.’ He replied: ‘I have an ointment that will heal these ulcers within a day’. The vizier was impressed and ordered him to bring the ointment. He brought it and spread it over the ulcers, and they healed that very night. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Badr gave him fifty dinars while the other physicians left empty-handed.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work. See Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 98 (as Ibn Abī ʿUmar); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301 (as Ibn Abī ʿAmr); *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Abī ʿUmar’ (Documentación).

2 See above, Ch. 13.15.

3 Ibn Juljul refers to this work as *taʿlīf ka-l-kunnāsh*, cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 98.

1 This biography is included in all three versions of the work.

2 See above, biography 13.16.

3 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 99.

4 The manuscripts read *ḥ-n-w-y* or *ḥ-t-w-y*. Fuʿād Sayyid states that this might refer to ʿĪsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Abī l-Aṣḅagh ibn al-Khayawayh (d. 378/988), who was contemporary with Ibn Juljul; see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 99, n. 2. The correct form of the name is given in Ibn al-Faraḍī’s *Taʾrīkh* as ʿĪsā ibn Ḥayyawayh Abū l-Aṣḅagh, see *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus* i:378 n. 989 [= ʿAwwād Maʾrūf, 431 no. 987].

13.18 al-Ḥarrānī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥarrānī arrived from the East in the days of the emir Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.<sup>2</sup> He had good experience in medicine and became well-known in Cordova, where he made a name for himself.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Juljul says:<sup>4</sup>

I have seen a note in the possession of Abū l-Aṣḥbagh al-Rāzī<sup>5</sup> that was in the handwriting of the caliph al-Mustaṣṣir.<sup>6</sup> It stated that this al-Ḥarrānī brought to al-Andalus a medicinal paste and that he used to sell a syrup for abdominal pain made from it for fifty dinars, in order to make some money with it. Five physicians, including Ḥamdīn, Jawād, and others, gathered and collected fifty dinars to buy some of the syrup made from this medicament. Each one of them individually took a portion of it, smelled it and tasted it, and then recorded what they concluded it was by using their senses [of smell and taste]. Then they met, all of them having agreed in their conjectures regarding the [composition of] the syrup, and they wrote that down. They then went to meet al-Ḥarrānī and told him: ‘God has let you benefit from this remedy that you created on your own. We are doctors who bought some syrup from you, we did this and that, and we found this and that. If our conclusions are correct, then we are right; otherwise, share knowledge [of its composition] with us, because you have already gained profit from it.’ Then al-Ḥarrānī asked them to show him their notes, and he said: ‘You made the medicine with its [right] ingredients, but you were wrong in determining their proportions. This is the remedy known as the Great Helper (*al-mughīth al-kabīr*), and I will share its composition with you.’ And thus it has been known in al-Andalus ever since.

1 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 258. This biography is included in all three versions of the work.

2 Muḥammad I Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awsaṭ was the emir of Cordova in 238–273/852–886.

3 Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 78.

4 Ibn Juljul *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 94–95.

5 He is Abū l-Aṣḥbagh ‘Īsā ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 379/989), the historian, who worked as secretary for al-Ḥakam II and al-Manṣūr ibn ‘Abī ‘Āmir; see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Al-Rāzī, ‘Īsā’ (Molina).

6 This is the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II, who reigned in 350–366/961–976, see above note to section 13.5.1.

### 13.19 Aḥmad and ‘Umar, the Sons of Yūnus ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥarrānī<sup>1</sup>

[13.19.1]

Yūnus, the father of Aḥmad and ‘Umar, was a physician who came to al-Andalus and settled there. His two sons travelled to the East during the rule of al-Nāṣir<sup>2</sup> in the year 330/941–942 and lived there for ten years. They went to Baghdad to study the books of Galen in extenso with Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī al-Ṣābi,<sup>3</sup> and there they worked with Ibn al-Waṣīf<sup>4</sup> treating diseases of the eye. They came back to al-Andalus during the rule of al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, in the year 351/962,<sup>5</sup> and fought by his side in his military campaigns until 352/963, when they left. Subsequently, however, he took them into his service and accommodated them in Madīnat al-Zahrā’<sup>6</sup> as his own personal doctors, excluding [from his service] all other physicians of that time.

[13.19.2.1]

‘Umar died as a consequence of a stomach disease (*‘illat al-ma‘idah*); he fell prey to exhaustion and died. Aḥmad remained thereafter as al-Mustanṣir’s only exclusive [physician], and the caliph installed him in a palace of his own in Madīnat al-Zahrā’. There he enjoyed a comfortable position as a trustworthy and loyal [servant], and the caliph allowed him to treat his sons and women. [Aḥmad] was a forbearing man of noble intellect. He was familiar with [the diseases] that he had seen himself and observed being treated in the East.<sup>7</sup>

[13.19.2.2]

Al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh had a great appetite, and one day he suffered from an attack of indigestion (*tukhmah*) due to the excessive amount of food he had eaten. [Aḥmad] prepared for him an excellent digestive (*jawārshanāt*) that was the appropriate one for this particular case, thereby earning a great sum

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 112–113; Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 80–81.

2 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir governed as emir in 300–316/912–929, and as caliph until 350/961.

3 See Ch. 10.5.

4 See Ch. 10.9.

5 That is, the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II, who reigned in al-Andalus in 350–366/961–976.

6 Madīnat al-Zahrā’ is the fortified palace-city built by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in Cordova at the beginning of his caliphate; see, *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Madīnat al-Zahrā’ (M. Ocaña Jiménez).

7 Paragraphs 1 and 2.1 are a quotation from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 112–113.

of money. Although he spoke with a strong foreign accent and had horrible handwriting – he was incapable of writing the letters correctly – he was very clever at using simple drugs, and skilful at preparing potions (*ashribah*) and medicinal pastes (*maʿjūnāt*), which he employed for the appropriate treatments.<sup>8</sup>

[13.19.3]

Ibn Juljul says:<sup>9</sup>

I saw that Aḥmad had twelve young slaves who concocted the potions and prepared the medical pastes in his presence. He asked the Prince of the Believers al-Mustaṣir for permission to use [these medicines] for the treatment of poor and sick people who needed them, and the caliph authorized him to do so. There are stories about him in Cordova attesting to his practice of treating eyes with precious medicines. With his art he helped his friends and his neighbours, the poor and the needy.

Hishām al-Muʿayyad bi-Allāh<sup>10</sup> appointed Aḥmad administrator of the police and inspector of the public market. He died of a quartan fever (*ḥummā l-ribʿ*) and diarrhoea (*ʿillat al-isʿhāl*), leaving a fortune that amounted to one hundred thousand dinars.

### 13.20 Ishāq al-Ṭabīb (the Physician)<sup>1</sup>

Ishāq al-Ṭabīb, the son of the vizier Ibn Ishāq, was a Christian who lived in Cordova. He was skilful and experienced, and possessed great practical skill. Marvellous stories are told about him and about the great benefits of his achievements, and it is said that his judgement surpassed that of all the people of his time, that is, the years of the emir ʿAbd Allāh al-Umawī.<sup>2</sup>

8 This anecdote is not included in the accounts of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī and Ibn Juljul.

9 This last paragraph is a paraphrased quotation of Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 113 (last paragraph of the biography).

10 Hishām II al-Muʿayyad bi-Allāh governed as caliph in al-Andalus in 365–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 97–98.

2 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad governed as emir in al-Andalus during 275–300/888–912.

13.21 Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq<sup>1</sup>

[13.21.1]

Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq was an intelligent and learned physician, clever at treating diseases, and possessed of great practical skill. He lived at the beginning of the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh,<sup>2</sup> who appointed him vizier. He was entrusted with the supervision of some provinces and the tax agencies and, for some time, he was also military commander of the city of Badajoz. Yaḥyā stood high in the estimation of the Commander of the Faithful al-Nāṣir, who granted him a position of trust and allowed him to treat the women of the harem and the household servants. He wrote a book on medicine in five volumes following the method of the Byzantines.<sup>3</sup> Yaḥyā had embraced Islam, but his father was Christian, as previously mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

[13.21.2.1]

Ibn Juljul says:<sup>5</sup>

Someone trustworthy told me the following anecdote about Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq. On one occasion, my informant was with a servant of the chamberlain Mūsā<sup>6</sup> or the vizier ‘Abd al-Malik,<sup>7</sup> and the man said:

My master had sent me with a letter for [Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq]. I was sitting at the door of his house, in the Gate of the Walnut-tree,<sup>8</sup> when a rustic man came riding toward me on a donkey, shouting as he approached,

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Ishāq al-Wazīr/al-Ṭāḥib, Yaḥyā’ (A.C. López y López). Cf. also Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 100–101.

2 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III became emir in 300/912 and proclaimed himself caliph in 316/929.

3 Ibn Juljul adds that the method of the Byzantines ‘is called aphorism (*al-aburīshm*)’, see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 101.

4 For this first paragraph cf. with Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 78.

5 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 100–101.

6 Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr (d. 320/932) was appointed vizier in 300/912, taking care of the City Administration (*khuṭṭat al-madīnah*), at the beginning of the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, see Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii:144; *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (Tunis), ii:167.

7 Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Jahwar, was also vizier of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, in 300/912 he was entrusted with the supervision of the arsenal, and in 305/917 he was appointed vizier, see Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii:144, 171; *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (Tunis), ii:168, 210.

8 The Gate of the Walnut-tree (*Bāb al-jawz*) was one of the seven gates of Cordova’s city wall. This is the only one that has survived and is now known in Spanish as Puerta de Almodóvar.

until finally he stopped at the door of the house. 'I beseech you, go to the vizier,' he said, 'and tell him that I am here.' Alerted by the man's cries, [Yaḥyā] came out carrying with him the reply to [the messenger's] letter. He asked the man: 'What has happened to you?' 'O vizier,' the man replied, 'my penis is swollen, I have not been able to sleep<sup>9</sup> for many days, and I feel that I am about to die.' 'Uncover it,' said [Yaḥyā]. The man did so, and it was certainly swollen. Then [Yaḥyā] said to a person who had accompanied the sick man: 'Look for a smooth stone for me.' The man looked for [a stone], found one, and brought it to him. Then [Yaḥyā] said: 'Take it in your hand and place the penis over it.'

My informant [i.e. Ibn Juljul's informant] continued:

And when his penis was firmly placed on the stone, [Yaḥyā] closed his fist and hit the penis with such force that the man swooned. Then the pus flowed out. As soon as the pus that had caused the inflammation had been evacuated, the man opened his eyes and then he urinated, for the urine flowed immediately. Then [Yaḥyā] said to him: 'You can go, I have cured your disease. You are a wicked man who sodomized his beast. A grain from its fodder that was there obstructed the orifice of your penis and caused its inflammation, but [the grain] came out with the pus.' And the man replied: 'I must confess to you that I did that.'

This is a proof of Yaḥyā's fine intuition and good and reliable nature.<sup>10</sup>

[13.21.2.2]

Ibn Juljul says:

He [i.e. Ibn Juljul's informant] also treasured a curious anecdote about a case of treatment of [the caliph] al-Nāṣir. He said that al-Nāṣir suffered once from an earache when the vizier was still military commander of Badajoz. He received treatment, but [the pain] did not abate, and he sent a messenger to fetch [Yaḥyā ibn Ishaq]. When the messenger arrived, he was asked why he had been sent, and he replied that the Prince of the Believers was suffering from an earache that had defied [the skills] of the physicians. [Yaḥyā] turned aside on his way [to the palace] and stopped

9 Instead of sleep (*al-nawm*), which is the reading in all IAU's manuscripts, Ibn Juljul has 'I have not been able to urinate (*al-bawl*)'; see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 100.

10 Variants of this anecdote can be found in al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* and Ibn al-Jawzī's *K. al-Adhkiyā'*; see Ghersetti, 'Medici sagaci', 123.

by the Christian quarter, where he enquired about a learned man, and was directed to an elderly monk. When Yaḥyā asked him whether he had had any experience treating earache, the old monk replied: '[Use] warm pigeon blood.' When he met the Prince of the Believers he treated him with warm pigeon blood; and as soon as the blood was poured into [his ear], the earache vanished. This was a prodigious accomplishment [that demonstrates] Yaḥyā's careful examination and perseverance in acquiring knowledge.

### 13.22 Sulaymān Abū Bakr ibn Tāj<sup>1</sup>

Sulaymān Abū Bakr ibn Tāj lived during the rule of al-Nāṣir,<sup>2</sup> whom he served as physician. He was a noble doctor who treated the Commander of the Believers al-Nāṣir for an eye disease with an eye-salve (*shiyāf*) [that cured him] on the very same day. He was asked for a copy [of his recipe], but he refused to put it into writing. He treated Shunayf, the postmaster, for shortness of breath (*ḍiq al-naḥas*) with a confection (*la'ūq*) that cured him on the same day, after other physicians had failed to help him.

He used to treat the colic (*waja' al-khāshirah*) with a certain kind of pill he prepared, and the patient would feel better at once. However, he was niggardly as regards the sharing of his remedies. There are many anecdotes about his work as a physician. He was educated and virtuous, and a good companion and raconteur. Toward the end of his life he contracted an ulcerous disease (*marāḍ al-qurūḥ*) in his penis that he was unable to cure. God, the All-Powerful, made him recognise his inability and he cut it off. The Prince of the Believers appointed him judge of Sidonia.

### 13.23 Ibn Umm al-Banīn al-A'raf<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Umm al-Banīn, called al-A'raf, was a native of Cordova. He served the Commander of the Believers al-Nāṣir as his personal physician and was also his

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 102–103; and Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 78–79.

2 'Abd al-Raḥmān 111 al-Nāṣir governed as emir in 300–316/912–929, and as caliph until 350/961.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 103–104.



drinking companion. He was a clever physician, and there are many anecdotes that refer to his intelligence, but he was also conceited, and al-Nāṣir sometimes disliked him for that, though he sometimes needed him due to his great intelligence.<sup>2</sup>

### 13.24 Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih<sup>1</sup>

[13.24.1]

Abū ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Rabbih ibn Ḥabīb ibn Muḥammad ibn Sālīm was a client of the [family of the] emir Hishām al-Riḍā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, the one who emigrated to al-Andalus.<sup>2</sup> He was also the son of the brother of Abū ʿAmr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, the poet and author of *The Unique Necklace* (*K. al-Iqd [al-farīd]*).<sup>3</sup> His uncle, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, died in the month of Jumādah I in the year 328 [February 940] and was born in the year 246, 10 days before the end of Ramadan [8 December 860].<sup>4</sup>

Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was an excellent physician and a good poet. He wrote an excellent poem on medicine in *rajaz* meter, containing a fair part of the beauties of that art and demonstrating his expertise in the discipline and his excellent knowledge of the methods of the ancients. In addition, he was know-

2 IAU, who usually records all the information compiled in the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, did not copy the story that closes the account in Ibn Juljul's book: '[Ibn Umm al-Banīn] was a great admirer of young boys. An amusing anecdote that took place in one of the military campaigns of the Prince of the Believers [i.e. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III] is told about him: "One midday, he was in his tent; he had approached a young servant of his and was mounting him when a violent wind arose and blew the tents off. His tent was also blown away and fell down, leaving him exposed to the people when he was on top of the youth". See Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 104. We cannot know whether the manuscripts available to IAU contained this anecdote or not, but its omission might have been aimed at offering a respectable – and idealized – image of physicians.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 300–301; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 303; *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Abū ʿUṭmān' (R. Khune Brabant); *EI Three* art. 'Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Abū ʿUthman' (I. Sánchez). Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 104–106.

2 Hishām I, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, was emir in 172–180/788–796.

3 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih is the author of *The Unique Necklace* (*Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd*), a famous encyclopaedic and literary anthology, see *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih' (C. Brockelmann).

4 This first paragraph is not present in Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* and was taken from Šāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 78.

ledgeable about the motions of the stars and their nature, the ways the winds blow, and the variations of the air.<sup>5</sup> His method of treating febrile diseases was to mix some [white chalk]<sup>6</sup> with cooling medicines (*mubarridāt*), and it was an elegant method indeed.

[Sa'īd] never served any ruler as physician. He had a good knowledge of prognosis (*taqdimat al-ma'rifah*),<sup>7</sup> variations in the air, the direction of the winds, and the motions of the planets.<sup>8</sup>

[13.24.2]

Ibn Juljul says:<sup>9</sup>

Sulaymān ibn Ayyūb al-Faqīh<sup>10</sup> told me the following anecdote about him: Once I fell ill with a fever that affected me for a long time and had me at the point of death. [Sa'īd] happened to pass by my father on his way to meet Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā, the ruler of the city (*ṣāhib al-madīnah*); he approached him, made the due salutations, and asked him about my disease. [Sa'īd] asked my father about the treatment that I had received and criticized what I was taking; then he sent to my father eighteen round pills and ordered me to take [lit. drink] one of those pills every day. As soon as I had finished them the fever disappeared and I was completely recovered.

Sa'īd, may God have mercy upon him, became blind at the end of his life.<sup>11</sup>

5 This sentence, which is repeated below in almost the same terms, was not present in the text of the second version of the work, and was added by IAU to the third version. He was probably following the biography in Ibn Juljul's text without realising that he had already included this information.

6 The manuscripts leave a blank space in this passage or rephrase it, but this ingredient is not mentioned by IAU. The reading in Ibn Juljul's manuscripts is also unclear, but according to Fu'ād Sayyid, the editor of the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, it is plausible to read *al-ḥawār*, i.e., white chalk. See, Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 104, and 105 n. 4.

7 Perhaps the Hippocratic *Taqdimat al-Ma'rifah*, the title of the Arabic translation of the *Prognosis* (Ch. 4.1.9.1 title no. 5); on this translation, made by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, see Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 221–224 (n. 112).

8 For the last two paragraphs, cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 104.

9 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 104.

10 On Sulaymān ibn Ayyūb al-Faqīh al-Qurṭubī (d. 377/987–988) see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 766.

11 For this sentence cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 105 (end of biography); it was inserted by IAU – quite abruptly – in the middle of his quotation.

[13.24.3]

Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was to be bled one day. He wrote to his uncle Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, the poet and man of letters, asking him to come and keep him company, but his uncle did not respond and left him waiting, so Saʿīd sent him the following verses:<sup>12</sup>

Since I lacked a familiar friend to sit together with  
 I took Hippocrates and Galen as my boon companions,  
 And made their books the cure of my solitariness,  
     for they are the cure for every wound that has to be healed,  
 And I found that their knowledge, when I acquired it,  
     kindles and revives souls in their bodies.

When the poem reached his uncle, he replied with some verses, some of which run:<sup>13</sup>

You found that Hippocrates and Galen  
     would not eat and burden a host with expenses.  
 So you made them,<sup>14</sup> rather than your relatives, your protection  
     and was happy to let them be a friend and a comrade.  
 I don't think your miserliness will ever be seen to leave you  
     until, after them, you make the devil your boon companion.

Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was virtuous in his conduct. Toward the end of his life, he wrote about keeping oneself away from kings:<sup>15</sup>

Should I, after having delved in the sciences of truths  
     and my lengthy delight in the ways of my Creator,  
 At a time I am about to see His Kingdom,  
     be seen as seeking sustenance from anyone but my Sustainer?

12 Metre: *kāmil*. The first two lines also in Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 105; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, ii:64; Šāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 188; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i:120; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:238.

13 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 105; Šāʿid, *Ṭabaqāt*, 188; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i:120–121; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:238.

14 Plural (*-hum*), instead of the expected dual (*-humā*, which would not fit the metre); the same with 'them' in the second hemistich and the following line.

15 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 105; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, ii:64 (lines 1–2, 4–5); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i:121 (lines 1–2); Šāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 188–189; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:238.

The days of a man's life are the enjoyment of an hour  
 that comes fleetingly like a flash of lightning.  
 My soul has been informed<sup>16</sup> of the collapse of its saddle  
 and my driver drives me hastily towards death.  
 Even were I to go far away or turn fleeing to the horizons  
 from death, death will overtake me.

[13.24.4]

Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Rabbih is the author of the following works:

1. A medical formulary (*Kitāb al-Aqrābādhīn*).<sup>17</sup>
2. Notes and case histories in medicine (*Ta'ālīq wa-mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>18</sup>
3. A poem on medicine, in *rajaz* metre (*Urjūzah fī l-ṭibb*)<sup>19</sup>

### 13.25 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Barīq<sup>1</sup>

'Umar ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Barīq was a noble physician and a Qur'anic reciter of melodious voice. He travelled to Kairouan to [study] with Abū Ja'far ibn al-Jazzār,<sup>2</sup> but stayed there for only six months. It was he who brought the *Traveler's Provisions* (*Kitāb Zād al-musāfir*)<sup>3</sup> to al-Andalus. He enjoyed great prestige in al-Andalus and served al-Nāṣir as physician. Najm ibn Ṭarafah, the master falconer, who also wanted 'Umar as his private doctor, took him into his service and enriched him with a share of his own prosperity, but the physician did not live long.<sup>4</sup>

16 Reading *udhinat*; a possible alternative is *ādhanat*, 'announces, shows signs of' (Ibn Juljul, *Ṣā'id, Yatīmah, Wāfi*).

17 This treatise was also known as the *Book of the Drugstore* (*Kitāb al-dukkān*); see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Abū 'Uṭmān' (R. Khune Brabant). It remains unedited.

18 This work has not survived. On this genre of case histories (*mujarrabāt*); see Álvarez Millán, 'The Case History'.

19 Edition and Spanish translation in Brabant, 'La *urjūza*'.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 107.

2 See biography in Ch. 13.3.

3 Ibn al-Jazzār's famous treatise.

4 Ibn Juljul adds the following information: 'Abū Muḥammad ibn al-A'mā told me: "In the morning, when Abī Ḥafṣ ibn Barīq sat at the door of his house to act as jurisconsult (*li-l-futyā*), I saw at his side sixteen boys, all of them *ṣaqālibah* [slaves or Slavs]"; Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 107. On the ambiguity of the term referring to slaves/Slavs see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ṣaqālibah', esp. section 3, 'In the Muslim West'.

### 13.26 Aṣḡagh ibn Yaḡyā al-Ṭabīb<sup>1</sup>

Aṣḡagh ibn Yaḡyā al-Ṭabīb was experienced in the art of medicine and worked as physician for al-Nāṣir, for whom he made aniseed pills (*ḡabb al-anīsūn*).<sup>2</sup> He was a noble, respectable, and private man who enjoyed the esteem of the elites, and his testimony was accepted as one of the court-assigned notary-witnesses.<sup>3</sup>

### 13.27 Muḡammad ibn Tamlikh<sup>1</sup>

[13.27.1]

Muḡammad ibn Tamlikh was a man endowed with gravity and composure who was knowledgeable in medicine, grammar, language, poetry and transmission.<sup>2</sup> He served al-Nāṣir as physician when Aḡmad ibn Ilyās al-Qā'id was governor.<sup>3</sup> Al-Nāṣir assigned Ibn Tamlikh the Court of Rejections (*khuṭṭat al-radd*)<sup>4</sup> and appointed him judge of Sidonia. He composed works on medicine written in elegant form. Ibn Tamlikh lived until the beginning of the rule of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh.<sup>5</sup> He lived happily at court and served the caliph as physician.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 108.

2 As Ibn Juljul states, he ascribed the creation of this remedy to 'Imrān ibn Abī 'Amr, see above biography 13.16, and Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 98.

3 On these notary-witnesses (*udūl*) see Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, i:349–372.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 108–109, and Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 80.

2 In Arabic, *riwāyah*; this term refers to the transmission of poems, narratives, and Hadith, and might also be applied to the authorised transmission of scholarly works; see E12, art. 'Riwāya' (S. Leder).

3 Aḡmad ibn Ilyās was one of the viziers and qadis of 'Abd al-Raḡmān III al-Nāṣir.

4 All the manuscripts of the *'Uyūn al-anbā'* read "the sermon of rejection" (*khuṭbat al-radd*) instead of Court of Rejections (*khuṭṭat al-radd*), which is the reading in Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, (108). The Court of Rejections was a judicial magistracy that existed only in Western Islam, whence probably IAU's confusion. The exact competences of the magistrate in charge of this office remain obscure and often overlap with those of the so-called Court of Appeal or Court of Injustices (*khuṭṭat al-mazālim*), esp. after the 5th/11th cent. According to Ibn Sahl, the *ṣāḡhib al-radd* did not issue his own sentences but rather dealt with cases that other judges had rejected because they found them dubious. See Ibn Sahl, *Dīwān al-aḡkām al-kubrā*, 28.

5 Al-Ḥakam II reigned in al-Andalus between 350/961 and 366/976.

[13.27.2]

Al-Qāḍī Sāʿid says:<sup>6</sup>

The caliph entrusted Ibn Tamlikh with the task of supervising the expansion works at the south face of the Mosque of Cordova; he accepted this commission, and [the annex] was completed under his supervision and with his approval. I have seen his name written in gold, inlaid in a mosaic on the wall of the *miḥrāb*, with an inscription stating that the construction was completed under his inspection by command of the caliph al-Ḥakam in the year 358/968–969.<sup>7</sup>

Muḥammad ibn Tamlikh is the author of a book on medicine (*Kitāb Fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>8</sup>

### 13.28 Abū l-Walīd ibn al-Kattānī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn al-Kattānī, was a learned, venerable and noble-minded man. He had a sweet tongue and was beloved by commoners and nobles alike owing to his generosity, his knowledge, and his disposition to help others at his own expense, for he had no desire for money and never accumulated it. He administered treatments with gentleness.

Ibn al-Kattānī served al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir as physician. He died of dropsy (*al-istisqāʿ*).

6 Cf. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 80.

7 Ibn Juljul adds that 'his name was also engraved on coins (*al-mithqāl*), as he was supervisor of the Mint and Verifications' (*dār al-sikkah wa-l-amānāt*; on this word, see Dozy, *Supplément*, i:39 'des poids et mesures ... fonction d'intendant, etc. '); see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 109.

8 Ibn Juljul gives the title *Book of the Forms* (*Kitāb al-ashkāl*), see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 109.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. See Sezgin, *GAS III*, 320. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 109, and Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 80.

13.29 Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Kattānī<sup>1</sup>

[13.29.1]

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn al-Kattānī, learnt medicine with his uncle Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn and others of his generation. Ibn al-Kattānī worked as physician for al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ‘Āmir and his son al-Muẓaffar.<sup>2</sup> Then, with the beginning of the civil war, he moved to Saragossa and settled there.<sup>3</sup> He had talent for medicine and was advanced in that art, and he also had some knowledge of logic, the stars and many philosophical disciplines.

[13.29.2]

The Qāḍī Sā‘id says:<sup>4</sup>

The vizier Abū l-Muṭarraf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Kabīr ibn Wāfīd al-Lakhmī told me that Ibn al-Kattānī had fine discernment, an intelligent spirit and good comprehension, was an original and logical thinker, and had a vast fortune and great wealth. He died about the year 420/1029, when he was nearly 80 years old.

I have also read in some of his writings that he learnt logic with Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn al-Jabalī,<sup>5</sup> ‘Umar ibn Yūnus ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥar-rānī,<sup>6</sup> Aḥmad ibn Ḥafṣūn the philosopher,<sup>7</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the judge and grammarian, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Mas‘ūd al-Bajjānī,<sup>8</sup> Muḥammad ibn Maymūn known as Markūsh,<sup>9</sup> Abū

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. For Ibn al-Kattānī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 317, 319–320; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 270; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn al-Kattānī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh’ (Sabih Sadiq & Jorge Lirola Delgado). Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 82.

2 Both Ibn Abī ‘Āmir al-Manṣūr and his son ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī ‘Āmir al-Muẓaffar were chamberlains of al-Ḥakam II, but they ruled *de facto* during 356–392/967–1002 and 392–399/1002–1008 respectively.

3 The civil war (*fitnah*) in al-Andalus took place in 399–422/1009–1031.

4 Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 82.

5 See Ch. 13.34.

6 See Ch. 13.19.

7 See Ch. 13.30.

8 Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Mas‘ūd al-Bajjānī (d. ca. 400/1009–1010) was a poet who lived in Cordova, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Mas‘ūd al-Gassānī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh’ (J. Lirola).

9 Muḥammad ibn Maymūn, Markūsh, was a grammarian and a poet; see the brief entry in al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 284.

l-Qāsim Fayd ibn Najm, Saʿīd ibn Faṭḥūn al-Saraqusṭī known as al-Ḥammār,<sup>10</sup> Abū l-Ḥārith al-Uṣquf [i.e. the Bishop] the student of Rabīʿ ibn Zayd al-Uṣquf the Philosopher,<sup>11</sup> Abū Marīn al-Bajjānī, and Maslamah ibn Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī.<sup>12</sup>

### 13.30 Aḥmad ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥafṣūn<sup>1</sup>

Aḥmad ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥafṣūn was a physician and scholar gifted with talent, intelligence, and insight; he excelled in logic, and was learned in all the philosophical disciplines. Ibn Ḥafṣūn was a close associate of the chamberlain Jaʿfar al-Ṣaqlabī,<sup>2</sup> and acquired influence over his entourage. Jaʿfar introduced him to al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, the ruler of al-Andalus. Aḥmad served al-Ḥakam as his personal physician, but with the death of the chamberlain Jaʿfar he was removed from the registry of court physicians, and thereafter led an obscure life until he died from diarrhoea (*ʿillat al-isʿhāl*).

### 13.31 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Jābir<sup>1</sup>

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Jābir was a venerable man; he excelled in medicine and was forbearing and chaste. Ibn Jābir served al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh<sup>2</sup> as his personal physician, and he lived until the beginning of the reign of al-Muʿayyad.<sup>3</sup>

10 Saʿīd ibn Faṭḥūn was a logician; see the brief entry in al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 813.

11 Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, Recemundus in Latinized form, was the Mozarabic bishop of Elvira, author of the *Calendar of Cordova*. Al-Kattānī was the author of a book entitled *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*, the content of which is very similar to that of the *Calendar of Cordova*, see Christys, *Christians*, 131–132.

12 On al-Majrīṭī see above, biography 13.5.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 110, and Ṣāʿīd al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 80.

2 Jaʿfar ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaqlabī was chamberlain of the caliph al-Ḥakam II.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 110–111.

2 Al-Ḥakam II, al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, was caliph in al-Andalus in 350–366/961–967.

3 Hishām II, al-Muʿayyad bi-Allāh, was caliph in al-Andalus in 365–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013.



All the sons of al-Nāṣir revered and respected Aḥmad ibn Jābir, knowing what was due to him, and he enjoyed an honourable position as a trustworthy man both among them and among the high-ranking officials. He was learned and intelligent and left many books on medicine, philosophy and miscellaneous topics written in his own hand. He lived a long life.

### 13.32 Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Mālik al-Thaqafī<sup>1</sup>

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Malik al-Thaqafī was a scholar and a physician with a sound knowledge of the book of Euclid and of geometry. He served al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir as their personal physician, lame though he was. There are anecdotes about his medical exploits. Al-Mustanṣir and al-Nāṣir appointed him as [supervisor] of the arsenal (*khizānat al-silāḥ*). He became blind at the end of his life, and his eyes suppurated.<sup>2</sup> He died of dropsy (*al-istisqā’*).<sup>3</sup>

### 13.33 Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Ushūnī<sup>1</sup>

Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Ushūnī<sup>2</sup> was a teacher of physicians (*shaykh al-aṭibbā’*) and one of the best of them.<sup>3</sup> He was a trustworthy man, known for his practical skill. He served al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir<sup>4</sup> as physician.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 111.

2 Ibn Juljul includes the following anecdote in this biography: ‘He himself [i.e. al-Thaqafī] told me about something that happened to him: “Najm, the master falconer, used to join me every ʿīd, and once he appeared with twenty sheep, a hundred chickens, and geese, and uncountable marvellous things?” Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 111.

3 In Ibn Juljul, ‘diarrhoea’ (*ʿillat al-is’hāl*), *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 111.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 112.

2 I.e., from Osuna, a city in the province of Seville.

3 Ibn Juljul adds: ‘he was attached to the harem and the women’; see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 112.

4 That is, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II.

### 13.34 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn al-Jabalī al-‘Idwī<sup>1</sup>

[13.34.1]

In the year 349/960–961,<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn al-Jabalī al-‘Idwī travelled to the East, where he visited Basra but not Baghdad. Finally, he went to Fustat in Egypt, and there he assumed the direction of its hospital. He was experienced in medicine and excelled in that art, having mastered many of its principles. He devoted himself arduously to the study of logic, a discipline in which his master was Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī al-Baghdādī.<sup>3</sup> [Ibn ‘Abdūn] came back to al-Andalus in 370/ 980–981, and there he served al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh and al-Mu‘ayyad bi-Allāh.<sup>4</sup>

Before working as a physician, Ibn ‘Abdūn was an instructor of arithmetic and geometry, and he wrote an admirable book on the calculation of area.

[13.34.2]

Al-Qāḍī Sā‘id says:<sup>5</sup>

Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘id ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Baghūnish al-Ṭulayṭulī<sup>6</sup> told me that when he studied in Cordova, he had never known of anyone who surpassed Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn al-Jabalī in the art of medicine or was comparable to him in precision, skills, and knowledge of its mysteries.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn is the author of a book on the calculation of area (*K. Fī l-taksīr*).<sup>7</sup>

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. See Sezgin, GAS III, 303 (*sub* Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abdūn al-‘Udhri); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 274, n. 2 (referred to as Ibn ‘Abdūn al-‘Udhri al-Qurṭubī); *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn ‘Abdūn’ (A. Djebbar); *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn ‘Abdūn’ (A. Djebbar). Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 81. All the manuscripts of IAU read the *nisbah* *al-‘d-w-y*. Fu‘ād Sayyid’s reading is al-‘Adadī (‘Numberman’), which connects it with the following information about the man’s activity as ‘instructor of arithmetic and geometry’ (Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 115.) Al-Maqqarī also has al-‘Adadī (*Nafh al-ṭib*, ii:151), even though it is al-‘Udhri in ii:244. Al-Ṣafadī renders his name as Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn al-Jilī al-‘Adawī (*Wāfi*, iii:207). The *nisbah*, however, must be connected with the expression *‘idwat al-Andalus* (or *‘udwat al-Andalus*), referring to ‘the other side’ of the Strait of Gibraltar from an Andalusian point of view; see Dozy, *Suppl.*: *‘al-‘Idwī d’outre-mer, qui vient du nord de l’Afrique*’. This fits Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn, who came back to al-Andalus.

2 Ibn Juljul gives the date 347/958–959, see Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 115.

3 See Ch. 11.7.

4 That is, al-Ḥakam II and Hishām II.

5 Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 81.

6 See Ch. 13.38.

7 Edited by Djebbar, ‘al-Risālah fī al-taksīr’. See also Djebbar, ‘La géométrie’.

### 13.35 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq ibn al-Haytham<sup>1</sup>

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq ibn al-Haytham was among the luminaries of medicine in al-Andalus and was one of the most excellent of them. He was a native of Cordova.

Some of his works are:<sup>2</sup>

1. *The Culmination and Perfection of Purgative and Emetic Drugs* (*K. al-Kamāl wa-l-tamām fī l-adwiyah al-mus’ihilah wa-l-muqayyī’ah*).
2. Brief compendium on the errors in Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Reliable Book* (*K. al-iqtisār wa-l-ījāz fī khaṭa’ Ibn al-Jazzār fī l-i’timād*).<sup>3</sup>
3. *Sufficiency in [preparing] Remedies based on the Occult Properties of Things* (*K. al-Iktifā’ bi-l-dawā’ min khawāṣṣ al-ashyā’*), which he composed for the chamberlain and military commander Abū ‘Āmir Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Āmir.<sup>4</sup>
4. On hot winds (*K. al-Samā’im*).

### 13.36 Ibn Juljul<sup>1</sup>

[13.36.1]

Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul, was an excellent doctor with experience in treatment and great skill in the art of medicine. He lived in the days of Hishām al-Mu’ayyad bi-Allāh<sup>2</sup> and served him as physician.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 309–310; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 269; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn al-Hayṭam, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’ (A.M. Cabo González); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq’ (A.M. Cabo-González).

2 None has survived.

3 A critique of Ibn al-Jazzār’s *The Reliable Book on Simple Drugs* (*al-I’timād fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*); see above Ch. 13.3.

4 Abū ‘Āmir Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Āmir al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002) was chamberlain of the caliph al-Ḥakam II, a role similar to that of vizier in Eastern Islam.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. See Sezgin, *GAS* 111 309–310; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 66, 229–230, 268, 333; Gayangos, *History*, appendix xxii–xxvii; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Yūlyūl’ (I. Garijo Galán); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Juljul’ (I. Sánchez).

2 Hishām II al-Mu’ayyad bi-Allāh governed as caliph in al-Andalus during 365–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013.

Ibn Juljul was clever. He was interested in the efficacy of simple drugs, and explained the names of these drugs in the book of Dioscorides of Anazarbus,<sup>3</sup> making clear their secrets and shedding light on their obscure meanings.

[13.36.2.1]

At the beginning of his book he states:<sup>4</sup>

The book of Dioscorides was translated in Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate in the days of Ja'far al-Mutawakkil.<sup>5</sup> It was translated from Greek into Arabic by Işţifan ibn Basil the translator, and his work was examined by Ĥunayn ibn Işhāq the translator,<sup>6</sup> who corrected and certified the translation. Those Greek names that Işţifan knew how to translate, he translated into Arabic; and those for which he did not know of an Arabic equivalent, he left in Greek. He trusted that God Almighty would send someone after him who would know [the names] and render them into Arabic, for nomenclature is but the agreement of the people from each land to name the different classes of drugs as they consider appropriate, sometimes by [etymological] derivation, sometimes by other ways upon which they agree. Işţifan was confident that among those who were to come after him some would know those classes of drugs for which he was unable to find a name in his time, and would name them according to what they had learned in their own time, so that the [drug names] would finally be known.

[13.36.2.2]

Ibn Juljul says:

This book came to al-Andalus in the translated version made by Işţifan, containing those drug names that he knew how to translate into Arabic and those he did not know. The people profited from all that could be understood from it, both in the East and in al-Andalus, until the days of al-Nāşir 'Abd al-Raĥmān ibn Muĥammad, who at that time was the

3 On the reception and influence of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* in Islamic science, see Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*; and *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Diyuskuridis' (C.E. Dubler).

4 This is presumably a quotation from the prologue of the book listed below *sub* no. 1.

5 The Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil ruled during 232–247/847–861.

6 See Ch. 8.29.

ruler of al-Andalus.<sup>7</sup> Romanos, the Emperor of Constantinople, presented him with splendid gifts, in the year 337/948–949, I think.<sup>8</sup> Among those presents there was a copy of the book of Dioscorides illuminated with marvelous Byzantine illustrations of plants; the book was written in Greek (*al-ighrīqī*), i.e. ancient Greek (*yūnānī*). Together with it, he sent the book of Orosius, the author of stories, which contains a wonderful history of the Romans, with information about the past, stories about the first kings, and many profitable things.<sup>9</sup>

Romanos wrote to al-Nāṣir: ‘You will not profit from the book of Dioscorides unless you have someone with knowledge of the Greek language, who will recognize the characteristics of those drugs. If there is someone able to do this in your land, then you will enjoy, O King, the benefits of the book. As for the book of Orosius, you have in your land, among the Latin Christians, some who can read it in Latin, and if you allow them, they will translate it for you from Latin into Arabic.’

[13.36.2.3]

Ibn Juljul says:

In that time, none of the Christians of Cordova was able to read Greek (*ighrīqī*), i.e. ancient Greek (*yūnānī*), and the book of Dioscorides was kept in the library of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, in Greek, without being translated into Arabic. Thus, the book remained in al-Andalus while Iṣṭifān’s translation from Baghdad circulated among the people. In his answer to Romanos, al-Nāṣir asked him to send someone able to speak Greek and Latin to teach some slaves so that they would become translat-

7 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir governed between 300/912 and 316/929, and as caliph until 350/961.

8 The date given by IAU does not correspond to the dates of the rule of the Byzantine emperor Romanos II, who occupied the throne during 959–963. The emperor of Byzantium in 948–949 was Constantine VII, but it is also likely that Romanos II might have been associated with his father, as they are sometimes shown together in some imperial seals as co-regents; see Signes Codoñer, ‘La diplomacia del libro en Bizancio’. There is also evidence of a box sent to the Umayyad caliph in 949 with a portrait of Constantine VII; see Walker, *The Emperor and the World*, 90.

9 This work is Paulus Orosius’ *Historia Adversus Paganos*, mentioned by Ibn Juljul in the introduction to his collection of medical biographies as one of his sources (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 2); it was translated into Arabic in al-Andalus in the 4th/10th century. For editions of the Arabic Orosius see Badawī, *Orosius*; Penelas, *Kitāb Hurūsiyūs*; on its translation see Sahner, ‘From Augustine to Islam’.

ors, and the Emperor Romanos sent al-Nāṣir a monk called Niqūlā, who arrived in al-Andalus in 340/951–952.

At that time there were a number of physicians in Cordova who were interested in seeking, investigating and inquiring about the names of drugs in the book of Dioscorides for which the Arabic terms were still unknown. The physician who was most eager to investigate the matter was Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūṭ al-Isrāʿīlī,<sup>10</sup> who sought to be close to the king, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. The monk Niqūlā won [Ibn Shaprūṭ]’s favour, preference, and high regard, and he explained to him the names of the drugs in the book of Dioscorides that had previously been unknown. [Ibn Shaprūṭ] was the first physician in Cordova to prepare the great theriac (*tiryāq al-fārūq*) following the precise explanation of the botanical information contained [in the book]. Other physicians of that time who embarked on the task of investigating the question of the names of the drugs in the book of Dioscorides and identifying their classes were: Muḥammad, known as al-Shajjār [‘the botanist’]; someone known as al-Shabānisi;<sup>11</sup> Abū ʿUthmān al-Jazzār, who had the nickname of al-Yābisah;<sup>12</sup> Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd al-Ṭabīb; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Haytham;<sup>13</sup> and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣiqillī, who spoke Greek and recognized the characteristics<sup>14</sup> of the drugs.

[13.36.2.4]

Ibn Juljul says:

This group [of physicians] and Niqūlā the Monk lived at the same time. I was able to meet [Ibn Shaprūṭ] and Niqūlā the Monk in the days of al-

10 Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūṭ (spelled Shabrūṭ in Arabic), d. ca. 360/970–971, was a Jewish physician at the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. As a member of one of the most important Jewish families in al-Andalus, he was also a patron of sciences and a diplomat; see his biography in Ch. 13.49.

11 All the manuscripts of the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* read al-Basbāsī, which is most likely a misspelling for al-Shabānisi. Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Marwānī al-Shabānisi was a physician and a poet. Ibn al-Abbār states that he was a learned man (*min al-udabāʾ*), and one of the teachers of Saʿīd ibn Faṭḥūn al-Saraqusṭī al-Ḥammār, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmilah li-kitāb al-ṣilah*, ii:194. Al-Shabānisi was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1008) and a *qaṣīdah* asking for his forgiveness has been preserved by al-Ḍabbī (*Bughyat*, no. 1296).

12 This is likely a misreading of al-Yābisī, ‘native of Ibiza’.

13 See Ch. 13.35.

14 The term *ashkāl* might also refer to the figures or drawings of the plants, as interpreted by Dozy; see *Supplément*, s.v. *sh-k-l*.

Mustanşir, and fraternized with them at that time. Niqūlā the Monk died at the beginning of his reign of al-Mustanşir al-Ḥakam. With the research of this group who investigated the names of drugs of the book of Dioscorides, he had made it possible for their characteristics to be known in Cordova, especially regarding [the plants] of al-Andalus, dispelling every doubt from our hearts; he provided knowledge of their characteristics, and explained the meaning of their names almost without mistakes, apart from a few of them – about ten drugs – with which he was not familiar and about which he had no knowledge.

I had longed to know the explanation of the *Materia Medica* (*Hay-ūlā l-ṭibb*), which is the basis for compound drugs, and I had sought it eagerly until God, in His Grace, vouchsafed me this gift, and with the power that he granted to me, I was able to [accomplish] my resolution of reviving what was poorly taught and from which the bodies of the people could not benefit.<sup>15</sup> Since God created the cure and rendered it possible by means of what He caused to grow from the ground, and the animals He caused to appear upon it, and the [creatures] that live in the water and those which are lifted up in the air, and the minerals that lie in the depths of the Earth: in all this there is cure, and compassion and kindness.<sup>16</sup>

[13.36.3]

Ibn Juljul is the author of the following works:

1. Explanation of the names of the simple drugs in the book of Dioscorides (*K. Tafṣīr asmāʾ al-adwiyah al-mufradah min kitāb Diyusqūrīdis*), which he composed in Rabīʿ al-Ākhar of 372 [September-October 982] in Cordova, in the reign of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam al-Muʿayyad bi-Allāh.<sup>17</sup>
2. Treatise on the drugs not mentioned by Dioscorides in his book, both the profitable drugs used in medicine and those not used in medicine, which was composed to avoid neglecting them (*Maqālah fī dhikr al-adwiyah allatī lam yadhkurhā Dīsqūrīdis fī kitābihi mim mā yustaʿmalu fī ṣināʿat al-ṭibb wa-yuntafaʿu bihi wa-mā lā yustaʿmalu kaylā yughfala dhikruhu*). Ibn

15 Ibn Juljul is referring to the composition of his book on the names of simple drugs (title no. 1 below).

16 Despite the religious tenor of this last sentence, its vocabulary is surprisingly not Qurʾanic and has clear Aristotelian overtones. In the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Categories* the animals are divided into 'the animal that walks (*al-mashshāʾ*), the one that flies (*al-ṭāʾir*), and the one that lives in the water (*al-sābih*)', see Badawī, *Manṭiq Aristū*, i:51.

17 A reconstruction of the text has been made and translated into Spanish in Ibn Juljul, *Libro de la explicación de los nombres*. An independent edition and German translation was published the following year; see Ibn Juljul, *Die Ergänzung Ibn Ḥuljūls zur Materia medica*.

Juljul says that Dioscorides neglected this and he did not mention them, either because he did not see or know them personally, or because they were not used in his time or among the people of his generation.<sup>18</sup>

3. Explanation of the errors of some physicians (*R. Fi tabyīn fīmā ghalāṭa fihi baʿḍ al-mutaṭabbibīn*).<sup>19</sup>
4. Some stories of physicians and philosophers (*Dhikr shayʿ min akhbār al-aṭibbāʿ wa-l-falāsifah*), composed in the time of al-Muʿayyad bi-Allāh.<sup>20</sup>

### 13.37 Abū l-ʿArab Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>

Abū ʿArab Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad was one of the true cultivators of the art of medicine and a man deeply versed in knowledge of it.

The Qāḍī Ṣāʿid says:

The vizier Abū l-Muṭarrāf ibn Wāfid<sup>2</sup> and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿid ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Baghūnish<sup>3</sup> have told me that he was experienced in the principles of medicine, clever at applying them, and skilled in dealing with all medical specialities. And I have also heard from other people that, after Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūn,<sup>4</sup> no one rivalled Abū l-ʿArab in his achievements in the art of medicine or had his perspicacity. But toward the end of his

18 The only extant manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library. ms Hyde 34 (item 3), bears the title: *Maqālah fi dhikr mā qaṣara ʿan dhikrihi fi kitābihi fi l-adwiyah wa-l-aghdhīyah wa-l-ḥashāʾish* (see Savage-Smith, NCAM-1, 68–70 entry no. 15). It was first edited and studied by Johnstone, *Arabic Botany and Pharmacology* and then twenty years later edited with a Spanish translation (see Ibn Juljul, *Tratado Octavo*). The Oxford manuscript was also employed in the two editions of the first item in this list (Ibn Juljul, *Libro de la explicación de los nombres*, and Ibn Juljul, *Die Ergänzung Ibn Ğulġuls zur Materia medica*), and there has been considerable confusion between the two texts.

19 This work has not survived.

20 This work, usually known as *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʿ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ*, is the source from which IAU so often quotes. Ibn al-Abbār states that Ibn Juljul finished the book by the beginning of 377/987; see *Takmilah*, iv:85. This work has been edited by Fuʿād Sayyid. There is a Spanish translation by Llaveró Ruiz, *Generaciones de médicos y sabios* and a partial translation of the chapter on al-Andalus in Vernet, 'Los médicos andaluces'. On the selection criteria – and biases – of this work see Balty-Guesdon, 'Les *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʿ*'.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Cf. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 82–83.

2 See Ch. 13.39.

3 See Ch. 13.38.

4 See Ch. 13.34.



life love for wine took hold of him, and he was never found sober or free from the effects of alcohol, and this prevented many people from benefiting from him and his knowledge.

He died when he was almost ninety years old, after the year 430/1038–1039.

### 13.38 Ibn al-Baghūnish<sup>1</sup>

[13.38.1]

His name was Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Baghūnish. Al-Qāḍī Ṣā‘id says:<sup>2</sup>

He was born in Toledo, and then he moved to Cordova seeking for knowledge. There he studied arithmetic and geometry with Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, and medicine with Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūn al-Jabalī,<sup>3</sup> Sulaymān ibn Juljul,<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Shanā‘ah<sup>5</sup> and others. He then went back to Toledo and there he won the favour of the emir, al-Zāfir Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Amir ibn Muṭarrāf ibn Dhī l-Nūn,<sup>6</sup> enjoying his high regard and becoming one of the leading officials (*mudīr*) of his reign.

[13.38.2]

[Ṣā‘id continues:]

I met Ibn al-Baghūnish [in Toledo] later, at the beginning of the reign of al-Ma‘mūn Dhī l-Majd Yaḥyā ibn al-Zāfir Ismā‘īl ibn Dhī l-Nūn,<sup>7</sup> when he had abandoned the study of science for the study of the Qur’an, secluding himself in his house and avoiding contact with people. I found him to be an intelligent and conversable man who led a virtuous life; he wore clean clothes and had surrounded himself with notable books on the various domains of geometry and philosophy, and on all kinds of know-

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

2 Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 83.

3 See Ch. 13.34.

4 See Ch. 13.36.

5 Unidentified.

6 Ismā‘īl al-Zāfir ibn Dhī l-Nūn was the first emir of the *ṭā‘īfah* of Toledo in 423–435/1032–1043.

7 Al-Ma‘mūn ibn Dhī l-Nūn was the second emir of the *ṭā‘īfah* of Toledo in 435–467/1043–1075.

ledge. He explained to me that he had studied geometry and understood it, and that he had also studied logic and comprehended much from it; but that he had then abandoned those subjects and devoted himself to the study of the works of Galen, which he had collected, supplemented with his emendations and explanations. In that way he had succeeded in understanding the greater part of their contents, but he did not have experience in the treatment of patients, nor was he naturally gifted in the understanding of diseases. He died at the time of the Morning Prayer on a Tuesday, the first day of the month of Rajab in the year 444 [27 October 1052]. He had told me that he had been born in 369/979–980, and thus he was 75 years old when he died [i.e., 72 solar years].<sup>1</sup>

### 13.39 Ibn Wāfid<sup>1</sup>

[13.39.1]

The vizier Abū l-Muṭarrif ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Kabīr ibn Yaḥyā ibn Wāfid ibn Muḥannad al-Lakhmī belonged to one of the most distinguished families in al-Andalus, with noble ancestors of ancient lineage. He devoted himself intensively to the task of studying and understanding the works of Galen, and examining the works of Aristotle and other philosophers.

[13.39.2]

The Qāḍī Ṣā‘id says:<sup>2</sup>

He was an expert in the knowledge of simple drugs, and he was able to understand them better than anyone else in his time; he composed an excellent, matchless book on that subject, in which he masterfully compiled and classified what Dioscorides and Galen had written on simple drugs in their respective works. He once told me that he was eager to acquire [this knowledge], and to classify and explain the names and the characteristics of the drugs that these authors had compiled, and he classified them according to their [medical] efficacy, identifying various

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 210, 273; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Wafid, Abū l-Muṭarrif’ (C. Álvarez de Morales & J.M. Carabaza); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Wafid al-Lakhmī’ (J.M. Carabaza Bravo).

2 Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 83.

degrees. He worked on this for about twenty years, until he felt he had achieved his goal and attained what he desired. He had a delightful attitude and excellent practices.

He believed that one should not resort to treatments with medications as long as one is able to treat people with foodstuffs, and he thought that, when it was necessary to resort to treatment with drugs, one should not use compound drugs as long as a cure with simple drugs could be achieved. He considered that, if compound drugs were necessary, they should not be administered in large amounts, but in the smallest possible quantities. Many stories about him, and many famous anecdotes about his skill in curing grave diseases and dangerous maladies with the simplest and easiest treatments, have been preserved.

Ibn Wāfid took his residence in Toledo in the days of Ibn Dhī l-Nūn;<sup>3</sup> he was born in the month of Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the year 387 [December 997] and lived at least until 470/1077–1078.

[13.39.3]

Ibn Wāfid is the author of the following works:

1. On simple drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*).<sup>4</sup>
2. *The Pillow [Book] on Medicine* (*K. al-Wisād fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>5</sup>
3. Experiences in medicine (*Mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>6</sup>
4. Fine examination of the diseases affecting the sense of sight (*Tadqīq al-naẓar fī 'ilal ḥāssat al-baṣar*).<sup>7</sup>
5. *The Book of the Helper* (*K. al-Mughhith*).<sup>8</sup>

3 That is, al-Ma'mūn ibn Dhī l-Nūn.

4 The surviving fragments of this work have been edited and translated into Spanish; see Ibn Wāfid, *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada*. The work was translated into Catalan in the 14th century and several times into Latin in the 16th and 17th. The Latinized name of the author was Albenguefit. On these translations see, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, art. 'Ibn Wafid, Abū l-Muṭarrif' (C. Álvarez de Morales & J.M. Carabaza).

5 Edition and Spanish translation in Ibn Wāfid, *Kitāb al-wisād fī l-ṭibb*.

6 This work has not survived.

7 This work has not survived intact. An ophthalmological treatise under the title *Kitāb Tadqīq al-naẓar fī 'ilal ḥāssat al-baṣar* by Abū l-Muṭarrif ibn Wāfid was cited by the 7th/13th-century oculist Khalifa ibn Abī al-Maḥāsin, but thought to be lost; see Hirschberg, *Geschichte*, 61–64. However, a recently discovered fragment of a treatise of the same title and subject matter, now in National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, (NLM MS A 3/11, item 3) is possibly a unique fragment of the treatise, though its title varies by one word, with *'ilm* rather than *'ilal* (*Kitāb Tadqīq al-naẓar fī 'ilm ḥāssat al-baṣar*).

8 This work has not survived.

### 13.40 al-Rumaylī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Rumaylī [...] <sup>2</sup> lived in Almeria in the days of Ibn Ma'n, known as Ibn Ṣumā-dih, who adopted the title of al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh.<sup>3</sup> 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)*<sup>4</sup> states that al-Rumaylī was endowed with a grace that enabled him to achieve a position of privilege, skills to gain experience, which he did, and analytical acumen that impelled him to engage in discussion, which he was prone to do. Some began to follow his model, imitating him, and they competed in calling for his help, and in soliciting his aid to gain power. His soul did not indulge in the mundane, and he always followed the lawful path. Sometimes he treated the destitute, buying medicines and food with his own money; he was loved by both friends and strangers, and all he possessed used to go to acquaintances and friends until old age took him away and [the world] was bereft of his generosity, lamenting the void [he left behind].

Al-Rumaylī is the author of: *The Garden of Medicine (K. al-Bustān fi l-ṭibb)*.<sup>5</sup>

### 13.41 Ibn al-Dhahabī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī, known as Ibn al-Dhahabī, was well-versed in medicine and well acquainted with the books of the philosophers. He was passionate about alchemy (*ṣinā'at al-kīmīyā'*) and pursued the study of it arduously. He died in Valencia in Jumādā II of the year 456 [May-June 1064].

Ibn al-Dhahabī is the author of a treatise on the lack of nourishment in water (*Maqālah fi anna l-mā' lā yaghdhū*).

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'al-Rumaylī' (Documentación).

2 All manuscripts consulted have a blank space.

3 Al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh was emir in Almeria during 443–484/1052–1091.

4 See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn al-Yasa', Abū Yaḥyā' (M. Fierro). The work mentioned by IAU is now lost.

5 This work has not survived.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn al-Dhahabī, Abū Muḥammad' (Consejo de Redacción). Biographies 13.41 to 13.49 are an unacknowledged paraphrase of Ṣā'id al-Andalusī. For this one cf. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 85.

### 13.42 Ibn al-Nabbāsh<sup>1</sup>

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥāmid al-Bijā’ī, known as Ibn al-Nabbāsh, took a keen interest in medicine and the treatment of the sick. He possessed a sound understanding of the natural sciences (*al-‘ilm al-ṭabī’ī*) and had good discernment; he was also acquainted with all other intellectual disciplines (*al-‘ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah*). He lived in the region of Murcia.

### 13.43 Abū Ja‘far ibn Khamīs al-Ṭulayṭulī<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Khamīs al-Ṭulayṭulī read the books of Galen systematically and pursued the study of medicine, exploring all its methods. He was eager to learn the mathematical sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-riyāḍiyyah*) and devoted himself to that subject.

### 13.44 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khalaf ibn ‘Asākir al-Dārimī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Dārimī acquired a solid knowledge of the books of Galen and studied many of them with Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Baghūnish.<sup>2</sup> He also studied geometry, logic and other disciplines. He was solicitous in his language and by nature was generous in the help he gave. He had an admirable attitude towards treatment and was extremely well experienced in medical practices and the finer disciplines.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 85.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 85.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 85–86.

2 See Ch. 13.38. The MSS read in this case Baghūnish, without article.

### 13.45 Ibn al-Khayyāt<sup>1</sup>

Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad, known as Ibn al-Khayyāt, studied arithmetic and geometry with al-Qāsim Maslamah ibn Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently he became interested in astrology; he excelled in that domain and became famous for his knowledge. During the civil war, he served Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh<sup>3</sup> as astrologer, and he also served other emirs and servants of the emir al-Ma'mūn Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl ibn Dhī l-Nūn.<sup>4</sup> In addition, he was well versed in medicine and skilful in medical treatment. Ibn al-Khayyāt had fine judgement and was forbearing and mild-tempered. He led a righteous life, and his conduct was virtuous. His death occurred in the year 447/1055–1056, in Toledo, when he was almost 80 years old.

### 13.46 Munahḥim ibn al-Fawwāl<sup>1</sup>

Munahḥim ibn al-Fawwāl was a Jewish scholar who was a native of Saragossa. He excelled in the art of medicine, but he was also knowledgeable in logic and other philosophical disciplines. Munahḥim ibn al-Fawwāl is the author of *Treasure of the Poor* (*Kanz al-muqill*), which is a compilation of rules of logic and principles of natural philosophy written in the form of questions and answers.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Cf. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 86.

2 See Ch. 13.5.

3 The Umayyad caliph Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥakam governed in Cordova in 400/1009–1010 and 403–407/1013–1016.

4 Al-Ma'mūn was the emir of the *ṭā'ifah* of Toledo in 435–467/1043–1075.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn al-Fawwāl, Manaḥīm' (M. Rius). Cf. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 89. The name of this physician is also transcribed as Manaḥīm, which is a very un-Arabic form, since the common Arabic transcription of the Hebrew name מנחם is Manāḥīm. MS A adds a *shaddah* to the *ḥā'*: Munahḥim would make it morphologically identical with the Hebrew form (active participle of Form II).

### 13.47 Marwān ibn Janāḥ<sup>1</sup>

Marwān ibn Janāḥ, another Jewish scholar, was interested in logic and possessed an extensive knowledge of both Arabic and Hebrew. He was well versed in the art of medicine.

Marwān ibn Janāḥ is the author of the following works:

1. *The Epitome* (*K. al-Talkhīṣ*), in which he presents a multilingual glossary of the [names of] simple drugs.<sup>2</sup>
2. Register of scales employed in medicine for weights and volumes (*Tahdīd al-maqādīr al-musta'malah fi šinā'at al-ṭibb min al-awzān wa-l-makāyīl*).

### 13.48 Iṣḥāq ibn Qaṣṭār<sup>1</sup>

Iṣḥāq ibn Qaṣṭār was also Jewish. He served al-Muwaffaq Mujāhid al-Āmirī and his son Iqbāl al-Dawlah 'Alī. Iṣḥāq ibn Qaṣṭār had mastered the principles of medicine, possessed an extensive knowledge of logic, and was well acquainted with the opinions of the philosophers. He had an acute mind and a noble character; he excelled in the domains of the Hebrew language and Jewish law and was one of their rabbis. He never took a wife. He died in Toledo in 448/1056–1057 at the age of 75.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 272; Bacher, *Vier Abhandlungen über Abulwalīd ibn Ganāḥ*; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Yanāḥ, Marwān' (J. Martínez Delgado); *ET Three* art. 'Ibn Janāḥ' (I. Sánchez). Cf. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, 89.

2 This work has survived in Istanbul MS Ayasofya 3603 (fols. 1a–90b) and is currently being edited. It contains a glossary of drug names with around 1100 entries distributed into 27 chapters corresponding to the letters of the Arabic alphabet (except the letter *zā'* that does not have any entry). Each chapter is divided into three sections: the first one lists names of medicinal drugs, the second section deals with weights and measurements, and the third one contains explanations of difficult medical and philosophical terms. See Bos & Käs, 'Arabic Pharmacognostic Literature'.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Qaṣṭār, Abū Ibrāhīm' (M.A. El Bazi). Cf. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 89.

### 13.49 Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq<sup>1</sup>

Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq excelled in medicine and served al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh.<sup>2</sup> One of the rabbis of the Jews, he was outstanding in his knowledge of legal matters, and the first who opened the door for the Jews of al-Andalus to know their own laws, their history and other matters. Before him, they had depended on the Jews of Baghdad for their law and for the determination of the years of their history and the times of their festivals. It was from them that they learned how to calculate the number of years that had elapsed since their appearance in history and the beginning of their calendar. When Ḥasdāy entered the service of al-Ḥakam and finally reached a position that allowed him to bring from the East all the Jewish writings that he wished, the Jews of al-Andalus gained knowledge of matters of which they had formerly been unaware, and were thenceforth spared a good deal of trouble and inconvenience.

### 13.50 Abū l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy<sup>1</sup>

Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf was born in Saragossa to one of the noblest houses of the Andalusian Jews, belonging to the lineage of Moses the Prophet, peace be upon him.<sup>2</sup> He learned the ins and outs of various disciplines and acquired knowledge of all their methods. He had a sound grasp of the Arabic language and possessed an extensive knowledge of poetry and rhetoric. Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf also excelled in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. He understood the art of music and knew how to play, and furthermore he was proficient in logic and

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3 and lacking in Version 2. Abū Yūsuf Ḥasdāy (or Ḥisdāy) ibn Ishāq *ha-Nasī* (d. ca. 970) is the famous Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt who appears above in the biography of Ibn Juljul, when telling the story of the translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* (Ch. 13.36.2.3–4). On Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt, see *Encyclopedia Judaica*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ḥisdāy ibn Shaprut' (E. Ashtor); *EI Three* art. 'Ḥasdāy b. Shaprūt' (D. Wasserstein); and Alfonso, *Islamic Culture*, s.v. Ibn Shaprut. See also Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 88–89.

2 I.e. al-Ḥakam II.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 2, and lacking in Version 3. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Ḥasdāy, Abū l-Faḍl' (A.C. López y López); *EI Three* art. 'Ibn Ḥasdāy, Abū l-Faḍl' (I. Sanchez).

2 He was the grandson of Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt.



practised in research and inquiry. He also devoted himself to the natural sciences and had a theoretical knowledge of medicine. He was alive and still a youth in the year 458/1065–1066.

### 13.51 Abū Ja‘far Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy<sup>1</sup>

[13.51.1]

Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy was gifted in the art of medicine, and also took an avid interest in studying and understanding the works of Hippocrates and Galen. From al-Andalus he travelled to Egypt, and his name become famous there. He distinguished himself in the days of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, one of the Egyptian caliphs,<sup>2</sup> and became a close friend of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Nūr al-Dawlah Abū Shujā‘ al-Āmirī al-Ma’mūn, who at that time was in charge of the administration of the state. His term in office lasted three years and nine months, for al-Āmir appointed him vizier on the 5th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in 515 [2 February 1122], and he was arrested in the palace on the night of Saturday, the 4th of Ramadan, in 519 [10 October 1125], after the evening prayer, and was killed afterwards in the month of Rajab in 522 [July 1128] and his body crucified outside Cairo.

[13.51.2]

While al-Ma’mūn held the office of vizier, he was very ambitious and had a great desire for knowledge. He used to ask Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy to explain the works of Hippocrates to him, since they were the most precious and important books in that discipline, but also the most abstruse. Ibn Ḥasdāy was equal to the task.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have found that he composed a commentary on the Hippocratic *Oaths* (*Sharḥ K. al-Aymān li-Abuqrāṭ*) in which he gives a fine explanation of that book, examining its contents thoroughly and clarifying them in the best possible way. And I have found that he also had composed a commentary on some sections of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (*K. al-Fuṣūl*). He was a friend of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, known as Ibn Bājjah,<sup>3</sup> and maintained a correspondence with him from Cairo.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Ḥasdāy, Abū Ya‘far’ (A.C. López y López); *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn Ḥasdāy, Abū Ja‘far’ (I. Sánchez).

2 I.e. Maṣṣūr al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, the tenth Fatimid caliph, who reigned in 494–524/1101–1130.

3 See Ch. 13.59.

[13.51.3]

Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy was a heavy drinker, and there are jokes and anecdotes about him in that connection. I have heard that on one occasion, when he was returning to Cairo from Alexandria, he travelled with a Sufi with whom he fraternized and conversed along the way, until they reached Cairo. There the Sufi said: 'Tell me where you are going to stay in Cairo, so that I can visit you.' 'I have no other intention but to stay with the wine merchants and drink,' Yūsuf replied. 'If this suits you and you come along, I will see you there.' These words offended the Sufi, who disliked his companion's conduct and left for the Sufi lodge. Some days later, Ibn Ḥasdāy went to the market and saw a group of people gathering around a Sufi who was being reprimanded after he had been found drunk in public. When Ibn Ḥasdāy came closer and looked at him, he realized that he was the very same Sufi whom he had met, and said to him: 'By God, may the *Nāmūs* kill you'.<sup>4</sup>

[13.51.4]

Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy is the author of the following works:<sup>5</sup>

1. *The Ma'mūnian Commentary on the Hippocratic Oaths (al-Sharḥ al-ma'mūnī li-K. al-Aymān li-Abuqrāt)*, otherwise known as *Hippocrates' Covenant for Physicians*,<sup>6</sup> which he wrote for al-Ma'mūn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Āmirī.<sup>7</sup>
2. *Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms, Part One (Sharḥ al-maqālah al-ūlā min K. al-Fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt)*.
3. Some glosses I have found written in his own hand that he wrote when he arrived in Alexandria from al-Andalus.
4. Useful extracts from 'Alī ibn Riḍwān's *Commentary on Galen's To Glaucon (Sharḥ K. Jālīnūs ilā Ighlawqun)*,<sup>8</sup> which he selected and revised.
5. A tract on the beginning of Galen's *Small Art (al-Šinā'ah al-ṣaghīrah)*.<sup>9</sup>

4 Although not a Qur'anic term, the Greek borrowing *nāmūs* (νόμος) has been used since early Islamic times with the meaning of 'revealed law'. Eventually it was also interpreted as a reference to the angel who conveyed the revelation, Gabriel, which seems to be the meaning intended in this anecdote. On this term see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Nāmūs' (M. Plessner & F. Viré), and *Encycl. Qur'ān*, art. 'Nāmūs' (H. Motzki).

5 None of these books seems to have survived.

6 Cf. Ch. 4.1.9.1 no. 26.

7 I.e. the vizier, not to be confused with the caliph.

8 For 'Alī ibn Riḍwān's commentary, see Ch. 14.25.9 title no. 4; for Galen's treatise, see Ch. 5.1.37 no. 6. Ibn Ḥasdāy's commentary has not survived nor has that by 'Alī ibn Riḍwān.

9 For Galen's treatise see Ch. 5.1.37 no. 4.

6. Summary of logic (*K. al-Ijmāl fī l-mantiq*).
7. Commentary on the summary (*Sharḥ K. al-Ijmāl*).

### 13.52 Ibn Samajūn<sup>1</sup>

Abū Bakr Ḥāmid ibn Samajūn was proficient in the art of medicine. He was particularly well-versed in the properties and effects of simple drugs; he acquired all the necessary knowledge in that domain, and his book on simple drugs is well known for its quality. He worked hard and devoted all his efforts to the task of composing it, and he rendered justice to the ancients by including in it many of their opinions on simple drugs. Abū Yaḥyā al-Yasaʿ ibn ʿĪsā ibn Ḥazm ibn al-Yasaʿ says in *The Book that Declares the Good Qualities of the People of the West (al-Muʿrib ʿan maḥāsīn ahl al-Maghrib)*<sup>2</sup> that Ibn Samajūn composed this treatise in the time of the chamberlain Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr, who died in 392/1001–1002.

Ibn Samajūn is the author of the following works:

1. On simple drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*).<sup>3</sup>
2. A medical formulary (*K. al-Aqrābādih*).<sup>4</sup>

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 267; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 316–317; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Samajūn, Abū Bakr' (F. Benfeghoul); *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Ibn Samajūn' (J. Vernet).

2 See Ch. 13.40.

3 Also known with the title *al-Jāmiʿ li-aqwāl al-qadamāʾ wa-l-muḥdathīn min al-aṭibbāʾ wa-l-mutafalsifīn fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah* (*Compendium of the Sayings of the Ancient Physicians and Philosophers on Simple Drugs*). A facsimile edition has been published by in Frankfurt am Main, in 1990 by Fuat Sezgin. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī composed an abridgement of this work, see below Ch. 15.40. A selection of texts from this treatise has been published and translated into German in Kahle, 'Ibn Samağūn und sein Drogenbuch'.

4 Some fragments have survived in Bethesda, National Library of Medicine, ms A 3/11, fols. 4b–7a [old 3b–6a].

13.53 al-Bakrī<sup>1</sup>

Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bakrī was a native of Murcia and one of the luminaries of the people of al-Andalus. He possessed great expertise, and was one of the most knowledgeable men of his age in the domain of simple drugs, their efficacy, benefits, names, characteristics, and everything related to them. Al-Bakrī is the author of a book on the types of the plants and trees in al-Andalus (*K. A’yān al-nabāt wa-l-shajāriyyāt al-andalusīyyah*).<sup>2</sup>

13.54 al-Ghāfiqī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sayyid al-Ghāfiqī was a model of virtue, wise and learned, and one of the noblest men in al-Andalus. He was the most knowledgeable scholar of his time as regards the efficacy, benefits, characteristics, qualities and nomenclature of simple drugs. His book on simple drugs has no equal either for its quality or for its contents. In it, he summarizes the opinions of Dioscorides and the excellent Galen concisely and intelligibly. He then adds new information on simple drugs collected by physicians who lived in more recent times, and anything else that each of them reported and knew about that topic. The book became a compendium of what the most virtuous men had said about simple drugs, and a *vademecum* to which anyone in need of using these drugs may resort.

Al-Ghāfiqī is the author of *On Simple Drugs* (*K. Fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).<sup>2</sup>

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī (E. Lévi-Provençal); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 273. He is famous for several non-medical writings, such as his geographical works *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* and *Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam*, his commentary on al-Qālī’s *Amālī*, entitled *Simṭ al-la‘ālī*, and his work on proverbs, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, all published.

2 This work has not survived. It was a descriptive work of botany arranged in alphabetical order, and seems to have been one of the main sources for the medical glossary entitled *Umdat al-ṭabīb fī ma‘rifat al-nabāt* written by Abū l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī. On this author see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘al-Ishbīlī, Abū l-Jayr’ (J.M. Carabaza Bravo), and *EI Three* art. ‘Abū l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī’ (J.M. Carabaza Bravo); for the edition of this glossary, see bibliography under Abū l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Kitāb ‘umdat al-ṭabīb*.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 20, 168, 225, 258, 286, 303, 309, 3170, 320; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 276; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Ghāfiqī, Abū Dja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Sayyid’ (A. Dietrich); *EI Three* art. ‘Ghāfiqī, Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sayyid’ (L. Chipman). Six major essays on the author and his treatise are to be found in Ragep & Wallis, *The Herbal of al-Ghāfiqī*.

2 Seven manuscripts are known to be preserved, none complete. At McGill University, MS 7508

### 13.55 al-Sharīf Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī<sup>1</sup>

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Ḥasanī, called al-‘Ālī bi-Allāh, was well-versed in the domain of the efficacy, benefits, origins and categories of simple drugs.

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī is the author of a book on simple drugs (*K. Fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).

### 13.56 Khalaf ibn ‘Abbās al-Zahrāwī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Zahrāwī was an excellent physician with experience in the use of simple and compound drugs, and good at applying treatments. He composed a number of well-known works on medicine, the most remarkable of which is his largest book, known as *Al-Zahrāwī*. Khalaf ibn ‘Abbās al-Zahrāwī is the author of *On Provision for those Lacking Composition [of Books on Medicine]* (*K. al-Taṣrif li-man ‘ajiza ‘an al-ta’lif*). This was the largest and most famous of his writings, and a perfect book as regards its content.<sup>2</sup>

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in the Osler Library, although representing only the first half of the original work, is the oldest illustrated witness in existence; for a facsimile and study, see Ragep & Wallis, *The Herbal of al-Ghāfiqī*. Within a century of its composition, al-Ghāfiqī’s work was abridged by Bar Hebraeus (Gregorius Abū l-Faraj, Ibn al-‘Ibrī; d. 685/1286); this was later translated into Latin of which three MSS have survived; see Meyerhof & Sobhī, *The Abridged Version* for an edition of this abridgement. Another abridgement of al-Ghāfiqī’s work was made by Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Aḥsāī (d. 880/1475) and a copy with the title *Tartīb al-Ghāfiqī* (‘The rearrangement of al-Ghāfiqī’), dated 974/1567, has survived and is now preserved in Oxford; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 661–665 entry no. 182.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

1 This biography is present in Version 2 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 1. On Albulcasis and his famous book, see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘al-Zahrāwī’ (E. Savage-Smith); Sezgin, *GAS III*, 323–325, 414; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 149–151, 271; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Abū l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī’ (E. Llaverro Ruiz); Sezgin, *al-Zahrāwī: Texte und Studien*.

2 There is no critical edition or translation of the entire work. For a facsimile of Istanbul, Suleymaniyya Beşir Ağa MS 502, containing the entire treatise, see Sezgin, *Presentation*. For the contents of the treatise, see Hamarneh & Sonnedecker, *A Pharmaceutical View*. See also the long list of partial editions and translations in Llaverro Ruiz, ‘al-Zahrāwī, Abū l-Qāsim’, 690–693; and Savage-Smith, ‘Sources for editing a medieval Arabic surgical tract’.

13.57 Ibn Bakkalārish (?)<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Bakkalārish was an experienced Jewish physician who was one of the leading scholars of al-Andalus in the domain of medicine, with a particular interest in simple drugs. He worked as a physician in the service of the Banū Hūd.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Bakkalārish is the author of *The Tabular Book on Simple Drugs* (*K. al-Mujadwal fi l-adwiyah al-mufradah*), which is in tabular format. It was composed in Almeria for al-Mustaʿin bi-Allāh Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn al-Muʿtamin bi-Allāh ibn Hūd.<sup>3</sup>

13.58 Abū l-Ṣalt<sup>1</sup>

[13.58.1]

Umayyah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Abī l-Ṣalt was a native of Denia, in eastern al-Andalus, and one of the most outstanding scholars in the domain of medicine and in other disciplines. His well-known legacy includes a number of famous books. He excelled in medicine beyond anything attained by any other physician and acquired a knowledge of *adab* that few other educated persons have matched. His knowledge of mathematics was unique, and he was versed in both the theory and practice of music, for he was a good lute player himself. As a raconteur, he was witty, eloquent and profound. Moreover, he composed beautiful poetry.

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- 1 This biography is present in Version 2 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 1. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 275–276 (vocalized Bīklārīš); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Bīklārīsh' (A. Dietrich); various essays in Burnett, *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples*. The origin of the *shuhrah* of this physician, rendered in manuscripts as Ibn B-klār-sh or B-qlār-sh, is uncertain and it has been recently discussed in Labarta, 'Ibn Baklārīsh's *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīmī*', 20–21. It is, however, possible that it derives from the Latin *baccalarius*, which could have been the nickname of the physician's father. The term *baccalarius* had various meanings in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages: it could refer to a 'bachelor' associated to the Church, which is unlikely since this physician was of Jewish origin, or, as in southern France and Catalonia, to a peasant without land, a middle-class peasant, or even a soldier; see *Le Robert Dictionnaire Historique*, art. 'Bachelier'.
  - 2 The Banū Hūd were an Arab family who ruled the *tāʾīfah* of Saragossa in 431–503/1039–1110, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Hūdids' (D.M. Dunlop).
  - 3 This book was also known as the *K. al-Mustaʿīmī*. On this work see Burnett, *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples*.
- 1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 276; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Abī l-Ṣalt al-Dānī' (M. Comes); *EI* *Three* art. 'Abū l-Ṣalt Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz' (M. Comes) and *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abū l-Ṣalt Umayya' (S.M. Stern & J.M. Millás).

[13.58.2.1]

Abū l-Ṣalt travelled from al-Andalus to Egypt and lived for some time in Cairo before going back to his homeland. He arrived in Egypt by the end of 510/1117. While in Alexandria he was imprisoned. Sadīd al-Dīn al-Mantiqī<sup>2</sup> told me in Cairo, in 632/1234–1235, the story behind Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s imprisonment in Alexandria. A boat loaded with copper that had been sailing to Alexandria had sunk not far from there, and no way of raising it could be found, owing to the depth of the sea. Abū l-Ṣalt thought and pondered upon the matter until he came up with an idea. He went to al-Afḍal ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh<sup>3</sup> and told him that if the necessary equipment could be procured, he would be able to raise the ship from the bottom of the sea to the surface, despite its weight. Al-Afḍal was delighted and asked him to proceed. He provided all the equipment that Abū l-Ṣalt had requested, investing a great sum of money. When the equipment was ready, Abū l-Ṣalt had it placed in a big boat with the same dimensions as the boat that had sunk; making her fast with twisted ropes made of *ibrīsam* silk [i.e., probably ‘raw silk’], he had a number of experienced divers swim down and tie the ropes to the submerged boat. He had used geometric shapes to design a device, worked from the boat in which they were standing, that would raise the wreck, and he instructed his crew what to do with it. When they operated it, the ropes of *ibrīsam* silk were drawn toward them little by little and rolled around the wheels that they had in their hands, and the submerged boat appeared before them and rose almost to the surface. But then the ropes broke, and the ship fell and sank back to the bottom of the sea.

[13.58.2.2]

Abū l-Ṣalt had acted in good faith when he designed his invention to raise the boat, but fate was not on his side. Al-Malik [i.e., al-Afḍal] became furious with him because of all the money that he had invested in the device, which was now lost, and, although he did not deserve it, the vizier had him arrested. He remained imprisoned for some time, until some notables interceded for him and he was released. This happened during the caliphate of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh and the vizirate of al-Malik al-Afḍal ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh.<sup>4</sup>

2 Sadīd al-Dīn al-Mantiqī (the Logician) was one of the teachers of IAU’s uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah, see biography in Ch. 15.51.

3 That is al-Malik al-Afḍal Shahanshāh ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh (d. 515/1121). His father Badr al-Jamālī (d. 486/1094) was the Commander of the Armies (*amīr al-juyūsh*) of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanshir. Some manuscripts refer in this passage to al-Afḍal as the ‘King of Alexandria’, omitting his name, and he is also called al-Malik afterwards.

4 The story of his imprisonment is quite different in other sources. Al-Maqqarī states that he

[13.58.3.1]

I have copied from the letters of the shaykh Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān, known as Ibn al-Ṣayrafī,<sup>5</sup> something concerning this matter:

I received a note that Abū l-Ṣalt wrote while he was in prison. At the end, he copied two poems to be presented at the *majlis* of al-Afḍal. The beginning of the first one runs:<sup>6</sup>

The sun is below you in status  
and mentioning you is perfume – no, it is even more exalted.

The beginning of the second one runs:

The marvellous qualities of eulogizing you have abrogated love  
poetry:  
they suffice for us as *ghazal* and *nasīb*.<sup>7</sup>

[13.58.3.2]

And I – Ibn al-Ṣayrafī – wrote to him:<sup>8</sup>

Walls may have hidden you from us, but often  
we have seen the robes of the clouds on the sun.

I received a letter from my master and I kissed it before paying attention to its excellent contents or examining them, as if I had held the hand of its author and had taken it from the fingers of its own writer and composer. I saw the admirable and magnificent [words] there assembled, and the jewels set therein, which prompted a flow of feelings. And I saw something that captured my thoughts and my eyes, to which no eulogy or descrip-

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was imprisoned for ten years in the library of Alexandria after he was captured in al-Mahdia when he travelled as part of a Zirid embassy (*Naḥḥ al-ṭīb*, ii:105). Yāqūt, on his part, interprets that Abū l-Ṣalt's imprisonment was related with the fate of his patron Mukhtār Tāj al-Ma‘ālī, who had lost the favour of the emir (*Muḥjam al-udabā’*, ii:61–66).

5 Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Sulaymān al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147) was an Egyptian author who worked for the Fatimid chancellery. He wrote a treatise on chancellery practises entitled *Qānūn dīwān al-rasā’il*. This might have been the source referred to by IAU, but the extant fragments do not contain this information.

6 Metres: *kāmīl* (both lines). Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:325. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Maghrib*), i:191–193 has 31 lines of the second poem, which is said to have been composed in 514/1120–1121 for al-Afḍal, the all-powerful Fatimid vizier al-Afḍal ibn Badr al-Jamālī, on whom see *EI Three* art. ‘al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī’ (P.E. Walker).

7 Both *ghazal* and *nasīb* means love poetry, the latter specifically when it introduces a poly-thematic *qaṣīdah*.

8 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Attributed to Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Makhlad, known as Kubbah al-Kātib (3rd/9th cent.), in al-Marzubānī, *Muḥjam al-shu‘arā’*, 388; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, v:144.



tion could do justice. I then made haste to read it again and again from the beginning, to enjoy it in full measure:<sup>9</sup>

We repeat reading of (the letter's) paragraphs<sup>10</sup>

and when we have completed reading it we do it again.

When we spread it (*nasharnāhu*) its fragrance (*nashruhū*) is like musk;

and we fold it, not because we are bored but in order to withhold it from others.

[13.58.3.3]

You [i.e., Abū l-Ṣalt] wrote [in your letter] that it is necessary to accept the vicissitudes of fate, and that this is only an accidental event that will come to a satisfactory end in the course of time, because you trust in the benevolence of the Sultan – may God extend his days – and in his protection, and you believe all that is known about his beneficence and noble gestures. These are the words of someone whose intention has been purified by God and whose faith He has preserved, someone whose heart and convictions are free from doubt and who finds in His grace a reason to believe in goodness and to be aware of it, someone whom He protects against temptation and sins:<sup>11</sup>

Do not let a misfortune make you despair of being relieved of a worry,  
when cruel Time strikes you with it:

Be patient! For today will be followed by tomorrow  
and no hand can vie with the hand of the Caliphate.

[13.58.3.4]

You also suggest [in your letter] that whoever undergoes tribulation expiates his past sins and curtails the faults that will come to pass. May God protect this man from faults and deliver him from sin and error! For this is but a test of his trust and confidence in Him, and a trial of his forbearance and clear conscience in adversity; so have the God-fearing endured tribu-

9 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:325. Attributed in al-Tha'ālībī, *Muntaḥal*, 10, to al-Maryamī, probably the 3rd/9th cent. Egyptian poet al-Qāsim ibn Yaḥyā al-Maryamī.

10 Instead of *qirāti fuṣūlihi* (*qirāti* being a licence for *qirā'ati*), *Muntaḥal* has *qirā'ati faṣlihi*; but the plural ('paragraphs, passages') sounds more natural than the singular.

11 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:326. The lines are by 'Alī ibn al-Jahm, see ps.-Jāḥiz, *Maḥāsin*, 55, al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, 141 (line 1).

lation, and so have the pure and the righteous been put to the test. And God Almighty guides them according to His plan, determines their share and facilitates their lives with His grace. I once met someone who told me that he was bound to a promise, and that he had vowed to accomplish and keep it, because he had faith in the noble gestures [of the Sultan] for his servant's steadfast loyalty. He told me that with this in mind, he had waited to seize the opportunity and was watchful until he saw the right moment to step forward and address [the Sultan], and God Almighty helped him to keep his determination and to persevere, and He directed him towards that which he intended and desired.

As for the two poems that he presented to me, I have not seen anything better in its beginning, development, and end; nor anything more captivating to the heart and ear, nor a more amazing source of novelties, a better compendium of eloquence, expression and powerful rhymes; nothing more balanced despite the disparities and antitheses that abound in poetry. The more I read and repeat these two poems, the more beautiful I find them.<sup>12</sup> I take as a good omen the placing of the poem on liberation [from prison] after the poem on imprisonment.<sup>13</sup> May God – exalted be He – fulfil my hopes and expectations, and may He bring me the full happiness that I strove to achieve, if it be His will.

[13.58.4.1]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: Abū l-Ṣalt – may God have mercy upon him – died on a Monday at the beginning of Muḥarram in the year 529 [October 1134] in the city of Mahdia, and was buried in Monastir. On his deathbed he composed some verses and ordered that they should be engraved on his tomb:<sup>14</sup>

I have dwelled in you, Abode of Transience, believing  
that I would go to the Abode of Permanence.  
The most overwhelming thing is that I am going  
to One who is just in His judgement, not unfair.

12 This last sentence can be also understood as: 'I found that their beauty increases with the use of anaphora (*takrīr*) and the repetition of words and ideas (*tardīd*).

13 Another play on words: a rhyme that ends on a consonant is called a *qāfiyah muqayyadah*, 'a fettered, or shackled, rhyme', and one that ends in a vowel is a *qāfiyah muṭlaqah*, 'a freed rhyme'. The first of the two poems, it will be remembered, rhymed on *-l*, the second on *-bā*.

14 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (Maghrib)*, i:269–270; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:246; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:405.

Would that I knew how I shall meet Him then  
 when my provisions are scant and my sins many!  
 If I will be requited for my sin, then I  
 am deserving the worst punishment of sinners,  
 But if there be forgiveness for me there and mercy,  
 then there is lasting bliss and joy.

[13.58.4.2]

When Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was about to return to al-Andalus, Zāfir al-Ḥaddād al-Iskandarī<sup>15</sup> wrote [the following verses] in Cairo and sent them to Abū l-Ṣalt, who was in Mahdia.<sup>16</sup> In them he describes his affection for the physician and the days they had spent together in Alexandria:<sup>17</sup>

Is there no recovery from my illness after separation from you?  
 It is a poison, but the antidote lies in meeting you.  
 O sun of excellence that has set in the west, though its light  
 shines over every country in the east:  
 May the first spring rain (*‘ahd*) water a time (*‘ahd*) when I knew you, its  
 memory (*‘ahd*)  
 restored in my heart by a promise (*‘ahd*) and a covenant that will not  
 be lost,<sup>18</sup>  
 Renewed by a recollection that is sweet, as when  
 a little turtledove coos, hidden by leaves of the trees.  
 5 You have a generous character, ‘haute couture’,  
 whereas most other people’s (*khalīqah*) characters (*akhlāq*) are  
 shabby (*akhlāq*).  
 I have been weakened, Abū l-Ṣalt, since your abodes have become  
 remote from mine, by worries and yearnings.  
 When it is hard for me to extinguish them with my tears  
 they occur while they burn between my eyelids.

15 Abū Naṣr Zāfir al-Ḥaddād al-Iskandarī (d. 529/1134) was an Egyptian poet. Abū l-Ṣalt quotes some of his verses in *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 53f. On al-Ḥaddād al-Iskandarī see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:540–543, al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (Miṣr)*, ii:1–17.

16 Mahdia (al-Mahdiyyah), in present-day Tunisia, was founded by ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdi (r. 297–322/909–934), the founder of the Fatimid dynasty; see *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘al-Mahdiyya’ (M. Talbi).

17 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā’*, xii:29–31 (lines 1–15).

18 A virtually untranslatable line exploiting some of the many meanings of the word *‘ahd*. Invoking rain is a traditional way of expressing a blessing.

Clouds, urged onward by a sighing, that is drawn  
 through my collarbones and chest, by a gasping.<sup>19</sup>  
 Once I had an ample treasure of fortitude,  
 but I had to spend it for difficult misfortunes;  
 10 And a sword that, when I drew its blade partly from its sheath  
 against a host of calamities, would parry them with heavy blows,  
 Until separation (*bayn*) made clear (*abāna*) that its blade (*ghirār*)  
 was an illusion (*ghurūr*) and the treasure poverty and destitution.  
 My brother, my lord, my master: a call from a devoted friend  
 who will not be freed from the bondage of your friendship!  
 Though the large distance moves us apart,  
 as does the incessantly turbulent sea with swelling crests,  
 And deserts where the reddish-white camels, if I charged them to cross  
 them,  
 would fall short, tired, worn out by slow trot or quick pace,  
 15 You have my affection that clings just as  
 rings cling to the necks of doves.  
 Ah, will the splendid days with you return as I knew them, and will  
 the mouth (*thaghr*) of the harbour town (*thaghr*) show its sparkling  
 teeth?<sup>20</sup>  
 On nights that a reply will bring us near, one that brings us  
 closer again, like intertwined trees joined by one trunk,  
 With a garden of your fine words between us,  
 where our eyes envy our ears,  
 Novel talk (*ḥadīth ḥadīth*), however long yet concise,  
 informative, readily speaking to the heart of the addressee,  
 20 Spurred on by a brimful sea of your knowledge  
 to which every swollen, overflowing sea is mere shallow water.  
 Thoughts like towering mountains, sound,  
 containing delicate, sweet expressions,  
 In which there are wondrous discovered wisdoms,  
 philosophers being enamoured of their splendid virginal ideas.  
 If Aristotle were alive he would be in love  
 with them, his heart always pondering them longingly.  
 You, unique one in excellence, whose food is knowledge,  
 while other scholars merely yearn to smell and taste of it:

19 Reading *yajurruhū* (*Muḥjam al-udabā'*); AR: *li-ḥarrihī*, 'its heat (has)'; L: *li-ḥaddihī*, all of which seems less appropriate.

20 The town is Alexandria.

- 25 If my letters fall short it will not be strange if it is because of some  
 excuse that  
 is an obstacle-destined events are snares.  
 I have written them when the evils of the seas returned them,  
 or, if not returned to me, drowned them.  
 Seas ruled by winds: these are  
 keys as well as locks to their doors.  
 Who will help me obtain a look at you,  
 so that my restlessness is assuaged and outpoured tears stinted?

[13.58.4.3]

In one of his poems, Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz praises Abū l-Ṭāhir Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm ibn Mu‘izz ibn Bādīs<sup>21</sup> and describes the arrival of the Emperor of the Byzantines with gifts to express his desire to end the war in 505/1111–1112:<sup>22</sup>

- He gives you presents who, if you wished, would himself receive them,  
 or, if not, guarantee to him the smooth, straightened lances  
 And every Surayjī<sup>23</sup> sword that, robbed of its sheath,  
 finds itself a substitute in the skull of warriors!  
 He chose a single one among the Indian blades, whose custom it is,  
 when it is unsheathed on a day of battle, to be paired with another  
 single;  
 Sword edges that thick necks are accustomed to meet,  
 just as their sheaths are accustomed to be shunned by them.  
 5 You left in Constantine<sup>24</sup> the lord of its realm  
 in terror, some of which he hid and some of which he showed.  
 You barred for him the west, where the sun sets, with sword-edges;  
 he would have liked, wary of you, to have overcome the barrier.  
 It was reluctantly that he obeyed you, showing  
 love and affection to you in these letters,

21 Abū l-Ṭāhir Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm ibn al-Mu‘izz ibn Bādīs was the Zirid emir of Mahdia in 509–515/1116–1121.

22 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

23 An old epithet of swords of uncertain origin, said by some to derive from a legendary sword-maker called Surayj. In line 3, ‘Indian’ is another common epithet of excellent swords.

24 Qusṭantīnah, in present-day Algeria; not Qusṭantīniyyah (Constantinople) as wrongly (and unmetrical) in MSS A and R.

Because you, whether you threaten him or promise him,  
     are true to your word, not going back on threat or promise.  
 Indeed, if you wished you would dispatch at him  
     grey-haired noblemen as well as his beardless boys,  
 10 Who would repel the bloody lance tips  
     that at their hands are imagined to be inflamed eyes.(?)  
 The kings of the earth would give their lives for you,  
     even the most remote, the highest in rank, the most ancient in glory.  
 While they are fond of a dark, languid eye (*tarf*),  
     you are fond of a thick-legged, sturdy highbred horse (*tirf*),  
 And any coat of mail<sup>25</sup> well-woven by the blacksmith,  
     who made a double layer of interlocking ringlets,  
 And any quivering brown lance and cutting white sword,  
     the one embracing a body, the other kissing a cheek.  
 15 These are qualities such that if the Nights<sup>26</sup> were adorned  
     by the least of them, all that is black in them would turn white.  
 Therefore, command Fate whatever you choose, and it will obey  
     your command as a decree that cannot be opposed.

## [13.58.4.4]

In another poem, which is dedicated to al-Afḍal, he describes how he led the armies against the Franks in Syria after the defeat of his army in a place known as al-Baṣṣah,<sup>27</sup> that some members of the army and other people had conspired to kill him after that event, and that when this became known they were captured and executed:<sup>28</sup>

These are the resolutions that have the Divine Decree as one of their  
     supporters;  
     these are the batallions that have Victory as one of their followers!  
 You dispatched, for the Religion (of Islam), when (other) swords were  
     sheathed,  
     a sword by which the vicissitudes of time are blunted

25 The Arabic *aḍāh* literally means 'pond'; a coat of mail is very often compared to the rippling surface of water.

26 I.e., Time.

27 Al-Baṣṣah is a small town Northern Palestine that was sometimes used as a Crusader encampment.

28 Metre: *basīt*. Al-Afḍal is the Fatimid vizier al-Afḍal ibn Badr al-Jamālī, who had taken Jerusalem from the Seljuqs but then lost it to the Franks on their first Crusade. Lines 1–14, 16–18, 20–21, 27–31, 33–37, 40–43 in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharidah (al-Maghrib)*, i:218–220, lines 3, 8, 1, 15, 17–18, 20, 27–29, 34–38, 43 in Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:328–329.

- And you stood up when all other kings sat down,  
to defend it, protect it, and help it to gain victory,  
With white (swords) (*bīd*) that make their stars<sup>29</sup> fall on the helmets  
(*bayd*)  
and with brown (spears) that are entangled under the shades of the  
dust.<sup>30</sup>
- 5 White swords that, when their tongues preach victory,  
do so from the pulpits of livers and necks;  
And hardened spears of Khaṭṭ,<sup>31</sup> drawn,  
their length implying a shortening of the enemies' lives:  
With these the lions of al-Sharā<sup>32</sup> come to the waters of death,  
warriors who hasten to respond when asked for succour,  
Clad in mail: when they draw their swords  
one would compare these to canals stretching from ponds.  
They are men whose arms are lengthened with white Indian swords;  
it would not harm their swords if their tips were broken.
- 10 When they unsheathe them, with a trail of dust above them,  
like the sun that rises while the night is dark,  
Their souls are at ease, elated to join the fight;  
the blood is like wine, the sword-tips like flowers.  
And if, once, they withdraw, it is no wonder:  
a sword, even a sharp one made of steel, sometimes fails to cut.  
Returning is more laudable, when final success in time  
is guaranteed and God's promise is expected.  
Sometimes Fate is foul, but subsequently things that please you  
occur in hours followed by other hours.
- 15 God has adorned<sup>33</sup> Time with you, a king  
to whom are the fetlocks and blazes of Time.<sup>34</sup>

29 Reading *anjumahā*. Instead of an accusative one could read a nominative (*anjumuhā*) if instead of *tusqītu* one reads *tasquṭu*, '(whose stars) fall'.

30 Probably a reference to an often-quoted line by Bashshār ibn Burd in which swords descending in the stirred-up dust of the battle are compared to stars in the night (Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tashbihāt*, 153); cf. also line 10.

31 See above, Ch. 10.68.2.2, vs. 65.

32 See above, Ch. 10.64.17.2, vs. 26. Here the article *al-* is omitted in the Arabic for the sake of the metre.

33 An optative is also possible: 'May God adorn', but one must assume the poet thinks that it is already the case.

34 A horse's white fetlocks and blaze are a traditional image of splendour. Addressing al-Afḍal as 'king' is not far-fetched since he was the factual ruler of the Fatimid realm.

- How wonderful is your strength when other hearts are flighty,  
 when horsemen perish and the fire of war is ablaze,  
 When the battle-dust forms canopies above the solid lances  
 which are smoke, while the lance-tips are sparks;  
 When a sword is retracted, its edge<sup>35</sup> showing clotted blood  
 like the face of a virgin whose cheek blushes bashfully;  
 And when you stood fast as a sword, all alone,  
 held back by neither cowardice nor weakness:  
 20 Were you not terrified by the numbers you confronted?  
 It was all equal to you, whether the foes were few or many.  
 This is magnanimity, though it is extravagance;  
 this is courage, though it is recklessness.  
 God,<sup>36</sup> in religion and worldly matters: both have no one but you  
 as shelter, cornerstone, refuge.  
 Some people wanted to plot against you; but they did not know  
 that wishes are hazards, some of them dangerous.  
 No chance! How could one wish to seek Capella<sup>37</sup>  
 if one's mind and his eyes were closed shut?  
 25 Lions, in the middle of their den, scorn to be frightened  
 by a herd of brown gazelles.  
 A plot they hatched; had they been on the point of executing it they  
 would  
 have stopped, like an onager<sup>38</sup> that moves neither to nor from the  
 waterhole.  
 So strike with your sword those who oppose you, wreaking vengeance:  
 swords are preserved for the iniquitous.  
 It does not always happen that one sees kings forgiving  
 crimes and pardon when they are able.  
 There are some criminals who cannot be overlooked;  
 there are some sins that cannot be forgiven.  
 30 Lances are branches from which shade can be sought,  
 their only fruit being the heads of foes.

35 Reading *ḥadduhū* with Gc and *Kharīdah*, which seems better than *khadduhū* (A, L, B, R, H); but it is just possible that the unusual metaphor ('then sword's cheek') is intended, despite the awkward repetition in the line. R has 'its cheek is moist (*yandā*) with clotted blood'.

36 The sentence looks incomplete.

37 Capella, a bright star near the north celestial pole, is proverbial for being distant.

38 Reading *ʿayr* (as vowelled in A) rather than *ʿīr*, 'caravan'.



The state of the realm can only become in good order  
 when one sees heads rolling.  
 Your view is the right one in all you do  
 and you know best what to do and what to leave.  
 Shahanshāh<sup>39</sup> has become an abundant shower of generosity,  
 by which every country needs to be watered;  
 One who stabs a thousand, all in a row,  
 and one who gives a thousand, that is purses;<sup>40</sup>  
 35 A king whose seat has ascended above the Pleiades,  
 so how could human beings aspire to reach his goals?  
 His generosity is hoped for, the extent of his power is feared:  
 like Fate, benefit and harm are found in him.  
 I have never heard or have been told about anyone  
 before him who gives the world away and apologises!  
 And I have never seen, before I saw his splendour, a sun  
 revealing its radiance while rain showers pour down.  
 O exalted king, with whom Time is exulting  
 and with whom Bedouins and townspeople are delighted,  
 40 Hereby comes to you an elegantly composed poem of my adorned  
 speech,  
 so splendid that mantles and striped cloaks are folded up.<sup>41</sup>  
 They are pearls, but what strung them was  
 what the mind contained, and among its divers were thoughts.  
 It will last while patched-up poems will disappear,  
 made by those who had better remained dumb than composed them.  
 And I have not made it too long, because I am well aware  
 that whoever is long-winded falls short.  
 May you last for the religion and the world, and may the necks  
 of those lofty deeds not be devoid of these pearls!

39 Shāhanshāh (from Persian *shāhān-shāh*, 'King of kings') was al-Afḍal's personal name. Its first vowel is sometimes shortened (as here, on account of the metre).

40 A *badrah* ('purse') contained a large sum of money (often said to be 10,000 dirhams but other amounts are mentioned).

41 Meaning not wholly clear. There is a play on words (*muḥabbarah*, *ḥibar*).

[13.58.4.5]

He also wrote:<sup>42</sup>

A slender youth: the beauties of his face share<sup>43</sup>  
 what he pours from his pitcher into the cup:  
 Its effect from his eyes, its colour from  
 his cheeks, and its taste from his saliva.

And he composed, describing the Pleiades:<sup>44</sup>

I saw that the Pleiades have two states,  
 in which they offer a curious sight.  
 When they rise in the east they present an image  
 the reverse of which is presented when they set in the west:  
 They ascend like a wine cup when it is urged along<sup>45</sup>  
 and they set like a cup when one drinks it.

On a place known as Birkat al-Ḥabash ('The Pond of the Abyssinians') in Egypt,<sup>46</sup> he wrote:<sup>47</sup>

Ah, what a day I had at Birkat al-Ḥabash!  
 The horizon was between light and dusk;  
 The Nile moved under the winds  
 like a sword drawn by the hand of a shivering man,  
 While we were in a variegated garden,  
 brocaded and embroidered with blossom,

42 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:245; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:328; al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, ii:107.

43 *Naḥḥ*: 'have drunk' (*sharibat*).

44 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:326. For a German translation, see Kunitzsch & Ullmann, *Die Plejaden*, 73 (with several similar epigrams by other poets including Ibn al-Mu'tazz).

45 A wine cup or glass is normally passed round in a circle of drinking companions.

46 A pool or lake on the southern fringes of Fustat, from which an aqueduct conveyed water to the city.

47 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:229–230; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, vii:65–66; Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Badā'ī'*, 381; idem, *Gharā'ib al-tanbīhāt*, 64 (lines 1–2); Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:326–327 (lines 1, 3–7); al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, iii:322–323. On Birkat al-Ḥabash see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, i:401–402 (including the poem) and al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muhāḍarah*, ii:390 (with lines 1–4 of the poem). Umayyah Abū l-Ṣalt quotes it in his *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 21, attributing it to 'one of us' (meaning himself).

Woven for us by the hand of Spring,  
 so we sat on carpets of its weaving.  
 The most boring of all people would be a man  
 who, invited by amorousness, would not now be frivolous.  
 So hand me the wine! He who leaves it alone  
 will not be restored from the onslaught of worry.  
 And give it me to drink in large cups filled to the brim,  
 for that is better for slaking a vehement thirst!

And also:<sup>48</sup>

I am amazed about your eyes, so languid,  
 how they can catch a proud hero!  
 They act on us, though sheathed in their lids,<sup>49</sup>  
 like swords when drawn.

And he wrote:<sup>50</sup>

His ears are deaf to reproachers,  
 he refuses to listen and will not be consoled for his passion.  
 Woe the slave of love! He is always in torment,  
 by the flickering of lightning flashes or the visit of a nightly phantom.  
 When anxieties succeed one another in the evening  
 they send the pangs of distress inside his ribs.  
 Pity the tormented lover who complains  
 to a pampered one who complains of having nothing on his mind.  
 He is intoxicated with two kinds of wine: a wine from the glass  
 that has affected his eyes, and a wine of flirtation;  
 He is like a white antelope, save that this one is always  
 unadorned, while he on every occasion (*ḥāl*) is bejewelled (*ḥālī*).  
 He does not sober up; will someone become sober in whom  
 a choice claret wine has been poured?  
 My enemy, having learned what I have suffered, pities me;  
 envious people, seeing my plight, feel sorry for me.

48 Metre: *sarī*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:245, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:325.

49 The Arabic *jaḥn* means both 'eyelid' and 'sheath'.

50 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-İṣḫānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:246–247, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:327 (lines 4–5, 7–8).

You who have pared down my body with your long avoidance,  
 will you not grant me at least the promise of being together?  
 I have been longing for something from you; if only you punished me  
 avoiding me because you reproach me, rather than avoiding me being  
 bored!

[13.58.4.6]

He described a grey horse with the following verses:<sup>51</sup>

A grey horse: like a shooting star in the morning it came,  
 moving in gold-woven horse-cloths.  
 Someone envying me, having seen it behind me  
 as a spare mount, on its way to battle, said:  
 'Who has bridled dawn with the Pleiades  
 and has saddled the lightning with a crescent moon?'

He also said:<sup>52</sup>

To surround himself with intelligent people is the best way  
 for someone of authority to rule.  
 This is more fitting for him; though it will not harm him  
 to surround himself with entertaining people, on rare occasions.  
 Mercury is most of the time  
 closer to the sun than is Venus.<sup>53</sup>

And also:<sup>54</sup>

From a white antelope, one of the Byzantines, who has struck  
 my heart with an arrow from black-and-white eyes that hit the  
 mark,<sup>55</sup>

51 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basī*. Al-İṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:247; al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ* iii:483; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:327. For a German translation, see Kunitzsch & Ullmann, *Die Plejaden*, 41.

52 Metre: *sarī*. Al-İṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:222, al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, iii:481.

53 Mercury stands for intelligence and science, Venus (here *al-Zuhrah*, as a poetic licence for *al-Zuharah*) for pleasure.

54 Metre: *sarī*. This epigram is found in Abū l-Şalt Umayyah's *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah (Nawādir al-makhtūṭāt)*, i:47, attributed to 'a contemporary' (*ba'd ahl al-'aṣr*), but it is quite possible that he means himself (Ibn Dāwūd al-İṣbahānī repeatedly used the same expression in this sense in his *Kitāb al-Zahrah*).

55 The colour theme of this line is strengthened by the traditional designation of the Byz-

I bear an arrow from its glance, shot from nearby  
 from a bow of its eyebrow.  
 Its eye feels inside me  
 like the sword of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.<sup>56</sup>

And also:<sup>57</sup>

You, who by shunning me lights within my ribs  
 a fire that cannot be extinguished except by being together:  
 If a meeting is not to be, promise me one!  
 I am content with a promise even though you do not keep it.

And also:<sup>58</sup>

You are in charge; matters are referred to you,  
 though I was not expecting you to be in charge (*an talī*).  
 Here I am between enemies, all against me;  
 now you, dear one,<sup>59</sup> must be with me (*anta lī*)!

And also:<sup>60</sup>

I thought of their absence while they were still near  
 and I shed tears in streams (*hummaṭ*):  
 How will it be when they are absent  
 since I weep like this when they are with me (*hum maṭ*)?

And also:<sup>61</sup>

Whenever you find a noble man who is loyal  
 – but how could one find him? – then go ahead and seize the oppor-  
 tunity!

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antines as Banū l-Aṣfar, literally ‘Sons of Paleface (or Yellowface)’; there are several explanations of this name.

56 The sword of ‘Alī (the fourth caliph), called Dhū l-Faqār, is one of the celebrated swords in the history of Islam.

57 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:239 (preceded by six lines, said on ‘a young man, a preacher with a handsome face’).

58 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

59 *bi-abī anta*, literally ‘with my father (I would ransom) you’.

60 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:235–236.

61 Metre: *wāfir*.

And if you become friends with someone of base stock  
and he maltreats you, then do not blame him.

And also:<sup>62</sup>

I say, now that he is absent and far away,  
and love has a cruel power over my soul:  
Though he with whom I am in love has departed and gone far away,  
so that my eye no longer has a share of seeing his person,  
Yet in my innermost heart he has a place  
where he is guarded by my care and protection.  
I see him with imagination's eye, and imagination perceives  
various ideas that the eye cannot perceive.

And also:<sup>63</sup>

Many an aspiring student of learning strives hard,  
but in his receptivity is like a rock.  
He is like someone who is impotent yet full of lust,  
or someone who has an appetite for food but is dyspeptic.

And also:<sup>64</sup>

You are always thinking about the dwindling of your wealth  
and you are oblivious of the dwindling of your body and your life-  
time;  
Fear of poverty turns you away from everything desirable  
and your fear of being poor is one of the worst kinds of poverty.  
Can't you see that the vicissitudes of Fate are numerous<sup>65</sup>  
and that there is no thing that lasts forever?  
So many joys have been swept away by grief,  
and so many hardships have in the end turned into comfort!

62 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:234.

63 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i: 214, al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, iii:480.

64 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:222, al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, iii:481 (lines 1–2).

65 Instead of the adjective *jammun* (A) one could also read the verb *jamma* (L).

[13.58.4.7]

On fleas, he wrote:<sup>66</sup>

Many a night of never-ending darkness,  
 Its evening distant from its dawn,  
 Like the night of a yearning slave of love,  
 Has lengthened, in its darkness, my sleeplessness.  
 5 The creatures that best love to harm other creatures  
 Think my blood is more delicious than vintage wine.  
 They gulp it down without ever sobering up,  
 Not omitting a morning drink because they had an evening drink.  
 If I were to spend the night above the top of Capella<sup>67</sup>  
 10 It would not stop them from visiting me,  
 Like lovers coming at night to their beloved.  
 They know more about veins than Hippocrates,  
 Such as the median arm vein and the basilic vein.  
 They cut the veins with a thin lancet  
 15 Of their snout, sharpened and pointed,  
 Like a skilled and gentle physician.

He also said:<sup>68</sup>

I have forever applied myself, putting people to the test,  
 but I have never praised anyone, in earnest or in jest.  
 Often I wished I could meet someone  
 who could give solace from worry or help against calamities.  
 But I found nobody but people whose promises, even if they spoke sincerely,  
 were like a mirage in mendacity.  
 I had a relationship, thinking myself fortunate with it;  
 but it turned out that my illness was from that same relationship.<sup>69</sup>

66 Metre: *rajaz*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:240–241.

67 See above, Ch. 13.58.4.4, vs. 24.

68 Metre: *basīf*. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 81 (lines 2–5); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, vii:68 (lines 4–5), 70 (lines 2–3); al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, ix:405 (lines 4–5).

69 As is explained in Yāqūt, one of Umayyah's pupils had denounced him to al-Afḍal; the poem was uttered to a visitor while he was detained in the 'Aristotelian Library' (*Dār kutub al-Ḥakīm Aristatālīs*) in Alexandria.

What clipped (*muqallim*) my nails was nothing but my own pen  
 (*qalam*);  
 my enemies batallions (*katā'ib*) were nothing but my own books  
 (*kutub*).

He described the astrolabe with the following verses:<sup>70</sup>

As for the best thing a noble man can take as a companion,  
 don't think anything can match it, whether resident or travelling!  
 It is a body such that if you sought its value  
 it would surpass that of gold, though it is made of brass.  
 Compact; but if you investigate it  
 it is not succinct in providing interesting bits of knowledge.  
 It has an eye that perceives what it observes  
 with a correct view, truthful in its vision.  
 5 You carry it while it carries a celestial sphere  
 that will not turn unless you turn it with the tip of a finger.  
 It dwells on earth while it informs us  
 about almost all there is to report about heaven.  
 It was invented by a Master of thought<sup>71</sup> far removed,  
 in its subtlety, from being compared with (ordinary) thoughts,  
 Which obliges every human being with insight  
 to thank and praise him;  
 For to someone with understanding it is a marvellous testimony  
 to the diversity of minds and inborn characters.  
 10 These bodies<sup>72</sup> are clearly visible  
 according to the pictures they are given.

And also, on a brazier:<sup>73</sup>

One that is heated inside<sup>74</sup> who does not know what passion is  
 and does not know what ecstasy of love a lover feels:

70 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 81; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharidah (al-Maghrib)*, i:222–223; al-Maqqarī, *Naḫḫ*, iii:297.

71 Reading *rabbu fikratin*; A's vowelling (*rubba fikratin*, 'many a thought') does not make syntactical sense. It is not wholly clear (perhaps intentionally) whether this 'master' is the human inventor of the astrolabe or God.

72 *Kharidah* has *hādhi l-nujūm* ('these stars').

73 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharidah (al-Maghrib)*, i:214.

74 Since the word *mijmarah* ('brazier') is feminine, one could also translate 'A woman with ardent heart'.



When the lightning of wine appears you see how it  
 stirs up a cloud of perfumed incense (*nadd*) among the gathered  
 people (*nadī*).

I have never seen such a Fire:<sup>75</sup> the more its embers blazed  
 one sees the drinking friends in the Garden of Eternity.

And also:<sup>76</sup>

The wine was passed round by the hands  
 of a sun who illuminated the darkness when she stood up.<sup>77</sup>

When she advances her figure is a twig;  
 when she retreats her haunches are a sand-hill.

The fragrance from her lips is that of musk;  
 the flash of her front teeth is that of lightning.

A gazelle who obscured<sup>78</sup> her namesake,<sup>79</sup>  
 so she should not be compared to it, far be it from her!

It may have her beauty and splendour,  
 but does it have her neck and her eyes?

[13.58.4.8]

And he wrote after buying a house from a black man:

Time has unjustly decreed that my house is to be sold  
 and to be made the property of the vilest buyer (*mushtarī*).

How miserable is what Time did with a mansion<sup>80</sup>  
 where Saturn became the replacement of Jupiter (*al-Mushtarī*)!<sup>81</sup>

And also:<sup>82</sup>

Youthful passion mixed the water of youth with its fire  
 from the roses of his cheeks and the myrtle of his cheek-down.

75 The word *al-nār* ('the fire') often refers to hell (contrasting here with the Garden, or Paradise, in the same line).

76 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:262.

77 The Arabic for 'sun' (*shams*) is feminine.

78 Instead of *akhmalat*, *Khārīdah* has the equally possible *akhjalat* ('put to shame').

79 *Ghazālah* does not only mean 'gazelle' but is also a poetic word for 'sun'.

80 *Manzil* means 'dwelling-place, mansion' but also 'mansion' in the astrological sense.

81 Jupiter is the luckiest planet, Saturn the most unlucky.

82 Metre: *kāmil*.

He is an idol who contains all the novelties of beauty,  
 so as to gain possession of my heart, in a chain of captivity.  
 The full moon is contained by his buttons; a twig is  
 in his belt,<sup>83</sup> and a curved sand-dune fills his loin-cloth.

And also:<sup>84</sup>

If worldly fortune smiles on someone it will,  
 in its ambiguousness, obscure<sup>85</sup> someone else's good qualities.  
 Likewise, whenever it withdraws its favour from a virtuous man  
 it will rob him, wrongfully, of his own good qualities.<sup>86</sup>

And also:<sup>87</sup>

Don't sit in a corner of your house, dejectedly,  
 while your time passes away between despair and hope,  
 And find for yourself, as a makeshift, something to do for a living;  
 for the living of most people is by means of makeshift.  
 Don't say: My livelihood will reach me somehow,  
 even though I sit down! Livelihood is not like the appointed time of  
 death.

And also:<sup>88</sup>

Do not hope for yourself Jupiter's good fortune,  
 nor fear, when it escapes you, the ill fortune of Saturn,  
 But hope and fear the Lord of both, for He is the one  
 who does whatever good and ill He wants.

83 The word used (*zunnār*) shows that the boy is a Christian.

84 Metre: *kāmil*.

85 This may be the meaning of *tathnī* ('turns away') here.

86 A marginal comment in R states: 'The source for this is a saying of Socrates the Ascetic [*al-Suqrāt al-Zāhid*]: When worldly fortune is on some people's side it lends them the good qualities of others; when it turns against them, it robs them of their own good qualities.' Socrates is often confused in Arabic sources with Diogenes, whence the epithet 'the Ascetic'; this is also the case in IAU's account, cf. Ch. 4.4.2.1.

87 Metre: *basīt*. Al-*Iṣfahānī*, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:248.

88 Metre: *rajaz*. Al-*Iṣfahānī*, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:248.

And also:<sup>89</sup>

Don't reproach me for not visiting you  
 when you made yourselves inaccessible for me by means of doormen!  
 I am one of those people to whom death is sweeter  
 than waiting at some creature's door.

[13.58.4.9]

He wrote the following verses on a physician named Sha'bān:<sup>90</sup>

O doctor with whom the whole world  
 is annoyed, sick and tired:  
 There are two months in you  
 when a year has elapsed:  
 You are Sha'bān, but  
 your killing people is Muḥarram.<sup>91</sup>

On his times of hardship, he wrote:<sup>92</sup>

They say to me, 'Patience!' and I am really patient  
 in the face of Time's misfortunes, grievous as they are.  
 I shall be patient until God decrees whatever He decrees.  
 If am not patient, what else could I do?

And on renunciation:<sup>93</sup>

How heedless is man, and how oblivious!  
 he sins without thinking of his Lord.  
 His demon commands him to err,  
 while his reason (if only he would be guided!) forbids him.  
 This world has deluded him; he has not sobered up  
 from its intoxication, from one day to the next.

89 Metre: *basīt*. Al-İşfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:254.

90 Metre: *ramal*. Al-İşfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:254; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:327.

91 An untranslatable play on the name Sha'bān, also the name of the eighth month of the Islamic year, and al-Muḥarram, the first month, here taken as an adjective: 'taboo, forbidden'.

92 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-İşfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:236; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:327–328; al-Maqqarī, *Nafti*, iii:482.

93 Metre: *sarī'*.

Woe to him, the poor wretch, woe,  
if God is not merciful to him!

And also:<sup>94</sup>

Little people rule in our time:  
may it not last, may it not be!  
It is like a game of chess: however he intends to terminate,  
a pawn will turn into a queen.<sup>95</sup>

And also:<sup>96</sup>

You, unique in flirtation and coquetry:  
who has guided your eyes to kill me?  
The full moon derives its light from the midday sun,  
but the sun takes its light from yours.

When he saw that the seat left by a beautiful beardless boy had been occupied  
by a black man he said:<sup>97</sup>

The Heaven of refuge<sup>98</sup> has gone and Hell has come:  
I have become wretched after being in bliss,  
Only because it was time for the sun to set,  
to be followed by a dark portion of the night.<sup>99</sup>

And also:<sup>100</sup>

A woman said, 'Why is it that you are such an unknown person?  
Have you got a weak judgement, or are you incapable?'  
I replied, 'My sin against people is that I  
have attained the glory that they did not attain.'

94 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrīb)*, i:260; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi:18; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:328.

95 In Arabic and Persian, the equivalent of the western 'queen', *fīrzān*, means 'counsellor'.

96 Metre: *sarī*. The verses are in fact by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*Dīwān*, i:411).

97 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:328.

98 The phrase is Qur'anic (Q al-Najm 53:15).

99 For the expression 'a portion of the night' see Q Hūd 11:81 and al-Ḥijr 15:65.

100 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrīb)*, i:226; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, i:244; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:328; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, iii:356–357, iv:19 (lines 1–2).

The only thing that has escaped me is good fortune;  
as for lofty qualities, these are instinctive in me.'

[13.58.5]

Abū l-Ṣalt is the author of the following works:

1. A letter on Egypt (*al-Risālah al-miṣriyyah*), in which he describes the constructions and monuments that he saw in that country and the physicians, astronomers, poets and other cultivated people he met there. He addressed this letter to Abū l-Ṭāhir Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm ibn Mu'izz ibn Bādīs.<sup>101</sup>
2. On simple drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*), organized according to homoeomeric parts of the body and the organs. This is a perfectly organized abridgement.<sup>102</sup>
3. Defence of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq] against Ibn Riḍwān (*K. al-Intiṣār li-Ḥunayn 'alā Ibn Riḍwān*) in relation to Ḥunayn's *Questions (Masā'il)*.<sup>103</sup>
4. *The garden of belles-lettres (Ḥadīqat al-adab)*.<sup>104</sup>
5. Contemporary anecdotes on poets from al-Andalus and those who emigrated to it (*K. al-mulaḥ al-'aṣriyyah min shu'arā' ahl al-Andalus wa-l-ṭārī'in 'alayhā*).<sup>105</sup>
6. Collected poetry (*Dīwān shi'rihi*).<sup>106</sup>
7. On music (*Risālah Fī l-mūsīqī*).<sup>107</sup>
8. On geometry (*K. Fī l-handasah*).<sup>108</sup>

101 For an edition, see Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*; for a partial translation of this work see de Prémare, 'Un Andalous en Égypte'.

102 This work has been edited by Ibrāhīm ibn Murād, *Buḥūth fī ta'rīkh al-ṭibb*. There is a Spanish translation by Vernia, *Tratado de los medicamentos simples*; for a French edition and translation, see Graille, *Le Livre des simples*. A second edition and Spanish translation by Ana Labarta was published as part of the large Arnaldus de Villanova project; see Arnaldus de Villanova, *Opera medica omnia*, v. 17.

103 This work has not survived, but this probably contained a defence of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's *al-Masā'il fī l-ṭibb li-l-muta'allimīn* from the critiques that the Egyptian Ibn Riḍwān wrote in works such as the *Maqālah fī sharaf al-ṭibb* and the *K. al-Nāfi'*. See the respective biographies of these physicians in Chs 8.29 and 14.25.

104 This poetic anthology has not come down to us, despite the popularity it enjoyed in the 6th/12th cent. Some poems have survived in al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i:189–270.

105 This work has not survived.

106 A partial copy of this *Dīwān* has survived in the Tunis National Library MS 15.777/2 and has been edited: Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *Dīwān Umayyah Ibn Abī l-Ṣalt*. There is a compilation of poems and verses of Abū l-Ṣalt quoted in different sources in al-Marzūqī, *Dīwān al-ḥakīm Abī l-Ṣalt*.

107 This work has survived only in its Hebrew translation, see Avenary, 'The Hebrew Version'.

108 Nothing is known about this work, which is only mentioned by IAU.

9. On making an astrolabe (*Risālah fī ‘amal al-asturlāb*).<sup>109</sup>  
 10. Correction of the logic of the intellect (*K. Taqwīm mantiq al-dhihn*).<sup>110</sup>

### 13.59 Ibn Bājjah<sup>1</sup>

[13.59.1]

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn al-Ṣā’igh, known as Ibn Bājjah, was a native of al-Andalus. He was the foremost scholar of his age and the leading authority in all domains of knowledge. He suffered severe tribulation and opprobrium at the hands of the populace, who sought his death many times, but God saved him from them. He excelled in knowledge of Arabic language and literature and knew the Qur’an by heart. He is counted among those who excelled in the art of medicine. An excellent lute player himself, he was also well versed in the theory of music.

[13.59.2.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Imām, at the beginning of his compilation of the sayings of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣā’igh ibn Bājjah, says in this connection:<sup>2</sup>

This is a compilation of the writings of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣā’igh ibn Bājjah, may God have mercy upon him, on philosophical disciplines. For his sharp intellect and the eloquence with which he dealt with these

109 This work, still unedited, has survived in several manuscripts, among them Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS 5798, and Fez, Zāwiyah Ḥamziyyah MS 80. See the study of the Berlin manuscript in Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d’història*, 75–81.

110 The title of this work in other sources is *Taqwīm al-dhihn fī l-mantiq*. This is a compendium of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and the first four books of the Aristotelian *Organon*; for its edition and Spanish translation see González Palencia, *Rectificación*.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Gayangos, *History*, appendix xii–xvii; *ER*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Bādjdja’ (D.M. Dunlop); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 351; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 276; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften*, 80–81; Daiber, *Bibliography*, i:436–441, Supplement, 144–145; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Bāḡḡa, Abū Bakr’ (J. Lomba Fuentes & J.M. Puerta Vilchez); Forcada, ‘Ibn Bājjah on medicine’.

2 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Imām al-Anṣārī was a vizier of the Almoravid ruler of Granada Ibn Tāshfin, who reigned in 453–449/1061–1106. He was a close friend of Ibn Bājjah and the addressee of his *Farewell Epistle* (*Risālat al-wadā’*), but little is known about his role as compiler of Ibn Bājjah’s works; see Dunlop, ‘Philosophical Predecessors’. Part of the introduction to his compilation has been edited in Al-Ma’šūmī, ‘Ibn al-Imām’.

delicate and noble themes he was a wonder of the firmament and unique in his time. Philosophical works had circulated in al-Andalus since the days of al-Ḥakam – may God brighten his face – who was the one who brought them, along with books on new matters composed in the East, and translated the books of the ancients and others. They were widely studied, but no one had travelled that path before, and what was understood from them was nothing but errors and misinterpretation. Such was the case of Ibn Ḥazm al-Ishbīlī,<sup>3</sup> who was [often] mistaken, despite the fact that he was one of the most excellent scholars of a time in which few ventured to record any of their thoughts. Ibn Bājjah surpassed [Ibn Ḥazm] in capacity of reflection and was distinguished with a more penetrative soul.

Serious study of these disciplines was initiated by this learned man [i.e. Ibn Bājjah] and by Mālik ibn Wuhayb al-Ishbīlī,<sup>4</sup> who were contemporaries. From Mālik, however, only a few [opinions] about the principles of logic (*al-ṣināʿah al-dihniyyah*) have been recorded. He abandoned the study and public discussion of those disciplines when he received death threats on that account, for he was obsessed with gaining the upper hand in his discussions about the importance of the [various kinds] of knowledge. He approached instead the study of the revealed law, and he achieved excellence in that domain, or at least he became competent in it, because from what we know of his opinions, he shed light on these disciplines, but nothing of what he wrote privately could be found after his death.

[13.59.2.2]

As for Abū Bakr [Ibn Bājjah], his superior talent is evident. He never ceased to apply his capacity for reflection, drawing conclusions, and writing down all that appeared to him to be true, despite the conditions [in which he lived], and the way in which he was treated in his time. He studied philosophy and various aspects of physics; this shows that he had mastered both disciplines, which he conceived of as a single form, of which he spoke and which he surmounted in the way of one who seeks to reach the heights. He left writings on geometry and astronomy that show his excellence in those arts as well.

3 Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) was a Zāhirī theologian, jurist, historian and poet; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Ḥazm' (R. Arnaldez).

4 Abū 'Abd Allāh Mālik ibn Wuhayb (d. 525/1130), a native of Seville, was a polymath learned in various sciences; see Dunlop, 'Philosophical Predecessors', 102–103.

With regard to metaphysics, there is not much in his writings that focuses particularly on this theme, apart from some opinions that can be read in his treatise entitled the *Farewell Epistle* (*Risālat al-wadāʿ*) and *The Conjunction of Man with the Active Intellect* (*Ittiṣāl al-insān bi-l-ʿaql al-faʿāl*), and some scattered commentaries elsewhere in his works.<sup>5</sup> These, however, are of extreme value, as they show his inclination toward this noble discipline, which is the most important and the ultimate goal of them all: all knowledge that comes before [this discipline] is but an introduction to it and is intended to perfect it. It is impossible to feel attracted to the introductory disciplines that keep the several aspects of existence separated, without [seeking] the completion of all of them, and thus falling short in a discipline [i.e. metaphysics] that is the ultimate goal. Every man of sound mind who has been endowed by God with a talent that raises him above the people of his time and takes him out of the darkness into the light is driven by nature to seek [this knowledge], as [Ibn Bājjah] did, may God have mercy upon him.

[13.59.2.3]

We begin this compilation with his *The Goal of Being Human* (*Qawl fī l-ghāyah al-insāniyyah*), which is extremely concise but speaks clearly about his grasp of metaphysics (*al-ʿilm al-ilāhī*), as we have pointed out, and about the introductory disciplines that he had learned previously. Perhaps he ascribed to this [discipline] some things that are not proper to it, but it seems that after Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī there was no one like [Ibn Bājjah] in the domains that he cultivated. If you were to compare his opinions on this topic with those of Ibn Sinā and al-Ghazālī, for whom these disciplines were already accessible in the East, thanks to Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī], and who wrote about them, the superiority of his opinions and his better understanding of the ideas of Aristotle would be apparent to you. There is no doubt, however, that all three of them were authorities and that they transmitted the most excellent wisdom to which they were the heirs with notable accuracy, for their opinions agreed with those of their noble predecessors.

5 This statement seems to recall Ibn Bājjah's own words at the end of *The Conjunction of Man with the Active Intellect*, apologizing for not having been able to provide a demonstrative argument (*burhān*), see Ibn Bājjah, *Risālah fī ittiṣāl al-insān bi-l-ʿaql al-faʿāl*, in Fakhry, *Rasāʿil*.



[13.59.3]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Imām was a native of Granada. He was a distinguished secretary who excelled in various disciplines; he was a close friend of Abū Bakr ibn Bājjah for a time and studied with him. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Imām travelled away from the West and died in Qūṣ.<sup>6</sup> Among the students of Ibn Bājjah there was also the qadi Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Rushd.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Bājjah died at an early age in Fez and was buried there. The qadi Abū Marwān al-Ishbīlī<sup>8</sup> told me that he had seen the tomb of Ibn Bājjah and next to his tomb that of the jurist Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī, author of several works.<sup>9</sup>

Among Ibn Bājjah’s maxims are: ‘Things that take a long time to learn are not forgotten’, and ‘Do good deeds and you will gain good things from God, praised be He.’

[13.59.4]

Ibn Bājjah is the author of the following works:<sup>10</sup>

1. Commentary on Aristotle’s *Book on Physics* (*Sharḥ kitāb al-samā‘ al-ṭabī‘ī li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>11</sup>
2. Discussion of parts of Aristotle’s book on meteorology (*Qawl ‘alā ba‘ḍ kitāb al-āthār al-‘ulwiyyah li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>12</sup>
3. Discussion of parts of Aristotle’s book *On Generation and Corruption* (*Qawl ‘alā ba‘ḍ kitāb al-kawn wa-l-fasād li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>13</sup>
4. Discussion of parts of the last sections of Aristotle’s *Book of Animals* (*Qawl ‘alā ba‘ḍ al-maqālāt al-akhīrah min kitāb al-ḥayawān li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>14</sup>

6 Qūṣ is a town in Upper Egypt not far from modern Luxor, on the east bank of the Nile.

7 See Ch. 13.66.

8 Abū Marwān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Lakhmī al-Bājī (d. 635/1237–1238) was a jurist of Andalusī origins and the most important informant of IAU. The history of his family is told below, see Ch. 13.63.2.3 and 13.63.8.2.

9 Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148) was an Andalusī traditionist author of varied works on legal topics, history and literature.

10 Bibliographical entries may be found s.v. Ibn Bājjah or the names of editors/translators. See also Daiber, *Bibliography*, i:436–441.

11 For editions of this work see Fakhry, *Paraphrase*; and Lettinck, *Aristotle’s Physics*, 383–480.

12 This seems to correspond with the treatise also entitled ‘First treatise from the *Meteorology*’ (*al-Maqālah al-ūlā min al-āthār*) and his ‘Discussion on the commentary of the *Meteorology*’ (*wa-min qawlihi fī sharḥ al-āthār al-‘ulwiyyah*). The extant text is incomplete and has been edited in Moussaïd, ‘Qawluhu fī sharḥ al-āthār’.

13 There is a critical edition with a Spanish translation: Puig, *Libro de la Generación y la Corrupción*.

14 This work seems to correspond with the unedited tract preserved in an Oxford MS with the title *Mīn qawlihi ‘alā ba‘ḍ maqālāt kitāb al-ḥayawān al-akhīrah*; see *Biblioteca de al-*

5. Disquisition on part of Aristotle's *Book of Plants* (*Kalām 'alā ba'ḍ kitāb al-nabāt li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>15</sup>
6. Discussion of natural desire and its essence (*Qawl dhakara fihi al-tashawwuq al-ṭabīrī wa-māhiyyatahu*), which he begins by providing a rational demonstration of its causes.<sup>16</sup>
7. *The Farewell Letter* (*Risālat al-wadā'*).<sup>17</sup>
8. The treatise that follows the previous letter [i.e., the *Risālat al-wadā'*].<sup>18</sup>
9. *The Conjunction of Man with the Active Intellect* (*Ittiṣāl al-insān bi-l-'aql al-fā'āl*).<sup>19</sup>
10. Discussion of the desiderative faculty (*Qawl 'alā l-quwwah al-nuzū'iyah*).<sup>20</sup>
11. Extracts of his discussion on the conjunction between reason and the human being (*Fuṣūl tataḍammanu qawl 'alā ttiṣāl al-'aql bi-l-insān*).<sup>21</sup>
12. *Regimen for the Solitary* (*K. Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*).<sup>22</sup>
13. *The soul* (*K. al-Nafs*).<sup>23</sup>
14. Notes on Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī's] treatise on the principles of logic (*Ta'ālīq 'alā kitāb Abī Naṣr fi l-ṣinā'ah al-dihniyyah*).<sup>24</sup>

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*Andalus* art. 'Ibn Bāyṣa, Abū Bakr' (J. Lomba Fuentes & J.M. Puerta Vilchez). Cf. Kruk, 'La zoologie aristotélicienne', 329.

- 15 This work seems to correspond with the botanical treatise preserved in Berlin and Oxford MSS with the titles *Min qawl Abī Bakr fi l-nabāt* and *Kalām al-wazīr Abī Bakr fi l-nabāt* respectively. There is an edition of this treatise accompanied by Spanish translation: Asín Palacios, 'Avempace botánico'. However, rather than a commentary on Aristotle's *Book on Plants*, it is an original work, see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Bāyṣa, Abū Bakr' (J. Lomba Fuentes & J.M. Puerta Vilchez). Cf. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Aristote de Stagire – Pseudo-Aristote, *De Plantis*'.
- 16 This work has been edited as Ibn Bājjah, *Min kalāmihi fi māhiyyat al-shawq al-ṭabīrī*, in 'Alawī, *Rasā'il*, 97–102.
- 17 This work has been edited in Fakhry, *Rasā'il*, 145–152.
- 18 This work has been edited by Asín Palacios, 'Carta del Adios' (with a Spanish translation) and a second time by Fakhry, *Rasā'il*, 113–143.
- 19 There are two editions of this work: Asín Palacios (based on the Berlin MS), 'Un texto de Avempace'; and Fakhry, *Rasā'il*, 153–169. The treatise has also been translated into French (see Lagardère, 'L' épître d' Ibn Bājjā') and Spanish (see Lomba Fuentes, 'Avempace *Tratado de la unión*').
- 20 This work has been edited by Badawī; see Badawī, *Rasā'il falsafiyah*, 157–167. For a Spanish translation, see Tornero, 'Dos epístolas de Avempace'.
- 21 This work has not survived.
- 22 There are several editions of this work; see Ibn Bājjah, *K. tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* (Asín Palacios), (*Ziyādah*); and Fakhri, *Rasā'il*, 155–173. For translations, see Ibn Bājjah, *K. tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* (tr. Lomba Fuentes), (tr. Companini & Illuminati).
- 23 For an edition and a translation, see Ibn al-Bājjah, *K. al-nafs* (ed. Ma'sūmī), (tr. Ma'sūmī).
- 24 This work has not survived. The title of al-Fārābī's work might refer to the *K. mukhtaṣar jamī' al-kutub al-manṭiqiyah*, on which see Ch. 15.1.5 title no. 76.

15. A few extracts on the political regime, the qualities of the cities and the state of the solitary who lives in them (*Fuṣūl qalīlah fī l-sīyāsah al-madanīyah wa-kayfiyyat al-mudun wa-ḥāl al-mutawaḥḥid fihā*).<sup>25</sup>
16. Short items on geometry and astronomy (*Nubadh yasīrah 'alā l-handasah wa-l-hay'ah*).<sup>26</sup>
17. Letter addressed to his friend Abū Ja'far Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy after his arrival in Egypt (*Risālah kataba bihā ilā ṣadīqihi Abū Ja'far Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy ba'd qudūmihi ilā Miṣr*).<sup>27</sup>
18. Fragmentary philosophical notes (*Ta'ālīq ḥikmiyyah wujidat mutafarriqah*).<sup>28</sup>
19. Answer to questions on Ibn Sayyid al-Muhandis' *Geometry and its methods* (*Jawābuhu limā su'ila 'an handasat Ibn Sayyid al-Muhandis wa-ṭuruqihī*).<sup>29</sup>
20. Discourse on parts of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* (*Kalām 'alā shay' min kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>30</sup>
21. On two experiences concerning the drugs of Ibn Wāfid<sup>31</sup> (*K. al-Tajribatayn 'alā adwiyat Ibn Wāfid*) – in the composition of this book Abū Bakr Ibn Bājjah collaborated with Abū l-Ḥasan Sufyān.
22. Abridgement of al-Rāzī's *Comprehensive Book [on Medicine]* (*K. ikhtiṣār al-ḥāwī li-l-Rāzī*).
23. On the goal of the human being (*Kalām fī l-ghāyah al-insāniyyah*).<sup>32</sup>
24. On the things through which it is possible to comprehend the active intellect (*Kalām fī l-umūr allatī bihā yumkin al-wuqūf 'alā al-aql al-fa'āl*).

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25 Unknown.

26 Nothing is known about this. The Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS 5060 WE 87 (now Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska MS Wetzstein I 87) contains a short fragment on astronomy that might be part of this work.

27 This epistle, with has survived in fragmentary form, has been edited by 'Alawī as 'Min kalāmihi mā ba'atha bihi li-Abī Ja'far Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy', in 'Alawī, *Rasā'il*, 77–81.

28 We do not know anything about these fragments. This title might correspond with the work mentioned in other sources with the title 'Notes on Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī's Book] on [Aristotle's] *Peri Hermeneias*' (*Ta'liqāt 'alā kitāb Abī Naṣr fī barī armīniyās*), which has not survived.

29 This work has been edited by 'Alawī as 'Min kalāmihi 'alā ibānat faḥl 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sayyid al-Muhandis', in 'Alawī, *Rasā'il*, 84–87.

30 This treatise might correspond to the unedited fragment of the Berlin MS entitled *Ta'ālīq fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*.

31 On Ibn Wāfid, see Ch. 13.39.

32 There are two editions of this work; see Ma'sūmī, 'On Human End'; and Fakhry, *Rasā'il*, 98–104. For translations, see Lomba Fuentes, 'Sobre el fin del hombre' and Druart, 'La fin humaine selon Ibn Bajjah'.

25. On the name and the named (*Kalām fī l-ism wa-l-musammā*).<sup>33</sup>
26. On demonstration (*Kalām fī l-burhān*).<sup>34</sup>
27. On elements (*Kalām fī l-uṣṭuquṣṣāt*).<sup>35</sup>
28. Enquiries into the desiderative mind: How it is, and why and how it experiences desire (*Kalām fī l-faḥṣ ‘an al-naḥs al-nuzū‘iyyah wa-kayfa hiya wa-lima tanzi‘ wa-bimādhā tanzi‘*).<sup>36</sup>
29. Discourse on the medical aspects of temperament (*Kalām fī l-mizāj bimā huwa ṭibbī*).<sup>37</sup>

### 13.60 Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr<sup>1</sup>

[13.60.1]

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik was the son of the jurist Muḥammad ibn Marwān Ibn Zuhr al-Iyādī al-Ishbīlī. He excelled in the art of medicine, was experienced in its practical aspects and became well-known for his dexterity. His father, the jurist Muḥammad, was one of the jurists and experts in Hadith in Seville.

[13.60.2]

The Qāḍī Ṣā‘id says:<sup>2</sup>

Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr travelled to the East and lived in Kairouan and Egypt, where he practised medicine for a long time. He then returned to al-Andalus and went to the city of Denia. Mujāhid was its emir at that time, and when Ibn Zuhr presented himself at court, Mujāhid showed him great honour and invited the physician to enter his service, which he

33 Nothing is known about this work, which is not present in any of the extant manuscripts.

34 This work, a commentary on al-Fārābī’s *Kitāb fī l-Burhān*, seems to correspond to the unedited treatise preserved in the Escorial MS 602 with the title: *Qawl Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahyā fī kitāb al-burhān*. A Berlin MS contains also a fragment on the same topic entitled *Kalām ‘alā awwal kitāb al-burhān*; for an edition, see Ibn Bājjah, *Burhān* (Fakhri).

35 This treatise remains unedited. It has survived in the Berlin ms.

36 For an edition of this work, see Badawī, *Rasā‘il falsafīyyah*, 147–156.

37 This work has not survived in its entirety, but the Berlin MS contains two unedited fragments on temperaments (*fī l-mizāj*) that might have been part of this work.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Gayangos, *History*, appendix iii–vii; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Zuhr’ (R. Arnaldez), with sections on the several members of the family; *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn Zuhr family’ (C. Álvarez Millán).

2 Cf. Ṣā‘id al-Andalusi, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 74–75.

did, enjoying the ruler's favour during his reign. Ibn Zuhr made a name for himself in Denia for his preeminence in medicine, and his fame reached all corners of al-Andalus. He had unique ideas in the field of medicine. One of them was his rejection of steam-baths, because he was convinced that they decomposed the body and corrupted the humours.

[The Qāḍī Ṣā'id] says:

This is a view that contradicts ancient and modern opinions and was considered a mistake by both the experts and non-experts; what is more, when the bath is administered as it is required and gradually,<sup>3</sup> it is an excellent exercise and a beneficial practice because it opens the pores, removes impurities and reduces the excess of chyme.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah continues: Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr moved from Denia to Seville and remained there until his death. He left behind impressive wealth in Seville and other places, including both urban properties and rural estates.

### 13.61 Abū l-'Alā' ibn Zuhr<sup>1</sup>

[13.61.1]

Abū l-'Alā' Zuhr ibn Abī Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Zuhr was well known for his skills and knowledge, and for the precision of his treatments, which proved his excellence in the art of medicine and his vast knowledge of its particularities. There are anecdotes about the remedies he administered to the sick, and about his ability to determine their states and the pain they suffered without hearing it from them, but merely by inspecting the [urine] vials and feeling their pulse. Abū l-'Alā' lived in the time of the 'Veiled Men', also known as Almoravids.<sup>2</sup> He prospered under their rule, acquiring great prestige and enjoying a good reputation, but he had begun to practise

3 I.e., from cold to lukewarm to hot and vice versa.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 162; Gayangos, *History*, appendix viii–xii; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-'Alā' (C. Álvarez Millán); *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Zuhr' (R. Arnaldez), with sections on the several members of the family; *ET Three* art. 'Ibn Zuhr family' (C. Álvarez Millán).

2 The Veiled Men (*al-Mulaththamūn*) was a denomination given to the Almoravid Berbers in al-Andalus because their men used to cover their faces. The Almoravids ruled Morocco and al-Andalus from the beginning of the 5th/11th cent. to the middle of the 6th/12th cent.

as a physician when he was young, in the days of al-Mu‘taḍid bi-Allāh Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād ibn ‘Abbād.<sup>3</sup> He also applied himself to the study of literature and was an excellent writer.<sup>4</sup>

[13.61.2.1]

It was in his time that Avicenna’s *Canon* (*K. al-Qānūn*) arrived in the West. Ibn Jumay‘ al-Miṣrī<sup>5</sup> says in his *Making Explicit what is Concealed: On Examining the Canon* (*Taṣrīḥ al-maknūn fī tanqīḥ al-Qānūn*):

A certain merchant brought a copy of [Ibn Sīnā’s] book from Iraq to al-Andalus. It had been executed extremely beautifully, and he presented it as a gift to Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr as a way of ingratiating himself with him because he had never seen the book before. But when Ibn Zuhr examined the *Canon* (*al-Qānūn*) he criticized and rejected it. He did not deposit it in his library, but decided instead to cut it into strips and to use them to write prescriptions for his patients.<sup>6</sup>

[13.61.2.2]

Abū Yahyā al-Yasa‘ 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*):<sup>7</sup>

Despite his young age, the name of Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr was a byword for excellence, and he was praised as a master of knowledge. He never ceased to study the books of the ancients, and it was his constant habit to sit and learn with the masters. Good fortune paved his path towards success, and Fate was not content with bestowing on him merely a lowly standing. He excelled in medicine to a formidable extent, far beyond the reach of those who had pursued it before without being able to understand its complexities; and he took the art beyond the usual limits, with his great expertise and accuracy, for he mastered all the disciplines he studied and was ahead of his time. Ibn Zuhr surpassed all virtuous men in knowledge and purity of descent, and he was also the most magnanimous and liberal

3 Al-Mu‘tamid ibn ‘Abbād was the third and last king of the *ṭā’ifāh* of Seville, where he reigned from 461–484/1069–1091.

4 MS R adds some verses by Ibn Zuhr as a marginal note, see appendix A11.10.

5 See biography in Ch. 14.32.

6 IAU reproduces *verbatim* this passage; see the copy of Ibn Jumay‘’s *Taṣrīḥ* in Princeton University Library MS New Series 2017, 1b [this work remains unedited].

7 See Ch. 13.40 n.

of persons. His only fault was being impulsive and prone to use obscene language, but is there anyone with all the qualities of the perfect man in complete harmony?

[13.61.3.1]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have copied the following from a manuscript in the handwriting of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Abdī,<sup>8</sup> who was an intelligent westerner with knowledge of medicine:

Abū l-‘Aynā’ al-Miṣrī, one of the teachers of Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr, who left Baghdad before his pupil and shared many conversations with him, said: ‘It was Abū al-Qāsim Hishām ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāh,<sup>9</sup> the very skilled physician, who told me about this in his home in Seville, may God protect it.’

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: One of Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr’s many medical students was Abū ‘Āmir ibn Yannaq al-Shāṭibī, the poet.<sup>10</sup>

[13.61.3.2]

Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr died in 525/1130–1131<sup>11</sup> and was buried in Seville outside the Gate of Victory (*Bāb al-faṭḥ*). He was the author of the following poems.

On love he wrote:<sup>12</sup>

You whom I am besotted with and who has humbled my pride,  
because of my passion for him, while he is the mighty and victorious  
one:<sup>13</sup>

I intended to be patient when I encountered unfriendliness,  
but that beauty says: ‘You have no one to help you!’

8 Unidentified.

9 Unidentified.

10 He is Abū ‘Āmir Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Yannaq al-Shāṭibī (d. 547/1153), a poet and historian originally from Játiva (Valencia) and author of a *Ḥamāsah* and a biographical work on Andalusī personalities; see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām* (Beirut 2003 edn), 11:914 (no. 402), and al-Ziriklī, *al-‘Ālām*, 7:137.

11 The date of death has not been preserved in any of the manuscripts. The year 525/1130–1131 is given in Ibn Khāllikān, *Wafayāt*, 4:436, and al-Maqqarī, *Naft*, 2:245.

12 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv:226.

13 These two epithets, *al-‘azīz* and *al-qāhir*, are counted among the ‘beautiful names’ of God, as are the words *nāṣir* (in some lists at least) and *qādir* in the following lines.

The only honour is the honour of him who controls his faculties  
and who is obeyed by a mighty and powerful heart.

He also said:<sup>14</sup>

You who shoot at me with arrows that have no aim  
but my heart, and have no substitute for it;  
Who makes me ill with eyelids that are filled with sickness,<sup>15</sup>  
yet are healthy (it is their nature to nurse and be sick):  
Grant me if only with an apparition from you that will visit me at night;  
for sometimes an accident may fill the place of a substance.

After hearing that Ibn Manẓūr, the chief qadi of Seville,<sup>16</sup> said, mockingly, 'Is Ibn Zuhr ill?', he wrote:<sup>17</sup>

They said that Ibn Manẓūr expressed, tirelessly, his surprise  
at my being ill. I said, someone who walks may stumble.  
Galen was ill all the time;  
'eating' bribes is something the esteemed<sup>18</sup> jurist does.

And also:<sup>19</sup>

I heard people describe Hind; I never stopped  
longing for her until I looked at Hind.  
When God let me see Hind and her appearance<sup>20</sup>  
I wished I<sup>21</sup> would be as far away as could be.

14 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, iii:433, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:331 (lines 1 and 3).

15 'Sick', i.e., languid, eyelids or eyes are a common trait of the beloved in Arabic poetry.

16 That is, Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn al-Qāḍī Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Manẓūr al-Qaysī al-Mālikī al-Ishbīlī (d. 520/1126); see al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, 518.

17 Metre: *kāmil*. For another English translation, see Azar, *The Sage of Seville*, 19.

18 The word *al-murtaḍā* ('of whom [God] may be pleased') may be an honorific title of the qadi.

19 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Muntaḥal*, 157 (anonymously), al-Irbilī, *Tadhkirah*, 75 (anonymously). For another English translation, see Azar, *The Sage of Seville*, 19.

20 *Muntaḥal*: 'and her character' (*wa-khulquhā*); *Tadhkirah*: 'and I visited her' (*wa-zurtuhā*).

21 *Tadhkirah*: 'she' (*tazdāda*).



[13.61.4]

Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr is the author of the following works:<sup>22</sup>

1. On occult properties (*K. al-Khawāṣṣ*).<sup>23</sup>
2. On simple drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*).<sup>24</sup>
3. Explanation of an infamy, with examples: Rebuttal of Ibn Riḍwān’s refutation of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in his *Introduction to Medicine* (*K. al-īdāh bi-shawāhid al-iftidāh fi l-radd ‘alā Ibn Riḍwān fīmā raddahu ‘alā Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq fi K. al-mudkhal ilā l-ṭibb*).<sup>25</sup>
4. Dissipation of the doubts of al-Rāzī concerning the books of Galen (*K. Ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī ‘alā kutub Jālīnūs*).<sup>26</sup>
5. Medical experiences (*Mujarrabāt*).<sup>27</sup>
6. Refutation of some points in Abū ‘Alī Ibn Sīnā’s book on simple drugs (*Maqālah fi radd ‘alā Abī l-‘Alī Ibn Sīnā fī mawāḍi‘ min kitābihi fi l-adwiyah al-mufradah*), which he composed for his son Marwān.<sup>28</sup>
7. Medical anecdotes (*K. al-Nukat al-ṭibbiyyah*), composed for his son Marwān.
8. Explanation of the epistle of Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī on the composition of drugs (*Maqālah fi basṭihi li-risālat Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī fi tarkīb al-adwiyah*), and other similar works copied for him.<sup>29</sup>
9. Medical experiences (*Mujarrabāt*), which ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf Ibn Tāshfīn had compiled after the death of Abū l-‘Alā’; they were compiled in Marrakesh and other places in North Africa and al-Andalus and copied in Jumādā al-Ākhirah 526 [April-May 1132].<sup>30</sup>

22 For a discussion of Abū l-‘Alā’ Zuhr’s works see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-‘Alā’ (C. Álvarez Millán); and Kuhne Brabant, ‘Revisión de la bibliografía de Abū l-‘Alā’ Zuhr’.

23 This work has survived in several manuscripts, the most complete being Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Marsh 520; but an edition of the entire treatise is wanting. For a list of the manuscripts and the partial editions and translation of some of its chapters, see: *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-‘Alā’ (C. Álvarez Millán).

24 This work has not survived and, according to Ibn al-Abbār, it was never finished.

25 This work has not survived.

26 Other sources refer to this work as *K. al-Tabayīn fi qaṭ‘ al-shakk bi-l-yaqīn intiṣāran li-Jālīnūs ‘an al-shukūk al-mansūbah li-Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī*. Abū l-‘Alā’ Zuhr’s treatise remains unedited, although it has survived in several manuscripts, see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-‘Alā’ Zuhr’ (C. Álvarez Millán).

27 Cf. title no. 9.

28 This work has not survived.

29 This work has not survived.

30 This work has survived in several manuscripts and has been edited and translated into Spanish, see: Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-‘Alā’, *Mujarrabāt*.

### 13.62 Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr<sup>1</sup>

[13.62.1]

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-‘Alā’ Zuhr ibn Abī Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Zuhr followed in the footsteps of his father in medicine. He acquired an extensive knowledge of simple and compound drugs, and was skilled in treatment. His fame spread throughout al-Andalus and other lands, and their physicians studied his works. None in his time matched his skills in the varied tasks of the art of medicine. There are many stories about the way in which he had come to know of diseases and treatments of which no other physician had been aware before.

Ibn Zuhr served the Almoravids, and he enjoyed his lot of luxury and wealth from his attendance on them for some time, until the appearance of the Mahdī Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Tūmart, who sent ‘Abd al-Mu’min to al-Andalus to spread the [Almohad] creed (*da‘wah*) and to clear the way for the propagation of [Ibn Tūmart’s] message and the extension of his empire, taking over al-Andalus and gaining the obedience of the people.

The story of the advent of the Mahdī and his ascension to power is well known, as is that of ‘Abd al-Mu’min, who conquered the kingdom and was recognized as caliph (*amīr al-mu’minīn*). He then came into possession of all the state revenues in the Western Lands, dispensed justice, and summoned scholars and men of learning and showed them great honour. He engaged Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn Zuhr as his personal physician, and gratified him with luxuries and stipends that surpassed all his desires. He held a respected and powerful position in the caliph’s establishment, and in that time he was distinguished above all his peers. Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr created for ‘Abd al-Mu’min the ‘Theriac of Seventy [Drugs]’ (*al-tiryāq al-sab‘īnī*), but then he reduced its components to ten, and then to seven; this last one was known as the ‘Theriac of Anthora’ (*al-tiryāq al-antulah*).<sup>2</sup>

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. This is Ibn Zuhr who was the Avenzoar of the Latin West. On him see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān’ (R. Kuhne Brabant, C. Álvarez Millán & E. García Sánchez); *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn Zuhr family’ (C. Álvarez Millán).

2 That is, a theriac elaborated from aconite. The word is Andalusī and the basis of Spanish *antora* (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *antulah*), yellow monkshood or wolfsbane and anglicized as ‘anthora’. IAU’s attribution of this antidote to Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr seems to be the result of a confusion since the case histories collected by the pupils of his father, Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr, include a recipe to work up the ‘Theriac of Anthora’, which in this case contains seventy ingredients, see ibn Zuhr, *Mujarrabāt*, 60 (137 of the Spanish translation).

[13.62.2.1]

Abū l-Qāsim al-Ma‘ājīnī al-Andalusī<sup>3</sup> told me that the caliph ‘Abd al-Mu‘min needed to take purgatives (*dawā’ mus’hil*), and that he hated to drink medicines of that kind. But Ibn Zuhr made it bearable for him: he went to his garden and watered a vine with water into which he had poured the medicine. The water had thus acquired the strength of the purgative with which it had been infused or boiled. As a result, the vine absorbed the strength of the needed purgative and the grapes that grew from it contained the efficacy of the medicine. Ibn Zuhr then helped the caliph by giving him a bunch of those grapes and telling him to eat them. The caliph, who trusted his physician, ate them. Ibn Zuhr observed the caliph as he ate, and then said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, that is enough; you have eaten ten grapes and they will help you to sit on the toilet ten times.’ Ibn Zuhr then explained to him the reason for his words, and the caliph went to the toilet the said number of times, finding relief and getting better. In that way Ibn Zuhr enhanced his status at court.

[13.62.2.2]

The shaykh Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Arabī al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥātimī,<sup>4</sup> who was originally from Murcia, told me that when he was on his way to the palace of the Caliph in Seville, he met Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr in the *ḥammām* of Ibn Khayr, close to the estate of Ibn Mu‘ammal.<sup>5</sup> There was a man there who was sick with an intestinal disease (*sū’ qitbihi*); his abdomen had swollen and his skin had turned yellow. He was in great pain, and asked for someone who could examine him. Some days later, when Ibn Zuhr was there, the man asked again, and he examined him. Ibn Zuhr observed that the man had an old jug by his head from which he used to drink water. ‘Break this jug,’ the physician said, ‘it is the cause of your disease.’ ‘No sir, by God,’ the man replied, ‘for I have no other.’ But Ibn Zuhr ordered one of his servants to break it, and out of the broken jug came a frog that had grown to a great size inside it. ‘That is the end of your disease,’ said Ibn Zuhr. ‘Look: that is what you were drinking!’ And thereafter the man recovered.

[13.62.2.3]

The qadi Abū Marwān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Lakhmī al-Bāji,<sup>6</sup> said to me:

3 Unidentified. The *nisbah* al-Ma‘ājīnī means ‘the salvemaker’.

4 That is, the famous Sufi author Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240).

5 This vocalization is conjectural, it could be either Ibn Mu‘mil or Ibn Mu‘ammal.

6 On Abū Marwān and his family, see Ch. 13.63.8.2 and the corresponding footnote.

A trustworthy person told me that there was a wise man in Seville known as the Mouse<sup>7</sup> who was versed in medicine and the author of a valuable book on simple drugs in two volumes. Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr, who used to eat green figs very often, once offered some of them to this physician called the Mouse, but he would not eat any figs, and if he ever had any it was no more than one every year.

He told Ibn Zuhr that he feared he would develop a suppurating ulcer – they call it *naghlah*<sup>8</sup> in their dialect – if he ate figs so frequently. To which Ibn Zuhr replied: ‘There is no reason for such apprehension. And if you do not eat figs, you might suffer from convulsions (*al-shanāj*)’.

In the event, the Mouse did die from convulsions (*al-tashannuj*), and Ibn Zuhr also developed an ulcer (*dubaylah*) in his side and died because of that. This shows how accurate their predictions were. When Ibn Zuhr noticed his disease, he treated it with ointments (*marāhim*) and drugs, but this did not produce any noticeable improvement.

His son, Abū Bakr, used to tell him: ‘Father, why do not you replace this drug with such-and-such another, or you increase that drug, or use this and that ...?’. To which Ibn Zuhr would reply: ‘Son, if it is God’s will that my state of health shall be altered, no drug will help me other than those that conform with His will’.

[13.62.3]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: Some of the students who learnt medicine under Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr were the following Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Asdūn, known as al-Maṣdūm;<sup>9</sup> Abū Bakr ibn al-Faqīh, the son of the qadi of Seville Abū l-Ḥasan;<sup>10</sup> Abū Muḥammad al-Shadhūnī;<sup>11</sup> and the jurist and ascetic Abū ‘Imrān ibn Abī ‘Imrān.<sup>12</sup>

7 The manuscripts read *al-fa’r* (the mouse) or *al-fār*, which might be a rendition of the Romance name Alvar. The copyists and readers of IAU most likely read ‘the mouse’, and the fact that he eats at most one fig per annum seems to say that he ate as little as a mouse.

8 The term *naghlah* refers to a suppurating ulcer, probably in this context a form of spreading inflammatory ulcer; see Avar, *Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar)*, 137 nt 16. In several sources this is the cause of the death not of Abū Marwān, but of his father, Abū l-‘Alā’ Zuhr ibn Zuhr; see: Ibn Khāllikān, *Wafayāt*, 6:436; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 2:245; and Ibn Zuhr, *Taysīr*, 382. See also *Biblioteca de al-Andalus ‘Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-‘Alā’* (C. Álvarez Millán).

9 See Ch. 13.77.

10 See Ch. 13.80.

11 See Ch. 13.76.

12 Unidentified, although mentioned below in Ch. 13.63.8.1. He is perhaps Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khalaf al-‘Abdarī (see al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, xix:516 no. 299).

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr died in 557/1161<sup>13</sup> in Seville and was buried outside the Gate of Victory.

[13.62.4]

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr is the author of the following works:

1. *Facilitation of Therapeutics and Regimen* (*K. al-Taysīr fī l-mudāwāh wa-l-tadbīr*), which he composed for the qadi Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd.<sup>14</sup>
2. *Foodstuffs* (*K. al-Aghdhiyah*), composed for Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu’min.<sup>15</sup>
3. *Embellishment [cosmetics]* (*K. al-Zīnah*).<sup>16</sup>
4. An *aide-mémoire*, addressed to his son Abū Bakr, on purgatives and their administration (*Tadhkīrah fī amr al-dawā’ al-mus’ūl wa-kayfiyyat akhdhihi*) written in youth on the first journey he made; he took it over from his father.<sup>17</sup>
5. On renal diseases (*Maqālah fī ‘ilal al-kulā*).<sup>18</sup>
6. On leprosy and related skin disorders<sup>19</sup> (*Risālah fī ‘illatay al-baraṣ wa-l-bahaq*), addressed to some physicians of Seville.<sup>20</sup>
7. An *aide-mémoire* for his son Abū Bakr, with his earliest notes on treatment.

13 There is a blank space in all the manuscripts, which only state “five-hundred and ...”.

14 This work has survived in several manuscript and has been edited several times and also translated into French: see Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān, *Kitāb al-taysīr* (Khūrī); *Kitāb al-taysīr* (Rūdānī); *Kitāb al-Taysīr* (tr. Bouamrane).

15 This work has been edited several times, see Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān, *al-Aghdhiyah* (al-Khaṭṭābī), *Kitāb al-agdhiya* (García Sánchez).

16 No work with this title has survived, although it has been suggested that it is identical with the *K. al-Iqtisād fī iṣlāḥ al-anfus wa-l-ajsād* (“The Golden Mean regarding the treatment of souls and bodies”), not listed by IAU, for the *K. al-Iqtisād* is one of the few medieval Islamic treatises to deal extensively with cosmetics, including the use of perfumes, skin and hair treatments, and dental and sexual procedures to improve a person’s external appearance. The *K. al-Iqtisād* has been preserved in several manuscripts and edited by Kuhne Brabant, see Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān, *El Kitāb al-iqtisād*.

17 The authorship of this work is disputed. The first edition of the treatise, based on the manuscripts of Paris and the Escorial, was attributed to Abū Marwān’s father, see Ibn Zuhr, Abū l-‘Alā’, *La Tedkīrah* (Colin); another edition, based on two Moroccan manuscripts, appeared under the name of Abū Marwān, see Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān *Tadhkīrah*.

18 This work has not survived.

19 *Bahaq* is often defined as a mild form of leprosy (*baraṣ*), but the term is not restricted to leprosy and may encompass other skin disorders; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Djudhām’ (M. Dols).

20 This work has not survived.

### 13.63 al-Ḥafid (the Grandson) Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr<sup>1</sup>

[13.63.1]

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abī Marwān ibn Abī al-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr, the vizier, was a respectable, wise, cultured and noble man born and raised in Seville. He distinguished himself in the study of various disciplines and learned medicine with his father, acquiring direct knowledge of its practical aspects. He was of middle height, with a healthy complexion and strong limbs, and even in old age he retained an excellent colour and could move with the same vitality, only he became hard of hearing at the end of his life. Abū Bakr memorized the Qur’an and studied Hadith and also Arabic literature and language. No one in his time was better versed in the Arabic language, and it is said that he mastered both medicine and literature. He also excelled at composing poetry and wrote a number of famous *muwashshahāt* that are still sung and are among the best poems in that style. He also applied himself to legal studies. With his solid religious convictions, his determination, and his love for the good, Abū Bakr was respected, and he used to speak boldly. No one in his time matched him in the art of medicine, and his fame reached all the corners of al-Andalus and also other lands.

[13.63.2]

The qadi Abū Marwān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Bājī,<sup>2</sup> who was originally from Seville, told me (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah):

The venerable and wise vizier Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr said to me once that he was associated with my grandfather ‘Abd al-Malik al-Bājī. For seven years,

<sup>1</sup> This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Marwān al-Bājī (d. 635/1238) was an Andalusī religious scholar who belonged to one of the oldest and most noble families of Seville. Abū Marwān decided to perform the pilgrimage propted by the political instability in al-Andalus and following the assassination of his nephew Abū Marwān Aḥmad, who had seized power in Seville and adopted the title of al-Mu‘taḍid bi-Allāh [see below IAU’s account in Ch. 13.63.8.2]. According to the report of his travel, which has survived in several Arabic sources, Abū Marwān arrived in Damascus on the 7th of the month of Ramadan in 634 [4th May 1237] and left the city by the middle of Shawwāl of the same year [June 1237]. It was during this time that he met IAU, becoming the most important oral source for his chapter on al-Andalus. Abū Marwān provided unique information about Andalusian physicians (especially Sevillians) whose biographies were not included in the sources available to IAU. The dates of his stay in Damascus also show that IAU had already started to collect biographical information about physicians by this time. On the Bājī family, see Vizcaíno, ‘Los al-Bāyī al-Lajmī’; on Abū Marwān’s travel to the East see Marín, ‘El viaje a oriente de Abū Marwān al-Bājī’, with references to the Arabic sources that have preserved information about this scholar.

he worked with him, studying the *Mudawwanah* of Saḥnūn, the Mālikī scholar;<sup>3</sup> and also the *Musnad* of Ibn Abī Shaybah.<sup>4</sup>

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī also said that Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr was strong enough to shoot a bow of 150 Sevillian *raṭl* – the *raṭl* used in Seville equals 16 *ūqīyah* and each *ūqīyah* to 10 dirhams<sup>5</sup> – and that he was an excellent chess player.

[13.63.3]

None in his time matched him in the art of medicine. Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr served two dynasties: he worked for the last Almoravids, assisting his father; and then he served the Almohads, the people of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min. Abū Bakr began to work for ‘Abd al-Mu‘min in partnership with his father, and when his father died during ‘Abd al-Mu‘min’s reign he remained in the ruler’s service. Subsequently, he served the son of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf; then his son, Ya‘qūb Abū Yūsuf, known as al-Manṣūr; and, finally, al-Manṣūr’s son, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Nāṣir. Abū Bakr passed away at the beginning of al-Nāṣir’s reign, in the year 596/1199.<sup>6</sup> He died in Marrakesh, where he had gone for a visit, and was buried there in a place known as the *Cemetery of the Venerable Men* (*maqābir al-shuḥyūkh*). He lived approximately 90 years.

Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr possessed keen discernment and was excellent at applying treatment and administering care. This was so to such an extent that one day, when Abū Bakr was still a youth, his father Abū Marwān prescribed a laxative for the caliph ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, and when they met later Abū Bakr said: ‘It would be advisable to use this simple drug in place of that other one.’ ‘Abd al-Mu‘min did not take his medicine just then, and when his father met the caliph he said: ‘O Prince of the Believers, he was right.’ He substituted a different simple drug for the original one, to good effect. Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr

3 The *Mudawwanah* of Saḥnūn ibn Sa‘īd ibn Ḥabīb al-Tanūkhī (d. 240/855), a compendium of the legal opinions of Ibn Mālik and his successors in Medina, was the most important handbook of Andalusian Mālikism. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Saḥnūn’ (M. Talbi).

4 Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Shaybah was a Mālikī traditionist and historian; the *K. al-Musnad*, also known as *K. al-Muṣannaḥ* was one of the canonical collections of *ḥadīths* in Almohad al-Andalus. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Abī Shayba’ (Ch. Pellat).

5 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Makāyil’ (E. Ashtor & J. Burton-Page): ‘In Muslim Spain, a *raṭl* of 503.68 g was commonly used’. It is unlikely that the weight of the bow could have been 75 kg; what is meant here is the force needed to draw the string.

6 Cf. Ibn Dihyah, *Muṭrib*, 207, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:434, which report his death ‘at the end of 595’.

also created the ‘Theriac of the Fifty Ingredients’ (*al-tiryāq al-khamsīnī*) for al-Manṣūr Abī Yūsuf Ya‘qūb.

[13.63.4]

Someone trustworthy told me that a man from the al-Yanāqī family<sup>7</sup> was a friend of al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr and that they used to meet often to play chess together. One day while they were playing chess, al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr felt that his friend was not as cheerful as usual and said to him: ‘What is on your mind? It seems that you are distracted with something; tell me about it.’ ‘Yes,’ replied al-Yanāqī, ‘I have a daughter, and I am marrying her to a man who has asked for her hand, but I need three hundred dinars [for the dowry].’ ‘Play, and forget about that,’ said al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr, ‘for I have three hundred dinars less five dinars that you may have.’ They played for a while, and then al-Yanāqī took his leave, and Ibn Zuhr gave him the money. But he soon returned and put the three hundred dinars less five dinars in al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr’s hands.: ‘What is this?’ he exclaimed. ‘I have sold some olive trees,’ replied the man, ‘for seven hundred dinars, and I am giving you three hundred less five dinars in return for that which you kindly gave me: you receive this from me, and I still keep four hundred dinars.’ ‘Keep it all for yourself and put it to good use,’ said al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr, ‘I did not give you that money so that you would return it to me some day.’ But the man refused. ‘By God,’ he said, ‘at this moment I have no need to take it, or to take anything from anyone, either as a gift or as a loan.’ ‘But are you my friend or my enemy?’ asked al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr. ‘I am your friend,’ the man answered, ‘and the one who loves you the most.’ To which al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr replied: ‘True friends do not have anything that they would not share if one of them is in need.’ But the man would not accept it, until al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr exclaimed: ‘By God, if you do not accept it we will become enemies, and I will not speak to you ever again.’ And the man finally took the money and thanked his friend.

[13.63.5]

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī said:

Al-Manṣūr decided that no book of logic and philosophy should remain in his lands, and many were burnt. He was adamant that no one should

<sup>7</sup> This particular individual cannot be identified with certainty, but the Banū Yanāqī were a prominent family of Seville and IAU’s informant, the qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī, also transmitted information about the jurist al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yanāqī; see Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, i:128, no. 339 [= ‘Awwād Ma’rūf, i:164 no. 337].



engage in those disciplines any more, and that if anyone were to be found studying those arts or in possession of any book dealing with them, he would be severely punished. When he ruled concerning this matter he dispatched an agent to investigate al-Ḥafid Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr. The caliph wanted to know whether Ibn Zuhr had any hidden books of logic or philosophy and was studying them without mentioning anything about it to avoid falling into disgrace.

Ibn Zuhr was investigated, and the orders of al-Manṣūr were applied to all the books held by booksellers and others, so that no philosophical work would survive, and all those who studied them would be humiliated. But one of the notables of Seville, full of malice and envy against al-Ḥafid Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr, wrote a letter claiming that Ibn Zuhr had always occupied himself with those disciplines and studied them, and declaring that he had many books of philosophy in his house. He sent his letter, accompanied by attestations and oaths, to al-Manṣūr, who was then at the Castle of Deliverance (*Ḥiṣn al-Faraj*),<sup>8</sup> a place only two miles away from Seville, with healthy, pure air, where wheat will last for eighty years without losing its good properties. It was Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr who had advised al-Manṣūr to build his palace in that place and to spend some time at it. Al-Manṣūr was there when he received the letter, and he ordered Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr seized and imprisoned and all the witnesses who had signed the letter convened. But then al-Manṣūr said: 'I will not hold Ibn Zuhr accountable unless someone brings proof of his culpability. Nothing has been proven, and by God, even if all the people of al-Andalus were to come before me to bear witness against Ibn Zuhr attesting what this letter says, I would not accept their testimony, knowing what I know about the rightness of his religious convictions and his intelligence.'

[13.63.6]

Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ishbīlī<sup>9</sup> said:

Al-Ḥafid Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr had taken two pupils to practise medicine with him; they worked together and were affiliated with him for some time, studying some medical works. One day when they met Ibn Zuhr, one of them happened to have a small book of logic with him, and Abū

<sup>8</sup> Aznalfarache in Spanish.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the botanist Ibn al-Rūmiyyah, see Ch. 13.86.

l-Ḥusayn, known as al-Maṣdūm, had joined them because he wanted to study that book. When he saw it, al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr exclaimed: ‘What is this?’ Then he took the book and inspected it, and when he realized that it was a book on logic, he threw it away. Even though he was barefoot, he stormed towards his pupils, intending to beat them. They fled, but al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr rushed after them despite his state,<sup>10</sup> not sparing any insult, while they ran off before him – and they certainly ran a long distance.

Afterwards, the pupils avoided al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr for some time, not daring to approach him at all. Subsequently, however, they went to visit him, and on that occasion they excused themselves, claiming that the book had not been theirs and that they had had no reason to possess it: they had seen a young man in the street with the book in question, and they had only wanted to take hold of the book in order to subject him to scorn and ridicule. They had taken the book from him, and, forgetting that they had it with them, had gone to meet their master.

Al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr pretended to be deceived by all this, but before forgiving them and allowing them to carry on their studies in medicine with him, he ordered them to memorize the Qur’an, to study Qur’anic commentary (*tafsīr*), Hadith, and Sharia; and to commit themselves to abide by the requirements of the Sharia and live according to them, without exception. The pupils obeyed his orders, acquired the knowledge he had demanded of them, and respected the rules of the Sharia of their own accord and making them their habit, as they had been instructed. However, one day when they were with al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr, he presented to them that book on logic they had brought and said: ‘Now you are free to read this book and others of that kind with me, and to study them.’ They were greatly surprised, but this incident demonstrates his great intelligence and virtue.

[13.63.7]

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me:

Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūjān,<sup>11</sup> the vizier of al-Manṣūr, was an enemy of al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr and envied him. When he saw the prestige

<sup>10</sup> I.e., barefoot.

<sup>11</sup> Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mūsā ibn Yūjān al-Hintātī was vizier during the last years of the reign of the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr (d. 595/1199) and was deposed after his death, see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘Hintāta’ (G. Deverdun).

and excellence of the physician's position and the high regard that his work commanded, he conspired against him, intending to poison him with the help of one of his associates, putting the poison into some eggs. Al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr was then working with his sister and his niece, both of whom possessed a sound practical knowledge of medicine and knew how to administer remedies. They were especially experienced in the treatment of women and used to take care of the women of al-Manṣūr; in fact, al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr's sister and her daughter delivered all the sons of al-Manṣūr and his family.<sup>12</sup> Al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr did not eat any of the poisoned eggs, but his sister died, and his niece passed away with her mother, since no treatment was effective.

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī adds: Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūjān was subsequently murdered by members of his own family.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah continues: One of Ibn Zuhr's most excellent medical students was Abū Ja'far ibn al-Ghazāl.<sup>13</sup>

[13.63.8.1]

One of the poems of al-Ḥafīd Ibn Zuhr was recited to me [i.e., IAU] by Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī al-Ḥātīmī,<sup>14</sup> who heard it from al-Ḥafīd himself when he had composed a poem about his love for his son.<sup>15</sup>

I have someone like a sandgrouse chick,  
 a young one, with whom my heart has been left behind.  
 My house is far from him; how lonely I am  
 without that dear little person and that dear face!  
 He yearns for me and I yearn for him;  
 he weeps for me and I weep for him.  
 Yearning has become tired between us two,  
 from him to me and from me to him!

12 This is one of the few mentions of Andalusian midwives in medical literature, see Giladi, *Muslim Midwives*, 81–82.

13 See Ch. 13.79.

14 The famous Sufi Muḥyī l-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī, who died in Damascus in 638/1240.

15 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:435; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:40; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:153; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, ii:248–249.

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me that Abū ‘Imrān ibn ‘Imrān al-Zāhid al-Martalī, who lived in Seville, heard these verses from Ibn Zuhr himself, toward the end of his life:<sup>16</sup>

I looked into the mirror when it had been polished  
 and my eyes could not believe all they saw.  
 I saw a little old man whom I did not know,  
 while I used to know, before that, a young man.  
 ‘Where is he’, I asked, ‘who once dwelled here?’  
 When did he depart from this place, when?  
 The mirror, thinking me stupid, replied to me, without speaking:  
 ‘That one was here once; this one came afterwards.  
 Take it easy! This one will not last forever.  
 Don’t you see how grass withers after it has grown?’  
 Pretty women used to say, ‘Dear brother!’ but now  
 pretty women say, ‘Dear father!’

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī recited to me from a longer poem:<sup>17</sup>

Repeat what we spoke of to me, from all sides,  
 for speaking of the beloved is beloved.

Our teacher ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Musāfir al-Ḥanafī al-Muhandis<sup>18</sup> recited to me these verses by Ibn Zuhr, which are eloquent and profound and display excellent use of paronomasia (*tajnīs*):<sup>19</sup>

Ah, what has passion done to his heart!  
 It has destroyed it when it alighted (*alabba*) on its core (*bi-lubbihī*).  
 It responded to it (*labbāhu*) when called upon: thus  
 someone called by the call of passion responds to it (*yulabbihī*).

16 Metre: *basīt*. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii:218 (line 5 lacking), Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:435 (line 5 lacking), al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, ii:249–250 (lines 1–3, with some other lines).

17 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, iii:468 (with three other verses).

18 Usually known as ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar Ta‘āsif al-Ḥanafī (d. 649/1251), he was an Egyptian mathematician, instrument maker, secretary, polymath and engineer who resided in Syria and worked for several Ayyubid kings. He was reportedly sent by al-Kāmil to the court of Frederick II to solve some geometrical problems sent by the Norman king as a challenge. See: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv:304; Mayer, *Islamic Astrolabists*, 80–81.

19 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii:223–224, al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* (591–600), 203 (lines 1–8).

- How dear to me<sup>20</sup> is he who, in his arrogance (*ʿujbihī*), is unable  
 to return a greeting. If you doubt it, just visit him (*ʿuj bihī*)!  
 A gazelle (*zaby*) from among the Turks (*atrāk*),<sup>21</sup> the arrow-tips (*zubbā*)  
 of whose glances have left (*taraka*) no solace for his lover.
- 5 If you cannot believe what he with his looks has reaped with his  
 despoiling (*salbihī*) at the battle of al-Ghuwayr,<sup>22</sup> then ask about him  
 (*sal bihī*);  
 Or, if you wish to meet a lissom gazelle in whose herd (*sirbihī*)  
 there are lions<sup>23</sup> in their den, then pass along him (*sir bihī*).  
 Ah, how pretty he is, how sweet his saliva;<sup>24</sup>  
 how proud he is and how humble I am in his love!  
 Or how gentle he is, with the rose on his cheek,  
 so delicate, but so strong the hardness of his heart!  
 So many veils (*khumār*)<sup>25</sup> there are between me and the wine (*khamra*)  
 of his saliva,  
 and heart's torment (*adhāb*) standing in the way of its pure sweet-  
 ness (*adhb*)!
- 10 The violets of his cheeks<sup>26</sup> proclaimed, intentionally:  
 'O lovers, refrain yourselves from approaching!'

[13.63.8.2]

One of Ibn Zuhr's *muwashshahs* was recited to me by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad the grandson of al-Ḥakīm Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr. The father of Abū 'Abd Allāh was Abū Marwān Aḥmad the son of the qadi Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Bājī, who married the daughter of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥafīd

20 *bi-abī*, literally 'with my father (I would ransom)'.  
 21 *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*: 'the Bedouins' (*al-Aʿrāb*), spoiling the paronomasia, even though it goes better with line 5 (which, however, should not be taken literally).  
 22 A 'battle of al-Ghuwayr' (*yawm al-Ghuwayr*) is mentioned (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxiv:24) as having taken place between Arab tribes in early Islamic times; al-Ghuwayr ('the little cave') is said to be the name of several locations in Arabia (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v.). It is not clear why it is mentioned here; perhaps it alludes to an ancient proverb ('Perhaps ill luck will come from al-Ghuwayr', see al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ*, ii:21).  
 23 One could read a singular (*asad*) or a plural (*usd*); MS A seems to have the latter.  
 24 There is an implied antithesis between *umayliḥ* (cognate with *milḥ*, 'salt') and *aḏhab* ('sweet').  
 25 MS A vowels it as *khumār* ('hangover').  
 26 This shows the beloved to be a boy whose beard has begun to sprout.

Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr. And from her was born Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad. Abū Marwān Aḥmad was regent in Seville for nine months and then he was treacherously killed by Ibn al-Aḥmar in the year 630/1232, when he was 37 years old.<sup>27</sup> About that Ibn Zuhr said, and it is one of his first compositions:<sup>28</sup>

My deep sighs assert  
 That the joys of passion are trouble.  
     My heart is madly in love with its tormentor,  
     While I complain because I seek him;  
     If I hide my love I while die because of it.  
 And if I cry out, ‘O my heart!’  
 The enemies rejoice and disapprove.  
     You who cry over abandoned remains  
     And who hands round the wine, hoping:  
     I am preoccupied by your eyes.  
 So leave off your useless outpour of tears  
 When the fire of yearning is blazing.  
     An eye that was generous with what it possesses  
     Knew the humiliation of passion and wept,  
     And complained about what it suffers and lamented.  
 My heart is forever madly in love,  
 Powerless to attain consolation.  
     I do not put the blame on my eyes;  
     They wore out my heart so now I wear them out,  
     Watching the stars at night.  
 I wanted to count their number,

27 According to Ibn ‘Idārī, Abū Marwān Aḥmad’s death took place in 632/1234–1235 (*al-Bayān al-mughrib (Muwahhidūn)*, 330; *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (Tunis), iii:457); al-Marrākushī dates it in Jumādā I of 631/February 1234 (al-Marrākushī, *Dhayl*, iii:581). This paragraph offers precious information about the history of the family of IAU’s principal informant, Abū Marwān al-Bājī. On the one hand IAU mentions their relationship with the prestigious family of the Banū Zuhr, some of whose members are treated in biographies 13.60 to 13.64. On the other hand, the author informs us about the relationship of al-Bājī’s family with the Banū Hūd, who were petty kings in the *ṭā’ifah* of Saragossa and, from 1228 until the Christian conquest, rulers of Murcia and Seville, where Abū Marwān Aḥmad was regent. Abū Marwān al-Bājī left al-Andalus due to the political instability in Seville that Ibn Zuhr addresses in this poem. See above Ch. 13.62.2 and the corresponding footnote.

28 *Muwashshahah*; rhyme scheme: AB ccc AB ddd AB eee AB fff AB ggg AB (capitals stand for the recurrent rhyme); metre: XLLLLLSSL.

Though they are countless.

To a gazelle who vanquishes a lion  
 I came, asking to fulfil what he had promised,  
 But he slunk away from me and said, 'Tomorrow'.  
 Do you think, people, what about tomorrow?  
 Where will he dwell or be found?<sup>29</sup>

He also said:<sup>30</sup>

A sun that is paired with a full moon:  
 Wine and a drinking companion.  
 Pass round the cups  
 With the fragrance of ambergris!  
 The garden is full of joy  
 And the river has been clothed with a coat of mail<sup>31</sup>  
 By the blowing of the gentle breeze,  
 And the hand of the west and the east  
 Has unsheathed over the horizon  
 Swords of lightning.  
 The flowers have been made to laugh  
 By the weeping of the clouds.  
 Ah, I have a master  
 Who has acted arbitrarily and overpowered me.  
 Were it not  
 For the tears that betray my secret  
 I would have concealed it.  
 But how could I conceal it  
 When my tears are a flood  
 In which fires have been kindled?

29 As is common in the *muwashshah* genre, the last line is in a kind of vernacular (*ash* for *ayyu shay'in*, *hu* for *huwa*). To fit the metre the last sentence has to be pronounced perhaps as *f-ay makānin yaskun-aw yujadū* (the spelling in B and Gc of the last word as *y.j.d*, without *w*, may reflect this).

30 *Muwashshahah*. Rhyme scheme: the same as in the preceding poem; metre: irregular (many but not all segments apart from the B segments have the metrical structure XLL-SLLL). Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 45–46, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:41–43, Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, 302–303 (with English translation). Another English translation in Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 12. Monroe and Compton attribute the poem to Ḥātim ibn Sa'īd, on unclear grounds.

31 A common image for rippling surfaces.

Who has ever seen burning embers  
 That swim in a deep sea?  
 When I am blamed because of him  
 By someone who has seen his accusation  
 I sing a song to him:  
 'Perhaps he has an excuse  
 Though you blame him.'<sup>32</sup>

He also said:<sup>33</sup>

O cupbearer, the complaint is addressed to you!  
 We called upon you but you did not listen.  
 There was a drinking companion I fell in love with;  
 I drank wine (*rāḥ*) from his hand (*rāḥah*).  
 Whenever he woke up from his inebriation  
 He drew the wineskin toward him, leaned back,  
 And poured me four in four.<sup>34</sup>  
 A willow branch, inclining from where he had been straight:  
 He who loves him spends the night, from excess of passion,  
 With pounding heart and weakened strength.  
 Whenever he thinks of separation he weeps;  
 But why should he weep for something that has not happened?  
 I have no patience nor fortitude;  
 O people! They have reproached me, doing their utmost;  
 They rejected my complaint about what I suffer.  
 One is entitled to complain about a state such as I am in:

32 A quotation, often cited as a proverb, see e.g. al-Jāhīz, *Hayawān*, i:23, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, ii:142, iii:86 (anonymous); attributed to Muslim ibn al-Walīd in al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii:363, see Muslim ibn al-Walīd, *Dōwān*, 340, but to Manṣūr al-Namarī in Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 247.

33 *Muwashshaḥah*; rhyme scheme: the same as in the preceding poems; metre: XSLXSLXSLXSL. A famous poem; see Ibn Sanā' al-Mulq, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 73–74, Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs*, 426–427, Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, i:267–268, Ibn Dihyah, *Muṭrib*, 205–206, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīh*, 248–249, al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshīr*, 126–129, idem, *Wāfi*, iv:40–41, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xviii: 219–220, Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, 288–289 (with English translation), Liu & Monroe, *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs*, 66–69, 77–80, 101, Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 35. Several modern performances could be heard on Youtube in November 2018.

34 Four drinks in four cups, presumably.



The distress of despair and the humiliation of desire.  
 Why<sup>35</sup> have my eyes become dim-sighted<sup>36</sup> by a glance?  
 After seeing you they dislike the light of the moon.  
 If you wish, listen to my story.  
 My eyes have become wretched<sup>37</sup> from long weeping;  
 One part of me wept with me for another part of me.<sup>38</sup>  
 A hot heart<sup>39</sup> and tears that flow –  
 He knows his sin yet does not acknowledge it.  
 O you who turns away from what I describe:  
 The love in me for you has grown and thrived.  
 Let the beloved not think I am pretending!

He also said:<sup>40</sup>

O my two friends, listen to the call of one who is delighted with a friend!  
 How I suffer from the loss of loved ones!  
 A heart that is surrounded by passion from all sides,  
 Any heart that is madly in love,  
 Will have no rest from reviling women.  
 You whom I embrace with all my heart,<sup>41</sup>  
 And whom I make dwell there instead of a broken heart:  
 I belong to passion, you to unprecedented beauty.  
 The speech of a reproacher  
 Is something that will pass with the winds.  
 My proper conduct has been brushed aside, I am deprived of my right  
 behaviour  
 By an open mouth that turned eyes away from camomile flowers<sup>42</sup>  
 That are watered by a mixture of musk and wine

35 This strophe is the third instead of the fourth in some versions.

36 Reading *'ashiyat* with L and most other sources; A and R have *ghashiyat*, *'Uddat al-jalis* has *shaqiyat*.

37 Reading *shaqiyat* (MSS A, L); most other sources have *'ashiyat*.

38 His eyes wept for his heart (or liver, see the next note).

39 Literally, 'liver' (seat of passions).

40 *Muwashshahah*; rhyme scheme: aaaBCdddBCcccBCeeeBCfff, metre: in most segments, a form of *kāmil*. Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, i:268–269, Ibn Bishrī, *'Uddat al-jalis*, 78, Ibn al-Khatīb, *Jaysh al-tawshūh*, 249–250.

41 Literally, 'with the curves of (my) ribs', which sounds even stranger in English than in Arabic.

42 I.e., his teeth are whiter than camomile flowers.

Like bubbles floating  
 On the surface of pure water.  
 Who can help me when he, like a full moon, reveals himself in the  
 dark?  
 I have fallen in love, because of his cheeks, with the moon when it is  
 full,  
 And I have fallen in love, because of his body, with lissom figures.  
 Like a tender bough  
 His is unable to carry a sash.  
 He has burdened me in love with what cannot be endured:  
 A longing that if it were mentioned would daunt the undaunted.  
 No, you are the most unjust of those whose command must be  
 obeyed.  
 But even though you are unjust  
 You are my desire and all I demand.

He also said:<sup>43</sup>

Greet these pretty faces  
 And greet those kohl-black eyes!  
 Is there anything wrong in loving?  
 In a drinking-companion, in wine?  
 A sincere well-wisher wants to correct me;  
 But how could I hope to be corrected,  
 Being between love and libertinism?  
 You absent one who is not absent:  
 You are far though near.  
 How often did hearts complain of you!  
 You have weakened them with wounds.  
 And ask the arrows of the eyelids!  
 The eyes of those who cry have been made to cry  
 By the remembrance of the sister of Arcturus.<sup>44</sup>  
 Even the doves on the arak trees<sup>45</sup>

43 *Muwashshahah*; rhyme scheme: ABcccABdddABeeeABfffABgggAB; metre: *mujtathth*. Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, i:273–274; Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalis*, 356–357; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshih*; 246–247; al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī' al-tawshih*, 101–103.

44 A star that is an image for the unattainably high.

45 The tree called *arāk* (*Savadora persica*) has fragrant wood; its twigs are often used as toothbrushes.

Cried plaintively and wailed  
 On boughs and branches.  
 She has been handed the reins  
 By a lover who tries to cure his passion  
 And who cannot endure blame.  
 He is yearning in the morning, and in the evening  
 He is torn between several<sup>46</sup> doubts.  
 You who left without saying farewell,  
 You have left together with all intimacy:  
 Pride(?)<sup>47</sup> gives and withholds.  
 They passed and concealed<sup>48</sup> their going in the morning,<sup>49</sup>  
 At daybreak<sup>50</sup> and they did not say farewell to me.

He also said:<sup>51</sup>

Will passion avail or be helpful,  
 Or is it wrong for someone to weep?  
 O my heart's desire, you have gone away from me  
 And now night has no morn for me.  
 I'd give my life for the one who shunned me and left;  
 'Not an eye from him, nor a trace'.<sup>52</sup>  
 He tormented me with love for him; no!  
 He has not spared or left anything of me.

46 Reading *shattā* (A, *Mughrib*, *Uddah*, *Jaysh*) rather than *saby* 'captivity' (L, R, *Tawshī*), since the preposition *bayna* implies a plurality.

47 Reading *wa-l-fakhr*, since it is difficult to make sense of *wa-l-'ajz* ('and impotence'). The reading of *Mughrib*, *wa-l-fajr* ('and daybreak'), if correct, could refer to the time of the beloved's departure.

48 The metre requires *wa-akhfū l-rawāhā* (instead of the standard Arabic *wa-akhfawu l-rawāhā*), apparently a vernacular trait in this *kharjah*.

49 For this sense of *rawāh* (rather than 'going in the evening', as in standard Arabic), see Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, 422.

50 Reading *saḥar*, thus vowelled in A, which fits the metre if read without inflectional ending, as is common in a *kharjah* (see also Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, s.v.). *Mughrib* reads *saḥaran* (unmetrical), *Tawshī* has 'annī, 'away from me'. Very different versions of this *kharjah* are found in *Uddah* and *Jaysh*; see also the *kharjah* of a *muwashshah* by Ibn Ḥazmūn (*Uddah*, 358).

51 *Muwashshahah*; rhyme scheme: ABCBcdcdcdABCDefefABCgghghghABCbijijjABCBklklkIABC; metre: *mukhallā' al-basī* (with the last syllable truncated in every other member). Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs*, 56–57 (anonymously).

52 The idiom is found e.g. in Labīd (*Dīwān*, 58, 79); the word 'ayn ('eye') also means 'person'.

O eye, away!<sup>53</sup> For I can only  
 Endure, with tears and sleeplessness.  
 Longing does what it wants  
 In a heart<sup>54</sup> that is all wounds.  
 You who puts the full moon to shame, don't ask me  
 About the wrongdoing of your sweet glances!  
 He is more radiant than the morning sun,  
 Time increases in beauty through his beauty.  
 His glance has the power of wine,  
 Doing with the mind what it wishes.  
 His cheeks are like roses in splendour,  
 To be plucked<sup>55</sup> with the eye, or almost  
 And that cool mouth:  
 Its pebbly teeth are pearls and unmixed wine,  
 Or, as one says, water of a rain cloud  
 By which the grown camomile is watered.  
 You who have the most wonderful qualities,  
 O twig, O sand-dune, O moon!  
 You have gone and have not come again;  
 Ears and eyes are left desolate.  
 But for the east wind that blows from those regions  
 My heart would melt from pondering.  
 You who are far away,  
 The winds have brought news from you:  
 The east wind has told me about you  
 Whenever the meadow of the hills quivers and spreads its fragrance.  
 O magician above all magicians,  
 One whose beauty I describe:  
 A face he has, splendid like the morning;  
 In clothes of beauty he wraps himself.  
 Like a meadow surrounded by flowers,  
 That can be plucked by the eye, or have been plucked;  
 Like the full moon in whose night rise lucky stars,  
 Its light glittering and shining;

53 Assuming one should read 'n.y rather than 'aynī, it is not wholly clear whether it is 'amī, 'away from me', or an imperative fem. sing. such as 'innī/'unnī, 'turn aside!' (from 'NN) or 'amī, 'torment!' (from 'NY).

54 Literally, 'liver'.

55 'Uddah: 'that are wounded' (yuklamu), a common conceit.

Like a supple branch in his swaying gait,  
 While the winds rock his sides.  
 Who will bring me the girl with henna'd finger-tips,  
 With slender figure and flirtation,  
 Whose avoidance resembles time:  
 Past, future, present!  
 He who blames me pities me because of her;  
 Then he turns away, laughing, and says:  
 'A lover, poor one! God may ...'<sup>56</sup>  
 Be pleased with someone who loves pretty people!  
 Let him avoid me or be united with me:  
 One cannot demand<sup>57</sup> anything from a magician.'

### 13.64 Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥafīd Abī Bakr ibn Zuhr<sup>1</sup>

[13.64.1]

Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥafīd Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abī Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-'Alā' Zuhr ibn Marwān ibn Zuhr was a handsome and clever man with sound judgment, and extraordinary intelligence. His way of life was virtuous, although he liked luxurious clothes. He took a keen interest in medicine, having been dedicated to the study of all its aspects. Abū Muḥammad worked with his father, who helped him to discover the theoretical and practical secrets of that art, and with whom he read Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī's *Book of Plants* (*K. al-Nabāt*)<sup>2</sup> and mastered its contents. The caliph Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Nāṣir ibn al-Manṣūr Abī Ya'qūb held Abū Muḥammad in high regard and bestowed great honours upon him, aware as he was of the physician's vast knowledge and the high rank of his family.

56 It is not easy to understand *allah yurīdū* ('may God want him?'); perhaps read, with MSS GcR, *Uddah, allah yazīdū* ('may God increase him').

57 For this sense of *iqtirāḥ*, see Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, 421 (where this sentence is quoted).

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

2 Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (d. 283/896), was an Abbasid polymath who wrote on varied topics; he is considered the founding father of Arabic botany due to the influence of his *Book of Plants* (*K. al-Nabāt*), although the content of this treatise is mainly lexicographical; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Dīnawarī' (B. Lewin).

[13.64.2.1]

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me:

When Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥafid went to the capital [i.e., Marrakesh] the caliph ensured that he would have all that he needed for his travel and personal expenses with a purse of 10,000 dinars. And when he met the caliph al-Nāṣir in Mahdia, which al-Nāṣir had just conquered, Abū Muḥammad paid him homage in the customary fashion, with the words, ‘O Prince of the Believers by the grace of God, my ancestors and I have enjoyed your grace and benevolence, and the honour that you bestowed on my father has been passed on to me with riches that I will not spend in my lifetime. I have come only to be at your service, as my father did, and to take the place he used to hold next to the Prince of the Believers.’ Al-Nāṣir covered him with honours and gave him wealth and riches beyond description; he sat close to the caliph in the place that had been occupied by his father al-Ḥafid.

Those who had a place next to the caliph were [in this order]: al-Khaṭīb Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Yūsuf Ḥajjāj al-Qāḍī, al-Qāḍī al-Sharīf Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī,<sup>3</sup> Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥafid Abī Bakr ibn Zuhr, and, at his side, Abū Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jazūlī, the author of the famous *Introduction to Grammar* known as *al-Jazūlīyyah*.<sup>4</sup> Abū Muḥammad Ibn Zuhr was also interested in grammar, which he studied with [al-Jazūlī] and learned from him.

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥafid was born in Seville in 577/1181–1182, and [later] was poisoned and died, may God have mercy upon him, in Salé<sup>5</sup> in 602/1205–1206, in the district named Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ, where he was buried. He was on his way to Marrakesh, but fate struck him down before he had arrived. His corpse was subsequently taken from there and brought to Seville to be buried next to his ancestors in the *Bāb al-Faṭḥ*. He lived twenty-five years.

3 The only source mentioning these two qadis appears to be al-Ṣafadī, quoting IAU, *Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, xvii:311.

4 I.e., *al-Muqaddimah al-Jazūlīyyah fi l-naḥw*. Al-Jazūlī, who according to the sources died between 606/1209 and 616/1219, owed his fame as grammarian mainly to this short introduction, see EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Djazūlī’ (M. Ben Cheneb).

5 The Arabic *Salā*, a coastal town in Morocco at the mouth of the river Buragrag, see EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Salā’ (H. Ferhat).

[13.64.2.2]

This is one of the most amazing stories that the qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me about Abū Muḥammad:

One day I was with him and he said to me: I dreamt of my sister last night – she had already died. It was as if I asked her: ‘Sister, by God, would you tell me how long will I live?’ She replied: ‘Two *tapias* (*tābiyahs*) and a half’ – the *tapia* (*tābiyah*) is a wooden frame used in construction and is known in the Maghrib by that name. Its length is ten spans.<sup>6</sup> And I said to her, ‘I asked you a serious question, and you have answered with a joke.’ But she replied, ‘No, by God, I spoke in earnest; but you did not understand. Is not a *tapia* ten spans, and two *tapias* and a half twenty-five? Then you will live for twenty-five years.’

[13.64.2.3]

The qadi Abū Marwān continued:

When he told me about this dream, I said: ‘Do not interpret anything from that, because it is probably a confused dream.’ But he died before the end of that year, being, as he had been told, twenty-five years old, no more or less. He left two sons, both with noble personal virtues and good family background; one was named Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik and the other Abū l-‘Alā’ Muḥammad. This latter, who was the younger, took an interest in the art of medicine and became an expert in the books of Galen. They both lived in Seville.

### 13.65 Abū Ja‘far ibn Hārūn al-Turjālī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Turjālī was born into one of the noblest families of Seville. He studied philosophy and excelled in it, especially with respect to knowledge of the works of Aristotle and other philosophers of antiquity. He was also well versed in medi-

6 *Tapia* is, in fact, a Romance word that refers to a piece of wall made with mud pressed and dried in a wooden frame, but not to the frame itself as IAU states. Metonymically, the term was also used as a measure unit with varied values, and in this IAU is correct. See Graciani García, ‘Consideraciones ... tapia’.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

cine, and he specialized in that art, having had experience in its principles and its various branches, and being good at treating diseases. Abū Ja‘far’s way of life was virtuous. He served Abū Ya‘qūb, the father of al-Manṣūr.<sup>2</sup>

Abū Ja‘far was one of the pupils of the jurist Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī,<sup>3</sup> with whom he associated for some time and with whom he studied Hadith. Abū Ja‘far also transmitted Hadith himself. He was the teacher of Abū l-Walīd ibn Rushd in various disciplines, including medicine.

Abū Ja‘far was originally from Trujillo,<sup>4</sup> a city on the frontier region of al-Andalus. Trujillo was attacked by al-Manṣūr and abandoned by its [Christian] inhabitants; he subsequently repopulated it with Muslims.

Abū Ja‘far ibn Hārūn was also an expert oculist and many anecdotes have survived about his skill in preparing medicines. The qadi Abū Marwān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Lakhmī al-Bājī told me that his brother, the qadi Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, had injured his eye with a stick when he was a boy: his eyeball was pierced in such a way that no healing was expected. But his father summoned Abū Ja‘far ibn Hārūn, showed him his son’s eye, and told him: ‘I will pay you three hundred dinars if you cure him.’ ‘By God, that will not be necessary,’ replied the physician, ‘I will give him some medicine and he will recover, God willing’. And the boy took his medicine until his eye was healed and he could see with it.

Abū Ja‘far came to be affected by numbness (*khadar*) and his limbs were enfeebled, so that he had to remain in his house in Seville, where he attended his patients. It was in Seville that he died.

2 Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf, known as Yūsuf I, was an Almohad caliph who ruled in 558–580/1163–1184.

3 Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148) was an Andalusi traditionist author of varied works on legal topics, history and literature.

4 *Turjālah*: the name of this city appears in different forms in Arab sources, the most common of which seems to be *Turjālah*; on this toponym see Viguera Molins, ‘Trujillo en las crónicas árabes’, 189–190.



13.66 Abū l-Walīd ibn Rushd<sup>1</sup>

[13.66.1]

The qadi Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rushd was born and raised in Cordova. His virtue is well known, as is his engagement with various disciplines. He excelled in law and in the analysis of discordant hadiths, and worked together with the jurist al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad ibn Rizq. Ibn Rushd also devoted himself to medicine. He was an excellent writer with regard both form and content. His medical *Book of Generalities* (*K. al-Kullīyyāt*) is the best of his works. Ibn Rushd and Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr<sup>2</sup> were close friends, and when Ibn Rushd wrote his book on medical generalities (*kullīyyah*) Ibn Zuhr asked him to write a book on particularities (*juzʿīyyah*) as well, so that the two treatises would complement each other and form a perfect compendium on medicine.

[13.66.2]

That is why Ibn Rushd, at the end of the *Book of Generalities* (*K. al-Kullīyyāt*) wrote:

This is the section on treatment (*muʿālajah*), comprising all the kinds of diseases in as succinct and clear a form as possible. We still need to add to this a further section on treatment, detailing each of the external symptoms for each of the parts of the body. Even if this is not necessary, because it is implicit in the previous sections on generalities, it will be a practical complement, because we shall include in it the treatment of diseases according to the parts of the body – which is the method followed by authors of handbooks (*aṣḥāb al-kanānīsh*) – and we shall add this section on particularities to our previous sections on generalities because medicine above all is a discipline to be approached according to its particularities whenever possible.

However, we have postponed this owing to our current commitments elsewhere until such time as we are able to bring it to completion. This book [i.e. *the Book on Generalities*] has been published, then, without those sections, for anyone will want to look at the handbooks (*kanānīsh*)

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. On Ibn Rushd, known in the West as Averroes, see Gayangos, *History*, appendix xvii–xxiii; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Rushd’ (R. Arnaldez); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 166–167; Sezgin, *GAS* III, see index s.v. b. Rušd; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Rushd, al-Ḥāfiḍ Abū l-Walīd’ (J. Lirola et al.); Cruz Hernández, *Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd*.

2 See Ch. 13.62.

alongside it because they will serve to supplement it. I asked Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr for the book that he composed recently, entitled *Facilitation* (*al-Taysīr*); I have taken it as a model and this is the way [my *Book on Particularities*] is being written. As mentioned, it will be a book with sections on particularities in which I shall discuss them in strict accordance with the sections on generalities, with the difference that those sections [of our future book] will deal with the treatment of signs and the occurrence of causes, as is customary in handbooks. There would be no utility in that for the reader of our present book, who will find sufficient the plain discussion of treatment, which, along with the sections on generalities that we have written, will enable him to draw comparisons with the achievements and mistakes in the use of drugs discussed in the handbooks that explain the treatment and care of patients.<sup>3</sup>

[13.66.3]

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me:

The qadi Abū l-Walīd ibn Rushd had a sound intellect, wore shabby clothes, and possessed a strong spirit. He devoted himself to the study of various disciplines, including medicine, with Abū Ja'far ibn Hārūn [al-Turjālī],<sup>4</sup> with whom he associated for some time, acquiring a profound understanding of philosophy. Ibn Rushd held the position of qadi in Seville for a time before moving to Cordova to serve al-Manṣūr at the beginning of his reign; later, al-Manṣūr's son al-Nāṣir also held him in high regard. Al-Manṣūr sent for Ibn Rushd when he left Cordova to fight King Alfonso in the year 591/1195.<sup>5</sup> When Ibn Rushd met the caliph, al-Manṣūr covered him with honours and placed him by his side, giving him the seat that had previously been occupied by Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, son of the shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hintātī, a friend of the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min, who held the third or fourth position among The Ten [followers of Ibn Tūmart].<sup>6</sup> Al-Manṣūr had become related by marriage with this Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid by giving him his daughter's hand,

3 Cf. Ibn Rushd, *K. al-Kullīyāt* (al-Jābrī), 583.

4 See Ch. 13.65.

5 This refers to the Battle of Alarcos, where al-Manṣūr defeated the Castilian king Alfonso VIII.

6 The Council of the Ten was formed by the first and closest followers of Ibn Tūmart. Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Yaḥyā al-Hintātī or Īntī (d. 571/1176) was the last of Ibn Tūmart companions and eponym of the Ḥafṣids, see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Yaḥyā al-Hintātī' (E. Lévi-Provençal). Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Abū Ḥafṣ' son, governed Ifrīqiyah from 603/1207 to 618/1221.

owing to the caliph's high regard for him. 'Abd al-Wāḥid had a son with her named 'Alī, who is now governor of Ifrīqiyah (*ṣāhib Ifrīqiyah*).<sup>7</sup>

When al-Manṣūr invited Ibn Rushd to sit by his side and they conversed together, many of his friends and students were waiting as he came out of the court to congratulate him on having achieved such a position at the caliph's side. But he said: 'By God, no congratulations are due, for it was the Commander of the Faithful who gave me more than I had hoped or expected'.

Some of his enemies spread calumnies claiming that the Commander of the Faithful had had him killed. When he came out safe and sound, he sent some of his servants to his house to tell them to prepare a stew with sand-grouses and squabs and to have it ready for him upon his return. By this means he intended to reassure them that he was in good health.

Later, however, al-Manṣūr punished Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd by having him exiled to Lucena – a city not far from Seville once populated by Jews – and ordering him not to leave it.<sup>8</sup> The caliph also acted against other people of rank and virtue having them exiled to various places. It seems that the reason behind this was their alleged engagement with philosophy and the disciplines of the ancients. Those who suffered such persecution were: Abū l-Walīd ibn Rushd, Abū Ja'far al-Dhahabī,<sup>9</sup> the jurist Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, qadi of Bougie;<sup>10</sup> Abū l-Rabi' al-Kafif,<sup>11</sup> and Abū l-'Abbās al-Qarrābī, the *ḥāfiẓ*<sup>12</sup> and poet.<sup>13</sup> They lived in exile for

7 IAU's reference to a son named 'Alī is mistaken. Abū Ḥafṣ' grandson, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid governed Ifrīqiyah from 623/1226 to 625/1228, when he was deposed by his brother Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ḥafṣids' (H.R. Idris).

8 On this episode see Serrano, 'Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafid (Averroes) and his exile'.

9 Abū Ja'far al-Dhahabī (d. 601/1204–1205) was a philosopher and physician who worked for al-Manṣūr. He fled to Castro del Río, although he regained the favour of the caliph shortly afterwards. See Puig, 'Materials on Averroes', 247.

10 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mahrī al-Uṣūlī (d. 612/1219) belonged to the Sevillian family of the Banū Marzuqān. He was deported from Marrakesh to Āghmāt; when he received the pardon of the caliph he was appointed qadi of Bougie and later on of Murcia. See Puig, 'Materials on Averroes', 248.

11 Unidentified.

12 It should be noted that in Almohad al-Andalus the title of *ḥāfiẓ* could refer either to someone who had memorized the Qur'an – as in the rest of the Islamic world – or to someone who had embraced Almohadism and pronounced the Almohad profession of faith.

13 There is no record of this name in other Arabic sources. It has been suggested that the *nisbah* al-Qarrābī might had been mistaken for al-Jurāwī, and this would refer to Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Jurāwī (d. 609/1212), who was a poet and *ḥāfiẓ* of the

some time, until a group of notables from Seville testified in favour of Ibn Rushd, swearing that he had been innocent of his alleged offence, and the caliph al-Manṣūr had mercy on him and on the others. This took place in the year 505/1198. Abū Ja‘far al-Dhahabī, for his part, was made head of the students and physicians.<sup>14</sup> Al-Manṣūr described Abū Ja‘far in generous terms, saying that he was like the pure gold that does not leave any impurity when melted down.

[13.66.4]

The qadi Abū Marwān said:

One of the things that al-Manṣūr resented about Ibn Rushd is that, while sitting in one of his assemblies, Ibn Rushd, on his own initiative or perhaps talking to him or discussing some scientific issue, addressed al-Manṣūr as ‘Listen, brother’. Also, Ibn Rushd once described a book on animals, commenting on the various species and depicting each of them, and when he came to the giraffe, he described it and then said: ‘I have seen a giraffe [in the palace] of the King of the Berbers – i.e., al-Manṣūr.’ These words reached al-Manṣūr, who found them offensive, and that was one of the reasons why he took revenge against Ibn Rushd and send him into exile. It is also said that Ibn Rushd apologized, claiming that he had meant to say ‘the King of the two Continents’ (*malik al-barrayn*),<sup>15</sup> but had misspelled it, and the reader had said ‘King of the Berbers’.<sup>16</sup>

[13.66.5]

The qadi Ibn Rushd, may God have mercy upon him, died in Marrakesh at the beginning of the year 595 [early November of 1198], just when the reign of al-Nāṣir was beginning. Ibn Rushd lived a long life and left a son who was also

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Berber tribe of the Banī Gafjūm. He was originally from Tādla, lived in Marrakesh and died in Seville. See *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, art. ‘Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafid, Abū l-Walid’, (Lirola et al.), iv:528.

- 14 The term used to describe this office is a word of Berber origin, *mizwār*. On this word, which could refer to various positions in the Almohad administration, see Mougin, ‘Amarwar (ou Mizwar)’.
- 15 I.e. the territories in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa. In Arabic script *barbar* and *barrayn* are easily confused.
- 16 For a different – Easterner – version of this story see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xxi:317, where this episode is linked to the Almohad persecution of philosophy (and, according to the Mamluk historian, also medicine and geometry).

a physician, named Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh. He, in turn, left several sons who dedicated themselves to law and worked as provincial qadis.

One of the sayings of Ibn Rushd is: ‘The study of anatomy increases faith in God’.<sup>17</sup>

[13.66.6]

Ibn Rushd is the author of the following works:<sup>18</sup>

1. On attainment (*K. al-Taḥṣīl*). In it, the author has compiled the divergences in the opinions of Companions, Followers, and those who came after them, and the establishment of their doctrines, and explained the instances susceptible of different interpretation that were sources of disagreement.<sup>19</sup>
2. Introduction to law (*K. al-Muqaddimāt fī l-fiqh*).<sup>20</sup>
3. *The Finishing Point of the Juridical Interpreter* (*K. Nihāyat al-mujtahid fī l-fiqh*).<sup>21</sup>

17 A reference to the realization of God’s design in nature, not unusual in medical literature. The maxim ‘Whoever does not know astronomy and anatomy is therefore deficient in the knowledge of God’ appears as *exergo* in many astronomical and medical works, see Savage-Smith, ‘The Universality and Neutrality of Science’. And in allegorical works such as Ibn al-Nafīs’ *al-Risālah al-Kāmilīyyah* the hero is able to deduce God’s existence while living in isolation after examining the anatomy of animals and plants, see Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 42–43. On this argument see Gibb, ‘Argument from Design’.

18 A detailed analysis of Ibn Rushd’s corpus can be found in: *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, Abū l-Walīd’ (J. Lirola et al.); and Cruz Hernández, *Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd*, 431–463. For a bibliography of his philosophical works, see also Endress, ‘Averrois Opera’; Daiber, *Bibliography*, i:449–468, and ii:231–262.

19 This treatise does not appear in other lists of Averroes’ works. M. Forcada states that it was written by his grandfather Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, and wrongly attributed to his grandson by IAU; see ‘Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, Abū l-Walīd’ (Lirola Delgado et al.), iv:56. However, none of the sources containing information about the works of Ibn Rushd al-Jadd seem to mention this title either.

20 According to M. Forcada, this might also be the result of a confusion between the works of Averroes and those of his grandfather, who was the author of a treatise entitled *al-Muqaddimāt li-awā’il kutub al-Mudawwanah*; see ‘Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, Abū l-Walīd’ (Lirola Delgado et al.), iv:564. On Ibn Rushd al-Jadd’s treatise, see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, art. ‘Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, Abū l-Walīd’ (D. Serrano Ruano), iv:624 (title no. 13).

21 This title refers to the second part of *The Starting Point of the Juridical Interpreter* (*K. Bidāyat al-mujtahid fī l-fiqh*). There are several editions of this work, always printed together with the first part; see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid* (1914) and *Bidāyat al-mujtahid* (‘Abd al-Ḥalīm & Maḥmūd). The treatise has also been fully translated into English; see Ibn Rushd, *The Distinguished Jurists’ Primer*.

4. *The Book of Generalities* [on medicine] (*K. al-Kullīyyāt*).<sup>22</sup>
5. Commentary on the poem in *rajaz* metre on medicine (*Urjūzah fī l-ṭibb*) attributed to al-Shaykh al-Raʿīs Ibn Sīnā.<sup>23</sup>
6. On animals (*K. al-Ḥayawān*)<sup>24</sup>
7. Compendium of the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy and metaphysics.
8. *The Necessary (Book): on logic* (*K. al-Ḍarūrī fī l-manṭiq*), containing the author's epitome of the books of Aristotle, which he summarizes completely and exhaustively.<sup>25</sup>
9. Middle commentary<sup>26</sup> on Nicolaus [Damascenus'] *Metaphysics* (*Talkhīṣ al-ilāhiyyāt li-Nīqūlās*).<sup>27</sup>
10. Middle commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (*Talkhīṣ K. mā ba'd al-ṭabī'ah li-Aristūtālīs*).<sup>28</sup>

22 This treatise is the most famous of Ibn Rushd's works on medicine. It has survived in several manuscripts and has been edited several times. For critical editions, see Ibn Rushd, *K. al-Kullīyyāt* (Fórneas Besteiro & Álvarez de Morales) and *K. al-Kullīyyāt* (al-Jābirī). For a complete translation into Spanish, see Ibn Rushd, *El libro de las generalidades*.

23 This work has survived in several manuscripts and was very popular in Europe since the 12th century, when Armengaud de Blasii published a Latin translation of the *Urjūzah* of Ibn Sīnā (the *Canticum* in Latin) and Averroes' commentary with the general title *Avicennae cantica*. The Arabic text has been published together with the Latin version and the Spanish translation, see Bibliography. IAU does not list this poem under Ibn Sīnā's works.

24 This treatise is also referred to as *Talkhīṣ tis' maqālāt min Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*Middle Commentary on the Nine Treatises of the Book of Animals of Aristotle*), and was known in Europe by its Latin title *De Animalibus*. This work is a commentary on several sections of Aristotle's *De Generatione Animalium*, *De Partibus*, and *Historia Animalium*. It has only survived in its Hebrew translation made in 1302/3 by Ya'āqob ben Makhir Ibn Tibbon, which in turn was translated into Latin by Jacob Martino in the early 16th cent. See 'Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, Abū l-Walīd' (Lirola Delgado et al.), iv:608 (no. 92).

25 This work has survived in two Judeo-Arabic manuscripts. For partial editions of its contents, edited by Butterworth, see Ibn Rushd, *Jawāmi' li-kutub Aristūtālīs*.

26 The term *talkhīṣ* is usually translated as summary or epitome. Ibn Rushd wrote abridged or minor commentaries referred to as *talkhīṣ*, and conventionally translated as 'middle commentaries', in contrast with his major or long commentaries (*sharḥ*).

27 There are no references to this work, but Ibn Rushd quoted from Nicolaus Damascenus' compendium of Aristotle's philosophy, see Daiber, *Bibliography*, 2 no. 2489.

28 Ibn Rushd wrote two commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: this middle commentary (*talkhīṣ*) and the *Sharḥ* or *Tafsīr mā ba'd al-ṭabī'ah* (*Major Commentary on [Aristotle's] Metaphysics*), not included in the list provided by IAU. There are several editions of the *Talkhīṣ*; see Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ* (Qabbānī); *Talkhīṣ* (ed. tr. Quirós Rodríguez); *Talkhīṣ* (Amīn); and Ibn Rushd, *Rasā'il*. In addition to the Spanish translation of Quirós Rodríguez, there are versions in German and English; see Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ* (tr. Horten); *Talkhīṣ* (tr. van den Bergh); *Talkhīṣ* (tr. Arnzen).

11. Middle commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (*Talkhīṣ K. al-akhlāq li-Aristūṭālis*).<sup>29</sup>
12. Middle commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora* (*Talkhīṣ K. al-burhān li-Aristūṭālis*).<sup>30</sup>
13. Middle commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (*Talkhīṣ K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī li-Aristūṭālis*).<sup>31</sup>
14. Commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo* (*Sharḥ K. al-samā' wa-l-'ālam li-Aristūṭālis*).<sup>32</sup>
15. Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima* (*Sharḥ K. al-naḥs li-Aristūṭālis*).<sup>33</sup>
16. Commentary on Galen's *Elements* (*Sharḥ K. al-uṣṭuquṣṣāt li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>34</sup>
17. Commentary on Galen's *Mixtures* (*Sharḥ K. al-mizāj li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>35</sup>
18. Commentary on Galen's *Natural Faculties* (*Sharḥ K. al-quwā al-ṭabī'īyyah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>36</sup>
19. Commentary on Galen's *Causes and Symptoms* (*Sharḥ K. al-'ilal wa-l-a'rāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>37</sup>

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29 Only some fragments have survived; see Berman, 'Lost Arabic Original of Ibn Rushd's Middle Commentary'; Aouad & Woerther, 'Le commentaire par Averroès'.

30 This work has been edited, together with the major commentary (*sharḥ*) not mentioned by IAU, see Ibn Rushd, *Sharḥ wa-talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Burhān*.

31 This work has survived in several manuscripts and has been edited several times; see Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī* (Hyderabad), (Beirut), (Madrid). There is a translation into Spanish: Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī* (ed. tr. Puig).

32 Ibn Rushd wrote a compendium (*jāmi'*), a middle commentary (*talkhīṣ*), and a major commentary (*sharḥ*) on Aristotle's *De Caelo*. The Arabic text of the major commentary listed by IAU has survived only in part, although we have a Latin version. There are two editions of this work; see Ibn Rushd, *Commentary on Aristotle's Book on the Heaven* (facs.) and *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Samā' wa-l-'Ālam* (Jum'ah).

33 The Arabic text of the treatise has not come down to us, but the Latin translation acquired great popularity in the Middle Ages. For a critical edition of it, see Ibn Rushd, *Averrois ... in Aristotelis de Anima* (Crawford).

34 Also known as *Talkhīṣ uṣṭuquṣṣāt li-Jālīnūs*. See Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 9–24, and Anawati and Zāyid, *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd al-ṭibbiyyah*, 29–72. For a Spanish translation see Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 43–66.

35 For editions, see Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 237–245; and Anawati and Zāyid, *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd al-ṭibbiyyah*, 371–386. For a Spanish translation see Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 67–120.

36 See Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 95–183; and Anawati and Zāyid, *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd al-ṭibbiyyah*, 163–296. There is a Spanish translation in Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 121–194.

37 No work with this title has come down to us, but it is likely that this corresponds with a treatise entitled *Kalām fi ikhtiṣār al-'ilal wa-l-a'rāḍ*, edited by Vázquez de Benito in Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum*, 200–235, and translated into Spanish by Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 209–238.

20. Commentary on Galen's *Classification* (*Sharḥ K. al-ta'arruf li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>38</sup>
21. Commentary on Galen's *Book on Fevers* (*Sharḥ K. al-ḥummayāt li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>39</sup>
22. Middle commentary on the first book of Galen's *Simple Drugs* (*Talkhīṣ Awwal kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>40</sup>
23. Commentary on the second section of Galen's *Method of Healing* (*Talkhīṣ al-niṣf al-thānī min K. Ḥīlat al-bur' li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>41</sup>
24. *The Incoherence of the Incoherence* (*K. Tahāfut al-tahāfut*), which is a refutation of al-Ghazālī's *The Incoherence [of the Philosophers]*.<sup>42</sup>
25. Exposition of religious arguments concerning the principles of law (*K. Minhāj al-adillah fī uṣūl al-fiqh*).<sup>43</sup>
26. A small book entitled *The Decisive Treatise on the Relationship between Philosophy and the Sharia* (*Faṣl al-maqāl fīmā bayna al-ḥikmah wa-l-sharīah min al-itṭisāl*).<sup>44</sup>
27. Important questions on Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora* (*al-Masā'il al-muhimmah 'alā K. al-Burhān li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>45</sup>

38 No work bearing this title has survived, but it has been correctly suggested that this might be the treatise otherwise known as *Talkhīṣ al-a'ḍā' al-ālīyah* or *Fī l-a'ḍā' al-ālimah*, see Cruz Hernández, *Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd*, 364. See also Ch. 5.1.37 title no. 15 *K. ta'arruf 'ilal al-a'ḍā' al-bāṭinah/al-mawāḍī' al-ālimah* (*De locis affectis*). Titles 16–21 in this list follow the order of Ch. 5.1.37, i.e. the order in Ḥunayn's *Risālah*.

39 See Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 187–199; and Anawati and Zāyid, Ibn Rushd, *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd al-ṭibbīyah*, 297–316. There is a Spanish translation by Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 197–207.

40 No work with this title has survived.

41 See Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 271–275; and Anawati and Zāyid, *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd al-ṭibbīyah*, 431–438. There is also a Spanish translation by Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 269–272.

42 For critical texts, see Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (Bouyges), (Dunyā), (al-Jābirī). There are numerous translations in modern languages, including Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (tr. Horten), (tr. 1954), (tr. Companini), (tr. Puig). For extracts in French, see Geoffroy, *Averroès, l'Islam et la raison*.

43 Usually referred to as *Kashf 'an manāhij al-adillah*. For editions, see Ibn Rushd, *Kashf 'an manāhij* (Qāsim) and (al-Jābirī). For an English translation, see Ibn Rushd, *Kashf 'an manāhij* (tr. Najjar); for a partial French translation, Geoffroy, *Averroès, L'Islam et la raison*.

44 Despite its brevity, this treatise was one of the most influential works of Ibn Rushd and has been edited several times. Müller's 1859 text was the basis of all editions till Hourani's; see Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl al-maqāl* (Müller) and *Faṣl al-maqāl* (ed. Hourani). For a detailed list of editions and re-editions, see Cruz Hernández, *Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd*, 452–453. It has been translated several times, including: Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl al-maqāl* (Müller) into Latin; *Faṣl al-maqāl* (tr. Gauthier), French; *Faṣl al-maqāl* (tr. Hourani), English; *Faṣl al-maqāl* (tr. Alonso), Spanish; and *Faṣl al-maqāl* (tr. Lucchetta), Italian.

45 These questions might correspond with the collection of short treatises preserved in El



28. Commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora* (*Sharḥ K. al-Qiyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>46</sup>
29. On the intellect (*Maqālah fī l-ʿaql*).<sup>47</sup>
30. On syllogism (*Maqālah fī l-qiyās*).<sup>48</sup>
31. Examination of whether our intellect – called material – conceives of forms separate from itself [i.e., in the Abstract Intellect] or not (*K. Fī l-faḥṣ hal yumkin al-ʿaql alladhī fīnā wa-huwa al-musammā bi-l-hayūlānī an yaʿqil al-ṣuwar al-mufāriqah bi-ākharīhi aw lā yumkin dhālika*). This is the question that Aristotle promised us that he would examine in *On the Soul* (*K. al-Nafs*).<sup>49</sup>
32. That the beliefs of the Peripatetics and the dialectic theologians of our religion concerning the quality of the world's existence are related conceptually (*Maqālah fī anna mā yaʿtaqiduhu al-mashshāʿūn wa-mā yaʿtaqiduhu al-mutakallimūn min ahl millatinā fī kayfiyyat wujūd al-ʿālam muta-qārib fī l-maʿnā*).
33. Treatise discussing the definition of the deductive method used by Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī] in his books on logic that are in general circulation, and the deductive method applied by Aristotle, to what extent each of his books on this discipline borrows from the books of Aristotle, and to what extent their respective deductive methods differ.<sup>50</sup>

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Escorial MS 632, and edited by ʿAlawī, *Maqālāt*, 75–221. For a description of these treatises see Cruz Hernández, *Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd*, 360–303; and ʿIbn Rushd, al-Ḥafīd Abū l-Walīd' (J. Lirola et al.), iv:553 (no. 49.1).

- 46 It seems in fact that Ibn Rushd never wrote a major commentary (*sharḥ*) on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora*, but he dealt with this work in his middle commentary (*talkhīṣ*), which might correspond with title no. 29 in IAU's list, the *Maqālah fī l-qiyās*. The *Talkhīṣ K. al-Qiyās li-Aristūṭālīs* has been edited several times; see Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ K. al-Qiyās* (Butterworth et al.); *Talkhīṣ K. al-Qiyās* (Badawī.); *Talkhīṣ K. al-Qiyās* (Jihāmī).
- 47 This work might correspond either with the commentary known as *Sharḥ maqālat al-Iskandar fī l-ʿaql* (*Commentary on Alexander of Aphrodisias' Treatise on the Intellect*), which has not come down to us; or with the *Talkhīṣ mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿah li-l-Iskandar* (*Minor commentary on Alexander of Aphrodisias' Methaphysics*), of which some fragments have survived in Leiden MS 2821.
- 48 No work of Ibn Rushd has come down to us with such a general title. This might refer to the *Talkhīṣ K. al-Qiyās*, which is plausibly identified with the treatise referred to by IAU as *Sharḥ K. al-Qiyās* (title no. 28 above).
- 49 This treatise has not survived in its Arabic version, but it was translated into Hebrew and Latin. The Latin version bears the title *Tractatus Averroys qualiter intellectus materialis conjugatur intelligentiae abstractae* and *Epistola de intellectu*. This work should not be mistaken for the treatise written by Ibn Rushd's son, Abū Muḥammad, with the title *Maqālah hal yattaṣil bi-l-ʿaql al-hayūlānī al-ʿaql al-faʿāl wa-huwa multabis bi-l-jism*, on which see Abū l-Walīd ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ K. al-nafs*.
- 50 This work, only mentioned by IAU and, after him, by al-Dhahabī and al-Ṣafadī, seems to have been lost.

34. On the conjunction of the separate intellect with man (*Maqālah fī ittiṣāl al-‘aql al-mufāriq bi-l-insān*).<sup>51</sup>
35. Second treatise on the conjunction of the separate intellect with man (*Maqālah fī ittiṣāl al-‘aql al-mufāriq bi-l-insān*).<sup>52</sup>
36. Consultations and discussions between Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd concerning his description of drugs in his book entitled *The Generalities*.<sup>53</sup>
37. On the examination of metaphysical questions raised in Ibn Sīnā’s *Book of Healing* (*K. Fī al-fahṣ ‘an masā’il waqa’at fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī fī K. al-Shifā’ li-Ibn Sīnā*).<sup>54</sup>
38. A question on time (*Mas’alah fī l-zamān*).<sup>55</sup>
39. Dissipation of the doubts of those who oppose the sage and his proof of the creation of the First Matter, explaining that Aristotle’s proof is the evident truth (*Maqālah fī faskh shubhat man i’taraḍa ‘alā al-Ḥakīm wa-burhānihi fī wujūd al-māddah al-ūlā wa-tabyīn anna burhān Aristūṭālīs huwa al-ḥaqq al-mubīn*).<sup>56</sup>
40. Treatise refuting Abū ‘Alī Ibn Sīnā’s division of existent beings into contingent without restriction, contingent due to their essence, necessary due to exterior [causes], or due to their own essence (*Maqālah fī l-radd ‘alā Abī ‘Alī Ibn Sīnā fī taqṣīmīhi al-mawjūdāt ilā mumkin ‘alā l-iṭlāq wa-mumkin bi-dhātīhi wājib bi-ghayrihi wa-ilā wājib bi-dhātīhi*).<sup>57</sup>
41. Mixture (*Maqālah fī l-mizāj*).<sup>58</sup>

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51 This work has not survived.

52 This work has not survived.

53 This work has not survived.

54 This work has not survived.

55 No work with such title has survived. Puerta Vilchez suggests that this might correspond with the *Maqālah fī l-zamān* included in the fourth book of Ibn Rushd’s *Sharḥ al-samā‘ al-ṭabī‘ī* (*Commentary on Physics*), see ‘Ibn Rushd, al-Ḥafīd Abū l-Walīd’ (J. Lirola et al.), iv:569 (no. 69).

56 No work with this title has survived. This might correspond with a lost treatise on the same topic mentioned by Ibn Rushd in his *Sharḥ K. al-Burhān* entitled *Maqālah fī tabyīn fasād al-ṭarīq al-kullī alladhī ḡanna ibn Sīnā anna bihi yumkin ṣāḥib al-‘ilm al-ilāhī an yuthbita wujūd al-mabda’ al-awwal*. See ‘Ibn Rushd, al-Ḥafīd Abū l-Walīd’ (J. Lirola et al.), iv:551 (no. 45).

57 No treatise with this title has come down to us, although a Hebrew version that might correspond to this title has survived in Paris, BnF ms 356. Puerta Vilchez suggests that this title refers to the 10th question discussed in the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (*Incoherence of the Incoherence*), see ‘Ibn Rushd, al-Ḥafīd Abū l-Walīd’ (J. Lirola et al.), iv:548 (no. 34).

58 Also known as *Maqālah fī l-mizāj al-mu’tadil* (*Balanced Mixture*), this work has been edited by ‘Alawī, *Maqālāt*, 55–78 and Jum’ah, *K. al-Muqaddimāt fī l-falsafah*, 278–294.

42. A question regarding bouts of fever (*Mas'alah fi nawā'ib al-ḥummā*).<sup>59</sup>
43. On fevers causing putridity (*Maqālah fi ḥummayāt al-'afan*).<sup>60</sup>
44. A question on philosophy (*Mas'alah fi l-ḥikmah*).<sup>61</sup>
45. On the movement of the sphere (*Maqālah fi ḥarakat al-falak*).<sup>62</sup>
46. On Abū Naṣr [al-Farābī's] differences with Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora* concerning its organisation, deductive rules and definitions (*K. fīmā khālafa Abū Naṣr li-Aristūṭālīs fi K. al-Burhān min tartībīhi wa-qawānīn al-barāhīn wa-l-ḥudūd*).<sup>63</sup>
47. On theriac (*Maqālah fi l-tiryāq*).<sup>64</sup>

### 13.67 Abū Muḥammad Ibn Rushd<sup>1</sup>

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī l-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Rushd was well versed in the art of medicine and excelled in it, being known for his practical skills. He used to travel to the court of al-Nāṣir and serve him as his physician.

Abū Muḥammad Ibn Rushd is the author of *On the Method of Healing* (*Maqālah fi ḥīlat al-bur'*).

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59 Also called *Maqālah fi nawbat al-ḥummā*. No work with this title has survived, but it is likely that it corresponds with the *Kalām fi l-i'tiqād anna zamān al-nawbah huwa fi'l al-ḥarārah al-gharīziyyah fi juz' min al-khilāṭ al-fā'il li-l-ḥummā*, see Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 247–248. There is a Spanish version in Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*.

60 This work, mentioned only by IAU, has not survived.

61 No treatise by Ibn Rushd with such title has survived. Only IAU and al-Ṣafadī (who relies in IAU's work) list this title, and its vagueness renders the identification of the treatise impossible.

62 This work, mentioned uniquely by IAU, has not survived.

63 This work has not survived.

64 See Ibn Rushd, *Commentaria Averrois in Galenum* (Vázquez de Benito), 249–266, and Anawati and Zāyid, *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd al-ṭibbiyyah*, 249–264. There is also a Spanish translation by Vázquez de Benito, *La medicina de Averroes*, 249–264.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

13.68 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Mūrāṭīr<sup>1</sup>

[13.68.1]

Abū l-Ḥajjāj from Mūrāṭīr [i.e. Murviedro] in eastern al-Andalus, a town close to Valencia.<sup>2</sup> He excelled in the art of medicine and acquired extensive experience in that domain, having been particularly interested in its practical aspects. Abū l-Ḥajjāj led a virtuous life and possessed good judgement. He knew about legal disciplines, studying Hadith and the *Mudawwanah*.<sup>3</sup> In addition, he was a man of letters and a poet, and he loved licentious literature. Many stories circulated about him.

[13.68.2]

The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me:

We were once in Tunis with al-Nāṣir.<sup>4</sup> The army was suffering as a result of high prices and a shortage of barley. Abū l-Ḥajjāj composed a *muwashshahah* on al-Nāṣir in which he altered a verse that al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr usually included in some of his *muwashshahahs*. Ibn Zuhr's verse ran:<sup>5</sup>

A feast does not consist in wearing a fine robe and a suit<sup>6</sup>  
 Or smelling perfume:  
 Rather, a feast consists in a meeting  
 With one's beloved.

While Ibn Mūrāṭīr's version was as follows:

A feast does not consist in wearing a fine robe and a suit  
 Made of silk:  
 Rather, a feast consists in a meeting  
 With barley.

And then al-Nāṣir gave him ten dry measures (*amdād*) of barley, the price of which at that time was fifty dinars.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

2 This is the city known today as Sagunto. The fact that the place name takes the place of a *nisbah*, instead of al-Mūrāṭīrī, is an oddity.

3 I.e., Ibn Ṣāḥnūn's *Mudawwanah*, one of the most important Mālikī texts.

4 Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (r. 595–610/1099–1213) was the fourth Almohad ruler, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Nāṣir' (E. Levi-Provençal).

5 Part of a *muwashshahah*; attributed in fact to a certain Ibn Mu'ahhal (or Mūhal?) in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, tr. Rosenthal, iii:445, al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ* vii:8; not identified but probably identical with 'Ibn Mūhad al-Shāṭibī', a *muwashshahah* of whose is quoted in Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, ii:390.

6 On the word *tāq*, see Dozy, *Supplement*, ii:70 (where these lines are quoted).

[13.68.3]

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Ibn Mūrāṭīr served the caliph al-Manṣūr Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb as his personal physician; when the caliph died, he served his son Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Nāṣir; and afterwards he also served al-Nāṣir’s son Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf al-Mustanṣir ibn al-Nāṣir. Abū l-Ḥajjāj lived a long life; he enjoyed the estimation of al-Manṣūr and held a position of honour by his side: he used to sit in the private assembly together with the notables to discuss language and other matters. Abū l-Ḥajjāj died of gout in Marrakesh during the reign of al-Mustanṣir.<sup>7</sup>

### 13.69 Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Yazīd was the son of Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Mūrāṭīr’s sister. He was an outstanding physician, a man of letters and a poet. His poetry is considered excellent.

### 13.70 Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Qablāl<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Qablāl was born and raised in Granada. He possessed an extensive knowledge of the art of medicine, and was skilled in treating patients. Ibn Qablāl served al-Manṣūr and his son, al-Nāṣir, as physician. He died in Marrakesh during al-Nāṣir’s reign.

### 13.71 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Dānī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Dānī took an extraordinary interest in medicine. He was originally from Pechina, but moved to the capital [i.e., Marrakesh], where he became the senior physician and director of the hospital (*amīn al-bīmāristān*). He had two sons,

<sup>7</sup> Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf al-Mustanṣir, known as Yūsuf II, reigned in 610–621/1213–1224.

<sup>1</sup> This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

<sup>1</sup> This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. The manuscripts are undotted and read: *q-b-l-ā-n*, *q-b-l-ā-l*, and *q-y-l-ā-l*. Müller and Riḍā have Qablāl.

<sup>1</sup> This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

of whom the elder, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, was killed while with al-Nāṣir at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in al-Andalus.<sup>2</sup> Al-Dānī died in Marrakesh during the reign of al-Mustanṣir ibn al-Nāṣir.

### 13.72 Abū Yaḥyā ibn Qāsim al-Ishbīlī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Yaḥyā excelled in the art of medicine, and had great experience with simple and compound drugs and extensive knowledge of their efficacy. He was in charge of the dispensary of potions and electuaries (*khizānat al-ashribah wal-ma‘ājīn*) that the caliph al-Manṣūr had established, following his advice. His father had also been in the service of Abū Ya‘qūb, the father of al-Manṣūr.

Abū Yaḥyā died in Marrakesh during the reign of al-Mustanṣir. He left a son, who took his place in the dispensary.

### 13.73 Abū l-Ḥakam ibn Ghalindū<sup>1</sup>

Born and raised in Seville, Ibn Ghalindū [i.e., the son of Galindo] was a man of letters and a gifted poet, although he specialized in medicine. He led a virtuous life and was an expert in his domain. Ibn Ghalindū served al-Manṣūr as his personal physician and held a high position at his court. Al-Manṣūr took him into his service when he succeeded to the caliphate in 580/1184–1185. Ibn Ghalindū was the author of many books, and used to write using the two Andalusian calligraphic styles.<sup>2</sup> He died in Marrakesh and was buried there.

2 The Battle of the Navas de Tolosa (*Ma‘rakat al-Iqāb* in Arabic) took place in 609/1212. This was one of the most decisive battles in the Christian war against the Muslims; the joint armies of Alfonso VIII of Castile, Peter II of Aragon, Sancho VII of Navarre and Alfonso II of Portugal defeated the Almohad army under al-Nāṣir. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Iqāb’ (H. Monés).

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Ibn Ghalindū was a student of Ibn Zuhri; see *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Galinduh, Abū l-Ḥakam’ (A.C. López y López). See also Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilah*, ii: 616, no. 1717; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, x:245–236 (which dates his death in 587/1191).

2 According to Yāqūt, ‘he used to write in the two hands, Andalusī and Eastern’. This most likely refers to the Western and Eastern calligraphic styles.

### 13.74 Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān<sup>1</sup>

The *Hājj* Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān al-Gharnāṭī was born and raised in Granada. He studied medicine, mastering both theory and practice. Abū Ja‘far served al-Manṣūr as his personal physician. He performed the pilgrimage in the company of Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Jubayr al-Gharnāṭī, the man of letters and author of the *Book of Travels (Riḥlah)*, in which Abū Ja‘far is mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Abū Ja‘far ibn Ḥassān died in Fez. He is the author of *On the Preservation of Health (K. Tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥah)*, which was composed for al-Manṣūr.

### 13.75 Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Abī Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān<sup>1</sup>

Originally from Granada and born into one of its most illustrious families, Abū l-‘Alā’ had sound judgement and great intelligence. He devoted himself to literature and was superbly gifted. He worked as a physician and as a secretary. He served al-Mustaṣfir as his personal physician and enjoyed a privileged position at his court. He was among the most excellent physicians of Seville, where he resided.

### 13.76 Abū Muḥammad al-Shadhūnī<sup>1</sup>

Born and raised in Seville, al-Shadhūnī<sup>2</sup> was an intelligent scholar with an extensive knowledge of astronomy and philosophy. He also studied medicine with Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr, with whom he worked for some time to acquire practical skills. Al-Shadhūnī was famous for his knowledge and was skilled in applying treatments. He served al-Nāṣir as his personal physician, ultimately dying in Seville during the reign of al-Mustaṣfir.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

2 Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) is the famous traveller and author of the first Andalusī travel account (*riḥlah*); on Ibn Jubayr and this work, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn D̲jubayr’ (Ch. Pellat) and *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Jubayr’ (Y. Dejugnat). Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Ḥassān is mentioned several times in the travel account; see Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, 3, 13, 34, 39, 142–143.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

2 I.e., from Shadhūnah, modern Medina Sidonia; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Shadhūna’ (F. Roldan-Castro).

**13.77 al-Maṣḍūm<sup>1</sup>**

Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Asdūn, widely known as al-Maṣḍūm, was a student of Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr. He was intelligent and experienced. Devoting himself to the study of medicine, he became celebrated for his skill as a physician. He was also a man of letters and a poet. Al-Maṣḍūm lived in Seville, where he had been born and raised. He used to attend al-Manṣūr whenever the caliph required his professional services. Al-Maṣḍūm died in Seville in 588/1192.

**13.78 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Maslamah al-Bājī<sup>1</sup>**

Originally from Beja, in the West, al-Bājī was born into one of the most prominent families of al-Andalus and was known as Ibn al-Ḥafīd. He excelled in the art of medicine, but was also an extraordinary man of letters and an author of good poetry. Al-Bājī was a student of al-Maṣḍūm. He served al-Mustaṣṣir as his personal physician, and died in Marrakesh during his reign.

**13.79 Abū Ja‘far ibn al-Ghazāl<sup>1</sup>**

Abū Ja‘far was born in Canjáyar in the region of Almeria, but left his native place to study with al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr, with whom he had a very close relationship.<sup>2</sup> He studied medicine with him and others until he mastered the art and was able to enter the service of al-Manṣūr as his personal physician. Abū Ja‘far had extensive experience in the preparation of compound drugs and possessed a thorough knowledge of their components. Al-Manṣūr relied on Abū Ja‘far for the preparation of the compound drugs and electuaries with which he treated the caliph.

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1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. In al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:162 (entry ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr) he is called Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Asad al-Maṣḍūm.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

2 Abū Ja‘far might have travelled to Seville, where al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr lived most of his life, see biography in Ch. 13.63.



Al-Manṣūr had banned wine and was adamant that none should be brought to the capital and that no one should have any in his possession. Some time later al-Manṣūr told Abū Ja‘far: ‘I want you to collect the ingredients needed to make the ‘great theriac’ (*al-tiryāq al-kabīr*) for me.’ The physician obeyed and collected the ingredients, but he lacked the wine, which was required to mix the drugs of the antidote into a paste. He told al-Manṣūr about it and the caliph replied: ‘Search for it in every corner, and look to see if anyone has any wine, even if only a little bit, so that we can complete the antidote.’ Abū Ja‘far asked everyone, but to no avail: he could not find any wine at all. ‘By God,’ exclaimed al-Manṣūr, ‘I really wanted to make the antidote, not to find out whether anyone had wine in his possession.’<sup>3</sup>

Abū Ja‘far ibn al-Ghazāl died during the caliphate of al-Nāṣir.

### 13.80 Abū Bakr the Son of al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Zuhrī<sup>1</sup>

[13.80.1]

Abū Bakr, the son of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, the jurist and qadi of Seville, was born and raised in Seville. He was generous and gentle, with a good character and a noble soul. Abū Bakr studied literature, mastered the religious sciences (*al-‘ilm*), and was one of the most virtuous scholars in the art of medicine and one of its most excellent practitioners. He served Abū ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, the governor (*ṣāhib*) of Seville, as his personal physician, and used to attend sick people and write prescriptions for them without asking anything in return.

[13.80.2]

At the beginning of his career Abū Bakr was passionate about chess, and was such an excellent player that he came to be known as ‘The Chess-player’. The qadi Abū Marwān al-Bājī told me:

3 The Mamluk historian al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) brings up this story when reporting Saladin’s petition of military aid to the Almohads in 587/1191; in his version the Almohad ruler is ‘Abd al-Mu‘min and he says: ‘I do not need the antidote, I only wanted to test [the people] in my country’ (al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar* xxi, 318; and al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islam* xlii:225). Almohad caliphs enjoyed a reputation of piety among the Mamluks, but they appeared in a very positive light already in Ayyubid sources, which praise their religious zeal; see, for instance the biography of the Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, in al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, *Miḍmār*, 201.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

I once asked the qadi Abū Bakr ibn Abī l-Ḥasan al-Zuhrī about the reasons that had led him to study medicine, and he replied: 'I used to play chess constantly. Few others in Seville played as well as I used to do, to such an extent that I was called Abū Bakr al-Zuhrī the Chess-player (*al-shaṭranjī*). I became furious when I heard that, and I told myself that I had to turn away from chess and cultivate some other discipline, so that it, instead of chess, would be associated with my name. But I knew that, even if I were to devote my entire life to study law or other humanistic disciplines, I would not reach the required degree of excellence to be nicknamed after them. So I decided to approach Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr and study medicine with him. I listened to his lectures and wrote prescriptions for the sick people who came to consult him, and after that I became famous for my medical skills, and the former nickname that I had hated was forgotten.'

Abū Bakr ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Zuhrī lived eighty-five years. He died during the caliphate of al-Mustaṣṣir<sup>2</sup> and was buried in Seville.

### 13.81 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nadrūmī<sup>1</sup>

[13.81.1]

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saḥnūn, known as al-Nadrūmī owing to his family's being originally from Nedroma, near the city of Tlemcen, belonged to the Berber tribe of Kūmiyah.<sup>2</sup> Al-Nadrūmī had great ability and a noble soul, was loved for his virtues, and possessed a keen, acute intelligence. He was born in Cordova around 580/1184–1185 and raised there. Then he moved to Seville, where he met the qadi Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd and studied medicine with him, and also with Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Mūrāṭīr.

2 Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Mustaṣṣir, the fifth Almohad ruler known as Yūsuf II, reigned in 610–621/1213–1224.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 254.

2 On this tribe see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Kūmiya' (R. Basset); on the town, see art. 'Nadrūma' (A. Bel and Dj. Sari).

[13.81.2]

Al-Nadrūmī also excelled in literature and language, and studied Hadith. He served al-Nāṣir as his personal physician at the end of his caliphate and, after him, he served his son al-Mustaṣṣir. Later, however, he settled in Seville, where he entered the service of Abū l-Najā' Sālim ibn Hūd and his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Hūd, the ruler (*ṣāhib*) of al-Andalus.<sup>3</sup>

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nadrūmī is the author of an abridgement of al-Ghazālī's *The Clear* [*Book on the Principles of Law*] (*Ikhtisār K. al-Mustaṣṣā li-l-Ghazālī*).

### 13.82 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Sābiq<sup>1</sup>

Abū Ja'far was originally from Cordova. He was virtuous, clever and sharp-witted, skilful at applying treatment, and well known for his knowledge. He was one of the pupils of the qadi Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd, with whom he studied medicine. After having served al-Nāṣir as his personal physician, he died during the caliphate of al-Mustaṣṣir.

### 13.83 Ibn al-Ḥallā' al-Mursī<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Ḥallā', a native of Murcia, was known for his excellent medical knowledge. He occasionally worked for al-Manṣūr whenever he travelled [to Murcia]. He died in the city of his birth.

3 The brothers Abū al-Najā' Sālim and Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Hūd were descendants of Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf ibn Hūd (d. 635/1238), who rebelled against Almohad rule in 625/1228 and became ruler of a petty kingdom that extended from Seville to Murcia, see Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 265–266.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

### 13.84 Abū Ishāq ibn Ṭumlūs<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Ṭumlūs was a native of Alzira,<sup>2</sup> in the province of Valencia. He was one of a number of distinguished medical practitioners there. After having served al-Nāṣir as his personal physician, he died in the city of his birth.

### 13.85 Abū Ja‘far al-Dhahabī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Jurayj al-Dhahabī was virtuous and skilled in the art of medicine; his theoretical knowledge was sound, and he was gentle as a practitioner. He served al-Manṣūr as his personal physician and, after him, his son al-Nāṣir, whose literary assemblies he used to attend. Abū Ja‘far died in Tlemcen in the course of a razzia of al-Nāṣir into Ifrīqiyah in the year 600/1203–1204.

### 13.86 Abū l-‘Abbās ibn al-Rūmiyyah<sup>1</sup>

[13.86.1]

Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mufarrij al-Nabātī (‘the Botanist’), known as Ibn al-Rūmiyyah, was originally from Seville and was one of that city’s most illustrious and virtuous scholars. He was an expert in botany and knew all the classes of drugs, their properties and benefits, their various attributes and

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. On Ibn Tumlūs (d. 620/1223–1224), see *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Ṭumlūs’ (F. Woerther); *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn Tumlūs, Abū l-Ḥayyāy’ (J. Puig). Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxix:297, gives his full name as Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭumlūs; the same in Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iv:357–358, where also some poetry by him is given. In al-Firūzābādī, *al-Bulghah*, 245 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, ii:354 (no. 2170) he appears as Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭāwūs [sic] Abū l-Ḥajjāj al-Nahwī. Ben Ahmed, in his introduction to the edition of Ibn Ṭumlūs’ *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-manṭiq*, also notes the variants Ibn Ṭuhlūs, Ibn Ṭāwūs, Ibn Baṭlīmūs, and the Latinized version Alhagiag Bin Thalmus; for these variants and, in general, the biography and works of this author see Ben Ahmed, *Compendium on Logic*.

2 In Arabic *Jazīrat al-shuqar*, the Island or Peninsula of the River Júcar.

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2.

1 This biography is present in all three version of the work. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 279–280; *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. ‘Ibn al-Rūmiya, Abū l-‘Abbās’ (F. Velázquez Basanta).

habitats. He was widely renowned and had a good reputation for his religious principles and his research in medicine, and he made himself known by his many virtues.

After having studied Hadith for a considerable time with Ibn Ḥazm and others, he travelled to Egypt in 613/1215–1216, where he resided for some time, and then to Syria and Iraq for two years. The people there profited from his [knowledge], and besides pursuing his studies of Hadith, he investigated many of the plants of those lands that are not found in the West, observing the various kinds in their habitats and the places where they grew.

[13.86.2]

Hardly had Ibn al-Rūmiyyah arrived in Alexandria after his journey from the Maghrib when the Sultan al-Malik al-Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>2</sup> may God have mercy upon him, heard about him, with his virtue and his exceptional botanical knowledge, and summoned him to Cairo, where he was at that time. The Sultan covered Ibn al-Rūmiyyah with honours and promised that he should be given a stipend and allowances if he would remain with him, but the physician did not stay. He excused himself saying: 'I only left my land to perform the pilgrimage – God willing – and then return to my family'. He remained for some time with the Sultan, collecting the ingredients of the 'great theriac' (*al-tiryāq al-kabīr*) and preparing that remedy for him, and then he departed for the Hijaz. Once the pilgrimage was finished, he returned to the Maghrib and settled in Seville.

[13.86.3]

Ibn al-Rūmiyyah is the author of the following works:

- 1) Commentary on the names of simple drugs in the book of Dioscorides (*Tafsīr asmā' al-adwiyah al-mufradah min K. Diyusqūrīdis*).<sup>3</sup>
- 2) On the composition of drugs (*Maqālah fī tarkīb al-adwiyah*).<sup>4</sup>

2 The Ayyubid Sultan al-Ādil was sultan of Egypt and Syria during 596–615/1200–1218.

3 This work remains unedited. According to Albert Dietrich (*Medicinalia Arabica*, 185–186 no. 87), it has survived in Istanbul MS Nurismaniye 3589, fols. 80b–129b. See also *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn al-Rūmiya, Abū l-'Abbās' (F. Velázquez Basanta).

4 This work has not survived.

13.87 Abū l-‘Abbās al-Kanbanārī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad was originally from Seville, and was one of the most knowledgeable and distinguished of that city’s people in the domain of medicine. He studied medicine at the beginning of his career with ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Maslamah al-Bājī, and then with Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Mūrāṭir in Marrakesh. Finally, he settled in Seville, where he served as personal physician to Abū l-Najā’ ibn Hūd, the ruler (*ṣāhib*) of Seville, and also for his brother Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Hūd.<sup>2</sup>

13.88 Ibn al-Aṣamm<sup>1</sup>

[13.88.1]

Ibn al-Aṣamm was one of the most renowned physicians of Seville. He was greatly experienced in the art of medicine and had excellent observation skills to detect the symptoms of diseases and determine remedies. There are well-known stories and numerous anecdotes about his knowledge and his ability to know the state of patients, from what kind of afflictions they were suffering, and what they had eaten simply by examining their phials [of urine].

1 This biography is present in Version 1 and Version 3, but lacking in Version 2. The *nisbah* al-Kanbanārī might derive from the toponyms Campanario (a town in the province of Badajoz) or Campanar (a town by the river Turia, located north-west of Valencia).

2 The descendants of the Banū Hūd of Zaragoza became rulers of Murcia and Seville after the demise of the Almohads, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Hūdids’ (D.M. Dunlop). IAU’s information seems to be wrong. After the Muslim defeat at Navas de Tolosa (*al-‘Iqāb*) in 609/1212, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Hūd al-Judhāmī, known as al-Mutawakkil (d. 635/1237–1238), successfully rebelled against the Almohads in 625/1227–1228 and became the ruler of Murcia. Al-Mutawakkil had three sons: Abū l-Najā’ Sālim ibn Hūd, mentioned by IAU and known as ‘Imād al-Dawlah, who had been governor (*wālī*) of Seville and became the Sevillian ruler (*ṣāhib*); Abū l-Ḥasan, known as ‘Aḡūd al-Dawlah, and Abū Ishāq, known as Sharaf al-Dawlah (Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (Tunis) iii:457). IAU might have confused the name of Abū l-Najā’’s brother, or perhaps referred to his father, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Hūd al-Mutawakkil.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work.

[13.88.2]

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghribī<sup>2</sup> told me:

I was with Ibn al-Aṣamm one day when we saw a group of people who were calling him. Among them there was a man on a beast, and when we approached them, we saw that he had a snake in his mouth: its head had gone down his throat, and the part of it that was outside had been knotted with a hemp string to the man’s arm. ‘What has happened here?’ asked Ibn al-Aṣamm, and they replied: ‘He always sleeps with his mouth open. [Last night] he had eaten cheese before going to bed and then this snake came along, licked his mouth and entered it while he was asleep. When the snake felt that someone else was coming it panicked and part of it went down his throat, but we grabbed the snake and tied it with this string to prevent it from descending any further. Then we brought him to you.’ When Ibn al-Aṣamm looked at the man he found him about to die of fear, and said to him: ‘Don’t worry!’; and [addressing the others]: ‘You almost killed him.’ He then cut the string, and the snake descended down the man’s throat into his stomach. At this point, Ibn al-Aṣamm said to the man: ‘Now you will heal.’ Ordering him not to move, he took some drugs and infused them in boiling water. Then he put that water in a jar and made the man drink from it. Although it was very hot, he drank it, and then Ibn al-Aṣamm examined his stomach and exclaimed: ‘The snake is dead.’ Then he made the man drink from another jar of water in which he had boiled some stuff and explained: ‘This will tear the snake to bits with the movements of the stomach.’ After two hours he made him drink some water in which he had boiled emetic drugs: the man’s stomach heaved and he almost choked on his vomit, but Ibn al-Aṣamm covered his eyes and he kept on vomiting into a basin until we saw the snake, which had been torn to bits. Ibn al-Aṣamm ordered him to keep on vomiting until he had expelled all the remains of the snake and his stomach was empty, and then he said: ‘Cheer up, for you have been cured.’ And the man went away healthy and content after having been at death’s door.

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<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

## Famous Physicians amongst Those in Egypt<sup>1</sup>

*Translated and annotated by Franak Hilloowala, Emilie Savage-Smith  
and Geert Jan van Gelder (poetry)*

### 14.1 Politianus (Balīṭīyān)<sup>2</sup>

Politianus (Balīṭīyān) was a famous physician in Egypt and a Christian scholar of the Melkite sect.

Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq says in the book *The String of Jewels* (*Naẓm al-jawhar*):<sup>3</sup> Politianus (Balīṭīyān) was made Patriarch of Alexandria in the fourth year of the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr, remaining in that office for forty-six years until his death,<sup>4</sup> and was also a physician.

1 MS A has a twelve-line marginal note written upside-down at the start of Chapter Fourteen. The *ḥāshiyah* reads: ‘The writer of this [marginal note] said: I found in the draft of the author (*musawwadat al-muṣannif*) names that were not in the exemplar copy (*al-nuskhah al-manqūl minhā*). And the exemplar (*al-manqūl minhā*) is a copy that was transcribed from a copy also written by the author [Ibn Abī Usaybiʿah] in his own hand. It occurred to me that he [Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah?] omitted names in the fair copy (*al-mubayyaḍah*) either because he intended to compose an abridgement, since they [the omitted names] are of no benefit or for some other reason. I did not want this copy [MS A] to lack a single name from amongst those found in the draft [of the author]. And I have included in the preceding chapters of this book [MS A] whatever was not present in the exemplar. In this copy [MS A] [I have included] each name at the point where the author [Ibn Abī Usaybiʿah] mentioned it in his draft (*fī musawwada-tihi*), out of concern that the copyist of his [Ibn Abī Usaybiʿah’s] fair copy had [inadvertently] omitted them. And now it occurred to me that I should include all of the names present in the author’s draft (*musawwadah*) following one another in lists (*qāʾimāt*) 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. For a discussion of this *ḥāshiyah* and its significance in terms of the manuscript tradition of the treatise, see the essay by Ignacio Sánchez, ‘The Textual and Manuscript Tradition ...’ in Volume One.

2 This biography is missing in Version 1 but found in Version 2 and Version 3. For Politianus, see Skreslet, *Greeks in Medieval Islamic Egypt*, 126–145; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii(2):21–22.

3 For Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, known as Eutychius, see Ch. 10.11. He was a Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria as well as a physician. For the passage cited here from his *Kitāb al-Tārikh al-majmūʿ alā-l-taḥqīq wa-l-taṣdīq* or *Naẓm al-jawhar* (*The String of Jewels*), see Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Annalenwerk* (Breydy), 49.

4 The fourth year of the reign of al-Manṣūr began in 140/757–758, and if Politianus served for 46 years until his death, it would mean that he died in 186/802, a date which coincides with



Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq also says:<sup>5</sup> During the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when al-Rashīd appointed ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Mahdī governor of Egypt, ʿUbayd Allāh sent a very beautiful slave-girl from the Copts of Lower Egypt<sup>6</sup> to al-Rashīd, who grew to love her very much. One day, she became very ill. The physicians treated her but were unable to cure her. They said to al-Rashīd, 'Have ʿUbayd Allāh, your governor in Egypt, send to you one of the physicians of Egypt, since they know more about how to treat an Egyptian slave girl than the physicians of Iraq.' So al-Rashīd ordered ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Mahdī to choose someone from amongst the most skilled physicians of Egypt to treat the concubine. ʿUbayd Allāh called upon Politianus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was skilled in medicine, and told him of al-Rashīd's love for the girl and her illness, and conducted Politianus to al-Rashīd. Politianus carried with him some of the coarse cake and small salted fish of Egypt, and when he arrived in Baghdad and attended to the slave girl, he gave her the cake and small salted fish to eat, whereupon she was cured of her illness.

From that time on, the coarse cake and small salted fish were imported from Egypt to the imperial storehouses in Baghdad. The caliph al-Rashīd rewarded Politianus with ample wealth and issued a decree ordering that every church that had been taken from the Melkites by the Jacobites should revert back into the possession of the Melkites. Politianus returned to Egypt and reclaimed many churches from the Jacobites.

Politianus died in the year 186/802.

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that given at the end of the entry. However, other sources suggest that Politianus was made Patriarch of Alexandria in 151/768 and that he died in 197/813; see Skreslet, *Greeks in Medieval Islamic Egypt*, 127–128; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii(2):211n.

5 Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Annalenwerk* (Breydy), 51–52.

6 According to al-Yaʿqūbī, in his account of Egypt in his *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 'All of Egypt's non-Arabs are Copts: those of Upper Egypt are called al-Marīs and those of Lower Egypt are called al-Biyamā'; al-Yaʿqūbī, *The Works*, (i:) 176–177. In his *Tārīkh*, in the annals for around the year 216/831, he speaks of 'the people of the Ḥawf, al-Biyamā, and al-Basharūd, all of which are areas of Lower Egypt'; see al-Yaʿqūbī, *The Works*, (iii:) 1233; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, entry for year 216/831.

## 14.2 Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā<sup>1</sup>

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā was an outstanding physician, well-known and distinguished during his time. He was a companion of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh<sup>2</sup> in Baghdad and studied under him.

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā served the emir, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn,<sup>3</sup> as his personal physician, accompanying the ruler around the Egyptian provinces. He remained in Ibn Ṭūlūn's service, honoured and prosperous, for the rest of his life. Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā died in the city of Fustat (Old Cairo) around the year 260/874.

## 14.3 al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak was a physician in Egypt during the governorship of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn and attended the emir while he resided in Egypt. If Ibn Ṭūlūn travelled, however, the physician Saʿīd ibn Tawfil<sup>2</sup> accompanied him. During the year 269/882 Ibn Ṭūlūn went to Damascus and from there to the fortifications along the frontier<sup>3</sup> to restore order.<sup>4</sup> On his way back he passed through Anti-

1 This biography does not occur in Version 1 or Version 2. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him. The biographies of physicians who worked under the Tulunids (Ch. 14.2–14.4) are for the most part based on the history of Ibn Ṭūlūn's reign (*Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*) written by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah (d. between 330/941 and 340/951). This hagiographical biography (now lost) is partially preserved in the *Sīrat Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn* by al-Balawī, whose history was largely based upon that by Ibn al-Dāyah. IAU's unacknowledged borrowings can be clearly seen by looking at Balawī's work (see al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*).

2 See Ch. 8.26.

3 Founder of the Tulunid dynasty in Egypt. He served as a regent in Egypt for the Abbasids from 254/868 to 260/874 before declaring independence from the caliph; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn' (Zaky M. Hassan).

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing from Version 1. This physician, al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak (or Ibn Zayrak) has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him. See al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, 312–313, where these anecdotes are given with slightly different wording.

2 See Ch. 14.4.

3 For *thughūr*, lines of fortifications protecting gaps along frontiers, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Thughūr' (C.E. Bosworth & J.D. Latham).

4 Ibn Ṭūlūn conducted a campaign in Syria in 264/878 with the purpose of defending the borders with Asia Minor against the Byzantines. The result was the occupation of Syria, making Ibn Ṭūlūn the first Muslim governor of Egypt to annex Syria. Note that *ms A* gives the date as 296 rather than 269, which is surely an error.

och, where he consumed a lot of water buffalo milk and became afflicted with vomiting and diarrhoea (*hayḍah*). The efforts of Saʿīd ibn Tawfil to cure him were not successful, and Ibn Ṭūlūn returned to Egypt, ill and discontented with Saʿīd ibn Tawfil.

Upon entering Fustat (Old Cairo), Ibn Ṭūlūn summoned the physician al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak and complained to him about Saʿīd ibn Tawfil's treatment. Ibn Zīrak put his mind at rest about the illness and wished him a speedy recovery. Ibn Ṭūlūn's ailment eased with rest, quiet, being reunited with his family, peace of mind, having a pleasant environment, and he bestowed favours on al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak.

But Ibn Ṭūlūn maintained a discreet silence about his sexual intercourse with women, as a result of which his condition worsened. At this point he summoned the physicians and frightened and threatened them, while concealing from them his improper regimen, his sexual intercourse, and his craving for marinated fish,<sup>5</sup> which one of his concubines had secretly brought to him, but no sooner had he eaten it than he developed severe diarrhoea. Sending for al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak, he said to him: 'I believe what you prescribed for me today was not correct'. To which al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak replied: 'Let the emir, may God help him, summon all the physicians of Fustat to his residence in the early morning each day, so that they can reach a consensus as to what the emir should take that morning. I have administered nothing to you except those things whose composition merits your confidence, and all of them stimulate the retentive faculty in your stomach and liver.' 'By God,' answered Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, 'if you do not succeed in the treatment of my illness, I will cut off your head. You are experimenting on a sick person and nothing truthful is to be gained by doing that.'

So, al-Ḥasan ibn Zīrak departed, trembling. He was an old man and his liver became inflamed through fear and anxiety, which prevented him from eating and sleeping, and he soon developed severe diarrhoea. He was overcome with worry and became delirious, talking irrationally about the illness of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, until he died the following morning.

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5 *Samak qarīṣ* is a type of marinated or pickled fish (see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:336 under *qarīṣ*). Fishes were commonly pickled, salted and sold for eating through Egypt. *Garum* (a fish-based condiment) was also commonly consumed, since antiquity, in areas around the Mediterranean; see Waines, 'Murrī'; and Curtiss, *Garum*.

14.4 Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl<sup>1</sup>

[14.4.1]

Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl was a Christian physician, distinguished in the art of medicine. He was in the service of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn as one of his special physicians, attending him both while travelling and while in his capital. Before his death, however, Ibn Ṭūlūn turned against him. The reason for this was as follows:<sup>2</sup> As mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn had gone to Syria and had proceeded to the fortifications along the frontiers to restore order. Upon his return to Antioch, he developed vomiting and diarrhoea (*hayḍah*) from the water buffalo milk of which he had hastily drunk too much. He summoned his physician, Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl, only to learn that he had gone to a church in Antioch. Ibn Ṭūlūn became angry, and when Saʿīd appeared, the emir upbraided him for his lateness, but, in disdain, refrained from complaining to Saʿīd about what ailed him. Then the following night, the emir's illness worsened and he sent for Saʿīd, who arrived slightly inebriated.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn said to him, 'I have been ill for these past two days, and you are drinking wine!' To which Saʿīd replied: 'My lord, you called for me yesterday while I was in church, as is my usual custom, and when I appeared, you told me nothing!' 'Would it not have been appropriate to ask about my condition?' said Ibn Ṭūlūn. 'Your opinion of me is important, my lord,' replied Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl, 'and asking your household about your private affairs might be inappropriate.' 'What should I do now?' Ibn Ṭūlūn then enquired. 'Tonight and tomorrow do not touch any food,' the physician replied, 'even though you crave it.' 'But I am hungry, by God!', Ibn Ṭūlūn protested, 'I will not be able to last that long!' 'This is a false hunger,' Saʿīd said, 'caused by a coldness of the stomach.'

When the middle of the night came, however, the emir called for something to eat. He was brought pullets,<sup>5</sup> hot roasted meat,<sup>6</sup> and bread stuffed with fowl

1 This biography is missing from Version 1 but present in Versions 2 and 3. The name Tawfīl is not an Arabic name but a corruption of Theophilos. For a treatise by Iṣḥāq ibn Imrān addressed to Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 267.

2 See al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, 312–313, where the following anecdote is given with slightly different wording, indicating that IAU took it from Ibn al-Dāyah's biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn. It is also found almost verbatim in Šibt ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān* (ed. Barakāt), xvi:79–80.

3 See the previous biography, that of Ḥasan ibn Zīrak (Ch. 14.3).

4 *Mutanabbidh* (having drunk *nabīdh*, or date wine).

5 *Farārj*.

6 *Kardanāj* (here written as *kardabāj*); Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:462; the Persian form *gardanāj*,

and cold young goat's meat.<sup>7</sup> Once he had eaten them, his diarrhoea ceased. So the servant Nasīm went out, for Sa'īd was in the palace, and he said to Sa'īd: 'The emir ate the lamb<sup>8</sup> and roasted meat and his condition has been alleviated.' 'God is now the one to call on for help,' Sa'īd replied, 'for the expulsive force [causing the bowel movements] had been weakened by his abstention from food, but now the bowel movements will become dreadful.' And by God, just before daybreak the emir had more than ten evacuations.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn left Antioch with his condition steadily worsening, although his strength was such that he managed to bear it. As he headed for Egypt riding became intolerable, so a cart pulled by men was made for him and on it he was more comfortable. But before arriving at al-Faramā<sup>10</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn complained of its discomfort and therefore continued to Fustat (Old Cairo) by boat. On the deck of the boat a domed tent was pitched for him to lie in.

When Ibn Ṭūlūn alighted in Egypt, it was evident he was displeased with the physician Sa'īd, and he complained about Sa'īd to Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, his secretary and companion. Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm then spoke to Sa'īd reproachfully:

You are skilful in your profession, and you have no vice except that you are prideful, rather than humble, in serving the emir. Even though the emir speaks the language eloquently, he is foreign in disposition and does not know the basics of medicine so as to care for himself and he relies on your guidance. Your approach [in treating him] has alienated him from you. You should be kind to him, be of use to him, be devoted to him, and pay attention to his condition.

To this Sa'īd replied:

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defined as 'meat parboiled and roasted' (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 1080). The form *kardabāj* (used consistently in the manuscripts) is otherwise unattested.

7 *Bazmāward* (from Persian *bazm-āward* 'banquet-bringing') consists of round flat bread loaves, with the pith extracted and then stuffed with a minced meat preparation combining the meat with mint leaves, salted lemons, walnuts and vinegar. It is unclear here whether the cold young goat's meat was to be combined with the fowl in the *bazmāward* or whether it was served separately. For *bazmāward*, see Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, 73 and cf. 382–348, 448; see also Lewicka, *Food of Medieval Cairenes*, 160–161. We thank David Waines for his assistance in identifying this dish.

8 *Kharūf*.

9 Literally, *majālis*, in the sense of 'sittings' for the purpose of evacuation of the bowels.

10 A fortified town located in the Sinai along an ancient route connecting important centres of the ancient world.

By God, my service to him would be like that of a mouse to a cat, or a lamb to a wolf. Indeed, I'd rather be killed than attend on him.

Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn eventually died of this very illness.

[14.4.2]

Nasīm, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn's servant, related:

Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl, the physician, was in the service of the emir, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. One day, Ibn Ṭūlūn summoned him but was informed that Saʿīd had gone away to inspect some property he intended to buy. Ibn Ṭūlūn refrained from reacting until Saʿīd returned, but then the emir said to him, 'O Saʿīd, instead of the property you wish to buy and benefit from, think about your friendship with me and tend to its cultivation and do not neglect it. Know that you'd better die before me, for if I should die in my bed [while you are still living], I shall not be in a position to allow you to enjoy your life after I am gone.'<sup>11</sup>

Nasīm continued:

Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl despaired for his life because Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn declined his advice, and he was not allowed into Ibn Ṭūlūn's presence without someone else being present whose opinions were preferred. Ibn Ṭūlūn was certain that Saʿīd had been negligent from the very start of the illness until it was too late.

[14.4.3]

In the *History*<sup>12</sup> it says that at the beginning of Saʿīd ibn Tawfīl's association with Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, the physician employed a youth of ugly appearance who used to harvest flax with his father. His name was Hāshim and he tended to Saʿīd's mule and would look after it when Saʿīd was in attendance on Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. Occasionally when they returned, Saʿīd employed Hāshim in pulverizing drugs at his house, and Hāshim would stoke the fires under the medicinal

11 Ibn Ṭūlūn seems to be saying: you are dependent on my favours while I'm alive, so keep me alive!

12 All copies state that the following information was taken from 'the *History*' (*al-ta'rikh*). This is a reference to Ibn al-Dāyah's (now lost) history of the Tulunids, preserved in paraphrase in al-Balawī's *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*; for this particular anecdote, see al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, 323–329.

decoctions. Sa'īd ibn Tawfil had a very handsome and intelligent son who was well-versed in medicine. One day, early in their association, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn instructed Sa'īd to find a physician for the women's quarters, one who would be present during Sa'īd's absence. Sa'īd told him: 'I have a son whom I have taught and trained.' Ibn Ṭūlūn said, 'Let me see him.' Sa'īd brought him to the ruler, and Ibn Ṭūlūn saw a handsome youth possessed of all admirable qualities. 'But he is not suitable for service in the women's quarters,' Ibn Tulūn said to Sa'īd, 'for someone of sound knowledge but ugly appearance is required for them.' As a result Sa'īd was afraid that Ibn Ṭūlūn would bring in a stranger who would contradict and oppose him. So, Sa'īd took Hāshim and dressed him in a *durrā'ah*<sup>13</sup> and a pair of leather boots, and [Ibn Ṭūlūn] appointed him [as physician] to the women's quarters.

[14.4.4]

The physician Jurayj ibn al-Ṭabbākh<sup>14</sup> related the following:

I met Sa'īd ibn Tawfil who was accompanied by 'Umar ibn Ṣakhr. 'Umar said to him, 'What position did you assign Hāshim?' Sa'īd replied, 'In the service of the women's quarters, because the emir requested an ugly person.' And 'Umar said to him, 'Among the sons of physicians there would have been one who is ugly, but whose education was good and whose lineage was sound and suitable for the position. But you have disgraced the profession. By God, Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Tawfil, if he becomes established, he may revert to the baseness of his rank and low-class origins.' At these words, Sa'īd laughed heedlessly. In the event, Hāshim established himself securely in the women's quarters by preparing beneficial potions for fatness, pregnancy, maintaining good complexions and growing luxuriant hair – so much so that the women preferred Hāshim to Sa'īd.

When the physicians assembled before Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn the next morning, as they had done every day since his illness had worsened, Mi'at Alf, the mother of Abū l-'Ashā'ir,<sup>15</sup> said: 'The physicians have assembled, but Hāshim is not present, and, by God, my lord, none of them can compare to him.' So, Ibn Ṭūlūn said to her, 'Have him come to me secretly, so that I can speak to him and hear what he has to say.' She brought Hāshim

13 This is a loose outer garment, slit in the front.

14 An otherwise unidentified physician. The following account is found, in slightly different wording, in al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, 325.

15 Mi'at Alf means literally 'One Hundred Thousand'. Abū l-'Ashā'ir is probably Abū l-'Ashā'ir (Jaysh) ibn Khumārawayh, a grandson of Ibn Ṭūlūn and third ruler of the Tulunid dynasty.

to him secretly and encouraged Hāshim to speak. When he came before the emir, Hāshim looked directly at him and said: 'The emir has been neglected, resulting in his present condition. May God not reward the one who is responsible for this matter.'

Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn said to him, 'What is the right course of action, O blessed one?' 'You should take a small dose, in which there is such and such,' Hāshim replied, and he listed nearly one hundred items that have a binding effect at the time they are taken, but are harmful later because they deplete the body's strength. So Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn took the medicine and abandoned what Sa'īd and the other physicians had made for him. When it caused constipation, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn was pleased and thought his recovery was complete. Then he said to Hāshim, 'Sa'īd had prohibited me this past month from having even a morsel of porridge<sup>16</sup> even though I craved it.' Hāshim said, 'My lord, Sa'īd was mistaken. Porridge is nourishing and has a good effect on you.' So, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn ordered its preparation and it was brought in a large bowl, most of which he ate, and he was happy to have satisfied his cravings. Then he lay down to sleep. The porridge stuck fast [thus stopping the diarrhoea], so he imagined that his condition had improved.

All of this was concealed from Sa'īd ibn Tawfil. When Sa'īd appeared, Ibn Ṭūlūn questioned him: 'What have you to say about porridge?' Sa'īd replied: 'It weighs heavily on the organs and the emir's organs need something that will lighten them.' Aḥmad said to him, 'Spare me this foolishness! I have already eaten it and it has proved beneficial to me, God be praised.' Fruit having arrived from Syria, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn asked Sa'īd ibn Tawfil's view on quinces. Sa'īd answered, 'Suck on them on an empty stomach and empty bowels, for then they will then be of benefit.' When Sa'īd had left him, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn ate some quinces, but the quinces encountered the porridge and pushed it and so caused another bout of diarrhoea. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn summoned Sa'īd and said, 'You son of a whore! You said that quinces would be beneficial to me but the loose bowel movements have returned.' Sa'īd got up to examine the stools and returned to him, saying: 'This porridge, which you praised and which you said I was wrong to prohibit, remained in your intestines, which, because of their weakness, were unable to alter or digest it until the quince pushed it through. I did not prescribe that you eat the quinces, rather I advised

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16 *Aṣīdah* is a very thick porridge or gruel, consisting of wheat-flour mixed with boiling water and clarified butter, often with the addition of honey; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2060.



sucking on them.’ Then he asked how many quinces he had eaten, to which Ibn Ṭūlūn replied ‘two.’ Saʿīd said: ‘You ate the quinces to satisfy yourself and not as a course of treatment.’ ‘You son of a whore!’ Ibn Ṭūlūn retorted, ‘you sit there making sport of me while you are perfectly healthy and I am seriously ill.’ Then he called for whips and gave Saʿīd two hundred lashes and had him led around on a camel, with a crier proclaiming ‘This is the reward of one who was trusted but was disloyal.’

The emir’s associates plundered Saʿīd’s house, and he died two days later.<sup>17</sup> That was in the year 269/882 in Egypt, which is the year in which Ibn Ṭūlūn died in the month of Dhū l-Qaʿdah.<sup>18</sup> But God knows best.

#### 14.5 Khalaf al-Ṭūlūnī<sup>1</sup>

Abū ʿAlī Khalaf al-Ṭūlūnī was a client of the Commander of the Faithful.<sup>2</sup> He was learned in the art of medicine and very knowledgeable about diseases of the eye and their treatments.

Khalaf al-Ṭūlūnī’s is the author of *The Aim and Sufficiency [of knowledge] Concerning the Structure of the Eyes, and their Nature, Treatments and Remedies* (*K. al-nihājah wa-l-kifāyah fī tarkīb al-ʿaynayn wa-khilqatihimā wa-ʿilājihimā wa-adwiyatihimā*).<sup>3</sup> I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – transcribed from a note in his handwriting in this book of his – and the entire book was in his own hand – that the composition of this book was begun in the year 264/877 and completed in the year 302/914.

17 This statement is also found in the version taken from Ibn al-Dāyah paraphrased in al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, 325. The following sentence, however, appears to have been added by IAU.

18 Ibn Ṭūlūn actually died in the following year (in Dhū l-Qaʿdah of the year 270/March 884); see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn’ (Zaky M. Hassan). There appears to have been some confusion regarding the year of Ibn Ṭūlūn’s death. All manuscript copies indicate the possible date of Ibn Ṭūlūn’s death as 299, though some do add additional statements saying it might have been in 269 or 270.

1 This biography is found in Version 1 and Version 3 but is missing in Version 2.

2 The reference is presumably to one or more of the four Abbasid caliphs (al-Muʿtamid, al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muktafi, and al-Muqtadir) who ruled between 256/870 and 351/963.

3 This treatise is not preserved today, though it was quoted in at least one later Arabic treatise on ophthalmology. See Hirschberg, *Geschichte*, 40 §267 no. 7; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ten Treatises*, xii.

## 14.6 Nastās ibn Jurayj<sup>1</sup>

Nastās ibn Jurayj was a Christian who was knowledgeable in the art of medicine. He practised during the reign of al-Ikhshīd ibn Ṭughj.<sup>2</sup>

Nastās ibn Jurayj is the author of the following works:<sup>3</sup>

1. A compendium (*Kunnāsh*).
2. A letter addressed to Yazīd ibn Rūmān al-Naṣrānī al-Andalusī<sup>4</sup> concerning urine (*R. ilā Yazīd ibn Rūmān al-Naṣrānī al-Andalusī fī l-bawl*).

## 14.7 Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās<sup>1</sup>

Ishāq, the grandson of Nastās ibn Jurayj,<sup>2</sup> was Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās ibn Jurayj, a Christian distinguished in the art of medicine. He was in the service of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh,<sup>3</sup> who relied on him in medical matters. Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās died in Cairo during the reign of al-Ḥākim. After Ishāq’s death, the caliph sought medical advice from Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān,<sup>4</sup> who continued in al-Ḥākim’s service and was eventually made chief of physicians.

1 This biography is found in Version 1 and Version 3 but is missing from Version 2. For Nastās ibn Jurayj, a Melkite Christian, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 138; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 303; *The Coptic Encycl.* art. ‘Nastās Ibn Jurayj’ (Khalil Samir); Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii(2):66. This entry is a slightly paraphrased quotation from Ibn Juljul, (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 82), which also has the book titles.

2 Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj (r. 323–334/935–946), of Turkish origin, was the founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty. After the death of Ibn Ṭughj, power was held by his principal military commander, the eunuch, Abū l-Misk Kāfūr. The dynasty fell to the Fatimids in 358/969. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj’ (J.L. Bacharach).

3 For preserved copies of his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 303.

4 A Christian physician of al-Andalus, whose biography is given at Ch. 13.14.

1 This biography is found in Version 1 and Version 3 but is missing in Version 2. For Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nastās, see Nasrallah, *Histoire*, iii(2):150–151; Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire* (Kratchkovsky & Vasiliev), 18, 480; *The Coptic Encycl.* art. ‘Ishaq ibn Ibrahim ibn Nastās’ (Khalil Samir).

2 Whose biography preceded this one, at Ch. 14.6.

3 Al-Ḥākim (d. 411/1021) was the sixth caliph of the Fatimid dynasty ruling in Egypt from 358/969 to 566/1171. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh’ (M. Canard).

4 See Ch. 14.25.

### 14.8 al-Bālisī<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bālisī<sup>2</sup> was an eminent physician who was distinguished in the knowledge of simple drugs and their uses. He is the author of *The Complementary Account of Simple Drugs* (*K. al-Takmil fi l-adwiyah al-mufradah*), which he composed for Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī.<sup>3</sup>

### 14.9 Mūsā ibn al-‘Āzār al-Isrā’īlī<sup>1</sup>

Mūsā ibn al-‘Āzār the Israelite was famous for his pre-eminence and skill in the art of medicine. He was in the service of al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh,<sup>2</sup> as was his son Ishāq ibn Mūsā, also a physician. Ishāq was held in high regard by al-Mu‘izz, who put him in charge of his affairs during the lifetime of Ishāq’s father, Mūsā. Ishāq ibn Mūsā died on the twelfth night of the month of Šafar in the year 363 [10 November 973]. The caliph, al-Mu‘izz was distressed at the death of Ishāq, who had served his master so well. Al-Mu‘izz granted Ishāq’s position to Ishāq’s brother, Ismā‘īl ibn Mūsā and, succeeding him, Ishāq’s son Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq. All this happened during the lifetime of their father, Mūsā. There was another brother [of Ishāq] who was a Muslim, named ‘Awn Allāh ibn Mūsā. He died one day before Ishāq.

Mūsā ibn al-‘Āzār’s wrote the following books:

1. On cooked food (*al-Kitāb al-Mu‘izzī fi l-ṭabīkh*), which he composed for the caliph al-Mu‘izz.
2. On coughing (*M. fi l-su‘āl*).

<sup>1</sup> This biography is found in all three versions.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Bālisī’s name is derived from Bālis, a town in northern Syria, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art ‘Bālis’ (J. Sourdel-Thomine). In Ibn Zawlāq’s *Sīrat Muḥammad ibn Ṭuḡhī al-Ikhshīdī*, his name is given as Abū l-Faraj al-Bālisī al-Ṭabīb and later in the text as Ibn al-Bālisī al-Ṭabīb; see ‘Abbās, *Shadharāt*, 267 and 278.

<sup>3</sup> Abū l-Misk Kāfūr was a eunuch of African origin who became principal military commander under the Ikhshidid ruler, Muḥammad ibn Ṭuḡhī. While ibn Ṭuḡhī’s sons succeeded him, it was Kāfūr who held real power and control until the fall of the Ikhshidid dynasty to the Fatimids in 358/969; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Kāfūr’ (A.S. Ehrenkreutz).

<sup>1</sup> This biography is found in Version 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. For Mūsā ibn al-‘Āzār, see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 320, where the name is given as Mūsā ibn al-‘Ayzār.

<sup>2</sup> Ma‘add Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 341–364/953–975) was the fourth Fatimid caliph; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh’ (F. Dachraoui).

3. A reply to a question (*Jawāb mas'alah*) put to him by one of those who investigate the truths of sciences and are desirous of gathering their fruits.
4. A medical formulary (*K. al-aqrābādihīn*).

#### 14.10 Yūsuf al-Naṣrānī<sup>1</sup>

Yūsuf al-Naṣrānī was a Christian physician who was knowledgeable in the art of medicine and distinguished in many fields of learning. Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd ibn Yaḥyā<sup>2</sup> says in his book *Supplement to History*:<sup>3</sup>

It was in the fifth year of the caliphate of al-'Azīz<sup>4</sup> [370/980] when Yūsuf, the physician, was appointed Patriarch of the Church in Jerusalem, remaining in that post for three years and eight months. He died in Egypt and was buried in the Church of Saint Theodorus<sup>5</sup> alongside Abba Christodulos of Caesarea.<sup>6</sup>

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- 1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. For Joseph, patriarch of Jerusalem from 981 to 983, see Nasrallah, *Histoire*, iii(1):154.
  - 2 Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd ibn Yaḥyā was a Melkite Christian who composed a supplement (*dhayl*) to the chronicles known as *Kitāb al-ta'rikh al-majmū' 'alā l-taḥqīq wa-l-taṣdīq* or *Naẓm al-jawhar* (*Row of Jewels*) by Eutychius of Alexandria (Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq); for a biography of the latter, see Ch. 14.11. For Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, also known as Abū l-Faraj al-Anṭākī, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Al-Anṭākī' (M. Canard).
  - 3 For this passage, see Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire* (Kratchkovsky & Vasiliev), 408; Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire* (Micheau & Tropeau); and Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Ta'rikh al-Anṭākī*, 196.
  - 4 Nizār Abū Manṣūr al-'Aziz bi-Allāh, the fifth Fatimid caliph (r. 365–386/975–996).
  - 5 The Church of Saint Theodore (Thawādrus) lies just to the south of Old Cairo (Qaṣr al-Shama'), but it was a Coptic church, which would be a puzzling place of burial for a Melkite.
  - 6 The title Anbā or Abbā is an ecclesiastical title of the Coptic Church which precedes the names of metropolitans, bishops, patriarchs and saints. The Arabic *'khr m.n.ṭ.w.d.lā* is a corruption of 'Christodulos'; see Nasrallah, *Histoire*, iii(1):154. Al-Qaysarānī is the *nisbah* of Qaysāriyyah or Qaysariyyah, i.e., Caesarea, on the coast of Palestine; the entries in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, 'qaysāriyya' (with *sīn*) and 'Qaysariyya, Qaysāriyya' (with *ṣād*), are misleading, because they suggest that the name of the town is always spelled with *ṣād* (see Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldan* and al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*).

#### 14.11 Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq (Eutychius)<sup>1</sup>

Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq, from Fustat in Egypt, was a famous Christian physician, knowledgeable in the theory and practice of the art of medicine, an outstanding authority in his day, and well-versed in the teachings of Christians and their doctrinal systems. He was born on Sunday, with three days remaining in the month of Dhū l-Ḥijjah, in the year 263 [10 Sept 877].

In the first year of the caliphate of al-Qāhir bi-Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh,<sup>2</sup> Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq became Patriarch of Alexandria and took the name Eutychius. That occurred on the eighth day of the month of Ṣafar in the year 321 [7 Feb 933], when he was close to sixty years of age. He remained in the patriarchal see and in authority for seven years and six months. But great dissension occurred during his incumbency, and there was continual strife between him and his community.<sup>3</sup>

While in Old Cairo, Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq became ill with diarrhoea (*is'hāl*). Distinguished as he was in the art of medicine, he suspected that the illness would cause his death. He therefore returned to his see in Alexandria, remaining ill there for a number of days and finally dying on a Monday, the last day of the month of Rajab of the year 328 [11 May 940].<sup>4</sup>

Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq composed the following books:<sup>5</sup>

1. On medical theory and practice (*K. fī l-ṭibb 'ilm wa-'amal*), a compendium.
2. Polemics between the dissenter and the Christian (*K. al-jadal bayna al-mukhālif wa-l-naṣrānī*).

1 This biography is found in all three versions. By some his name has been read as al-Baṭrīq (the patrician) rather than al-Biṭrīq (the patrikios). See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 297; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq' (F. Micheau); *EI Three* art. 'Eutychius of Alexandria' (U. Simonsohn); *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Eutychius of Alexandria' (S.H. Griffith); *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Sa'id' (A.S. Atiya); Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire* (Kratchkovsky & Vasiliev), 705, 713–719; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii(2):23–24; Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Etudes* (Breydy).

2 Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad al-Qāhir bi-Allāh was the nineteenth Abbasid caliph in Baghdad (r. 320–322/932–934).

3 This dissension in the Christian community in Alexandria and Egypt during his tenure was perhaps in opposition to his appointment as Patriarch, implying that it was a political appointment; see Pummer, *Early Christian Authors*.

4 This last paragraph occurs almost verbatim in Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Ta'rikh al-Anṭākī*, 23.

5 For further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 297; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq' (F. Micheau); *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'Eutychius of Alexandria' (S.H. Griffith); *The Coptic Encycl.*, art. 'Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Sa'id', (A.S. Atiya). *EI Three* art. 'Eutychius of Alexandria' (Uriel Simonsohn); Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Etudes* (Breydy); Skreslet, *Greeks in Medieval Islamic Egypt*, 205–212.

3. The string of jewels (*K. nazm al-jawhar*),<sup>6</sup> in three chapters, which he composed for his brother, ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq, the physician.<sup>7</sup> It contains information on the fasting of Christians, their breaking of the fast, their calendrical calculations, and their feast days, as well as the chronologies of the caliphs and the ancient rulers. He also discussed the patriarchs and their circumstances, how long they lived, where they lived, and what happened to them during their tenure. A relative of Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq by the name of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā<sup>8</sup> composed a supplement to the book, which he entitled *Supplement to the History*.<sup>9</sup>

#### 14.12 ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq<sup>1</sup>

ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq was a Christian physician who was well-versed in the art of medicine, both theory and practice, and distinguished in the details of therapy and treatment, for which he was much praised. He was the brother of Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, previously mentioned.<sup>2</sup> ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq resided in the city of Old Cairo (Fustat), where he continued to work as a physician until his death.

6 Known later to Europeans as the *Annals of Eutychius*. An alternative Arabic title is *Kitāb al-taʾriḫ al-majmūʿ ʿalā l-taḥqīq wa-l-taṣḍīq*. For French translations of selections, see Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Etudes* (Breydy); for German selections, Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Annalenwerk* (Breydy).

7 See Ch. 14.12.

8 For Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā, see Ch. 14.10. The idea that Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā was a relative of Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq is inaccurate according to Sidney H. Griffith; see *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'Eutychius of Alexandria'. IAU's assertion of this relationship has been frequently repeated in subsequent historical documents.

9 *K. taʾriḫ al-dhayl*; see Ch. 14.10.

1 This biography is found in Version 3 but is missing in Versions 1 and 2. For ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq, see *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Ibn al-Bitriq, 'Isa' (P. Johnstone); Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii(2):66.

2 See Ch. 14.11.

### 14.13 A'yan ibn A'yan<sup>1</sup>

A'yan ibn A'yan was a distinguished physician in Egypt who had an excellent reputation for his skill in treatment. He lived during the reign of al-'Azīz bi-Allāh<sup>2</sup> and died in the month of Dhū l-Qa'dah in the year of 385 [Nov/Dec 995].

A'yan ibn A'yan is the author of the following works:<sup>3</sup>

1. A compendium (*Kunnāsh*).
2. On diseases of the eye and their treatments (*K. fī amrād al-'ayn wa-mudāwātihā*).

### 14.14 al-Tamīmī<sup>1</sup>

[14.14.1]

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd al-Tamīmī spent his early years in Jerusalem and its vicinity. He had an excellent knowledge of plants, including their forms and what has been said about them. He was also distinguished in the practice of the art of medicine, with a thorough understanding of its finer points. Al-Tamīmī had extensive experience in the preparation of medicinal pastes<sup>2</sup> and simple drugs. In addition, he investigated the great theriac called *Fārūq* and its composition, and he compounded many versions of it with a very sure hand. Later in life he moved to Egypt and resided there until his death, may God have mercy upon him.

[14.14.2]

While in Jerusalem, he had met the eminent scholar and monk known as Anbā Zakhariyyā ibn Thawābah,<sup>3</sup> who was conversant with some aspects of

1 This biography is found in Version 2 and Version 3 but is missing in Version 1. For A'yan ibn A'yan, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 310.

2 Nizār Abū Maṣū'ir al-'Azīz bi-Allāh was the fifth Fatimid caliph (r. 364–385/975–996); See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Al-'Azīz Bi'llāh' (M. Canard).

3 For further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 310.

1 This biography is found in all three versions. In Version 1, it is found in a much abbreviated form as the fifth biography in Ch. 15. For al-Tamīmī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 317–318; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 245, 269, 315, 332.

2 *Ma'ājīn*.

3 An otherwise unidentified figure. The title Anbā or Abbā is an ecclesiastical title of the Coptic Church which precedes the names of metropolitans, bishops, patriarchs and saints.

the philosophical disciplines and medicine. He lived in Jerusalem in the fourth century of the Hijrah [900s] and studied the compounding of drugs. Al-Tamīmī took numerous useful lessons from him, ultimately acquiring almost all of the monk's knowledge. In his book *The Material of Survival* (*Māddat al-baqā'*), al-Tamīmī records a recipe for a medicinal powder for tremors (*rajaḫān*) arising from burning black bile, and he mentions that he had transcribed this information from Anbā Zakhariyyā.

[14.14.3]

In his book entitled *The Book of Information on Scholars and Stories of Learned Men*, al-Ṣāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qifṭī al-Qāḍī al-Akram says:<sup>4</sup>

Sa'īd, the grandfather of al-Tamīmī, was a physician and a friend of Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb, a client of the Abbasids.<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad al-Tamīmī was from Jerusalem, and he studied medicine there and in other cities to which he travelled. As a result, he became very learned, perfecting his knowledge to a very high standard. He was keenly interested in the preparation of remedies and the selection of appropriate ingredients. It was al-Tamīmī who perfected the theriac called *al-Fārūq*<sup>6</sup> by adding certain simple drugs to it, for that was how – physicians unanimously agree – he did it. He is the author of a number of works on theriac ranging in size from large to small. He was also a private physician to al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭughj, the ruler of the city of al-Ramlah<sup>7</sup> and the areas adjoining it in the coastal region. Ibn Ṭughj was fond of him and appreciated the simple and compound remedies with which al-Tamīmī treated him. The physician had made a number of salves, medicinal perfumes and fragrant fumigatories for Ibn Ṭughj to protect him from pestilential disease (*wabā'*), and he recorded the recipes for them in his writings.

4 See Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 105–106, where this story is given.

5 The statement about the grandfather's association with Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb, a client of the Abbasids, is omitted from the surviving text of Ibn al-Qifṭī.

6 The term *al-fārūq* is applied to something that distinguishes between two things, and, in particular, to a person who makes a distinction between truth and falsity. The *fārūq* theriac (*al-tiryāq al-fārūq*) became one of the most highly valued of all compound general remedies; it was said to have been called *al-fārūq* because it makes a distinction between disease and health; see Lane, *Lexicon*, 2386.

7 This is a town situated on the coastal plain 40 km west-northwest of Jerusalem; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ramla' (E. Honingmann).



When the Fatimid dynasty<sup>8</sup> conquered the Egyptian lands, al-Tamīmī entered the service of Ya‘qūb ibn Killis,<sup>9</sup> the vizier of the Fatimid caliphs al-Mu‘izz and al-‘Azīz. For Ibn Killis, al-Tamīmī composed a large work in a number of volumes, entitled *Material of Survival by Cleansing Corrupted Air and Precautions against the Harm Caused by Pestilence*. This was during the reign of al-Mu‘izz<sup>10</sup> in Cairo. In Egypt, al-Tamīmī met physicians and held discussions with them, including both the private court physicians who had accompanied al-Mu‘izz from the Maghrib and physicians native to Egypt.

[14.14.4]

He<sup>11</sup> said that Muḥammad al-Tamīmī related the following story concerning his father:

My father, may God be pleased with him, told me that once he got excessively drunk and that this impaired his reasoning abilities to the point that he fell from a considerable height to the floor of an inn where he was staying. He was not conscious, and the innkeeper attended to him and carried him to his own living quarters. When my father awoke and rose, he felt pain and weakness in several parts of his body. He did not know what might have caused the pain, so he rode off, attending to matters until noontime. Then he returned to the inn and said to the innkeeper, ‘I have intense pain and weakness in my body and I do not know the reason for it.’ ‘You should thank God you are still alive’, said the innkeeper. ‘Why?’ my father asked. ‘Don’t you know what happened to you yesterday?’ said the innkeeper. When my father said he did not, the innkeeper said: ‘You fell from the highest place in the inn onto the floor while you were drunk.’ ‘From where?’, my father asked, and the innkeeper showed him the place. When he saw it, pain and throbbing began immediately, so much so that he could not endure it. He began to shout and groan until a physician

8 Here called *al-‘alawīyyah al-dawlah*, for the Fatimids were an Ismā‘īlī-Shī‘ī dynasty and hence grouped amongst the Alids or those who sided with the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; see Bernheimer, *The Alids*.

9 Abū l-Faraj Ya‘qūb ibn Killis (318–380/930–991) was a famous vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-‘Azīz.

10 al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh, the fourth Fatimid ruler of Egypt.

11 The source of this story is unidentified. The anecdote does not occur in the version of Ibn al-Qifṭī that is preserved today.

was sent for, who opened a vein and bled him. The physician also bound up his bruised joints with bandages. It was many days before my father recovered and the pain had ceased.

[14.14.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that there is a similar story. A certain merchant, on one of his travels, was in a desert with his fellow-travellers, staying at a place on the way where they had stopped. He slept, while his companions were sitting around him. A snake emerged from somewhere and, happening upon the man's foot unexpectedly, bit him and then slithered away. The merchant woke up in terror from the pain, clutched his foot and groaned. One of the others said to him, 'Nothing has happened except that you extended your foot so quickly when you brushed against a thorn at the spot which is causing you pain', and he pretended to remove the thorn, saying, 'No injury remains.' The pain subsided after that, and they all continued on their way. After some time, on their return journey, they came back and stopped to rest there. His companion said to him 'Do you know what caused the pain which befell you in this place?' The man replied that he did not. His companion said, 'A snake bit your foot and we saw it but did not tell you.' Immediately, an intense pain began in the man's foot and penetrated into his body until it approached his heart and he lost consciousness. Then his condition steadily worsened until he died. The reason for that was that fears (*awhām*) and psychological events (*al-aḥdāth al-naḥsāniyyah*) can have a strong effect on the body. When the man realized that his injury had been a snake bite, he was affected by that idea, and the remaining poison in his body at that spot spread through his body. When it reached his heart, it killed him.

[14.14.6]

Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qiftī continues:<sup>12</sup>

When al-Tamīmī was in his native city of Jerusalem he undertook the study of medicine and the principles of compounding medicines.<sup>13</sup> He prepared a theriac which he called *The Saviour of Souls*.<sup>14</sup> Concerning this,

12 Though Ibn al-Qiftī is given as the source, this anecdote does not occur in the version of Ibn al-Qiftī that is preserved today.

13 The term *aḥkām al-tarkibāt* means literally 'principles of synthesis', but in the context of medicine and alchemy it refers to the preparation of compound remedies and recipes.

14 *Mukhalliṣ al-nufūs*.

al-Tamīmī says, ‘This is a theriac that I prepared in Jerusalem from a limited number of ingredients. It is very effective antidote to the harm of poisons, whether swallowed or inserted into the body through the poisonous bite of vipers and serpents, various kinds of venomous snakes, yellow scorpions and such like, as well as centipedes.<sup>15</sup> It has also proved an antidote to the bite of tarantulas and lizards and has no equal.’ He gives its ingredients and the manner of preparing it in his book called *The Material of Survival*.

[14.14.7]

When al-Tamīmī was in Egypt, he created a digestive that he named *Key to Joy from All Sorrow*,<sup>16</sup> and also *Pleasure for the Soul*.<sup>17</sup> He made it for one of his colleagues in Egypt and recorded the recipe and the names of its ingredients. Even though he had compounded it in Cairo, he named it ‘Fustāṭ’, the former name of the city given at the conquering of Egypt by ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ. This is mentioned in his book *The Material of Survival*. Al-Tamīmī was living in Cairo in the year 370/980.

[14.14.8]

Among al-Tamīmī’s writings there are:<sup>18</sup>

1. A letter addressed to his son ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad on the preparation of the theriac called *al-fārūq* (*R. ilā ibnihi ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad fī ṣan‘at al-tiryāq al-fārūq*), with a warning against drugs used for it erroneously, a description of the correct plants, the times for collecting them, the method of kneading them, and an account of the antidote’s usefulness and its proven application (*tajribah*).
2. Another book on theriac (*K. ākhar fī l-tiryāq*) in which the author presents, in detail, a complete list of its ingredients and an enumeration of its benefits.
3. A short summary on theriac (*K. mukhtaṣar fī l-tiryāq*).

15 Literally, ‘vermin having 44 legs’.

16 *Miftāḥ al-surūr min kull al-humūm*.

17 *Mufriḥ al-naḥs’*.

18 For further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 317–318; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 245, 269, 315, 332; Sezgin and Ullmann note two additional titles: *al-Murshid ilā jawāhir al-aghdhīyah wa-quwā al-mufradāt min al-adwiyah* and *Manāfi‘ khawāṣṣ al-Qur‘ān*. For an additional title attributed to al-Tamīmī on which Ibn Riḍwān prepared some notes (*ta‘lūq*), see Ch. 14.25.9 no. 32.

4. *The Material of Survival* (*K. māddat al-baqā'*) by cleansing corrupted air and precautions against the harm caused by pestilence, which he composed for the vizier Abū l-Faraj Ya'qūb ibn Killis in Egypt.<sup>19</sup>
5. On the nature of ophthalmia, and its types, causes and treatment (*M. fī māhīyat al-ramad wa-anwā'ihi wa-asbābihi wa-īlājīhi*).
6. On inquiry and information (*K. al-faḥṣ wa-l-akhbār*).

#### 14.15 Sahlān<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Ḥasan Sahlān ibn 'Uthmān ibn Kaysān was a Christian physician from the Egyptian Melkite community. He was in the service of the Egyptian caliphs, and his influence became great during the days of al-'Azīz.<sup>2</sup> Sahlān continued to enjoy a good reputation and to be well positioned and rewarded with abundant wealth until he died in Egypt during the reign of al-'Azīz bi-Allāh. This was on a Saturday, with five days remaining, in Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 380 [ca. 14 March 991].<sup>3</sup>

On Sunday, after the midday prayer, his coffin was taken to a church in Old Cairo.<sup>4</sup> His funeral procession went from his house via the Coppermiths'

19 This is preserved in a single manuscript, recently edited; see al-Tamīmī, *K. māddat al-baqā'* (Sh'ar).

1 This biography is not found in Versions 1 and 2 but is present in Version 3. For Sahlān, see Nasrallah, *Histoire*, 3.1, 149–150. Although IAU does not list any works by Sahlān, three titles are elsewhere attributed to him; see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 310; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 315; *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Sahlan ibn 'Uthman ibn Kaysan' (S.J. Khalil Samir). One of these works was published by Paul Sbath in 1944 (see Sahlān, *Mukhtaṣar fī l-ṭibb*). A second treatise titled *Mukhtaṣar fī l-adwiyah al-murakkabah fī akthar al-amrād* was incorrectly attributed to Sahlān ibn Kaysān and published by Paul Sbath (posthumously) and his pupil Christo D. Avierinos with a French translation; it is in fact a shorter version of *al-Dustūr al-bīmāristāni* by Ibn Abī l-Bayān (see Ch. 14.43; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 309; Ibn Abī l-Bayan, *Al-Dustūr al-bīmāristāni* shorter version).

2 The Fatimid ruler al-'Azīz bi-Allāh (r. 365–386/975–996).

3 The date is slightly confused, for the last day of Dhū l-Ḥijjah was a Saturday (21 March 991), while the previous Saturday (24 Dhū l-Ḥijjah/14 March) would have left seven, not five, days remaining.

4 The Greco-Coptic township of Babylon or Bābalyūn, on the east bank of the Nile, was known in Arabic as Qaṣr al-Sham', and the first settlement founded by Muslim conquerors, Fustat, was built alongside it. It is an area known as Old Cairo. After its surrender to the Arabs in the 7th/13th century, it became inhabited mainly by Christians. Most of the ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo are located in Qaṣr al-Sham'.

Quarter,<sup>5</sup> the Old Mosque<sup>6</sup> and the Square<sup>7</sup> to the bathhouse of al-Fa'r,<sup>8</sup> accompanied by fifty lit candles. On his coffin lay a heavy robe. The metropolitan (*muṭrān*), the brother of al-Sayyidah,<sup>9</sup> and Abū l-Faṭḥ Maṣūr ibn Muqashshir (Sahlān's grandson),<sup>10</sup> a court physician,<sup>11</sup> walked behind his coffin while the other Christians followed them. Then after religious services that lasted for the rest of the night, the coffin was taken out from the church to the monastery of Dayr al-Quṣayr,<sup>12</sup> where Sahlān was buried near the tomb of his brother Kaysān ibn 'Uthmān ibn Kaysān.<sup>13</sup>

The caliph al-'Azīz did not interfere with his inheritance, nor did he allow anyone to lay hands on it, substantial though it was.<sup>14</sup>

5 *Al-nahḥāsīn*.

6 The Mosque of 'Amr, built in 21/642.

7 The Square, or *al-murabba'ah*, probably refers to the structure built by 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ at the gate of the Mosque of 'Amr. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, it was a large house (*al-dār al-kabīrah*) in which there was erected a pavilion (*qaṣr*) that was squared, as was the first Ka'bah. See, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 97 [lines 1 to 5]; Hilloowala, *History of the Conquest of Egypt*, 85–86.

8 Literally, 'the bathhouse of the mouse', in reference to its size. It was said, in comparison to the bathhouses of the Byzantine and Roman baths existing in this area, that this bathhouse was so small as to only be accessible to a mouse. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, this bathhouse was attached to or near the house of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ which was at the gate of the Mosque of 'Amr. See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 96 [lines 15 to 20]; Hilloowala, *History of the Conquest of Egypt*, 84–85.

9 This is a reference to al-Sayyidah al-'Azīziyyah ('Azīz's Lady), the Christian wife of al-'Azīz, who was also known simply as 'al-Sayyidah' (the Lady); see Walker, 'The Fatimid Caliph al-'Azīz and His Daughter Sitt al-Mulk', 31. This is confirmed by the *Ta'rikh al-Anṭākī* of Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, where it is said that the metropolitan of Sahlān's funerary procession was Arsenius, who was appointed *muṭrān* (metropolitan) of Cairo and Fustat in 375/985–986, and Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd refers to him as 'maternal uncle of al-Sayyidah, daughter of al-'Azīz bi-Allāh'; see Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Ta'rikh al-Anṭākī*, 203. Both daughter and mother were referred to as al-Sayyidah.

10 See Ch. 14.16, for this physician.

11 *Ṭabīb al-khāṣṣ* is the common term for a court physician.

12 This is the Monastery of Saint Arsenius near the town of Ṭurā about 10 miles (15 km) south of Cairo. The monastery is located on a hill called the Jabal Ṭurā and is also known as the Dayr al-Quṣayr (Monastery of the little Castle) or the Dayr al-Baḡhl (Monastery of the Mule) presumably because a mule was used to carry water from the Nile to the monastery.

13 He was also a tenth-century physician from Egypt. He is mentioned in an entry in Ibn al-Qifṭī under the name Kaysān ibn 'Uthmān ibn Kaysān Abū Sahl (Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā*, 267–268; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, iii(1):149). IAU does not give him a separate entry. Kaysān served as a court physician to Fatimid caliphs al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz and died in 378/988.

14 That is to say, the caliph did not allow those not entitled to it to take a share of the inheritance, but rather saw to it that the inheritance was divided among only those entitled to it

#### 14.16 Abū l-Faḥḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Saḥlān ibn Muqashshir<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Faḥḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Saḥlān ibn Muqashshir was a well-known Christian physician with knowledge and skill in the art of medicine. He was the physician of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh<sup>2</sup> and one of his entourage. The caliph al-ʿAzīz also consulted him in medical matters, sought his opinion, and held him in high regard, so that Ibn Muqashshir held a high position under the Fatimid dynasty. He died during the reign of al-Ḥākim. After his death, al-Ḥākim consulted in medical matters Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Naṣṭās,<sup>3</sup> but Ishāq ibn Naṣṭās also died later on during al-Ḥākim's reign.

#### 14.17 ʿAmmār ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī<sup>1</sup>

ʿAmmār ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī was a well-known oculist and practitioner, experienced in the treatment of ocular diseases and skilled with procedures using the knife. He travelled to Egypt and remained there during the reign of al-Ḥākim (996–1021).<sup>2</sup> ʿAmmār ibn ʿAlī is the author of the *Book of Choice for knowledge of the eye and its diseases and its therapies with drugs and with the knife* (*K. al-muntakhab fī ʿilm al-ʿayn wa-ʿilalihā wa-mudāwātihā bi-l-adwiyah wa-l-ḥadīd*),<sup>3</sup> which he composed for al-Ḥākim.

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and according to the correct rules. The caliph preventing others who might have extracted some of the inheritance illustrates the respect the caliph had for Saḥlān.

- 1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. For Ibn Muqashshir, see *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Mansur ibn Sahlan ibn Muqashshir' (Khalil Samir); *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah' (M. Canard); Yahyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire* (Kratchkovsky & Vasiliev), 464, 480–481.
- 2 The sixth Fatimid caliph (r. 386–411/996–1021); *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ḥākim Bi-Amr Allāh' (M. Canard).
- 3 See Ch. 14.6.

- 1 This biography is found in all three versions. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 209–210; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 329–333; *ET Three* art. 'Ammār b. ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī' (E. Savage-Smith).
- 2 The Fatimid ruler of Egypt from 386/996 to 411/1021.
- 3 For a partial translation into Spanish, English, French and German, see 'Ammār ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *Las operaciones de catarata*; for a complete German translation, see Hirschberg, Lippert & Mittwoch, *Die arabischen Augenärzte*, 2:1–152; for an English translation of the German, see Blodi & Wafai, *Arabian ophthalmologists*, 58–184.

#### 14.18 al-Ḥaḡīr al-Nāfiʿ<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥaḡīr al-Nāfiʿ was a Jewish physician from Egypt during the reign of al-Ḥākīm. He was a wound specialist (*jarāʾiḥī*) and skilled in treatment. According to one anecdote,<sup>2</sup> he used to make a living by treating wounds while he was relatively unknown. It so happened that al-Ḥākīm had a very old wound on one of his legs that would not heal. Ibn Muqashshir,<sup>3</sup> one of al-Ḥākīm's physicians who enjoyed particular favour with him, and other court physicians collaborated in treating him, but their efforts merely made his condition worse. One day this Jewish physician was brought to him. After examining al-Ḥākīm, al-Ḥaḡīr al-Nāfiʿ applied a dessicating powder (*dawāʾ yābis*) on the area which dried out the wound and cured it in three days. So al-Ḥākīm bestowed on him one thousand dinars as well as a robe of honour, and gave him the honorific name al-Ḥaḡīr al-Nāfiʿ ('the humble one who is of great benefit'). Al-Ḥākīm also appointed him one of his court physicians.

#### 14.19 Abū Bishr, the Physician to Rulers (*ṭabīb al-ʿaẓīmīyyah*)<sup>1</sup>

Abū Bishr, *ṭabīb al-ʿaẓīmīyyah*,<sup>2</sup> lived during the reign of al-Ḥākīm. He was well-known throughout the country and was regarded as one of the most distinguished practitioners of the art of medicine.

1 This biography is found in Version 2 and Version 3 but is missing in Version 1.

2 A version of this anecdote appears in Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Antākī, *Taʾrīkh al-Antākī*, 311. The name of the physician is not mentioned, but it states that al-Ḥākīm killed two of the doctors that had failed to treat him before.

3 The reference is to Abū l-Faṭḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Sahlān ibn Muqashshir, whose biography is given in Ch. 14.16.

1 This biography is found in Version 1 and Version 3 but is missing in Version 2.

2 This physician, who was a Jacobite, is mentioned in a history of the Patriarchs; see Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, 145, where the Latin translation of his position (*ṭabīb al-ʿaẓīmīyyah*) is given as *archiater* 'king's physician'.

#### 14.20 Ibn Ma‘shar *al-ṭabīb*<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Ma‘shar *al-ṭabīb* ('the physician') was among the well-known physicians and notable scholars established in the realm. He enjoyed favour with al-Ḥākīm, who depended on him in medical matters.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl says,<sup>2</sup> ‘Ibn Ma‘shar the physician was in the service of al-Ḥākīm, at whose court he was highly placed. He also received many commendations and large gifts from the caliph.’

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl continues, ‘When Ibn Ma‘shar became ill, al-Ḥākīm visited him personally. When he died, al-Ḥākīm bestowed abundant wealth on his heirs.’

#### 14.21 ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>

‘Alī ibn Sulaymān was a distinguished physician who was proficient in philosophy and the mathematical sciences, outstanding in the art of medicine and peerless in astrology (*aḥkām al-nujūm*). He lived during the reign of al-‘Azīz and his son al-Ḥākīm, surviving to see the days of al-Zāhir li-I‘zāz Dīn Allāh,<sup>2</sup> son of al-Ḥākīm.

‘Alī ibn Sulaymān is the author of the following works:

1. Abridgement of *al-Kitāb al-ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb*<sup>3</sup> (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb*).
2. A book of examples, experiences, notices, anecdotes, and medical occult peculiarities (*K. al-amthilah wa-l-tajārib wa-l-akhbār wa-l-nukat wa-l-khawāṣṣ al-ṭibbiyyah*), taken from the writings of Hippocrates and Galen and others. The author intended it as an *aide-mémoire* and notebook. I found a

1 This biography is found in Version 1 and Version 3 but is missing in Version 2. A variant version of this short biography is given by Ibn al-Qiftī, where the name is interpreted by the editor Julius Lippert as Ibn Muqashshir; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’,* 438.

2 For ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl (Jabrā’il) ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū’, see Ch. 8.6. The work quoted from is undoubtedly his *K. manāqib al-aṭibbā’*.

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān, a physician-astrologer who lived during the reigns of three Fatimid rulers (al-‘Azīz, al-Ḥākīm, and al-Zāhir), see Köhler, *Wissenschaft unter den ägyptischen Fatimiden*, 181; Sezgin, *GAS VII*, 287.

2 Al-Zāhir li-I‘zāz Dīn Allāh (r. 413–427/1023–1036) was the seventh Fatimid caliph; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Zāhir li-I‘zāz Dīn Allāh’ (Th. Bianquis).

3 *The Comprehensive Book on Medicine (al-Kitāb al-ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb)* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī; see Ch. 11.5.



manuscript of this work written in his own handwriting, comprising four volumes. In it he mentioned that he began its composition in Cairo in the year 391/1000.

3. Philosophical annotations (*K. al-ta'ālīq al-falsafīyyah*). I also found a copy of this book in the author's handwriting in which he states that he began its composition in Aleppo in the year 411/1020.
4. On the fact that the divisibility of a body is not finite and never reaches a point where the body cannot be further divided (*M. fī anna qabūl al-jism al-tajazzu' lā yaqīfu wa-lā yantahī ilā mā lā yatajazza'u*).
5. Enumeration of doubts necessitated by the treatise of Aristotle *On Vision* (*Ta'dīd shukūk talzamu maqālat Aristūṭālīs fī l-abṣār*).
6. Enumeration of doubts concerning [the comet named] 'the star of the tail'.<sup>4</sup> (*Ta'dīd shukūk fī kawākib al-dhanab*).<sup>5</sup>

#### 14.22 Ibn al-Haytham<sup>1</sup>

[14.22.1]

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham<sup>2</sup> was from Basra, but moved to Egypt, where he remained until the end of his life. He was of an excellent

4 All copies read *kawākib al-dhanab* (the stars of the tail), except for one copy representing Version 2 of the treatise, which reads simply *shukūk fī kawākib* (doubts about the stars). The expression *kawākib al-dhanab* may be a garbled reference to all comets in general or to one specific comet or meteor called 'the star of the tail' (*kawkab al-dhanab*), which was said to have three tails and to return every 107 years. It is described in an anonymous Egyptian cosmography of the 5th/11th century as being amongst a group of 'obscure stars that have the appearance of faint lances', for which Hermes Trismegistus is given as an authority. Given that 'Alī ibn Sulaymān was said to be an expert in knowledge of the stars and was working in Cairo at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, it seems reasonable that he was discussing a comet described in an Arabic Hermetic treatise circulating in Egypt at that time; see Rapoport & Savage-Smith, *Egyptian Guide*, 589 and sect. 1.7 no. 24. The common term for comets was *al-kawākib dhawāt al-dhawā'ib* (the stars having wisps of tails), reflecting the earlier Greek designation of comets as κομήτῃ (having long hair); see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Nudjūm' (P. Kunitzsch).

5 It is unclear in the manuscripts whether these last three treatises are to be considered one treatise or are to be treated as three separate items.

1 This biography is found in all three versions. The 'autobiography' (subsections 14.22.4.1–14.22.5.2) is also preserved in a copy dated 556/1161 now part of a *majmū'ah* in a private collection in Lahore (Heinen, 'Ibn al-Haiṭams Autobiographie').

2 He is more commonly known as Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham. The biographical entry for Ibn al-Haytham given by IAU is in five parts, which will be indicated in the formatting of this section: Parts 1, 2 and 3 include biographical information about Ibn

character, highly intelligent and expert in various branches of learning. None of his contemporaries was his equal in the mathematical sciences.<sup>3</sup> He was constantly absorbed in study, prolific as an author, very ascetic, and dedicated to doing good. He summarized and commented upon many of the works of Aristotle. Similarly, he condensed many of Galen's books on medicine and became an expert in the fundamentals of the art of medicine, as well as its rules and general principles. Even though he did not practise medicine and did not have training in medical treatment, his many works were very useful. He also had good penmanship and a sound knowledge of the Arabic language.

[14.22.2]

The following was related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – by the shaykh ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Musāfir al-Ḥanafī, the geometer:<sup>4</sup>

Ibn al-Haytham's first position was in the district of Basra, where he held the office of vizier. However, he was more interested in ethics and philosophy and the exploration of those domains. So much so, that he desired to rid himself of his duties, which distracted him from the pursuit of learning. Accordingly, he feigned mental confusion and a deterioration of his powers of thought. He maintained that pretence for a period of time until he succeeded in being discharged from service and removed

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al-Haytham taken from earlier sources such as Ibn al-Qiftī. Following this, Part 4 presents an autobiography that Ibn al-Haytham completed at the end of the year 417/Feb 1027, which includes a two-part list of his writings up to that date, transcribed from Ibn al-Haytham's own handwriting. In Part 5.1 there is another list of his compositions completed between the end of Dhū l-Ḥijjah 417 and at the end of Jumādā 11, 418 [11 February 1027 to 25 July 1028], also said to be transcribed from Ibn al-Haytham's hand, while yet another list or 'catalogue' (*fihrist*) of compositions up to the end of 429 [October 1038] – that is, one to three years before he died – is given in 14.22.5.2.

On the relationship between Ibn al-Haytham's autobiography and Galen's *De libris propriis*, see Rosenthal, 'arabische Autobiographie', 7–8; Sabra, *Optics*, ii:xxiii; and Mattila, 'Philosophical Lives of Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Riḍwān'. For other discussions of his biography and the book-lists, see Nebbia, 'Ibn al-Haytham nel millesimo anniversario'; *DSB* art. 'Ibn al-Haytham' (A.I. Sabra); *New DSB* art. 'Ibn al-Haytham' (A.I. Sabra); and Sabra, *Optics*, ii:xix–liii.

3 The phrase *al-‘ulūm al-riyāḍiyyah* can also mean the introductory disciplines.

4 ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Musāfir was a mathematician and architect, born in Upper Egypt in 573/1178. In 622/1225 ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar constructed a celestial globe for the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil, preserved today in Naples at the Museo Nazionale (Savage-Smith, *Celestial Globes*, 218–219 no. 3). His name is also associated with the construction of water wheels, particularly in Hama. He died in Damascus in 649/1251. See Sabra, *Optics*, ii:xxi–xxii.

from his duties. He then travelled to Egypt and took up residence in Cairo at al-Azhar Mosque.<sup>5</sup> Each year he would make copies of Euclid and the *Almagest* and sell them in order to support himself. He continued to do that until he died, may God have mercy upon him.

[14.22.3.1]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have found that al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Qifṭī also had the following to say about Ibn al-Haytham:<sup>6</sup>

News of Ibn al-Haytham and his mastery of knowledge reached al-Ḥākim, the Alid ruler of Egypt,<sup>7</sup> who was himself inclined towards great learning. For that reason, al-Ḥākim desired to meet him personally. Subsequently, al-Ḥākim was informed that Ibn al-Haytham had said, ‘If I were in Egypt, I would conduct work on the Nile that would result in making it useful at all times, during both its rise and fall,<sup>8</sup> for I have been informed that the Nile flows down from an elevated location that is at the border of Egypt.’ This made al-Ḥākim more eager than ever to meet Ibn al-Haytham, and he secretly sent him a sum of money and urged him to come to Egypt. Accordingly, Ibn al-Haytham travelled to Egypt, and when he arrived there, al-Ḥākim came out to receive him. They met in a village near Cairo known as al-Khandaq just outside the gates of al-Mu‘izz’s city,<sup>9</sup> and al-Ḥākim had lodgings prepared for him and ordered that he should be shown hospitality and respect. Ibn al-Haytham stayed there until he had rested, at which point al-Ḥākim asked him to proceed with his promised works on the Nile.

Consequently Ibn al-Haytham set out, accompanied by a group of skilled workers specializing in construction who would help him with

5 Al-Azhar Mosque was founded in 361/972 during the Fatimid period as a mosque and seat of learning of Ismā‘īlī doctrine; EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Azhar’ (J. Jomier).

6 For Ibn al-Qifṭī’s version as preserved in his *Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’*, see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’*, 165–168. Another account of Ibn al-Haytham’s meeting with al-Ḥākim exists in Ḥāhir al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī (d. 564/1169). see Sabra, *Optics* ii: xxxi; DSB art. ‘Ibn al-Haytham’ (A.I. Sabra); EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Bayhaqī’ (D.M. Dunlop).

7 Al-Ḥākim is here referred to as al-Ḥākim ṣāhib Miṣr min al-‘Alawīyyīn. The term *al-‘Alawīyyīn*, or ‘Alids’, is a general term for Shi‘ite dynasties or movements, and those claiming descent from ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; see EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Alids’ (B. Lewis), EI *Three* art. ‘Alids’ (F. Daftary); Bernheimer, *The Alids*.

8 He is referring to regulating the flow of its waters.

9 This is a reference to the fact that the construction of New Cairo (*al-Qāhira*) was begun in 359/970 under the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu‘izz (r. 341–365/953–975).

the engineering works he had in mind. When, however, he had travelled the length of the country<sup>10</sup> and seen the remains of monuments from antiquity when it had been inhabited by a past civilization – and these were of the utmost perfection of construction and engineering and included celestial designs, geometric patterns and marvellous paintings – he realized that what he had intended to do was impossible. For those who had preceded him in ancient times had not lacked the knowledge that he himself possessed, and if the project had been feasible, they would have carried it out. Ibn al-Haytham's scheme was in ruins and his enthusiasm failed. He went to the place known as 'the cataracts' (al-Janādīl), south of the city of Aswān.<sup>11</sup> It is an elevated place from which the waters of the Nile flow down, and here he observed the Nile, studied it, and scouted both banks. As a result, he learned first-hand that his plan could not be executed in a suitable way as he had intended, and he realized the error and the problems associated with what he had promised. Ashamed and prevented from doing what he had intended, Ibn al-Haytham returned and apologized to al-Ḥākim, who appeared to accept this.

Subsequently, al-Ḥākim appointed him a government official. Ibn al-Haytham, however, held his post only out of fear and not out of desire, for he realized he had made an error in accepting office since al-Ḥākim was extremely capricious, spilling blood without cause or for the slightest reason due to some imagined pretext. Ibn al-Haytham pondered the matter, but could not think of a way to get out of his predicament except by displaying madness and disturbance of mind.<sup>12</sup> So he undertook to do just that, and word of it spread abroad. As a result, al-Ḥākim and his deputies confiscated his property. Al-Ḥākim assigned a guardian to attend to him and look after his affairs, and Ibn al-Haytham was clapped in irons (*quyyida*) and put under house arrest. This arrangement continued until Ibn al-Haytham learned of the caliph's death, after which he quickly demonstrated his sanity and returned to his former condition. He moved from his home and took up residence in a pavilion<sup>13</sup> near the entrance of al-Azhar Mosque, one of the mosques of Cairo. There he stayed, living the

10 Literally, 'the length of the clime'.

11 Aswān is a town in Egypt located on the eastern bank of the Nile at the first cataract.

12 *Junūn* and *khabāl*, the former meaning madness and the latter unsoundness of mind or body. For the former, see Dols, *Majnūn*, 57–59 *et passim*. Both words have to do with possession by *jinn*.

13 A *qubbah*, a round or dome-like structure, or a tent.

life of an ascetic, content and satisfied. The property that had been confiscated under al-Ḥākīm was returned to him, and he occupied himself with composing, copying and teaching. Ibn al-Haytham had a particularly precise style of handwriting that he turned to account by transcribing a large number of treatises on mathematics.

[14.22.3.2]

Ibn al-Qifṭī also says that the scholar Yūsuf al-Fāsī al-Isrāʾīlī<sup>14</sup> told him in Aleppo:

I have heard that Ibn al-Haytham would copy three books a year in his particular field of interest: Euclid,<sup>15</sup> the *Intermediate Books*<sup>16</sup> and the *Almagest*. It would take him one year to copy them.<sup>17</sup> When he had begun<sup>18</sup> the work of transcribing them, someone would come to him and pay him one hundred and fifty Egyptian dinars for them. This became a set price over which he would not bargain or negotiate, and it was his means of subsistence for the year. He continued to do this until he died in Cairo at the end of the year 430 [September 1039]<sup>19</sup> or shortly thereafter. But God knows best.

14 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī (d. 624/1227) a Jewish physician from Sabtah or Ceuta in North Africa, often known by the name Ibn Shamʿūn. See Ch., 15.41, where IAU refers to him as Yūsuf al-Fāsī al-Isrāʾīlī, while Ibn al-Qifṭī (in the edition of Lippert) refers to him as Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Nāshī, but quite certainly it is the same physician. For Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā (Joseph ben Judah), see also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 16–22; Sabra, *Optics*, ii:xx nt 4; *DSB* art. ‘Ibn al-Haytham’ (A.I. Sabra).

15 That is, the *Elements* of Euclid.

16 The *Mutawassīṭāt*, or Intermediate Books, were a collection of mathematical and astronomical Greek writings, available in Arabic translations, that were to be studied after Euclid’s *Elements* and before embarking on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*. They included Autolycus’ *Moving Sphere*, Euclid’s *Data*, *Optics* and *Phenomena*, and two treatises on spherics, one by Theodosius and the other by Menelaus; see Sabra, *Optics*, ii:xxi n. 5.

17 For a reproduction of a manuscript copied by Ibn al-Haytham (in this case, an Arabic version of the *Conics* of Apollonius), see Schramm, *Ibn al-Haytham*, facing p.x.

18 MS A reads ‘when he had finished’, but all other manuscripts read ‘when he had begun ...’.

19 At this point, following his recording of this quotation from Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī, Ibn al-Qifṭī adds a comment (not quoted by IAU): ‘I have seen in his [Ibn al-Haytham’s] handwriting a volume on geometry that he wrote in the year 432/1040 and it is in my possession, thanks be to God.’ (Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 167; Sabra, *Optics*, ii: xxi). If this is correct, then Ibn al-Haytham died in or shortly after 432/1041 and not at the end of 430 [September 1039]. Ibn al-Qifṭī does not himself comment on the contradictory dates.

[14.22.4.1]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have transcribed the following from a treatise in Ibn al-Haytham’s own handwriting on the knowledge of the Ancients, one that he was composing and working on at the end of the year 417 [January 1027], when he was sixty-three lunar years of age.<sup>20</sup>

Since my childhood, he says, I have continually reflected on the varying beliefs of people, each group of people holding fast to what they believed. But I was doubtful about all of it and was certain that there was only one truth and that the differences are in the approaches towards the truth. When I had completed my acquisition of intellectual matters, I devoted myself to seeking the origin of truth, and I directed my conjectures and my concentration toward the attainment of that by which the falsities (*tam-wihāt*) of dubious opinions can be disclosed and the errors (*al-ghayāyāt*) of complicated, deluded ideas dispelled.<sup>21</sup> I directed my resolve toward the attainment of the belief nearest to God, His praise be extolled, leading to God’s approval and obedience to Him and piety. I was in the same position as Galen who in the seventh book of his treatise *On the Method of Healing*, addresses his pupil: ‘I don’t know how it came about – whether I may say it was by wondrous coincidence, or by inspiration from God, or by sheer madness, or through some other means – that I since my youth have despised ordinary people and had little regard for them and ignored them, preferring truth and the acquisition of knowledge. I am certain in my own mind that people cannot acquire anything better in this world, nothing that would bring one closer to God, than these these two matters’.<sup>22</sup>

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham continues:

I thoroughly investigated a variety of opinions and beliefs, and the several religious sciences, but I found no profit in that, nor did I perceive in

20 For a partial German translation of the ‘autobiography’ that follows, see Wiedemann, ‘Ibn al-Haiṭam, ein arabischer Gelehrter’.

21 The Arabic in this sentence may have been corrupted.

22 The quotation of Galen is from the second preface of *De methodo medendi* at the start of Book VII: ‘I do not know how, but right from my youth, by a miracle, divine inspiration, or by madness, or whatever one wishes to call it, I despised repute among the general public and preferred truth and knowledge, considering that men can have no finer or holier acquisition’ (Galen, ed. Kühn, x:457). In this instance Ibn al-Haytham accurately reproduced the Arabic translation of Galen’s treatise by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.

it a clear path to the truth nor a sure road to indisputable belief. Rather, I came to realize that I would reach the truth only through doctrines whose constituent elements were perceptible and whose forms were rational. These I found only in Aristotle's classification of logic, physics, and metaphysics, which constitute the essence and nature of philosophy, where Aristotle begins<sup>23</sup> by classifying things as general, particular, universal, and intrinsic. He then follows this with the establishment of a vocabulary of logic and its division into principal types.<sup>24</sup> He next<sup>25</sup> discusses propositions that are formed of compound expressions and thus give rise to comprehensible and intelligible speech. He then concentrates on the types of propositions that are the basis and material of the syllogism, designating distinctions between them and discussing the genera and species that make them distinctive, and links this with a discussion of their truth or falsehood, thereafter presenting their agreement, disagreement, opposition, and contradiction.

Next<sup>26</sup> he discusses the syllogism and the division of its premises, designates its various figures, and classifies those figures. Amongst the classifications, he distinguishes those that are not linked continuously and systematically and sets them apart from those that are so linked. Then he discusses the results that follow from them along with associated fundamental conditions – that is, the necessary, the possible, and the impossible. He explains the approaches to securing premises of syllogisms that are necessary (*al-ḍarūriyyah*) and plausible (*al-iqnā'iyyah*), as well as what is more fitting (*al-awlā*), what is more likely (*al-ashbah*), and what is more frequent (*al-akthar*) and those associated with customary usage and technical terms, and the remaining issues of syllogisms. He discusses the figures of the syllogism, variety by variety and type by type.

Aristotle concludes with a discussion of the nature of proof,<sup>27</sup> commenting upon its components and clearly explaining its forms, and also explaining what appears to be erroneous in it and revealing what had been concealed and hidden in it. He follows this with a discussion of the four arts: dialectic (*jadalīyyah*), disputation (*mirā'iyyah*), rhetoric (*khut-*

23 *Categories*; see above, Ch. 4.6.5.1 (al-Fārābī's description in his *Iḥṣā'*, the ordering of which is followed here for the logical books), and Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 29 for basic bibliography.

24 That is, types of the sentence and its constituents.

25 *On Interpretation*; see Ch. 4.6.5.1 and 4.6.13.1 no. 30.

26 *Prior Analytics*; see Ch. 4.6.5.1 and 4.6.13.1 no. 32.

27 *Posterior Analytics*; see Ch. 4.6.5.1 and 4.6.13.1 no. 33.

*biyyah*), and poetics (*shi'riyyah*),<sup>28</sup> and from that he goes on to explain what constitutes a distinctive basis for the art of demonstration [drawn] from these four arts, discussing them type by type according to their category.

Aristotle then undertook a commentary on matters of nature beginning with his book on understanding nature,<sup>29</sup> in which he indicates matters that are well-known by nature and require no further proof, but rather are found through examination,<sup>30</sup> classification and analysis. He demonstrates the groundlessness of counter-arguments about them and discloses the errors of those who have doubts about them. The basis of his discourse comprises six fundamental universal and natural principles: space, void, the infinite, time, motion and the Prime Mover. He followed that with his book on generation and corruption,<sup>31</sup> in which he makes clear the earthly world's acceptance of generation and corruption.

This was followed by his book on meteorology<sup>32</sup> – that is, on those things that occur in the atmosphere such as clouds, fog or mist, wind, rain, thunder, lightning, thunderbolts and other things of a similar sort. At the end of the book he mentions minerals and the reasons for their existence. His next work was one on plants and animals,<sup>33</sup> in which he discusses the types of plants and animals and their natures, varieties, species, intrinsic qualities, and accidental qualities. That was followed by his work on the heavens and the world,<sup>34</sup> in which he explains the nature of the universe and its essences and its connection with metaphysics.

Aristotle next composed his work on the soul.<sup>35</sup> In that work, he expresses his interpretation of the soul and refutes the views of everyone who has expressed an idea that differs from his and who holds firm beliefs

28 Aristotle's *Topics* (*Topica*), *On Sophistical Refutations* (*Sophistici elenchi*, usually known in Arabic as *al-Safsāṭah* or *al-Mughālaṭah*), *The Art of Rhetoric*, *The Art of Poetry*; see Ch. 4.6.13.1 nos. 31, 34, 39, 38.

29 *K. fi l-samā' al-ṭabī'ī*, the *Physics* or *Phusikē akroasis* in Greek, meaning 'Lectures about Nature'; see Stern, 'Ibn al-Samḥī'; and Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 40.

30 For a discussion of Ibn al-Haytham's use of the term *istiqrā'* in different contexts, see Sabra, *Optics*, i:11–14.

31 *K. fi l-kawn wa-l-fasād* (*De generatione et corruptione*); see Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 42.

32 *K. fi l-āthār al-'uhwiyyah* (*Meteorologica*); see Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 43.

33 The reference here is probably to the pseudo-Aristotelian *De plantis* and the books that circulated in Arabic under the title *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, which included *De generatione animalium* and *De partibus animalium*. See Ch. 4.6.13.1 nos. 48 (the *Historia animalium*), 54.

34 *K. fi l-samā' wa-l-'ālam* (*De caelo et mundo*); see Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 41.

35 *K. fi l-naḥs* (*De anima*); see Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 44.



about its essence other than his own belief. He subdivides the soul into the nutritive, the sensory and the cognitive, and he discusses the conditions of the nutritive, comments upon sensory matters, and explains the reasons for cognition. In this way he discusses every obscure aspect that he has disclosed, explaining every hidden detail.

Finally, crowning his oeuvre, Aristotle composed his work on what comes after the physics – that is, metaphysics.<sup>36</sup> In it he explains that God is one, that He is wise not ignorant, powerful not weak, and generous not stingy. Thus, Aristotle has judiciously set out the guidelines along which one may travel toward the truth, and so attain to its nature and substance, and find its essence and nature.

When I – Ibn al-Haytham – realized that, I devoted all my efforts to studying the philosophical disciplines, which comprise three branches of learning: mathematics, physics, and metaphysics. I therefore concentrated on the fundamentals and principles which govern these three fields and their consequences, and I arrived at a good understanding of them in all their depths and heights. Then I considered the nature of mankind – its association with decay and its susceptibility to destruction and depletion, and how in the vigour of youth a person is able to master the required concepts underlying these basic principles more readily, but when that person reaches old age and the time of senility, his constitution becomes inadequate, his strength weakens, his reasoning power fails and there is deterioration in his ability to do what he had routinely done before.

From these three fundamental subjects (mathematics, physics, metaphysics) I explained in detail, summarized and condensed in an orderly way what I was able to understand and discern. I have drawn upon their assorted contents to compose works that clarify and reveal the obscurities of these three fundamental domains right up to the present time, which is the month of Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 417 [January/February<sub>1027</sub>] of the migration (Hijra) of the Prophet, God bless him and keep him. As long as I live, I will devote all my energy and all my strength to such endeavours with three aims in mind: first, to benefit the person seeking truth and influence him during my lifetime and after my death; second, as an exercise for myself in these matters to confirm what my reflection on these disciplines has formulated and organized; and, third, to create for myself a treasure-house and provision for the time of old age and period of senility. In doing this I have followed what Galen says in the seventh book of

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36 *K. fi l-ilāhiyyāt (Metaphysics)*; see Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 55.

his treatise *On the Method of Healing*: 'In all my writings, it has been and remains my intention to do one of two things: either to benefit someone through something useful and profitable, or to benefit myself through mental exercise, by which I enjoy myself at the time of my writing it and [at the same time] make a store-house for the time of old age'.<sup>37</sup>

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham continues:

I will explain what I have written concerning these three fundamental subjects so that people will realize my position with regard to the pursuit of truth and what I said with regard to truth will be known, in order to disassociate myself from the likes of the foolish, common people, elevating myself to resemble or emulate the pious and the best of mankind.

[14.22.4.2]

The following twenty-five treatises are what I – Ibn al-Haytham – have composed in the domain of the mathematical sciences:<sup>38</sup>

1. Commentary on and summary of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry and Numbers* (*Sharḥ Uṣūl Uqlīdis fī l-handasah wa-l-ʿadad wa-talkhīshīhi*).
2. A book in which I combined geometrical and arithmetical fundamentals from the works of Euclid and Apollonius and enumerated them, dividing them, and providing proofs through which I then classified them as mathematical (*al-taʿlīmīyyah*), physical (*al-ḥissīyyah*) and logical (*al-manṭiqīyyah*), together with a critique of the sequence [of arguments] in Euclid and Apollonius.
3. Commentary on and summary of the *Almagest* (*Sharḥ al-Majisṭī wa-talkhīshīhi*) supported by demonstrations, in which only a few computa-

37 Galen, *De methodo medendi*. The quotation appears to be an amalgam of a statement at the opening of Book I ('I was especially keen to grant your request [to write this book], and not least aimed to benefit people in the future as far as possible') with a statement in the second preface at the start of Book VII ('You know that I have written neither this treatise nor any other from a desire to be famous among the general public. Rather, I wish to grant the requests of friends and to keep myself in training, turning my writings into a treasury as a most useful exercise for the present as well as for 'forgetful old age'; to quote Plato.'). See Galen, ed. Kühn, i:1 and x:456–457.

38 The term *al-ʿulūm al-riyādīyyah* can also refer to introductory texts on a variety of topics, but in this context the meaning is mathematical. For further information on his treatises in the following book-lists, see Sezgin, *GAS* v, 358–374; *DSB* art. 'Ibn al-Haytham' (A.I. Sabra); *New DSB* art. 'Ibn al-Haytham' (A.I. Sabra); Sabra, 'One Ibn al-Haytham or two?'; Sabra *Optics*, ii:xxii–xxxiv. The following book-list of 25 items is list Ia in the studies by A.I. Sabra.

- tions have been worked out. If God extends my life and gives me time, I shall resume this task and produce a more comprehensive commentary that will take me further into numerical and computational matters.
4. The comprehensive book on fundamentals of computation (*K. al-jāmi' fī uṣūl al-ḥisāb*). It is a book in which I worked out the fundamentals for all types of calculation from the procedures of Euclid in the *Elements of Geometry and Number*. I worked out the problems of computation using geometrical analysis and numerical valuation, avoiding the procedures and formulations of the algebraists (*awḍā' al-jabriyyīn wa-alfāzuhum*).
  5. A book in which I summarized the science of optics based on the two books of Euclid and Ptolemy. I completed it with a reconstruction of the lost first chapter of Ptolemy's treatise.
  6. Analysis of geometrical problems (*K. fī taḥlīl al-masā'il al-handasiyyah*).
  7. On the solving of numerical problems by reduction and balancing (i.e., algebra), demonstrated (*K. fī taḥlīl al-masā'il al-'adadiyyah bi-jihat al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah mubarhanan*).
  8. A book in which I combined a discussion of the analysis of geometrical problems with that of numerical problems. However, the discussion of the numerical problems is not demonstrated by proofs, but rather is based on the fundamentals of algebra (*al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).
  9. On surveying using basic principles (*K. fī l-misāḥah 'alā jihat al-uṣūl*).
  10. On applied mathematics [i.e., commercial accounting] (*K. fī ḥisāb al-mu'āmalāt*).<sup>39</sup>
  11. On the surfaces [?] of concavities and convexities (*M. fī ijārāt al-ḥuḍūr wa-l-abniyah*), in which I compared the concavities and convexities against all the geometrical figures until I arrived at the three conic sections: the parabola, the hyperbola and the ellipse.
  12. Paraphrase of the writings of Apollonius on conic sections (*Talkhīṣ maqā-lāt Abūlūniyūs fī quṭū' al-makhrūṭāt*).<sup>40</sup>
  13. On Indian computations (*M. fī l-ḥisāb al-Hindī*).
  14. On the determination of the direction of the *Qiblah* (*M. fī istikhrāj samt al-qiblah*) for all the inhabited regions, using tables that I constructed without providing proofs.
  15. On those geometrical matters that are required in legal affairs (*M. fī mā tad'ū ilayhi ḥājat al-umūr al-shar'iyyah min al-umūr al-handasiyyah*) and which are sufficient.

39 For an edition and German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Mu'āmalāt*.

40 For a critical edition and translation and commentary, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Completion of the Conics*. See also Hogendijk, 'Two Editions'.

16. A letter to some prominent people on the urgency of pursuing astronomical observation (*R. ilā ba'ḍ al-ru'asā' fī l-ḥathth 'alā 'amal al-raṣd al-nujūmī*).
17. Introduction to geometrical topics (*K. fī l-mudkhal ilā al-umūr al-handasiyyah*).
18. On the drawing-out of the proof that the hyperbola and the two lines that never touch it [the asymptotes] are always drawing nearer but will never meet (*M. fī intizā' al-burhān 'alā anna al-qat' al-zā'id wa-l-khaṭṭān alladhān lā yalqayānihi yaqrubān abadan wa-lā yaltaqiyān*).
19. Replies to seven mathematical questions (*Ajwibat sab' masā'il ta'līmiyyah*) put to me while I was in Baghdad and that I answered.
20. On geometrical analysis and synthesis using examples for students (*K. fī l-taḥlīl wa-l-tarkīb al-handasiyyayn 'alā jihat al-tamthīl li-l-muta'allimīn*). It is a collection of geometrical and numerical problems that I have solved by analysis and synthesis.
21. On the shadow instrument (*K. fī ālat al-ẓill*), which I abridged and condensed from the book by Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān<sup>41</sup> on the subject.
22. On the determination of the distance between two places that are remote from each other using geometrical methods (*M. fī istikhrāj mā bayna baladayn fī l-bu'd bi-jihat al-umūr al-handasiyyah*).
23. On the fundamentals of problems concerned with irrational numbers and their analysis (*M. fī uṣūl al-masā'il al-'adadiyyah al-ṣumm*<sup>42</sup> *wa-taḥlīlihā*).
24. Resolution of a doubt concerning Euclid, in the fifth book of his treatise on mathematical principles (*M. fī ḥall shakk 'alā Uqlīdis fī l-maqālah al-khāmisah min kitābihi fī l-uṣūl al-riyādiyyah*).
25. Proof of the method<sup>43</sup> that Archimedes presented for dividing an angle into three parts but which he did not prove (*R. fī burhān al-shakl alladhī qaddamahu Arshimūdis fī qismat al-zāwiyyah bi-thalāthat aqsām wa-lam yubarhin 'alayhi*).

41 Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān (d. 355/946) was an important mathematician who, amongst other topics, wrote on conics; see Bellosta, 'Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān'.

42 The term *al-ṣumm* is the plural of *al-aṣamm* and appears to have caused some confusion to copyists, for the word is omitted in a number of manuscripts and written overline in MS A as an addition. The term *aṣamm* (lit. 'deaf') is used for fractions such as  $1/11$  and  $1/13$  that cannot be reduced to fractions called by words derived from names of their denominators, such as  $1/12$  that can be described as 'half one sixth'. In other contexts *aṣamm* was applied to a number, such as  $\sqrt{2}$ , that cannot be expressed as the ratio of two natural numbers. See *Er<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ilm al-Ḥisāb' (A.I. Sabra) and Berggren, 'Numbers at work'.

43 *Shakl* can mean either diagram or (in some contexts) 'method' or 'proposition'.

[14.22.4.3]

In the natural sciences and metaphysics, I – Ibn al-Haytham – have composed forty-four books.<sup>44</sup>

1. Paraphrase of the *Introduction (Isagoge)* of Porphyry and four books of Aristotle on logic (*Talkhīṣ Mudkhal Furfūriyūs wa-kutub Aristūṭālīs al-arbaʿah al-mantiḡiyyah*).<sup>45</sup>
2. Condensed version of the paraphrase of the *Introduction (Isagoge)* of Porphyry and of Aristotle's seven books on logic (*Ikhtīṣār talkhīṣ mudkhal Furfūriyūs wa-kutub Aristūṭālīs al-sabʿah al-mantiḡiyyah*).
3. On the art of poetry (*R. fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr*), combining both Greek and Arabic.
4. Paraphrase of Aristotle's book *On the Soul [De Anima]* (*Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-naḡs li-Aristūṭālīs*). And if God extends my life and if time permits me the leisure to devote myself to scientific matters, I will summarize his two books on *Physics* and *On the Heavens and the World* (*Fī l-samāʿ al-ṭabīʿi wa-l-samāʿ wa-l-ʿālam*).
5. On the correspondence between the world of particulars (*M. fī mushākalat al-ʿālam al-juzʿī*), which is mankind, and the universal world [i.e., the correspondences of the microcosm to the macrocosm].
6. Two treatises on the syllogism and its congeners (*Maqālatān fī l-qiyās wa-shibhihi*).
7. On proof (*M. fī l-burhān*).
8. On the world, with regard to its beginning, its nature and its perfection (*M. fī l-ʿālam min jihat mabdaʿihi wa-ṭabīʿatihi wa-kamālihi*).
9. On principles and existents (*M. fī l-mabādīʿ wa-l-mawjūdāt*).
10. On the configuration of the universe (*M. fī hayʿat al-ʿālam*).<sup>46</sup>
11. On the refutation of John the Grammarian (Yaḡyā al-Naḡwī) and his objections to the statements of Aristotle and others regarding the heavens and world (*K. fī al-radd ʿalā Yaḡyā al-Naḡwī wa-mā naqḡḡahu ʿalā Aristūṭālīs wa-ghayrihi min aqwālihim fī al-samāʿ wa-l-ʿālam*).<sup>47</sup>
12. A letter addressed to someone who studied this refutation but had doubts about its meanings (*R. ilā baʿḡ man naḡara fī hādhā l-naqḡ fa-shakka fī*

44 The following book-list of 44 items is list Ib in the studies by A.I. Sabra.

45 For Porphyry of Tyre (A.D 234–c305) and his *Isagoge*, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Furfūriyūs' (R. Walzer). For the four books of logic, cf. above.

46 For translation and edition, see Ibn al-Haytham, *On the Configuration of the World*. The attribution of this treatise to Ibn al-Haytham has been challenged; see Houzel, 'New Astronomy of Ibn al-Haytham'; Rashed, 'Configuration of the universe'.

47 See Ch. 6.2 no. 29.

- maʿānin minhu*), allowing resolution of his doubts and knowledge gained from an understanding of it.
13. On the rebuttal of the refutation given by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Fasānjas,<sup>48</sup> may God have mercy upon him, of astrologers' opinions (*K. fī l-radd ʿalā Abī l-Ḥasan ʿĀlī ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Fasānjas naqḍahu ārāʾ al-munajjimīn*).
  14. Rejoinder to Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Fasānjas' reply to the rebuttal of his discourse against the astrologers (*Jawāb mā ajāba Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Fasānjas naqḍa man ʿaraḍahu fī kalāmīhi ʿalā al-munajjimīn*).
  15. On virtue and the virtuous individual (*M. fī l-faḍl wa-l-fāḍil*).
  16. On making humans yearn for death, according to what the Ancients said (*M. fī tashwīq al-insān ilā al-mawt bi-ḥasab kalām al-awwāl*).
  17. Another discourse on this topic, according to what recent scholars say (*R. ukhrā fī hādihā l-maʿnā bi-ḥasab kalām al-muḥaddathīn*).
  18. On the falsehood of theologians' belief that God remained inactive and then acted (*R. fī buṭlān mā yarāhu al-mutakallimūn min anna Allāh lam yazal ghayr fāʾil thumma faʾala*).
  19. On the fact that what is beyond the heavens is neither empty nor filled (*M. fī [anna] khārij al-samāʾ lā farāgh wa-lā malaʾ*).
  20. On the refutation of Abū Hāshim,<sup>49</sup> leader of the Muʿtazilah, regarding what he said about the summary (*jawāmiʿ*) of Aristotle's book *On the Heavens and World* (*M. fī l-radd ʿalā Abī Hāshim raʾīs al-muʿtazilah fī-mā takallama bihi ʿalā jawāmiʿ Kitāb al-samāʾ wa-l-ʿalam li-Aristūṭālīs*).
  21. Discourse on the difference between the doctrines of the algebraists<sup>50</sup> and the astrologers (*Qawl fī tabāyun madhabay al-jabriyyīn wa-munajjimīn*).

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48 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Fasānjas [or Fasānajs] is an unidentified 11th-cent. critic of astrologers, whose refutation of the opinion of astrologers was rebutted by Ibn al-Haytham, to which then he replied with a rejoinder to which Ibn al-Haytham replied. Some manuscript copies write the name as Qasānjas, but the name Fasānjas [or Fasānajs] is attested elsewhere; see Antoon, *Poetics of the Obscene*, 111 and esp. 207n75 which reads: 'Ibn Fasānjas [*sic*, read Fasānajs] was one of the ruthless officials of the Būyid establishment. He was exiled to Sāmarrāʾ later in life.'

49 Abū Hāshim ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 321/933), son of the prominent Muʿtazilah theologian al-Jubbāʾī, was one of the last Muʿtazilah theologians to have a direct influence on Sunni thought. None of his writings have survived. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Djubbāʾī' (L. Gardet).

50 While *al-jabriyyīn* commonly refers to 'algebraists', as in Ch. 14.14.4.2 above, the contrast here with astrologers suggests a possible interpretation as 'believers in predestination (*jabr*)' (who are more commonly called collectively *al-jabriyyah*).

22. Paraphrase of Aristotle's *Problems on Physics* (*Talkhīṣ al-Masā'il al-ṭabī'iyyah li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>51</sup>
23. On the merits of al-Ahwāz<sup>52</sup> over Baghdad with respect to natural conditions (*R. fī tafḍīl al-Ahwāz 'alā Baghdād min jihat al-umūr al-ṭabī'iyyah*).
24. A letter addressed to all people of learning concerning the intentions of a troublemaker who pestered the author (*R. ilā kāffat ahl al-'ilm fī ma'nā mushāghhib shāghabahū*).
25. On the fact that there is only one way to attain truths (*M. fī anna jihat idrāk al-ḥaqā'iq jihah wāḥidah*).
26. On the fact that proof has one meaning, but is used [in two ways]: practically (*ṣinā'iyyan*) in geometrical matters, and theoretically (*kalāmīyyan*) in the natural sciences and metaphysics (*M. fī anna al-burhān ma'nā wāḥid wa-innamā yusta'malu ṣinā'iyyan fī l-umūr al-handasiyyah wa-kalāmīyyan fī l-umūr al-ṭabī'iyyah wa-l-ilāhiyyah*).
27. On the two natural conditions of pain and pleasure (*M. fī ṭabī'atay al-alam wa-l-ladhdhah*).
28. On the natures of three pleasures: the sensory, the rational and a balance between the two (*M. fī ṭabā'ir al-ladhdhāt al-thalāth al-ḥissiyyah wa-l-nuṭqīyyah wa-l-mu'ādalah*).
29. On the agreement of rational beings on what is correct, despite their diversity in terms of goals and aims (*M. fī ittīfāq al-ḥayawān al-nāṭiq 'alā al-ṣawāb ma'a ikhtilāfihim fī l-maqāṣid wa-l-aghrād*).
30. On the fact that proof of contradiction becomes a proof of correctness [?], by single steps [?]<sup>53</sup> (*R. fī anna burhān al-khulfiyaṣīru burhān istiḳāmah bi-ḥudūd wāḥidah*).
31. On the corroboration of astrology using proof (*K. fī tathbūt aḥkām al-nujūm min jihat al-burhān*).
32. On life and universal appointed times of death [?] (*R. fī al-a'mār wa-l-ājāl al-kawniyyah*).

51 See Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 57.

52 A town on the river Kārūn (or Dujayl, the 'small Tigris') in Khūzistān, a province of south-western Persia. Situated halfway between Baghdad and Shiraz, it was an important commercial town and centre for trade in the early centuries of Islam. It had a large sugar industry and an important silk industry. However, it was known for its heat and insalubrious climate, where one could easily catch fevers and where insects, fleas, scorpions, and serpents abounded. Ibn al-Haytham seems to be unusual in advocating the natural conditions of al-Ahwāz over those of Baghdad, though perhaps he was advocating its location on the river for supporting large mills on pontoon boats rather than its healthy climate. See *ET Three* art. 'al-Ahwāz' (Mathieu Tillier).

53 The sense is obscure. It might refer to proof by *reductio ad absurdum*.

33. On the nature of the intellect (*R. fī tabīʿat al-ʿaql*).
34. On the refutation of one who thinks that evidences are equivalent [to one another] (*K. fī al-naqḍ ʿalā man raʿā anna al-adillah mutakāfiʿah*).
35. Discourse on the establishment of the principle of impossibility [?] (*Qawl fī ithbāt ʿunṣur al-imtināʿ*).
36. Refutation of a response to a question addressed to one of the Muʿtazilah in Basra (*Naqḍ jawāb masʿalah suʿila ʿanhā baʿḍ al-muʿtazilah bi-l-Baṣrah*).
37. On the art of epistolography according to procedures of the Ancients and their rules (*K. fī ṣināʿat al-kitābah ʿalā awḍāʿ al-awāʿil wa-uṣūlihim*).
38. Admonition to the secretaries (*Ahd ilā al-kuttāb*).
39. That the Maker of this world can be known only through what He makes (*M. fī anna fāʿil hādhā al-ʿalam innamā yuʿlamu dhātuhu min jihat fiʿlihi*).
40. Response to a logician regarding meanings in which he contradicted some of the rules of nature (*Jawāb qawl li-baʿḍ al-mantiqiyyīn fī maʿān<sup>in</sup> khālafa fihā min al-umūr al-ṭabīʿiyyah*).
41. On the paraphrase of the essential nature of the universal soul (*R. fī talkhīṣ jawhar al-naḥs al-kulliyyah*).
42. On the verification of the view of Aristotle that the governing faculty in the human body is located in the heart (*Fī taḥqīq raʿy Aristūṭālīs anna al-quwwah al-mudabbirah hiya min badan al-insān fī l-qalb minhu*).
43. A letter in response to a question asked of the logician Ibn al-Samḥ al-Baghdādī<sup>54</sup> (*R. fī jawāb masʿalah suʿila ʿanhā Ibn al-Samḥ al-Baghdādī al-mantiqī*), to which he did not provide a convincing reply.
44. On the organization of the art of medicine (*K. fī taqwīm al-ṣināʿah al-ṭibbiyyah*). I based it on summaries (*jumal*) and epitomes (*jawāmiʿ*) of the works of Galen that I had examined, and these are 30 in number:<sup>55</sup>
  1. *On Demonstration* (*K. fī l-burhān; De demonstratione*).
  2. *On Medical Sects* (*K. fī firaq al-ṭibb; De sectis medicorum*).
  3. *The Small Book on the Art of Medicine* (*K. fī l-ṣināʿah al-ṣaghūrah; Ars medica*).
  4. *On Anatomy* (*K. fī l-tashrīḥ; De anatomicis administrationibus*).<sup>56</sup>

54 Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Samḥ al-Baghdādī (d. 418/1027) was a Christian commentator on Aristotle's *Physics*; see Stern, 'Ibn al-Samḥ'.

55 For further information on Galen's treatises listed by Ibn al-Haytham, see Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 68–150; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 35–68. In the list that follows the standard Latin titles used to reference Galenic writings will be given alongside the Arabic titles.

56 This is likely to be Galen's major work on anatomy, though it is unclear from the title; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, no. 17.



5. *On the Natural Faculties* (*K. fī l-quwā al-ṭabīʿīyyah; De facultatibus naturalibus*).
6. *On the Uses of the Parts of the Body* (*K. fī manāfiʿ al-aʿdāʾ; De usu partium*).
7. *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* (*K. fī ārāʾ Abuqrāt wa-Aflāṭun; De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*).
8. *On Semen* (*K. fī l-minā; De semine*).
9. *On the Voice* (*K. fī al-ṣawṭ; De voce*).
10. *On Diseases and Symptoms* (*K. fī l-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ; De differentiis morborum*).
11. *On Types of Fevers* (*K. fī aṣnāf al-ḥummayāt; De differentiis februm*).
12. *On Crises* [of an illness] (*K. fī l-buḥrān; De crisis libri III*).
13. *The Large Book of the Pulse* (*K. fī l-nabḍ al-kabīr*).<sup>57</sup>
14. *On the Elements According to the Views of Hippocrates* (*K. fī l-ustūqus-sāt ʿalā raʾy Abuqrāt; De elementis secundum Hippocratem libri II*).
15. *On Mixtures* (*K. fī l-mizāj; De temperamentis libri III*).
16. *On the Effectiveness of Simple Drugs* (*K. fī quwā al-adwiyah al-mufradah; De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*).
17. *On the Properties of Compound Drugs* (*K. fī quwā al-adwiyah al-murakkabah; De compositione medicamentorum per genera and De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*).
18. *On the Locations of the Affected Parts* (*K. fī mawāḍiʿ al-aʿdāʾ al-ālimah; De locis affectis*).
19. *On the Method of Healing* (*K. fī ḥīlat al-burʾ; Methodi medendi*).
20. *On the Preservation of Health* (*K. fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah; De sanitate tuenda*).
21. *On Good and Bad Juices* (*K. fī jūdāt al-kaymūs wa-radāʾātihi; De bonis malisque succis*).
22. *On Ailments of the Eye* (*K. fī amrāḍ al-ʿayn*).<sup>58</sup>
23. *That the Properties of the Soul Follow the Mixture of the Body* (*K. fī anna quwā l-nafs tābīʿah li-mizāj al-badan; Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*).
24. *On Uneven Bad Mixture* (*K. fī sūʾ al-mizāj al-mukhtalif; De inaequali intemperie*).

57 This is a collection of four separate treatises by Galen. Their common Latin titles are: *De pulsuum differentiis*, *De dignoscendis pulsibus*, *De causis pulsuum*, and *De praesagitione ex pulsibus*; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, no. 28.

58 This is probably the treatise usually known as *K. Dalāʾil ʿilal al-ʿayn* (On symptoms of eye diseases), lost today but partially preserved in a *jawāmiʿ* or summary; see Savage-Smith, 'Galen's Lost Ophthalmology'.

25. *On Critical Days* (*K. fī ayyām al-buḥrān; De creticis diebus*).
26. *On Plethora* (*K. fī l-kathrah; De plenitudine*).<sup>59</sup>
27. *On the Use of Bloodletting for the Treatment of Diseases* (*K. fī isti'māl al-faṣḍ li-shifā' al-amrād; De curandi ratione per venae sectionem*).
28. *On the Wasting Disease* (*K. fī al-dhubūl; De marasmo*).
29. *On the Best Constitution for the Body* (*K. fī afḍal hay'āt al-badan; De optima corporis nostri constitutione*).
30. A compilation by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq of the statements of Galen and Hippocrates on foodstuffs (*Jam' Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq min kalām Jālīnūs wa-kalām Abuqrāt fī l-aghdhīyah*).

[14.22.4.4]

[continues the autobiography]

Then I – Ibn al-Haytham – attached [a list] of everything I had composed regarding the knowledge of the Ancients to an essay in which I made clear that all worldly as well as religious matters are consequences of the philosophical sciences. This essay was the final one in my numbered discourses on these disciplines, being the seventieth. That total excludes a number of letters and compositions that have passed from me into the hands of certain people in Basra and al-Ahwāz, for which the originals have been lost, and which I have been prevented from copying by preoccupation with worldly affairs and the disruption of travel, as frequently happens to scholars. A similar misfortune befell Galen, and he even mentions this in one of his books, where he says: 'I had composed many books whose originals I had handed over to a group of my colleagues, but work and travel prevented me from copying them until they had become dispersed.'<sup>60</sup>

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham continues:

If God prolongs my life and gives me time, I will compose, comment upon, and summarize from these disciplines many [more] ideas that repeatedly

59 The Arabic title recorded here by Ibn al-Haytham for this treatise is relatively unusual. Both his contemporary Ibn Riḍwān and the much earlier Thābit ibn Qurrah give the title as *K. fī l-kathrah*, but the usual Arabic form for the title was *Maqālah fī l-imtīlā'*; see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 43 no. 26, and Fichter, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 53. For Ibn Riḍwān, see Ch. 14.25.9 no. 45 in book-list, and for Thābit ibn Qurrah, see Ch. 10.3 treatise 19.

60 No specific passage in Galen's writings has been identified. There are, however, a number of passages where Galen says something to the effect that people got hold of copies of his works and distributed them; cf. *De libris propriis* 2 (ed. Boudon-Millot, *Galen*).

occur to me and prompt me to disclose them. But God will do what He wills, and He will decide what He wants, and in His hands is the ultimate power over all things, for He is the initiator and the restorer.

What it is essential [to know] is that what I composed and abstracted from the learning of the Ancients was done with the intention of addressing the most learned wise men and the exemplary intellectuals. It is like the one who says:

Many a dead one has become alive by dint of his knowledge  
and many a survivor has already died by dint of his ignorance and  
error.

Therefore acquire knowledge so that you may live forever  
and count survival in ignorance as nothing.

These are two verses by Abū l-Qāsim, son of the vizier Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā,<sup>61</sup> may God be pleased with them both, and it was a philosopher who said them and directed that these two verses be inscribed on his tomb.

It was not my intention to address all of the people but rather only the eminent among them, and in that I spoke as Galen did in his large work on the pulse: ‘My discourse in this work is not for all people, but rather for the individual among them who is the equivalent of a thousand men, or rather tens of thousands of men,’<sup>62</sup> since the truth is not something that most people can grasp but is something to which only the learned among them can attain.

In this way they will know my position concerning knowledge and they will realize my position for the preference of the truth in order to get closer to God through the attainment of learning and self-knowledge. They will realize my achievement from the appreciation of worldly matters that I have acquired from these disciplines, which have taught me to value the good and to abhor the evil in those matters, for the fruits of this learning are knowledge of truth and action with justice in all worldly matters. The one who performs justice – i.e., pure goodness – will attain the earthly world with the comfort of a heavenly hereafter and will receive compensation for the difficulties that he will encounter during his finite

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61 This epigram already appeared in Ch. 10.22.3. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, xii:515. The father of Abū l-Qāsim, ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā (d. 334/996), was vizier to the caliph al-Muqtadir; see *ET Three* art. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Dā’ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ’ (M.L.M. van Berkel).

62 The quotation occurs in *De dignoscendis pulsibus* (Galen, Kühn ed., viii:826–827): ‘This text has been composed not for the general public, but is looking for the one in a million, the individual for whom one must write books that will be reviled countless times for being “impossible” and “outrageous” before they reach a single worthy person. I just need a reader like ...’.

life in this world with the permanence of a life of ease in the other world. To God, exalted is He, I prayed for my success in whatever I accomplished, and drew near His presence.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah – say that the date of Ibn al-Haytham's writing of this epistle was in the month of Dhū l-Hijjah in the year 417 [February 1027].

[14.22.5.1]

Subsequently, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham also wrote in his own hand the following list of what he composed after that time [February 1027] and up to the end of Jumādā II in the year 419 [26 July 1028]:<sup>63</sup>

1. Paraphrase of Aristotle's *Physics* (*Talkhīṣ al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī l-Aristūṭālīs*)
2. Treatise by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [Ibn al-Haytham] on place and time according to what he found to be Aristotle's view of them.
3. Letter addressed to Abū l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib,<sup>64</sup> the Baghdad logician, concerning a number of points relating to physics and metaphysics (*R. ilā Abī l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baghdādī al-manṭiqī fī 'iddat ma'ān<sup>m</sup> min al-'ulūm al-ṭabī'iyah wa-l-ilāhiyyah*).
4. Refutation of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, the physician, and his opinion on metaphysics and prophecies (*Naqḍ 'alā Abī Bakr al-Rāzī al-mutaṭabbib ra'yahu fī l-ilāhiyyāt wa-l-nubuwwāt*).
5. Refutation of those who claim that that a body [*lit.*, magnitude] is composed of parts each of which has no parts [i.e., is composed of indivisible atoms; a refutation of atomism] (*M. fī ibtāl ra'y man yarā anna al-'izām murakkabah min ajzā' kull juz' minhā lā juz' lahu*).
6. On making observations using a horizon ring at a location of known latitude (*M. fī 'amal al-raṣd min dā'irat ufuq balad ma'lūm al-'arḍ*).
7. On the affirmation of prophecy and the clarification of the error of those who deny it, and a discussion of the difference between the Prophet and someone claiming to be a prophet (*K. fī ithbāt al-nubuwwāt wa-īdāh fasād ra'y alladhīna ya'taqidūn buṭlānahā wa-dhikr al-farq bayna al-nabī wa-l-mutanabbī*).
8. Treatise by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [Ibn al-Haytham] explaining the shortcomings in the refutation by Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī<sup>65</sup> of some of the writ-

63 This list is 'List II' in the studies of A.I. Sabra.

64 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) was a Christian philosopher and physician working at the 'Aḍudī hospital in Baghdad; see Ch. 10.37. See also *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ibn al-Ṭayyib' (J. Vernet).

65 Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī (d. 303/915) was from Khuzistan and became one of the most celebrated Mu'tazilah from the school of Basra. With his son Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933) he

ings of Ibn al-Rāwandī<sup>66</sup> (*Fī idāḥ taqṣīr Abī ‘Alī al-Jubbā’ī fī naqḍihi ba‘ḍ kutub Ibn al-Rāwandī*), and the compelling nature of Ibn al-Rāwandī’s argument against him [al-Jubbā’ī] regarding his doctrines, along with a clarification of the opinion to which Ibn al-Rāwandī’s objections do not apply.<sup>67</sup>

9. On the effects of musical melodies on animate souls (*R. fī ta’tḥrāt al-luḥūn al-mūsīqīyyah fī l-nufūs al-ḥayawāniyyah*).
10. On the fact that the evidence used by theologians for the temporality of the world is unsound evidence, and that proving the temporality of the world should be by compelling proof and true analogical deduction (*M. fī anna al-dalīl alladhī yastadillu bihi al-mutakallimūn ‘alā ḥudūth al-‘ālam dalīl fāsīd wa-l-istidlāl ‘alā ḥudūth al-‘ālam bi-l-burhān al-idṭirārī wa-l-qiyās al-ḥaqīqī*).
11. Treatise in which he opposes the belief of the Mu‘tazilah concerning the temporality of the attributes of God, blessed and exalted is He (*M. yaruddu fihā ‘alā al-mu‘tazilah ra’yahum fī ḥudūth ṣifāt Allāh*).
12. On the refutation of the Mu‘tazilah and their views on eternal hellfire (*Fī l-radd ‘alā al-Mu‘tazilah ra’yahum fī l-wa’id*).<sup>68</sup>
13. Reply to a geometrical question addressed to him in Baghdad during the months of the year 418 [February 1027 to January 1028] (*Jawāb ‘an mas’alah handasiyyah su’ila ‘anhā bi-Baghdād fī shuhūr sanat 418*).
14. Second treatise by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [Ibn al-Haytham] on the clarification of the error of one who decreed that God remained inactive and

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began a reformulation of *kalām* atomism as part of their project of ‘systematising’ *kalām*; see *ET* Three art. ‘Atomism’ (Alnoor Dhanani); *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Djubbā’ī (L. Gardet).

66 Ibn Rāwandī, (b. at the beginning of the 3rd/9th cent.; death date uncertain) was a follower of Mu‘tazilism at first and then later became an ardent opponent of that school of thought. He was known for a biting criticism of prophecy in general and of the prophecy of Muḥammad in particular. In addition, he maintained that religious dogmas are not subject to reason and must, therefore, be rejected and that miracles attributed to the prophets – persons who may reasonably be compared to sorcerers and magicians – are pure invention. The Qur’an, he held, is neither a revealed book nor even an inimitable literary masterpiece. In order to cloak these theses, he used the fiction that they were uttered by the Brahmins. Several generations of Muslim theologians devoted themselves to refuting his attacks, including Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā’ī and his son Abū Hāshim; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-Rāwandī’ (P. Kraus & G. Vajda).

67 The sense of the latter part of this sentence is unclear.

68 The ‘Promise and the Threat’ (*al-wa’d wa-l-wa’id*) are two of the five principles (*al-uṣūl al-khamsah*) considered characteristic of Mu‘tazilah theology. The phrase reflects the conviction that not only unbelievers had to face damnation on the Day of Judgement, but that Muslims who had committed a grave sin were equally threatened by eternal hellfire. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Wa’d wa ‘l-Wa’id’ (U. Rudolph).

- then acted (*M. thāniyah li-Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan fī ibānat al-ghalaṭ mimman qaḍā anna Allāh lam yazal ghayr fā'il min [= thumma] fa'ala*)<sup>69</sup>
15. On the distances between the celestial bodies and the extent of their size (*M. fī ab'ād al-ajrām al-samāwiyyah wa-aqdār a'zāmihā*).
  16. Summary of Aristotle's book *On Meteorology* (*Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-āthār al-uhwiyyah li-Aristūṭālīs*).
  17. Summary of Aristotle's *Book of Animals* (*Talkhīṣ Kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī l-hayawān*).
  18. On burning mirrors (*M. fī l-marāyā al-muḥriqah*), which is separate from what I have stated on this subject in the summary of the two books of Euclid and Ptolemy on optics.
  19. On extracting solutions from the practical part of the *Almagest* (*K. fī istikhrāj al-juz' al-'amalī min Kitāb al-Majisṭī*)
  20. On the nature of [the organ of] sight and how vision comes about through it (*M. fī jawhar al-baṣar wa-kayfiyyat wuqū' al-ibṣār bihi*).
  21. On the refutation of Abū al-Faraj 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib, whose opinion regarding the natural faculties in the human body differed from the opinion of Galen. (*M. fī l-radd 'alā Abī l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib ra'yahu al-mukhālīf bihi li-ra'y Jālīnūs fī l-quwā al-ṭabī'iyyah fī badan al-insān*).
- This is the end of what I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – found in the autograph of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham, may God have mercy upon him.<sup>70</sup>

## [14.22.5.2]

There is also a catalogue (*fihrist*), which I found, of the books of Ibn al-Haytham [that he wrote] up to the end of the year 429 [October 1038]. This includes:<sup>71</sup>

1. On the configuration of the world (*M. fī hay'at al-'ālam*).<sup>72</sup>
2. Commentary on the premises of Euclid's *Elements* (*M. fī sharḥ muṣādarāt Kitāb Uqlīdis*).<sup>73</sup>

69 The first treatise on this topic was listed in the book-list above in 14.22.4.3, no. 18.

70 This sentence is omitted in the copy of the autobiography and book-list found in a collected volume in a collection in Lahore. In place of this sentence, the Lahore manuscript reads: 'Appended to it is [a note] written in Baghdad in the [al-Madrasah] al-Nizāmiyyah on 1 Ṣafar 556 [30 January 1161] [reading] "also by him is *On light* (*M. fī l-ḍaw'*) and *On the rainbow* (*M. fī qaws quzah*)"'

71 In Sabra's studies, this list is no. III.

72 This treatise was also listed as no. 10 in the first book-list above (Ch. 14.22.4.3). For an edition and English translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *On the Configuration of the World*.

73 For a partial Russian translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Kniga kommentariiev k vvedeniyam knigi Evklida'. For a commentary and English translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'On the Premises of Euclid's Elements'.

3. On Optics, in seven parts (*K. fī l-manāẓir sabʿ maqālāt*).<sup>74</sup>
4. On the method of [astronomical] observations (*M. fī kayfiyyat al-arṣād*).
5. On meteors occurring in the atmosphere (*M. fī l-kawākib al-ḥādithah fī l-jaww*).
6. On the light of the Moon (*M. fī dawʿ al-qamar*).<sup>75</sup>
7. On the direction of the Qiblah by calculation (*M. fī samt al-qiblah bi-l-ḥisāb*).<sup>76</sup>
8. On the rainbow and the halo (*M. fī qaws quzah wa-l-hālah*).<sup>77</sup>
9. On the difference that occurs in the altitudes of stars (*M. fī mā yaʿriḍu min al-ikhtilāf fī irtifāʿāt al-kawākib*).<sup>78</sup>
10. On applied computations (*M. fī ḥisāb al-muʿamalāt*).<sup>79</sup>
11. On the horizontal sundial (*M. fī l-rukhāmah al-ufuqīyyah*).<sup>80</sup>
12. On the appearance of the stars (*M. fī ruʿyat al-kawākib*).<sup>81</sup>
13. On the drawing compass (*birkār*) for [the drawing of] conic sections, in two parts (*K. fī birkār al-quṭūʿ maqālatān*).
14. On the centres of gravity (*M. fī marākiz al-athqāl*).
15. On the principles of surveying (*M. fī uṣūl al-misāḥah*).<sup>82</sup>
16. On the measurement of the sphere (*M. fī misāḥat al-kurah*).<sup>83</sup>
17. On the measurement of the parabolic solid (*M. fī misāḥat al-mujassam al-mukāfiʿ*).<sup>84</sup>

74 For English translation, see Sabra, *Optics*; For a critical edition, English translation and commentary, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Alhacen's Theory of Visual Perception*, and Ibn al-Haytham, *Alhacen on the Principles of Reflection* and Ibn al-Haytham, *Alhacen on Image-Formation*. For a French translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *de l'Optique d'Ibn al-Haytham*.

75 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Über das Licht des Mondes'.

76 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla'. For an edition, English translation and commentary, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Finding the Direction of the Qibla'.

77 For a German translation of a paraphrase, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Theorie des Regenbogens'.

78 For a French translation and edition, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* v, 617–679.

79 This treatise on commercial arithmetic was also listed in the first book-list, Ch. 4.2 no. 10. For an edition and German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Muʿamalāt*.

80 For a French translation and edition, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* v, 803–849.

81 For an edition and translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'On Seeing the Stars'.

82 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Kleinere Arbeiten von Ibn al-Haytham'.

83 For a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II, 294–323.

84 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Die Ausmessung des Paraboloides'; Ibn al-Haytham, 'Die Abhandlungen Thābit b. Qurra'; for a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II, 208–293.

18. On spherical burning mirrors (*M. fī l-marāyā al-muḥriqah bi-l-dawā'ir*).<sup>85</sup>
19. On parabolic burning mirrors (*M. fī l-marāyā al-muḥriqah bi-l-quṭū'*).<sup>86</sup>
20. Short treatise on lunar figures (*M. mukhtaṣarah fī l-ashkāl al-hilālīyyah*).<sup>87</sup>
21. Comprehensive treatise on lunar figures (*M. mustaqṣāh fī l-ashkāl al-hilālīyyah*).<sup>88</sup>
22. Short treatise on the drawing compass for large circles (*M. mukhtaṣarah fī birkār al-dawā'ir al-izām*).<sup>89</sup>
23. Expanded treatise on the drawing compass for large circles (*M. mashrūḥah fī birkār al-dawā'ir al-izām*).<sup>90</sup>
24. On the azimuth (*M. fī l-samt*).
25. On indicating errors in the method of [astronomical] observation (*M. fī l-tanbīh 'alā mawāḍi' al-ghalaṭ fī kayfīyyat al-raṣd*).
26. On the fact that the sphere is the largest of the solid figures having the same perimeter, and that the circle is the largest of the plane figures with the same perimeter (*M. fī anna l-kurah awsa' al-ashkāl al-mujassamah allatī ihāṭatuhā mutasāwīyah wa-anna al-dā'irah awsa' al-ashkāl al-musattāḥah allatī ihāṭatuhā mutasāwīyah*).<sup>91</sup>
27. On optics according to the method of Ptolemy (*M. fī l-manāzīr 'alā ṭarīqat Baṭlamyūs*).
28. On the correction of astrological procedures, in two parts (*K. fī taṣḥīḥ al-a'māl al-nujūmiyyah maqālatān*).
29. On the solution of four lines between two lines [?] (*M. fī istikhrāj arba'at khuṭūṭ bayna khaṭṭayn*).
30. On the quadrature of the circle (*M. fī tarbī' al-dā'irah*).<sup>92</sup>

85 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Die sphärischen Hohlspiegel'; for an English translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Discourse on the Concave Spherical Mirror'.

86 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Über parabolische Hohlspiegel'; for an English translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'On the Paraboloidal Focusing Mirror'.

87 For a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II, 70–81.

88 For a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II 102–175.

89 In this treatise, Ibn al-Haytham explains the theory and construction of an instrument that would be suitable for accurately drawing circles with large radii which cannot be drawn with an ordinary pair of dividers; for a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham 'Geometrische Instrumente.'

90 For a French translation and edition, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* v, 851–879.

91 For a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II, 384–459.

92 For an edition and German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Die Kreisquadratur'; for a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II, 8–101. See also Albertini, 'Quadrature du cercle'.



31. On the determination of the solar meridian with the utmost precision (*M. fī istikhrāj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār ‘alā ghāyat al-taḥqīq*).<sup>93</sup>
32. Discourse on the aggregation of atoms (*Qawl fī jam‘ al-ajzā’*).
33. On the special properties of the parabolic section (*M. fī khawāṣṣ al-qaṭ‘ al-mukāfi’*).
34. On the special properties of the hyperbola (*M. fī khawāṣṣ al-qaṭ‘ al-zā’id*).
35. On the relationship of temporal rainbows to their altitude (*M. fī nasab al-qusiyy al-zamāniyyah ilā irtifā’ihā*).
36. On the nature of shadows (*M. fī kayfiyyat al-azlāl*).
37. On the fact that what one sees of the sky is greater than half of it (*M. fī anna mā yurā min al-samā’ huwa akthar min niṣfihā*).
38. On the resolution of doubts which a certain scholar has raised concerning the first book of the *Almagest* (*M. fī ḥall shukūk fī l-maqālah al-ūlā min Kitāb al-Majisṭī yushakkiku fihā ba‘ḍ ahl al-‘ilm*).<sup>94</sup>
39. On the resolution of a doubt concerning solid figures in Euclid’s book (*M. fī ḥall shakk fī mujassamāt Kitāb Uqlīdis*).
40. Discourse on the division of two unequal magnitudes mentioned in the first proposition of the tenth book of Euclid’s treatise (*Qawl fī qismat al-miqdārayn al-mukhtalifaṣyn al-madhkūrayn fī l-shakl al-awwal min al-maqālah al-‘āshirah min Kitāb Uqlīdis*).<sup>95</sup>
41. Question relating to [lunar] parallax (*Mas‘alah fī ikhtilāf al-naẓar*).
42. Discourse on the determination of the lemma [used by Archimedes] for [constructing] the side of the heptagon (*Qawl fī istikhrāj muqaddamat dīl‘ al-musabba’*).<sup>96</sup>
43. Discourse on the division of the line used by Archimedes in his book *The sphere and cylinder* (*Qawl fī qismat al-khaṭṭ alladhī ista‘malahu Arshimīdis fī Kitāb al-kurah wa-l-uṣṭuwānah*).
44. On the determination of the solar meridian by means of a single shadow (*Qawl fī istikhrāj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār bi-ẓill wāḥid*).
45. On the construction of a pentagon inside a square (*M. fī ‘amal mukhammas fī murabba’*).
46. On the Milky Way (*M. fī l-majarrah*).<sup>97</sup>

93 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten’.

94 For a discussion of this treatise, see Sabra, *Optics*, iixxvi n. 16. For a partial edition and translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘On Seeing the Stars, II’.

95 For a French translation, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* II, 324–329.

96 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren*.

97 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Über die Lage der Milchstrasse’.

47. On the determination of a side of a cube (*M. fī istikhrāj ḍil' al-muka'ab*).
48. On the lights of the stars (*M. fī aḍwā' al-kawākib*).<sup>98</sup>
49. On the marks that are [seen] on the [face of the] Moon (*M. fī l-athar alladhī fī l-qamar*).<sup>99</sup>
50. Discourse on an arithmetical problem (*Qawl fī mas'alah 'adadiyyah*).
51. On magic squares (*M. fī a'dād al-wafq*).
52. On the sphere moving along a plane (*M. fī l-kurah al-mutaḥarrikah 'alā l-sath*).
53. On analysis and synthesis (*M. fī l-tahlīl wa-l-tarkīb*).<sup>100</sup>
54. On things known (*M. fī l-ma'lūmāt*).<sup>101</sup>
55. Discourse on the resolution of a doubt about Book XII of Euclid's treatise (*Qawl fī ḥall shakk fī l-maqālah al-thāniyah 'ashrah min Kitāb Uqlīdis*).
56. On the resolution of doubts about Book I of Euclid's treatise (*M. fī ḥall shukūk al-maqālah al-ūlā min Kitāb Uqlīdis*).
57. On the calculation of two errors (*M. fī ḥisāb al-khaṭa'ayn*).<sup>102</sup>
58. Discourse in reply to a question on surveying (*Qawl fī jawāb mas'alah fī l-misāḥah*).
59. Short treatise on the direction of the Qiblah (*M. mukhtaṣarah fī samt al-qiblah*).
60. On light (*M. fī l-ḍaw'*).<sup>103</sup>
61. On the movement of *iltifāf* (*M. fī ḥarakat al-iltifāf*).<sup>104</sup>
62. On the refutation of whoever disagrees with the author concerning the nature of the Milky Way (*M. fī l-radd 'alā man khālafahu fī mā'iyat al-majarrah*).

98 For an abridged German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Über das Licht der Sterne'; for an English translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'The Light of the Stars'.

99 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Über die Natur der Spuren [Flecken]*.

100 For an edition and French translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'L'analyse et la synthèse'.

101 For an edition and French translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Les connus'.

102 The nature of this now lost treatise is uncertain. It may have concerned the method of approaching a value, say  $\pi$ , by calculating values that are a bit smaller and a bit larger than  $\pi$ , repeating it and getting steadily closer; such a procedure is described in al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 201.

103 For an edition and German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Abhandlung über das Licht'; for a French translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Le Discours de la lumière'; for an edition and French translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Les Mathématiques Infinimentales*.

104 The term *al-iltifāf* refers to the representation of the variations in latitude of planetary motions by means of solid spheres – that is, the movements that each planet is imagined to trace out round the surface of its epicyclic sphere and that account for variations in latitude. This treatise by Ibn al-Haytham is not preserved, but is discussed at length in Sabra, 'Solution of Difficulties Concerning *Iltifāf*'.

63. On the resolution of doubts concerning the movement of *iltifāf* (*M. fī ḥall shukūk ḥarakat al-iltifāf*).
64. On doubts about Ptolemy (*M. fī l-shukūk ‘alā Baṭlamyūs*).<sup>105</sup>
65. On the particle that is not divisible (*Maqālah fī l-juz’ alladhī lā yata-jazza’u*).
66. On hour-lines [sundials] (*M. fī khuṭūṭ al-sā‘ūt*).<sup>106</sup>
67. On the steelyard balance (*M. fī l-qarastūn*).
68. On space (*M. fī l-makān*).<sup>107</sup>
69. Discourse on the determination of the altitudes of mountains (*Qawl fī istikhrāj a‘midat al-jibāl*).<sup>108</sup>
70. On the deficiencies of Indian arithmetic (*M. fī ‘ilal al-ḥisāb al-hindī*).
71. On the altitudes of triangles (*M. fī a‘midat al-muthallathāt*).
72. On the special properties of circles (*M. fī khawāṣṣ al-dawā’ir*).
73. On the method of the Banū Mūsā (*M. fī shakl Banī Mūsā*).<sup>109</sup>
74. On the construction of a heptagon in a circle (*M. fī ‘amal al-musabba‘ fī l-dawā’ir*).<sup>110</sup>
75. On the determination of the altitude of the pole with the greatest precision (*M. fī istikhrāj irtifā‘ al-quṭb ‘alā ghāyat al-tahqīq*).<sup>111</sup>
76. On the operation of the water-clock (*M. fī ‘amal al-binkām*).
77. On the burning sphere (*M. fī l-kurah al-muḥriqah*).<sup>112</sup>

105 This concerns criticisms of Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, *Planetary hypotheses* (*Kitāb al-iqtīṣāṣ*) and *Optics*. For a partial translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Criticism of Ptolemy’s *Optics*’; for a full translation and commentary, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Doubts Concerning Ptolemy*.

106 For a French translation and edition, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* v, 687–801.

107 This must be the treatise that ‘Abd Laṭīf al-Baghdādī attempted to refute in his treatise *‘An māhiyyat al-makān bi-ḥasab ra’y Ibn al-Haytham* (On the quiddity of space according to Ibn al-Haytham); see Ch. 15.40.9, no. 158. The geometrization of space advocated by Ibn al-Haytham was contested by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, who wished to restore Aristotle’s definition; see El-Bizri, ‘Defence of the Sovereignty of Philosophy’; Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* iv, 908–905.

108 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Einige geometrische Aufgaben.’

109 The Banū Mūsā ibn Shākīr were among the most important figures in the intellectual life of Baghdad in the 3rd/9th century. Today they are best known for their treatise on automata and ingenious mechanical devices. See *ET* 2 art. ‘Mūsā, Banū’ (D.R. Hill) and *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Banū Mūsā’ (D. Pingree).

110 For an edition and French translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Construction de l’heptagone régulier.’

111 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Die Polhöhe mit grösster Genauigkeit zu bestimmen.’

112 For a German translation of a recension, see Ibn al-Haytham, ‘Über die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln.’

78. Discourse on an arithmetical problem in solid geometry (*Qawl fī mas'alah 'adadiyyah mujassamah*).
79. Discourse on a geometrical problem (*Qawl fī mas'alah handasiyyah*).<sup>113</sup>
80. On the shape of the eclipse (*M. fī ṣūrat al-kusūf*).<sup>114</sup>
81. On the greatest of the lines [chords?] which occur in the sector of a circle (*M. fī a'zam al-khuṭūṭ allatī taqa'u fī qiṭ'at al-dā'irah*).
82. On the motion of the Moon (*M. fī ḥarakat al-qamar*).
83. On problems of linear equations (*M. fī masā'il al-talāqī*).<sup>115</sup>
84. On arithmetical exposition, in the form of notes (*M. fī sharḥ al-arithmāṭiqī 'alā ṭarīq al-ta'liq*).<sup>116</sup>
85. On the exposition of the canon, in the form of notes (*M. fī sharḥ al-qānūn 'alā ṭarīq al-ta'liq*).<sup>117</sup>
86. A commentary on harmonics, in the form of notes (*M. fī sharḥ al-rumūn-īqī 'alā ṭarīq al-ta'liq*).<sup>118</sup>
87. Discourse on the division of the greatest obliquity (*Qawl fī qismat al-munḥarif al-kullī*).<sup>119</sup>
88. On ethics (*M. fī l-akhlāq*).
89. On the proper conduct of secretaries (*M. fī ādāb al-kuttāb*).
90. On governance, in five chapters (*K. fī l-siyāsah khams maqālāt*).
91. Notes recorded by the physician Ishāq ibn Yūnūs<sup>120</sup> in Egypt from Ibn al-Haytham concerning Diophantus' book *On Problems of Algebra* (*Ta'liq*

113 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Behandlung einiger geometrischen Fragenpunkte'.

114 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Über die *Camera obscura*'. For an edition with English translation and study, see Raynaud, *Ibn al-Haytham's On the Shape of the Eclipse*; for a review by T. Mimura urging cautious use of this study, see *Isis* 109 (2018), 621–622. See also, Raynaud, 'Ibn al-Haytham's Solar Eclipse Record', who argues that Ibn al-Haytham recorded in this treatise the partial solar eclipse seen in Basra on 28 Rajab 380 (21 October 990).

115 For a German translation, see Ibn al-Haytham, 'Besondere Art des Gesellschaftsrechnens'.

116 For the phrase *'alā ṭarīq al-ta'liq* meaning 'in the form of notes', see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ta'liq' (F. Rosenthal).

117 This treatise probably concerned music theory and the division of a string (monochord) to produce different consonant or dissonant intervals, as did al-Kindī's treatise *R. fī qismat al-qānūn* (On the division of the canon); see Ch. 10.1.14 no. 19. *Qānūn* became the name of a zither-like musical instrument; see Farmer, 'The Music of Islam'. A similar book on the division of the canon is also attributed to Euclid; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 266.

118 This was probably a commentary on Ptolemy's treatise on harmonics, for which see Solomon, *Ptolemy Harmonics*.

119 The greatest obliquity (*mayl kullī* or *al-munḥarif al-kullī*) is the greatest distance of the ecliptic from the equator.

120 A physician from Cairo who studied under Ibn Samḥ. His biography is given at Ch. 14.24.

*‘allaqahu Ishāq ibn Yunūs al-mutaṭabbib fi Miṣr ‘an Ibn al-Haytham fi kitāb Dayūfanṭus fi masā’il al-jabr).*

92. Discourse on the solution of an arithmetical problem (*Qawl fi istikhrāj mas’alah ‘adadiyyah*).

#### 14.23 al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik<sup>1</sup>

[14.23.1]

The emir Maḥmūd al-Dawlah Abū l-Wafā’ al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik al-Āmirī was a notable emir of Egypt and accounted one of its most eminent scholars.<sup>2</sup> He was constantly engrossed in study and was devoted to the pursuit of virtue, to meeting with the people of Egypt, debating with them, and putting to use what he learned from them. Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham<sup>3</sup> was one of those with whom he associated and from whom he learned a great deal about mathematical astronomy (*‘ulūm al-hay’ah*) and the mathematical sciences. Ibn Fātik was acquainted with al-shaykh Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ma’rūf, known as Ibn al-Āmidī,<sup>4</sup> and learned many of the philosophical disciplines from him. Ibn Fātik was also devoted to the art of medicine, keeping frequent company with the physician Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān.<sup>5</sup> The significant works of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik on logic and other branches of learning are renowned among scholars. He was a prolific writer and I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have found many books in his handwriting concerned with the writings of the Ancients. Ibn Fātik acquired a very large number of books, most of which still exist, although their pages have become discoloured due to immersion in water.

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For further information see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 388; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 230; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Mubashshir b. Fātik’ (F. Rosenthal); Rosenthal, ‘Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition’; Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 351, 395–396 etc.

2 Judging by his titles *amīr* and *maḥmūd al-dawlah*, he occupied a high position in court circles.

3 See previous biography, Ch. 14.22.

4 Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sālim al-Taghlibī al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), an Arab theologian and philosopher. *IAU* mentions that he studied under him and that al-Āmidī was personally associated with his family. See Ch. 15.22; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Āmidī’ (D. Sourdel).

5 See Ch. 14.25.

[14.23.2]

The shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn,<sup>6</sup> the logician, related the following account to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – while in Egypt:

The emir, Ibn Fātik, desired to attain knowledge and had a large library. He was constantly occupied only with study and writing, and most of the time, even when engaged in travel, he could not bear to forsake his books, for he believed that they were more important than anything else that he possessed. He had a wife of high status who was also from the ruling class. When al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik died, may God have mercy upon him, his wife, accompanied by her slave girls, betook herself to his library. She was resentful of the books because of the time he spent with them, all the while neglecting her. While lamenting him, she and the servant girls threw the books into a big pool of water in the courtyard. The books were subsequently retrieved from the water, but by then most of them had become waterlogged. And so that is the reason why most of the books of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik are in their present condition.

[14.23.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that Abū l-Khayr Salāmah ibn Mubārak ibn Raḥmūn<sup>7</sup> was among the pupils of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik.

[14.23.4]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik is the author of the following works:<sup>8</sup>

1. Precepts, examples and an epitome of wise sayings (*K. al-waṣāyā wa-l-amthāl wa-l-mūjiz min muḥkam al-aqwāl*).
2. Choicest maxims and best sayings (*K. mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim*).<sup>9</sup>

6 This Sadīd al-Dīn is probably to be identified with Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, a colleague of IAU's and fellow ophthalmologist whose biography is given in Ch. 15.46. Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah also wrote on *ḥikmah* and could therefore arguably be called *al-mantiqī* 'the logician'.

7 A Jewish physician from Egypt; see Ch. 14.27.

8 For two additional works by al-Mubashshir ibn al-Fātik that are not mentioned by IAU, see Rosenthal, 'Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition', 138.

9 This, his only surviving treatise, was composed in 440/1048. It is devoted to biographical sketches of ancient sages and collections of wise sayings. It contains some 125 sayings attributed to the legendary Egyptian-Greek sage Hermes, and it was largely responsible for establishing Hermes Trismegistus as a source of wisdom, not only in Fatimid Egypt but in later Ismā'īlī literature as well; see van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, 94–95, 184–196, 200. For Middle

3. An introduction to logic (*K. al-bidāyah fī l-mantiq*).
4. On medicine (*K. fī l-ṭibb*).

#### 14.24 Ishāq ibn Yūnus<sup>1</sup>

Ishāq ibn Yūnus was a physician who was well-versed in the medical arts, learned in the philosophical disciplines, highly knowledgeable and skilled in therapeutics. He studied under Ibn al-Samḥ<sup>2</sup> and resided in Cairo.

#### 14.25 ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān<sup>1</sup>

[14.25.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān ‘Alī ibn Ja‘far was born and raised in Egypt where he studied medicine. In his autobiography, ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān himself gives a detailed account of his medical studies and the circumstances in which he came to undertake them. He says in that connection:

It is appropriate for every person to take up the profession most suitable for him. The art of medicine is closest to philosophy with regard to obedience to God, the Mighty and Glorious. The astrological signs at my birth indicated that medicine should be my profession. Moreover, a life of merit is more pleasing to me than any other. I undertook the

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English translations made in the 15th century, see Rosenthal, ‘Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition’; there is no modern translation available.

- 1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2.
  - 2 See above, Ch. 13.6.
- 1 This biography is found in all three versions. The primary sources for Ibn Riḍwān are this biographical entry by IAU (which incorporates Ibn Riḍwān’s own autobiography), the biography of Ibn Buṭlān in IAU (see Ch. 10.38), and some brief information contained in the introduction of IAU. In addition, Ibn Buṭlān’s treatises also contain biographical information about Ibn Riḍwān, as do many of Ibn Riḍwān’s own writings. Ibn al-Qifṭī also has a biographical entry on him; see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā*, 443–44. For an earlier translation of portions of this biography, see Schacht & Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 34–49. For other secondary sources, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 158–159; Seymore, *Life of Ibn Riḍwān*; Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*; EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Riḍwān’ (J. Schacht); Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, xxxi, 149–152; Mattila, ‘Philosophical Lives of Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Riḍwān’.

study of medicine when I was a boy of fifteen years, but it will be best to relate to you the entire story:

I was born in Old Cairo at a locality situated at  $30^{\circ}$  latitude and  $55^{\circ}$  longitude.<sup>2</sup> The ascendant was, according to the table of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr,<sup>3</sup> Aries at  $5^{\circ}36'$ , and the [mid-point] of the tenth house was Capricorn at  $5^{\circ}28'$ . The positions of the planets were the following: the Sun was in the sign of Aquarius at  $5^{\circ}32'$ , the Moon in Scorpio at  $8^{\circ}15'$ , with a latitude of south  $8^{\circ}17'$ . Saturn was in Sagittarius at  $29^{\circ}$ , Jupiter in Capricorn at  $5^{\circ}28'$ , Mars in Aquarius at  $21^{\circ}48'$ , Venus in Sagittarius at  $24^{\circ}20'$ , and Mercury in Aquarius at  $19^{\circ}$ . The Lot of Fortune<sup>4</sup> was in Capricorn at  $4^{\circ}5'$  and its opposite in Cancer at  $22^{\circ}10'$ . The Dragon's Head<sup>5</sup> was in Sagittarius at  $17^{\circ}11'$ , the Dragon's Tail in Gemini at  $17^{\circ}41'$ . Vega<sup>6</sup> was in Capricorn at  $1^{\circ}22'$  and Sirius in Cancer at  $5^{\circ}12'$ .<sup>7</sup>

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- 2 While the determination of latitude for a given locality was relatively consistent in the medieval geographical tables, the value for longitude could vary considerably, depending upon the position taken for the prime meridian. For various localities through which a prime meridian was calculated, see Tibbetts, 'Beginning of a Cartographic Tradition', 103–105. In forty-three preserved medieval Arabic tables of geographical coordinates recording a value for Miṣr (Old Cairo), the longitude varies between  $51^{\circ}$  and  $65^{\circ}$ . For Miṣr, latitude of  $30^{\circ}$  and longitude of  $55^{\circ}$  were given in an important set of astronomical and geographical tables prepared for the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim by Ibn Yūnus, a contemporary of Ibn Riḍwān also working in Egypt. See Kennedy & Kennedy, *Coordinates of Localities from Islamic Sources*, 111–112.
  - 3 An astronomer (d. 216/832) who carried out astronomical observations as part of the program instigated by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218/813–833); see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Maṣṣād' (J. Samsó); *DSB* art. 'Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr' (J. Vernet).
  - 4 'Lots' are points along the ecliptic calculated by measuring the longitudinal distance between two planets and counting the same number of degrees from a third point, usually the ascendant; they were used to indicate length of life, success in an endeavour, and other matters. For the Lot of Fortune (*sahm al-sa'ādah*) and other lots in medieval Islamic astrology, see Qabiṣī, *Introduction to Astrology*, 141–155; *EI* *Three* art. 'Astrology' (C. Burnett).
  - 5 The Dragon's Head is not an actual planet, but rather the point where the Moon crosses to the north of the ecliptic. It was often treated as a 'planet' by astrologers, along with the point where the Moon crosses to the south (the 'Tail').
  - 6 Two stars are indicated on this horoscope: Vega ( $\alpha$  *Lyrae*) in the sign of Capricorn and Sirius ( $\alpha$  *Canis Majoris*) in the sign of Cancer. The indication of prominent stars on a horoscope is relatively unusual and may reflect a particular interest among eleventh-century Cairene astrologers in the significance of prominent stars; see Rapoport & Savage-Smith, *Lost Maps of the Caliphs*, Appendix.
  - 7 See Seymore, *Life of Ibn Riḍwān*, 244–249 and 130–139 for a discussion of the data in this horoscope; for Latin versions of this same horoscope, see North, *Horoscopes and History*, 84–87. The values for some of the planetary positions differ in different manuscripts and between those given by Ibn Riḍwān in his commentary on the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy and those in this 'autobiography' reproduced by IAU; the values given in the latter were used for the reconstruction below (see Figure 14.1).



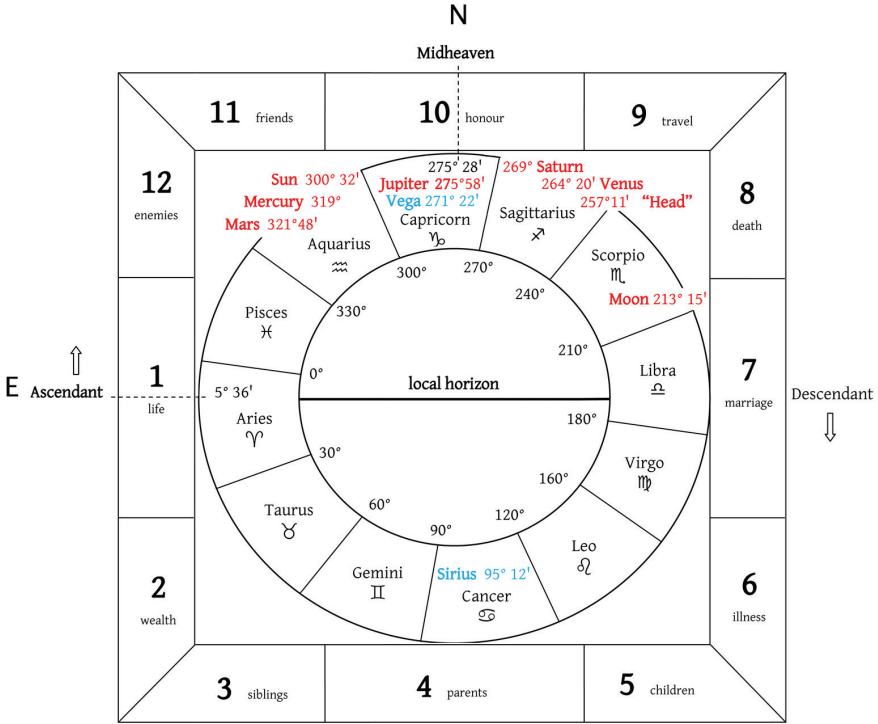


FIGURE 14.1 A modern diagram illustrating the birth horoscope of Ibn Riḍwān, born on 22 Ramadan 377 [15 January 988] constructed with the data given in his ‘autobiography’. The Lot of Fortune in the sign of Capricorn and its ‘opposite’ in the sign of Cancer are not indicated on this reconstruction.

At the age of six, I began to devote myself to study, and when I was ten, I moved to the capital [Cairo] and concentrated even more on learning. When I reached the age of fourteen, I undertook the study of medicine and philosophy but since I had no money to support myself, studying was difficult and troublesome for me. Sometimes I made a living by practising the art of astrology,<sup>8</sup> at other times that of medicine, and at yet others by teaching. I continued in that way, exerting all my efforts in learning, until I was thirty-two, at which time I was well-known as a physician. What I then earned from practising medicine was not only sufficient but left me a surplus that has lasted even until the present day, when I am at the end of my fifty-ninth year. With the revenues left after my expenses, I have acquired

8 *Ṣināʿat al-qaḍāyā bi-l-nujūm*, literally ‘the art of making predictions by the stars’.

properties in this city [Cairo] which – if God decrees that they remain secure and allows me to attain old age – will yield enough to enable me to subsist.

Since the age of thirty-two until the present day, I have been keeping an *aide-mémoire*<sup>9</sup> for myself, amending it every year up to this present account as I approach my sixtieth year. My daily exertion in my profession is sufficient exercise for me to maintain the health of my body. After that exertion, I rest, and then eat food selected for the preservation of my health. In my conduct, I do my best to be modest, considerate to others, helpful to the dejected, alert to the anxieties of the unfortunate, and of help to the poor. I make it my purpose in all this to enjoy the satisfaction that comes from good deeds and thoughtful sentiments. But it is essential as well that this brings monetary profit from which I can earn a living. I spend money on the health of my body and the maintenance of my household, neither squandering money nor being stingy. Rather, I keep to the path of moderation, as is prudent at any time. I inspect the furnishings of my household and whatever is in need of repair, I repair, and whatever is in need of replacement, I replace. In addition, I am responsible for what is required in terms of food, honey, olive oil and firewood, as well as clothing. Whatever remains after my expenses, I spend on various good purposes such as donations to family, associates, neighbours, and maintenance of the household. Accumulated revenue from my properties I set aside for their maintenance and further investment in them, and for times of need. When contemplating a new enterprise in commerce, building or something else, I assign the matter great importance and, if the project seems likely to be successful, I promptly allocate the appropriate amount, but if it seems unlikely to be successful, I reject it. I inform myself as much as I can regarding worthy enterprises and make the necessary arrangements.

I make certain my clothes are decorated with marks of distinction and are clean. I also use a pleasant perfume. I am quiet and hold my tongue regarding people's failings. I try not to speak except when appropriate and take care to avoid swearing and criticizing others' opinions. I avoid pridefulness and love of superiority. I reject worries of greed and dejection.<sup>10</sup> If adversity befalls me, I rely on God, exalted be He, and face it reasonably, without cowardice or rashness. When I transact business with anyone,

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9 *Tadhkirah.*

10 That is, neither coveting what he has not got nor grieving for what he has lost.

I settle the account without giving or raising credit unless compelled to do so. If someone requests a loan from me, I give it to him, but I do not refuse it if he repays it. My leisure time after having finished my work, I spend in the worship of God, may He be glorified, by focussing upon the contemplation of «*the government of the Heavens and the Earth*»<sup>11</sup> and praising Him who wisely rules. I have studied Aristotle's treatise *On Estate Management*<sup>12</sup> and I aspire to adhere to its prescriptions from morning to night. During times of solitude I review my actions and sentiments during the day, and I am pleased with what was good or proper or beneficial but distressed by anything that was bad, shameful or harmful, and I promise myself not to repeat it.

[14.25.2]

He continues:

As for my personal amusements, I make my main recreation reflecting upon God, mighty and glorious is He, and praising Him by contemplating «*the government of the Heavens and the Earth*».<sup>13</sup> Men of learning and the Ancients have written a great number of works concerning those things. From among them, I prefer to concentrate on the following: five books of belles-lettres (*adab*), ten books on Sharia, the books of Hippocrates and Galen on the art of medicine and related topics, such as Dioscorides' *The Book of Herbs*,<sup>14</sup> the books of Rufus,<sup>15</sup> Oribasius,<sup>16</sup> Paul<sup>17</sup> and

11 A quotation from the Qur'an. Q *A'rāf* 7:185.

12 *Fī l-tadbīr* (Greek, *Oikonomikos*), a treatise on management of the estate attributed to Aristotle in late antiquity; see Swain, *Economy, Family and Society*, 129 and index (Ps.-Aristotle, *Oikonomika I* and *II*).

13 Q *A'rāf* 7:185.

14 *K. al-Hashā'ish*, one of several Arabic titles given the treatise on *materia medica* by Dioscorides (d. AD ca. 90). See Ch. 4.1.11.1.

15 Rufus of Ephesus (fl. AD ca. 100); see *DSB* art. 'Rufus of Ephesus' (F. Kudlien); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 71–76; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 64–68; Ullmann, *Die Gelbsucht*; Pormann, *Rufus of Ephesus*; and Ch. 4.1.10.2 for a list of his works.

16 Oribasius of Pergamon (d. ca. 400), court physician to Julian the Apostate. Educated in Alexandria, he composed a number of Greek medical treatises that circulated in Arabic translation, some of which preserve earlier important medical works now otherwise lost. See *DSB*, art. 'Oribasius' (F. Kudlien); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 83–84; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 152–154; and Ch. 5.2.1.

17 Paul of Aegina (fl. AD ca. 640s) practised medicine in Alexandria and remained there after 18/640 and the Arab invasion of Egypt. The Arabic translation of his Greek medical com-

al-Rāzī's *The Comprehensive Book*.<sup>18</sup> Of books on agriculture and pharmacology there are four; of technical books (*kutub al-ta'ālīm*), the *Almagest* and its introduction and whatever else is useful, as well as 'The Four Books' of Ptolemy.<sup>19</sup> Of books by sages (*kutub al-ārifīn*), there are books by Plato, Aristotle, Alexander,<sup>20</sup> Themistius,<sup>21</sup> and Muḥammad al-Fārābī,<sup>22</sup> and whatever else may be of use. Other books I either sell at any price I can get or I store in cases; however, selling them is better than storing them.

[14.25.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that this [the above] is the whole of what he relates in his autobiography.

Ibn Riḍwān's birthplace was Giza<sup>23</sup> in Egypt, but he grew up in Cairo, where his father was a baker. Ibn Riḍwān worked continuously, studying various branches of learning until he acquired a good reputation and widespread fame. He served the caliph al-Ḥākim,<sup>24</sup> who made him chief of physicians. Ibn

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- pendium had great influence on early physicians in the Islamic world. See *DSB* art. 'Paul of Aegina' (P.D. Thomas); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 168–170; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 86–87; and Ch. 5.2.1.
- 18 For *al-Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, known in Latin as *Continens*, see the biography of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, in Ch. 11.5.
- 19 *K. al-Murabba'ah* ('the four-part'), sometimes written *ad K. al-Arba'ah*, was the Arabic title of the defence of astrology titled the *Tetrabiblos* ('the four books') composed by the Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy (fl. ca. 150–170). It was translated into Arabic by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt in the mid-3rd/9th cent. and then revised by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq not long thereafter.
- 20 Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl. ca. 200), a Peripatetic philosopher primarily known for his interpretation of Aristotle's doctrines. See *DSB* art. 'Alexander of Aphrodisias' (P. Merlan); *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī' (G. Strohmaier); and Ch. 4.8.
- 21 Themistius (ca. 317–388) was part of the Peripatetic school of philosophy and an Aristotelian scholar who had close relationship with Christian emperors from Constantius to Theodosius. He worked in Constantinople where many students came to attend his lectures. He was frequently quoted by medieval Arab philosophers. See *DSB* art. 'Themistius' (G. Verbeke). For an edition and translation of Themistius' letter to Julian the Apostate (surviving mainly in Arabic), see Swain, *Themistius, Julian, and Greek Political Theory*.
- 22 Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Fārābī (ca. 256–338/870–950). Known as Alfarabius or Avennasar in medieval Latin texts, he was a philosopher and scholar of music; see *DSB* art. 'Al-Fārābī' (M. Mahdi); *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Fārābī' (R. Walzer); *EI Three* art. 'al-Fārābī, philosophy' (D. Janos). An entire entry is devoted to him in Ch. 15.1.
- 23 *Jizah*, or Giza, a town on the west bank of the Nile.
- 24 Schacht and Meyerhof, as well as Dols, state that this should probably be the caliph al-Mustansir (r. 427–487/1036–1094) but Seymore disagrees, saying the text is referring to the sixth Fatimid caliph, al-Ḥākim (r. 385–411/996–1021); see Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 39 n. 12; Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 57; Seymore, *Life of Ibn Riḍwān*, 26. Ibn Riḍwān would have been 29 years old when the caliph al-Ḥākim

Riḍwān's house was in the Qaṣr al-Sham' quarter of Fustat,<sup>25</sup> and the house is known to this day [that is, in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's time ca. 650s/1250s] by his name, even though the house itself is nearly gone, with only a small remnant of it left. During Ibn Riḍwān's lifetime Egypt was stricken with a great shortage of commodities (*al-ghalā'*), most of the inhabitants perished, and many of the survivors fled the country.<sup>26</sup>

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – have transcribed from a manuscript in the writing of al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān<sup>27</sup> that this shortage of supplies in Egypt occurred in the year 445/1053. He says: 'In the following year, the level of the Nile fell and the shortage of food increased, followed by a great pestilence (*wabā'*) that reached its peak by the year 447/1055. It was reported that the ruler<sup>28</sup> supplied 80,000 shrouds [for the dead] from his own purse and that he lost 800 military commanders. The ruler, however, acquired considerable revenue from the estates [of those who died without heirs].'

[14.25-4]

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad of Malaga [in al-Andalus], the copyist, has related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – that the mind of Ibn Riḍwān became deranged toward the end of his life. The reason for this change occurred during the period of the famine when he adopted an orphan-girl whom he raised in his house. One day he left her by herself in the house where he had accumulated valuables and gold worth about 20,000 dinars. She took all of it and fled. She was never heard from again, and Ibn Riḍwān was not successful in finding out where she had gone. From then on, his mental faculties deteriorated.

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died and 44 years old when the caliph al-Mustaṣhir came to rule, so either is technically possible; if al-Mustaṣhir were intended, then Ibn Riḍwān would have had twenty-five years in which he might have served him, while the period of service to al-Ḥākim would have been considerably less.

25 The Greco-Coptic township of Babylon or Bābalyūn, on the east bank of the Nile, was known in Arabic as Qaṣr al-Sham', and the first settlement founded by Muslim conquerors, Fustat, was built alongside it. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Fuṣṭāṭ' (J. Jomier); Monneret de Villard, *Qasr eš-Šam'*.

26 Two major famines struck the Nile Valley in the 5th/11th century: the first in the mid-1050s and the second began in 1065. Other sources record that the drought of 1056 was so severe that many people fled Egypt and that the majority of people in Fustat died of hunger or 'ate each other'; see Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*, 148–155.

27 For Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066), see his biography in Ch. 10.8.

28 That is, the eighth Fatimid ruler, al-Mustaṣhir bi-Allāh (r. 427–487/1036–1094); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Mustaṣhir' (H.A.R. Gibb & P. Kraus).

[14.25.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that Ibn Riḏwān was often inclined to polemics against his contemporaries, both physicians and others, and many of his predecessors as well. He was insolent in his discussion and slandered those who wanted to dispute him. Much of this is evident in his refutations of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq,<sup>29</sup> Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib,<sup>30</sup> and also Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī.<sup>31</sup>

Ibn Riḏwān did not have a teacher in the medical arts whom he followed.<sup>32</sup> On this issue he composed a book in which he argues that learning medicine from books is more satisfactory than learning it from teachers. Ibn Buṭlān refutes this and other opinions of Ibn Riḏwān's in a monograph. In one chapter of this book Ibn Buṭlān lays out the reasons why learning from personal instruction is preferable to instruction through the written word, assuming that both possess the same learning ability. Ibn Buṭlān presents a number of reasons:<sup>33</sup>

1. **The first reason runs as follows:** The transmission of an idea from like to like is different from its transmission from unlike to like. An animate, speaking<sup>34</sup> 'like' – that is to say, the teacher – is better understood by the student through speech, while the 'dissimilar' – that is, the book – is inanimate. The distance of the inanimate from the animate lengthens the path of understanding, while the closeness of the speaking person to another speaker makes the path to understanding shorter. Therefore, learning from something similar – that is, the teacher – is shorter and easier than from something dissimilar – that is, the book.

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29 See Ch. 8.29 for his biography.

30 See Ch. 10.37 for his biography.

31 See Ch. 11.5 for his biography.

32 This refers to the fact that Ibn Riḏwān did not apprentice with a master as was customary during this period for the study of medicine and other disciplines. For discussion of this see Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*; Seymore, *Life of Ibn Riḏwān*; and Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*.

33 A similar list of reasons given by Ibn Buṭlān is translated and discussed in Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 83–86; however, the latter is based on a text by Ibn Buṭlān that differs slightly in content and numbering from the summary found in IAU; the text employed by Schacht and Meyerhof is no longer available to scholars (see Conrad, 'Scholarship and social context', 85 n. 7). The passage is also found in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:107–109, with small variations.

34 *Nāṭiq*, meaning a 'rational (being)'. The teacher is a speaking and rational being, the book is dumb and inanimate.

2. **The second reason is as follows:** a learned individual is learned in actual fact,<sup>35</sup> and the foremost paths towards actual fact<sup>36</sup> are called instruction. Teaching and the acquisition of knowledge are mutually related.<sup>37</sup> Whatever is related to something else by nature<sup>38</sup> is more especially linked to it than something which is not endowed with that nature. The learner is learned in potentiality.<sup>39</sup> The reception of knowledge in the learner's soul is called 'learning something', and the two correlated things – [teaching and learning] – go together naturally.<sup>40</sup> So instruction from a teacher is more specifically linked with the student than [instruction] from a book.
3. **The third reason takes this form:** when the student finds unintelligible what the teacher is trying to make him understand, the teacher can recast his explanation in different words, whereas a book cannot rephrase a statement. It follows that comprehension from a teacher is more successful for a student than comprehension from a book, and whenever it is conducted in this manner, the transmission of knowledge is more successful for the student.<sup>41</sup>
4. **The fourth reason:** the basis of learning is verbal expression, and verbal expression is of three types: (1) That which is closely associated with the intellect – which is to say, that which is formed by the mind as a model for the meaning that is in it. (2) The intermediate – which is verbal expression vocalized – is a model for what is formed by the mind. (3) The distant – which is set down in books – is a model for what is produced through verbal expression. A book is therefore a model of a model of a model of the meaning that was in the mind. The first model cannot take the place of that which was modelled, because of the inadequacy of the comparison – so what are we to think of a model twice removed? The first model, belonging to the mind, is closer in terms of understanding than the model of the model [once removed]. The first model is verbal expres-

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35 The expression '*allāmah bi-l-fi'l*' is reminiscent of *ὄντως*, much used by Plato, whereas Aristotle has other phrases.

36 Reading *wa-ṣudūr al-fi'l 'anhā*, as given in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:108, and Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 50. All manuscripts and editions of IAU read *wa-ṣūrat al-fi'l 'anhā*, whose significance is unclear.

37 *Mīn muḍāf*.

38 Or by design (*bi-l-ṭab'*).

39 '*Allāmah bi-l-quwwah*.

40 In other words, one can only teach if someone is learning at the same time, and one can only learn if someone is teaching.

41 An argument reminiscent of Plato's *Phaedrus*, 274–278.

sion, the second is the book. This being the case, understanding based on the verbal expression of the teacher is easier and more immediate than the verbal expression of a book.

5. **The fifth:** the transmission of verbal expression signifying meaning to the mind may occur by way of a sense perception that is alien to verbal expression – that is, vision. Something transmitted through what is ‘similar’ or ‘like’ – in this case, verbal expression – is more immediate than its transmission through what is alien – that is, writing. Accordingly, understanding from a teacher by means of verbal expression is easier and more accessible than understanding gained from the written words of a book.
6. **The sixth is this:** Things may be found in a book which impede knowledge and were not in what the teacher taught – that is, mistakes occurring through misreadings due to the ambiguities of letters when not pronounced,<sup>42</sup> or a mistake due to eye-skip, or insufficient knowledge of syntactical inflection,<sup>43</sup> or omission of the correct placement [of diacritics and vowel signs] or their corruption [when they are indicated], or the convention of scribes of writing what is not read aloud and reading aloud what is not written.<sup>44</sup> Add to this, the style of the teaching, the manner of expression, the method of the author of the book, the corruption of copies, the defectiveness of its transmission, the reader’s ignoring text breaks, the mixing of pedagogical principles, the use of terms which are technical for that particular discipline, as well as Greek terms which the translator has left untranslated, such as *thawrūs*.<sup>45</sup>

All of this is a hindrance to the acquisition of knowledge, but the student will be spared this difficulty if he studies with a teacher. This being so, studying under scholars is preferable and more useful than studying by oneself. This is what we wished to explain.

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42 Diacritical dots used in Arabic to distinguish between letters – such as *r* and *z*, or *f* and *q*, or *b/n/t/th/y* – are not always written and are often misplaced.

43 *Iṛāb*, that is, desinential inflection, indicating case and mood by the final vowels of nouns and verbs.

44 An example of the former is perhaps the written *ū* pronounced short in *muʿallimū l-rajul*, while an example of the latter might be the customary omission of the *alif* in words such as *hādhā* and *thalāthah*.

45 *Thawrūs* is possibly intended as a transliteration of the Greek *θορός*, meaning ‘semen’, but since this term occurs in some Greek medical texts, as well as Aristotle, it is unlikely that *θορός* would have been left untranslated. Both *θορός* and the Greek *σπέρμα* were rendered in Arabic as *manī*. According to Galen, some medics distinguished *thoros* from *sperma* as indicating the physical substance rather than its dynamic property as seed. A translator of Greek medical texts might have been more puzzled by the occasional occurrence of a rare word that was *not* a medical term, such as *φθορεύς* (corrupter) or *φθόρος* (pestilent fellow). We thank Nigel Wilson for his suggestions in interpreting these six arguments.



He [Ibn Buṭlān] also says:

7. I will present to you a **seventh argument** that I think you will find credible. It is what the commentators have said regarding the substitution of the modified affirmative for the simple negative,<sup>46</sup> for they all agree on this true statement.<sup>47</sup> If Aristotle's students Theophrastus<sup>48</sup> and Eudemus<sup>49</sup> had not heard it explained by Aristotle himself, it would not have been understood from the book alone. Since this is the case, it is clear that learning from a teacher is better than learning from the written word.<sup>50</sup>

In keeping with this, it is incumbent upon everyone who loves knowledge not to be peremptory in their convictions, for perhaps the truth is hidden. If the truth is hidden, a person can know things only imperfectly, and while he may feel confident that he has attained to the truth, he must allow<sup>51</sup> for the possibility of doubts that may be difficult to resolve.

The death of 'Alī ibn Riḍwān, may God have mercy upon him, was in the year 453/1061 in Egypt during the caliphate of al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh Abū Tamīm Ma'add ibn al-Zāhir li-I'zāz al-Dīn al-Ḥākim.<sup>52</sup>

46 The modified or 'privative' affirmative (*al-mūjabah al-ma'dūlah*) and the simple negative (*al-sālibah*) are technical terms of logic. For these two types of propositions, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1017; Wolfson, 'Infinite and Privative Judgements in Aristotle'; Martin, 'All Brutes are Subhuman'. We thank Richard Sorabji for his assistance in interpreting this seventh argument given by Ibn Buṭlān.

47 *Faṣl*, in the sense of a true saying (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2406).

48 Theophrastus (ca. 371–287 BC) was a follower of Aristotle and succeeded him as the head of what would become the Peripatetic school of philosophy. See *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Theophrastus' (W.W. Fortenbaugh); *DSB* art. 'Theophrastus' (J.B. MacDiarmid); Gutas, 'Life, works and sayings of *Theophrastus*'; Daiber, 'Survey of Theophrastean material'.

49 Eudemus of Rhodes (b. before 350 BC) was a student of Aristotle and a correspondent with Theophrastus; see *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Eudemus [3] of Rhodes' (H. Gottschalk); *DSB* art. 'Eudemus of Rhodes' (I. Bulmer-Thomas); *Eudemus* (ed. Bodnár & Fortenbaugh). Both Eudemus and Theophrastus are credited with important modifications of Aristotelian logic; see *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, art. 'Ancient Logic, sect. 3.1 Improvement and Modifications of Aristotle's Logic' (S. Bobzien).

50 Perhaps the reasoning is as follows: There is a privative affirmative proposition generally agreed upon – namely, that Aristotle's pupils would not have understood his teaching from his writings only. This is a convincing 'substitute' for the simple negative proposition that 'teaching from books is not effective'.

51 Reading *majāl* (space, scope), rather than *mahāll* (localities, places), as the manuscripts read.

52 Modern scholarship tends to place his death in 460/1068 (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 158). Ibn al-Qifṭī says: 'Ibn Riḍwān remained in Egypt ... until his death around (*fi ḥudūd*) the year 460 [1067–1068]' (Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 444, lines 10–12). Seymore follows IAU, giving his death date as 'about 1061' (Seymore, *Life of Ibn Riḍwān*, 22), though Dols opts for the later date (Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 66).

[14.25.6]

Among the sayings of ‘Alī ibn Riḏwān is the following: If a person during part of his day has an occupation (*ṣinā‘ah*) through which his body is kept in good health and for which people praise him and with which he earns a sufficient amount, it is best for him to spend the remainder of each day devoted to submission to God. And the best form of submission is the contemplation of the kingdom of God (*malakūt* [*Allāh*]) and praising its Ruler, may He be glorified. Whoever has been provided for in that way, will be blessed in this world and the next, and will have happiness and enjoy his reward in the hereafter.

[14.25.7]

Among the sayings of ‘Alī ibn Riḏwān that I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah – have transcribed from a manuscript in his own handwriting is the following:

The physician, according to the opinion of Hippocrates, should be one who encompasses seven qualities:

1. He should have an excellent moral character, a healthy body, a keen intelligence, and a pleasing appearance, while also being prudent, possessing an excellent memory and having a good disposition.
2. He should be well-dressed, pleasant-smelling, and clean in his body and attire.
3. He should respect the confidences of patients and not divulge anything about their illnesses.
4. His desire to cure those who are ill should be greater than his desire for any payment he might request. His desire to treat the poor should be greater than his desire to treat the rich.
5. He should be eager to teach and do his utmost to benefit the people.
6. He should be sound of heart,<sup>53</sup> modest in appearance and truthful in speech, while paying no attention to anything regarding the women or the wealth that he sees in the houses of the upper classes, let alone meddling with any of them.
7. He should be trustworthy with regard to people’s lives and property, neither prescribing any lethal medicine nor giving instructions regarding one, nor any drug causing abortion, and he should provide treatment for his enemy in no less correct a manner as he would treat his friend.

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53 *Salīm al-qalb*; in the Qur’an the phrase *bi-qalb salīm* means with a heart free from unbelief or divested of corruptness (Q *Shu‘arā’* 26:89).

[14.25.8]

‘Alī ibn Riḍwān [also] said:

1. The teacher (*mu‘allim*) of the art of medicine is one in whom the requisite qualities come together [only] after he has first perfected his understanding of the medical art. The student (*muta‘allim*) of the art of medicine is one who appears upon examination to possess a good disposition as well as an intelligent mind, to be clever and intent upon acquiring knowledge, and to remember what he has learned.
2. A body free from defects is a healthy body in which each of its parts maintains its inherent efficacy (*faḍīlah*), by which I mean it performs its special function as it should.
3. To recognise a patient’s defects, you should first observe the condition (*hay’ah*) of the parts of the body: the appearance (*saḥnah*), the temperament, and the feel of the skin. Then investigate the functioning of the internal and external parts by, for example, calling to the patient from afar so as to learn from his reaction the state of his hearing. Or, evaluate his vision by having him look at distant objects and ones that are close by. Similarly, evaluate his tongue by his articulation and his strength (*quwwah*) by having him lift weights, grasp and hold [something], and walk. Similarly, to take another example, by observing a patient’s manner of walking from the front and from the back and ordering him to lie down on his back with his arms extended and then having him raise his legs with them held together, you can evaluate the general condition of his intestines (*aḥshā’*). You can also determine the condition of the temperament (*mizāj*) of his heart by means of the pulse and the disposition of his character (*al-akhlāq*), while the temperament of his liver can be known through the urine and the state of the humours (*akhlāt*). You can evaluate his mind (*‘aql*) by asking him questions about things, and his comprehension (*fahm*) and his responsiveness (*tā’ah*) by ordering him to do several things. His traits of character (*akhlāq*) and inclinations can be evaluated by what stimulates and calms each of them. Follow this pattern for every condition in the inspection each part of the body and trait of character.

As regards those [defects] that are visible and can be perceived with the senses, don’t be satisfied until you have confirmed them personally with your senses. As regards those that are knowable through deduction, be guided by the distinctive symptoms (*al-‘alāmāt al-khāṣṣiyah*). And as regards those that can be known through information provided by the patient, search for them by questioning the patient until you have evaluated every defect to the point of having determined whether it is a recent

defect (*‘ayb ḥādir*), a pre-existing one, or one that is anticipated (*mutawaqqa‘*), or a condition (*ḥāl*) that is healthy and sound.

4. In one of his sayings, Ibn Riḍwān also says: When you are summoned to a patient, give the patient something that will not harm him until you have determined his illness. [Only] at that point should you treat it. Identifying the disease means you must first determine from which humour it has arisen and then, after that, the part of the body in which it is located. At that point, you may treat it.

[14.25.9]

The works composed by ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān are the following:<sup>54</sup>

1. Commentary on Galen’s *Sects* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-firaq li-Jālīnūs*),<sup>55</sup> which he completed on Thursday, with two nights remaining of Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 432 [27 August 1041].
2. Commentary on Galen’s *Small Book of the Art* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-ṣinā‘ah al-ṣaghīrah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>56</sup>
3. Commentary on Galen’s *Small Book of the Pulse* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-nabḍ al-ṣaghīr li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>57</sup>
4. Commentary on Galen’s treatise *To Glaucon on the Method of Healing Diseases* (*Sharḥ Kitāb Jālīnūs ilā Ighlawqun fī l-ta’attī li-shifā’ al-amrāḍ*).<sup>58</sup>
5. Commentary on the first book (*Sharḥ al-maqālah al-ūlā*), consisting of five parts.<sup>59</sup>
6. Commentary on the second book (*Sharḥ al-maqālah al-thāniyah*), in two parts.
7. Commentary on Galen’s *The Elements* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-uṣṭuquṣāt li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>60</sup>

54 For further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 35–42; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 39, 63, 68; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Riḍwān’ (J. Schacht); Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*. The majority of his writings are not preserved today; for one that is preserved today but not included in the list below (his commentary on the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy), see Seymore, *Life of Ibn Riḍwān*.

55 *De sectis medicorum*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 4. In Ch. 1.7 above, IAU indicates that he had access to a copy of this work by Ibn Riḍwān that was in the author’s own handwriting.

56 *Ars medica*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 7.

57 *De pulsibus ad tirones*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 61.

58 *Ad Glaucon de methodo medendi*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 70.

59 This title and the following one should really be subsets of title no. 4. Their separate entries here suggest that the commentary on the first book of Galen’s *Ad Glaucon de methodo medendi* circulated separately from the commentary on the second book.

60 *De elementis secundum Hippocratem libri II*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* no. 8.

8. Commentary on a portion of Galen's *Mixtures* (*Sharḥ ba'd Kitāb al-mizāj li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>61</sup> Of Galen's sixteen books Ibn Riḍwān did not comment on any except the aforementioned ones.
9. On the principles of medicine (*K. al-uṣūl fī l-ṭibb*), in four parts.
10. Compendium (*Kunnāsh*).<sup>62</sup>
11. On the treatment of leprosy (*R. fī 'ilāj al-judhām*).
12. Analysis of the *Questions* of Ḥunayn (*K. tatabbu' Masā'il Ḥunayn*),<sup>63</sup> in two parts.
13. The useful book on the method of medical learning (*al-K. al-nāfi' fī kayfiyyat ta'līm šinā'at al-ṭibb*), in three parts.<sup>64</sup>
14. On the fact that Galen did not make a mistake in his statements regarding milk (*laban*), as some people thought.
15. On the prevention of bodily ills in Egypt (*M. fī daf' al-maḍārr 'an al-abdān bi-Miṣr*).<sup>65</sup>
16. On his autobiography (*M. fī sīratihī*).<sup>66</sup>
17. On barley and what is made from it (*M. fī l-sha'ir wa-mā yu'malu minhu*), which the author composed for the physician Abū Zakariyyā ibn Sa'ādah.<sup>67</sup>
18. Ibn Riḍwān's reply to questions from Yahūdḥā ibn Sa'ādah concerning milk of a she-ass (*Jawābuhu li-masā'il fī laban al-utun sa'alahu iyyāḥā Yahūdḥā ibn Sa'ādah*).
19. Glosses on medicine (*Ta'ālīq ṭibbiyyah*).
20. Notes on the production of drugs for medicine (*Ta'ālīq fī ṣaydalat al-ṭibb*).<sup>68</sup>

61 *De temperamentis*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* no. 9.

62 Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophy Controversy*, 41, consider this title to be part of the previous book-title, but all manuscript copies employed in this edition treat it as a separate entry.

63 Referring to Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's book, *Questions on Medicine*; see IAU, 8.29.

64 For an English translation of two sections (comprising eleven chapters), see Ibn Riḍwān, 'The Kitāb al-Nāfi'; for an edition, see Ibn Riḍwān, *Kitāb al-Nāfi'* (Sāmarrā'ī). IAU makes extensive use of the 'Useful Book' in Ch. 6.3 concerning the medical curriculum.

65 For an edition and English translation, see Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*.

66 This is the autobiography from which IAU presented excerpts in this entry on Ibn Riḍwān. Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 42 n. 27.

67 An otherwise unknown Jewish physician of the eleventh century, presumably from Egypt. Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 42 n. 29; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Riḍwān' (J. Schacht).

68 *Ṣaydalah* is a general term for the production and sale of drugs and perfumes. The phrase *ṣaydalah al-ṭibb* presumably distinguishes the manufacture and sale of medical compounds from that of perfumes.

21. On the method of Hippocrates for teaching medicine (*M. fī madhhab Abuqrāṭ fī ta'lim al-ṭibb*).
22. On the fact that the best attribute of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib<sup>69</sup> is his sophistry (*K. fī anna afḍal aḥwāl 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib al-ḥāl al-sūfistā'iyyah*), in five parts.
23. On the fact that individuals of every type are descended from one ancestor from whom the individuals are descended, according to the doctrine of philosophy (*K. fī anna li-ashkhāṣ kull wāḥid min al-anwā' al-mutanāsilah ab awwal minhu tanāsalat al-ashkhāṣ 'alā madhhab al-falsafah*).
24. Exegesis of the treatise of Pythagoras, the sage, on virtue (*Tafsīr maqālat al-ḥakīm Fīthāghūras fī l-faḍīlah*).
25. On the refutation of Ifrā'īm<sup>70</sup> and Ibn Zur'ah<sup>71</sup> on the differences between religions (*M. fī l-radd 'alā Ifrā'īm wa-Ibn Zur'ah fī l-ikhtilāf fī l-mīlal*).
26. Extracts from Galen's commentaries on the works of Hippocrates (*Intizā'at shurū' Jālīnūs li-kutub Abuqrāṭ*).<sup>72</sup>
27. In defence of Aristotle (*K. al-intiṣār li-Aristūṭālīs*). This is a book that mediates between the author and his adversaries who disagreed with him regarding [Aristotle's] *Physics* ([*Kitāb*] *al-samā' 'al-ṭabī'ī*) and consists of thirty-nine treatises.
28. Exegesis on *The Law of Medicine* of Hippocrates (*Tafsīr Nāmūs al-ṭibb li-Abuqrāṭ*).<sup>73</sup>
29. Exegesis on *The Testament* of Hippocrates, known as *The Etiquette of Medicine* (*Tafsīr Waṣīyyat Abuqrāṭ al-ma'rūfah bi-tartīb al-ṭibb*).<sup>74</sup>

69 Abū l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) was a prominent Christian physician and philosopher in Baghdad and was the teacher of Ibn Riḍwān's antagonist, Ibn Buṭlān; for his life, see Ch. 10.37.

70 Probably Ifrā'īm ibn al-Zaffān, a pupil of Ibn Riḍwān. For his life, see Ch. 14.26.

71 Abū 'Alī 'Isā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur'ah was a 10th-century Jacobite Christian philosopher and translator from Baghdad who also studied medicine; see Ch. 10.23; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Zur'a' (Ed.).

72 For a partial English translation, see Ibn Riḍwān, 'On the Nature of Man'.

73 *Lex*; see Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 15; Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 396 no. 35. This deontological work is quoted at Ch. 4.1.3.2.

74 The *Testament* (*waṣīyyah*) of Hippocrates is more often in Arabic known as *al-waṣāyā* (the testaments), and IAU is unique in preserved Arabic sources in giving the secondary title *tartīb al-ṭibb* (*The Conduct of Medicine*). See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 39 for various Arabic forms of the title, which in Latin is referred to as *Testamentum* or *Qualem oportet esse discipulum* (Fichter, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 172; Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 415 no. 60). It is a small treatise devoted to the proper appearance and behaviour of the physician. It does not belong to the ancient core of the Hippocratic collection and does not figure in modern edi-

30. Discourse on laxatives (*Kalām fi l-adwiyah al-mus'hilah*).
31. On the making of drinks and medicinal pastes (*K. fi 'amal al-ashribah wa-l-ma'ājīn*).
32. Note from the work of al-Tamīmī on foodstuffs and medicines (*Ta'liq min kitāb al-Tamīmī fi l-aghdhīyah wa-l-adwiyah*).<sup>75</sup>
33. Note on the work of Posidonius<sup>76</sup> on drinks agreeable to the healthy (*Ta'liq min kitāb Fūsīdūniyūs fi ashribah ladhīdhah li-l-aṣiḥḥā'*).
34. Useful lessons noted down by the author from the book of Philagrius<sup>77</sup> on beneficial drinks that are agreeable during illnesses (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min kitāb Fīlaghriyūs fi l-ashribah al-nāfi'ah al-ladhīdhah fi awqāt al-am-rāḍ*).
35. On sexual intercourse (*M. fi l-bāh*).
36. On the fact that every organ is nourished by the humour that is homogeneous with it (*M. fi anna kull wāḥid min al-a'ḍā' yaḡhtadhī min al-khilt al-mushākil lahu*).
37. On the way to determine the number of fevers (*M. fi l-tarīq ilā iḥṣā' 'adad al-ḡummayāt*).
38. A chapter from the author's discourse on the natural faculties (*Faṣl min kalāmihī fi l-quwā l-ṭabī'iyah*).
39. The reply to questions concerning the pulse that came to the author from Syria (*Jawāb mas'āl fi l-nabḍ waṣala ilayhi al-su'āl 'anhā min al-Shām*).
40. Letter providing answers to questions concerning tumours that were put to the author by the shaykh Abū l-Ṭayyib Azhar ibn al-Nu'mān<sup>78</sup> (*R. fi*

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tions, but in the Arabic tradition it was considered to be authentic and figured alongside *The Oath* and the *Law* as an important guide to ethical standards. It is quoted at Ch. 4.1.3.3.

- 75 In the biography of al-Tamīmī, a tenth-century physician working in Jerusalem and then Cairo, given earlier (Ch. 14.14) there is no book with this title attributed to him.
- 76 The reference is probably to a physician named Posidonius who flourished at the end of the 4th century BC, though it might possibly be to the famous Stoic philosopher and geographer also named Posidonius who lived in the 2nd cent. BC; for the former, see *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Poseidonius [1]' (V. Nutton) and, for the latter, *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Poseidonius [3]' (B. Inwood).
- 77 For Philagrius, a physician of Epirus who flourished 3rd–4th cent. AD, see *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Philagrius' (V. Nutton); and Ch. 5.2.2 for a list of works.
- 78 His identification at this point is uncertain. Schacht & Meyerhof (*Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 44 n. 41) suggest that he was a contemporary of Ibn Riḍwān whose name has not yet been found in other chronicles or treatises. On the other hand, Seymore (*Life of Ibn Riḍwān*, 23 n. 53) says that he was 'nicknamed "al-Mufid" (d. 1022)', without citing any evidence other than an article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* on Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān al-Ḥārithī al-'Ukbarī al-Mufid, an Imāmī Shiite theologian

*ajwibat masā'il sa'ala 'anhā al-shaykh Abū l-Ṭayyib Azhar ibn al-Nu'mān fī l-awrām).*

41. Letter concerning the treatment of a boy who had the disease known as elephantiasis and leprosy (*R. fī 'ilāj ṣabī aṣābahu al-maraḍ al-musammā bi-dā' al-fil wa-dā' al-asad*).
42. Copy of the procedures (*dustūr*) that had been sent to the author by Abū l-'Askar al-Ḥusayn ibn Ma'dān, ruler of Makrān<sup>79</sup> concerning the partial paralysis (*fālij*) of his left side, and Ibn Riḍwān's reply to him (*Nuskhat al-dustūr alladhī anfadhahu Abū l-'Askar al-Ḥusayn ibn Ma'dān malik Makrān fī ḥāl 'illat al-fālij fī shaqqihi l-aysar wa-jawāb Ibn Riḍwān lahu*).
43. Useful notes made by the author on Galen's book *Method of Healing* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb ḥīlat al-bur' li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>80</sup>
44. Useful notes by the author on Galen's *Regimen of Health* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>81</sup>
45. Useful notes by the author on Galen's *On Plethora* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb al-kathrah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>82</sup>
46. Useful notes by the author on Galen's *On Phlebotomy* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb al-faṣd li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>83</sup>
47. Useful notes by the author on Galen's *On Simple Drugs* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>84</sup>

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and jurist who died in 413/1032 [*ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Mufid' (W. Madelung)]; there is no indication in this latter article that al-Mufid was also called Abū l-Ṭayyib Azhar ibn al-Nu'mān.

79 Makrān (or Mukrān) is the medieval name for the coastal region of southern Baluchistan on the Indian Ocean. Under the period of the Ghaznavids, the local ruler Ma'dān and his son 'Īsā after 416/1026 acknowledged Ghaznavid suzerainty. Abū l-'Askar was 'Īsā's brother and overthrew him with the help of the Ghaznavids. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Makrān' (C.E. Bosworth).

80 *De methodo medendi*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 69.

81 *De sanitate tuenda*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 37; see above Ch. 5.1.37 nos. 84 and 85.

82 *De plenitudine*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 53; see also Ch. 5.1.37 no. 56. The Arabic title *K. al-Kathrah* for this treatise is relatively unusual. Both his contemporary Ibn al-Haytham and the much earlier Thābit ibn Qurrah give the title as *K. al-kathrah*, but the usual Arabic form for the title was *Maqālah fī l-imtilā'*; see Ullmann, *Medizin* 43 no. 26, and Fichter, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 53. For Ibn al-Haytham, see Ch. 14.22.4.3 no. 44.22 in book-list, and for Thābit ibn Qurrah, see Ch. 10.3 no. 19.

83 Possibly the spurious *De venae sectione* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 125), but more likely the amalgam of works (typical of late antiquity) called *K. al-faṣd*; see Ch. 5.1.37 no. 71 with note.

84 *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 78 and 79.



48. Useful notes by the author on Galen's book *al-Mayāmir* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb al-mayāmir li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>85</sup>
49. Useful notes by the author on Galen's book *Qāṭājānis* (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā min Kitāb qāṭājānas li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>86</sup>
50. Useful notes by the author concerning the humours, drawn from a number of books by Hippocrates and Galen (*Fawā'id 'allaqahā fi l-akhlāṭ min kutub 'iddah li-Abuqrāṭ wa-Jālīnūs*).
51. On the resolution of the doubts of al-Rāzī regarding the works of Galen (*K. fi ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī 'alā kutub Jālīnūs*), in seven parts.<sup>87</sup>
52. On the preservation of health (*M. fi ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).
53. On the periodic changes of fevers (*M. fi adwār al-ḥummayāt*).
54. On difficult breathing (dyspnea) – that is, shortness of breath (*M. fi l-tanaffus al-shadīd wa-huwa ḍīq al-naḥas*).
55. Letter in which the author wrote to Abū Zakariyyā Yahūdḥā ibn Sa'ādah<sup>88</sup> on the method Galen employed in his work called *The Small Book on the Art of Medicine*<sup>89</sup> when analysing the term.<sup>90</sup> (*R. kataba biḥā ilā Abī Zakariyyā Yahūdḥā ibn Sa'ādah fi l-niẓām alladhī ista'malahu Jālīnūs fi taḥlīl al-ḥadd fi kitābihi al-musammā l-ṣinā'ah al-ṣaghīrah*).
56. On the refutation of the treatise by Ibn Buṭlān on the hen and the pullet (*M. fi naqḍ maqālat Ibn Buṭlān fi l-farkh wa-l-farrūj*).<sup>91</sup>
57. On the mouse (*M. fi l-fa'r*).
58. On the confusions put forward by Ibn Buṭlān (*M. fi-mā awradahu Ibn Buṭlān min al-taḥyīrāt*).

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85 The term *mayāmir* comes from the Syriac word for a discourse and was used by medieval Islamic physicians to refer to Galen's *On the Composition of Medicaments Arranged According to Place* (*De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*). See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 48 no. 50a; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 80 and 81.

86 *Qāṭājānis* (a transliteration of the Greek phrase *kata genē*, meaning 'according to type') was commonly used by Islamic physicians to refer to Galen's *On the Composition of Medicaments Arranged According to Type* (*De compositione medicamentorum per genera*); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 48 no. 50b; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 82.

87 The treatise must have been a response to the tract *Doubts about Galen* (*al-Shukūk 'alā Jālīnūs*) composed by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 313/925). For his life and writings, see Ch. 10.5.

88 Abū Zakariyyā Yahūdḥā ibn Sa'ādah is an otherwise unknown Jewish physician of the 5th/11th century, presumably from Egypt; see booktitles 17 and 18 above.

89 *K. fi l-ṣinā'ah al-ṣaghīrah*; see book title 2 above.

90 The meaning of the phrase *fi taḥlīl al-ḥadd* in this context is uncertain.

91 Ibn Buṭlān's essay in which he argued that the pullet or hatchling has a warmer nature than a hen, followed by Ibn Riḍwān's response to these questions formed the framework for the famous debate between these two antagonists; see Conrad, 'Scholarship and social context'; Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*.

59. On the fact that what Ibn Buṭlān is ignorant of is certainty and wisdom and that which he is informed about is error and sophistry (*M. fī anna mā jahilahu yaqīn wa-ḥikmah wa-mā ‘alimahu Ibn Buṭlān ghalat wa-safsatah*).<sup>92</sup>
60. On the fact that Ibn Buṭlān does not understand what he himself says, much less what others say (*M. fī anna Ibn Buṭlān lā ya‘lamu kalām nafsihi faḍlan ‘an kalām ghayrihi*).
61. Epistle to the physicians of Egypt and Cairo containing a report on Ibn Buṭlān (*R. ilā aṭibbā’ Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah fī khabar Ibn Buṭlān*).<sup>93</sup>
62. Discourse summarizing the author’s refutation of Ibn Buṭlān (*Qawl lahu fī jumlat al-radd ‘alayhi*).
63. On issues that arose between the author and Ibn al-Haytham concerning the Milky Way and place (*K. fī masā’il jarat baynahu wa-bayna Ibn al-Haytham fī l-majarrah wa-l-makān*).<sup>94</sup>
64. Extract with annotations by the author from the *Complete Book of the Medical Art*, of which only some of the first part is preserved (*Ikhrājuhu li-ḥawāshī Kāmil al-ṣinā’ah al-ṭibbiyyah al-mawjūd minhu ba‘ḍ al-ūlā*).<sup>95</sup>
65. On the durations of illnesses (*R. fī azmīnat al-amrād*).
66. On the progress to true happiness through medicine (*M. fī l-taṭarruq bi-l-ṭibb ilā l-sa‘ādah*).<sup>96</sup>
67. On the causes for the intervals of humoral fevers and their coming together (*M. fī asbāb mudad ḥummayāt al-akhlāt wa-qirānihimā*).
68. The author’s response to what was described to him regarding the condition of a patient suffering from partial paralysis on his left side (*Jawābuhu ‘ammā shuriḥa lahu min ḥāl ‘alī bihi ‘illat al-fālij fī shiqiqi al-aysar*).<sup>97</sup>
69. On tumors (*M. fī l-awrām*).

92 For an English translation, see Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*.

93 For an English translation, see Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 112–118.

94 For Ibn al-Haytham’s discourses on the Milky Way and on ‘place’ (*makān*), see Ch. 14.22.5.2 nos. 46 and 68 in the book-list.

95 The *Complete Book of the Medical Art* (*Kāmil al-ṣinā’ah al-ṭibbiyyah*) was written in Baghdad in the 4th/10th century by ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī; for his life, see Ch. 10.25.

96 For an edition and German translation, see Ibn Riḍwān, *Weg zur Glückseligkeit*. The treatise includes an important list of Hippocratic treatises available in Egypt at this time; see Rosenthal, ‘Eleventh-Century List of Works of Hippocrates’. See also Ch. 4.1.9.1 n. 56.

97 This item in the book-list is essentially a repetition of no. 42 above, without the name of the person who sent the description. This item is omitted in most of the manuscript copies, including MS A, but does occur in some copies of Version 1 and in the edition by Müller.

70. On simple drugs (*K. fī l-adwīyah al-mufradah*) arranged in alphabetical order, a work in twelve parts of which some six are preserved.
71. On the excellence of medicine (*M. fī sharaf al-ṭibb*).<sup>98</sup>
72. On generation and corruption (*R. fī l-kawn wa-l-fasād*).
73. On the paths to happiness (*M. fī subul al-sa'ādah*), which is the way of life he chose for himself.
74. On the survival of the soul after death (*R. fī baqā' al-nafs ba'd al-mawt*).
75. On the merit of philosophy (*M. fī faḍīlat al-falsafah*).
76. On the immortality of the soul according to the opinion of Plato and Aristotle (*M. fī baqā' al-nafs 'alā ra'y Aflāṭun wa-Aristūṭālīs*).
77. The author's answers to logical problems in the *Book of Syllogism* (*Ajwibatuhu li-masā'il mantiqīyah min Kitāb al-qiyās*).<sup>99</sup>
78. On the resolution of doubts raised by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, known as '*al-mḥrsāt*' (*M. fī ḥall shukūk Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī al-musammāh bi-l-mḥrsāt*).<sup>100</sup>
79. On heat (*M. fī l-ḥarr*).
80. On the prophethood of Muḥammad, God bless him and keep him, according to the Torah and philosophy (*M. fī ba'th nubuwwat Muḥammad ... min al-Tawrāh wa-l-falsafah*).
81. On the fact that points and lines exist naturally (*M. fī anna fī l-wujūd nuqaṭ wa-khuṭūṭ ṭabī'iyyah*).
82. On the creation of the world (*M. fī ḥadath al-'ālam*).
83. On remarks concerning the methods of those asserting the art of judgement by means of the stars, and the high status of those who practise it (*M. fī l-tanbīh 'alā ḥīyal man yantaḥilu šinā'at al-qaḍāyā bi-l-nujūm wa-tasharruf ahlihā*).
84. On the mixture of the necessary and existential (*M. fī khilṭ al-ḍarūrī wa-l-wujūdī*).
85. On the acquisition of lawful property (*M. fī iktisāb al-ḥalāl min al-māl*).

98 For this treatise, see Ch. 4.1.2.

99 The *Kitāb al-qiyās* is the *Prior Analytics* of Aristotle; see Ch. 4.6.5.1.

100 Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (d. 363/974) was a Christian philosopher of Baghdad and commentator on Aristotle; see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Yaḥyā b. 'Adī.' (G. Endress). An account of his life is also given in Ch. 10.22. The vocalization and meaning of *al-mḥrsāt* is uncertain, though at least one manuscript copy (MS L) clearly marks the letter *ḥ* as a *ḥā'*. Schacht and Meyerhof, however, write this word as '*mukhrisāt*' and translate it as 'dumbfounding, i.e. striking, arguments' (*Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 47).

86. On the difference between the virtuous person, the one of proper conduct, and the one governing<sup>101</sup> (*M. fī l-farq bayna al-fāḍil min al-nās wa-l-sadīd wa-l-quṭb*)
87. On the whole of [the book on] governance (*M. fī kull al-siyāsah*).
88. On happiness (*R. fī l-saʿādah*).
89. On the author's apology for opposing the moderns (*M. fī i'tidhārihi ʿammā nāqada bihi l-muḥdathīn*).
90. On the monotheism and piety of the philosophers (*M. fī tawḥīd al-falāsifah wa-ibādātihim*).
91. On the refutation of al-Rāzī with regard to metaphysics and the authentication of the prophets (*K. fī l-radd ʿalā al-Rāzī fī l-ʿilm al-ilāhī wa-ithbāt al-rusul*).
92. On the application of logic in the theoretical and practical fields of learning (*K. al-mustaʿmal min al-manṭiq fī l-ʿulūm wa-l-ṣanāʿiʿ*), consisting of three parts.
93. A small essay on primary matter (*R. ṣuḡhrā fī l-hayūlā*), which the author composed for Abū Sulaymān ibn Bābashādh.<sup>102</sup>
94. The author's two memoranda called *The Complete Perfection* and *The Utmost Happiness* (*Tadhkiratāh al-musammayatān bi-l-kamāl al-kāmīl wa-l-saʿādah al-quṣwā*), which are unfinished.
95. The author's annotations of the useful commentaries on the books of Plato that engage polemically with the essence of human nature (*Taʿālīquhu li-fawāʿid kutub Aflātun al-mushājirah al-huwiyyah ṭabʿat al-insān*).<sup>103</sup>
96. Notes on useful remarks in the *Introduction* (*Isagoge*) of Porphyry (*Taʿālīq fawāʿid Mudkhal Furfūriyūs*).<sup>104</sup>

101 Reading *al-quṭb* (rather than *al-ʿ. t. b.*), in the sense of *ʿsayyid al-qawm*; see also Lane, *Lexicon*, 2541, on *quṭb banī fulān*: 'the chief, or lord, of the sons of such a one, upon whom their state of affair turns [i.e. depends, and by whose government their affairs are regulated]'. The context suggests a gradation from 'excellent (*fāḍil*)' via 'adequate (*sadīd*)' to, perhaps, 'hopeless case (*ʿaṭb?*)'; for the latter, see Dozy, *Supplément*, under: *ʿaṭb/ʿaṭab*, perdition, état d'un homme hors la voie du salut, dans le vice. However, using *ʿaṭ(a)b* for a person rather than a 'state' is problematic.

102 Abū Sulaymān ibn Bābashādh has not been identified. He might be a relative of Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir ibn Aḥmad ibn Bābashādh (d. 469/1077), an Egyptian grammarian; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad ibn Bābashādh' (M.G. Carter). *Hayūlā* is a technical philosophical term for 'primary matter'; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Hayūlā' (L. Gardet).

103 The text appears to be corrupt at this point and the interpretation somewhat conjectural. See also Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 48 n. 62.

104 For Porphyry of Tyre (A.D 234–ca. 305) and his *Isagoge* on 'Introduction' to Aristotle's book on logic, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Furfūriyūs' (R. Walzer).

97. Revision of the book of [?]<sup>105</sup> on architectural proportions, only part of which is preserved (*Tahdhīb kitāb al-X-a-x-s*<sup>106</sup> *fī ri'āsāt al-binā' al-mawjūd minhu ba'd lā kull*).<sup>107</sup>
98. Notes on the fact that the equator by nature is darker at night, and that its essential nature, because of its latitude, is to be darker at night (*Ta'ālīq fī anna khaṭṭ al-istiwā' bi-l-ṭab' azlam laylan wa-anna jawharuhu bi-l-'arḍ azlam laylan*).<sup>108</sup>
99. On what the physician should have in his office (*K. fīmā yanbaghī an yak-ūna fī ḥanūt al-ṭabīb*), in four parts.
100. On the climate of Egypt (*M. fī hawā' Miṣr*).
101. On the temperament of drunkenness (*M. fī mizāj al-sukr*).
102. On drawing attention to the senseless jabber in the statements of Ibn Buṭ-lān (*M. fī l-tanbīh 'alā mā fī kalām Ibn Buṭlān min al-hadhayān*).
103. On the prevention of harm from sweets to feverish persons (*R. fī daf' maḍārr al-ḥalwā bi-l-maḥrūr*)

#### 14.26 Ifrā'īm ibn al-Zaffān<sup>1</sup>

[14.26.1]

Abū Kathīr Ifrā'īm ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, commonly known as Ifrā'īm (Ephraim) ibn al-Zaffān, was a Jewish<sup>2</sup> physician who won great renown in Egypt, serving the [Fatimid] rulers of the day and enjoying many favours and substantial wealth at their hands. He was one of the most distinguished pupils of Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Riḍwān,<sup>3</sup> under whom he had studied the art of medicine. Ifrā'īm ibn al-Zaffān was keenly interested in acquiring

105 The person named here has not been identified. The name is written without any dots in all copies (a-l-j/ḥ/kh-a-b/n/y-s), and is likely a faulty rendition of a Greek name.

106 a-l-j/ḥ/kh-a-b/y/n-s.

107 The text appears also to be corrupt in this book title. It is evident that the copyists were also uncertain how to read the title. See Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 48 n. 64.

108 The significance of this title is rather unclear. It may be a reference to the fact that at the equator the days and nights are always the same length and therefore there are no days in which the daylight lasts longer than the darkness.

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For further biographical and treatise information see Steinschneider, 'Arabische Aerzte'.

2 *Isrā'īlī al-madhhab* (of the Jewish religion).

3 For the biography of Ibn Riḍwān, see Ch. 14.25.

books and having books copied, so much so that eventually he came to possess a large collection of books on medicine and other topics. He always had copyists in his employ, whom he paid well. One of these was Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Hishām al-Ḥajarī, known as Ibn Mulsāqah. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – have found a number of books in the latter's handwriting that he had transcribed for Ifrāʾīm, with some of Ifrāʾīm's own handwriting on them as well.

[14.26.2]

My father<sup>4</sup> related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – that a man from Iraq once came to Egypt in order to buy books to take back to Iraq. He met with Ifrāʾīm and they agreed that Ifrāʾīm would sell him 10,000 volumes from the books in his possession. This was in the days of the governorship of al-Afḍal ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh.<sup>5</sup> When al-Afḍal heard of this [transaction] he determined that those books should remain in Egypt and not removed elsewhere [and taken out of the country]. So he sent to Ifrāʾīm out of his own resources the entire price that had been agreed between Ifrāʾīm and the Iraqi, and the books were transferred to al-Afḍal's library, and his honorific titles were inscribed in them. This is why I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – have come across a great number of medical books, as well as volumes on other topics, bearing the name of Ifrāʾīm as well as the honorific titles of al-Afḍal.

[14.26.3]

Ifrāʾīm left behind more than 20,000 volumes and a great deal of wealth and many benefactions (*niʿam*).

Among Ifrāʾīm ibn al-Zaffān's books there are:

1. Notes and case histories which he assembled in the form of a compendium (*Taʿālīq wa-mujarrabāt jaʿalahā ʿalā jihat al-kunnāsh*). I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – have found this work in his own handwriting, and in it he has an extensive discussion of diseases and their treatments. He writes at the beginning of the compendium what the purpose of it is: 'I say that I, Ifrāʾīm, have composed this book to be a memorandum book in the form of a collection of items rather than a formal composition, as a warning against negligence for anyone who is treating diseases.'

4 For biographical information about IAU's father, Sadīd al-Dīn, see the biography of IAU's uncle, Rashīd al-Dīn (Ch. 15.51).

5 Al-Afḍal ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh was the military vizier (*amīr al-juyūsh*) under three successive Fatimid caliphs from 487/1094 to 515/1121; see *ET Three* art. 'al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī' (P.E. Walker).

2. A medical *aide-mémoire* on what is beneficial for bodily conditions (*K. al-tadhkirah al-ṭibbiyyah fī maṣlaḥat al-aḥwāl al-badanīyyah*), which he composed for Naṣīr al-Dawlah Abū ‘Alī l-Ḥusayn ibn Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamdān<sup>6</sup> for when he wished to leave Cairo and go to the port of Alexandria or to Buḥayrah<sup>7</sup> near Alexandria and similar areas.
3. On establishing by deduction that the production of phlegm increases in summer, while [the production of] blood and yellow bile [increases] in winter (*M. fī l-taqrīr al-qiyāsī ‘alā anna al-balgham yakthuru tawalluduhu fī l-ṣayf wa-l-dam wa-l-marār al-aṣfar fī l-shitā’*).

#### 14.27 Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn<sup>1</sup>

[14.27.1]

Abū l-Khayr Salāmah ibn Mubārak ibn Raḥmūn ibn Mūsā was a Jewish physician who was one of the distinguished citizens of Egypt. He was known not only for his excellent achievements in the art of medicine, but also for his knowledge of the writings of Galen and his investigation of their obscure passages. He had studied the art of medicine under Ifrā’im [ibn al-Zaffān]<sup>2</sup> and practised for some time under his guidance. Ibn Raḥmūn was also an outstanding scholar in the domains of logic and the philosophical disciplines, and composed a number of works in those fields. The teacher under whom he studied was the emir Abū l-Wafā’ Maḥmūd al-Dawlah al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik.<sup>3</sup> When Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abī l-Ṣalt al-Andalusī<sup>4</sup> travelled from the Maghrib to Egypt, he met with Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn and engaged in discussion and disputation with him.

6 Ibn Ḥamdān was a military leader under the eighth Fatimid caliph, al-Mustanṣir (r. 427–487/1036–1094), descended from the Hamdanids of Mosul in Iraq. He led the Turkish and Berber troops to defeat Arab uprisings in the Delta in Egypt but eventually turned on al-Mustanṣir and took control of Cairo for a period, taking the title of Sulṭān al-Dawlah. He and his family were eventually killed by a rival Turkish military faction. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Mustanṣir’ (H.A.R. Gibb & P. Kraus).

7 This is the name of the western province of the Nile delta. During the Fatimid period, regions were divided in provinces with Buḥayrah situated west of the Rosetta branch, and reaching from the point of the delta right up to Alexandria; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Buḥayra’ (G. Wiet).

1 This biography is found in Versions 1, 2 and 3. For further biographical and treatise information, see Steinschneider, ‘Arabische Aerzte’; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 209–210.

2 See Ch. 14.26.

3 See Ch. 14.23.

4 See Ch. 13.58.

[14.27.2]

Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn Abī l-Ṣalt mentions Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn in his 'Egyptian Epistle'. Speaking of the physicians whom he met in Egypt, he says:<sup>5</sup>

The most characteristic<sup>6</sup> of those whom I saw and would count amongst the physicians was a Jew by the name of Abū l-Khayr Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn. He was acquainted with Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik and learned from him something of the art of logic, in which he became particularly distinguished. He was also associated with Abū Kathīr ibn al-Zaffān,<sup>7</sup> a pupil of Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Riḍwān,<sup>8</sup> and studied some of Galen's books under him. Subsequently, he endeavoured to teach all the works on logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics, but he explained them as he saw fit, interpreting and summarizing them with no evidence of having studied, grasped or investigated the finer points of knowledge. Rather, he talked excessively and so committed errors; his answers were hurried and frequently erroneous. Upon my first encounter with him, I asked him about issues that had arisen in the course of his discussion – things that could be understood even by one who did not have any great breadth of knowledge in the field. He answered in a way that exposed his shortcomings, articulated his incompetence, and made clear his lack of imagination and understanding. In his great pretensions and his incompetence at even the easiest of his undertakings, he can be compared to the man described by the poet:<sup>9</sup>

He tucks up his robe to wade into deep waters  
but the waves engulf him on the shore.

Or as another has said:<sup>10</sup>

You wished for two hundred horsemen  
but you were driven back by one horseman.

5 Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 35–37. He travelled to Egypt from al-Andalus in 510/1117; see Ch. 13.58.2.1.

6 *Ashbah*, or conforming to type.

7 For Ifrā'im ibn al-Zaffān, see Ch. 14.26.

8 For Ibn Riḍwān, see Ch. 14.25.

9 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 400; anonymously in Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 36; also Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 210, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:346.

10 Metre: *mutaqārib*. By a woman from Ghāmid (pre-Islamic), addressing a tribe that had been defeated by hers; see al-Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i:249; anonymously in al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i:72; Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 36; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 210, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:346.



[14.27.3]

Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah continues:

There was in Cairo a physician from Antioch called Jirjis, who was nicknamed 'The Philosopher' in the way you might call a raven Abū l-Bayḍā' ('whitey'),<sup>11</sup> or address one who has been stung by a scorpion as Salīm ('unhurt'). Jirjis went out of his way to make fun of Ibn Raḥmūn and mock him. He used to compose fake medical and philosophical essays,<sup>12</sup> written in the style of language of the common people, which were meaningless, worthless, and of no use whatsoever. Then he would see to it that they were placed in the hands of someone who would ask him about their meaning and request an explanation of their purposes, whereupon he would discourse at length about them and explain them just anyhow, without caution or care, but rather with abandon, haste, indifference to content, and intrigue. Some amusing compositions by him are extant.

The following lines by this Jirjis have been recited to me (Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah). This is one of the best lampoons on an ill-starred physician that I have ever heard, and I imagine the lines are indeed by him:<sup>13</sup>

In Abū l-Khayr's scales, with his ignorance,  
 a virtuous man weighs but lightly.  
 His poor patient, through his evil omen,  
 is in a sea of perdition without shore.  
 Three things enter at the same time:  
 his face, a bier, and the man who washes the corpse.

And another runs as follows:<sup>14</sup>

In his therapy Abū l-Khayr has a hand  
 that does not fall short.  
 Everyone who seeks his medical skill  
 is buried after a couple of days;  
 And those you are not aware of  
 but whom we have witnessed are yet more numerous.

11 Abū l-Bayḍā' (literally, 'the possessor of whiteness') is used here ironically by way of anti-phrasis.

12 Presumably Jirjis forged these documents under the name of Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn to make the latter look ridiculous.

13 The translation of *wa-anā muttāhimun lahū fihī* is not wholly certain. Metre of the lines: *sarī*. Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 37, al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xv:330; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:346.

14 Metre: *khaḥif*. Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 37, al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xv:330.

The following verses also refer to him:<sup>15</sup>  
 Abū l-Khayr's madness is madness personified,  
     while to him every madness is the acme of reason.  
 Take him, fetter him, tighten his chains,  
     for no rational person will underrate a disturbed one.  
 He used to harm people with words only,  
     but now he is harming people with words and deeds.

[14.27.4]

Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn is the author of the following works:

1. On the structure of existing things (*K. niẓām al-mawjūdāt*).
2. On the reason for the scarcity of rain in Egypt (*M. fī l-sabab al-mūjib li-qillat al-maṭar bi-Miṣr*).
3. On metaphysics (*M. fī l-ʿilm al-ilāhī*).
4. On the reason why women in Egypt grow fat when past their youth (*M. fī kḥiṣb abdān al-nisāʾ bi-Miṣr ʿinda tanāhī al-shabāb*).

#### 14.28 Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn<sup>1</sup>

Mubārak ibn Abī l-Khayr Salāmah ibn Mubārak ibn Raḥmūn was born and brought up in Egypt. He, too, was an eminent physician.

Mubārak ibn Salāmah ibn Raḥmūn is the author of a short treatise on the carbuncle (*jamrah*) entitled *The Potsherds and the Pieces of Pottery, Condensed* (*M. fī l-jamrah al-musammāh bi-l-shaqafah wa-l-khazafah mukhtaṣaratan*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*. Abū l-Ṣalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, 37, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:331.

<sup>1</sup> This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably these terms were used because it was thought that carbuncles (or pustules, for *jamrah* can also simply mean pustules) have the general appearance of broken ceramics. Another explanation of the title is that carbuncles and pustules were sometimes cured by opening them with the edge of a potsherd. Sami Hamarneh argues that this treatise should actually be ascribed to Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī (see Ch. 14.29 for his biography) based on a copy of this work that was found housed at the Ṣāḥiriyyah Library of Damascus in which an introductory statement of the manuscript ascribes authorship to Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī. Hamarneh also argues that the style of the treatise is the same as other compositions by Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī; see Hamarneh, 'Ibn al-ʿAyn Zarbī and his Definition of Diseases'.

14.29 Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī<sup>1</sup>

[14.29.1]

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ‘Adnān ibn Maṣṣūr [known as Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī] was a native of ‘Ayn Zarbah.<sup>2</sup> For a time he lived in Baghdad, where he studied the art of medicine and the philosophical disciplines, especially astrology, in which he became particularly proficient. He subsequently moved from Baghdad to Egypt where he married and continued to live for the rest of his life. He served the Egyptian caliphs,<sup>3</sup> enjoying their favour and attaining high rank. He was among the most outstanding and most knowledgeable of teachers<sup>4</sup> in the domain of the medical art, possessing as he did excellent discernment (*firāsah ḥasanah*) and correct prognosis (*indhār ṣā’ibah*) in his treatments. In Egypt, he composed many works on medicine, logic and other sciences. He had a number of pupils, each of whom came to excel in the art of medicine.

[14.29.2]

At the beginning of his career, however, Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī had earned his living exclusively from astrology. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – had the following account from my father:

A grandson of the shaykh Abū Naṣr ‘Adnān ibn al-‘Aynzarbī informed me that the fame of his grandfather in Egypt and his connection with the caliphs was due to the arrival there of an envoy [to the court] from Baghdad who had known Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī previously and was familiar with his reputation for excellence and proficiency in many fields of learning. While walking along one of the streets of Cairo, he suddenly came upon Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī sitting there earning his living as an astrologer, and he recognized him and greeted him. The envoy was astonished that, despite his great learning and pre-eminent status in the art of medicine, Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī should be in such a lowly condition. This [encounter] remained

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- 1 This biography is found in Versions 1, 2 and 3. The subject’s name is often given in other sources as Adnān ibn Naṣr al-‘Aynzarbī, and MS A inserts ibn Naṣr after ‘Adnān; he is sometimes referred to simply as al-‘Aynzarbī rather than Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 161, 255; Hamarneh, ‘Ibn al-‘Ayn Zarbī and his Definition of Diseases’; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 318–320; Savage-Smith, *NLM*, MS A 25; Hamarneh & Ḥimṣī, *Fihris*, 297–298.
  - 2 Anazarbus or Anazarba, an ancient city in central south Anatolia (Cilicia Pedias in ancient times). See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ayn Zarba’ (M. Canard); *Brill’s New Pauly* art. ‘Anazarbus’ (M.H. Sayer).
  - 3 Fatimids.
  - 4 *Mashāyikh*.

in his mind, so that when he met with the vizier and was engaged in conversation with him, he mentioned Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī and his reputation for learning and for superiority and pre-eminence in medicine as well as other fields. The envoy remarked on this, adding that people did not know his value and that he should not be neglected. This made the vizier eager to see Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī and to meet him first hand, so he sent for him and, upon listening to him, was greatly impressed by what he had said. The vizier became convinced of Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī's excellence and his eminent position in the world of learning. Consequently, he informed the caliph of his situation, whereupon the caliph dispatched to Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī a present befitting someone of his stature. From that time onward, favours and gifts flowed to him in a steady stream.

[14.29.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – say: Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī was well-versed and knowledgeable in Arabic and had excellent penmanship. I have seen a number of books on medicine and other subjects in his handwriting, which is of the utmost beauty and high quality and adheres to the proportional method.<sup>5</sup> He also used to compose poetry and some fine verses are attributed to him. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 548/1153 in Cairo during the reign of al-Ẓāfir bi-Amr Allāh.<sup>6</sup>

[14.29.4]

Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī is the author of the following works:

1. The Sufficient (Book): on medicine (*K. al-kāfi fī l-ṭibb*),<sup>7</sup> which the author began in the year 510/1116 in Egypt and finished on the twenty-sixth of Dhū l-Qaʿdah of the year 547 [22 February 1153].
2. A commentary on Galen's *The Art of Medicine*<sup>8</sup> (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Ṣināʿah al-ṣaghīrah li-Jālīnūs*).
3. The persuasive treatise on logic (*al-Risālah al-muqniʿah fī l-mantiq*), which the author based on the statements of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā.

5 The proportional Arabic script developed by Ibn Muqlah (d. 328/940), in which the shapes of all letters are based on the dimension of the single dot.

6 Al-Ẓāfir bi-Amr Allāh was the twelfth Fatimid caliph, who ruled 544/1149 to 549/1154. *EI Three art. 'Fātimids'* (H. Halm).

7 The title in preserved copies is given as *al-Kāfi fī ṣināʿat al-ṭibb* ('The Sufficient Book: on the art of medicine'); Savage-Smith, *NCAm-1*, 318; Savage-Smith, *NLM*, MS A 25; no edition or translation has been published. For a preliminary overview, see Hamarneh, 'Ibn al-ʿAyn Zarbi and his Definitions of Diseases'.

8 *Ars medica*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 7.

4. On medical experiences, in the form of a compendium (*Mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb 'alā jihat al-kunnāsh*) that Zāfir ibn Tamīm<sup>9</sup> compiled in Egypt and arranged after the death of Ibn al-'Aynzarbī.
5. On governance (*R. fī l-siyāsah*).
6. On the difficulty of finding an excellent physician and the ready market for ignorant ones (*R. fī ta'adhdhur wujūd al-ṭabīb al-fādīl wa-nafāq al-jāhil*).
7. On kidney and bladder stones and their treatment (*M. fī l-ḥaṣā wa-'ilājihī*).

#### 14.30 Bulmuẓaffar ibn Mu'arrif<sup>1</sup>

Bulmuẓaffar Naṣr ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Mu'arrif was intelligent, clever, and very diligent and meticulous in his devotion to the philosophical disciplines. He also studied the art of medicine and belles-lettres (*adab*), and in addition he composed poetry. He had been a pupil of Ibn al-'Aynzarbī<sup>2</sup> for a time, studying under him many of the philosophical and other disciplines. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – have seen a note in his handwriting at the end of a copy of the commentary of Alexander<sup>3</sup> on Aristotle's *Generation and Corruption*, in which Bulmuẓaffar says that he studied under Ibn al-'Aynzarbī and mastered the subject. This note is dated the month of Sha'bān of the year 534 [March 1140].

Bulmuẓaffar had good penmanship and an excellent turn of phrase. He was especially interested in the art of alchemy, studying it and meeting with its adherents. With his own hand, he copied a very large number of books on that subject as well as numerous medical and philosophical works. He was keenly interested in acquiring books and reading them. The shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn 'the

9 An otherwise unidentified physician, presumably a student or colleague of Ibn al-'Aynzarbī; see Hamarnah, 'Ibn al-'Ayn Zarbi and his Definitions of Diseases', 308.

1 This biography is found in all three versions. The subject's name is sometimes transliterated as Balmuẓaffar. Bal- is normally a variant of Banū l-, in tribal names (e.g. Balḥārith for Banū l-Ḥārith). This does obviously not apply here, and the name (*a kunyah*, short for Abū l-Muẓaffar, the form used below in IAU's entry and also in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:88–89) should be read as Bulmuẓaffar (compare modern names such as Bourguiba, Boumedienne). The name Mu'arrif is here first spelled without the article but with it further into the entry; the entry on him in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* has al-Ma'rūf.

2 See the previous biography, Ch. 14.29.

3 Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl. AD 2nd–3rd c.). For his commentaries on Aristotelian treatises, see *ET Three* art. 'Aristotle and Aristotelianism' (C. D'Ancona) sect. 3.1–3.2; *DSB*, art. 'Alexander of Aphrodisias' (P. Merlan).

logician<sup>4</sup> has related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – that in Bulmuẓaffar’s house there was a large sitting room with shelves that were laden with books, and that Bulmuẓaffar spent most of his time in that room occupied with writing, reading and copying.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that one marvellous detail concerning him is that, while he owned many thousands of books of all kinds, there was not one that did not have inscribed on its cover some witticisms and anecdotes relating to whatever topic formed the subject of the book. I myself have seen a great many books on medicine and other subjects that were among the philosophical books formerly belonging to Bulmuẓaffar,<sup>5</sup> and on every one of them, without exception, he had written his name and some relevant notes and miscellaneous useful comments relating to the book.

Some samples of the poetry of Bulmuẓaffar ibn Mu‘arrif:<sup>6</sup>

They say: Nature (*al-ṭabī‘ah*) is the principle of Being.  
 I wish I knew what Nature is:  
 Is it capable and has it imprinted (*ṭaba‘at*) itself  
 to be that, or does it not have power?<sup>7</sup>

And he also said:<sup>8</sup>

They say: Nature is something we know,  
 and we can clarify what is its limit.<sup>9</sup>  
 But they do not know now what was before,  
 so how can they wish for what will be after it?

Bulmuẓaffar ibn Mu‘arrif is the author of the following works:

1. Notes on alchemy (*Ta‘ālīq fī l-kīmiyā’*).
2. On astronomy (*K. fī ‘ilm al-nujūm*).
3. Selections on medicine (*Mukhtārāt fī l-ṭibb*).

4 This Sadīd al-Dīn is probably to be identified with Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, a colleague of ʿAṬ’s and fellow ophthalmologist whose biography is given in Ch. 15.46. Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah also wrote on *ḥikmah* and could therefore arguably be called *al-mantiqī* ‘the logician’.

5 Here the name is written in the more common form of Abū l-Muẓaffar.

6 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:347, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:89.

7 The word *ṭabī‘ah*, of the nominal pattern *fa‘īlah*, suggests a passive sense (‘something imprinted’).

8 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:89, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:347.

9 Or ‘its definition’.

14.31 al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Raʿīs al-Ṭibb<sup>1</sup>

[14.31.1]

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Raʿīs al-Ṭibb ('The Well-Guided *Shaykh*, the Master of Medicine') was al-Qāḍī al-Ajall al-Sadīd Abū l-Manṣūr 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī. His honorific name was Sharaf al-Dīn, but the nickname of his father, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī, came to be applied to him, so that he was known as al-Shaykh al-Sadīd ('The Well-Guided Shaykh'). Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Abū l-Manṣūr 'Abd Allāh was knowledgeable in the art of medicine and experienced in its fundamentals as well as its details. He excelled in therapeutics, had a great deal of practical experience and was skilful in surgical procedures (*al-a'māl bi-l-yad*). Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd served the Egyptian caliphs<sup>2</sup> and enjoyed favour during their reign, receiving considerable wealth and substantial favours from them that exceeded what was given to other physicians during his time; his high station and rank with the caliphs were unequalled. He had a long life during which he was considered to be amongst the medical elite (*baytūtah*). Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd's father, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī, was also a physician in the service of the Egyptian caliphs, acquiring fame during their reign.

[14.31.2]

Al-Qāḍī Nafis al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr,<sup>3</sup> who had trained with al-Shaykh al-Sadīd and studied medicine under him, related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – that al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Raʿīs al-Ṭibb had told him:

The first caliph to whom I presented myself, and who bestowed favours on me, was al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh.<sup>4</sup> That was because my father was a physician in his service and had influence over him, holding a prominent position during his reign. I was a youth at that time and my father used to give me a few dirhams each day to sit at the door of our house and perform bloodletting on chance clients until I became experienced and acquired great skill in that operation. I also learned something of the medical art, so that one day my father mentioned me to the caliph al-Āmir and

1 This biography is found in all three versions.

2 Fatimids.

3 Born in 555 or 556/1160, Nafis al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr studied medicine under Ibn Shū'ah and al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Raʿīs al-Ṭibb; see Ch. 14.47.

4 Born 13 Muḥarram 490 [31 December 1096], al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh was the tenth Fatimid caliph in Egypt. He came to the throne as a child, proclaimed caliph by the vizier, al-Afḍal, who held power for most of the caliph's reign. Al-Āmir was assassinated by Nizārī supporters in 524/1130. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Āmir' (S.M. Stern).

told him about me, explaining that I knew the art of bloodletting and was very skilful at it. The caliph then sent for me, and I went to him, dressed in splendid clothes and riding a spirited mount adorned with a gold collar and similar trappings. When I entered the palace, accompanied by my father, and came before the caliph, I kissed the ground and paid homage to him. He then said to me, 'Bleed this gentleman (*al-ustādh*);'<sup>5</sup> indicating a person standing in front of him. I replied, 'I hear and obey.' Then a silver basin was brought and I tied the man's upper arm. He had veins that stood out clearly, and so I bled him and bandaged the place of the incision. The caliph said to me, 'You did well,' and ordered a well-filled purse and splendid robes of honour to be presented to me. From that time on, I went repeatedly to the palace in attendance on the caliph, who bestowed on me payment that was quite sufficient and more than I could have wished for, as well as frequent gratuities and numerous presents.

[14.31.3]

As'ad al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī l-Ḥasan<sup>6</sup> told me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – that al-Shaykh al-Sadīd had once earned 30,000 dinars in one day for treating one of the caliphs.

[14.31.4]

Al-Qāḍī Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr informed me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – that when al-Shaykh al-Sadīd circumcised the two sons of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh<sup>7</sup> he received 50,000 dinars or more on the spot, together with whatever gold and silver vessels were in the reception room, for they were given to him as gifts.

[14.31.5]

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd was high-minded and beneficent to all. The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>8</sup> related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – the following:

5 This term has a range of meanings and at the Fatimid court was used for certain high officials serving the ruler, such as the crown-bearer or the bearer of the royal inkstand; see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 'Ustādh' (W. Floor).

6 As'ad al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī l-Ḥasan (570–635/1174–1237) was from a family of physicians in Egypt who served under the Ayyubid rulers and was personally acquainted with IAU and his family, see Ch. 14.57.

7 Al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh (d. 544/1149) was the eleventh Fatimid caliph in Egypt and followed al-Āmir to the throne. His reign saw many intrigues to gain control of the state by various viziers including al-Āmir's vizier, al-Afḍal. He died of intestinal colic; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ḥāfiẓ' (A.M. Maged).

8 For the biography of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, see Ch. 15.36.



When Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh,<sup>9</sup> arrived in Syria from Baghdad, he was already proficient in the art of medicine. He settled in Damascus for a time, but was unable to earn a sufficient living. Ibn al-Naqqāsh [then] heard about Egypt and the favours of the caliphs there and their generosity and kindness to those who approached them, especially those endowed with learning and refinement. Accordingly, he decided he must travel there. Upon reaching Egypt, having heard of al-Shaykh al-Sadīd, the physician of the caliphs, and his merits, the extent of his wealth, his good character, and his notable virtuousness (*al-murū'ah al-'azīzah*), he determined to call on him. After waiting for a few days, Ibn al-Naqqāsh went to al-Shaykh al-Sadīd's house, where he greeted the physician, informed him of his occupation and explained that he had come with the purpose of seeking him out and entrusting all his affairs to him and absorbing some of his sea of knowledge. Ibn al-Naqqāsh acknowledged that whatever he might receive from the caliphs would be due to al-Shaykh al-Sadīd's kindness and that he would credit him with that all the rest of this life. Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd received him in an appropriate manner and honoured him greatly.

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd then said to him, 'What would you consider sufficient pay for you if you were to stay in Cairo?' 'My lord,' Ibn al-Naqqāsh replied, 'whatever you think and whatever you command would be sufficient for me.' 'State a specific figure,' said al-Shaykh al-Sadīd, to which Ibn al-Naqqāsh replied, 'By God, if I were granted a monthly stipend of ten Egyptian dinars, I would consider that a generous amount.' 'No,' replied al-Shaykh al-Sadīd, 'that would not be adequate for your upkeep. I will instruct my agent to arrange for you to have fifteen Egyptian dinars every month, an apartment near me – with all its furnishings and carpets (*turah*) – in which you will live, and a beautiful slave girl will be yours.' Then al-Shaykh al-Sadīd had a splendid robe of honour brought out and placed on Ibn al-Naqqāsh and ordered the servant to bring him a mule from amongst the best of his riding mounts, which he presented to Ibn al-Naqqāsh. Then al-Shaykh al-Sadīd said:

This money will come to you every month, as well as all the books and other things that you need, for these will be supplied to you according to your wishes. In return, I require only that we continue to meet and be sociable, but that you do not seek anything else from the caliphs and that you do not frequent any of the officials of the state.

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9 Ibn al-Naqqāsh was a physician originally from Baghdad but flourished in Syria; see Ch. 15.13.

Ibn al-Naqqāsh accepted these conditions, and he continued living in Cairo under these terms. Finally, however, he returned to Syria, where he remained until his death in Damascus.

[14.31.6]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that al-Shaykh al-Sadīd had studied medicine and practised under the guidance of Abū Naṣr ‘Adnān ibn al-‘Aynzarbī.<sup>10</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd never ceased to enjoy the respect of the caliphs. His influence and esteem amongst them increased steadily from the time of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh to the last days of al-‘Āḍid bi-Allāh.<sup>11</sup> As a youth, al-Shaykh al-Sadīd was, with his father, in the service of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh – that is, Abū ‘Alī al-Manṣūr ibn Abī l-Qāsim Aḥmad al-Musta‘li bi-Allāh ibn al-Mustanṣir – until al-Āmir was martyred<sup>12</sup> on Tuesday the fourth of Dhū l-Qa‘dah in the year 524 [9 October 1130] at al-Jazīrah.<sup>13</sup> The period of his caliphate was twenty-eight years, nine months and a few days. Then al-Sadīd continued in the service of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh – whose full name was Abū l-Maymūn ‘Abd al-Majīd ibn al-Amīr Abī l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh. Al-Ḥāfiẓ took the *bay‘ah*<sup>14</sup> on the day of the martyrdom of al-Āmir, and al-Shaykh al-Sadīd remained in his service until al-Ḥāfiẓ passed away on the fifth day of Jumādā II in the year 544 [10 October 1149]. Then after him, al-Shaykh al-Sadīd served al-Zāfir bi-Amr Allāh<sup>15</sup> – whose full name is Abū Manṣūr Ismā‘il ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Allāh. Al-Zāfir took the *bay‘ah* in the early hours of the morning of the fifth of Jumādā II in the year 544 [10 October 1149] upon the passing away of his father, and al-Shaykh al-Sadīd continued in his service until al-Zāfir bi-

10 For Ibn al-‘Aynzarbī, see Ch. 14.29.

11 Al-‘Āḍid bi-Allāh (d. 567/1171) was the last Fatimid caliph of Egypt, after which the Fatimids lost power to Saladin’s invading forces in 567/1171; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-‘Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh’ (G. Wiet).

12 He was in fact assassinated as he was crossing a bridge on one of his outings by members of the Nizārī branch of the Isma‘ilis, who bitterly opposed the line represented by al-Āmir and his father. Sources differ as to the day in the month of Dhū l-Qa‘dah on which he was killed. See *EI Three* art. ‘al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh’ (P.E. Walker).

13 This is probably the island of Rawḍah (Roda), an island in the Nile in the southern part of Cairo. Its most well-known structure was the Nilometer (*miqyās*). Literally meaning ‘garden’ it derives its name from the Fatimid period when the island was the site of gardens and palaces due to its pleasant climate. Before this (and after) the island was called Jazīrat Miṣr or often al-Jazīrah. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Rawḍa’ (O. Weintritt).

14 The *bay‘ah* of the caliph or ruler was the act by which a person was recognized as the head of a Muslim state; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Bay‘a’ (E. Tyan).

15 Ismā‘il al-Zāfir bi-Amr Allāh ruled as Fatimid caliph of Egypt from 544/1149 to 549/1154. See *EI Three* art. ‘Fāṭimids’ (H. Halm).

Amr Allāh was martyred, and that was on the twenty-ninth of Muḥarram in the year 549 [15 April 1154]. He subsequently served al-Fā'iz bi-Naṣr Allāh,<sup>16</sup> whose full name was Abū l-Qāsim 'Īsā ibn al-Zāfir bi-Amr Allāh and who took the *bay'ah* on the thirtieth of Muḥarram in the year 549 [16 April 1154]. Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd remained in his service until al-Fā'iz bi-Naṣr Allāh passed away in the year 555/1160.<sup>17</sup> After that, al-Shaykh al-Sadīd served al-Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh – that is, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mawlā Abī l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh – and he continued in the service of al-Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh until the ruler's passing on the ninth of Muḥarram in the year 567 [12 September 1171]. He was the last of the Egyptian caliphs.

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd thus served five Fatimid caliphs – al-Āmir, al-Ḥāfiẓ, al-Zāfir, al-Fā'iz and al-Āḍid – during whose reign he acquired valuable gifts and innumerable favours. Then, when al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [that is, Saladin]<sup>18</sup> seized power in Cairo and made himself ruler of the country, al-Shaykh al-Sadīd lost the numerous favours, stream of gifts and generous pay for the remainder of his time in Cairo. But then he went to Syria, where Saladin consulted him on medical matters and followed his prescriptions and advice more frequently than those of other physicians. Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd continued as chief of the physicians up to the time of his death.

In Cairo, al-Shaykh al-Sadīd resided near Bi'r Zuwaylah<sup>19</sup> in a house which he had kept in good repair and beautified. Toward the end of his life a catastrophe befell him: that house of his was consumed by fire, and his furniture, household implements, belongings and many other things in the house were lost. When part of the house collapsed from the fire, a number of large clay vessels and jars filled with Egyptian gold coins fell and broke open. Between the fire and the general destruction of the house, the gold was scattered in all directions. Bystanders witnessed some of the gold pieces melting from the fire, with the loss of many thousands of them.

16 Al-Fā'iz bi-Naṣr Allāh (r. 549–555/1154–1160), the son of the caliph al-Zāfir, was five years old when he became caliph. During this later period, power was often in the hands of the vizier or ministers. The powerful minister Ṭalā'i' ibn Ruzzik held power during al-Fā'iz's reign. See *EI Three* art. 'Fāṭimids' (H. Halm).

17 Part of the date is missing in the MSS. From other sources we know that 'Īsā al-Fā'iz bi-Naṣr Allāh died in 555/1160, at the age of eleven; *EI Three* art. 'Fāṭimids' (Heinz Halm).

18 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (532–589/1138–1193), referred to in European sources as Saladin, was the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty in Syria and Egypt; *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn' (D.S. Richards) and Phillips, *Life and Legend of the Sultan Saladin*.

19 The majority of manuscripts speak of the 'well, or pit' (*bi'r*) of Zuwaylah rather than the gate (*bāb*). Bi'r Zuwaylah is described in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (i:363) as being near a quarter called Ḥārat Zuwaylah. It was in Iṣṭabl al-Jummayzah, where the caliphal horses were kept.

[14.31.7]

Al-Qāḍī Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr told me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – that al-Shaykh al-Sadīd had seen in a dream a short time before [the incident] that his house in which he was residing had burned down. He was secretly worried by that dream, and so he decided to move from there and began to build a house near the old one, urging the builders to finish as soon as possible. When it was complete, save but one room, and he could move into it, his [old] house in which he had been living caught fire. That was on the twenty-sixth of Jumādā 11 in the year 579 [16 October 1183]. After his death, the [new] house that he had had built nearby passed into the possession of al-Şāhib Şafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr,<sup>20</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>21</sup> and it is now known by his name.

[14.31.8]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have copied from a manuscript in the handwriting of Fakhr al-Kuttāb Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī Ibrāhīm al-Juwaynī *al-kātib*<sup>22</sup> a poem composed for al-Shaykh al-Sadīd, who was his friend, consoling him about the burning of his house and the loss of his valuables. There was familiarity and great friendship between them:<sup>23</sup>

O you, whose blessing is an old duty  
 for those of us who are either subordinate or superior:  
 How many petitioners (*‘āfin*) have you restored to a healthy state  
 (*‘awāft*)!  
 And how many of us did you strip of the cloth of misery!  
 You, whose soul (*nafs*) is in a higher place  
 than valuable (*manfūs*) and precious (*nafts*) things lost:

20 He is Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-Khāliq, known as al-Şāhib Şafī al-Dīn Ibn Shukr; see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, Ḥawādith wa-wafayāt* 621–630 H, 109–112, al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:327–330.

21 al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb was an Ayyubid prince (540–615/1145–1218) who took the honorific title of Sayf al-Dīn (Sword of the Faith). He was the brother of Saladin and ruled in Syria and Egypt in various positions during his lifetime including his attempts as heir to Saladin’s empire; *Er<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘al-‘Ādil’ (H.A.R. Gibb).

22 Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Juwaynī al-Kātib, known as Ibn al-Lu‘aybah, died in Cairo 586/1190. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, ix:43–46; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:131–132; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:127–128.

23 Metre: *wāfir*; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:335–336 (where the poet’s *ism* is wrongly given as al-Ḥusayn).

You have swallowed a bitter draught that tasted more sweetly,  
 to someone like you, than a vintage red wine.  
 So view what afflicted you in the light of the piety  
 of your character traits, which are like suns.  
 Being struck with what became a reward  
 will make you see good tidings at the day of frowning,<sup>24</sup>  
 God's gift, on the Day of Presentation (*'arḍ*),<sup>25</sup> will surpass,  
 as compensation, lowly impermanent gain (*'arad*).  
 The worries of people in this world are a drink  
 that goes round for them, as cups do.  
 You desire repose (*rawḥ*) in this world with a mind  
 that sees souls (*arwāḥ*) in it in prisons.<sup>26</sup>  
 All events in this world are insignificant  
 when the relics of souls remain.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – have also transcribed from a manuscript in his hand a poem about the glorious deeds of al-Qāḍī al-Sadīd, built on two lines that were composed about him; these are:<sup>27</sup>

For every health that has been wiped out there is a time;  
 but if you visit a sick person you are one of its times.  
 Stay well, so that those whose pains you alleviate may be well,  
 for through you the world has been healthy, in any case.

Then he [Fakhr al-Kuttāb al-Juwaynī *al-kātib*] composed these lines:

Through you my soul has been made aware of the pleasure of being  
 alive:  
 Praised be He who revived it as soon as it had died!  
 It had already reached the water-basins of Death,<sup>28</sup> but you rescued it,  
 with God's will, after its decease,

24 A reference to the Day of Judgement, see Q *al-Insān* 76:10: «*We fear from our Lord a frowning day*».

25 One of the many expressions meaning Doomsday.

26 Translation uncertain and sense unclear.

27 Metre: *kāmil*. It is not clear by whom these two lines are; they recur at the end of the poem. On composing lines on a given model, called *ijāzah*, see Ibn Rashīq, *'Umdah*, ii:89–91, Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Badā'ī*, 69–163.

28 An old expression (see e.g. the famous ode by Ka'b ibn Zuhayr on the prophet Muḥammad, *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah*, vs. 55).

And you restored what had slipped from it, by the power of a Powerful  
 One,  
 who retrieves things after they have slipped away.  
 Therefore you are to be thanked, after thanking its God,  
 at all times of its diverse sustenance.<sup>29</sup>  
 What a good soul you have! How perfect is its light!  
 Is it for its knowledge we<sup>30</sup> should aim, or its blessings?  
 A piety that makes the spirit dwell where it belongs,  
 and an intellect that protects the souls from its ills.  
 So many lives like mine have you snatched from perdition:  
 you held them back when they were in the pangs of death.  
 You flooded them (*ghamartahā*) with care and cure (*birran wa-bur'an*),  
 after  
 maladies had thrown them into mortal throes (*ghamarātihā*).  
 You wrested them from the wrestle with death while it was resisting,  
 to a breeze of repose for the soul, away from their throats(?).<sup>31</sup>  
 How often have you, with God's permission, visited someone who was  
 taking  
 leave of his soul, and restored it to its normal ways!  
 You whose words, like<sup>32</sup> reciting the Qur'an,  
 give cure by their effusions;  
 O well-guided<sup>33</sup> qadi, who has become  
 one of the virtues of the Noble Religion;  
 You, who possess supports science with an innate talent,  
 that imagines things in their mirror:

29 At first sight *aqwātihā* looks like an error for *awqātihā* (as in MSS LGbGc); but the former, found in the other sources and explicitly confirmed by MS A, may be correct; possibly an allusion to *Q Fuṣṣilat* 41:10, «*He measured in it [viz. the world] its diverse sustenance (aqwā-tahā) in four days*».

30 The reading *ta'tāmu* is also possible: 'it (scil. the soul) aims'.

31 Literally, 'from their uvulas', apparently meaning that life was saved just as the soul was about to depart with the last breath.

32 Adopting the reading of MS Gb: *ka-tilāwati l-qurāni*, which is more plausible than *li-tilāwati l-qurāni* ("because of the recitation of the Qur'an") found in all other sources. On the Qur'an as medicine, see e.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 352–353, where 'Qur'an' is listed in an alphabetical series of medicaments, with a reference to *Q al-Isrā'* 17:82, where the Qur'an is called 'a healing'. For 'prophetic medicine' (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*) in general, see Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 71–75, 150–152; Perho, *The Prophet's Medicine*.

33 *Al-sadīd*, a reference to the name whereby he is known.

How excellent, your thinking, which perceives whatever  
 is lurking in one's limbs, from all their aspects!  
 It protects the path of the spirit from makers of mischief on it,<sup>34</sup>  
 thus it is as if he is a governor in charge of its roads.  
 Truly, there are subtle things in mankind  
 hidden unto them: you are one of their signs.  
 "For every health that has been wiped out there is a time;  
 but if you visit a sick person you are one of its times.  
 Stay well, so that those whose pains you alleviate may be well,  
 for through you the world has been healthy, in any case."

And I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have also copied from a manuscript in his hand-writing some lines that he had composed about his treatment for a very grave disease, addressed to al-Shaykh al-Sadīd:<sup>35</sup>

I keep thanking, not being diverted from it,  
 an envoy between me and my God,  
 Who restored, with God's permission, my spirit, though  
 I had almost not returned to existence, nor had it:  
 He is the Master, al-Qāḍī al-Sadīd, of whom  
 I boast to those in high places, and pride myself.  
 Were it not that creatures are finite, I would say there is no  
 finitude to his utmost extents in noble deeds.  
 A keen insight illuminates problems for him,  
 which makes him see hidden, invisible things as they are.  
 The reins of healthy states and sicknesses are in his hand,  
 he commands and forbids among both parties.  
 How excellent you are, O servant of God!<sup>36</sup> So often has the world  
 been proud of your splendour, while you are not proud.  
 You are exalted above pure water; water  
 cannot be compared with refreshing air.

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd died, may God have mercy upon him, in Cairo in 592/1195.<sup>37</sup>

34 Reading, with MS A, *dhu'ārihī*; it could also be read as *dhu'āratin*, even though this form is not attested elsewhere. Reading *dha'āratin*, 'mischief' would not suit the metre. The forms with *dh*, instead of the more correct *d*, are so common that they should perhaps be left as found.

35 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

36 'Abd al-Ilāh, a variant of the addressee's given name, 'Abd Allāh.

37 The year 592 began on 6 December 1195 and al-Shaykh al-Sadīd may well have died in 1196, for we do not know the specific month in which he died.

14.32 Ibn Jumay<sup>1</sup>

[14.32.1]

Al-shaykh al-Muwaffaq Shams al-Riyāṣah Abū l-‘Ashā’ir Hibat Allāh ibn Zayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Ifrā’im ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Jumay‘ al-Isrā’īlī was not only a famous physician and well-known scholar, but also a personage of distinction. Ibn Jumay‘ was versatile, being learned in many disciplines. He worked hard at the art of medicine, becoming skilled at treatment and composing works on the subject. He studied for a time under the tutelage of al-shaykh al-Muwaffaq Abū Naṣr ‘Adnān ibn al-‘Aynzarbī.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Jumay‘ was born and raised in Fustat (Old Cairo). He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin), enjoying the ruler’s favour and holding an influential position of the highest level during his reign. It was for Saladin, who consulted him in medical matters, that Ibn Jumay‘ compounded the great theriac known as *Fārūq*. Ibn Jumay‘ used to hold discussion sessions for those who studied the art of medicine under him. He was a man of high aspirations.

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd ibn Abī l-Bayān<sup>3</sup> has related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah – that he had studied medicine under Ibn Jumay‘ and recalled that his teacher possessed a great mastery of medicine and was an authority in its theory and outstanding in its practice.

[14.32.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah – say that this is confirmed by what we find in Ibn Jumay‘’s books. They are well-written, with many useful notes and excellent recommendations for therapies.

Ibn Jumay‘ paid particular attention to Arabic language usage and accuracy of expression. He would never give a lecture without having al-Jawharī’s Arabic dictionary, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*,<sup>4</sup> near to hand, and whenever he came across a

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For further information on Ibn Jumay‘, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 164–165; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Djāmi‘’ (J. Vernet); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Jumay‘’ (D. Nicolae); Nicolae, *Ibn Jumay*; Meyerhof, ‘Sultan Saladin’s Physician’; Chipman, *Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, 19–25.

2 The biography of ibn al-‘Aynzarbī was given earlier in Ch. 14.29.

3 Ibn Abī l-Bayān was a Jewish physician from Egypt and a contemporary and teacher of IAU who practised in various hospitals of this period including the al-Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo. His biography is given in Ch. 14.43.

4 Abū Naṣr Ismā‘īl ibn Hammād al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002 or 398/1007) was a famous Arabic lexicographer best known for his dictionary, *Tāj al-lughah wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabiyyah* which became one of the most widely used authoritative sources on the Arabic language for centuries; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Djawharī’ (L. Kopf).



word which he was not sure he understood, he would look it up, relying on what al-Jawharī said concerning it.

One day (this was when al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb<sup>5</sup> was the ruler of Egypt and Syria), I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – was at the house of al-Šāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Maṭrūḥ<sup>6</sup> in Damascus. At that time, al-Šāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn was vizier for the entire realm and Master of the Sword and Pen,<sup>7</sup> with two hundred knights in his service. In the course of our conversation, Ibn Maṭrūḥ said to me graciously, ‘No one before you has ever composed the like of your book on the classes of physicians.’ Then he asked, ‘Did you include our fellow Egyptian physicians?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘I am of the impression,’ he said, ‘that you stated that none of the earlier Egyptian physicians surpassed Ibn Riḍwān, and that of the later physicians, there was none who surpassed Ibn Jumay‘.’ ‘That is correct, my lord,’ I replied.

[14.32.3]

A man from Egypt related the following account to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah:

One day, while Ibn Jumay‘ was sitting in his shop<sup>8</sup> near the candlestick market in Fustat,<sup>9</sup> a funeral procession passed by him. When he saw the procession, he called out to the mourners, telling them that their beloved was not dead and that if they interred him, they would be burying him alive. They stood looking at him in surprise at his words, unable to believe what he had said. Then one of them said to another, ‘What harm will it do us to test what he says. If it is true, it is what we want. If it is not true, it makes no difference to us.’ They summoned him over and said, ‘Prove

5 Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb was the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt from 638/1240 to 647/1249 and before that prince in Damascus and other areas of the Ayyubid empire; see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*.

6 Abū l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā ibn ‘Isā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ (592–649/1195–1251) was a famous poet who held several high official appointments under the Ayyubid rulers of Egypt. He was appointed vizier of Damascus under al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb in 643/1245 and it was during this period that IAU was probably acquainted with him. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Maṭrūḥ’ (J. Rikabi); Hilloowala, *Analysis of Ibn Abi Usaybi‘ah*, 63, 116–117.

7 An expression meaning ‘in charge of both the military and civil administration’.

8 A *dukkān* is a common word for a pharmacy or place where medical care and medicines was dispensed.

9 The *Sūq al-Qanādīl* (Candlestick Market) is a quarter in Fustat (Old Cairo). Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes this market during his travels; see Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 149; Raymond, *Cairo*, 42.

what you just said to us.' Ibn Jumay' instructed them to return home and remove the shroud from the deceased. There he said to them, 'Carry him to the bath house.' He then poured hot water on the body to warm it up, bathed it with warm compresses and immersed it in water until a small amount of sensation was perceptible and the man moved slightly. 'Rejoice at his return to life!' cried Ibn Jumay'. He then continued treating the person until he regained consciousness and felt well. This was the beginning of Ibn Jumay's fame for excellence and knowledge in the medical art, for it seemed that he had performed a miracle. Afterward, he was asked how he had known that the body being carried covered in shrouds was still alive. 'I looked at his feet,' he replied, 'and saw that they were upright. The feet of those who have died are splayed out. So I surmised that he was alive, and my guess was correct.'<sup>10</sup>

[14.32.4]

I – Ibn Abī Usaybi'ah – say<sup>11</sup> that there was in Egypt, a man called Ibn al-Munajjim al-Miṣrī,<sup>12</sup> a famous poet who had a malicious tongue. He composed many satirical poems about Ibn Jumay'. The following is one of those poems that have been recited to me:<sup>13</sup>

Ibn Jumay' is stupid, with all his medical knowledge;  
 the medical skill of the Messiah is reviled because of him!  
 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.

10 Juan Vernet suggested that the patient in this scenario was in a cataleptic fit; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn D̲jāmi' (J. Vernet).

11 This paragraph and the next three short poems are found only in the first version of the *Ūyūn* and are omitted in versions two and three. In manuscript A, the paragraph and poems are written in the left-hand margin, preceded by the following note: 'The copyist [of this note] says: I saw in the author's draft (*musawwadat al-muṣannif*) lines of poetry satirizing the aforementioned Ibn Jumay', and that the author had struck them out and abandoned them. He did that after discussing the matter with al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Maṭrūḥ, and the lines of poetry were not included in the fair copy (*al-mubayyadah*). In his *musawwadah* he said ...'

12 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mufarrij (d. 616/1219), called al-Ma'arri after his origin and al-Miṣrī because he lived and died in Egypt, was known as Ibn al-Munajjim al-Miṣrī; see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (Miṣr)*, i:168–169, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:64, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii: 215–217, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah*, i:565.

13 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

He also said regarding Ibn Jumay':<sup>14</sup>

Leave Ibn Jumay' and his lies alone,  
 and his pretensions about medicine and geometry!  
 He is merely an impudent fellow who has come to stay;  
 if he stays in a town he brings bad luck.  
 He has made drinking his business,  
 but he drinks as does a narcissus.<sup>15</sup>

He also said about him:<sup>16</sup>

You lied, misspelling, when you claimed  
 your father was Jumay' the Jew.  
 Jumay' the Jew (*Jumay' al-Yahūdī*) is not your father,  
 but your father is 'all the Jews' (*jamī' al-yahūdī*).<sup>17</sup>

I have copied a poem from a manuscript in the handwriting of Yūsuf ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Muslim<sup>18</sup> in which he eulogizes al-shaykh al-Muwaffaq ibn Jumay' and this is it:<sup>19</sup>

O my eye, let flow the tears you contain!  
 And if your tears are depleted, then blood!  
 It is right that they should be shed for the loss of a Master  
 in whom we have lost the best of nobility and generosity,  
 The best of the people of his period in knowledge and leadership,  
 the best of them when words are difficult, obscure,  
 The best to find the right opinion when the matter is obscure,  
 who knew best what was hidden, with true understanding,

14 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

15 For the desiccating power of the narcissus (*narjis*), which is used in healing wounds, see e.g. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Jāmi'*, iv:476–477.

16 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

17 In order to make the line scan correctly and to make the play on words work one has to read, in the first hemistich, the colloquial form *al-Yahūdī* instead of *al-Yahūdiyyu*. The sense is not (as Kopf thinks) that 'your father is [as wicked as] all the Jews together', but rather that his mother was promiscuous to the extent that any male Jew could have been his father.

18 Not identified.

19 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Lines 1–3 and 10–12 in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:274.

- 5 The most magnanimous in heart, hand, and house,  
 and in face, like the dawn, when he smiled,  
 Most ready, of all those I approached, to help in an emergency,  
 most ready, of all those I hoped for, to help when suffering.  
 If he could be ransomed from death I would ransom him  
 with a soul that would be eager(?)<sup>20</sup> whenever it approaches death,  
 And with the strength of lions (*usūd*), like black snakes (*asāwid*) that  
 plunge,  
 with the shaking of an Indian sword and the might of a sharp blade.  
 But God's decree about His creatures is carried out;  
 no one can repel Him who commands and rules.
- 10 Hippocrates was not saved from death by his medical skill,  
 though he was in the first rank of its luminaries;  
 Galen could not avoid a natural death  
 but surrendered what had defeated him to Him who receives.  
 He broke Chosroes (*kasara Kisrā*) (?),<sup>21</sup> followed it up with (*tāba'a*)  
 Tubba',  
 came back (*'āda*) for 'Ād and dragged away (*jarra*) Jurhum.<sup>22</sup>  
 Therefore say openly to those who rejoice at what has befallen him  
 today:  
 Leave your ignorance; ignorance from you is at a funeral.  
 Foolish winds will pass as gales,  
 but have the plants of Yalamlam ever been shaken in their weak-  
 ness?<sup>23</sup>
- 15 Cattle whose movements are weak have not been sent to pasture freely  
 in a land where the lion is crouching.<sup>24</sup>  
 Has this not been the course<sup>25</sup> of all souls?  
 Every latecomer follows someone who preceded.

20 The meaning of *taqrumi* (thus vowelled in L) is unclear; *taqrami* normally means 'craves for meat'.

21 The reading is problematical because what looks like *lā kas(s)ara Kisrā* (all sources) is neither metrical nor meaningful. Read perhaps *la-aksara Kisrā* (even though *KSR* IV is not in the dictionaries) or emend to *la-kassara Kisrā*.

22 Chosroes (*Kisrā*, an Arabicized form of Persian *Khusraw*) and Tubba' are the generic names of the rulers of Sasanid Persia and pre-Islamic Yemen, respectively. 'Ād and Jurhum (or *Jurham*) are pre-Islamic Arabian nations.

23 Yalamlam: said to be a mountain in Arabia (*Yāqūt*, *Mu'jam al-buldān*); see Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, ii:153; *athqal min ruknay Yalamlam* ('heavier than the two corners of Yalamlam').

24 Translation uncertain.

25 Literally, 'watering place'.

There is no joy that is not followed by sorrow,  
 there is no end to any building but destruction.  
 A curse on Fate that made us, having lost him,  
 bewildered, without a guide, as if orphaned!  
 Is it not amazing that death snatched him, shooting,  
 whereas he was the best to shoot misfortunes with arrows?  
 20 The surest guide to a hidden illness with his knowledge,  
 when it had spread between flesh, bones, and blood;  
 The loftiest of his kind in his noble qualities,  
 as the full moon appears among the stars.  
 O master al-Muwaffaq,<sup>26</sup> where have gone  
 those well-strung pearls of speech we have seen?  
 What has snatched away that speech, that most eloquent tongue  
 that threw light on doubt in the gloom of a dark night?  
 What has extinguished that brightly blazing perception  
 that used to guide every traveller who reaches his goal?  
 25 Upon my life, the heart of someone grieving is not like another;  
 one whose inside is burning is not like one who suffers hardship.  
 Nor is everyone who let tears flow bereaved;  
 How can Jamīl's grief be compared to that of Mutammim!<sup>27</sup>  
 So do not reproach me if I cry, sorrowing,  
 for the measure of great grief is in proportion to who causes it to be  
 great.<sup>28</sup>  
 By God, I have not fully given him his due,  
 even if my body were every eye ... (?)<sup>29</sup>  
 Truly, I will spend my lifetime being distraught,  
 my days are over though they have not yet elapsed.  
 30 Woe to the Fates! They do not know the truth of a misfortune:  
 they struck<sup>30</sup> a master through whom every benefactor lived.  
 He rests between the stones of the earth, and through him  
 the congregation has become redolent with sweet fragrance.

26 Ibn Jumay'.

27 Jamīl ibn Ma'mar (d. 82/701), celebrated poet-lover of the tribe of 'Udhrah; Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah (1st/7th century), poet of famous elegies on the death of his brother Mālik.

28 Perhaps this is the meaning of *al-mu'azzim* (thus vowelled in A).

29 The meaning of *bi-m.r.z.m* is unclear. The sense is apparently that he wishes his body were all eyes, weeping for the deceased.

30 The syntax would seem better if one read *ramā* ('[a misfortune] that struck'), but all sources have *ramat*.

- He had an open face, pure and joyful, smiling,  
 not gruff of character or like a sullen person.  
 I used to eulogize him, honouring him,  
 and now I elegeize him, as much as a deprived one can.  
 O luminous grave of his! Your earth does not know  
 the generosity and lasting glory it contains.  
 35 May every cloud water you with spring-rain (*wasmī*),  
 letting the eye wander over it,<sup>31</sup> as a promising sign (*tawassum*)!  
 And may a sweet odour never cease to waft its fragrance from you,  
 and may the east wind's breaths convey it with someone who greets  
 you.<sup>32</sup>

[14.32.5]

Ibn Jumay' is the author of the following works:<sup>33</sup>

1. Guidance for the welfare of souls and bodies (*al-Irshād li-maṣāliḥ al-anfus wa-l-ajsād*), in four parts.<sup>34</sup>
2. Making Explicit what is Concealed: On examining the *Qānūn* (*K. al-taṣrīḥ bi-l-maknūn fī tanqīḥ al-Qānūn*).<sup>35</sup>
3. On the nature of Alexandria, the condition of its airs and waters and the like, and the circumstances of its inhabitants (*R. fī ṭab' al-Iskandariyyah wa-ḥāl hawā'ihā wa-miyāhihā wa-naḥwa dhalika min aḥwāliḥā wa-aḥwāl ahlihā*).
4. A letter addressed to al-Qāḍī al-Makīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn<sup>36</sup>

31 Translation uncertain, see textual note. Another possible reading could be *tukhīlu* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, *KhYL*: *akhālat al-sahābatu*).

32 Translation uncertain.

33 For additional information on treatises by Ibn Jumay', see Nicolae, *Ibn Jumay*, 43–54; Meyerhof, 'Sultan Saladin's Physician'; and Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entries 55 and 74. A treatise by Ibn Jumay' not included in the list below is his treatise written for Saladin on the revival of the art of medicine (see Ibn Jumay', *Treatise to Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn*).

34 Ibn Jumay' died ca. 594/1198 before finishing the treatise, and it was subsequently completed by his son Abū Ṭāhir Ismā'īl. The treatise is composed of four sections: the first concerned with the general principles of medicine, the second with materia medica and foodstuffs, the third with the treatment of diseases, and the fourth with compound remedies. Numerous copies are preserved, but there is no published edition or translation; see Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 164; Nicolae, *Ibn Jumay'*, 44–47; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry 74. For an English translation of an extract, see Ibn Jumay', 'Ibn Jami' on the Skeleton'.

35 Numerous copies are preserved of this commentary on the *Qānūn fī l-ṭibb* by Ibn Sīnā, the first such commentary to be composed. No modern edition or translation has been published. For manuscripts, see Nicolae 47–51. For selected passages, with translations, see Iskandar, *Wellcome*, 35–38; and Iskandar, 'An autograph of Ibn al-Tilmīdh', 180.

36 Not identified.

- concerning what to do if no physician is available (*R. ilā al-Qāḍī al-Makīn Abī l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn fī mā ya‘tamiduhu ḥaythu lā yajidu ṭabībān*).
5. On the lemon/lime and its syrups and beneficial uses (*M. fī al-laymūn wa-sharābihi wa-manāfi‘ihi*).<sup>37</sup>
  6. On rhubarb and its medicinal uses (*M. fī al-rāwand wa-manāfi‘ihi*).
  7. On the curvature of the spine [hunchbacks] (*M. fī al-ḥudbah*).
  8. On the treatment of colic, entitled ‘Epistle to Sayf al-Dīn [al-Malik al-‘Ādil]’<sup>38</sup> on Royal Remedies’ (*M. fī ‘ilāj al-qawlanj wa-sammāhā al-Risālah al-Sayfiyyah fī al-adwiyah al-mulūkiyyah*).

### 14.33 Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar

[14.33.1]

Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar’s honorific name was al-Sadīd (the Well-Guided).<sup>1</sup> He was a Karaite Jew,<sup>2</sup> knowledgeable in the art of medicine and skilled in its practice, with great experience and praiseworthy achievements to his credit. He served the Egyptian caliphs in the final years of their reign, and subsequently he served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (that is, Saladin), who used to consult him, depended on him for treatment and had a good opinion of him. Abū l-Bayān received from Saladin a generous salary and great consideration.

[14.33.2]

The shaykh Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar was long-lived. Toward the end of his life he became inactive due to old age and weak from [years of] great activity and frequent service. Accordingly, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, may God have mercy upon him, granted him a stipend of twenty-four Egyptian dinars a month

37 For an edition and translation, see Watson, ‘In Defence of the Lemon’.

38 Al-Malik al-‘Ādil (d. 615/1218) was brother and assistant to Saladin. He held the honorific title of Sayf al-Dīn (Sword of the Faith) and was known to the Crusaders as Saphadin. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-‘Ādil’ (H.A.R. Gibb).

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For further information on Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar, see Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 309; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Abi l-Bayān’ (J. Vernet); Meyerhof, ‘Medieval Jewish Physicians’. There is a very short entry on him by al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xv:127, listing him under ‘al-Sadīd’, as if it were an *ism* rather than a *laqab*.

2 This is a Jewish sect which does not recognize the authority of the post-biblical tradition in the Talmud. There was a Karaite community existing in Fustat during this period; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Karaites’ (L. Nemoy & W. Zajackowski).

so that he could stay home and not be troubled with the burden of service. Abū l-Bayān lived in that fashion, drawing his pension, for about twenty years. But during that period of withdrawal to his house, he did not forego his occupation with medicine, nor was his residence empty of students or persons practising under his direction or coming to consult him. During that period, he did not leave [the house] to treat anyone except those who were very dear to him.

[14.33.3]

Regarding this, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have heard that when the emir Ibn Munqidh<sup>3</sup> arrived from Yemen, he was stricken with dropsy (*istisqāʿ*) and sent for Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar to come to him quickly and treat him. But Abū l-Bayān excused himself, saying that, even though his residence was nearby, he would not go to him unless [Saladin’s secretary] al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil<sup>4</sup> instructed him to do so. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil then sent his agent, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk,<sup>5</sup> who gave him the necessary order. Abū l-Bayān thereupon went to the emir and prescribed for him the treatment that was usual in such cases.

[14.33.4]

Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar lived to the age of eighty-three and died in Cairo in the year 580/1184. His pupils included Zayn al-Ḥassāb.<sup>6</sup>

[14.33.5]

Abū l-Bayān ibn al-Mudawwar is the author of a book on his experiences in medicine (*Mujarrabātuhu fī l-ṭibb*).

3 This is probably al-Mubārak ibn Kāmil ibn ‘Alī ibn Munqidh, a member of the Banū Munqidh clan of Syria. The clan itself played a significant role in the political affairs of Syria and Egypt under the Ayyubids. Al-Mubārak ibn Kāmil became a part of the administrative system of Saladin’s government in Egypt and then participated in a military expedition to Yemen where he became governor of Zabīd for a time. He returned from Yemen to Egypt in 571/1175; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Munqidh’ (R.S. Humphreys).

4 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (529–596/1134–1199) was born in ‘Asqalān, Palestine, and served during the period of the last Fatimid caliphs in Cairo. He was a counsellor and secretary to Saladin in Egypt and accompanied him on his campaigns. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’ (C. Brockelmann & Cl. Cahen).

5 Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (550–608/1155–1211) was known as al-Qāḍī al-Saʿīd. He was a high-placed official of the Ayyūbid administration in Egypt. He encountered ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī when the latter first set foot on Egyptian soil. He was a poet from Cairo who served under the Ayyūbid princes and was a protégé of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. He wrote a work on strophic poetry (*muwashshah*). See *EAL* art. ‘Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk’ (L. Alvarez); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk’ (Ed.).

6 Not identified.



14.34 Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid<sup>1</sup>

[14.34.1]

Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid, known by the honorific al-Muhadhdhab,<sup>2</sup> was a famous physician and a celebrated scholar with remarkable knowledge, excellent practical experience, and outstanding methods of treatment. He was Jewish and well-known in both medicine and the preparation of eye medicaments (*al-kuhl*), but the latter was his specialty, and it brought him an ample income. Abū l-Faḍā'il was a master horseman,<sup>3</sup> so much so that his students and apprentices regularly did their lessons with him while he was riding on his way somewhere or visiting patients. He died in Cairo in the year 584/1188. His son, Abū l-Faraj, who embraced Islam, was also a physician and an oculist.

[14.34.2]

My father has related to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – that a Jewish friend of Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid once came to him in dire straits and asked Abū l-Faḍā'il to help him. Abū l-Faḍā'il had him sit in his house, and said to him, 'My earnings today will be yours as your good fortune and blessing from God.' Then he rode off and went to visit the ill and those whom he was treating for eye diseases. When he returned, he took out his oculist's bag (*uddat al-kuhl*) in which there were many folded-up pieces of paper, and these he began to open one by one. Some contained one or more dinars, in some there were *nāširī* dirhams<sup>4</sup> and in others *sawād* dirhams. Combined together, the value amounted to about 300

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid, see Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'. The term *al-naqid* translates to 'chief Rabbi.'

2 This is short for the honorific al-Muhadhdhab al-Din.

3 The meaning and syntax of *'aẓīm al-ishtiyām* is unusual and puzzling. It is possible that IAU himself misinterpreted the word. The etymology of *ishtiyām* is obscure; possibly from Aramaic *ishtayyāmā*, 'mark, distinction', itself of unknown origin; see Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, 1:131 and Fraenkel, *Die aramäische Fremdwörter*, 222. The normal meaning of *ishtiyām* is 'ship's captain'; see *Glossarium* to al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (ed. de Goeje), cccv–cccvī, or al-Azdī, *Hikāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī*, ed. 'Abbūd al-Shālji, 318. In all known occurrences of *ishtiyām*, sometimes spelled *istiyām*, it is used in a nautical sense, and no other text could be found where the word refers to 'riders' of animals. Yet the context here, which has no mention of a boat or river, compels the interpretation of 'master horseman'.

4 For Ayyubid *nāširī* dirhams, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'dirham' (G.C. Miles); Ehrenkreutz, 'Knowledge of the Fiscal Administration of Egypt', 503–504. In the winter 583/1187 Saladin introduced a new type of dirham called *nāširī*, so called after his honorific name al-Nāšir; its alloy was 50 per cent silver and 50 per cent copper. Given that Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid died in 584/1188, the event described here must have occurred just shortly before his death. *Sawād* dirhams were presumably minted in the Sawād, or lower Iraq.

*sawād* dirhams, which he then gave to the man saying: 'By God, in regard to all these papers, I don't know who gave me the gold or the dirhams, or how much or how little, but everything that was given to me I put into my oculist's bag.'

This account [continues Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah] suggests a very large income and great approval [from his patients].

[14.34.3]

Abū l-Faḍā'il ibn al-Nāqid is the author of a book on his experiences in medicine (*Mujarrabātuhu fī l-ṭibb*).

#### 14.35 al-Ra'īs Hibat Allāh<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ra'īs Hibat Allāh was an Israelite physician, well-known and distinguished in the domain of medicine, skilled in its practice and excellent at methods of treatment. He lived during the final years of the dynasty of Egyptian caliphs,<sup>2</sup> whom he served with his knowledge of the art of medicine. From them he had a generous income and numerous benefits. After the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, he continued to live on the bounty that they had bestowed upon him until his death in the 580s [1184–1193].

#### 14.36 al-Muwaffaq ibn Shū'ah<sup>1</sup>

[14.36.1]

Al-Muwaffaq ibn Shū'ah was an Israelite who was a notable scholar and a very eminent physician. He was famous for his mastery of the art and breadth of knowledge in medicine (*'ilm al-ṭibb*), ophthalmology (*'ilm al-kuḥl*) and wound healing (*'ilm al-jirāḥ*). He was good-natured, light-hearted, and given to joking, and he used to compose poetry and play the musical string instrument called a *qīthārah*.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Shū'ah served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) with medical advice when the latter was in Egypt, and the ruler held him in high esteem.

1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. See Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'.

2 The Fatimid dynasty ruled Egypt from 297/909 until 567/1171.

1 This biography is found in Versions 1, 2 and 3. See Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'.

2 An early string instrument of the lyre family; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Qīthāra' (A. Shiloah).

[14.36.2]

There was a Sufi jurist in Damascus – a friend of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā<sup>3</sup> – who lived at Khānqāh al-Sumaysāṭī<sup>4</sup> and was known as al-Khabūshānī,<sup>5</sup> with the nickname al-Najm ('the Star'). He was acquainted with Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb<sup>6</sup> and his brother Asad al-Dīn.<sup>7</sup> Al-Khabūshānī was sombre in nature, abstemious in his mode of life, and rigid with regard to religion, following the letter of the law.<sup>8</sup>

When Asad al-Dīn travelled to Egypt, al-Khabūshānī followed him and took up quarters in a mosque, known today as the Mosque of al-Khabūshānī, which was near the residence of the vizierate (*dār al-wizārah*). Al-Khabūshānī was sharp-tongued and would slander the inhabitants of the palace, for his way of glorifying God was to insult them. Whenever he saw a *dhimmi*<sup>9</sup> riding a horse or mule, he sought to kill him, and for that reason they used to avoid him. One day al-Khabūshānī saw Ibn Shū'ah riding and threw a stone at him, which hit his eye and knocked it out. Ibn Shū'ah died in Cairo in the year 579/1183.

[14.36.3]

The poetry of al-Muwaffaq ibn Shū'ah includes the following selection, which al-Qāḍī Nafis al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr<sup>10</sup> repeated to me (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah), saying that Al-Muwaffaq ibn Shū'ah recited to him the following lines composed by himself, after al-Najm al-Khabūshānī had knocked out his eye:<sup>11</sup>

Be not amazed that the eyes are dimmed by  
the sun's rays: that is a well-known thing.

3 This person is unidentified.

4 Khānqāh is a term of Persian origin for a building reserved for Muslim mystics; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Khānqāh' (J. Chabbi).

5 Al-Khabūshānī was a theologian of Persian origin who was rewarded for his support of the overthrow of the Fatimids in Egypt by Saladin opening a college for him. Khabūshān is a town near Nishapur. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh' (G. Wiet).

6 He was the father of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin).

7 An uncle of Saladin, he was known as Shīrkūh (d. 564/1168), eventually becoming one of the last viziers of Fatimid Egypt. He eventually helped to overthrow the Fatimid dynasty. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Shīrkūh' (D.S. Richards).

8 The expression: *ya'kulu al-dunyā bi-l-nāmūs* – literally: 'he eats away at the world by rules'.

9 A non-Muslim, but member of a revealed religion (including Christianity and Judaism) that was given protected status under Islam; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Dhimma' (Cl. Cahen).

10 For the physician al-Qāḍī Nafis al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr, see Ch. 14.47.

11 Metre: *basīṭ*.

Rather, be amazed that my eye was blinded because I looked  
at al-Najm ('the Star'), whereas he is a slight, obscure person

He (Nafis al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr) also recited to me the following, saying 'The  
aforementioned – that is, Ibn Shū'ah – recited to me the following lampoon  
composed by himself on Ibn Jumay',<sup>12</sup> the Jew':<sup>13</sup>

You, who claim to know medicine and geometry,  
you have clearly demonstrated, Ibn Jumay', your falsehood.  
If you have any knowledge of medicine, why are your powers  
unable to cure the illness hidden in yourself?  
You need for this a physician who will treat you  
with a sharpened scalpel two spans long;  
Though you will not be cured by it. – Now speak and answer  
that question, with discrimination and thought!  
O geometer who has a shape he raves about,  
though only a prism would desire the like,  
A cylindrical body on spheres  
composed of a cone and a circle.  
... except half an angle  
... like a rope in a well.<sup>14</sup>

And he also said:<sup>15</sup>

A garden, liberally watered by spring's downpour,  
so that it liberally has granted us a brocade by no hand woven:  
The blooming yellow and white in it are like  
gold and silver, assayed in hand of the wind;  
And the scent of its lavender divulges what it has hidden,  
and its turtle doves lament, plaintively, in their passion.

12 For Ibn Jumay', see Ch. 14.32.

13 Metre: *basīt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:273–274.

14 The text is defective and the sense unclear.

15 Metre: *basīt*.

14.37 Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍā'ī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍā'ī, known by the honorific al-Muwaffaq,<sup>2</sup> was one of a group of physicians who were experienced and distinguished in the art of medicine. He was celebrated for his learning in that domain and famous for his breadth of knowledge regarding its practice, but he devoted himself particularly to ophthalmology (*ṣinā'at al-kuḥl*) and wound healing (*al-jirāḥ*), and in those arts he was counted among the experts. He served al-Malik al-'Azīz ibn al-Mālik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn<sup>3</sup> in Egypt with medical advice. Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Quḍā'ī died in Cairo in the year 598/1201.

14.38 Abū l-Ma'ālī ibn Tammām<sup>1</sup>

[14.38.1]

Abū l-Ma'ālī Tammām ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Tammām, a Jew, was a person of abundant learning and great insight. He was well-known under the ruling dynasty, being described as excellent and much praised for his methods of treatment. He lived in Old Cairo (Fustat). Some of his children converted to Islam. He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) with medical advice and enjoyed favour during his reign. Thereafter, he served Saladin's brother al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb.<sup>2</sup>

1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is not found in Version 2. See Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians.'

2 An abbreviation for the more common honorific Muwaffaq al-Dīn.

3 He was the second son of Saladin and became ruler of Egypt upon the death of his father and reigned 589–595/1193–1198. See *ET Three* art. 'Ayyūbids' (Anne-Marie Eddé).

1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is not found in Version 2. Abū l-Ma'ālī ibn Tammām was probably the brother-in-law of Mūsā ibn Maymūn (Maimonides); see Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians', 450 n. 50; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 318. For Maimonides, see Ch. 14.39.

2 Al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb was brother and assistant to Saladin. He held the honorific title of Sayf al-Dīn (Sword of the Faith) and was known to the Crusaders as Saphadin. After the death of Saladin in 589/1193, internal struggles plagued the Ayyubid Empire until al-'Ādil managed to consolidate power under him and his sons in 604/1207. He died outside of Damascus at 'Āliqīn on 7 Jumādā 1 615 [31 August 1218]. See *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-'Ādil' (H.A.R. Gibb).

[14.38.2]

Abū l-Maʿālī ibn Tammām is the author of a book on notes and experiences in medicine (*Taʿālīq wa-mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb*).

### 14.39 al-Raʿīs Mūsā [Maimonides]<sup>1</sup>

[14.39.1]

Al-Raʿīs Mūsā (Master Mūsā/Moses) was Abū ʿImrān Mūsā ibn Maymūn al-Qurṭubī,<sup>2</sup> a Jew, learned in the customs of the Jewish people and numbered amongst their religious authorities<sup>3</sup> and most distinguished scholars. In Egypt, he was the head (*al-raʿīs*) of their community,<sup>4</sup> for he was peerless in his time in the art of medicine and its practice, and also was versatile in many disciplines and well-versed in philosophy. Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) became aware of him and sought his medical advice, as did Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlī.<sup>5</sup>

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- 1 This biography is found in all three versions. In the West al-Raʿīs Mūsā is known as Maimonides, the great Jewish philosopher and religious scholar; in the Jewish tradition he is often called by his acronym Rambam (*Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon*); see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 30, 49, 77, 78, 98, 106, 110, 120, 121, 298, 317, 320, 351, 388; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 167–170; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 317–319; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Maymūn' (G. Vajda); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* art. 'Maimonides, Moses' (L.I. Rabinowitz, et al.) xiii:381–397; Kraemer, 'Maimonides: An Intellectual Portrait'; Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'; Langermann, 'L'oeuvre médicale de Maimonide, un aperçu general'; Langermann, 'Maimonides and the Sciences'; Bos, 'Maimonides' Medical Works'; Bos, 'Reception of Galen in Maimonides'; Freudenthal & Zonta, 'Avicenna Among Medieval Jews'; Chipman, 'Jewish Presence in Arabic Writings on Medicine', 397 (for a different translation of the brief biography presented here).
  - 2 Al-Raʿīs Mūsā ibn Maymūn was born in Cordova (al-Qurṭubī) in 532/1138; see Bos, 'Reception of Galen in Maimonides', 139 n. 2; Stroumsa, *Maimonides in his World*, 8.
  - 3 The term *ḥibr* (pl. *aḥbār*) refers to any non-Muslim religious authority, and in the case of the Jewish community is used for a rabbi.
  - 4 The assertion that he was the 'head' (*raʿīs*) of the Jewish community in Egypt may have implied some official administrative duties, although there is no corroborating evidence for this. Some scholars suggest that he may have reported to Muslim authorities in Egypt on both the Rabbanite and Karaite Jewish communities (Stroumsa, *Maimonides in his World*, 40 and n. 57) while others are skeptical of the claim that he was head of the community in Egypt (*raʿīs al-yahūd*); see Bos, 'Reception of Galen in Maimonides', 139 n. 5.
  - 5 Al-Malik al-Afḍal Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn (d. 622/1225) was the eldest son of Saladin and became ruler of Damascus and head of the Ayyubids upon the death of his father but quickly lost this position to other Ayyubid rulers and princes. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Afḍal' (H.A.R. Gibb).

[14.39.2]

It has been said that al-Raʿīs Mūsā had converted to Islam while in the Maghrib, memorized the Qurʾan and studied Islamic jurisprudence. Then, when he went to Egypt and took up residence in Old Cairo,<sup>6</sup> he reverted to his former faith.<sup>7</sup>

[14.39.3]

Al-Qaḍī al-Saʿīd ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk<sup>8</sup> composed the following verses in praise of al-Raʿīs Mūsā:<sup>9</sup>

I see that Galen's medicine is for the body only,  
 but Abū ʿImrān's medicine is for mind and body.  
 If he were to treat Time with his medical knowledge  
 he would cure it of ignorance with knowledge.  
 And if the full moon were to seek his medical advice  
 the fullness it claims would be fulfilled,  
 And he would treat, on the day of its fullness, its spots  
 and cure it, on the day of its invisibility, of its sickness.

[14.39.4]

Al-Raʿīs Mūsā is the author of the following works:<sup>10</sup>

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- 6 Fustat was an area of Egypt where there was a large Jewish population.
- 7 In 555/1160, when Maimonides was in his early twenties, his family and he moved to Fez, close to the capital of the Almohads (*Muwahhidūn*), a Berber dynasty that deprived religious minorities of their traditional protected rights in Islam. This passage is one of only two sources for the 'forced conversion' of Maimonides to Islam, the other source being Ibn al-Qiftī, who says: *wa-lammā aẓhara shiʿār al-islām iltazama bi-juzʾiyyātihi min al-qirāʾah wa-l-ṣalāh* ('when he proclaimed the credo of Islam, he observed its particular duties such as reciting the Qurʾan and prayer'); Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrikh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 317. IAU may have obtained his information from Maimonides' son Abraham, whom IAU worked with in the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo (see below, Ch. 14.40), while Ibn al-Qiftī may have relied on a student of Maimonides named Joseph Ibn Shimʿon. See Stroumsa, *Maimonides in his World*, 57–61, esp., n. 18 & n. 31.
- 8 Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Jaʿfar ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211), *qāḍī* and prolific poet of traditional poetry and of the strophic poems called *muwashshahāt*, on which he was the first to write a treatise. See *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk' (Ed.); *EAL* art. 'Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk' (L. Alvarez).
- 9 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dīwān*, ii:296; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, iv:176 (lines 1, 3–4).
- 10 For additional works by al-Raʿīs Mūsā ibn Maymūn that are not mentioned in IAU and for further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, *passim*; Ullmann, *Medizin*,

1. An abridgment of the sixteen books of Galen (*Ikhtisār al-kutub al-sittah ‘ashara li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>11</sup>
2. On haemorrhoids and their treatment (*M. fī l-bawāsīr wa-‘ilājihā*).<sup>12</sup>
3. On the regimen of health (*M. fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥah*), which he composed for al-Malik al-Afḍal ‘Alī, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.<sup>13</sup>
4. On poisons and protection against lethal drugs (*M. fī l-sumūm wa-l-taḥar-ruz min al-adwiyah al-qattālah*).<sup>14</sup>
5. Commentary on [the names of] drugs (*K. sharḥ al-‘uqqār*).<sup>15</sup>
6. A large book on the religion of the Jewish people (*K. kabīr ‘alā madhhab al-Yahūd*).<sup>16</sup>

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48–49, 61–62, 167–169; Seeskin, *Cambridge Companion to Maimonides*; and the bibliographic introductions by Gerrit Bos to the ongoing series *The Medical Works of Moses Maimonides*, of which Volumes 1–10 were published by Brigham Young University Press in Provo, Utah, and Volumes 11–12 by Brill in Leiden.

- 11 The ‘sixteen books’ of Galen refer to the summaries of the so-called ‘Canon’ of sixteen books read by the Alexandrians, for which see Ch. 6.3–4 and Savage-Smith, ‘Galen’s Lost Ophthalmology’. For an English translation of portions of al-Ra’īs Mūsā’s summary of these sixteen books, see Maimonides, *Art of Cure*.
- 12 For an edition and English translation of this short treatise, composed about 583/1187 at the request of an unidentified youth, see Maimonides, *On Hemorrhoids*.
- 13 This essay on medical regimen was written in 594/1198 at the request of the eldest son of Saladin, al-Malik al-Afḍal ‘Alī (r. 582–592/1186–1196). For an English translation, see Maimonides, *Regimen of Health*, 16–31; and Maimonides, *On the Regimen of Health* (Bos & McVaugh).
- 14 This treatise on antidotes for poisons and poisonous bites was composed in 595/1199 at the request of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), vizier to Saladin. For an edition and English translation, see Maimonides, *On Poisons*.
- 15 All copies give the title as *K. sharḥ al-‘uqqār*, although the usual form in modern scholarship is *K. sharḥ asmā’ al-‘uqqār*. For an English translation, see Maimonides, *Glossary of Drug Names*.
- 16 This is likely to be his philosophical treatise *Dalālat al-ḥā’irīn* (*The Guide of the Perplexed*), composed in Judeo-Arabic; for an English translation, see Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*. It might also be a reference to Maimonides’ codification of Jewish Law entitled *Mishneh Torah*.



14.40 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Raʿīs Mūsā<sup>1</sup>

[14.40.1]

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Raʿīs Mūsā (Abraham, the son of Master Moses) – that is, Abū l-Munā Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā ibn Maymūn – was born and raised in Old Cairo (Fustat). He was a well-known physician, learned in the art of medicine and skilled in its practice. He was in the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>2</sup> but also frequently left the palace to visit the hospital in Cairo,<sup>3</sup> where he treated the ill.

[14.40.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – met him in Cairo in the year 631/1233 or 632/1234 while I was practising in the hospital there. I found him to be a tall elderly man, slim of build, charming in company, witty in conversation, and distinguished in medicine. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Raʿīs Mūsā died in Egypt in the 630s [1232–1241].<sup>4</sup>

14.41 Abū l-Barakāt ibn Shaʿyā<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Barakāt ibn Shaʿyā, known by the honorific title of al-Muwaffaq,<sup>2</sup> was an elderly man famous for his great experience (*kathīr al-tajārib*) and praised for his practice of the medical art. He was a Karaite Jew who died in Cairo at the

1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. See Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'. As his name indicates, he was a son of Mūsā ibn Maymūn (Maimonides); for the latter, see the previous entry, Ch. 14.39.

2 Al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238) was the fifth Ayyubid ruler in Egypt; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Kāmil' (H.L. Gottschalk).

3 This is 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 phrase *al-bimāristān alladhī bi-l-Qāhirah min al-qaṣr* may also refer to the fact that 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; see Rageb, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 84–89.

4 In *Ms R* there is a long marginal note reproducing an account of the apostasy of Maimonides given by the historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 763/1363); see the Arabic edition of Ch. 14.40.2 in Vol. 2-2. and also Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, iv:175–176. An English translation of this passage can be found in Margoliouth, 'The Legend of the Apostasy of Maimonides', 539–540.

1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. See Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'.

2 An abbreviation for the more common honorific Muwaffaq al-Dīn.

age of eighty-six. He left a son called Saʿīd al-Dawlah Abū l-Fakhr who was also a physician and resident of Cairo.

#### 14.42 al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī<sup>1</sup>

[14.42.1]

Al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī – that is, Asʿad al-Dīn Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāq – was a Jew from al-Maḥallah,<sup>2</sup> a provincial town in Egypt. He was a distinguished scholar, devoted to philosophy (*ḥikmah*) and the study of its smallest subtleties. He was renowned in the art of medicine and an expert in drug remedies (*al-mudāwāh*) and medical treatment (*ʿilāj*). Al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī lived in Cairo, but early in the year 598 [autumn 1201] he travelled to Damascus, where he remained for a while. After having been drawn into numerous disputes with a prominent physician there, however, he suffered misfortunes and eventually returned to Egypt. He died in Cairo.

[14.42.2]

The following anecdote illustrates his skill in treatment:<sup>3</sup>

A certain female member of our family became afflicted with an ailment, a change in her temperament (*taghayyur mizāj*), which persisted with no treatment bringing any benefit. When al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī examined her,

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- 1 This biography is found in all three versions. For al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī, see the introduction by Oliver Kahl to his edition/translation of al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī's, *Treatise on the errors of the physicians in Damascus*, 3–11, where Kahl gives the author's primary form of personal name as Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāq al-Isrāʾīlī, rather than al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī; see Kahl, *Treatise on the Errors of Physicians*. See also Meyerhof, 'Medieval Jewish Physicians'; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 159 n. 2, 201 n. 5.
  - 2 A noun of place, the term *maḥallah* was given to approximately a hundred towns or villages in Egypt. The term designated a place where one makes a stop along a journey. Its precise identification in this context is uncertain, but it is very likely the city now known as al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā, an ancient and large town in the Delta; see e.g. *EI<sup>2</sup> art.* 'al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā' (J.H. Kramers). For the term *maḥallah*, see *EI<sup>2</sup> art.* 'Maḥalla' (Ch. Pellat).
  - 3 This entire story is missing from all the manuscript copies used in this edition and from the main text of MS A based on his first exemplar. It was, however, added in the margin of MS A, taken from the 'draft copy' in the author's hand that the copyist was collating against his first exemplar. At the end the author added the note "This section needs to be completed because it was in the margin and was cut off", indicating that the 'draft copy' in the author's hand was damaged at this point and that this anecdote had been added by IAU at a later date in the margin of his 'draft copy.'

he said to my [that is, Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah’s] paternal uncle,<sup>4</sup> who was his friend, ‘I have pastilles (*aqrāṣ*) which I have prepared specifically for this illness. She will recover, God willing. She should take one with syrup of oxymel<sup>5</sup> every day in the morning.’ He gave him the pastilles and after she had taken them, she recovered.

[14.42.3]

Al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī is the author of the following works:<sup>6</sup>

1. On medical principles (*M. fī qawānīn ṭibbiyyah*), in six chapters.<sup>7</sup>
2. *The Diversions*<sup>8</sup> (*K. al-nuzah*), on the analysis of the likeness that vision perceives to occur in mirrors.
3. On the temperament of Damascus and its location, the differences between it and Cairo, and which is healthier and more balanced (*K. fī mizāj Dimashq wa-waḍ‘ihā wa-tafāwutihā min Miṣr wa-ayyuhumā aṣaḥḥ wa-a‘dal*), as well as other medical questions and answers, in three chapters.<sup>9</sup>
4. Medical questions and answers (*Masā’il ṭibbiyyah wa-ajwibatuhā*), asked [by al-As‘ad and answered] by a certain physician of Damascus, Ṣadaqah ibn Manjā ibn Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī.<sup>10</sup>

4 This is probably IAU’s uncle Rashīd al-Dīn, who was a physician. For his biography, see Ch. 15.51.

5 Oxymel (*sakanjubīn*, or *sakanjabīn*) is a syrup made of honey and vinegar. Often combined with other ingredients, such as quince, it was a popular remedy throughout the ancient and medieval literature for fevers and indigestion. It was also used to combat opium poisoning. See Chipman, *Pharmacists in Mamluk Cairo*, 185–186, 193–196; Tibi, *Medicinal Use of Opium*, 93, 152; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 60; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, no. 149; Marin & Waines, ‘Ibn Sīnā on *Sakanjabīn*’.

6 For the following books, as well as several additional treatises attributed to al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī, and manuscripts preserving them, see al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī, *Treatise on the errors of the physicians in Damascus*, 4–5.

7 This treatise appears not to be preserved today under this name. However, a medical treatise by al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī in six chapters (*abwāb*) concerned with nutrition, dietetics and medicaments has been edited and translated into English by Oliver Kahl, using three manuscripts, none of which bears a title; Kahl has reconstructed the title as ‘Treatise on the Errors of the Physicians in Damascus’; see al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī, *Treatise on the errors of the physicians in Damascus*, 12–13. It is possible that the latter tract is the same as *Fī qawānīn ṭibbiyyah* (On medical principles).

8 The title *al-Nuzah* could also be rendered as *The Excursions*. Oliver Kahl, in his list of treatises by al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī, reads the title as *al-Nazah* and translates it as ‘The Infallible Explanation’ (al-As‘ad al-Maḥallī, *Treatise on the errors of the physicians in Damascus*, 4).

9 MS B takes the last phrase, referring to the book consisting of three chapters, and makes that the full title, reading ‘A book in three chapters, on medicine’.

10 The treatise was actually composed by Ṣadaqah ibn Manjā ibn Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī in

14.43 al-Shaykh al-Sadīd ibn Abī l-Bayān<sup>1</sup>

[14.43.1]

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd ibn Abī-l-Bayān – that is, Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Bayān Sulaymān ibn Abī l-Faraj Isrāʾīl ibn Abī l-Ṭayyib Sulaymān ibn Mubārak – was a Karaite Israelite born in Cairo in the year 556/1160. He was a recognized master of the medical art, in which he was proficient, having been distinguished in both theory and practice and experienced with simple and compound remedies. Whenever we treated the patients at the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – 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.

Among the physicians of his time, Ibn Abī l-Bayān was the most capable in compounding drugs and knowing the appropriate quantities and weights. So much so that when patients with various illnesses, even rare ones, came to consult him, he would dictate on the spot, in accordance with just what that patient required, medical prescriptions for compound drugs such as pastilles (*al-aqrāṣ*), medicinal powders (*al-safūfāt*), syrups (*al-ashribah*) and so forth. These prescriptions were of the utmost quality and very well designed.

[14.43.2]

His teacher in the art of medicine was al-Raʾīs Hibat Allāh ibn Jumayʿ al-Yahūdī,<sup>2</sup> but he also studied under Abū l-Faḍāʾil ibn al-Naqīd.<sup>3</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd ibn Abī l-Bayān was in the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup>

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response to questions asked him by al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī, and hence technically should not be in this book-list. In the biography of Ṣadaqah ibn Manjā given by IAU (Ch. 15.47) the sixth title is *A treatise in which he answered medical questions put to him by the Jew al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī (Maqālah ajāba fihā ʿan masʾal tibbiyyah saʿalahu ʿanhā al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī al-Yahūdī)*. See also al-Asʿad al-Maḥallī, *Treatise on the errors of the physicians in Damascus*, 5 and 59.

- 1 This biography is found in all three versions. For biographical information and information on his works, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 309; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica* 216–217; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Abī-l-Bayān’ (J. Vernet); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Abī l-Bayān’ (L. Chipman); Meyerhof, ‘Medieval Jewish Physicians’; Chipman, *Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, 38–46.
- 2 See Ch. 14.32.
- 3 See Ch. 14.34.
- 4 The successor to Saladin and Ayyubid ruler of Egypt from 596/1200 to 614/1218.

I have found the following lines of poetry referring to him:<sup>5</sup>

If an illness is complicated, internally,  
 Ibn al-Bayān will come with a clear exposition (*bayān*) of it.  
 So if you are desirous of good health,  
 then take from him immunity against your disease.

Ibn Abī l-Bayān lived over eighty years, but towards the end of his life his eyesight became weak.

[14.43:3]

Al-Shaykh al-Sadīd ibn Abī l-Bayān is the author of the following works:

1. A medical formulary (*K. al-aqrābādhīn*), in twelve chapters. He made a good collection [of material] and went to great lengths in its composition, limiting himself to the compound drugs generally used in the hospitals and pharmacies of Egypt, Syria and Iraq. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – read it under his guidance and corrected my copy with his help.<sup>6</sup>
2. Notes on Galen’s book, *On Causes and Symptoms* (*Ta‘ālīq ‘alā Kitāb al-‘ilal wa-l-a‘rāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>7</sup>

5 Metre: *mutaqārib*. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:467.

6 This work is often referred to as *al-Dustūr al-bīmāristānī fi l-adwiyah al-murakkabah* (The hospital register of compound drugs). The treatise was first published by Paul Sbath in 1932 (Sbath, ‘Le formulaire des hôpitaux d’ Ibn abil Bayan’). The manuscript employed by Sbath (dated 874/1469 and in his own collection) was reproduced photographically and prefaced with a Castilian translation in José Luis Valverde and Carmen Peña Muñoz (Ibn Abī l-Bayān, *El formulario de los hospitales*). The treatise was published a second time, with a French translation, by Paul Sbath (posthumously) and Cristos D. Avierinos from a manuscript that falsely attributed it to Sahlān ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Kaysān (Ibn Abī l-Bayan, *Al-Dustūr al-bīmāristānī*, Sbath & Avierinos). For an edition and English translations of portions of this treatise, see Ibn Abī l-Bayān, ‘A Hospital Handbook’.

7 The parts of this late antique amalgam are preserved separately; see Ch. 5.1.37 no. 14. See also Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 42–47; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 89, 90, 146.

14.44 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir<sup>1</sup>

[14.44.1]

Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir – that is, *al-Shaykh al-Imām al-Ālim* Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Aqīl al-Qaysī, also known as Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir – was the best of physicians and master of scholars, unique in his time and unrivalled in his day. He mastered the medical art, distinguishing himself in its two areas of theory and practice. In addition, he was much occupied with belles-lettres (*‘ilm al-adab*), in which he took a keen interest, and he composed a great deal of poetry that was well-constructed with original motifs.

[14.44.2]

Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir – may God have mercy upon him – was a man of great virtue, well-versed in classical Arabic, recognized for his achievements and characterized by a good disposition. In his beneficence, he gave generously to the elite and the common people alike and bestowed many favors upon them. Born and raised in Damascus, he studied the art of medicine under the Imām Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh<sup>2</sup> and the shaykh Raḍī l-Dīn al-Raḥbī.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir served al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn<sup>4</sup> with medical advice, and while in Egypt he stayed with al-Malik al-‘Azīz, who appointed him as chief physician (*riyāsat al-ṭibb*). He remained in the service of al-Malik al-‘Azīz and enjoyed numerous favours and gifts from him until the ruler died – may God have mercy upon him – in Cairo on the night of Sunday, the twentieth of Muḥarram in the year 595 [22 November 1198]. Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir continued to reside in Egypt and subsequently entered the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>5</sup> whom he served for several years. Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir died in Cairo – may God have mercy upon him.

1 This biography is found in Versions 1, 2 and 3. No treatises by Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir are known to be preserved and none are mentioned by IAU. For biographies of his son Faṭḥ al-Dīn, who was an oculist, and his grandson Shihāb al-Dīn, also a prominent physician, see Ch. 14.45 and Ch. 14.46. Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir also had another grandson, Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān ibn Aḥmad, who is known today through his treatise on the medicinal and magical uses of animals, *Badā’i’ al-akwām fi manāfi’ al-ḥayawān* (see Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 33–34).

2 See Ch. 15.13.

3 See Ch. 15.36.

4 Al-‘Azīz ibn al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 589–595/1193–1198), the second son of Saladin who became ruler of Egypt upon the death of his father. See *EI Three* art. ‘Ayyūbids’ (A.-M. Eddé).

5 Al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238) was the fifth Ayyubid ruler in Egypt; *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘al-Kāmil’ (H.L. Gottschalk).

[14.44.3]

One of his friends related the following account to me – Ibn Abī Usaybi‘ah:

One day, when Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir was out riding in a neighbourhood of Cairo, he saw a vendor of boiled chickpeas sitting on a stone bench while a Jewish oculist was standing in front of him. In the oculist’s hand was a container of eye medicines (*mukḥulah*) and a probe<sup>6</sup> which he was using to apply a collyrium to the eyes of the vendor. When Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir saw the oculist in that position, he steered his mule toward him and hit him on the head with his switch, cursing him when he was alongside him, saying, ‘Even though you are lowly yourself, the Art<sup>7</sup> has its honour. You should have sat down by his side while treating his eyes, and not remained standing before a common chickpea vendor.’ Then, the oculist was contrite and swore not to do it again and went on his way.

[14.44.4]

I – Ibn Abī Usaybi‘ah – say that a group [of pupils] studied under the shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir, and they were distinguished in the medical art. The most distinguished and the most exalted of his students, and the one who was most knowledgeable, was my paternal uncle, the learned Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah<sup>8</sup> – may God have mercy upon him.

6 *Mīl*, a probe or style by which a medicinal lotion or compound ocular remedy (*kuḥl* pl. *akḥal*) was applied to the eye.

7 The ‘art’ (*al-ṣinā‘ah*) is of course the art of medicine (*ṣinā‘at al-tibb*), a phrase universally used at this time for the science and practice of medicine. In addition, the author may well have been referencing the first aphorism of Hippocrates (‘Life is short, the Art long, ...’), which was known to virtually all well-educated people of his day.

8 See Ch. 15.51.

#### 14.45 Faṭḥ al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir<sup>1</sup>

Faṭḥ al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir was similar to his father, Jamāl al-Dīn,<sup>2</sup> with regard to learning, merit, illustriousness and generosity. He was pure of soul (*nazīh al-naḥs*), sound in his conjectures, and the most learned of men in terms of the knowledge of diseases and the identification of causes and symptoms, as well as being skilled at treatment and drug therapies. He was also courteous in conduct and interactions with others,<sup>3</sup> and possessed high standards, great virtue and eloquence of speech, and was very charitable.

Faṭḥ al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>4</sup> with medical advice, and subsequently also served his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad.<sup>5</sup> Faṭḥ al-Dīn ibn Jamāl ibn Abī Ḥawāfir died, may God have mercy upon him, in Cairo during the reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

#### 14.46 Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faṭḥ al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir<sup>1</sup>

Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faṭḥ al-Dīn was the leading scholar, the chief of physicians (*raʿīs al-aṭibbāʾ*), and the foremost sage of the age; he was without peer in his time. He encompassed all excellent qualities, towering above the ancients and moderns alike, and was a master of the medical art, both in theory and practice, with a perfect understanding of its specific and general aspects, for Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faṭḥ al-Dīn was the most knowledgeable man of his day in matters relating to the preservation and maintenance of health and the treatment and

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing in Version 1. In the published literature today, Faṭḥ al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir is most often referred to simply as Faṭḥ al-Dīn al-Qaysī. He was an oculist who composed an important treatise titled *Natījat al-fikar fi ʿilāj amrāḍ al-baṣar* (Result of thinking about the cure of eye diseases), dedicated to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the Ayyubid ruler in Egypt from 637/1240 to 647/1249. For a German translation of the *Natījat* see Bischoff, *Ergebnis des Nachdenkens* and for a partial French translation, see Kahil, 'Une ophtalmologie arabe'. See also Ullmann, *Medizin*, 212.

2 For his father, Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir, see the previous biography Ch. 14.44.

3 *Laṭīf al-tadbīr wa-l-mudāraʿah*, possibly also suggesting that he was careful when dealing with the relationships of the household and the boundaries of the household.

4 The Ayyubid ruler in Egypt from 615/1218 to 635/1238.

5 Ayyubid ruler of Egypt from 638–647/1240–1249. See *EI Three* art. 'Ayyūbids' (A.-M. Eddé); *EI<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb' (D.S. Richards).

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing in Version 1.



cure of diseases. He followed the example of his forefathers,<sup>2</sup> but surpassed his contemporaries in respect of his aspirations and pride.

He inherited noble qualities from his father and grandfather,  
like a cane spear: from node to node.<sup>3</sup>

He resided in Egypt and served al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Malikī al-Ṣāliḥī,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of Egypt and Syria, with medical advice.

#### 14.47 al-Qāḍī Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr<sup>1</sup>

[14.47.1]

Al-Qāḍī Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr – that is, al-Qāḍī l-Ḥakīm Nafīs al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Ṣadaqah ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Kūlamī (al-Kūlam being a town in India)<sup>2</sup> – was related on his mother’s side to the celebrated poet Ibn al-Zubayr,<sup>3</sup> who lived in Egypt and is the author of the following verse:<sup>4</sup>

O abode, where do you think my loved ones have betaken themselves:  
have they gone to Najd or to Tihāmah?<sup>5</sup>

2 A reference to his father and grandfather, also physicians. For their biographies, see the two previous entries, Ch. 14.44 and Ch. 14.45.

3 Metre: *kāmil*; the second hemistich is by al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, i:247. Also in Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Mas-ālik*, ix:348. ‘From node to node’: the Arabic *unbūb* used here is in fact the part between two nodes.

4 Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī was the fourth Mamluk sultan of Egypt, reigning from 658/1260 to 676/1277. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Baybars I’ (G. Weit) and *EI Three* art. ‘Baybars I, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn’ (P. Thorau).

1 This biography is found in all three versions.

2 Kūlam is the name given in medieval Arabic geographies and travel literature to the port of Quilon in Kerala. It was one of the main sea ports on the trade routes between China and the Middle East. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Kūlam’ (C.E. Bosworth).

3 Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Qāḍī al-Muhadhhab al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Zubayr (d. 561/1166), poet. See al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (Miṣr)*, i:204–225; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’*, ix:47–70; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:131–138.

4 Metre: *kāmil*. The line is by al-Qāḍī al-Muhadhhab al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Zubayr (d. 561/1166), see e.g. Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’*, ix:50, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:220 and xii:136. On this poet see also al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (Miṣr)*, i:204–225.

5 The verbs *anjada* (‘to go to Nejd’, the central Arabian plateau) and *at’hama* (‘to go to Tihāmah’, the coastal plain on the Red Sea) are often used in a more general sense, for moving to the

[14.47.2]

Al-Qāḍī Nafīs al-Dīn ibn al-Zubayr was born in the year 555/1160 or 556/1161 and studied medicine under Ibn Shū‘ah<sup>6</sup> first, and later under al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Ra‘īs al-Ṭibb (The Well-Guided Shaykh, the Master of Medicine).<sup>7</sup> He was distinguished in the art and practice of medicine and also mastered the art of ophthalmology (*ṣinā‘at al-kuḥl*) and the treatment of wounds (*‘ilm al-jirāḥ*). He became particularly famous for his skill in the art of treating eye ailments, and al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil<sup>8</sup> appointed him chief physician (*rī‘āsat al-ṭibb*) in Egypt, and there he treated eye disorders in the Nāṣirī Hospital, which had formerly been part of the palace complex of the Egyptian caliphs.<sup>9</sup> Al-Qāḍī Nafīs al-Dīn ibn Zubayr died in Cairo, may God have mercy upon him, in the 630s [1232–1242].<sup>10</sup> His sons are living in Cairo, and they are renowned for their skill in the art of ophthalmology (*ṣinā‘at al-kuḥl*) and are distinguished in its theory and practice.

#### 14.48 Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī<sup>1</sup>

[14.48.1]

Afḍal al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Nāmāwar al-Khūnajī, *al-Imām al-‘Ālim*, was the perfect leader, master of scholars and sages, unique in his time and the authority of his age. He was distinguished in the philosophical discip-

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highlands or lowlands, respectively. The verb *yammama* in the first hemistich is a play on the name of yet another Arabian region, al-Yamāmah, in the east.

6 See Ch. 14.36.

7 See Ch. 14.31.

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

9 The Nāṣirī hospital (founded in 566/1171 by the Ayyubid ruler Saladin) was created by modifying a part of the palace built by the Fatimid caliph al-‘Azīz in 384/994 so that it could serve as a hospital; see Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 84–89.

10 The precise year within the decade of the 630s is uncertain. Most manuscript copies leave a blank space for the precise year, while one copy (Gc) writes the word *shay*‘ (‘something’) and then 30 and 600. Another copy (H) provides the date of his death as Rabī‘ 11 642 [September 1244]. Müller reads the date as 636 [1238].

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3, but is missing in Version 1. For further details regarding Abū al-Faḍā’il Muḥammad ibn Nāmāwar al-Khūnajī, generally known by his honorific Afḍal al-Dīn, a central figure in the history of Arabic logic, see *EI Three* art. ‘al-Khūnajī, Afḍal al-Dīn’ (K. El-Rouayheb). He or his family came originally from Khūnaj, near Zanĵān in modern Azerbaijan.

lines and mastered matters of religious law, for he was completely dedicated to acquiring extensive knowledge [about these fields].

[14.48.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – met him in Cairo in the year 632/1234 and found him to be extremely learned in all disciplines. Under his guidance, I studied the first portion, on ‘generalities’, of the *Kitāb al-Qānūn* by al-Raʿīs Ibn Sīnā. Sometimes he became confused because of the enormous concentration of his mind on the discipline and the expansion of his thinking on the subject. At the end of his career Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī held the position of judge in Egypt and became Chief Judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāh*) for all its provinces. His death – may God have mercy upon him – occurred in Cairo on Wednesday, the fifth of the month of Ramadan in the year 646 [22 December 1248]. He was buried in the al-Qarāfah Cemetery.<sup>2</sup>

[14.48.3]

Shaykh ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ghanawī al-Ḍarīr al-Irbilī<sup>3</sup> eulogized him in the following verses:<sup>4</sup>

The most excellent man on earth<sup>5</sup> has passed away: no excellent man  
remains  
and with the death of al-Khūnajī excellent qualities have died.  
O learned scholar, who came lately,  
and who solved for us what the ancients did not solve,  
Who extracted hidden knowledge with his thought  
by which problems became clear for the seekers,  
Who thereby opened the door of difficulties for us,  
to which, but for him, no one would have presumed to rise;

2 This cemetery is often called the great southern cemetery (al-Qarāfah al-Kubrā). It was established during the period of ‘Amr and was the principal burial place in Cairo since the Arab invasion with expansion and construction of mausoleums occurring up to the Mamluk period. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Al-Ḳāhira’ (J.M. Rogers).

3 The ‘Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan’ is an error for ‘(al-)Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad’. The poem is by ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ghanawī al-Rāfiḍī al-Irbilī (d. 660/1262), ‘the blind philosopher’ (*al-faylasūf al-ḍarīr*), who was also a poet; see for example al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir’āt al-zamān*, ii:165–170, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:247–251, idem, *Nakt al-himyan*, 142–144. This poet is also mentioned in Ch. 15.21.

4 Metre: *tawīl*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* v:108 (line 1 only), Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, vii:409 (lines 1–2).

5 *Afḍal al-dunyā*, referring to his honorific Afḍal al-Dīn (‘the most excellent of the religion’).

- 5 A scholar (*ḥabr*) such that if the seas were compared with his knowledge  
his knowledge would be a sea (*baḥr*) and the seas mere brooks.  
Would that the arrows of the Fates had missed him  
and that the lethal spots of someone else had been hit!  
Does he who carries his bier know with whom he is going,  
on the morning they buried him, and who he is carrying?  
He died as someone unique in his time and of its people,  
a sea of learning that never knew a shore.

[14.48.4]

The following works were written by Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī:<sup>6</sup>

1. A commentary on what al-Raʿīs Ibn Sīnā said concerning the pulse (*Sharḥ ma qālahu al-Raʿīs ibn Sīnā fi l-nabḍ*).<sup>7</sup>
2. On limits and regulations (*M. fi l-ḥudūd wa-l-rusūm*).<sup>8</sup>
3. The handbook on logic (*Kitāb al-Jumal fi ʿilm al-manṭiq*).
4. The revelation of secrets in logic (*K. kashf al-asrār fi ʿilm al-manṭiq*).
5. A compendium on logic (*K. mūjaz fi l-manṭiq*).
6. On the stages of fevers (*K. fi adwār al-ḥummayāt*).

#### 14.49 Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā ibn Abī Fānah<sup>1</sup>

[14.49.1]

Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Munā ibn Abī Fānah was a Christian physician in Egypt in the days of the caliphs, who held him in high regard.<sup>2</sup> He excelled

6 For further information on his writings, see *EI Three* art. 'al-Khūnajī, Afḍal al-Dīn (K. El-Rouayheb).

7 The copyist of ms R has added the following note: 'I say that al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī, may God have mercy upon him, said that al-Khūnajī made a commentary on the generalities [Book One] of the *Qānūn* that to me was unparalleled in its clarity, but only God knows'. This is a reference to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who in his own very extensive and influential commentary on the first book of the *Qānūn* specified al-Khūnajī amongst eight earlier commentators on the *Qānūn* whom he found particularly useful; see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 258–263, and Ullmann, *Medizin*, 178.

8 All manuscripts clearly read *fi l-ḥudūd wa-l-rusūm*. The treatise is not preserved today and no further information is available regarding the nature of the work.

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing in Version 1.

2 The Fatimid caliphs ruled Egypt from 297/909 until 567/1171.

in the medical art, being experienced in both its theory and practice, and was distinguished in other disciplines as well. Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd was a native of Jerusalem, but subsequently moved to Egypt where he acquired an extensive knowledge of astrology (*aḥkām al-nujūm*).

[14.49.2]

The *ḥakīm* Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah ibn al-Fāris<sup>3</sup> – al-Fāris being the son of the aforementioned Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd – related to me (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah) the following story about his grandfather, Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd, which he said he had heard from the emir Majd al-Dīn,<sup>4</sup> the brother of the jurist (*al-faqīh*) ‘Īsā, when Majd al-Dīn was talking to the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>5</sup> in Shirimsāḥ<sup>6</sup> while visiting him following the death of al-Malik al-‘Ādil<sup>7</sup> and after the assault of the Franks on the fortress of Damietta.<sup>8</sup> This is what he said, verbatim:

The *ḥakīm* Abū Sulaymān lived during the time of the caliphs and had five sons. When King Mārī (Amalric)<sup>9</sup> arrived in Egypt, he was very impressed with Abū Sulaymān’s medical skill and asked the caliph to allow Abū Sulaymān to remain with him. So the caliph sent Abū Sulaymān and his five sons to Jerusalem. King Amalric had a leprous (*mujadhdham*) son and Abū Sulaymān, in Jerusalem, prepared the theriac known as *al-Fārūq*

3 See Ch. 14.54.

4 The emir Majd al-Dīn is probably Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Dāyah, the foster brother of the Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī and governor of the province of Ḥalab (Syria); see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Manbidj’ (N. Elisséeff). Majd al-Dīn was talking with Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah after the death of al-Malik al-‘Ādil in 1218. Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī ruled Damascus and Aleppo from 541/1146 to 569/1174, and in 563/1168 Nūr al-Dīn went to Manbij accompanied by Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Dāyah. If Majd al-Dīn were 20 years old in 563/1168, then he would have been about 70 years of age when talking with Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah (b. 591/1194), who would then have been 24 years of age.

5 Ayyubid ruler in Egypt 615/1218 to 635/1238.

6 Shirimsāḥ (or Shirmasāḥ) is a town near Dimyāt (Damietta) in Lower Egypt. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (where it is vowelless Shirmasāḥ) and al-Zabīdī, *Taj al-‘arūs*, where it is explicitly vowelless as Shirimsāḥ.

7 Ayyubid ruler in Egypt 596/1200 to 615/1218.

8 The Franks besieged Damietta (Dimyāt) in Lower Egypt in 565/1169. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Dimyāt’ (P.M. Holt); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ifrandj’ (B. Lewis); *EI Three* art. ‘Franks’ (A. Mallett).

9 Al-Malik Mārī is Amalric I of Jerusalem, who ruled as King of Jerusalem from 558/1162 to 569/1174. Amalric invaded Egypt four times between 558/1163 and 564/1167. See *EI Three* art. ‘The Crusades’ (P. Thorau); Mallett, *Reactions to the Franks in the Levant*, 44–48.

for him. Later, Abū Sulaymān became a monk, leaving his eldest son, the *ḥakīm* al-Muhadhhab Abū Saʿīd,<sup>10</sup> in charge of his house and guardian to his brothers.

One day, it happened that the aforementioned King of the Franks had ʿĪsā, the jurist,<sup>11</sup> arrested in Jerusalem, and he became ill while in custody. So, King Amalric sent him [Abū Saʿīd, who had been left in charge after Abū Sulaymān left] to treat him. When he arrived, he found his patient in a pit fettered with irons. Abū Saʿīd returned to the King and said to him, ‘This man was accustomed to a life of ease. Now, even if you gave him the elixir of life, it would not benefit him in his present condition.’ ‘What shall I do with him?’ asked the King. Abū Saʿīd replied, ‘The King should release him from the pit, have his fetters removed and be magnanimous, for he needs no other therapy than that’. To this, King Amalric answered, ‘We are afraid that he will flee, for he owes a large amount of tax.’ ‘Release him into my custody,’ said Abū Saʿīd to the King, ‘and he shall be my responsibility.’ ‘Take him,’ answered the King, ‘and when his tax debt is paid, you shall have one thousand dinars out of it.’

Abū Saʿīd left and took ʿĪsā out of the pit, removed his fetters, and made a place for him in his own house, where he remained for six months, and during that time Abū Saʿīd took complete care of him. When the taxes had been paid, the King requested the presence of the *ḥakīm* Abū Saʿīd along with the aforementioned jurist, ʿĪsā, so they went together. They found the money in bags in front of the King, and he gave him [Abū Saʿīd] one of the bags, as he had promised. Abū Saʿīd took it and said to the King, ‘My lord, these one thousand dinars which have come to me, may I have the right to dispose of them as owners do with their own property?’ King Amalric agreed, and so Abū Saʿīd, there in the King’s presence, gave the money to the jurist ʿĪsā, saying to him: ‘I know that the payment of these taxes has left you with nothing, and perhaps you may even have had to take a loan to pay it. So, accept these thousand dinars from me as help for your travel expenses.’ ʿĪsā accepted the dinars from him and then set off to rejoin Saladin.<sup>12</sup>

10 His biography follows this one; see Ch. 14.50.

11 And brother of Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Dāyah, who is relating the tale.

12 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), when he came to power in 565/1170, put an end to Amalric’s invasions and occupations of Egypt and Syria; see Phillips, *Life and Legend of the Sultan Saladin*.

[14.49.3]

It so happened that the aforementioned *ḥakīm* Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd learned through astrological readings that Saladin would conquer Jerusalem on a certain day of a certain month in a certain year and that he would enter the city through the Raḥmah Gate.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, Abū Sulaymān spoke with one of his five sons – specifically, Abū l-Khayr ibn Abī Sulaymān Dāwūd, who was known as al-Fāris (the knight), for as a child he had been brought up alongside the King of Jerusalem's leprous son [Prince Baldwin] and had taught him horsemanship, so that when he [Baldwin] was crowned king, he made Abū l-Khayr a knight.<sup>14</sup> Unlike his four brothers, who were physicians, Abū l-Khayr had become a soldier, and Abū Sulaymān told him to go as his messenger to Saladin and to report the good news to him [that he would be] King of Jerusalem at the designated time. Obedient to his father's order, Abū l-Khayr set out on his way to Saladin's court, arriving there on the first day<sup>15</sup> of the year 580 [14 April 1184], and the people were busy celebrating the new year. So Abū l-Khayr went directly to the aforementioned jurist, ʿĪsā, who was very pleased to see him. They went together to call on Saladin, and Abū l-Khayr delivered the message from his father. The sultan was very pleased indeed and bestowed upon him a splendid reward. Then he gave Abū l-Khayr a yellow banner and an arrow of the same colour. 'When God enables me to do what you have said, place this yellow banner and arrow above your house,' he said, 'and the quarter in which you live will be completely safe because of the protection given your house.'

In the fullness of time, everything that the *ḥakīm* Abū Sulaymān had predicted came true, for the jurist ʿĪsā entered the house in which al-Fāris Abū l-Khayr was living in order to protect it. No one in Jerusalem was spared from

13 Bāb al-Raḥmah, 'the Door of Mercy', is one of the doors of the Golden Gate on the east side of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem.

14 Prince Baldwin, the son of Amalric, came to the throne as a child and was crowned Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (r. 1174–1183). He is well-known for having suffered from leprosy (see Mitchell, 'An evaluation of the leprosy of King Baldwin IV'; Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, 31). Baldwin IV eventually handed over power to his sister Sibylla's son, Baldwin V and his regent Raymond of Tripoli in 1184 and died one year later; see Hamilton, *The Leper King*.

15 *Ghurrah* refers to the first or beginning of anything, in this case the year 580. The copyist of MS A (as did Müller in his edition and Kopf in his translation) interpreted this as Ghazzah, referring to the town of Gaza; such an interpretation, however, is not supported by the majority of the manuscripts and leaves a defective grammatical structure to the sentence as well as a puzzling meaning.

imprisonment, death or taxation, except the house of the *ḥakīm* Abū Sulaymān. Saladin doubled the amount that Abū Sulaymān's sons had been receiving from the Franks. Then he wrote a decree valid throughout the entire realm, both land and sea, exempting them [Abū Sulaymān's family] from all the obligations imposed upon Christians, and they have been free from them to this day.

The *ḥakīm* Abū Sulaymān died shortly after the following occurrence: Saladin summoned him, rose, stood before him, and said: 'You are a blessed shaykh. Your good tidings reached us, and everything you predicted has happened. So you may ask me for something [as a reward].' 'I ask that you protect my sons,' said Abū Sulaymān. So, Saladin looked after his sons and took care of them. Subsequently he entrusted them to his own son [and successor] al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, instructing him to be generous to them and to make them part of his retinue and that of his sons. And so it was done.

[14.49.4]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿah – say that sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) conquered Jerusalem on the twenty-seventh of Rajab in the year 583 [2 October 1187].

#### 14.50 Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>

The *ḥakīm* Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī Sulaymān ibn Abī al-Munā ibn Abī Fānah was outstanding in the medical art, having been not only well-read in it but also distinguished in its practice, in addition to which he held a position of high standing in the state. Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī Sulaymān studied medicine under his father<sup>2</sup> and others. The sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb appointed him to the service of his son al-Malik al-Muʿazzam,<sup>3</sup> and showed him the highest honour by ordering that, despite his being of sound body, Abū Saʿīd should not enter any of his fortresses on foot, but rather on a

1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. See entry in *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abu Saʿīd ibn Abi Sulayman' (P. Johnstone).

2 His father, Abū Sulaymān Dawūd ibn Abī l-Munā ibn Abī Fānah, is the subject of the previous biography; see Ch. 14.49.

3 Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (576–624/1180–1227) was ruler of Damascus from 594/1198 until his death; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Muʿazzam' (R.S. Humphreys).



mount. Thus it was in that manner that Abū Saʿīd would enter the sultan's four fortresses: namely al-Karak,<sup>4</sup> Ja'bar,<sup>5</sup> al-Ruhā,<sup>6</sup> and Damascus.<sup>7</sup>

Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī Sulaymān served as physician to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) and also al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and then he moved to Egypt, remaining there until his death. He died around the year 613/1216<sup>8</sup> and was buried in the monastery of al-Khandaq<sup>9</sup> near Cairo.

#### 14.51 Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>

[14.51.1]

The *ḥakīm* Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān Dāwūd mastered the art of medicine, having been outstanding in both its theory and practice

4 A fortress located east of the Dead Sea in present-day Jordan. During the time of the Crusades it began to play a more prominent role in Muslim history when, in the possession of the Crusader Kings, it stood in the way of the caravan route from Syria to Egypt and the pilgrimage route to Damascus. It fell finally to Muslim advances in 584/1188 under al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Karak' (D. Sourdel).

5 A fortress located in the medieval Islamic town of al-Raqqah in present day Syria. The fortress is across from the village of Abū Hurayrah (west of al-Raqqah), considered to be the capital of the province of Diyār Muḍar during the medieval Islamic period; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Raqqā' (M. Meisner).

6 This is the Arabic name for a city in the province of Diyār Muḍar (now in the province of Diyarbakir in southeast modern Turkey). The area was known in Western and ancient Greek and Latin sources as Edessa. The city was fortified during the early Abbasid period. It came under Ayyubid control in 1182 under Saladin's advances. The city and its numerous churches and its cathedral are mentioned in medieval Arabic sources. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Ruhā' (S. Faroqhi).

7 This is the Citadel of Damascus which was possibly built on existing structures but significantly fortified under Atsiz ibn Uvak, a Turkoman chief who had been in the pay of the Fatimids but seized power for himself in Damascus in 468/1075. Later fortifications were undertaken by the Zangids and Ayyubids. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Dimashk' (N. Elisséeff).

8 Most manuscript copies leave a large blank space for the precise year in the 7th/13th century in which he died. Only one provides a specific year (613/1216), but that occurs in a copy (MS B) that has a widely variant text, lacking altogether the entry for the subject's father (see Ch. 14.49) and combining into one extremely short entry material for both the father and the son. Müller, in his edition, gives the date as 613.

9 This monastery was founded around 359/970 north of Cairo. See *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Dayr Al-Khandaq' (R-G. Coquin & M. Martin).

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For Abū Shākir, see *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Muwaffaq al-Din Abu Shakir ibn Abi Sulayman Dawud' (P. Johnstone); Zaborowski, 'Abū Shākir as a modern Christian expert'.

and skilled in therapeutics, and he stood high in the esteem of the ruling dynasty. Abū Shākir studied medicine under his brother, Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī Sulaymān,<sup>2</sup> subsequently becoming distinguished as his renown became widespread.<sup>3</sup>

[14.51.2]

The sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil appointed Abū Shākir physician to his son al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>4</sup> whom he served with medical advice, enjoying great favour and having considerable influence with the prince, as well as acquiring great wealth during his reign. In addition to properties and country estates given as payments, Abū Shākir continued to receive generous gifts and a steady stream of benefits from al-Malik al-Kāmil. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil also used to rely upon him for medical treatment, praising him for his excellent therapeutic skills.

Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān also used to enter all of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's fortresses, namely al-Karak, Ja'bar, al-Ruhā, Damascus, and Cairo, on a mount rather than on foot, despite his being of sound body.<sup>5</sup> He was held in such high esteem that when al-Malik al-Kāmil had taken up residence in the palace in Cairo, may God protect it,<sup>6</sup> he lodged Abū Shākir near him there while al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was living in the mansion of the vizierate. One day al-Malik al-Kāmil rode out on one of his Nubian mules and entered Bayn al-Qaṣrayn.<sup>7</sup> There, he mounted a horse and sent the mule he had been riding to the quarters of Abū Shākir at the palace, ordering him to mount it and ride out of the palace. The sultan waited at Bayn al-Qaṣrayn until Abū Shākir joined him, and then al-Malik al-Kāmil took the physician by the hand and set out with him to the house of the vizierate, talking with him all the way while the other emirs walked in front of al-Malik al-Kāmil.

<sup>2</sup> See previous entry, Ch. 14.50.

<sup>3</sup> IAU relates in the biography of Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah (Ch. 14.54) that 'all of the family related to the *ḥakīm* Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah are known in Egypt and Syria as the Banū Shākir due to the fame of the *ḥakīm* Abū Shākir and his good reputation. All those related to him became known as Banū Shākir, even if they were not his sons.'

<sup>4</sup> Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (573–635/1177–1237), Ayyubid emir who became the fourth Ayyubid sultan in Egypt; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Kāmil' (H.L. Gottschalk).

<sup>5</sup> A similar honour was granted to his brother Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī Sulaymān; see previous entry, Ch. 14.50.

<sup>6</sup> For *al-maḥrūsah* having an optative force, 'may God protect it', see Wright, *Grammar*, ii:135.

<sup>7</sup> Literally 'between the two palaces,' this was a square that was formed by the existence of the eastern and western palaces built by the Fatimids in the centre of the city; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, i:534.

[14.51.3]

Al-‘Aḍud ibn Munqidh<sup>8</sup> composed the following lines about Abū Shākir:<sup>9</sup>

This sage, Abū Shākir.  
 has many who love him and thank him (*shākir*):  
 The successor of Hippocrates in our age  
 second only to him in his dazzling knowledge.

[14.51.4]

The *hakīm* Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān died in the year 613/1216 and was buried in the monastery of al-Khandaq<sup>10</sup> near Cairo.

#### 14.52 Abū Naṣr ibn Abī Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>

Abū Naṣr ibn Abī Sulaymān was a physician who was well-versed in the art of medicine, excellent at methods of treatment and skilled in therapeutics. He died in al-Karak.

#### 14.53 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī Sulaymān was a physician who was much praised for his expertise in the medical art and distinguished in methods of treatment and medical therapies. He was the youngest of his brothers, and lived longer than any of them,<sup>2</sup> for he was born in the year 560/1164 and died in the year 644/1246 at the age of eighty-four. Not one of his brothers reached such an age. Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī Sulaymān was a personal physician to al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam while he resided at al-Karak and then served al-Malik al-Kāmil in Egypt, where he died.

8 ‘Aḍud al-Dīn (or ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah) Abū l-Fawāris Murhaf ibn Usāmah (d. 613/1216), son of the more famous Usāmah ibn Munqidh; see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, v: 243–245, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:162.

9 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:351, al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xvi:89.

10 This monastery was founded around 359/970 north of Cairo. See entry in *The Coptic Encycl.* art. ‘Dayr al-Khandaq’ (R.G. Coquin & M. Martin).

1 This biography is found in Version 3 but is missing in Versions 1 and 2.

1 This biography is found in Version 3 but is missing from Versions 1 and 2.

2 The biographies of three of his brothers are found in Ch. 14.50, Ch. 14.51 and Ch. 14.52.

14.54 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah<sup>1</sup>

[14.54.1]

Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah is the very illustrious, learned, *ḥakīm* Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Waḥsh ibn al-Fāris Abī l-Khayr ibn Abī Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī l-Manā ibn Abī Fānah. He is known as Abū Ḥulayqah ('the one with the ring') and is peerless in his time in the medical art and the philosophical disciplines, besides being versatile in various other fields and in belles-lettres.<sup>2</sup> He possesses an excellent knowledge of methods of treatment, is careful in administering drug remedies, and is also compassionate with the sick. In addition, he is desirous of doing good deeds and diligent in matters of the faith to which he adheres.<sup>3</sup>

[14.54.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have met him many times and observed his excellence in methods of treatment, the pleasant nature of his company and the perfection of his character, which are beyond description. He studied the art of medicine first under his uncle Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd<sup>4</sup> in Damascus, and later continued to study in Egypt. Abū Ḥulayqah also studied under our teacher Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī (also known as al-Dakhwār),<sup>5</sup> may God have mercy upon him, and he has continuously pursued his studies.

[14.54.3]

Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah was born in the fortress of Ja‘bar in the year 591/1195 but was subsequently taken to al-Ruhā,<sup>6</sup> where he was raised for seven or eight years. His father used to dress him in military clothes, like himself. In al-Ruhā, he lived in a house called ‘The House of Ibn al-Za‘farānī’<sup>7</sup> near the Shā‘ gate and adjacent to the residence of the sultan. Once, it happened that

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing in Version 1. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 126, 310; *The Coptic Encycl.* art. ‘Abu Hulyayqah’ (P. Johnstone); Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 106, 262–263, 376–377; *EI Three* art. ‘Abū Ḥulayqa’ (F. Hilloowala).

2 It is possible that Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah was still living at the time that IAU wrote this biographical entry. IAU provides a date of birth (591/1195) but not a date of death, and these opening paragraphs appear to refer to the present.

3 He was a Christian, probably of the Melkite sect, as were his relatives who were also prominent physicians (see Ch. 14.50, Ch. 14.51, Ch. 14, 52, and Ch. 14.53).

4 See Ch. 14.50.

5 See Ch. 15.50.

6 In the province of Diyārbakr in southeastern region of modern Turkey, it was known in medieval Western and ancient Greek and Latin sources as Edessa and today as Urfa.

7 Literally, ‘the house of the son of the merchant of saffron’.

when al-Malik al-Kāmil had entered the bath, Abū Ḥulayqah's father, al-Fāris,<sup>8</sup> gave the boy some fruit and rosewater and ordered him to take them to the sultan. He took them, and when al-Malik al-Kāmil came out from the bath, he presented the gifts to him. Al-Malik al-Kāmil accepted them and went into the storerooms, where he emptied the plates of fruit, filled them with bolts of lustrous fabric, and sent his servant with the tray to Abū Ḥulayqah's father. Al-Malik al-Kāmil then took Abū Ḥulayqah (who was at that time about eight years old) by the hand and escorted him to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.<sup>9</sup> When al-Malik al-ʿĀdil saw the boy, whom he had never seen before, he said to al-Malik al-Kāmil, 'Muḥammad [al-Malik al-Kāmil], is this the son of al-Fāris?', for he had noticed the resemblance. 'Yes', was the reply. 'Bring him here,' said al-ʿĀdil, and al-Malik al-Kāmil did so, placing Abū Ḥulayqah in front of al-ʿĀdil, who clasped him by the hand and spoke with him for a long time. Then al-Malik al-ʿĀdil turned to the boy's father, al-Fāris, who was standing there waiting along with the other attendants, and said to him:

This son of yours is an intelligent boy. Do not teach him the military craft for I have many soldiers. Yours is a family blessed by God, and I have benefited from your medicine. Send him to the physician Abū Saʿīd<sup>10</sup> in Damascus to study medicine.

Abū Ḥulayqah's father obeyed al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's order, supplied his son with what was necessary and sent him to Damascus, where he remained for an entire year during which time he memorized Hippocrates' treatises on aphorisms<sup>11</sup> and on prognostics.<sup>12</sup> Then in the year 599/1202–1203 he went to Cairo and resided there, serving al-Malik al-Kāmil as his personal physician. Abū Ḥulayqah was given great honours and held in high esteem by the sultan, with numerous favours and endless gifts bestowed upon him, including a fief<sup>13</sup> in

8 See Ch. 14.49 for information about Abū Ḥulayqah's father.

9 In the year 598/1201–1202, when Abū Ḥulayqah would have been about eight years of age, al-Malik al-Kāmil (b. 573/1177 or 576/1180) would have been 21 or 23 years of age. He was the eldest son of the then Ayyubid ruler of Syria (including Diyārbakr) and Egypt, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil I Sayf al-Dīn, and at this time served as his father's representative. Al-Malik al-Kāmil did not himself become the ruler in Egypt until 615/1218. It is unclear from this account if al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was in the eastern provinces in Diyārbakr or Syria or even in Egypt.

10 That would be his uncle Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd, see Ch. 14.50.

11 *Kitāb al-fuṣūl*; Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 13.

12 *Taqdimat al-maʿrifah*; Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 3.

13 For *khubz*, the generic word for bread, used in the sense of a piece of land whose revenues are given by a ruler to someone for services rendered, see Dozy, *Supplément*, i:348, and Tramontana, 'Khubz as Iqtāʾ'.

Egypt that had been granted in the name of Abū Ḥulayqah's paternal uncle Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Shākir.<sup>14</sup> When the latter died, al-Malik al-Kāmil transferred it to the name of Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah. The fief consisted of half the locality known as al-'Azīziyyah<sup>15</sup> as well as al-Kharibah<sup>16</sup> in one of the eastern provinces.

Abū Ḥulayqah continued in the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil until the latter died,<sup>17</sup> may God have mercy upon him, after which he served al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb,<sup>18</sup> until al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ died, may God have mercy upon him. Thereafter he served the son of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh.<sup>19</sup> When Tūrānshāh was killed, may God have mercy upon him, on Monday the twenty-seventh of Muḥarram in the year 648 [1 May 1250], and the Turkish dynasty<sup>20</sup> rose to power, seizing territory and conquering kingdoms, Abū Ḥulayqah entered their service, receiving the same benefits as before. Subsequently, of the Mamluk rulers, he served al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Malikī al-Ṣāliḥī<sup>21</sup> and remained in his service with his privileges unbroken and his status maintained, for the sultan held him in great respect and bestowed many generous gifts and favours upon him.

[14.54.4]

There are many anecdotes about the *ḥakīm* Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah concerning his practice of the art of medicine and many stories in which he stands out from other physicians. One of these accounts involves a woman from the royal household in al-'Abbāsah<sup>22</sup> who fell ill. It was the sultan's regular prac-

14 See his biography in Ch. 14.51.

15 A region consisting of five villages in Egypt named for the Fatimid caliph al-'Azīz (r. 365–386/975–996); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, iv:120.

16 Literally 'the site of ruins', whose precise location is unidentified.

17 On 21 Rajab 635 [6 March 1238].

18 He was the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil and the last major Ayyubid sultan (r. 636–647/1239–1249); *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadīm al-Dīn Ayyūb' (D.S. Richards).

19 The son of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh, was a child when he came to the throne upon the death of his father. He was murdered several months afterwards by his troops. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ayyūbids' (Cl. Cahen). All manuscript copies write his name as Turānshāh, using unusual orthography rather than the common Tūrānshāh or Tūrān Shāh.

20 The Mamluk Dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from 648/1250 to 922/1517; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Mamlūk' (D. Ayalon).

21 Al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī was the fourth Mamluk sultan of Egypt, reigning from 658/1260 to 676/1277. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Baybars I' (G. Wiet) and *EI Three* art. 'Baybars I, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn' (P. Thorau).

22 A town in Egypt much favoured by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil as a retreat

tice not to allow any other physician to work with Abū Ḥulayqah when he was treating him or any of the cherished women and children of the royal household. In this instance, Abū Ḥulayqah had been treating the aforementioned ailing woman for a few days when some urgent business called him away from the patient and he went to Cairo where he remained for eighteen days. When he returned to al-‘Abbāsiyyah, he found that the other court physicians were treating the sick woman. When he appeared and talked with them, they said to him, ‘This woman is going to die, and it is imperative that we inform the sultan of this, so that her death does not come as a surprise to him.’ But Abū Ḥulayqah said to them, ‘In my opinion, this woman does not have a fatal illness but rather will recover, God willing.’ One of the physicians, who was the most senior of them in age, said to the young Abū Ḥulayqah, ‘Indeed I am older than you are, and I have treated more patients than you have, so you should agree with me on the writing of this message [to the sultan]’. But Abū Ḥulayqah did not agree to it. When the entire group of the physicians told him that they absolutely had to send the message, Abū Ḥulayqah said to them, ‘If you must send this message, it will be with your names but without mine.’

So, the physicians wrote to the sultan about the woman’s impending death. The sultan dispatched a messenger, accompanied by a carpenter who was to make a coffin for her. When the messenger arrived with the carpenter at the gate and the physicians were sitting nearby, Abū Ḥulayqah asked the messenger, ‘What is this carpenter doing here?’ ‘He is going to make a coffin for your patient,’ the messenger replied. ‘You would put her into it while she is still alive?’ said Abū Ḥulayqah. ‘No,’ said the messenger, ‘but after her death.’ ‘Return to the sultan with this coffin,’ said Abū Ḥulayqah, ‘and tell him from me that she is not going to die.’ So the messenger went back and informed the sultan of what Abū Ḥulayqah had said. When night fell, a servant from the sultan arrived, bearing a candle and a piece of paper on which the words ‘The son of al-Fāris is to appear before us’ were written in the sultan’s handwriting. – He was not yet called Abū Ḥulayqah, for that was not his name until after the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil made a remark one day, when the future Abū Ḥulayqah was sitting with physicians at the gate and the sultan ordered his servant to look for the physician. The servant asked him, ‘My lord,<sup>23</sup> which physician do you mean?’ and the sultan replied, ‘The one with the ring (Abū Ḥulayqah), after which he became known by that name until his epithet was eclipsed by that of his uncle, whose

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for hunting and fishing. Its name derives from that of a daughter of Ibn Ṭūlūn named ‘Abbāsah; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Abbāsa’ (G. Wiet).

23 *Khawand* or *Kh<sup>w</sup>and* is a Persian title of respect, meaning ‘maître, seigneur’; see entry *khawand* in Dozy, *Supplément*.

name gave rise to those known as the Banū Shākīr.<sup>24</sup> – When Abū Ḥulayqah appeared, the sultan said, ‘Was it you who stopped the work on the coffin?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘Why does your diagnosis differ from all the other physicians?’ asked the sultan. ‘My lord,’ said Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah, ‘it is due to my knowledge of that woman’s temperament<sup>25</sup> and the recurrent time-periods<sup>26</sup> of her illness, of which the others have no knowledge. There is nothing to fear for her from this illness.’ ‘Go and attend to her then,’ said al-Malik al-Kāmil, ‘and take care of her.’ Abū Ḥulayqah treated the woman and she recovered. In due course the sultan married her off, and she bore her husband many children.

[14.54.5]

One of the accomplishments of Abū Ḥulayqah was that he thoroughly understood al-Malik al-Kāmil’s pulse. So much so that one day the sultan hid himself behind the curtain along with the women patients of his household. Abū Ḥulayqah took the pulse of each person and gave prescriptions for them, but when he read the pulse of the sultan, he knew whose it was, and so he said: ‘This is the pulse of our master, the sultan, and it is healthy, God be praised.’ Al-Malik al-Kāmil was greatly amazed, and his esteem for Abū Ḥulayqah rose even further.

[14.54.6]

There are various stories about Abū Ḥulayqah’s dealings with al-Malik al-Kāmil. On one occasion the sultan ordered him to make the theriac known as *al-Fārūq*, and Abū Ḥulayqah was occupied with its preparation for a long period of time, spending all night on it until he had determined every one of its ingredients by name according to the writings of the two masters of the medical art, Hippocrates and Galen. Meanwhile, the sultan had developed a discharge from his teeth<sup>27</sup> for which he was bled while he was at the ‘Elephant Pond’,<sup>28</sup> where he had gone for recreational pleasure. When the sultan returned to the citadel,

24 The reference is to his uncle Abū Shākīr ibn Abī Sulaymān, whose biography is given in Ch. 14.51. Later on, in section 13 below, IAU reiterates the fact that the relatives of Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah were known in Egypt and Syria as the Banū Shākīr because of the fame of the uncle Abū Shākīr.

25 *Mizāj*.

26 *Awqāt marāḍihā*.

27 *Nazlah fi asnānihi*.

28 Birkat al-Fil was the largest of several ponds and marshy areas in Cairo left by the River Nile as it shifted towards the West. The areas are now dry. See Salmon, *Topographie du Caire ... la Birkat al-Fil*; and Pradines & Rahmat Khan, ‘Fāṭimid gardens’.



the physician al-As'ad ibn Abī l-Ḥasan,<sup>29</sup> attended him, because Abū Ḥulayqah was busy preparing the theriac. Al-As'ad treated him for a while, but his condition worsened. When al-Malik al-Kāmil complained to al-As'ad, the physician said to him, 'There is nothing I can do except bloodletting.' 'Bleed me again?' said the sultan. 'I was bled three days ago. Have Abū Ḥulayqah sent for.'

When Abū Ḥulayqah arrived, the sultan complained to him of his condition and informed him that the physician had advised bloodletting. He asked his advice on this method of treatment or one involving a medicinal potion. 'My lord,' replied Abū Ḥulayqah, 'your body is sound, God be praised, and the matter is not so serious as all that.' 'Not serious!' exclaimed the sultan, 'but I am in great distress from this pain. I cannot sleep at night, and I cannot rest during the day.' 'My lord,' said Abū Ḥulayqah, 'Rub your teeth with the theriac that the servant has brought in that small silver vessel, and you will see, God willing, a most amazing thing.' Abū Ḥulayqah departed toward the gate, but hardly had he gone out when a message in the sultan's handwriting was brought to him. 'O *ḥakīm*,' it read, 'I did what you told me and the pain ceased immediately.' Abū Ḥulayqah was with al-As'ad, the physician who had first treated the sultan, when he received the message. 'By God,' said al-As'ad, 'we have no right to treat our rulers, for only you should treat them.' Then al-Malik al-Kāmil went to his treasury and sent Abū Ḥulayqah splendid robes of honour and a large quantity of gold.

[14.54.7]

Here is another story about Abū Ḥulayqah: Because of the long time required to prepare the theriac called *al-Fārūq* and the difficulty in obtaining the correct ingredients from distant lands, he prepared a simplified theriac compounded of ingredients that are easily found everywhere. He did not intend to use it in order to obtain favours from a king or to seek money or glory in the world. Rather, he intended to seek closeness to God by aiding all of His creatures and showing compassion to all creation. He gave it freely to the sick, and with it he relieved the partially paralyzed and straightened crooked hands immediately and quickly, for it would produce in the nerves (*ʿaṣab*) an increase in the innate heat (*ḥarārat al-gharīzah*) and would strengthen them (*taqwīyah*) and dissipate (*idhābah*) the phlegm in them. The patient would find relief immediately, and the pain of colic (*qawlanj*) would subside immediately after purging (*isti-frāgh*).

29 See Ch. 14.57.

One day, Abū Ḥulayqah passed by the doorman of a gate that was situated between the two walls of Cairo, may God protect it. The doorman was a man known as ‘Alī, and he lay on his back, unable to move from one side to the other. This man complained of his condition to Abū Ḥulayqah, who gave him a dose of the theriac and then went on his way, ascending to the citadel to attend to the infirm there. When the physician returned the following morning, the doorman who had been paralyzed was standing on his legs, calling to him. ‘Sit down,’ said Abū Ḥulayqah, but the doorman replied, ‘By God, I am fed up with sitting, let me enjoy myself.’

[14.54.8]

Another story about Abū Ḥulayqah: Al-Malik al-Kāmil had a muezzin known as Amīn al-Dīn Ja‘far who had a stone that was blocking his urethra. This caused him intense suffering, to the point that he was on the verge of death. He wrote to al-Malik al-Kāmil informing him of his condition and requesting authorization to go home to be treated. When he arrived at his house all the great physicians of the day were summoned, and each of them prescribed something for him, but nothing was of any benefit. But then he sent for the *ḥakīm* Abū Ḥulayqah, who gave him a dose of his theriac. In the amount of time it took for it to reach his stomach, its potency penetrated to the place of the stone and broke it up so that it came out when he urinated, stained from the colouring of the medication. The patient recovered immediately, returned to his service with the sultan, and called for the noon prayer. At that time, the sultan was encamped at Giza,<sup>30</sup> in Cairo, and when he heard the muezzin’s voice he ordered him brought to him. When Ja‘far arrived, al-Malik al-Kāmil said to him, ‘What about the letter that you sent to me yesterday, in which you said you were near death? Explain to me what has happened!’ ‘My lord,’ said the muezzin, ‘it would have been so had it not been for my lord’s physician, Abū Ḥulayqah, who gave me a theriac that cured me immediately.’

It so happened on that same day that a man who was squatting to urinate was bitten by a viper on his penis and died. When the sultan heard this news he was moved to pity, for he was of a compassionate nature.<sup>31</sup> Then the sultan departed for the citadel of Cairo and spent the night there, rising early in the morning. Meanwhile, Abū Ḥulayqah was there fulfilling his duties, sitting near the gate with the head eunuch.<sup>32</sup> The sultan came out, stopped. and called

30 Al-Jīzah, a town on the west bank of the Nile.

31 There may be a lacuna in the text at this point, for something seems to be missing between this sentence and the following story.

32 *Zimām al-dār* is the term for the head or principal eunuch; see Dozy, *Supplément*, i:601.

out to him, *Ḥakīm*, what is this theriac that you have prepared? Its benefit has become famous among the people, but you have never told me of it?’

‘My lord’, said Abū Ḥulayqah, ‘your humble servant does nothing but for your lordship. The reason for the delay in informing you was so that your humble servant might test the theriac, since it was he who had developed it, and if the testing were to work out well, he would bring it to my lord’s notice. But since the theriac’s effectiveness is now known to my lord, that aim has been achieved.’

‘Go and bring me all of what you have of it,’ said al-Malik al-Kāmil, and he returned to the palace, leaving a servant sitting at the gate waiting for Abū Ḥulayqah to return. It was as if the sultan had gone up to the citadel that night and left his palace at such an hour only for that specific purpose!

Abū Ḥulayqah went to his house, but could only find a meagre amount of the theriac because the people had almost exhausted his supply of it with their demand for it. So he went to his colleagues, to whom he had given some of it, and gathered a quantity of eleven dirhams from them, promising them that he would give them double compensation for it. He put the theriac in a small silver vessel on which he wrote the uses and dosages and took it to the aforementioned servant who was sitting waiting for him. The servant carried the vessel to the sultan, who kept the theriac secure in the vessel, so that when his teeth were hurting, he could rub some of it on them and in that way obtain relief.

[14.54.9]

Another story involving Abū Ḥulayqah and the sultan: A woman of the sultan’s household had an illness that Abū Ḥulayqah was unable to cure. The woman sent the following message to Abū Ḥulayqah:

I know that if the sultan knew of a physician in Egypt better than you he would not entrust himself and his children to you to the exclusion of all the other physicians. You do not come to treat me, not because you lack the knowledge but because of indifference toward my personal state. The proof of your skill is that if you became ill, you would treat yourself in a few days, and, likewise, if one of your children were to become ill, you would cure the child within a couple of days as well. The same goes for the other women here, for you treat them and your treatment is always effective after a short period.

‘Not every disease can be treated,’ replied Abū Ḥulayqah, ‘for if every disease responded to treatment, no one would die.’ But she would not listen to his explanation. ‘I know that there isn’t a physician in Egypt [who can cure me],’ she said, ‘so I shall ask the sultan to engage physicians from Damascus for me.’

The sultan engaged two Christian physicians for her. They arrived from Damascus to treat her just as the sultan was about to travel to Damietta.<sup>33</sup> The physicians asked which of them would go with the sultan and which would stay behind. 'All of the physicians will remain to care for the woman,' said al-Malik al-Kāmil, 'except Abū Ḥulayqah, for he shall be the only one to come with me.' Since the physicians had done all they could for the woman and had become weary of treating her to no purpose, it [travelling with the sultan] was a convenient excuse for Abū Ḥulayqah. He quoted what Hippocrates says about prognosis.<sup>34</sup>

[14.54.10]

So Abū Ḥulayqah travelled to Damietta with al-Malik al-Kāmil as his personal physician, but for a month the sultan did not request his services. Then one night the sultan sent for him, and when Abū Ḥulayqah came before his master, he found the sultan feverish and displaying various contradictory symptoms. So the physician compounded a potion (*mashrūb*) that was suitable for these various symptoms and brought it to the sultan at dawn, and the Sun had not set but what all his suffering ceased. That was very much to his liking, and the sultan continued to follow that regimen until he arrived in Alexandria.

It happened that on the first day of the fasting in the month of Ramadan Abū Ḥulayqah became ill. The physicians who were in the sultan's service came to him and sought his advice on what they should bring to the sultan for his fast-breaking meal that evening. 'He has a potion that he praises highly, has been using regularly, and always requests,' replied Abū Ḥulayqah. 'As long as he does not complain of anything new that would make it unwise for him to take it, give it to him. If some new symptom becomes apparent to you, use your judgment and prescribe accordingly.'

But the other physicians did not follow his instructions and deliberately changed the sultan's regime. This altered the sultan's temperament for the worse. He sent for the physicians and requested Abū Ḥulayqah's potion, interrogating them about it. The formula for the compound had included endive seeds,<sup>35</sup> which they had removed. 'Why did you omit this seed?' asked the sultan, 'for endive seed is a restorative for the liver, cleans the blood vessels and prevents thirst?' One of the physicians present said, 'By God, your servants are

33 Damietta (Dimiyāt) a town in Lower Egypt in 565/1169. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Dimiyāt' (P.M. Holt).

34 The reference is to *On Prognosis (Taḳḍimat al-ma'rifaḥ)* 1, 'It is impossible to restore every patient to health ... for it is a fact that men do die ... You will be beyond reproach if you predict and identify who must die and who can be saved.'

35 *Hindibā'* is cultivated endive; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Hindibā'' (A. Dietrich).

not to be blamed for the omission. It is only that al-As‘ad ibn Abī l-Ḥasan has related a curious tradition according to which endive seed is harmful to the spleen. But your humble servant, (I swear) by God, doesn’t know! And al-As‘ad maintains that your lordship has an inflammation of the spleen (*tuḥāl*), and your servants agreed with him on that. ‘By God, he speaks falsely,’ said the sultan, ‘for I do not have any pain in the spleen.’ He ordered them to restore the endive seed, and then he interrogated them closely on the benefits of each and every ingredient of the potion that they had left out until they restored them. He then took the drink again as before, finding it always beneficial and praiseworthy.

[14.54.11]

Another story about Abū Ḥulayqah: One day, al-Malik al-Kāmil sultan asked him to prepare for him a sauce that could be eaten with a meat stew<sup>36</sup> while travelling. The sultan suggested to him that it should strengthen his stomach and stimulate his appetite, and in addition act as a laxative (*mulayyin*). So Abū Ḥulayqah prepared a sauce according to the following recipe:

Take one part parsley (*maqḍūnis*) and half a part each of lemon balm<sup>37</sup> and the pulp of a fresh citron,<sup>38</sup> both of which have been steeped in water and salt for several days and then soaked in fresh water. In a brewer’s mortar,<sup>39</sup> pound each of these separately until it becomes like an ointment.

36 *Yakhnī* or *yakhnah* is a thick meat stew or ragout; the word is of Persian origin. See; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:857; Steingass, *Persian-English dictionary*, 1529.

37 The plant name *al-rayḥān al-turunjānī* is an unusual designation and may reflect a confusion of traditions, *Rayḥān* is the common name for sweet basil (*Ocimum basilicum* L. and related species), but a very common synonym is *ḥabaq*. The plant *ḥabaq al-turunjānī* is synonymous with *turujān* and *bādrunjubūyah*, all of which have been identified as lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis* L., and related species), whose leaves have a characteristic lemon scent, while the term *rayḥān al-turunjān* occurs in Ibn al-Bayṭār’s treatise where modern scholars have also identified it as lemon balm; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Turundjān’ (P.C. Johnstone); Dozy, *Supplément*, i:146. For some medicinal uses of both sweet basil and lemon balm, see Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 108–110 and 348–349.

38 For numerous medicinal uses of *al-utrujī* (or *al-utrunj*), see Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 147–149. For various citrus fruits available in the medieval world, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Nārandj’ (F. Viré), and *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Citrus Fruits’ (A. Hūšang).

39 A *juṛn al-fuqqāṭ* is a mortar used by a person making *fuqqāṭ*, a term associated by some with a fermented drink made of raisins and by others with a non-alcoholic sparkling drink often made from barley. The drink was poured into a spherico-conical clay vessel that was then sealed with a piece of leather tied round the knob and left to cool, preferably on ice or snow; when desired, the seal was pierced and the liquid consumed directly from the con-

Then mix all the ingredients in the mortar, squeeze the juice of a ripe green lemon (*līmūn*) over the mixture, and sprinkle a good amount of Andarānī<sup>40</sup> salt on it for seasoning. Finally, put the mixture into small jars, each one holding the amount of a single serving, filling the container full, because if there is any [space] left it will spoil. Seal those containers with good oil and store them away.

When the sultan partook of the sauce, he got the desired results, and he praised it greatly. One day, when the sultan was about to travel to Asia Minor (Bilād al-Rūm), he asked Abū Ḥulayqah, 'Will this sauce keep for a long time?' 'No,' replied Abū Ḥulayqah. 'Does it last even a month?' enquired the sultan. 'Yes,' Abū Ḥulayqah answered, 'if it is prepared in the way I indicated.' 'Every month make me a quantity sufficient to last the month,' said the sultan, 'and send it to me at the beginning of every (lunar) month.' Abū Ḥulayqah produced some of the sauce each month, sending it to him along the difficult mountain passes<sup>41</sup> of Asia Minor. The sultan never failed to use it while travelling and praised it profusely.

[14.54.12]

Yet another anecdote about Abū Ḥulayqah is the following: A woman from the countryside came to him with her son, who was an emaciated, sickly youth. She complained of her son's condition and said that, although she had tried hard to treat him, he had only become thinner and weaker. The woman had come to Abū Ḥulayqah in the morning before he rode out on his rounds, so it was still cold. The physician looked at the youth, enquired about his condition, and felt the young man's pulse. While doing so he said to his servant, 'Go and bring me my *farajīyyah* (a robe),<sup>42</sup> so that I can put it on.' The young man's pulse changed drastically at this statement and he also changed colour, so that Abū Ḥulayqah surmised that he was in love. After a little time had passed, he felt the youth's pulse, and found that it had calmed down. But when the servant came to him

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tainer; see Maddison & Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic*, ii:324–333; Ghouchani & Adle, 'Sphero-conical vessel as *fuqqā'a*', 78–86; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fuḳḳā'' (eds.).

40 Andarānī (or Darānī) salt is obtained by the evaporation of sea water, and it was considered the best type of salt. Its name possibly derives from the root *n-d-r* meaning to be rare or priceless. See Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 337 no. 294; Dozy, *Supplément*, under *n-d-r*; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'milḥ' (J. Sadan, et al.).

41 *Darbandāt*, a word of Persian origin, designates the treacherous roads and passes in mountains; Dozy, *Supplément*, i:430; Steingass, *Persian-English dictionary*, 508.

42 A *farajīyyah* is a long-sleeved man's robe worn in Egypt; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Libās' (Y. Stillman, et al.)

and said, 'Here is your *farajīyyah*,' he felt the youth's pulse and found that it had changed again. 'Your son is in love,' he said to the mother, 'and the one whom he loves is named Farajīyyah.' 'Yes, by God!' said the mother, 'he is in love with a girl named Farajīyyah, and I have been unable to dissuade him from [being in love] with her.' She was amazed that simply by examining the young man, Abū Ḥulayqah had known the name of the girl, without having had any previous knowledge of the matter.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that this story is similar to one attributed to Galen with regard to a woman in love. He had been called to the house of a woman of high rank who had been ill for a long time. He surmised that she was in love and visited her frequently. One day, he was feeling her pulse while soldiers were carrying out exercises in the square. Someone present was relating what they were doing and that so-and-so was displaying good horsemanship and excellent athletic ability. When the woman heard the name of the man, her pulse changed. Galen felt it some time later and found that it had settled back to its previous rate. Then Galen secretly told the person to repeat his report. When he repeated it, Galen again felt the woman's pulse and found it had quickened, so he diagnosed that she was in love with the man being described. This anecdote indicates an abundance of knowledge and great insight in prognostics.<sup>43</sup>

[14.54.13]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that all the relatives of the *ḥakīm* Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah are known in Egypt and Syria as the Banū Shākir, owing to the fame of the *ḥakīm* Abū Shākir<sup>44</sup> and his good reputation. All those related to him became known as Banū Shākir, even if they were not his sons. When I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – met the scholar Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah, he had heard that I had mentioned the well-known physicians of his family and described their learning and achievements. He kindly thanked me, whereupon I recited the following verses to him, extemporizing:<sup>45</sup>

And why should I not thank those whose excellence  
has travelled east and west?  
In the heaven of lofty deeds there shine from them  
auspicious stars that have never set:

43 See Galen's *On Prognosis* 6 in Nutton, *Galenī de Praecognitione*.

44 See Ch. 14.51 for the biography of Abū Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān, an uncle of Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah.

45 Metre: *sarī*.

People whose status among mankind  
 ranks as high as a planet.  
 They have written so many books on medicine,  
 containing every original, amazing idea.  
 My gratefulness (*shukrī*) to the Banū Shākīr  
 will not cease to be with those far and near;  
 I have immortalized a lasting glory among them,  
 by fine description and friendly praise.

[14.54.14]

The reason for the ring (*ḥulayqah*) that was attached to Abū Ḥulayqah's ear and from which he took his nickname is as follows: His father, al-Fāris, had no male children who lived, except for Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah. When his mother was pregnant with him, his father was advised to have made a silver ring and to give the value of its silver as alms. Al-Fāris had arranged to have a jeweller present at the hour in which his child was born, in order to pierce the infant's ear and put the silver ring in it. He did so, and God gave the boy life. His mother made a pact with her son (Abū Ḥulayqah, 'the one with the ring') that he was not to remove the ring, and so it remained. In due course Abū Ḥulayqah married and had a number of male children who died, as had happened in his own family. Then he thought of the ring and had one made for his eldest son, who was known as Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd,<sup>46</sup> whom he named after his paternal uncle.

[14.54.15]

The poetry of the *ḥakīm* Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah includes the following poem, which he recited to me – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – himself. He also recited it in the presence of Sayf al-Islām,<sup>47</sup> the brother of Saladin:<sup>48</sup>

The beloved granted a meeting on a night  
 when the chaperone was heedless and slept, unaware,  
 In a meadow that, but for its transience, would resemble  
 the gardens of Eden in all its attributes.  
 The birds were singing amid the branches with their voices  
 and the wine was unveiled in the cups of those who poured it,

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46 See Ch. 14.55.

47 Sayf al-Islām Abū l-Fawāris al-Malik al-'Azīz Zāhīr al-Dīn Ṭuḡtukīn ibn Ayyūb (d. 593/1197), brother of Saladin; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:523–525, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:450–451.

48 Metre: *kāmil*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:436.



While my companion was the bright moon, in which  
the senses were revelling, in all their senses. (?)<sup>49</sup>

The following verses are also by him:<sup>50</sup>

I am yearning for mentioning a being-together, O Su'd,<sup>51</sup>  
as reddish-white camel mares yearn when a water-hole appears to  
them;  
For Su'dā gives more pleasure to my heart than anything one could wish  
and being near to her when we meet is my intent.  
She possesses a mouth where teeth are like pearls, well-strung,  
front teeth like camomile with honey,  
Hair like the night, or (black) as a lover's fortune,<sup>52</sup>  
and a face like the light of dawn, one being the opposite of the other.  
5 I say to her when we say farewell, while we exchange  
words like the scent of musk mixed with incense:  
'Do you think we shall meet after parting, in some place,  
and will a yearning lover, harmed by distance, have success?'  
The nights pass, night after night,  
but thoughts of you will remain, renewed by our acquaintance.  
But the lover's fear is that separation from you will be lengthy,  
so that he will pass away and your promise will not be fulfilled.  
I have come to love Indian swords because  
these Indians resemble her in the effect of her glances,  
10 And I have in brown spears ...<sup>53</sup> because  
they resemble her in shape – ah, what a lovely shape!

49 A peculiar verse, not only because of *ḥawāssu* with its overlong syllable (extremely rare in mid-verse) and the more common 'incorrect' *hamzah* in *bi-ismihā*, required by the metre, but in particular since *w.k.nātihā* (unvowelled in all sources) only seems to make sense here if it is connected with the word *kunyah*, 'agnomen', as if the plural were *kunāh* instead of *kunā*.

50 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

51 Although vowelled Sa'du in A and L, it ought to be a shortened form of Su'dā (a woman's name common in poetry), as in the following line (a phenomenon called *tarkhūm*).

52 The reading of Müller (*ḥazz*) is clearly better than *khatt* ('line' or 'handwriting', ALRH) or *khadd* ('cheek', Gc).

53 Vowelled as *sumrun* in L; it is difficult to interpret it, whether as *sumr*, 'brown (spears)' or *samr*, 'nightly conversation', 'nailing', or 'putting out (the eye) with a hot nail'. It may be better to read, with R and H, *sirrūn*: '(I have in brown spears) a secret'.

Roses have a meaning that testifies (*shāhidun*) on her cheeks,  
 which we see (*nushāhiduhū*) in her when the roses have gone.  
 I have disavowed loving her, but my tears (*'abratī*)  
 expressed (*'abbarat*) it, so the denial was of no avail.

The following verses also:<sup>54</sup>

My two friends, I have remained sleepless  
 from love, captive of heart and fettered,  
 Through loving a girl whose face puts the full moon to shame,  
 especially in a night of hair, when it shines.  
 I lost my way through her, though she is pretty as the crescent moon:  
 how strange, that it should lead astray and not guide!  
 She has a mouth where teeth are like pearls, well-strung,<sup>55</sup>  
 and speech like pearls when scattered.

While Abū Ḥulayqah was in Damietta, his father became ill in Cairo. When a letter arrived informing him that his father had recovered, he composed the verses:<sup>56</sup>

The clouds of bliss rained upon me  
 since the misery you complained of ceased.  
 Since I saw your handwriting I have been clothed in happiness;  
 so what can I do to be duly grateful?

[14.54.16]

Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah is the author of the following works:<sup>57</sup>

1. On the preservation of health (*M. fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).
2. A treatise explaining that spiritual pleasures are better than physical pleasures since the spiritual ones are perfections and the attainment of perfections, whereas the physical ones are for avoiding suffering, and if they increase they cause other sufferings.

54 Metre: *tawīl*.

55 The poet recycled most of this hemistich (see above, line 3 of the preceding poem).

56 Metre: *kāmil*.

57 None of the treatises named below are known to be preserved today. For information on additional treatises (including one on compound purgative drugs (*tyārījāt*) and another on melancholy), see Sbath and Avierinos 'Sahlān Ibn Kaysān et Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqa', 77–88; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 126, 310; and *The Coptic Encycl.* art. 'Abu Hulayqah' (P. Johnstone).

3. On simple drugs, entitled *The Selection of One Thousand Drugs* (*K. fī l-adwīyah al-mufradah sammāhu al-mukhtār fī l-alf 'uqqār*)
4. On diseases, their causes and their symptoms and treatments with simple and compound drugs (*K. fī l-amrād wa-asbābihā wa-'alāmātihā wa-mudāwātihā bi-l-adwīyah al-mufradah wa-l-murakkabah*), the merits of which have proven successful from experience, and when the treatment is applied to a curable disease it is successful. The author gathered the information for this book from books on the art of medicine composed from the time of Adam to our time, organizing the scattered and miscellaneous materials.
5. On the inevitability of death (*M. ḍarūrat al-mawt*). In this treatise, in the explanation (of this inevitability) the author says that since the human being continues to disintegrate due to the inner heat of its body and the heat from the atmosphere which is outside, it is eventually destroyed by these two factors. Abū Ḥulayqah illustrates this by quoting this verse:<sup>58</sup>

One alone will kill me,  
let alone when the two combine.

This verse could not have been more aptly quoted than in this place, for it corresponds to what he wrote and agrees with the intended sense.

#### 14.55 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah<sup>1</sup>

[14.55.1]

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah was a peerless scholar and the most perfect of physicians. Born in Cairo in the year 620/1223, he was named Muḥammad when he became a Muslim during the reign of al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Malikī al-Ṣāliḥī.<sup>2</sup> God bestowed upon him the most perfect intellect, the best manners, abundant intelligence and vast knowledge. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn mastered the medical art so thoroughly and came to know the philosophical disciplines to such an extent that no one

58 Metre: *mutaqārib majzū'*. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, iv:250, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:436. The verb *tamaththala* ('to quote by way of illustration') suggests that Abū Ḥulayqah did not compose the line, but it has not been found elsewhere as being by an earlier poet.

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing in Version 1.

2 Al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī was the fourth Mamluk sultan of Egypt, reigning from 658/1260 to 676/1277. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Baybars I' (G. Weit) and *EI Three* art. 'Baybars I, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn' (P. Thorau).

came close to him in regard to anything he undertook. Nor did anyone possess the fine characteristics that were combined in him, including courteous speech and the generous giving of alms to friends and relations, both far and near.

[14.55.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – received a letter from Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn while he was in the military encampment of al-Manṣūr al-Zāhirī<sup>3</sup> in the month of Shawwāl in the year 667 [June 1269]. The letter displayed brilliant refinement, abundant knowledge, Aṣma‘ian insight,<sup>4</sup> an Akhzamite nature,<sup>5</sup> great affection and immense charity. 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. He exaggerated in the characterization of the book, which shows the generosity of his nature and the nobility of his origins. His letter began with the following line relating to me:<sup>6</sup>

And I am a man who loves you because of good qualities  
I heard: the ear, like the eye, can fall in love.<sup>7</sup>

I wrote back to him with a poem in the same metre and rhyme:

A letter reached me, pleasing with its inscription,  
containing thoughts that shine like the sun,  
The letter of a noble, generous man who is to be lauded,  
with a bright countenance, its light sparkling:  
He is the master, the cultured patron through whom  
west and east have boasted of learning,  
A sage who encompasses all fields of knowledge:  
no door to noble deeds is locked to him;

3 The camp of the ruler al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Malikī al-Ṣālīḥī.

4 ‘Aṣma‘ian insight (*fiṭnah aṣma‘īyyah*) is so-called after the famous philologist al-Aṣma‘ī, d. 213/828. For the latter, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Aṣma‘ī (B. Lewin) and *EI Three* art. ‘al-Aṣma‘ī (R. Weipert).

5 An ‘Akzhzamite nature’ (*shinshinah akhzamiyyah*) is so-called after an old, proverbial verse by an obscure poet: ‘a nature I know of Akhzam’, Akhzam being the poet’s son; see al-Maydānī, *Majma‘*, i:457.

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

7 This is in fact the opening line of a poem by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, known as Ibn al-Shihnah (d. 608/1211), addressed to Saladin; see Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Dōwān al-ṣabābah*, 63; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:272, v:214; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Thamarāt*, 112.

- 5 A noble man who combines all praiseworthy qualities,  
 but in his generosity he scatters wealth.  
 Whenever his attributes are mentioned in assemblies  
 a fragrance of musk spreads from their pleasant odour.  
 He has been first in races pursuing lofty deeds;  
 he who would seek a simile for him would not find it.  
 When he speaks he surpasses all speakers in eloquence;  
 Quss<sup>8</sup> would fall silent in his presence if he spoke,  
 And if Galen lived in his time  
 he would say, 'One can rely on this man in matters of medicine.'
- 10 No one resembles him in his preservation of health,  
 and no one like him deals as skilfully with illness in the body.  
 When I<sup>9</sup> speak in praise of Muḥammad's noble qualities  
 every man will confirm what I say;  
 But if I wished to enumerate all the lofty things he encompasses  
 I would be unable, even if I were that eloquent al-Farazdaq.<sup>10</sup>  
 It is no wonder that I am, with sincere loyalty, in thrall  
 to the sons of Ḥulayqah, firmly bound.  
 Their father showed me favours in the past,  
 and so my gratitude to them is assured in length of time.
- 15 Each one of them has risen to the heights, especially  
 he who said, when longing came over him:  
 'And I am a man who loves you because of good qualities  
 I heard: the ear, like the eye, can fall in love.'  
 May they forever live in comfort and wellbeing,  
 with (God's) support, as long as lofty trees put forth leaves.

[14.55.3]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad was constantly committed to serious study, which is a way of life praiseworthy in both words and deed. Under his father,<sup>11</sup> he studied the medical art and wrote accurately about its several subdivisions, including both generalities and particularities, and acquired knowledge of its essentials, both theoretical and practical. He served the sultan

8 See above, Ch. 10.65 (Müller i:265), line 29.

9 A: *qulta*, but it must be 1st person because of the following *aḡūlu*.

10 Hammām ibn Ghālib, known as al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728), one of the great poets of the Umayyad period.

11 His father was Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah, see Ch. 14.54. Muhadhhab al-Dīn is mentioned briefly in this biography.

al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars al-Malikī al-Şāliḥī with medical advice and enjoyed the utmost respect on the part of the ruler, who bestowed numerous favours, a fine position and abundant gifts upon him.

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn had two brothers. One of them was Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-Khayr, who was prominent in the art of ophthalmology (*ṣināʿat al-kuḥl*), being learned and meritorious, and who, before reaching the age of twenty, had composed a book on eye medicaments (*al-kuḥl*) for al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn.<sup>12</sup> The other brother, ʿAlam al-Dīn Abū Naṣr, who was the younger, had a prodigious intellect and was accounted a scholar distinguished in the art of medicine, having been well-endowed with insight and understanding.

[14.55-4]

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥulayqah is the author of a book on medicine (*K. fi l-tibb*).

#### 14.56 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd<sup>1</sup>

[14.56.1]

The very illustrious, learned, physician Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ibn Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿqūb was a Christian from Jerusalem. He was distinguished in the art of medicine, having been an expert in both its theory and its practice, with a keen intellect, eloquence in speech and an excellent turn of phrase.

He studied Arabic under our teacher Taqī l-Dīn Khazʿal ibn ʿAskar ibn Khalīl,<sup>2</sup> a shaykh who was peerless in his time in the science of grammar. Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd subsequently engaged in the study of medicine under my paternal uncle, the physician Rashīd al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Khalīfah,<sup>3</sup> while the latter was in the service of the sultan al-Malik al-Muʿazzam.<sup>4</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd was the

12 Al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (d. 647/1249) was the last major sultan of the Ayyubid dynasty. He ruled in Egypt from 637/1240 to 647/1249 and in Damascus in 636/1239 and again from 643/1245 to 647/1249. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ʿal-Malik al-Şāliḥ Nadīm al-Dīn Ayyūb' (D.S. Richards).

1 This biography is found in Versions 2 and 3 but is missing in Version 1.

2 Abū l-Majd Taqī al-Dīn Khazʿal ibn ʿAskar ibn Khalīl (d. 623/1226), a grammarian, originally from Egypt, who settled in Damascus; see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat*, 3241–3243, Ibn al-Qiftī, *Imbāh*, i:388–389, al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii:309–310.

3 See Ch. 15.51.

4 Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil I (r. 594–624/1198–1227) was an Ayyubid prince and ruler of Damascus. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ʿal-Muʿazzam' (R.S. Humphreys).

most distinguished of all his pupils, for he attached himself to my uncle, never leaving his side either at home or while travelling. He remained with him in Damascus, always applying himself to study until he knew by heart everything that needs to be memorized from the books that reveal the art of medicine. After that, he studied under my uncle's direction many of the books of Galen and others until he had acquired an unprecedented understanding of them. He also studied under our teacher, the sage Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī.<sup>5</sup> In the year 632/1234, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd entered the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil, drawing a regular stipend, and he remained in that ruler's service for some time, residing in Cairo. Subsequently, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd served al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>6</sup> remaining in his service for about nine years.

[14.56.2]

While al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn was in Damascus he developed an ulceration (*akilah*) on his thigh, for which the physician Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ḥulayqah<sup>7</sup> treated him. After it had persisted for a long time, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ summoned Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd and complained to him about his condition. But there was ill-will and rivalry between the two physicians. When Abū Sa'īd declared to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ that Abū Ḥulayqah's treatment had not been the correct one, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ gave Abū Ḥulayqah an angry look, whereupon Abū Ḥulayqah rose, left the ruler's presence, and went and sat at the gate of the sultan's residence. Abū Sa'īd stayed behind with the sultan, intending to undertake treatment, but in the course of that very consultation, Abū Sa'īd was stricken<sup>8</sup> with partial paralysis<sup>9</sup> and fell prostrate on the ground in front of the sultan, who gave orders for him to be carried to his house. Abū Sa'īd remained in that condition for four days and then died. His death occurred in Damascus during the last ten days of the month of Ramadan in the year 646 [January 1249].

5 Often known as al-Dakhwār; see Ch. 15.50.

6 He was the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil and the last major figure of the Ayyubid sultans. (603–647/1206–1249). *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb' (D.S. Richards).

7 See Ch. 14.54.

8 In one manuscript copy (R), alongside this portion of the text, the copyist made the marginal comment 'Such is the result of delusion and finding fault with perfect people', an apparent reference to the fate of Abū Sa'īd.

9 *Fālij*, with one manuscript reading 'apoplexy (*saktah*) and partial paralysis (*fālij*)'.

[14.56.3]

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ then went to Egypt, but his illness became worse and finally he died, may God have mercy upon him. His death occurred on Monday the fifteenth of Shaʿbān in the year 647 [23 November 1249]. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb had enormous prestige and the power of a sultan, but when death – the destroyer of pleasures – came to him, it was as if he had never existed. Thus does time deal with humanity – as I (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah) have said in the following verses:<sup>10</sup>

Beware your time as much as you are able, for it is  
 Fate that wrongs noble people, even though it is just.<sup>11</sup>  
 Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who ruled all creatures  
 and overcame dynasties,  
 Was healthy through his lucky stars, until an illness  
 played havoc with his body, defying all remedies.  
 The world had been untroubled for him and he thought  
 it would last for him forever. But then his appointed time took him by  
 surprise.  
 In truth, he was a star (*najm*) that rose;  
 but thus are stars: afterwards, it set.

[14.56.4]

Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd is the author of the following works:

1. *Choice Facts of Medicine* (*K. ʿUyūn al-ṭibb*), which he composed for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. It is one of the best books ever written on the art of medicine, and it includes selected summaries of medical treatments.<sup>12</sup>
2. Notes on the *The Comprehensive Book* (*Taʿālīq ʿalā Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*) of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī<sup>13</sup> on medicine.

10 Metre: *kāmil*.

11 This sense of *ʿadala* is strongly suggested by its antonym, implied with *jawr*; the paradox can be resolved if *in ʿadal* is here taken as ‘even though it turns away (for some time)’.

12 No copy is known to be preserved today.

13 Not preserved today. For Rāzī, see Ch. 11.5.



14.57 As'ad al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥasan<sup>1</sup>

[14.57.1]

The outstanding learned physician, As'ad al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī l-Ḥasan, was a very eminent scholar, who was prominent amongst the erudite, with a keen intellect and great dedication to learning. As'ad al-Dīn had mastered the art of medicine and acquired knowledge of the philosophical disciplines. In matters of religious law, he was also learned and one whose word carried great weight.

As'ad al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥasan studied medicine under Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī<sup>2</sup> in Egypt and served al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Aqṣīs ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>3</sup> with whom he stayed for a period in the Yemen. He received many honours and generous gifts from al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, including a monthly stipend of one hundred Egyptian dinars. As'ad al-Dīn continued in his service until the death of al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, may God have mercy upon him. Then al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>4</sup> granted As'ad al-Dīn estates in Egypt from which he received an annual revenue, and the ruler made him a member of his entourage. As'ad al-Dīn was born in Egypt in the year 570/1174. His father was also a physician in Egypt. The shaykh As'ad al-Dīn studied belles-lettres (*ilm al-adab*) and poetry, composing some fine poetry himself.

[14.57.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – first met As'ad al-Dīn in Damascus at the beginning of the month of Rajab in the year 630 [April 1233] and found him to be an elderly man of handsome appearance, with attractive grey hair, a perfect build, and a light-brown complexion, charming in conversation and well endowed with honourable virtues. Subsequently I met him again in Egypt where he received me kindly and warmly. He had been a friend of my father's for many years. The death of As'ad al-Dīn occurred in Cairo in the year 635/1237.

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- 1 This biography is found in Versions 1 and 3 but is missing in Version 2. For this otherwise unknown physician, see Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 166, 179. His name is given (probably incorrectly) in most manuscripts as As'ad al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī, though in at least one copy the 'Alī is omitted and in another it is given as ibn 'Alī.
  - 2 See Ch. 15.14. For the spelling of al-Bayyāsī, see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Bayyāsa' (A. Huici Miranda).
  - 3 Al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf, son of the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil and emir of Yemen during his father's reign; see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, 163.
  - 4 Al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238) was the fifth Ayyubid ruler in Egypt; *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'al-Kāmil' (H.L. Gottschalk).

[14.57.3]

As'ad al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥasan is the author of *Anecdotes of the Insightful regarding the Examination of Physicians* (*K. Nawādir al-alibbā' fī imtiḥān al-aṭibbā'*), which he composed for al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb.

#### 14.58 Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Bayṭār<sup>1</sup>

[14.58.1]

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Bayṭār – that is, the very illustrious, learned physician Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Mālaqī al-Nabātī – is generally known as Ibn al-Bayṭār. He was without peer in his day and was the authority of his age on the knowledge, identification, selection, and locations of plants as well as the attribution of names in terms of their differences and types. Ibn al-Bayṭār travelled to the land of the Greeks,<sup>2</sup> reaching even the remotest areas of Asia Minor (*Bilād al-Rūm*), where he not only met experts in that discipline, from whom he obtained a great deal of knowledge about plants, but also observed the plants in their natural environment. In the Maghrib and elsewhere he also met with many authorities in the field of botany (*'ilm al-nabāt*) and observed the places where plants grew and examined their nature. Ibn al-Bayṭār had mastered the contents of the book of Dioscorides with such thoroughness that practically no one else could equal him in that regard.

[14.58.2]

Indeed, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – found him to have an astonishing degree of insight, astuteness and knowledge about plants and about what Dioscorides and Galen had said concerning them. My first meeting with him was in Damascus in the year 633/1235 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.

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

1 This biography is found in all three versions. For Ibn al-Bayṭār, see Sezgin, *GAS* III (index); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 280–283, 290; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 91, 101, 108, 139, 412; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn al-Bayṭār' (J. Vernet); *ET Three* art. 'Ibn al-Bayṭār' (A.M. Cabo-González); *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* art. 'Ibn al-Bayṭār' (A.M. Cabo-González).

2 An unusual word for the Greeks, *al-Aghāriqah*, is used here instead of the more common terms *al-Yūnān* and *al-Rūm*.

to observe at first hand his vast knowledge and his understanding of a great number of subjects. For my studies with him, I had procured a number of books concerning simple drugs, such as Dioscorides' book, Galen's, the one by al-Ghāfiqī,<sup>3</sup> and similar important works on that subject. Ibn al-Bayṭār's commentary begins with a reiteration of the information from Dioscorides' Greek book that he had been able to confirm in Asia Minor (*bilād al-Rūm*). It then discusses the whole of what Dioscorides says concerning the attributes, descriptions and functions of plants, and also what Galen says concerning the attributes, temperament and functions of plants and related matters. In addition, Ibn Bayṭār discusses a number of sayings of later scholars and their differences of opinion and also cites instances of error and ambiguity that have occurred in some of their descriptions of substances.

I used to analyse those books with him, and I could not find anything in them that he had got wrong. But more astounding still, 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.

[14.58.3]

Ibn al-Bayṭār was in the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who used to rely on him for simple medicaments and herbs and appointed him the chief over the other herbalists (*ra'īs 'alā sār'ir al-'ashshābīn*) in Egypt and master of those who cultivate plants (*aṣḥāb al-baṣṭāt*). He continued in al-Malik al-Kāmil's service until the ruler died in Damascus, may God have mercy upon him. He then went to Cairo, where he served al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil, enjoying his favour and holding a high position during his reign. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, the herbalist (*'ashshāb*), died suddenly, may God have mercy upon him, in Damascus in the month of Sha'ban in the year 646 [November 1248].

[14.58.4]

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Bayṭār is the author of the following works:<sup>4</sup>

3 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī (d. ca. 560/1165) was a botanist and pharmacologist from Muslim Spain. His most famous work is *K. fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah* (Book on simple drugs), which was used by Ibn Bayṭār in the compilation of his work on simple drugs *K. al-Jamī' al-adwiyah al-mufradah*. See *ET Three* art. 'al-Ghāfiqī, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad' (L. Chipman). See also Ch. 13.54.

4 For additional treatise titles and further information about his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS III* (index); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 280–283, 290; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 91, 101,

1. Explanation and information on the flaws and errors in *al-Minhāj* (*K. al-Ibānah wa-l-i'lām bi-mā fi l-Minhāj min al-khalal wa-l-awhām*).<sup>5</sup>
2. A commentary on medicinal substances in the book of Dioscorides<sup>6</sup> (*Sharḥ adwiyat kitāb Dīyasqūrīdus*).
3. A compendium on medicinal substances (*K. al-Jāmi' fi l-adwiyah al-mufradah*)<sup>7</sup> in which the author examines the simple medicaments, giving their names, classifications, properties and benefits. In this book he indicates the ones that can readily be identified, distinguishing them from those that can be confused with others. There is no other book on simple drugs as important as this. He composed it for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil.<sup>8</sup>
4. The ultimate on simple drugs (*K. Mughnī fi l-adwiyah al-mufradah*), which he arranged in accordance with the treatment of affected organs.
5. Astonishing effects and wondrous occult properties (*K. al-Af'āl al-gharībah wa-l-khawāṣṣ al-'ajībah*)

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108, 139, 412; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 641–658; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn al-Bayṭār' (J. Vernet); *EI Three* art. 'Ibn al-Bayṭār' (Ana M. Cabo-González).

5 Apparently a discourse on the errors found in an otherwise unidentified treatise titled *al-Minhāj* (the method, or, the management). It could possibly be Ibn Rushd's *K. Minhāj al-adillah fi uṣūl al-fiqh* (see above Ch. 13.66.6 no. 25), or Ibn Jazlah's *K. Minhāj al-bayān fīmā yasta'miluhu l-insān* (see Ch. 10.59 no. 2).

6 For an edition and German translation, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung*.

7 The title is more commonly given as *al-Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiyah wa-l-aghdiyyah*. This enormous dictionary of some 1,400 simple medicaments and foodstuffs, presented in alphabetical order, is preserved in many copies. For a French translation, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, 'Traité des simples'; for an edition and Spanish translation of the substances under the letters *ṣād* and *ḍād*, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Colección de Medicamentos y Alimentos*.

8 For evidence that it might in fact not have been originally dedicated to the Ayyubid ruler, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 646; and *EI Three* art. 'Ibn al-Bayṭār' (A.M. Gabo-González).

## Famous Syrian Physicians<sup>1</sup>

*Translated and annotated by N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder  
(poetry)*

### 15.1 Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī<sup>2</sup>

[15.1.1]

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Ūzlūgh ibn Ṭarkhān was a native of the town of Fārāb in a Turkish district of Khorasan. His father was an army officer of Persian origin who lived in Baghdad for some time before moving to Damascus, where he remained until his death.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī – may God have mercy upon him – was a consummate philosopher and a man of learning who was not only well-versed in the philosophic sciences but also excelled in the several domains of mathematics. He was pure of soul and highly intelligent. Moreover, he avoided worldly ambition and was content with the barest subsistence, living like one of the philosophers of antiquity. He was interested in the art of medicine, and was familiar

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- Chapter Fifteen is the final chapter of IAU's large encyclopaedia of medical biography. It contains sixty entries, starting off with the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and finishing with the physician Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff. It is by far the longest chapter of the work and also contains a fair amount of poetry. With the exception of a few entries right at the beginning, the chapter deals with IAU's contemporaries, among whom we can find many of his relatives, friends and acquaintances. Ch. 15 is preserved in MSS A and L, but missing from P and S. Of the comparative copies, it is found in HRGbc, but only partially preserved in B. There is a marginal note on fol. 271b of MS A saying 'in the handwriting of the author'. It needs, of course, to be emphasized that MS A is a very important text for several reasons, but this importance does unfortunately not reflect itself fully in Book Fifteen. MS A mainly offers variant readings of minor importance, many omissions and silly mistakes. The many omissions in MS A cannot be explained by homoeoarcicon or teleuton and neither by carelessness of the scribe. That obviously means that the omissions are due to the fact that MS A is an intermediary copy. It is a work in progress. The collation is based on the MSS ABGgGcHLR.
  - This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For biographical and bibliographical information on Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, see amongst others *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'al-Fārābī' (D. Gutas); Fakhry, *History*, 111–132; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Al-Fārābī' (R. Walzer); Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*; Rescher, *Bibliography*. It is also worth consulting some of the studies by Ahmet Ateş and H. 'A. Maḥfūz on the life and works of al-Fārābī.

with its general principles, but was not a practising physician, and did not attempt to address specific issues.

[15.1.1.1]

Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī l-Āmidī<sup>3</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – told me that al-Fārābī had once been a keeper of a garden in Damascus. Even then, however, he had always occupied himself with the philosophical sciences, reflecting on them, studying the views of the ancients and elucidating their meanings. He found himself in such straitened circumstances that, when staying up all night to read and write books, he had to use his watchman’s lamp for light. He held that post for some time, but by degrees his situation improved: his merits became manifest and his writings came to be widely read. He acquired many disciples, became a leading authority in the domain of philosophy and was highly regarded. The emir Sayf al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān al-Taghlibī<sup>4</sup> became his patron, bestowing great honour upon him, with the result that he enjoyed preference and became a man of importance.

[15.1.1.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have copied the following from one of my learned teachers: Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī travelled to Egypt in the year 338/949, returned to Damascus in the month of Rajab of the year 339/950, during the caliphate of al-Rāḍī [bi-Allāh], to stay with Sayf al-Dawlah ‘Alī ibn Ḥamdān. Sayf al-Dawlah recited prayers for him in the presence of fifteen of his closest associates. It is said that of all the presents that were bestowed upon him [by Sayf al-Dawlah], he only accepted four dirhams daily, which he spent on the simple necessities of life. He attached no value whatever to ostentation, luxury or income, and he is said to have subsisted on nothing but a light broth made from lamb’s heart and an aromatic wine.<sup>5</sup>

3 Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī al-Āmidī (551–631/1156–1233) is renowned as the author of a monumental summa on Islamic legal theory entitled *al-Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām*. See Weiss, ‘Legal Education,’ 110–127.

4 Sayf al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān al-Taghlibī (r. 333–356/944–967) was a Ḥamdānid emir. See amongst others *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Fārābī’ (D. Gutas).

5 Lothar Kopf’s translation of this fragment is awkward: ‘It is affirmed that he subsisted exclusively on the cardiac fluid of young lambs and seasoned wine’; it is also inappropriate in the sense that it may hint at the human consumption of blood or the execution of some magical procedure.

[15.1.1.3]

It is said that he was once a judge, but that when he became aware of scientific knowledge, he renounced that occupation and devoted himself exclusively to the study of science. He took no interest in worldly matters: he is said to have left his house at night and visited the watchmen in order to read by the light of their lamps. He was also a student of the art of music and a performing musician, and in that domain too he attained an unsurpassed proficiency. He is said to have made a curious instrument with which he produced extraordinary melodies that would stir his hearers' emotions. As regards the origin of his interest in philosophy, it is said that a certain man once left the complete works of Aristotle in his keeping. He chanced to look into them, found them congenial, and began to read them, nor did he put them down again until he had mastered them completely and become an accomplished philosopher in his own right.

[15.1.2]

I have transcribed the following passage from Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's own definition of the word 'philosophy':

The word 'philosophy' is Greek and has been adopted in the Arabic language. The original Greek word is 'philosophia', and it means 'admiration for wisdom'. The term is composed of the words 'philo' and 'sophia', 'philo' meaning admiration and 'sophia' wisdom. The word 'philosopher' is derived from 'philosophy'. The Greek term is 'philosophos'. There are many words that are derived in that way in their language. A 'philosopher' is thus an 'admirer of wisdom'. An 'admirer of wisdom' to them is one who makes wisdom his ultimate goal and sole end in life.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī relates the following account of the origins of philosophy.<sup>6</sup> In his own words:

The study of philosophy became widespread during the days of the Greek kings. After the death of Aristotle, it was cultivated in Alexandria until the end of the woman's reign.<sup>7</sup> Subsequent to Aristotle's demise, the teaching of the subject there remained unchanged throughout the reign of

6 This is one of the most famous – and controversial – passages of the *Uyūn*, and has been translated and discussed many times. For a list of these translations and studies, see Gutas, 'Alexandria', 155 n. 2.

7 'The woman' is of course the empress Cleopatra.

the thirteen [Ptolemaic] kings, under whom there were twelve successive teachers of philosophy, including one who was known by the name Andronicus [of Rhodes].

The last of these rulers was 'the woman' [Cleopatra]. Augustus, the emperor of the Romans, defeated and killed her and took possession of her kingdom. Once he had consolidated his rule, he looked through the libraries and reorganized them. There he found manuscripts of the works of Aristotle that dated from the lifetime of the author itself and that of Theophrastus [of Eresos], and he also discovered that later teachers and philosophers had composed works on the subjects which Aristotle discussed in an earlier age. Augustus ordered Andronicus to have copies made of the former, namely, works that were from the times of Aristotle and his disciples, so that they could serve for the teaching of philosophy, while the latter were to be discarded. Augustus said that he would take some of these copies to Rome with him, while others were to be left behind at the School of Alexandria, and he ordered Andronicus to designate a successor in Alexandria and to accompany him to Rome. From then on, philosophy was taught in both cities, and this remained the case until the advent of Christianity.

This put an end to the teaching of philosophy in Rome, but it continued to be pursued in Alexandria until the Christian emperor decided to look into it. The bishops gathered in solemn conclave to consider which parts of the canon should be deemed acceptable and which should be suppressed. In the end, they decided that all the material from the books of logic to the last part of the *Prior Analytics* [lit.: 'the perceptual forms', 'the assertoric figures'<sup>8</sup>] should continue to be taught, but nothing beyond that, for fear that it might bring harm to Christianity. However, they imposed no restraints on anything that might promote the Christian faith. The approved works could be openly taught, whereas the rest could be taught only clandestinely.

Long afterward, after the advent of Islam, the teaching of philosophy migrated from Alexandria to Antioch, where it remained for a very long period. In the end, only one teacher was left. This person taught two men, who left the city and took the books with them. One of these men was a native of Ḥarrān, while the other was a native of Merv. The man from Merv taught two other men, one of whom was Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>8</sup> This goes up to *Prior Analytics*, I 7; see. Gutas, 'Alexandria', 164.

<sup>9</sup> Ibrāhīm (ibn Aḥmad) al-Marwazī (d. ca. 339/951) is said to have been one of the teachers of the famous logician Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus.



the other Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān.<sup>10</sup> The Ḥarrānian man also instructed two other men, one of whom was Isrāʿīl, the bishop<sup>11</sup> and the other [Ibrāhīm] Quwayrī.<sup>12</sup> Both these men settled in Baghdad. Isrāʿīl devoted himself to religion, while Quwayrī began a career in teaching. Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān, for his part, applied himself to religion as well. Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī also moved to Baghdad, where one of his students was Mattā ibn Yūnān.<sup>13</sup> At that time, the study of philosophy included the works of Aristotle as far as the last part of the *Prior Analytics*.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī said that he himself read philosophy with Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān as far as the end of the *Book of Demonstration* [that is, the *Posterior Analytics*]. That part of logic that remained unknown until the study of it was permitted, was called 'beyond the Perceptual Forms'. Later on, Muslim scholars taught the whole of the corpus, from the last part of the *Prior Analytics* to the limit of what the student was able to master. Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī said that he had read it all as far as the end of the *Book of Demonstration*.

[15.1.3]

My paternal uncle, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Khalīfah<sup>14</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – told me that al-Fārābī died, while he stayed with Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān in the month of Rajab of the year 339/950,<sup>15</sup> and that

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- 10 Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān (d. during the caliphate of the caliph al-Muqtadir, 295–320/908–932) is a Christian philosopher.
- 11 Isrāʿīl, the bishop. Unidentified. Steinschneider (*Al-Farabi*, 87, n. 9), on the authority of Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1853), refers to a certain Isrāʿīl ben Beschuh.
- 12 Quwayrī (also sometimes spelled as Fūthirī or Fūtirī etc.) has been described as a disciple of a Ḥarrānian philosophy teacher. He later became a teacher of philosophy in Baghdad. See Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 87, especially n. 10. He can perhaps be identified with Ibrāhīm Quwayrī, the logician a.k.a Abū Ishāq. See also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 77. See also Ch. 10.18.
- 13 Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus [Yūnān] (ca. 256–328/870–940) was a Christian philosopher who played an important role in the transmission of the works of Aristotle to the Islamic world. He is famous for founding the Baghdad School of Aristotelian Philosophers. Only Ibn Khallikān mentions Abū Bishr as one of the teachers of al-Fārābī. See *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Fārābī' (D. Gutas). Abū Bishr has an entry in Ch. 10.21.
- 14 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Khalīfah was a physician and head of a hospital. He was the paternal uncle of 1AU and a close acquaintance of the famous polymath 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. It has been reported that Rashīd al-Dīn introduced 'Abd al-Laṭīf to the works of Aristotle. See Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte*, 132. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.51.
- 15 That is also the opinion of the judge and biographer Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 460/1070), who simply states that 'al-Fārābī died in Damascus in 339/950 under the protection (*fī kanaf*) of Sayf al-Dawlah'. See Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Bū 'Alwān). Others like al-Bayhaqī,

he had studied philosophy with Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān in Baghdad in the days of [the caliph] al-Muqtadir. Moreover, he said, Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnān was a contemporary of his. He was older than Abū Naṣr, but Abū Naṣr had a sharper intellect and was more eloquent. Abū Bishr Mattā studied under Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī and died during the caliphate of [the caliph] al-Rāḍī [bi-Allāh], between the years 323/934 and 329/940. Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān and Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī had studied under a man from Merv.

## [15.1.3.1]

The shaykh Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī<sup>16</sup> states in his *Annotations* that Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī<sup>17</sup> informed him that Mattā had read the *Isagoge* with a certain Christian and *The Categories* and the *Peri Hermeneias* with a man named Rūbīl,<sup>18</sup> and that he had read the *Book of Syllogisms* [that is, the *Prior Analytics*] with Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī.<sup>19</sup>

## [15.1.3.2]

The qadi Ṣā‘id ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣā‘id<sup>20</sup> says in his *Book of information on the Classes of Nations* that al-Fārābī began the study of logic under Yūḥannā ibn

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in his *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, present us with the romantic story that al-Fārābī was killed by highwaymen on his way from Damascus to Ascalon. On the stories and legends that are doing the rounds about al-Fārābī’s life and lore, see *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Fārābī’ (D. Gutas).

- 16 Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī (d. 375–376/985) was also called al-Mantiqī (the logician). His name refers to his origins in the Sijistān or Sistān province in present-day Iran. He became the leading philosopher of Islamic humanism in the Baghdad of his time. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjīstānī’ (S.M. Stern); Cottrell, art. ‘Abū Sulaymān’; cf. also Kraemer, *Philosophy*. Al-Sijistānī has an entry in Ch. 11.7.
- 17 Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī (d. 363/974) was a Syrian Orthodox Christian philosopher, theologian and translator, who studied with Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus and Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī. Yaḥyā eventually headed the Aristotelian school in Baghdad. He is particularly well-known for his work on ethical philosophy called *The Refinement of Character* or *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*. See the parallel Arabic-English translation by Griffith, *Tahdhīb*, which also offers an excellent introduction to this author. Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī has an entry in Ch. 10.22.
- 18 Rūbīl (or: Rūfil) was, as it seems, one of the teachers of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus; see Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 89. He was a Jacobite monk, commentator on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*; see Kraemer, *Philosophy*, 99 (with references to Ibn al-Nadīm, and Bar Hebraeus).
- 19 Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Mattā b. Yūnus’ (G. Endress). He is said to have been one of the teachers of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus. See Ch. 10.20 and also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukama’*, 435.
- 20 That is, the judge Abū l-Qāsim Ṣā‘id ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī (d. 460/1070),

Ḥaylān, who died in the ‘City of Peace [Baghdād]’ in the days of [the caliph] al-Muqtadir. He surpassed all Islamic scholars in that art with the incomparable depth of his knowledge, explaining its obscurities, exploring its secrets and facilitating understanding of it. Al-Fārābī brought together the essential elements of the art of logic in a series of works that provide a sound interpretation of the facts and are written in an intellectually refined style. In those works, he draws attention to those matters that [Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq] al-Kindī<sup>21</sup> and others failed to analyse and elucidate in their teaching. The five methods of logic are clearly set forth, and the author advises the reader on methods of applying and utilizing them, and on the use of analogy with regard to each of them. In a word, his works on that subject are highly rewarding and most erudite.

Al-Fārābī wrote an admirable work entitled *Enumeration of the Sciences and a Determination of their Aims*,<sup>22</sup> which is highly original, breaking new ground. It is indispensable as a model and an introduction for students of all sciences. In addition, al-Fārābī composed a work on the aims of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, which attests his proficiency in philosophy and his knowledge in the various scientific disciplines. This work is essential as a guide to methods of enquiry and procedures of investigation. It affords insight into the secrets and achievements of the several sciences, one by one, and demonstrates how the student can advance gradually from one to another. Beginning with the philosophy of Plato, al-Fārābī identifies its aims and sums up the author’s works in that field. Next, he turns to an exploration of the philosophy of Aristotle, first inserting an important introduction in which he explains how, step by step, he came to appreciate Aristotle’s writings. He, then, describes the aims pursued by Aristotle in his works on logic and physics, book by book, until (according to the copy that has come down to us) he concludes with the beginning of metaphysics and the method of drawing conclusions regarding it through physics. I know of no work that is more advantageous to the student of philosophy, because it explains the concepts common to all sciences while also distinguishing those

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*K. al-Ta’rīf bi-ṭabaqāt al-umam*, see *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 53–54. See also Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 141–146 and Šā‘id, *Ṭabaqāt* (Bū ‘Alwān), 137–140.

21 Al-Kindī (d. ca. 252/866) was a philosopher, mathematician, physicist, astronomer, physician, geographer and even an expert in music. He made original contributions to all of these fields. On account of his work he became widely known as ‘The Philosopher of the Arabs’; see for instance Atiyeh, *Al-Kindī*; Adamson, *Al-Kindī*; Adamson and Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*. See Ch. 10.1.

22 See Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43; Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 83–85; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 546–547, and 529.

that are specific to each particular science. Only through this work is it possible for a student to understand the meaning of the categories and to learn about the premises that form the basis of all the sciences.

Besides these, al-Fārābī wrote two other peerless works, one on metaphysics, entitled *The Government of a State*,<sup>23</sup> and the other on politics, entitled *The Virtuous State* [or, in full, *Opinions of the People of the Ideal State*].<sup>24</sup> In these works, the author uses the method of Aristotle to explain important parts of metaphysics: the six spiritual elements, how they give rise to the bodily substances, how these elements are arranged, and how they are linked with wisdom. He also presents us with the various categories of men and human psychical faculties, and draws a distinction between revelation and philosophy. In addition, he describes the different types of States, both virtuous and non-virtuous, and shows that every State stands in need of both a temporal ruler and prophetic laws.

## [15.1.3.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: the historians tell us that al-Fārābī would meet with Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj<sup>25</sup> and learn grammar from him, while in return Ibn al-Sarrāj would study the science of logic under al-Fārābī. Al-Fārābī also composed poetry. When he was asked: ‘Who is the greater [scholar], you or Aristotle?’, he replied: ‘Had I lived in his day I would certainly have been his best disciple’. He is also reported to have said: ‘I have read Aristotle’s *Physics* forty times, but I still feel the need to read it over and over again.’<sup>26</sup>

## [15.1.4]

The following prayer (*du‘ā*)<sup>27</sup> was composed by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī: O God, I ask Thee, the necessarily existent, the cause of all causes, the Sempiternal, who

23 See Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 581–582, 533 no. 126.

24 See Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47; Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63–68; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 577–581, 533 no. 125.

25 That is, most likely, the famous grammarian and lexicographer Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī ibn Sahl al-Sarrāj (d. 316/942), see Sezgin, *GAS VIII*, 101 and *GAS IX* 82–85.

26 Al-Fārābī’s ‘obsessive reading’ of Aristotle seems to have been proverbial. Ibn Khallikān, who also reports this information, adds that he learnt from an autograph manuscript that al-Fārābī had read *De anima* a hundred times (*al-Wāfi*, i:103). According to Franz Rosenthal this might have come from a marginal note in an manuscript on geometry attributed to the philosopher, now in the Uppsala library (Rosenthal, *Technique and Approach*, 23).

27 For this specific *du‘ā*, see Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 113 under 18. Al-Fārābī’s authorship is disputed; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 587–588.

wilt never cease to exist, that Thou preservest me from errors, and makest me place my hope in actions that Thou wilt approve. O God, bestow on me the virtues that Thou hast assembled and bless me in all my affairs. Grant me success in all my goals and quests.

O Lord of the seven running and sinking (planets),<sup>28</sup> that  
 gushed forth from the universe as from an artery(?):<sup>29</sup>  
 They are the agents of His will, the virtues of which  
 encompass all substance.  
 Now I hope for good things from Thee whereas I have doubts(?)  
 about Saturn, Mercury's soul, and Jupiter.<sup>30</sup>

O God, clothe me in the dress of splendour, [let me share] the miracles of the prophets,<sup>31</sup> the happiness of the wealthy, the wisdom of the sages and the humility of the God-fearing. O God, deliver me from the world of suffering and perdition. Make me one of the brethren of purity,<sup>32</sup> those who keep their word, and who dwell in heaven together with the righteous and the martyrs. Thou art God, save whom there is no other God, the cause of all things and the light of earth and heaven; confer upon me a superabundance of the active intellect. O Lord of splendour and generosity, cleanse my soul with the lights of wisdom and grant me gratitude for all the grace Thou hast bestowed upon me. Let me see truth as it really is, and inspire me to follow it; let me see falsehood as it really is, and restrain me from believing in it or heeding it. Cleanse my soul from the clay of primordial matter. Thou art the First Cause.

O Cause of all things, through whom  
 they came into being, gushing forth from His emanation;  
 Lord of the heaven's layers, centre  
 in their midst, of earth and rivers,

28 cf. Q al-Takwīr 81:16.

29 Reading, with ALHRGb 11a, *al-abhari* ('artery, aorta'); undotted in Gb fol. 111b. Compare the reading of *Wāfi*: *al-anhuri* ('rivers'). For the verb *inbajasa* see Q al-A'rāf 7:160 (water gushing from the rock).

30 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, i:111. These lines are printed as prose in the editions by Müller, Riḍā, and al-Najjār.

31 The miracles of prophets are properly called *mu'jizāt*, while *karāmāt* is the term for the miracles of 'saints' or holy men (*awliyā'*).

32 This may be a reference to the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. We should, however, be careful with this, since the expression *ikhwān al-ṣafā'* was used in poetry and the *Ikhwān* took their nom de plume from the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, where a group of mice that rescue a dove are referred to as *ikhwān al-ṣafā'*.

I pray to Thee, seeking protection as a sinner,  
 so forgive the error of a sinner who has fallen short;  
 Cleanse, with an emanation from Thee, Lord of All,  
 the turbidity of nature, its elements being my element.<sup>33</sup>

O God, Lord of exalted beings, celestial bodies and heavenly spirits, Thy servant has been overcome by human desire, love of carnal appetites and lowly matters; so make Thy protection my shield against confusion and insanity, and make Thy power a fortress for me against shortcoming. Thou hast comprehensive knowledge of everything. O God, save me from the bonds of the four natural dispositions. Take me to Thy most spacious abode at Thy most elevated rank. O God, make sufficiency the cause of the severance of reprehensible relations between me, earthly bodies and universal concerns, and make wisdom the means whereby my soul shall be united with the divine world and the heavenly spirits. O God, cleanse my soul with the holy spirit that is exalted, enrich<sup>34</sup> my intellect and my senses with profound wisdom, and make my companionship be with the angels instead of the natural world. O God, inspire me with Thy right guidance, strengthen my faith with devoutness, and make me averse from love for the [material] world. O God, give me strength to vanquish transitory desires, cause my soul to enter the dwellings of the eternal souls and make it one of the precious gems [that dwell] in lofty gardens. Mayest Thou be praised. O God, who has preceded the existing beings who speak with silent language and utter spoken words. Verily, Thou hast bestowed wisdom on all those who deserve it, and Thou hast created their existence in place of their [former] nonexistence by grace and mercy. Those endowed with the essences and accidentia are worthy of Thy blessings and praise Thee for the excellence of Thy beneficence: «*And there is naught but it glorifies Him with praising, but you [people] do not understand their glorification of God*».<sup>35</sup> O God be praised. Thou art the sublime. 'Verily, God is the One, the Unique, the Eternal. He neither begot anyone, nor was he begotten. And no one has ever been comparable unto him'.<sup>36</sup> O Lord, Thou hast imprisoned my soul in a cell [made out of] the four elements, and Thou hast appointed a beast of prey to kill it because of its desires. O God, grant it protection and be favourably disposed to [my]

33 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:111.

34 Reading *athri* here, but the reading in Riḍā's edition might be right, where it is vowelled as *athir*, 'rouse, stir'. The MSS do not give vowels.

35 Q Isrā' 17:44.

36 This is a take on Q Ikh-lāṣ 112:1-4, with a slightly altered wording and an extra element in the form of the term *al-fard*, 'the Unique'.

soul with [Thy] mercy that is most becoming to Thee, and with Thine abundant generosity that befits Thee and is most natural to Thee. Weaken the desires of the soul with penitence, so that the soul can return to the heavenly world. Hasten the soul to return to its sacred place and, over its darkness, let rise a sun of the active intellect. Draw out from it the gloom of ignorance and misguidance, and bring its potential into reality. Bring it out of the darkness of ignorance to the light of wisdom and the bright light of the intellect. God, be near to those who believe and bring them out from the darkness into the light. O God, let my soul become acquainted in my sleep with the forms and shapes of what is virtuous and transcendental, and replace what is confused and muddled in my dreams with visions of good things and glad tidings. Purify my soul from the squalor that affected it through that which is perceptible by the senses and through delusions. Draw out from it the turbidity of nature and let it dwell in the world of the high-ranking souls. God is He who has shown me the right way, made up for my shortcomings and sheltered me.

Among the poetry composed by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī is the following:<sup>37</sup>

When I saw the Times were in relapse  
 and there was no use in company,<sup>38</sup>  
 Every leader (*raʿīs*) being bored  
 and every head (*raʿs*) having a headache,  
 I stayed at home and preserved a reputation  
 in which I had sufficient glory,  
 Drinking from the wine (*rāḥan*) I had acquired,  
 which cast its rays on my hand (*rāḥatī*),  
 While its bottles (*qawāriḥā*) were my drinking companions  
 and its bubbling (*qarāqīriḥā*) was my music,  
 And I gleaned reports about people  
 whose abodes had become deserted.

37 Metre: *mukhallaʿ al-basīʿ*. Attrib. to al-Fārābī in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:113, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Mas-ālik*, ix:42, but to Abū Naṣr al-Huzaymī al-Abīwardī (mid-4th/10th century, see Sezgin, *GAS II*, 635) in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, iv:132, idem, *Ijāz*, 243, idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, pp. 180–181 (and 20, line 2) and al-Zawzanī, *Ḥamāsāt al-ḥurafāʾ*, 153; and to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-ʿAbdalakānī al-Zawzanī (d. 431/1040) in Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:230 and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:532–533.

38 Other versions have ‘in wisdom’ (*fi l-ḥikmah* or *bi-l-ḥikmah*), ‘in intimacy’ (*fi l-ʿishrah*), and ‘there was degradation in elevation’ (*li-l-rufʿati ttiḍāʿū*).

He also said:<sup>39</sup>

My friend, leave the domain of falsehood  
 and be in the domain of truths.  
 Our abode is not an eternal abode,  
 and no man on earth can perform miracles.  
 What are we but lines that have fallen  
 on a sphere,<sup>40</sup> hurriedly?  
 This one competes with that one, on the basis of  
 less than a succinct word.  
 The circumference of the heavens would be more fitting for us,  
 so how long must this jostling in the centre last?<sup>41</sup>

[15.1.5]

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī is the author of the following books:

1. Commentary on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy (*S. kitāb al-Majisṭī li-Baṭlam-yūs*).<sup>42</sup>
2. Commentary on the *Book of Demonstration* [*Posterior Analytics*] by Aristotle (*S. kitāb al-burhān li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>43</sup>
3. Commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Rhetoric* [*Rhetorica*] (*S. kitāb al-khiṭābah li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>44</sup>
4. Commentary on the second and eighth chapter of Aristotle's *Book of Dialectics* [*Topica*] (*S. al-maqālah al-thānīyah wa-l-thāminah min kitāb al-jadal li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>45</sup>

39 Metre: *mutaqārib*. al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, i:113; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Māsālik*, ix:42; Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v:156) says he found these lines attributed to al-Fārābī, but he doubts this, as he also found them in al-Iṣfahānī's *Kharīdah* [*al-Shām*], ii:432, lines 1, 3–5, attributed to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Fāriqī (d. shortly after 561/1166).

40 Or 'point', as in most other sources.

41 MS L (fol. 107a) added a poem in margin, incorporated into the main text in Gb (fol. 12a). However, it is not found in ABHR, Müller, Riḍā, or al-Najjār. See A11.12.

42 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:14; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 566–567. Fragments of al-Fārābī's commentary on books IX to XIII of the *Almagest* have survived; see Thomann, 'Ein al-Fārābī zugeschriebener Kommentar', and Thomann, 'Al-Fārābī's Kommentar'.

43 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v. This work seems to be lost; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 586 no. 1.

44 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 59: VIII; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:2; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 562 (*Didascalía in Rethoricam*), 528 no. 25.

45 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 54: VI; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 560 (*al-Taḥlīl*), 530 no. 72.



5. Commentary on the *Book of Sophistics* [*Sophistica*] by Aristotle (*S. kitāb al-mughālatah li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>46</sup>
6. Commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Syllogisms* [*Prior Analytics*]. This is the large commentary (*S. kitāb al-qiyās li-Aristūṭālīs wa-huwa al-sharḥ al-kabīr*).<sup>47</sup>
7. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* [i.e., *On Interpretation*] (*S. kitāb Bārīmīnyās li-Aristūṭālīs 'alā jihat al-ta'liq*).<sup>48</sup>
8. An annotated commentary of Aristotle's *Book of Categories* (*S. kitāb al-maḡūlāt li-Aristūṭālīs 'alā jihat al-ta'liq*).<sup>49</sup>
9. The greater compendium on logic (*K. al-mukhtaṣar al-kabīr fi l-manṭiq*).<sup>50</sup>
10. The lesser compendium on logic, following the method of the scholastic theologians (*K. al-mukhtaṣar al-ṣaghīr fi l-manṭiq 'alā ṭarīqat al-mutakallīmīn*).<sup>51</sup>
11. The middle compendium on Syllogisms (*K. al-mukhtaṣar al-awsaṭ fi l-qiyās*).<sup>52</sup>
12. Introduction to logic (*K. al-tawṭī'ah fi l-manṭiq*).<sup>53</sup>
13. A commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, which explains the concepts and contents of that work (*S. kitāb Īsāghūjī li-Furfūriyyūs*).<sup>54</sup>
14. The lesser book on syllogisms (*K. al-qiyās al-ṣaghīr*). A copy of this book in al-Fārābī's own handwriting is extant. It is entitled *Enumeration of the propositions and analogies, which are generally employed in all syllogistical sciences* (*Iḥṣā' al-qaḍāyā wa-l-qiyāsāt allatī tusta'malu 'alā l-'umūm fi jamī' al-ṣanā'i' al-qiyāsiyyah*).<sup>55</sup>

46 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 55: VII.

47 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 557–558, 530 nos. 66–68.

48 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 22: III; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 555–556, 530 no. 64.

49 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 21: II; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 555, 530 no. 62.

50 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 18:4–5.

51 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 18:4–5. This work seems to be a doublet with no. 14. It was also known as *K. al-Qiyās al-ṣaghīr*, or *al-Mukhtaṣar al-ṣaghīr fi kayfiyyat al-qiyās*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 557–558, 530 no. 7 (ed.).

52 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV.

53 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 13:2; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1. Also known as *al-Risālah allatī ṣuddira bihā l-manṭiq*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 552, 530 (ed. and tr.).

54 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 20: 1. This most likely corresponds with the epitome also entitled *Īsāghūjī ay al-Mudkhal*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 554, 530 no. 61 (ed. and tr.).

55 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1. It seems to be a doublet with no. 10. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 557–558, 530 no. 67.

15. On the conditions of syllogisms (*K. shurūṭ al-qiyās*).<sup>56</sup>
16. The book of demonstration (*K. al-burhān*).<sup>57</sup>
17. The book of dialectics (*K. al-jadal*).<sup>58</sup>
18. Selections from the eighth chapter of the *Book of Dialectics* (*K. al-mawāḍi‘ al-muntaza‘ah min al-maqālah al-thāminah fī l-jadal*).<sup>59</sup>
19. Selections from the deceiving science [*Sophistica*] (*K. al-mawāḍi‘ al-mughallaṭah*).<sup>60</sup>
20. On the acquisition of premises, which is [also] entitled *Topica*. It [contains] an analysis (*K. iktisāb al-muqaddimāt*).<sup>61</sup>
21. On the premises that consist of the existential and the essential (*Kalām fī l-muqaddimāt al-mukhtaliṭah min wujūdī wa-darūrī*).<sup>62</sup>
22. On vacuum (*Kalām fī l-khalā‘*).<sup>63</sup>
23. Preface to the *Book of Rhetoric* (*Ṣadr li-kitāb al-khiṭābah*).<sup>64</sup>
24. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Physics* [*Auscultatio Physica*] (*S. kitāb al-samā‘ al-ṭabī‘ī li-Arisṭūṭālīs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>65</sup>
25. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book on the Heaven and the Earth* [*De Caelo et Mundi*] (*S. kitāb al-samā‘ wa-l-‘ālam li-Arisṭūṭālīs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>66</sup>
26. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Meteorology* (*S. kitāb al-āthār al-‘ulwiyyah li-Arisṭūṭālīs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>67</sup>
27. Annotated commentary on *The Discourse on the Soul* by Alexander of Aphrodisias (*S. maqālah al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī fī l-naḥs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>68</sup>

56 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 30: iv. This may be an alternative title for the *Sharā‘iṭ al-yaqīn*, no. 110 in the list; this work was a supplement to his *K. al-Burhān*.

57 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 558, 528 no. 28, 530 no. 69.

58 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 54: vi; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 559, 530 no. 71.

59 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 54: vi.

60 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 56: vii. This is probably the work also entitled *al-Amkinah al-mughliṭah*; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 561, 531 no. 71.

61 Unidentified. But see Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 219:20 and 20b.

62 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 37: iv.

63 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:31 [?]; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:5; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 571, 532 no. 101.

64 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 58: viii; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:2.

65 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 135:2; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:5; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 569–570, 532 no. 99.

66 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 138:4. This work seems to be lost; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 586 (2).

67 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 138:5. This work seems to be lost; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 586 (2).

68 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 117:25.

28. A commentary on the preface of Aristotle's *Book of Ethics* (*S. ṣadr kitāb al-akhlāq li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>69</sup>
29. On laws (*K. fī l-nawāmīs*).<sup>70</sup>
30. On the enumeration and ordering of sciences (*K. iḥṣā' al-'ulūm wa-tartībihā*).<sup>71</sup>
31. On the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle (*K. al-falsafatayn li-Aflāṭun wa-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>72</sup> The second was left incomplete.
32. On the virtuous State, the ignorant State, the sinful State, the modified State and the misguided State (*K. al-madīnah al-fāḍilah wa-l-madīnah al-jāhilah wa-l-madīnah al-fāsiqah wa-l-madīnah al-mubaddalah wa-l-madīnah al-dāllah*).<sup>73</sup> Al-Fārābī began to compose this book in Baghdad, carried it with him to Syria at the end of the year 330/942, and completed and revised it in Damascus in the year 331/942–943. Subsequently, he again looked at the manuscript and inserted the chapter [headings]. Later, someone asked him to add subheadings to indicate the division of subjects, and this he did in Cairo in the year 337/948, dividing the book into six subsections.
33. On the opinions of the people of the virtuous State (*K. mabādī' arā' al-madīnah al-fāḍilah*).<sup>74</sup>
34. On words and letters (*K. al-alfāz wa-l-ḥurūf*).<sup>75</sup>
35. The greater work on music,<sup>76</sup> dedicated to the vizier Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Karkhī (*K. al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*).

69 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 60:1.

70 Unidentified. This is possibly the same work as Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:11; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47:7. It may be a doublet with no. 105 in the list.

71 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 83; D. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 546–547, and 529 (ed. and tr.).

72 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 132:2. This title might correspond with parts two and three of the *Attainment of Happiness* (see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 583–584), or with the work entitled *al-Jam' bayna ra'yay al-ḥakīmayn Aflāṭun al-ilāhī wa-Aristūṭālīs* (see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 585).

73 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4. Fakhry, *Ethical Theories*, 139, translates *the sinful State* as *the wayward State*, *the modified State* as *the renegade State*, and *the misguided State* as *the erring State*. See also Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 577–581, 533 no. 125.

74 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 67:5; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47:7.

75 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 118:26–27; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:3. This is likely to be the work commonly known as simply *K. al-ḥurūf*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 547–549 (*The Particles*), and 529.

76 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:6; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 568–569, 531 no. 91.

36. On the classification of rhythm (*K. fī ihṣā' al-īqā'*).<sup>77</sup>
37. Discourse on the transposition [of music],<sup>78</sup> which is a supplement to *On the classification of rhythm (Kalām lahu fī l-naqlah muḍāfan ilā l-īqā')*.
38. Discourse on music, a compendium (*Kalām fī l-mūsīqī, mukhtaṣar*).<sup>79</sup>
39. Philosophical aphorisms culled from the books of the philosophers (*Fuṣūl falsafīyyah muntaza'ah min kutub al-falāsifah*).<sup>80</sup>
40. On human principles (*K. al-mabādi' al-insāniyyah*).<sup>81</sup>
41. Refutation of Galen's explanation of [some of] the sayings of Aristotle that contradict their true meaning (*K. al-radd 'alā Jālīnūs fīmā ta'awwahu min kalām Aristūṭālīs 'alā ghayr ma'nāhu*).<sup>82</sup>
42. Refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī with regard to the rules of argumentation (*K. al-radd 'alā Ibn al-Rāwandī fī adab al-jadal*).<sup>83</sup>
43. Refutation of Yaḥyā the Grammarian's [John Philoponus's] objections to Aristotle's [writings] (*K. al-radd 'alā Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī fīmā radda bihi 'alā Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>84</sup>
44. Refutation of al-Rāzī, on metaphysics (*K. al-radd 'alā al-Rāzī fī l-'ilm al-ilāhī*).<sup>85</sup>
45. On the One and the Oneness (*K. al-wāḥid wa-l-waḥdah*).<sup>86</sup>

77 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83, especially at 82; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 569, 532 no. 93.

78 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83, especially at 82. However, Steinschneider prefers to read *naqrah* ('beating of rhythm', 'plucking of strings') here instead of *naqlah* ('transposition', 'acceleration'). There are two extant supplements to al-Fārābī's book on music, the *K. fī ihṣā' al-īqā'* (no. 36) and another one entitled *K. al-Īqā'āt*, which is not listed by IAU. The *Kalām lahu fī l-naqlah muḍāfan ilā l-īqā'* might be a lost work or perhaps correspond with the *K. al-Īqā'āt*, on which see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 569, 532 no. 92. Neubauer translates: *Schrift über das 'Fortschreiten' (nuqlah) [von Ton zu Ton] als Appendix zu[m Thema] īqā'*; see Neubauer, 'Die Theorie vom īqā'.

79 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83.

80 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 71:8; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 575. This may be a doublet with no. 86, and maybe also no. 68.

81 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4.

82 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 133:4; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 571–572, 532 no. 103. An excerpt from this work circulated independently with the title *R. Fī l-ṭibb*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 532 no. 104.

83 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 116:23; Van Ess, 'Al-Fārābī and Ibn al-Rēwandī'; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 587 (5).

84 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 134:6; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 570–571, 532 no. 100.

85 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:28. Al-Fārābī's authorship of this work, which has not come down to us, is disputed; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 587 (5).

86 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 116:21; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 574, 532 no. 111.

46. Discourse on extent and measure (*Kalām fī l-ḥayyiz wa-l-miqdār*).<sup>87</sup>
47. The lesser work on the intellect (*K. fī l-ʿaql ṣaghīr*).<sup>88</sup>
48. The greater work on the intellect (*K. fī l-ʿaql kabīr*).<sup>89</sup>
49. Discourse on the meaning of the word philosophy (*Kalām fī maʿnā ism al-falsafah*).<sup>90</sup>
50. On the existing things that are subject to change, discussed in terms of physics (*K. al-mawjūdāt al-mutaghayyirah al-mawsūm bi-l-kalām al-ṭabīʿī*).<sup>91</sup>
51. On the conditions of syllogistic demonstration (*K. sharāʾiṭ al-burhān*).<sup>92</sup>
52. Discourse on the explanation of the incomprehensible in the introduction to the first and fifth chapter of Euclid's [book] (*Kalām lahu fī sharḥ al-mustaghlaq min muṣādarāt al-maqālah al-ūlā wa-l-khāmisah min Iqlīdis*).<sup>93</sup>
53. Discourse on the compatibility between the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato (*K. fī ittifāq ārāʾ Abuqrāt wa-Aflāṭun*).<sup>94</sup>
54. Epistle directing attention to the causes of happiness (*R. fī l-tanbīh ʿalā asbāb al-saʿādah*).<sup>95</sup>
55. Discourse on the atom and that which is divisible (*Kalām fī l-juzʾ wa-mā yatajazzaʾu*).<sup>96</sup>

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87 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:32.

88 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 90:6; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:3; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 573 (*Risālah fī l-ʿaql*), 532 no. 105.

89 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 90:6; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:3; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 573 (*Risālah fī l-ʿaql*).

90 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 85:3. Only the brief quotation by IAU has survived in Arabic; a longer quotation in Hebrew by Shem Ṭov Ibn Falaquera is also extant; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 587 (4).

91 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:33.

92 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:33; Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1.

93 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 73:1. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 565–566, 531 no. 85 (ed. and tr.).

94 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 133:3; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 45:4.

95 Not fully identified. It is most certainly that listed in Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 61:3, but see also 72:9–10; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46–47:7. The title corresponds with the first part of a tripartite work, also entitled *R. fī l-tanbīh ʿalā asbāb al-saʿādah*; the second and third parts are focused on the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle respectively (no. 31 of list above); see Rudolph, 'al-Fārābī', 549–550 (*Exhortation to the Path to Happiness*). There are several Arabic editions and one French translation; for the latter, see Mallet, 'Le rappel de la voie ... Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī'.

96 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 116:22.

56. Discourse on the word philosophy, the reason for the emergence of philosophy, the names of those who have been prominent in it and of those who taught philosophy (*Kalām fi ism al-falsafah wa-sabab zuhūrihā wa-asmā' al-mubarrizīn fihā wa-'alā man qarā'a minhūm*).<sup>97</sup>
57. Discourse on the *jinn* [i.e., demons] (*Kalām fi l-jinn*).<sup>98</sup>
58. Discourse on substance (*Kalām fi l-jawhar*).<sup>99</sup>
59. On political enquiry (*K. fi l-faḥṣ al-madani*).<sup>100</sup>
60. On the government of a State, also known as *The Foundations of Existing Things* (*K. al-siyāsāt al-madaniyyah wa-yu'rafu bi-mabādī' al-mawjūdāt*).<sup>101</sup>
61. On religion and law, a political discourse (*Kalām fi l-millah wa-l-fiqh madani*).<sup>102</sup>
62. Discourse [containing] a collection of sayings of the Prophet [Muḥammad], may God bless him and grant him salvation, relating to the art of logic (*Kalām jama'ahu min aqāwīl al-nabīy yushīru fihī ilā šinā'at al-manṭiq*).<sup>103</sup>
63. On rhetoric (large work in twenty volumes) (*K. fi l-khiṭābah kabīr*).<sup>104</sup>
64. Epistle on military leaders[hip] (*R. fi qawd al-juyūsh*).<sup>105</sup>
65. Discourse on livelihood and warfare (*Kalām fi l-ma'āyish wa-l-ḥurūb*).<sup>106</sup>
66. On the influence of the heavenly spheres (*K. fi ta'thūrāt al-'ulwiyyah*).<sup>107</sup>
67. Treatise on the correct manner of discussing astrology (*M. fi l-jihah allatī yašihḥu 'alayhā al-qawl bi-aḥkām al-nujūm*).<sup>108</sup>
68. On aphorisms culled from compilations (*K. fi l-fuṣūl al-muntaza'ah lil-ijtimā'ūt*).<sup>109</sup>

97 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 85:4. The only testimony to this work is the account quoted by IAU in this biography; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 551–552; and Gutas, 'Alexandria'.

98 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:15.

99 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 123:34.

100 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:14.

101 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 581–582, 533 no. 126.

102 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:12. The identification of this title is doubtful; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 576 (*al-Millah*), 592 (*Risālah fi l-millah al-fāḍilah*), and 533 no. 117.

103 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 13:1.

104 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 58: VIII; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 567, 531 no. 74.

105 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:15.

106 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:16.

107 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 75:6.

108 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 74:4; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 568, 531 no. 88. Al-Fārābī wrote another tract on astrology and astronomy entitled *Maqālah fīmā yašihḥu wa-mā lā yašihḥu min aḥkām al-nujūm*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 567.

109 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 70:8.

69. On contrivances and laws (*K. fī l-ḥiyal wa-l-nawāmīs*).<sup>110</sup>
70. Discourse on dreams (*Kalām lahu fī l-ru'yā*).<sup>111</sup>
71. On the art of penmanship (*K. fī šinā'at al-kitābah*).<sup>112</sup>
72. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Demonstration*,<sup>113</sup> dictated by al-Fārābī to Ibrāhīm ibn 'Adī,<sup>114</sup> who was a disciple of his in Aleppo (*S. kitāb al-burhān li-Aristūṭālīs 'alā ṭarīqat al-ta'liq*).
73. Discourse on metaphysics (*Kalām lahu fī l-'ilm al-ilāhī*).<sup>115</sup>
74. Commentary on obscure passages in Aristotle's *Book of Categories* (*S. al-mawāḍi' al-mustaghliqah min kitāb Qāṭiḡhūriyyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>116</sup> This [book] has become known as *Marginal Explanatory Remarks* (*Ta'liqāt al-ḥawāshī*).
75. Discourse on the parts of animals (*Kalām fī a'ḍā' al-ḥayawān*).<sup>117</sup>
76. A Compendium of all works on logic (*K. mukhtaṣar jamī' al-kutub al-mantiqīyyah*).<sup>118</sup>
77. Introduction to logic (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-mantiq*).<sup>119</sup>
78. On a middle way between Aristotle and Galen (*K. al-tawassuṭ bayna Aristūṭālīs wa-Jālīnūs*).<sup>120</sup>
79. On the purpose of the categories (*K. gharaḍ al-maqūlāt*).<sup>121</sup>

110 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:11.

111 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:16.

112 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 123:35.

113 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v.

114 Ibrāhīm ibn 'Adī – probably Yahyā ibn 'Adī's brother – edited al-Fārābī's writings. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 541–542.

115 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 141:7. This work is a false attribution, and part of the Arabic Plotinus corpus; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 591.

116 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 21: 11. This could be part of the collection of didactic *ta'aliq* spuriously ascribed to al-Fārābī; see nos. 82 and 99. On these works see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 593 (*al-Ta'liqāt*).

117 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 124:36.

118 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 18:4–5. This title might correspond with the introduction to logic entitled *Fuṣūl tashtamīl 'alā jamī' mā yudṭarr ilā ma'rīfatihī man arāda al-shurū' fī šinā'at al-mantiq* [*al-Fuṣūl al-khamsah*]; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 552–553, 529 no. 59.

119 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 13:2. The treatise that has come down to us and corresponds with the Latin translation entitled *Liber introductionis in artem logicae demonstrationis* is a false attribution; it is, in fact, an epitome of the *Analica posteriora* included in the *Ras'ūl* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'; see Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1.

120 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 134:5. This might correspond with al-Fārābī's refutation of Galen, listed under no. 41.

121 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 21: 11.

80. Discourse on poetry and rhyme (*Kalām lahu fi l-shi'r wa-l-qawāfi*).<sup>122</sup>
81. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* (*S. kitāb al-'ibārah li-Arisṭūṭālīs 'alā jihat al-ta'liq*).<sup>123</sup>
82. Explanatory remarks on the book of syllogisms (*Ta'aliq 'alā kitāb al-qiyās*).<sup>124</sup>
83. On the finite and infinite force (*K. fi quwwah al-mutanāhiyah wa-ghayr mutanāhiyah*).<sup>125</sup>
84. Explanatory remark on the stars (*Ta'liq lahu fi l-nujūm*).<sup>126</sup>
85. On what needs to be known prior to [the study of] philosophy (*K. fi l-ashyā' allatī tahtāju an tu'lama qabla l-falsafah*).<sup>127</sup>
86. Aphorisms that he collected from the sayings of the ancients (*Fuṣūl lahu mim mā jama'ahu min kalām al-qudamā'*).<sup>128</sup>
87. On the aims [pursued by] Aristotle in each of his books (*K. fi aghrād Arisṭūṭālīs fi kull wāhid min kutubihī*).<sup>129</sup>
88. Concise work on inferences (*K. al-maqāyīs mukhtaṣaran*).<sup>130</sup>
89. On right guidance (*K. al-hudā*).<sup>131</sup>
90. On languages (*K. fi l-lughāt*).<sup>132</sup>
91. On political assemblies (*K. fi l-ijtimā'āt al-madaniyyah*).<sup>133</sup>
92. Treatise in which it is explained that the movement of the spheres is perpetual (*Kalām fi anna ḥarakat al-falak dā'imah*).<sup>134</sup>

122 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 60: 1x; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 563 (*al-Shi'r*) and also 563–564 (*Risālah [or Maqālah] fi Qawānīn šinā'at al-shu'arā'*).

123 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 22: 111; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 556.

124 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 30: 1v. This could be part of the collection of didactic *ta'aliq* spuriously ascribed to al-Fārābī, see nos. 74 and 99. On these works see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 593 (*al-Ta'liqāt*).

125 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 124:37.

126 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 75:5.

127 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 124:1, Rescher, *Bibliography*, 44:4. It is also known as *Fimā yanbaghī an yuqaddama qabla ta'allum al-falsafah*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 550–551, 527 no. 20.

128 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 71:8. This may be a doublet with no. 39, and maybe also no. 68.

129 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 132:2. This may be a doublet with no. 97; see Rudolph, 'al-Fārābī', 573–574 (*Fī aghrād al-ḥakīm fi kull maqālah min al-Kitāb al-mawsūm bi-l-ḥurūf*), and 527 no. 20.

130 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 30: 1v.

131 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 73:17.

132 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 124:38.

133 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 73:18.

134 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 119:29.



93. Treatise on whether it befits the teacher to criticise the pupil (*Kalām fīmā yaşluhu an yadhumma al-mu`addib*).<sup>135</sup>
94. Discourse on the vital parts, the interior parts and others (*Kalām fī ma`āliq wa-l-jawwān wa-ghayr dhālika*).<sup>136</sup>
95. Discourse on the requirements of philosophy (*Kalām fī lawāzim al-falsafah*).<sup>137</sup>
96. Epistle on the necessity of the art of alchemy and the refutation of those who seek to abolish it (*M. fī wujūb şinā`at al-kīmiyā` wa-l-radd `alā mubṭihā*).<sup>138</sup>
97. Epistle on the aims [pursued by] Aristotle in every chapter of his book, which is marked with the letters of the [Greek] alphabet (*M. fī aghrāḍ Aristūṭālīs fī kull maqālah min kitābihi al-mawsūm bi-l-ḥurūf*).<sup>139</sup> This [epistle] examines the purpose of his *Book on Metaphysics* (*K. mā ba`d al-ṭabī`ah*).
98. On the claims ascribed to Aristotle with regard to philosophy, with the supporting evidence and proof omitted (*K. fī l-da`āwā al-mansūbah ilā Aristūṭālīs fī l-falsafah mujarradah `an bayānātihā wa-ḥujjihā*).<sup>140</sup>
99. Notes on wisdom (*Ta`āliq fī l-ḥikmah*).<sup>141</sup>
100. Discourse dictated to a person who posed a question about the meaning of [the terms] 'self', 'substance' and 'nature' (*Kalām amlāhu `alā sā`il sa`alahu `an ma`nā dhāt wa-ma`nā jawhar wa-ma`nā ṭabī`ah*).<sup>142</sup>
101. On the summa of politics (*K. jawāmi` al-siyāsah*).<sup>143</sup>
102. Compendium of Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* (*Mukhtaşar kitāb Bārīmīnyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>144</sup>

135 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 73:19.

136 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 77:8: 'Ueber die Vorrichtungen zum Aufhängen und die Gefässe und dergleichen'. For the term *al-jawwān*, see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I: 348.

137 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 77:9.

138 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 76:7, Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:5; Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 571, 532 no. 102.

139 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 139:7. See also no. 87 above, and Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 573–574 (*Fī aghrāḍ al-ḥakīm fī kull maqālah min al-Kitāb al-mawsūm bi-l-ḥurūf*), 527 no. 20.

140 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 135:7.

141 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 111:12, Rescher, *Bibliography*, 44:4. This could be part of the collection of didactic *ṭa`āliq* spuriously ascribed to al-Fārābī; see nos. 74 and 82 above. On these works see Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 593 (*al-Ta`liqāt*).

142 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 124:40.

143 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4. This title might correspond with the apocryphal *Risālah fī l-siyāsah*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 592.

144 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 22: 111.

103. Introduction to what is supposed to be geometry. A compendium (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-handasah al-wahmiyyah mukhtaṣaran*).<sup>145</sup>
104. The book of essential questions, according to Aristotle (*K. 'uyūn al-masā'il 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*), comprising 160 questions.<sup>146</sup>
105. Answers to questions that he had been asked (*Jawābātuhu li-masā'il su'ila 'anhā*), comprising 23 questions.<sup>147</sup>
106. On the classes of simple things that are divided into categories in all the syllogistic arts (*K. aṣnāf al-ashyā' al-basīṭah allatī tanqasimu ilayhā al-qaḍāyā fī jamī' al-ṣanā'i' al-qiyāsiyyah*).<sup>148</sup>
107. Summary of Plato's *Book of Laws* (*Jawāmi' kitāb al-nawāmīs li-Aflāṭun*).<sup>149</sup>
108. Discourse that al-Fārābī dictated after he had been asked what Aristotle had said about hot substances (*Kalām min imlā'ihī wa-qaḍ su'ila 'ammā qāla Aristūṭālīs fī l-ḥārr*).<sup>150</sup>
109. Notes on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (*Ta'liqāt anālūṭiqā al-ūlā li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>151</sup>
110. On absolute preconditions (*K. sharā'iṭ al-yaqīn*).<sup>152</sup>
111. Treatise on the quiddity of the soul (*R. fī māhiyyat al-nafs*).<sup>153</sup>
112. On physics (*K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'i*).<sup>154</sup>

145 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:13.

146 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 90:5; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 44:4. Al-Fārābī's authorship of this work, which also circulated in a version entitled *Excerpt from the Epistle in the Demands of the Heart* (*Tajrīd Risālat al-da'āwā al-qalbīyyah*), is doubtful; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 593–594.

147 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, perhaps 112:14; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1. Al-Fārābī's authorship is disputed; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 589.

148 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV.

149 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 61:2; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47:7; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 577; cf. no. 29 above.

150 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 141:8.

151 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 30: IV.

152 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 559 (*Conditions for certainty*), 528 no. 28.

153 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 109:7. This is likely a false attribution; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 591.

154 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 135:2.

15.2 ʿĪsā al-Raqqī<sup>1</sup>

ʿĪsā al-Raqqī,<sup>2</sup> known as al-Tiflīsī, was a physician who enjoyed great renown during his lifetime. He was a master of the art of medicine and an expert practitioner whose treatments were spectacular. ʿĪsā al-Raqqī was in the service of Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān as one of his [court] physicians.<sup>3</sup> The following anecdote is quoted from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl.<sup>4</sup> ‘I have been informed by a reliable person’, he says, ‘that whenever Sayf al-Dawlah sat down to a meal, twenty-four physicians were present at his table. Some of them received two salaries because they were skilled in two domains, while others were paid triple because they were expert in three. Now, one of these physicians was ʿĪsā al-Raqqī, who was known as al-Tiflīsī. He had a pleasant way with him, and he was the author of a number of medical works and [books on] other subjects. He was also a translator working from Syriac into Arabic. ʿĪsā al-Raqqī was paid four salaries, one for his medical work, one for his translation activities, and the others for his expertise in two other domains’.

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- 1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. Abū l-Qāsim ʿĪsā al-Raqqī al-Tiflīsī was physician and astronomer in the service of the Ḥamdānid emir Sayf al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān (r. 333–356/944–967). Also mentioned as a translator from Syriac into Arabic. See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 429–430; see also Suter, *Abhandlungen*, 61 under no. 133.
  - 2 The city of al-Raqqā is in north central Syria, located on the north bank of the Euphrates about 160 kilometres (99 miles) east of Aleppo. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Raḥka.’ (M. Meinecke). Tbilisi or Tiflis is nowadays the capital of the republic of Georgia.
  - 3 The Ḥamdānid dynasty was a Shiʿite Muslim Arab dynasty of Northern Iraq and Syria. Sayf al-Dawlah ruled over northern Syria from Aleppo. He became an important opponent of the Byzantine Empire’s (Christian) expansion. His court used to be a centre of culture, thanks to its nurturing of Arabic literature, but it lost its status after the Byzantine conquest of Aleppo. See also *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ḥamdānids’ (M. Canard) and Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 229–243.
  - 4 ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ (d. 450/1058); see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 127, 144, 158, 352; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 146–152. This physician has an entry in Ch. 8.6. The reference here is probably to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ’*s* lost *Manāqib al-aṭibbāʾ*, from which IAU quotes in other chapters.

15.3 al-Yabrūdī<sup>1</sup>

[15.3.1]

Al-Yabrūdī – that is, Abū l-Faraj Jūrjis ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl ibn Ibrāhīm – was a Jacobite Christian. He excelled in the art of medicine, being thoroughly acquainted both with its theoretical basis and with its practical application, and was considered one of the most respected and outstanding representatives of that art. He was always busy working, was very fond of studying and held virtue in high esteem.

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn<sup>2</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – told me that al-Yabrūdī was always busy studying and was never weary of it. ‘At all times’, he said, ‘he could be found reading a book’.

A Christian of Damascus, the physician al-Sanī al-Ba‘labakkī told me that al-Yabrūdī was born and spent the first years of his life in Yabrūd, a large village near Ṣaydnāyā, where many Christians live. In that village, al-Yabrūdī, like the other Christian inhabitants, engaged in agricultural work and in crop production. He also collected wormwood in an outlying district of Damascus that was near to his home, loaded it on the back of a pack animal, and brought it to the city, where he sold it to be used as fuel for heating baking ovens and other such purposes. One day, as he was coming in through the Tūmā Gate with a load of wormwood, he saw a person whose nose was bleeding profusely being bled by an elderly doctor on the other side of his body, the side opposite the place from which the blood was escaping. He stopped and watched the doctor and then asked him: ‘Why are you bleeding this person, when the quantity of blood escaping from his nose is more than sufficient?’ The doctor replied that he was doing so in order to staunch the flow of blood from the nose by drawing the blood to the side of [the man’s] body opposite the place from which the blood was escaping. ‘Ah?’ said al-Yabrūdī: ‘Where I come from, when we wish to divert a stream, it is our practice to dig an outlet in a new direction, but one that is not directly opposite to that of the old bed. The water then ceases to flow in the old bed and passes into the new one. Why not adopt a similar procedure and bleed from the other side?’ The elderly doctor did so, and the man’s nosebled

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- 1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the treatise. Abū l-Faraj Jūrjis ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Yabrūdī (d. c. 450/1058). Jacobite Christian physician from Damascus. He is sometimes also mentioned in the sources as Jirjis ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl. See Nasrallah, ‘Abū l-Faraj al-Yabrūdī’, 13–22; cf. also Monferrer Sala, ‘Al-Yabrūdī.’ The name al-Yabrūdī is derived from Yabrūd, a town some 80 km north of Damascus.
  - 2 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn (d. 631/1233). Damascene poet who, according to Ibn Khallikān, was ‘well-known for his sharp criticism of the notables of the Damascene society’. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn ‘Unayn’ (Ed.); cf. also Ibn ‘Unayn, *Dīwān*.

stopped. Seeing from al-Yabrūdī's question that he was keen of understanding, the doctor said, 'if you devote yourself to the art of medicine, you will become a good physician.'

Al-Yabrūdī took his words to heart and became thirsty for knowledge. He returned to the old physician regularly, and the physician taught him a number of treatments. Subsequently, he left Yabrūd and his former life there and moved to Damascus to study the art of medicine. It was not long before he had acquired a first-hand knowledge of that art, mastered scientific principles, treated the sick as best as he could, and observed various diseases, together with their causes and symptoms and the several ways of treating patients. Upon enquiring who was the most outstanding contemporary authority in the matter of knowledge of the art of medicine, he was told that in Baghdad there was a man by the name of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib,<sup>3</sup> the secretary of the Catholicos, who was a versatile philosopher and an experienced and erudite man in the art of medicine and other branches of science. At once he made preparations for a journey, took a bracelet that had belonged to his mother to pay for his expenses and went to Baghdad. Using the bracelet to provide for his daily needs, he studied under Ibn al-Ṭayyib, until he became proficient in the art of medicine, investigated it at length, and acquired an extensive knowledge of it. He also occupied himself with logic and other philosophical disciplines. Eventually, however, he returned to Damascus, never to leave it again.

[15.3.1.1]

A story similar to the preceding one, although not quite the same, is attributed to my wise teacher, Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī:<sup>4</sup>

I have heard from Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān,<sup>5</sup> who cites his father, who was informed by Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ḥadīd, who cites Abū l-Karam, the physician, who was informed by his father Abū l-Rajā',

3 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043). Christian ('Nestorian') philosopher and physician. He worked at the al-'Aḍūdiyyah hospital in Baghdad and was also the secretary of the Catholicos. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 156–157. On him Ch. 10.37.

4 Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230). High-ranking Syrian physician who practised his whole life in Damascus. He was also known under the name al-Dakhwār. He acquired fame both as a teacher and as the founder of the 'first medical school' in the medieval Arab world. Among his students were 1AU, Ibn al-Nafis and Ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk. He wrote the earliest Arab commentary on the Hippocratic *Prognostic*. See amongst others Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.50.

5 Abū Naṣr As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 578/1191). Personal physician and confidant of the Ayyubid Sultan Saladin. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 165–166. On him see Ch. 15.23.

who heard from his grandfather that there lived in Damascus a bloodletter named Abū l-Khayr, who was not accounted one of the most skilful practitioners of his trade. It [once] happened that when bleeding a young man, he cut the artery. He became confused and panicky; he attempted to staunch the blood, but was unable to do so. As a crowd gathered, a young boy appeared at his side and said: 'Uncle, bleed him at the other arm'. Grateful for any advice, the operator bled his patient's other arm. The boy then said, 'Bind up the first incision', and the operator did so, using a bandage that he had about him. When he tightened it, the flow of blood stopped. He then closed the other incision, whereupon the flow of blood was checked and finally ceased altogether.

Some time later, the bloodletter saw the same youth driving a pack animal with a load of wormwood. The bloodletter stopped him and said, 'How did you know what to advise me [to do]?' 'I have sometimes seen my father irrigating his vineyard,' said the youth, 'when [suddenly] a breach opens in an irrigation channel and the water goes gushing out. My father is not able to stop it only if he makes another opening that will reduce the volume of water pouring out through the breach. Only then can he close the breach'. At this, the surgeon told him to give up selling wormwood, took him under his wing and taught him the art of medicine. Thanks to this incident, al-Yabrūdī became one of the most celebrated and erudite physicians [of his time].

## [15.3.1.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: al-Yabrūdī corresponded regularly with Ibn Riḍwān<sup>6</sup> of Cairo and other Egyptian physicians, asking them various questions on medical matters and engaging them in discussions on particular subjects. He copied a very large number of medical books personally, including in particular the books of Galen, commentaries on them and compilations of them. Moreover, I have heard from al-Sanī al-Ba‘labakkī that one day al-Yabrūdī was crossing Jayrūn market in Damascus when he saw a person undertake to eat several *raṭls* of boiled horse meat, of the quality that is sold in the markets, for a bet. As al-Yabrūdī watched, this person ate far too much, overloading his stomach, and then drank a lot of beer and ice-water, causing his condition to become [severely] perturbed. Al-Yabrūdī then realized that the man would soon lose consciousness, and if left in that condition, he would be in danger

6 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān (d. 460/1068). Egyptian physician at the court of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanshir. Well-known for the elaborate correspondence with his peer, Ibn Buṭlān. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 158–159. On him see Ch. 14.25.

of death. He therefore followed the man to his house to see how his condition would develop. A very short time later, his family began to weep and wail, for they thought that he had died. Al-Yabrūdī went to them and said, 'I shall cure him. There is nothing wrong with him'. Then he brought him to a nearby bath-house, gently pried his jaws open, and poured some boiled water containing a mild emetic down his throat. This brought on moderate vomiting. Al-Yabrūdī then proceeded to give him supportive treatment, until he regained consciousness and proved to be restored to health. The family were astonished at what he, al-Yabrūdī, had done and [praised] the wonderful way in which he came to the man's rescue. This affair became well-known and did much to establish his fame. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: this story indicates that al-Yabrūdī, by studying the man's condition and observing what happened to him, had read his symptoms accurately and realized that he could save him if he could treat him in time.

[15.3.1.3]

A similar story is related by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath<sup>7</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – in his book *On Food and Nutrition*. In his own words:

One day I saw a man making a bet with someone that he could eat a certain quantity of carrots.<sup>8</sup> I stayed and watched to see what would happen to him, not because it was my wish to have social intercourse with people of that kind, nor because it was something that I was accustomed to do. God no! But I wanted to see what would happen if a lot of food was forced into his stomach. He ate his carrots while sitting on a wall so that he could see everyone standing around him and was able to jest with them. When he had eaten the greater part of them, I observed that the masticated carrots were coming back into his throat in the form of a stringy, pulpy mass impregnated with saliva. His eyeballs protruded, his breathing stopped, his face turned red, his jugular veins and the veins of his head became engorged with blood, and then his face darkened and turned ashen. He

7 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath (d. c. 360/970). Physician who fled from his homeland Persia to the city of Mosul in Iraq. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301–302; Kruk, 'Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*', 119–168. 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī highly praised Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath in the medical section of his *K. al-Naṣīḥatayn* (see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 82). Elsewhere (for instance in his *Treatise on Diabetes*) 'Abd al-Laṭīf has referred to him as 'Aḥmad the Persian'. On him see Ch. 10.46.

8 The carrot (*jazar*) was a widely cultivated vegetable and considered by some to have medicinal uses as well; see Lev & Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 127–128.

retched more than he vomited, but finally threw up much of what he had eaten. I understood from this that his breathing had stopped because the stomach was pressing the diaphragm towards the mouth and preventing it from returning to its state of expansion for [the purpose of] respiration. As to the fact that his colour reddened and his jugular and [other] veins became engorged with blood, I presumed that this was caused by the natural flow [of the blood] towards the head, as happens to someone whose arm is bandaged for bleeding. In the latter case, the natural flow [of the blood] goes in the direction in which it is stimulated to go. As to the fact that his face subsequently darkened and turned ashen, I must presume that the cause of it was the poor temperament of his heart. If he had not vomited as much as he did, if the stomach had [continued to] press on the diaphragm so that he was prevented from breathing altogether, he would have died of strangulation [asphyxia], as we have seen in many who have died as a result of vomiting. As to the fact that he retched more than he vomited, I understood that the retching was caused by the severity of the disturbance of the stomach.

It thus appears (Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath continues) that when food enters the stomach in large quantities, it causes [the stomach] to stretch and all its folds to expand, as I once saw when dissecting a beast of prey<sup>9</sup> live in the presence of the emir al-Ghaḍanfar.<sup>10</sup> One of those who were present [on that occasion] pronounced the animal's stomach to be small. But then I began to pour water into its mouth. We kept on [pouring] one jugful after another down its throat, until we had poured in some forty *ratl*. Upon examination, I observed that the inner layer [of the stomach] had stretched until its surface had become as smooth as the surface of the outer layer. I then perforated [the stomach], and once the water had come out, the stomach contracted and the folds of the interior returned to their original state, as did the pylorus. As God is my witness, after all this, the animal was still alive.

[15.3.1.4]

I heard the following account from shaykh Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī who heard it from Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān, who

9 It is unclear what animal was the object of this vivisection, for the term *sabu'* (or *sab'*) can refer to any wild predatory beast, including a lion, wolf, lynx or leopard (but not a fox or hyena). See Lane, *Lexicon*, under *s-b-'*.

10 Abū Taghlib Faḍl Allāh al-Ghaḍanfar (d. 369/979). Ḥamdānid emir. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ḥamdānids' (M. Canard).



had it from his father, who had it from his maternal uncle Abū l-Faraj ibn Ḥayyān, who had heard it from Abū l-Karam, the physician, who reported it on the authority of his father and grandfather. The last said:

One day, as I was walking by the side of Abū l-Faraj al-Yabrūdī, a man blocked his way and said, 'Master, I have been at the baths as is my regular practice, and had my head shaved, and now I find my face all swollen and burning intensely'. We examined his face and found that it was bloated, swelling and turning redder and redder, but [all at once] not progressively or gradually. The physician ordered the man to uncover his head and to throw water on it from a pipe that he carried with him. It was the middle of winter and the cold was intense, but the physician stood there until the man had done as he had ordered. He then told him to go home, adding that he would be well advised to follow a mild diet, apply a cooling acidic compress, and cut down on greasy food. In this way, al-Yabrūdī saved him the man from a variety of unpleasant consequences.

[15.3.1.5]

In his book *The Lamp of Kings*<sup>11</sup> al-Ṭurṭūshī relates an account told to him by a Syrian about a baker who was making bread in his oven in the city of Damascus, when a man came by, selling apricots. The baker bought some and began to eat them with hot bread. No sooner had he finished than he fell unconscious and appeared to be dead. People flocked around him, brought in physicians and searched for signs and indications of life, but found none, and concluded that he must be dead. He was washed and wrapped in a shroud, prayers were recited, and then the man was carried to the cemetery. As the procession was passing the city gate, it met a physician, a man by the name of al-Yabrūdī who was a skilfull, intelligent and a wise physician. He heard the people discussing the matter and asked them about it. When he had heard what had happened, he said, 'Put him down so that I can take a look at him'. They put him down, and the physician turned him over, looking for signs of life. He then opened the man's mouth and made him swallow something (or, according to another account, administered him an enema), whereupon the food he had eaten was [immediately] expelled, so that he was rid of it. The man opened his eyes and spoke, and then returned to his shop. Al-Yabrūdī died in Damascus in the year ... [blank] and was buried in the Jacobite church there near the Tūmā Gate.

11 The story is found in al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj*, 480 (where the name al-Yabrūdī is garbled as al-Bayrūdī).

[15.3.1.6]

The learned Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī told me the following story, which he said he had heard from Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān, who had heard it from his maternal uncle, who had had it from his father, who heard it from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rajā’ ibn Ya‘qūb, who heard it from Ibn al-Kattānī, who was at that time prefect in Damascus. According to Ibn al-Kattānī’s account, when Abū l-Faraj Jūrjis ibn Yūḥannā al-Yabrūdī died, his estate was found to consist of three hundred Byzantine coins made into a single chalice,<sup>12</sup> and five hundred pieces of silver, of which the finest specimen [was valued] at three hundred dirhams. Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān commented, ‘This is not much, because a person who is serious about his work, who is frank, sincere and truth-loving, who acts justly and works hard to learn the skills of his trade, has a right before God to his earnings. A person who is the opposite of this will live like a pauper and will die as a lost and desperate person’.

[15.3.2]

Al-Yabrūdī is the author of the following works:

1. On the fact that the hen is cooler by nature than that of the hatchling (*M. fī anna al-farkh abrad min al-farrūj*).<sup>13</sup>
2. Refutation of Ibn al-Muwaffaqī’s opinion with respect to problems of the pulse, which had been the subject of frequent discussion between them (*Naqḍ kalām Ibn al-Muwaffaqī fī masā’il taraddadat fīmā baynahum fī l-nabḍ*).<sup>14</sup>

#### 15.4 Jābir ibn Manṣūr al-Sukkarī<sup>1</sup>

Jābir ibn Manṣūr al-Sukkarī was a native of Mosul. A devout Muslim, he was a most learned and outstanding scholar in the art of medicine. He was a contemporary of Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath and studied under him. Subsequently,

12 *Mujawwam* from Persian *Jām*, ‘chalice, goblet, bowl, cup’. See also Müller, ‘Text’, 941 [227], who refers to the work of the Austrian orientalist Alfred Freiherr von Kremer.

13 This work was refuted by Ibn Buṭlān. It was the origin of his quarrel with Ibn Riḍwān, who was a friend of al-Yabrūdī. See Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 34–39; Conrad, ‘Scholarship and Social Context’, 92–96.

14 See also Nasrallah, ‘Abū-l-Faraj al-Yabrūdī’, 14.

1 This biography is missing in Version 1 and 2, but found in Version 3. Sezgin, (*GAS III*, 301) does not list him amongst the students of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath.

around the year 360/970, he came to associate with Muḥammad ibn Thawāb,<sup>2</sup> a disciple of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath, and studied under him as well. Al-Sukkarī became well-known as a practitioner of the art of medicine. He lived in Mosul for the greater part of his long life. His son Zāfir, in contrast, went to Syria and settled there.

### 15.5 Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Hakīm Zāfir ibn Jābir ibn Maṣṣūr al-Sukkarī was a Muslim, who was distinguished in the art of medicine and well-versed in the philosophical sciences. He was a man of many accomplishments and was well-acquainted with literature. Moreover, he was thoroughly familiar with the sciences and devoted himself to them assiduously. In Baghdad he made the acquaintance of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib, associated with him and studied under him. Zāfir ibn Jābir, like his father before him, had a very long life. He was still living in the year 482/1089. He was a native of Mosul, but left that city and moved to Aleppo, where he remained for the rest of his life. A number of his offspring followed in his footsteps as physicians in Aleppo. The following is a sample of his poetry:<sup>2</sup>

I have always known, first and foremost,  
 until I knew that I have no knowledge.  
 It is a marvel that I should be ignorant  
 because of my being not ignorant.

Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī is the author of a treatise on the fact that living beings die, even though the food [they eat] replaces losses of previously taken sustenance (*M. fī anna al-ḥayawān yamūtu ma‘a anna al-ghidhā’ yukhlifu ‘iwaḍ mā yataḥallalu minhu*).<sup>3</sup>

2 Sezgin mentions a certain Muḥammad ibn Tawwāb al-Mawṣilī as a student of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301 and *IAU* Ch. 10.47.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the treatise.

2 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:530, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:273.

3 Or rather *Treatise on the fact that when living beings die, they are either a source of food, or become compost*; cf. also Lothar Kopf’s rendering of this title: ‘His books include a *Treatise on the fact that the living are dying, although the food they eat replaces what is washed in them*’.

## 15.6 Mawhūb ibn Zāfir<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Faḍl Mawhūb ibn Zāfir ibn Jābir ibn Maṣṣūr al-Sukkarī was also a distinguished, celebrated physician who was well-versed in the art of medicine. He lived in the city of Aleppo. He is the author of a summary of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Questions* (*Ikhtišār kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq*).

## 15.7 Jābir ibn Mawhūb<sup>1</sup>

Jābir ibn Mawhūb ibn Zāfir ibn Jābir was another renowned expert in the art of medicine. He resided in Aleppo.

## 15.8 Abū l-Ḥakam<sup>1</sup>

[15.8.1]

The wise and cultured shaykh Abū l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhilī al-Andalusī al-Mursī<sup>2</sup> was a distinguished scholar in the philosophical sciences, and well-versed in the art of medicine, besides being noted for his literary erudition and renowned for his poetry. He was good at telling funny stories, made jokes, enjoyed entertainment and loved to be amused. Many of his poems are dirges for people who were still alive in his time, but his intention [in writing them] was [merely] jest and buffoonery. He was excessively fond of drinking wine. He loved play-acting,<sup>3</sup> and when excited, would mime and sing to accompany his performance.<sup>4</sup>

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 404–406; Van Gelder, 'Joking doctor', 217–228.

2 There is considerable confusion about his *nisbah*. Ibn al-Qiftī (*Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 404) reads *al-Mursī* (from Murcia); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, and al-Maqqarī, (*Nafh al-tīb*, ii:637) have his *aṣl* as al-Mariyyah (Almería), the *nisbah* of which would be al-Mariyy (or al-Marī). All the manuscript copies have the unlikely form al-Marīnī, though such a form does occur elsewhere, e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qasr, qism shu'arā' al-Maghrib*. But a *nisbah* after a town (rather than the dynasty of the Marīnids) seems more likely. He was not born in Murcia but in the Yemen, according to Ibn Khallikān.

3 See Van Gelder, 'Joking Doctor', 218; Moreh, *Live Theatre*, 133–134.

4 A line of a song in colloquial Arabic, not in a standard metre (possibly LLLL LLLL LSL).

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

In addition, Abū l-Ḥakam knew about music<sup>5</sup> and played the lute. He had a shop in Jayrūn for his medical practice, but he lived in the Dār al-Ḥijārah quarter in the Feltmakers' Market (*al-Labbādīn*). He composed many eulogies on the Banū l-Šūfi, who were the rulers of Damascus in the days of Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq ibn Muḥammad ibn Būrī ibn Atābeg Ṭughtakīn.<sup>6</sup> Abū l-Ḥakam travelled to Baghdad and Baṣra and then returned to Damascus, where he lived until his death. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus, when the last two hours of the night of Wednesday the sixth of Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 549/12 January 1155 had elapsed. Abū l-Faḍl ibn al-Milḥī composed the following verse to Abū l-Ḥakam in a letter thanking him for a successful treatment:<sup>7</sup>

If God ever rewards a man for his deeds,  
may He reward that kind, wise (*ḥakīm*) friend, Abū l-Ḥakam:  
He is the unique, excellent philosopher, to whose  
wisdom Arabs and non-Arabs attest.  
He treats his patient as did the Messiah;  
if Hippocrates saw him his foot would slip.  
He truly snatched me from the grip of Fate, after  
it had visited me with various ills and pains,  
5 And he led me, with his judgement, to the best stronghold  
and cured me of my ills and freed me of sickness.  
Still he guides me on every path with the opinions  
of an excellent man, which nobleness has instituted for him.  
The brilliance of his thoughts are like  
suns, whose radiance dispels the gloom of darkness.  
He looked after me when my family had withdrawn,  
and took the place of my father on my behalf, or that of a mother.  
He took up the burden that weighed heavily on my back  
and kept an eye on me, not sleeping when I slept,  
10 And he joined (*wa-ḍamma*) healing to my body, without obligation;  
but for him I would have become 'meat on a block (*waḍam*).'<sup>8</sup>

5 *Mūsīqī* refers to the theory of music, not making music.

6 Abū Sa'īd Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq Atabeg Ṭughtakīn (d. 549/1154), Būrid ruler of Damascus.

7 Metre: *tawīl*.

8 An expression meaning 'exposed to danger'.

Now Fate, after its wars, is at peace with me.

Greetings (*salām*) on him, as long as acacia trees (*salām*) put forth leaves!

[15.8.2]

Abū l-Ḥakam would compose defamatory poems against a group of contemporary poets, who, in turn, had ridiculed him in satiric verse. One of them, Abū l-Nadā Ḥassān ibn Numayr al-Kalbī, known as al-ʿArqalah, lampooned Abū l-Ḥakam in the following satirical verses:<sup>9</sup>

We have a doctor, a poet, with an inverted eyelid,<sup>10</sup>  
 May God relieve us of him!  
 Whenever he visits a patient in the morning  
 he composes an elegy for him the same day.

Al-ʿArqalah also composed the following lines about Abū l-Ḥakam:<sup>11</sup>

O my eye, pour forth flowing tears and blood  
 for the sage (*ḥakīm*) who was called Abū l-Ḥakam!  
 He was – may the Merciful not have mercy on his grey hair  
 and not send clouds continuously raining on his grave!–  
 ‘An old man who deemed the five ritual prayers supererogatory  
 and found it permissible to shed the blood of pilgrims in the Holy  
 Precinct.’<sup>12</sup>

[15.8.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: al-ʿArqalah described Abū l-Ḥakam in this satirical poem as one having inverted eyelids for the following reason: one night, Abū l-Ḥakam left the house of Zayn al-Mulk Abū Ṭālib ibn al-Khayyāṭ in a state of intoxication, with the result that he fell down and cut his face. Next morning, visitors kept asking him how he had happened to fall. He thereupon dashed off the following verses, placed them near his head, and whenever someone asked him about his condition, he gave them to that person to read:<sup>13</sup>

9 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (qism al-Shām)*, i:228–229; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:623; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:274.

10 A reference to his scar (see below).

11 Metre: *basīṭ*.

12 A quotation from al-Mutanabbī (*Dīwān*, 57).

13 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:623.

I fell on my face and my turban flew up,  
 I lost my shoes<sup>14</sup> and fell flat on the earth.  
 I stood up while streams of blood were on my beard  
 and face. Well, 'some misfortunes are less serious than others.'<sup>15</sup>  
 God decreed that I should become, on the spot, a disgrace,  
 and one can do nothing about what He decrees.  
 But there is no good in revelry or delight  
 if there is no drunkenness, which led to a thing like this.

He then took a mirror and looked at the wound in his face, which had left a gash under his eyelid after his fall, and recited [the following lines]:<sup>16</sup>

Wine has left on my cheek  
 a wound like a ewe's cunt.  
 I fell flat on my face,  
 my turban flying off,  
 And have remained disgraced. But for  
 the night my privates would have shown.  
 I know all this  
 came from perfect pleasure.  
 Who can give me another like it,  
 even for the price of my beard being shaven off?

[15.8.4]

Here follows some poetry by Abū l-Ḥakam, from his collected verse (*dīwān*), which I transmitted from Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl al-Miṭwā' al-Kaḥḥāl ('the oculist'), on the authority of al-Ḥakīm Amīn al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī,<sup>17</sup> on the authority of Abū l-Majd,<sup>18</sup> on the authority of his father, the aforementioned Abū l-Ḥakam. He composed the following eulogy<sup>19</sup> on al-Ra'īs Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris ibn al-Ṣūfi:<sup>20</sup>

14 On this word see at length below, Ch. 15.17.

15 A common saying, with the sense of 'it could have been worse', taken from a poem by the pre-Islamic Ṭarafah (Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 186).

16 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:624.

17 See Ch. 15.14.

18 See Ch. 15.9.

19 Metre: *kāmil*.

20 Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris al-Musayyab ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn al-Ṣūfi (d. 549/1154), vizier in Damascus under Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur; see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:593–

She pitied me when she saw my sufferings  
 and she complained; but her emotion fell short of mine.  
 It would not do any harm, O you with the forbidden red lips, if  
 you cured the heat of passion with the coolness of your saliva,  
 For one who is madly in love with you, pretending to be content  
 with a visit from a nightly apparition, or the return of an answer.  
 If you help me by being near me, you will merely  
 revive a soul that is on the verge of departing!  
 5 Do not find it odd that my patience has left, when you left,  
 and that I am distraught because of the magnitude of my affliction,  
 For patience is always, in all situations,  
 deemed proper, except when loved ones have left.  
 It is impossible that love for someone in thrall should be serene:  
 there must be honey as well as bitter aloes.<sup>21</sup>  
 Why must I endure those languid eyes that make me melt?  
 Do you think they are charged with tormenting me to my death?  
 And likewise those wide eyes that of old have been  
 in the habit of slaying hearts.  
 10 Why should my fortune never slack in moving further away?  
 I call but I always remain unanswered.  
 Were it not that I expect Abū l-Fawāris to help I would not cease  
 to be between misfortunes' claw and tooth.  
 Let me inform you about some of the eminence  
 he has obtained, though this defeats prolix speakers.  
 Praising Mu'ayyid al-Dīn,<sup>22</sup> the hero, has become  
 a religious duty for erudite people.  
 Descended from Qays 'Aylān, belonging to Hawāzin and  
 Sulaym, nomads among Bedouin Arabs,<sup>23</sup>

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596 (where his *laqab* is given as Mu'ayyad [*sic*] al-Dawlah; elsewhere it is Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi:54).

21 *Ṣāb* is sometimes translated as 'colocynth' (Hava, *Farā'id*, Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*), but Arabic lexicographers do not explicitly equate it with *ḥanzal* (the more common word for 'colocynth'); sometimes it is identified as *ṣabir*, 'aloes' (e.g. al-Dīnawarī, *Nabāt*, 97). In any case it is a plant with a very bitter or acrid milky juice. In Ghaleb, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, it is identified as *Hippomane mancinella* or Manchineel tree, a very poisonous plant.

22 'The Supporter of Religion'.

23 Qays 'Aylān is the legendary ancestor of an important branch of the 'North Arabs'; among his descendants are Hawāzin and Sulaym, two brothers, also names of tribes. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, in the following line, is descended from Hawāzin, and Ja'far ibn Kilāb is descended from



- 15 His family are descendants of Ṣaṣa'ah; its edifice<sup>24</sup>  
 rose high among Ja'far ibn Kilāb.  
 To them belong Labīd, al-Ṭufayl, and 'Āmir,  
 and Abū Barā', who routed the confederates.<sup>25</sup>  
 The Banū Rabī'ah and Khālid belong to them if your trace  
 their genealogy, and 'Awf, in the highest lineages.<sup>26</sup>  
 The Banū l-Ṣūfi inherited lofty qualities from them, when  
 they paired splendid, generous deeds with noble descent;  
 And al-Musayyab encompasses all that they boast, just as  
 they acquired (them),<sup>27</sup> and this is the collection of every account,
- 20 On the summit of exalted eminence, raised  
 by an ancient glory from a genuine core,  
 Placed in the gatherings of noble traits, where it grew  
 and rose above peers and equals.  
 No brimful, huge river with its billows overabundant,  
 fed by the downpour from the rainclouds,  
 More fully engulfs than he does with the gifts of his hands,  
 nor any foaming sea with overflowing floods.  
 A lion has his force against his enemies –  
 no, it is less than his when the lion of the thicket attacks.
- 25 For his followers and his enemies he has two days:  
 a day of generosity and a day of battle.  
 O state that is redolent in all its regions  
 with generosity and munificence from noble men!  
 With its Hero, its Beauty, with its Glory  
 and its Adornment it will last through the ages.<sup>28</sup>

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Ṣaṣa'ah; see Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, I (Tafeln): 92–93. This line suggests that the Banū l-Ṣūfi are descended from both lines, Hawāzin and Sulaym (see also the following poem, line 27).

- 24 The word for 'family' is *bayt*, also 'house'.
- 25 Labīd ibn Rabī'ah (d. ca. 41/661), of the tribe of 'Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa'ah, famous poet, most or all of whose poems were composed in pre-Islamic times; al-Ṭufayl is the father of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl (d. ca. 10/632), tribal hero and poet (and bitter enemy of the Prophet Muḥammad). Abū Barā' 'Āmir ibn Mālik, tribal hero nicknamed Mulā'ib al-Asinnah, 'Player with lance-tips', was the paternal uncle of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl and is said to have drunk himself to death in the time of the Prophet. 'The confederates' are probably the tribes of Ḍabbah and Tamīm whom he defeated.
- 26 Rabī'ah, Khālid, and 'Awf are all sons of Ja'far ibn Kilāb (al-Kalbī/Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, Tafeln, 93).
- 27 The sense of *kamā ḥāzat* is not wholly clear.
- 28 This line refers to other members of the Banū l-Ṣūfi with the honorifics Shujā' al-Dawlah, Jamāl al-Dawlah, 'Izz al-Dawlah, and Zayn al-Dawlah.

Their lineages are sufficient for me, though their names  
 are not in need of honorifics.  
 How noble they are, among Arabs: when mankind boasts  
 they bring the best stock and origin.  
 30 They erected lofty deeds with generosity and proud glory  
 and sweet water-holes for those who seek a boon.  
 They are people in whose presence one can see hypocrites  
 with the submissiveness of slaves to the authority of their masters.  
 O master, whose favour is spent  
 on any visitor who arrives,  
 I truly know that your kindness to me has been  
 among the surest causes of my happiness,  
 And my soul is certain here that I seek  
 the best place for your favour.  
 35 May you forever rise in noble deeds,  
 as long as lightning flashes through the clouds!

[15.8.5]

He also said, in a panegyric on Jamāl al-Dawlah Abū l-Ghanā'im, the brother of the preceding:<sup>29</sup>

It is all the same to us whether she abandons us or comes to us,  
 when, one day, she breaks her promise and the bonds are frayed.  
 Laylā is always generous with her promises,  
 but we are denied what she freely offers and gives.  
 A rendez-vous with her makes us hope to be near her,  
 but there is no reunion except when her nightly apparition visits.  
 Can't you give anything but an excuse or a pretext?  
 (We had so many of her excuses and pretexts).  
 5 There is a sickness in my body, originating from your eyelids,<sup>30</sup>  
 and a strength of passion, perfected by the imperfection of my body.  
 If you would help a lover with your nearness the reward will be yours,  
 you whose absence has made my body thin.  
 Whenever my soul thinks of you it falls apart<sup>31</sup>  
 and after having found the way is lost again.

29 Metre: *tawīl*.

30 'Eyelids' (*juḥūn*) often stand for 'eyes' in poetry; but it may hint at the languid glances of the beloved, so often described.

31 A hemistich by Kuthayyir 'Azzah (d. 105/723), see al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-ḥamāsah*,

- I never cease to be visited by deep sighs; whenever  
 I wish I were cured of them their healing tarries,  
 And of tears that never slack:  
 whenever love calls their downpour answers.
- 10 She bars slumber from my eyes and tears fall  
 on my cheeks, copiously flowing down.  
 How would sleep be fitting or slumber visit  
 eyelids when the eyes have tears as their kohl?  
 Whenever I say 'I will forget her', in spite of the distance of her abode  
 her likeness is formed in my eyes and my heart.  
 Many a desert that destroys riding-animals, a wasteland  
 where the sand-grouse are baffled, deceived by the shimmering  
 mirage,<sup>32</sup>  
 Have I crossed with a strong camel mare with well-knitted forelegs,<sup>33</sup>  
 reliable, her powers showing no signs of fatigue,
- 15 Who heads with us to the abode of the one saluted here(?),<sup>34</sup> where  
 her effort will not be thwarted and she will be happy.  
 But for Jamāl al-Mulk<sup>35</sup> I would not have come there and  
 the deserts and their sands would not have driven us  
 To a family whose standing is not unknown to the people  
 and whose deeds are lauded among all beings.  
 When a disaster is difficult their opinion is the right one,  
 when a misfortune is alarming what they say is right.  
 Or when the fire of warfare blazes for the brave warriors,  
 who endure its heat and flames for a long time,
- 20 You will see their strength, surpassing that of  
 the lions of al-Sharā,<sup>36</sup> their leader and their attack.(?)<sup>37</sup>

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1287 (where *tafarraqat* means 'becomes divided', viz. 'into two parties, one excusing and one blaming her').

- 32 Sand-grouse are proverbial for their ability to find water in desert country. The two meanings of *khabba* ('to deceive', 'to be agitated, to move') are both appropriate here.
- 33 A hemistich by 'Amr ibn Sha's (d. after 16/637), see Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-talab*, ii:170. Borrowing such relatively unknown verse is slightly dubious (compare his boast in lines 34–35).
- 34 Reading *al-musallam* (although A has *al-musallim*).
- 35 A variant of Jamāl al-Dawlah, to suit the metre.
- 36 See above Ch. 10.64.17.2 (vs. 26).
- 37 Reading (with L) *quddāmuhā* 'their leader' (A: *qidāmuhā*, which is difficult to understand and metrically unusual), even though it does not go well together with *nizāluhā*.

Their hands carry Yazanite spears from Khaṭṭ,<sup>38</sup>  
     whose thirst is quenched by the cups of the Fates,  
 And gleaming swords that cut the armour-clad, severing,  
     sharpened, cleared of rust by burnishing.  
 And they feed their guest from the top of the camel's hump  
     when the north wind alternates with a cross-wind.<sup>39</sup>  
 There is no one among people who resembles the Banū l-Šūfi,  
     men of strength and hands whose punch is feared.  
 25 Ancient glory made them rise and an elevation  
     strong of bonds, no fear that they will become untied  
 The Banū Ja'far<sup>40</sup> are the best tribe among Arabs,  
     their boastfulness and pride rose among Nizār.<sup>41</sup>  
 In them a strand from Sulaym is matched<sup>42</sup>  
     as a right hand matches a left hand.  
 Ibn 'Alī, you have obtained the most elevated rank:  
     whoever aspires to it will not reach it.  
 Through you the splendid state can boast to mankind,  
     they are entitled to do so, since you are their 'Beauty'.<sup>43</sup>  
 30 If it, with its brilliance and elevation, were to turn  
     into a sky over us, you would be its crescent moon.  
 If rancorous people turned to you their hopes would be thwarted  
     and their harm would turn against themselves.  
 I shall live the most comfortable life in my lifetime  
     through your favour, when its shade spreads over me,  
 For you do not delay towards those in need,  
     because you are close kin<sup>44</sup> to generous deeds.  
 So take this ode, like pearls that are not borrowed  
     so that their weakness and imperfection could be condemned,  
 35 But the offspring of thought, its beauty virgin  
     that will please, whereas plagiarism disfigures rhymes.

38 Yazanite: after a legendary pre-Islamic Yemenite maker of spears called Dhū Yazan, father of the hero Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan. For Khaṭṭ, see above, Ch. 10.68.2 (vs. 75).

39 Strictly, a wind between any of the four cardinal directions.

40 See the preceding poem, line 15.

41 Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān: legendary ancestor of the North Arabs; among his descendants is Qays 'Aylān (see preceding poem, line 14).

42 See the preceding poem, line 14.

43 Jamāl al-Dawlah, literally 'The Beauty of the State (or Dynasty)'.  
 44 Literally, 'paternal and maternal uncle'.

There is no blessing but what you bestow;  
 there is no eulogy but to you is its destination.

[15.8.6]

He said, in a panegyric for 'Izz al-Dawlah, the brother of Mu'ayyid al-Dīn:<sup>45</sup>

Love has called you, so respond!  
 Cut short your reproach of those who reproach!  
 For what is life if the water of youth has dwindled  
 and no desire has been gratified, sooner or later?<sup>46</sup>  
 Quickly take a well-matured wine, beautified  
 by the passing of nights and ages;  
 On its cup there seem to be pearls,  
 when the bubbles circle on it.  
 5 It is passed round by someone with Babel's glances,<sup>47</sup>  
 with a mouth delicious to kiss, sweet of teeth.  
 He who is delighted by the wine's beauty would say,  
 'Has this wine been procured from his cheeks?  
 Or if not, where does this redness come from,  
 and that limpidity of the grape's daughter?'<sup>48</sup>  
 The daughters of the vines (*kurūm*) are the life of noble people (*kirām*),  
 and the death of concerns is the countenance of rapture.<sup>49</sup>  
 Say to him whose concern it is to see  
 a noble man who will dispel from him his troubles:  
 10 Can bounty be expected from any man?  
 Take it easy! Not all people are he who is the Arabs' glory!  
 A generous man: if you come to him  
 you are safe through him from untoward accidents.  
 His fame is spread wide among mankind,  
 apart from what is contained in books:  
 Praise with which the land is redolent  
 and fame; but for him, no one would go to foreign parts.<sup>50</sup>

45 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

46 Perhaps this is what *min tarāfayhi* ('of its two ends') means.

47 i.e., with bewitching eyes; see above Ch. 10.69.3.8.

48 A common expression for 'wine'.

49 There is a play on words: *muḥayyā* ('face, countenance') is etymologically connected with *ḥayāh*, 'life', the opposite of 'death'.

50 Interpretation not wholly certain.

Decency, forbearance, with lordly qualities,  
 and boasting highborn, true forefathers,  
 15 And excellence, cheerfulness, and a generosity that he sees  
 as a religious duty incumbent on himself.  
 If one compared him with the men of his time  
 one would compare pearls with worthless beads.  
 He who says that another man  
 encompasses some of what he has is a liar.  
 Someone who boasts glory that is inherited is not  
 like someone who boasts glory that is newly acquired.  
 When the proud chiefs of ‘Āmir are mentioned<sup>51</sup>  
 and their exploits are counted and traced to them,  
 20 Qays can boast of him to Khindif<sup>52</sup>  
 give him the most exalted rank among them,  
 Especially since he has become among them  
 a mediator, with the noblest mother and father,  
 One of the Ja‘farīs,<sup>53</sup> in a lofty line  
 of glory, higher than shooting stars.  
 Your servant<sup>54</sup> desires a robe of honour,  
 – for being honoured by someone like you is reckoned highly –  
 So that his status will rise thereby,  
 even though he is close to what he has sought.<sup>55</sup>  
 25 And he hones his thoughts whenever he expectantly  
 cranes his neck to praise you and applies himself.  
 For whenever my hand obtained al-Muẓaffar’s<sup>56</sup> generosity  
 I have the fullest extent of my desire.  
 In a State (*dawlah*) of which you are the Glory (*‘izz*)  
 wishes are fulfilled for the least of occasions,  
 Because you belong to a family who will not thwart the hopes  
 of those who come to drink at their cisterns.  
 Their reputations are always well-protected,  
 though their wealth is always plundered!

51 See lines 15–16 of the first poem on the Banū l-Şūfī (above, 15.8.4).

52 For Qays, see line 14 of the same poem. Khindif is another branch of the North Arabs, comprising many tribes.

53 For the Banū Ja‘far ibn Kilāb, see line 15 of the same poem.

54 The poet means himself.

55 Interpretation not wholly certain.

56 Apparently the patron’s name.

- 30 Congratulations to you on the Feast!<sup>57</sup> Enjoy it,  
 and last forever as long as planets rise and vanish!  
 But what feast? When you are present  
 it is indifferent to us whether it be faraway or near.  
 If clouds hide from us the crescent moon  
 we do not care, as long as you are not hidden.  
 So take this ode, as a noble bride who is unveiled,  
 while its maker addresses you from nearby.  
 It is brought to you, straight after having been polished,  
 by a sage (*hakīm*) who has sifted and selected it;  
 35 There is no good in wisdom that is not seen to be  
 embroidered with all kind of erudition.

[15.8.7]

Among his poems in an unaffected<sup>58</sup> style is the poem in *rajaz* metre<sup>59</sup> that he entitled *The Domestic Scandal*.<sup>60</sup> In it he describes the damage and costs that may befall someone when he invites his drinking companions:

Any domestic scandal tends  
 To happen through one's own best friends.  
 Now listen to a well-trying man:  
 He'll tell you how it all began:  
 All that may come from invitations  
 And all their diverse tribulations.  
 Provide the food, provide the fun;  
 Then suffer all the damage done.

- 5 Disliked by all, the Awful Bore  
 Comes first. Then: spongers at the door!  
 Whatever food may be provided,  
 The host will be severely chided.

57 Perhaps the end of the month of Ramadan.

58 *Maṭbūʿ*, 'natural, artless', often contrasted with *maṣnūʿ*, 'artful, artificial'.

59 Like many longer poems in this metre, it employs paired rhyme (*aa bb cc*, etc.) rather than monorhyme.

60 On this poem see van Gelder, 'The Joking Doctor' and idem, *Anthology*, 97–102. The following translation, a revised version of the one that appeared in the article, is a rhymed one in 'Hudibrastic' metre, in slightly archaic style. It is necessarily freer than the prose translations of poetry in this book.

Creep up his mother's \*\*\*\* he may,  
 From censure he can't hide away.  
 'Not enough spices!' says one guest,  
 'It's rather burnt!' declare the rest.  
 Another says, 'Too little salt!  
 – I'm merely helpful, finding fault.'<sup>61</sup>  
 10 He grabs the food from far and near,  
 Then drinks some water, fresh and clear,  
 Since 'wholesome water has no peer.'  
 The next thing he demands is beer,  
 With ice in summer. When it's cold:  
 'A fire, if I may be so bold!  
 Who needs a tooth-pick? Take a straw:  
 The mats lie ready on the floor.

And after this there comes the wine,  
 Delicious, choice; it tastes divine.  
 15 One person says, 'It's vinegár!  
 Another says, 'Defective jar!'<sup>62</sup>  
 And someone else is now complaining:  
 He wants a filter, for the straining.  
 Some large carafes are brought in there,  
 In which the wine is mixed with care.  
 Someone cries out, 'But that's still pure!  
 And pours more water, to be sure.  
 'He's got an ulcer,' mocks another,  
 'O, don't add water! Please, don't bother!'  
 20 Fruits, nuts, with any fragrant smell,  
 Go down, it seems, extremely well.  
 Some fussy person's fancy's tickled  
 Only by basil and things pickled,  
 While yet another man supposes  
 Wine goes with apples and with roses.

61 Translated as if the Arabic had *annahū* instead of *innī*, which I do not understand.

62 A has *qāqir* (perhaps intending *qāqiz*); L and all editions have *qāfiz*; correct is *qāquz*, a poetic license for *qāquzz* or *qāqūz*, a kind of drinking vessel (al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, qzz).



The singers' fee<sup>63</sup> may cause some tension,  
 Their agent may cause apprehension;<sup>64</sup>  
 A fix you should be quick to handle:  
 Spread round<sup>65</sup> your cash, for fear of scandal.  
 25 Sometimes they get into a swoon:  
 Fear not! They'll have their breakfast soon.  
 If you invite them in December,  
 Make sure of stove and burning ember!  
 From it there flies up many a spark  
 That on your carpet leaves its mark:  
 Your once-new carpet now is peppered  
 With dots like any spotted leopard.  
 And don't forget the meat: kebab  
 Or sliced, for ev'ryone to grab.  
 30 And when the cold is over, pep  
 Them up with fans and cool julep.<sup>66</sup>

Your drinking-friends come in all sorts:  
 The wine reveals their favourite sports.  
 There's one whose forte and whose strength  
 Is telling stories at great length,  
 While he is busy<sup>67</sup> masticating.  
 – Nobody heeds what he's relating.  
 Forgets himself, speaks out of turn:  
 They slink away in unconcern.  
 35 Another weighs his words with care  
 And gives himself a haughty air.  
 Another acts the fool. He's after  
 A cheap but all-embracing laughter.  
 Someone becomes morose when stewed;  
 Instead of leaving he gets rude.

63 *Maghānī* is a common 'vulgar' plural of *mughannīyah* (see Dozy, *Supplément*). The expression *hujjat al-maghānī* has not been found elsewhere; *hujjah* can mean 'contract'.

64 *Dāmin al-qiyān*: cf. Dozy, *Supplément* (DMN): 'L'expression الضامن الغيمان, 1001 N. Bresl v, 107. 4, doit désigner «le fermier d'une maison de débauche» (dans Macn. صاحب الفتيات), mais le second mot est sans doute altéré.'

65 The translation of *qashqil* (a verb not found elsewhere) is taken from the context. The nearest is *fasqala* 'an, 'se séparer de' (Dozy, *Supplément*).

66 The Arabic has *mā' al-ward*, 'rose water'; 'julep' is derived from Persian *gul-āb*, 'rose water'.

67 Text and translation uncertain.

Someone as sober as a judge  
 Arrives, and bears all drunks a grudge.  
 There's one light-fingered Jim-'ll-fix-it,<sup>68</sup>  
 Sees something rather nice: he nicks it.  
 40 A knife, a flask, a handkerchief,  
 A dicing-bowl fit for a thief.  
 Now someone pulls (abracadabra!)  
 A chain right off the candelabra,<sup>69</sup>  
 'Extinguishing' (he says) 'a wick.'  
 It is, of course, a little trick.  
 Don't mind their winks whenever any  
 Should leave their place 'to spend a penny':  
 It's slaves and slave-girls they will seek,  
 To pinch a tit or bite a cheek.  
 45 One's hospitality's abused  
 Yet worse: one's wife is being seduced,  
 One's sister, daughter, or one's son  
 (Especially a pretty one).  
 In this one ought to be forgiving,  
 For, after all, your friends are living;<sup>70</sup>  
 A man is flesh and blood and bone;  
 He is no statue or a stone.  
 And if among them is a glutton(?)<sup>71</sup>  
 Your banquet isn't worth a button.  
 50 Eating is all that he is doing;  
 Heedless of all, he's good at chewing.

68 A reference to a long-running British television show from the past, presented by a once popular but now, posthumously, notorious celebrity.

69 A free and tentative rendering; the Arabic is not very clear. Literally, 'One of them is in charge of pulling of chains (*qal'i | salāsīlin*, with a startling break at the rhyme) that flow over the candles'. Perhaps instead of *tasīlu* ('flow', thus in all sources) one should read *tus-balu* 'hang down'.

70 Free rendering. The Arabic *wa-y.ṭm. 'u* (vowelled as *wa-yuṭmi'u* in A) *l-nadīmu wa-l-jalīsu* is not clear; perhaps read *wa-yuṭma'u*, '(one's drinking companions and friends) are to be encouraged'.

71 The expression *abū tallūr* has not been found elsewhere. A gloss in MS A provides the definition 'Abū tallūr: someone who arrives with the drinkers but does not drink himself: he eats the fruits and nuts and sexually assaults those who, inebriated, have fallen asleep'. One suspects that the explanation provided in A is based on the following lines rather than dependent on another source.

Drinking with friends he must decline:  
 He says he doesn't care for wine.  
 He buggers sleeping drunks at night,<sup>72</sup>  
 Consumes their sweets in broad daylight.  
 Your friends will start an ugly brawl,  
 But you will suffer, that is all.  
 They break the cups and bottles each  
 And ev'ry vessel within reach.  
 55 The row spreads to your neighbours, too,  
 Who falsely will belabour you;  
 Straight to the bailiff they appeal:  
 Surely, complete is your ordeal.  
 Thus may a man gain loss of face;  
 And if the party did take place  
 On Friday's eve, there's worse disgrace.  
 If in the fighting blood is shed,  
 The host may just as well be dead.  
 If someone tumbles and gets killed,  
 One merely pays some light wergild;  
 60 For drinking in an upstairs room  
 Brings people closer to their Doom.

Think of the harm that's coming from it!  
 The mats are soiled with bits of vomit.  
 And then one seeks something to eat,  
 One's drinking-bout not yet complete.  
 When you wake up – you've hardly slept –  
 And now the floor has to be swept,  
 You will be henpecked by your wife,  
 In bed and up, always at strife,  
 65 Who, when the sun's up, will remind you  
 Of last night's trials, now behind you.  
 – That is, if they have gone. If not  
 (They stayed, topped on, slept on the spot),  
 Then all your hope is now forlorn,  
 When the sun rises on the morn.

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72 This couplet has been expurgated in Riḍā's edition.

Offer your friends your choicest wine,  
 And cakes, and heads of sheep and kine;  
 Pawn chairs and stools, pull out all stops,  
 Pledge them at the off-license shops.  
 70 But if some guest misses one sandal,  
 You'll be involved in one more scandal;  
 So tell your boy to guard them well,  
 Lest your kind comrades give you hell.  
 Don't mind your losses in this fix.  
 Provide your lamps with num'rous wicks.  
 Someone at last wants to strike camp:  
 He leaves and robs you of your lamp;  
 With in his hand a full wineskin<sup>73</sup>  
 To please his friends and next-of-kin.  
 75 If oil runs out, give it no thought:  
 Amidst this ruin it is naught.  
 All costs must by the Host be paid  
 When in the Balance he is weighed.<sup>74</sup>  
 Latter-Day Prophets who go dry  
 Deserve a good punch in the eye.<sup>75</sup>  
 The debts he owns – a pretty sum –  
 Prove him to be a stupid bum.<sup>76</sup>  
 He would be spared all this forever  
 If he were wise, astute and clever.  
 80 A scandal, quite without a match:  
 He whom it strikes, strikes a bad patch!  
 At other people's places drinking

73 Tentative translation; *qarābah* or *qarrābah*: 'sorte de boîte dans laquelle on transporte des pommes; – sert aussi à transporter de l'eau, outre?' (Dozy, *Supplement*).

74 The 'Balance' (*al-mīzān*) probably has eschatological connotations here. *Ṣāhib al-da'wah* ('the Host') is a pun: *da'wah* means 'invitation' as well as 'religious propaganda' for an imam. *Ṣāhib al-da'wah* is therefore a near-synonym of *ṣāhib al-zamān*, which is the more common synonym of *ṣāhib al-waqt*, found in line 77 (here translated as 'Latter-Day Prophet'). Compare e.g. Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr, *Dīwān*, i:29: *Fa-ana l-yawma ṣāhibu l-waḳti ḥaqqan / wa-l-muḥibbūna shī'atī wa-du'ātī* (tr. Palmer, ii:36: 'I am the Prophet of the Latter Day; | Mine are the votaries of Love and youth').

75 The sense of *ṣaf' al-jurb* is not wholly clear. *Ṣaf'* is 'slapping someone's neck' (like boxing someone's ear); *jurb* has not been found.

76 For the Arabic obscenity *dhaqn surm* ('arse beard'), see a line by Ibn al-Habbāriyyah on school teachers: *Wa-lākinna l-mu'allima dhaqnu surmin | khafīfu l-ra'si laysa laḥū dimāghū*, in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Qism al-'Irāqī)*, ii:124.

Is better, in my way of thinking.  
Well, then. Repentance of one's vices  
Is always best when there's a crisis.

[15.8.8]

He composed the following in Basra in 521/1127:<sup>77</sup>

I say, looking down from the Ma'qil canal<sup>78</sup>  
at resplendent Basra: 'Be greeted, great town!'  
O how lovely are its open spaces, its ancient monuments,  
and its fine hills – may they never be devoid of rain!  
For so many a day and a night have I amused myself in you  
with a girl with trembling buttocks and lovely smell!  
When, in the dark of night, she takes off her veil  
I see her face, a proxy of the full moon.

He also said:<sup>79</sup>

Ah, drinking wine is one of the most emphatic commands,<sup>80</sup>  
with roses, fragrant herbs, and fresh daffodils.  
Every man who gives lowliness<sup>81</sup> its due  
will have a life of delight and ease.  
I may always been joking,  
but I am clean of clothes, soul, and honour.  
And, though I may have misgivings about things,  
when a friend's foot slips I turn a blind eye.

He also said:<sup>82</sup>

What is good of a life that a man hopes to live  
that will lead to his death?

77 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

78 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v.; a canal dug by Ma'qil ibn Yasār al-Muzanī during the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

79 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

80 He uses the Islamic term for religious duty, *farḍ*.

81 Abū l-Ḥakam collected his own verse in a *dīwān* entitled *Nahj al-waḍā'ah li-ulī l-khalā'ah* ('The Lowly Route for the Dissolute'); see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, 291, and below, at the end of the section on Abū l-Ḥakam.

82 Metre: *sarī'*.

Livelihood is guaranteed. If something precious  
eludes you, do not fret about its loss.

He also said:<sup>83</sup>

You left and by being far you disturbed  
what had been serene by your nearness and proximity.  
Our hearts nearly broke  
when you had gone, but for the hope for your return.

[15.8.9] He also said:<sup>84</sup>

O who will help a lover, infatuated,  
tormented, who cannot recover from his passion?  
For how could a grief-stricken sorrowing man recover  
whose body is damaged by long sickness?

He also said:<sup>85</sup>

Alas for lovers! Would that they had not been created!  
They never cease to be tormented since they have fallen in love.  
Whenever they hope for rest or joy  
their paths are blocked.

He also said:<sup>86</sup>

You see pearls surrounded by carnelian  
when she shows her sweet teeth.  
Henna does not embellish her fingers,  
but her hand embellishes the henna.

He also said:<sup>87</sup>

I said to her, when she upbraided me for my wasting away,  
with a bent back and trembling:

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83 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

84 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:274.

85 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:274.

86 Metre: *wāfir*.

87 Metre: *sarī*.

Do not mock me if my bones have weakened;  
love for you is inside, in my marrow.

[15.8.10]

He composed a riddle on the name 'Abd al-Karīm:<sup>88</sup>

With my life, my friend, I would ransom him  
whose languid eyes have enthralled me.  
I have become one third of his name, obediently,  
but he is the opposite of two thirds of it in being together with me.<sup>89</sup>  
His cheek, when on it there appear  
the stars of his moles,  
Is a perfect crescent moon,<sup>90</sup> while the Pleiades  
are to him a palindrome of what resembles his side-locks.<sup>91</sup>

He also composed a riddle on the name 'Shaftar', which is the nickname of Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Sulamī, the poet:<sup>92</sup>

A gazelle of the Byzantines<sup>93</sup> has made me a captive  
with his black-and-white eyes.  
God has made him superior  
with his pretty flirtation and his appearance.  
I swear by the Even and the Uneven  
and what Abundance has joined with us(?):<sup>94</sup>

88 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, 295.

89 The name 'Abd al-Karīm consists of nine letters; the word 'abd ('slave') of three, and *al-karīm* ('the generous one') of six.

90 The expression *hilālu timmin* is odd, since the word *timmin* is normally reserved for the full moon (*badr*). For another example, see Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, ii:424 (by Abū l-Rabī' Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Qudā'ī).

91 Curling side-locks are very often compared to a scorpion ('*aqrab*). In Arabic script the palindrome of '*aqrab* gives *burqu*' ('veil').

92 Metre: *hazaj*. The meaning of *shaftar* (unvowelled in the sources) is unclear (*shaftarah* means 'scattering, dispersal'; or cf. Dozy *Supplément: shaftūrah*, 'big lip'). Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Sulamī has not been identified.

93 It is not clear why someone who is apparently an Arab (tracing his descent to the tribe of Sulaym) is said to be one of the Banū l-Aṣfar, a traditional name for the Byzantines.

94 Q al-Fajr 89:3: «*By the even and the odd*». The first two Arabic letters of *shaf*' ('even') and the last two of *witr* ('odd') spell the name. 'Abundance' (*kawthar*) must refer to the sura of that name (no. 108), but the point is not clear.

This is a name that God has decreed  
to be made a riddle or to be hidden.

[15.8.11]

He said, lampooning the Jewish doctor al-Mufashkil,<sup>95</sup> in the manner of an elegy:<sup>96</sup>

O stop with 'the remembrance of a loved one and an abode',<sup>97</sup>  
but halt at the grave of Doctor al-Mufashkil!  
O mercy of God, despise his grave,  
and stay away from that base old man!  
O Munkar,<sup>98</sup> liberally bestow on his neck (bless you!)  
convincing blows, and burnish him like a looking-glass!<sup>99</sup>  
And turn him upside down into the bottom of Hell, crashing  
like 'a rock boulder hurtled from above by a torrent'.<sup>100</sup>  
And may a dripping cloud, pushed on by a lasting rain, never cease  
to drench it with a downpour of ordure.  
That tomb has received the vilest cadaver  
and the lowliest dead one between earth and rock.  
I shall let the 'tears' of my belly descend on it  
and convey to it the worst drink of its water.  
Perhaps Abū 'Imrān longed for his person  
and said to him, 'Come to me quickly, hurry!'  
The earth's belly has never been made to contain filthier men than those  
two,  
or baser men from the band of that deluded al-Samaw'al.<sup>101</sup>

95 Not identified. Al-Mufashkil is probably a nickname; perhaps compare Dozy, *Supplément: fashkala* 'confundere alium' ('to confound someone'); or cf. *fiskil*: 'a horse that arrives last in a race', *rajul fiskil* 'a worthless fellow' (al-Zabīdī, *Tāj*); *waghdun mufaskil* (in a lampoon by al-Ubayrid, in al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, 345).

96 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvii:624.

97 From the beginning of the most famous pre-Islamic ode, by Imru' al-Qays.

98 Munkar and Nakīr ('Abhorred' and 'Horrible') are the names of two angels supposed to interrogate a newly deceased in the tomb. In A the former is incorrectly vowelled as *munkir* (the same in lines 6 and 11 of the next poem).

99 The rare word *sajanjal* (interpreted as 'mirror') is also taken from the ode by Imru' al-Qays.

100 Another quotation from the same poem.

101 Al-Samaw'al ('Samuel') was a pre-Islamic Jewish poet. Contrary to what this line conveys, he has an excellent reputation as having been loyal to Imru' al-Qays, not wanting to surrender the latter's armour even when his own young son was killed.



He composed the following, lampooning Naṣīr al-Ḥalabī,<sup>102</sup> a man of letters, also in the manner of an elegy. Naṣīr worked as a secretary and dabbled in poetry, medicine, and astrology.<sup>103</sup>

Come, woman, wail!  
 For Nuṣayr al-Ḥalabī is dead.  
 God have mercy on him!  
 He had a long tail.<sup>104</sup>  
 The dead are making an uproar because  
 of the smell of his bad breath in the earth;  
 They wished they had been given,  
 instead of him, a mangy dog.  
 5 People are either screaming  
 or busy fleeing.  
 Munkar<sup>105</sup> says, 'That is  
 the lowliest dead one I have come across!'  
 The earth's belly has never been made to contain,  
 from East to West,  
 Anyone of more vicious mould  
 among Arabs and non-Arabs.  
 O people, how filthy, him!  
 (oblique case in exclamation of surprise).<sup>106</sup>  
 10 His characteristics in his ill fate  
 are recorded down in writings,  
 As are his words to Munkar:  
 'You're overdoing it, torturer!  
 Don't you know that I am  
 an authority among people of erudition,  
 Grammar, philosophy,  
 logic, and medicine!'

102 Not identified. The name can also be read as Nuṣayr.

103 Metre: *rajaz*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:624–625 (lines 1–4).

104 Interpretation uncertain.

105 See the preceding poem, line 3.

106 Exclamations of surprise, approval or disapproval in Arabic often take the form of a construction with the particle *mā* in the sense of 'how ... (is he/she/it)!', followed by accusatives, as here.

[15.8.12]

Lamponing Malik al-Nuḥāh ('King of Grammarians'),<sup>107</sup> he said:<sup>108</sup>

From the chimney<sup>109</sup> of the hips there blew  
 a breeze on the cheeks of that King,  
 And a torrent advanced right after it  
 and got messed up on his face,  
 'Just as water is moved by degrees by the passing of the east wind  
 and the sky's horizon is adorned by the paths of the stars.'<sup>110</sup>

Lamponing the poet Abū l-Waḥsh<sup>111</sup> he said:<sup>112</sup>

When I want to lampoon Abū l-Waḥsh I am prevented  
 by base traits that never budge from him:  
 He has transcended the measure of blame, to the extent that he would  
 still seem  
 to be praised by the worst that a man can be lampooned with.

Another lampoon by him, on the same:<sup>113</sup>

If Wuḥaysh perseveres in his error  
 and does not give up his lying and wronging,  
 I shall split his ears with a goat  
 whose flesh they ate in the Hijaz(?).<sup>114</sup>

He also said:<sup>115</sup>

107 Malik al-Nuḥāh, the nickname of Abū Nizār al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāfi (d. 568/1173); see e.g. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:92–94, Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, viii:122–139.

108 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

109 The *bādahanj* (from Persian *bād-hanj*, 'wind-drawing') is a chimney-like contrivance on top of a house to provide ventilation of cool air. See Rosenthal, 'Poetry and Architecture'.

110 A quotation from a poem by al-Ṣanawbarī, *Dīwān*, 432, al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 233.

111 He is the poet Wuḥaysh al-Asadī Abū l-Waḥsh Sab' ibn Khalaf (d. 579/1184), see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Shām)*, i:242–246, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:112–113 (*waḥsh* means 'wild animal', *wuḥaysh* is its diminutive, and *sab'* means 'predatory animal'). For two other epigrams by Abū l-Ḥakam on the same, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, 296.

112 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

113 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīṭ*.

114 Sense unclear; the variant *salaqtu* ('I shall boil') instead of *shalaqtu* is perhaps more likely.

115 Metre: *basīṭ*.

We have a friend who was unfriendly and who turned his back on us;  
 my hand hurt me from reproving him.  
 If someone said to me one day, 'Describe him!' I would say: 'One can  
 count all the  
 pebbles (*tuhṣā l-ḥaṣā*) on earth before one can count the defects of  
 that man.'

Lamponing 'Ulayyān. who was known as al-'Ukkāz al-Ḥalabī,<sup>116</sup> he said:<sup>117</sup>

Al-'Ukāz<sup>118</sup> complained to us about his disease  
 but he found no medicine with us,  
 For the disease of lechery<sup>119</sup> defeats  
 any man who seeks a cure.

[15.8.13]

He also said:<sup>120</sup>

If I am concerned about someone who has a fever I compose for him  
 a verse; then, if he gets somewhat worse, he promptly turns hemiple-  
 gic!<sup>121</sup>  
 So tell the people who think my medical skill will give them relief  
 that it will benefit them if it is mixed with poetry.  
 It relieves (*yufarrīju*) worry from the bowels of someone suffering from  
 burning pains,  
 wasting away; and it will promptly make him eat a pullet (*farrūjā*).

On the theme of courage he said:<sup>122</sup>

I see that war gives me courage  
 when its memory pervades my heart.

<sup>116</sup> Not identified.

<sup>117</sup> Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīt*.

<sup>118</sup> In ms A the name is given as al-'Ukkāz (with *kk*, which is the normal form); this, however, does not scan correctly, so perhaps the poet pronounced it as al-'Ukāz.

<sup>119</sup> Reading *biḡhā*; in A and L it is vowelled *bughā*, with the pattern often used for diseases and disorders (the normal meaning of *bughā*, however, is 'desire, wish', which seems less suitable here, though not impossible).

<sup>120</sup> Metre: *basīt*.

<sup>121</sup> Apparently self-mockery.

<sup>122</sup> Metre: *mutaqārib*.

If I behold it in my sleep  
its traces are visible on the bedclothes.

On the theme of keeping one's secret he said:<sup>123</sup>

I shall shun Laylā, though my love of her is in my heart,  
for fear I might provoke a chaperone or grudging enemy.  
I shall hide a secret we had between her and me;  
for if I said I fucked her I would have disclosed it.

In his poem that he entitled 'The Virtues' he said:<sup>124</sup>

Many people who made me a paragon,  
thinking me unique in the efforts I sustained,  
I let them live lifetimes, when they relied  
on me in medical matters, like the lifetimes of kids.<sup>125</sup>

[15.8.14]

He also said:<sup>126</sup>

If a girl is past fifty years,  
try not to see her.  
Fucking an old woman is not incumbent on you,  
so leave her and seek another bride.

He also said:<sup>127</sup>

In bettering myself I shall pretend to be a dunce,  
so that those who think me ignorant will forgive me;  
And I shall jest whenever I compose poetry; so if it appears  
to be feeble, I can blame it on the jesting.

He also said:<sup>128</sup>

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123 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

124 Metre: *rajaz*.

125 Another example of Abū l-Ḥakam's self-mockery.

126 Metre: *wāfir*.

127 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

128 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

Of many a nightly visitor who came to me after people had fallen asleep  
 have I stretched the flanks<sup>129</sup> with a thick and knotty stick of mimosa-  
 wood.

(If your ears had heard his squealing under me  
 you would have said, 'A jackal crying in the gloom of darkness!')  
 And I said to him, 'If you had not been miserable you would not have  
 gone out  
 at night and you would not have alighted at the abode of Abū l-  
 Ḥakam!'

[15.8.15]

On his death-bed, in the month Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 549 [Jan.–Feb. 1155],  
 he said:<sup>130</sup>

Alas, my soul, when I am wrapped in my shroud  
 and they have made me disappear from kin and home,  
 And people say, 'May he not be far',<sup>131</sup> he who used to recite to us:  
 'I am he who sees the blind one but he hasn't seen me!'<sup>132</sup>

Then, on the Tuesday before his death he recited the following and commanded  
 his son Abū l-Majd to transmit it for him after his death:<sup>133</sup>

I am sorry that I died. It was not my intention.  
 I wish I knew who will now make elegies for you!  
 I really should prefer to come back, if I could  
 be brought back. But it is impossible to be brought back.  
 If I had known I would not return  
 I would not have hurried so fast towards the grave.  
 O, is there no escaping from Death, the Disperser?  
 Can past times not be brought back?

129 Apart from 'stretching', *matta'a* could perhaps mean 'give pleasure' (*mut'ah*); the form *tamatta'a* can refer to sexual intercourse and the noun *matā'* is often a euphemism for the sexual organ.

130 Metre: *basīt*.

131 An ancient formula said to or about the deceased.

132 Apparently a quotation but not identified; it is probably a parody by Abū l-Ḥakam on a hemistich by al-Mutanabbī: *Anā lladhī naẓara l-a'mā ilā adabī*, 'I am he whose accomplishments even the blind can see' (*Dīwān*, 483, translated in Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī*, 72).

133 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

- 5 My family and friends have gone and said farewell  
 and I am left in a dark and dreary place, alone.  
 Among you, some people are distinguished above others,  
 but with us a master is not known from a slave.  
 If I have made you happy with my demise  
 if my death has pleased you and losing me has suited you,  
 Then Decius,<sup>134</sup> my pupil, will be my replacement for you;  
 I am happy with him, after my death, in jest and earnest.  
 I hereby appoint him, so that you know it!  
 (But soon I shall make him dwell with me.)
- 10 Do not despair of God's mercy after this,  
 for we must have God's mercy.

Abū l-Ḥakam is the author of the following work: His collected poetry, which was entitled *The path of lowliness (Naḥj al-waḍā'ah)*.<sup>135</sup>

### 15.9 Abū l-Majd ibn Abi l-Ḥakam<sup>1</sup>

Afḍal al-Dawlah Abū l-Majd Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhili was a famous scientist, a celebrated scholar, an outstanding physician and an exemplary geometrician and astronomer. He knew about music.<sup>2</sup> He played the lute, the flute, percussion instruments and other instruments and was an excellent singer.<sup>3</sup> He built an organ and taught himself to play it perfectly. Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam studied the art of medicine under his father and other masters distinguishing himself in both the theory and practice of medicine and became one of the great physicians of his time.

134 In Arabic Daqyūs; apparently a Christian, not identified. Also the Arabic form of the Roman emperor Decius, who according to legend persecuted 'the people of the Cave' (the seven Sleepers of Ephesus).

135 Its full, rhyming title was *Naḥj al-waḍā'ah li-ulī l-khalā'ah*, which may be translated as 'The Lowly Route for the Dissolute' (al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i: 291, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii: 124).

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

2 *Mūsīqī* refers to the theory of music.

3 MS A presents us with the interpolation 'al-ḍarb, plucked instrument(s)' after 'al-zamr, flute'.

Abū l-Majd lived during the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – who had great regard for him, held him in high esteem and recognized his extensive knowledge and virtue. When al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn founded the great hospital, he put Abū l-Majd in charge of the medical college, granting him with a salary and allowances. He would visit [the hospital] frequently and treat the patients in it. Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Faraj, the oculist, who was known as al-Miṭwāʿ (‘The Obedient’) – may God have mercy upon him – told me that he had seen Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam at the hospital, making his rounds, seeing the patients, examining their conditions and determining the importance of their cases. He would be accompanied by the overseers [of the wards] and the superintendents, who would immediately, without hesitation, execute his orders concerning the treatment of each patient and the management of the cases. After finishing with all this, Abū l-Majd would go to the castle and visit any state dignitaries who might happen to be indisposed. Finally, he would go and sit in the great hall of the hospital, which was abundantly furnished and carpeted, and engage in study; for Nūr al-Dīn – may God have mercy upon him – had donated a large number of medical works to the hospital, and these were kept in cupboards in the wall at the rear of that hall. Physicians and students [of medicine] would come there to Abū l-Majd and sit before him to discuss medical matters. He [also] taught his students [there] and would engage in discussion and study with them. After three hours with his books, he would make his way home. Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam died in Damascus in the year 5[...]/11[...].

### 15.10 Ibn al-Budhūkh<sup>1</sup>

Abū Jaʿfar ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Budhūkh al-Qalaʿī al-Maghribī was an outstanding [physician], who possessed expert knowledge of simple and compound drugs. He had a keen eye for diagnosis and [knew] how to treat diseases.

Ibn al-Budhūkh resided in Damascus for many years. He had an apothecary shop in The Feltmakers’ Market (*al-Labbādīn*), where he treated both without notice and by appointment. He prepared many compound drugs, which he made of various kinds of electuaries, pastilles, powders, and the like. These he sold, much to the benefit of the population.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:28, where the name is vowelled as Ibn al-Baddūkh. Al-Ṣafadī also included him in his biographical work on the blind; see al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 220–221.

Ibn al-Budhūkh was interested in books on medicine, reading them carefully to find out what the ancients had said about the characteristics and the treatment of diseases. He wrote a commentary on a number of words and passages in *The Canon* by Ibn Sīnā. In addition, he took an interest in the science of Hadith. He also composed poetry: he is the author of many verses in the *rajaz* metre, but most of his poetry is weak and limp.

Ibn al-Budhūkh lived a long life, but in old age his ability to walk weakened to such an extent that he could no longer go to his shop unless he was carried there on a litter. Toward the end of his life he became blind from cataracts. This was caused by [the fact] that he had nourished himself with large amounts of milk in order to regulate his bodily humours. He died in Damascus in the year 575 or 576 [1179 or 1180].

Among the poetry of Ibn al-Budhūkh are the following lines from a long poem on death and the hereafter:<sup>2</sup>

O Lord, make good deeds easy for me so that I can do them  
 for mankind, with my being and my capability!  
 For the grave is a door to the Abode of Permanence, and he who  
 plants the fruits of desires for the Good will be a reaper.<sup>3</sup>  
 A man's best companion is piety that accompanies him,  
 and good deeds done to every human being.  
 O Lord of Glory and Magnanimity, O my hope,  
 seal [my life] with good deeds, declaring God's unity, and faith!  
 5 If, my Lord, an erring man, or rather one who obeys Thee,  
 does not implore Thee, who will help a sinner, an evildoer?  
 Being in the decade of the eighties, my Lord, has robbed me  
 of the lights of my eyes, my hearing, and then my teeth;  
 I cannot stand without being supported  
 on two sides. My complaint is to a Merciful One!  
 Of the delights that can be enjoyed no delight  
 is left to me but listening to the Qur'an being recited  
 Or explained, or to commentaries on the Hadith, and what  
 pertains to medicine, or banter with friends;  
 10 For an old man's longevity leads to senility  
 that degrades him, or blindness, or chronic illness.  
 Thus his death is a protection, since he cannot avoid  
 dying; how long should he spared for (yet more) diminishing?

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *basīf*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:29 (lines 1–5).

<sup>3</sup> The syntax is strange, as is the sense (one does not plant fruits).



We seek refuge in God from an evil life and from  
 an evil death, from the evil of men and jinn.<sup>4</sup>  
 Old men are like trees that turn to firewood:  
 no leaves or twigs can be expected from them.  
 There remains no usefulness in an old man, except experience  
 and sound opinion, purified by the length of times.  
 15 O Creator of creatures, who has no partner, I have come  
 as a guest so that Thou mayest regale me with a meal of forgiveness.  
 My Lord, my only good work is professing Thine Unity,  
 so seal (my life) with it graciously, O best giver of grace!

He composed the following verses in praise of the works of Galen:<sup>5</sup>

How noble, books by Galen! that comprise  
 what Hippocrates and those in the past said, in antiquity,  
 Such as Dioscurides, whose knowledge of medication  
 was acknowledged by physicians in all nations.  
 Medicine thus spread from these two, together with Hippocrates,  
 after them, as light spreads in the dark.  
 Thoughts are nourished by<sup>6</sup> their medical knowledge, shining:  
 one sees the light of healing in the darkness of disease.  
 One does not desire anyone else in curing an illness,  
 for the existence of such others in medicine is like non-existence,  
 For they perfected what they founded, so  
 for them completion by others is not needed,  
 Except for medication: its benefits cannot be counted  
 and its number<sup>7</sup> is, in quantity, among Arabs and non-Arabs,  
 As the number of the grasses,<sup>8</sup> all the plants of the earth;  
 who can count all the (grains of) sand and hills?  
 Every day one sees on earth a miracle  
 of experiences, (God's) signs, and wisdom.

4 Note the unusual and faulty rhyme (-*ānnī* instead of -*ānī*).

5 Metre: *basīṭ*.

6 Müller and Riḍā: 'emulate, follow' (*taqtadī* instead of *taghtadhī*), which is a possible alternative.

7 Apparently the number of different kinds of medication.

8 In similar contexts denoting multitude *nujūm* normally means 'stars', but here the following *nabāṭi l-arḍ* requires that *nujūm* here means 'herbs, grasses'.

Ibn al-Budhūkh is the author of the following books:

1. A commentary on the *Book of Aphorisms* by Hippocrates: a poem in *rajaz* metre (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>9</sup>
2. A commentary on the *Book of Prognosis* [*Prognosticon*] by Hippocrates: a poem in the metre *rajaz* (*S. kitāb taqdimat al-maʿrifah li-Abuqrāt*).
3. The treasure of the wise with regard to coitus, (*K. dhakhīrat al-alibbāʾ fi l-bāʾ*),<sup>10</sup> a work that is unique of its kind.
4. Marginal notes on certain words and passages in *The Canon* by Ibn Sīnā (*Ḥawāshī ʿalā kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).

### 15.11 Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jilyānī<sup>1</sup>

[15.11.1]

Ḥakīm al-Zamān Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥas-sān al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī al-Jilyānī was [one of] the outstanding personalities of his time [in his capacity] as a practitioner of both the art of medicine and ophthalmology. He was skilled in literature and the art of poetry and composed figurative poems. He was a native of Andalusia, but migrated to Damascus, in Syria, where he lived for the remainder of his very long life. Ḥakīm al-Zamān kept a shop in The Feltmakers' Market (*al-Labbādīn*) where he practised medicine. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [i.e. Saladin] had a good opinion of him and showed him great respect. In return Ḥakīm al-Zamān composed many figurative poems for him, He also wrote books for [his ruler], receiving in consequence many benefits and tokens of appreciation. Moreover, Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim was interested in alchemy.

[15.11.2]

When he died in Damascus in the year 600/1203–1204, Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim left a son named ʿAbd al-Muʿmin ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim. The son was an oculist as well. The latter also wrote poetry and composed figurative poems

9 He means: 'A commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, in the form of an *urjūzah* (i.e., versified in *rajaz* metre, using paired rhyme).'

10 The Arabic has *bāh*, but the rhyme requires *bāʾ*, which is correct even though less common than *bāʾah*.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See on him al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī, *Tadbij*; and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:224–226, with more references.

He was oculist to al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, and died in Edessa in the 620s/1220s or shortly thereafter.

The following is an example of the poetry of Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jilyānī, which I have copied from a manuscript in his own handwriting. I also heard it from my father who said: ‘the physician ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, who had had it from his celebrated father ʿAbd al-Munʿim, recited [this verse] to me’. It was composed to extol [the virtues of] Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [i.e. Saladin]. It was sent to him from the city of Damascus to his camp, al-Manṣūr, on the outskirts of Acre, when he was besieging the Franks who were themselves besieging the city. The *qaṣīdah* entitled *The Jewelled Precious Gift*, was offered to him in the month of Ṣafar of the year 587 [March 1191].<sup>2</sup>

[15.11.2.1]

A vigorous, astute man’s comfort lies in embarking boldly upon grave matters,

seeking glory or fighting injustice.

Augustness is not attained by those who fear a blow

and slacken the rein, away from the striking of clashing<sup>3</sup> swords.

Which clarity did not occur after a difficulty?

Which expansion did not appear after a constricting crisis?

It is the proudest ambition that observes a goal

and aims at it with the bows of firm resolve.

5 No troop departed that did not connect with loftiness,

no energetic man rested who had not connected with swords.

He who walks in contemptible ways is not alive,

he who perishes in noble acts is not dead.

All people must depart, but among them

are men whose traces stay like landmarks,

Through the glory of power, the insight of vision,

the liveliness of spirit, and the broadness of compassion:

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*. The poem was composed at a time when Saladin had to cope with the arrival of the forces of the Third Crusade and the ensuing siege of ʿAkkā (Acre, Akko), which had been taken by Saladin in 1187 but fell to the Franks in July 1191. The poem refers to several battles and naval encounters.

3 Reading *ṣawādim*, even though *ṣawārim* (‘cutting swords’) sounds more normal, to avoid repetition of the rhyme in line 5 (but prosodists allow such repetition if one rhyme uses a definite and the other an indefinite form, as here).

Shares of perfection that show marvels  
 in the mirror of a person who has not disappeared among living  
 beings.  
 10 A man is not able to confer distinction upon himself;  
 rather, the distinction is an allotment from a Merciful One.  
 The greatest of eminent people is he who rules with his faculties  
 and leads with his outstripping nature the strongest of the mighty.  
 Do you think that the celestial spheres ever contained a king like Yūsuf<sup>4</sup>  
 among the hosts that lived and passed in ancient times?  
 There is nothing like a realm that he ruled in recent times,  
 there is nothing like a war such as he waged in epic battles.  
 O builder of the abode of justice in the narrow pass(?)<sup>5</sup> of war  
 in a river in which the blood of the oppressors is spilled,<sup>6</sup>  
 15 I give my life in ransom for you, who raise and build your Religion,  
 my life for you, who are a destroyer and demolisher of your oppon-  
 ent.  
 For you are the one who awoke the party of Muḥammad  
 in a jihad when they were heedless as if asleep,  
 And you fought for the Faith, not because of personal grudges,  
 and you posted armies for the sake of God's pleasure, not for gain.  
 In truth, you will not cease to pitch your pavilions  
 where the shock of sharp-pointed spears is entangled,<sup>7</sup>  
 While on all sides in the raised dust there is a stream of cries for help<sup>8</sup>  
 like the waves of a deep sea that dashes at the hills,  
 20 And many a ship setting sail, its ropes and sail (being)  
 bridle and a fluttering banner on the lance of a sudden attacker.  
 So how could your tents anchor there, when ships  
 of tall warriors moved on the seas?  
 No one remained who did not meet the spearheads;  
 no one remained except those protecting themselves with the ships'  
 bows.<sup>9</sup>

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4 Saladin.

5 Reading *ma'ziq*, which makes a little more sense than *māriq* (L B M R), 'straying, heretic, renegade; piercing'.

6 Translation uncertain; see note to Arabic text.

7 Reading and translation uncertain.

8 Translation uncertain.

9 *Ḥayāzīm* (more often *ḥayāzīm*) 'chests' or 'bows (of boats)'.

There was no tent rope but an intrepid fighter would rush there,  
 there was no tent peg but a stubborn fighter would stand firm there.<sup>10</sup>  
 Your home, while heroes are aroused before it,  
 is an abode (*maqarr*) of joy in a place from which misdeeds flee  
 (*mafarr*),  
 25 Because while they slip, you are seated on  
 a throne of stability with secure legs,  
 And when they attack, you, amidst them, are snatching  
 the heads<sup>11</sup> of the leader of troops of horse, shaking their bits.<sup>12</sup>  
 You are the Sovereign, who Supports<sup>13</sup> Truth assiduously,  
 and who thinks the onslaught of war's thorns the bed of soft  
 women.<sup>14</sup>  
 Is fighting in love with you or are you in love  
 with it, united perpetually like two lovers?  
 In winter and summer we never cease seeing you,  
 evening and morning, as constant as the muezzin's call.  
 30 You were active during the midday heat – people say: He never has a  
 siesta!  
 And up all night – people say: He never sleeps!  
 You made Rome shudder when you violated the land of the Franks:  
 they became the scum on the torrents of defeats.  
 You chased them<sup>15</sup> to the top of the mounds<sup>16</sup> as if they were  
 lizards (*ḍibāb*) on rocks, scared away by the ... (*aḍbāb*)<sup>17</sup> of a  
 crusher.

10 Syntax and sense not wholly clear. L has *muqdimun*, but the parallel with the second hemistich demands reading *muqdimin*, the preceding word being a *maṣdar* rather than a finite verb.

11 Literally, 'the necks'. The plural is odd, with the following *kabīr* being singular.

12 In this line every word except *fihim* rhymes with the corresponding word in the previous line and has the same or nearly the same pattern (*hafaw/saṭaw*, *jālisun/khālīsun*, *'alā/tulā*, *muṭma'inni/murjaḥinni*, *qawā'im/shakā'im*); the second word in the last hemistich should therefore rhyme with *thabātin*, the obvious choice being *thubātin* (plural of *thubah*, 'troop of horsemen') rather than what is found in L, B, or the editions.

13 *al-malik al-nāṣir*: alluding to Saladin's honorific name al-Malik al-Nāṣir.

14 The somewhat strange coupling of 'onslaught' and 'bed' is based on a play on words (*dahm/mahd*).

15 LB M R and N have *kadadtahum*, editorially glossed in R as 'you chased them', which is an unusual sense; the following *kudan* (root *κDW/Y*) suggests one could read *kadaytahum*, 'you detained them'.

16 *Tilāl*, pl. of *tall*, 'tell, man-made mound'.

17 The meaning of *aḍbāb* is unknown. Perhaps it is a variant of *ḍibāb*, pl. of *ḍabīb*, 'point

You enabled them, after the betrayal of their kings,  
 so you were, as it were, hiding their ignominy.  
 You were loyal to them, so that they loved you as an aggressor  
 to them. Loyalty to a covenant is the shackle of an adversary.  
 35 Then they betrayed, they failed, they convened, they blamed one  
 another,  
 and said, We suffered a setback because crimes were committed.  
 Saladin was singled out with God's victorious support since he came  
 with a sound heart, merciful to the peaceful.  
 They put down inside the temples<sup>18</sup> an image  
 of you, believing in it as they believe in the Trinity.  
 A priest professes belief in it, utters incantations describing it  
 and writes it down as a cure on amulets.  
 A man will soon be requited for his deed:  
 blessed be he who is steadfast, blighted be the sinner!  
 40 A noble, generous man may be corrupted by his companion  
 and the power of a resolute man may weaken through delusion.  
 When reproach from a fool to a man on the right path persists  
 he fancies the right path to be in the reproacher's foolishness.  
 I am amazed that a human being is conceited, when  
 he lives in defective conditions, a partner of grazing beasts.  
 He sees that the essence of the soul is pure and is proud,  
 heedless of the accidents that adhere to the body.  
 The debts of necessity are requisitioned every moment  
 and lives are cut off in the midst of losses.  
 45 And everyone is deluded by his love of life  
 and the hiddenness of the ends tempts him to what is nearest.<sup>19</sup>  
 He who amasses wealth will not profit from it,  
 just as the cupping glass sucks from the incised skin.<sup>20</sup>  
 It overflows and it preserves what it has put into it<sup>21</sup>  
 to be sipped by a parched one or ...<sup>22</sup>

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of a sword' (a very rare word). Alternatively, one could read *iḏbāb*, 'the grasping, taking possession'.

18 *Hayākil*, not the normal Arabic word for 'churches', could also mean 'altars'.

19 *Al-adnā*, alluding to its feminine counterpart *al-dunyā*, 'this world'.

20 The sense seems to be: 'just as the cupping glass does not derive any profit from the blood it sucks'.

21 The meaning of *muhdīfan* is not clear ('approaching, happening?').

22 The meaning of *li-rashaḡati ṣādīmī* ('the throw of a striker?') is not clear.

He who knows the world knows for certain that it is  
 the riding animal of the vigilant and the objective of a dreamer.  
 How good, that someone strives on the paths of obedience to God,  
 to secure (*ilāf*) justice and annihilate (*itlāf*) the unjust!  
 50 O conquerer (*fātih*) of Jerusalem! Your sword is a key that opens (*mif-*  
*taḥ*)  
 the lock of Guidance and locks the gate of sins.  
 You imposed your rule on the two opposites, unopposed;  
 you dealt expertly with the fighters in the war on opposite sides:  
 You made Turks (*turkan*) go up on the backs of swift horses  
 and made Unbelief (*shirkān*) go down into the bellies of vultures,  
 On the morning when you made the white swords strike fire on  
 the Byzantines,<sup>23</sup> and no forearm of theirs was left on wrists;<sup>24</sup>  
 And when they advanced, like sand impossible to count,  
 to the mound of Acre, like locusts in heaps,  
 55 And like bees, their hive tightly packed, that swooped  
 from the mound, feared like ...<sup>25</sup>  
 It was as if on the mound of Acre there was a hunting ground  
 where herds of grazing beasts were rounded up:  
 One herd was broken and had perished in trenches,  
 another herd was worn out, overwhelmed, in places of peril.  
 So many kings of theirs had come to it in a multitude,  
 but it increased them in decrease, with an increase of non-being.  
 They crossed from Spain<sup>26</sup> the middle of a brimful sea,  
 and from great Rome, through rugged mountain passes,  
 60 But they were terrified by the two forces, sailing and trotting,  
 and they dissolved through the two edges of a crushing sword of  
 yours.  
 You washed their embroidery with green stripes  
 with a flood of poured-out blood, dripping red.

23 Āl Aṣfar, more commonly Banū l-Aṣfar, refers to the Byzantines; various explanations of the phrase are given: either because one of their ancestors was called al-Aṣfar, or because they are pale (*aṣfar*).

24 An untranslatable play on two meanings of *zand*: 'fire stick' (device for making fire by means of friction) and 'forearm'.

25 The meaning of *marādīm* (or *murādīm* as in L) is unclear.

26 The forms Isbān (or Asbān) and Ashbān are unusual; 'al-Andalus' would have been less appropriate since it normally refers to Islamic Spain. L has Athbān or Ithbān, which may have been intended in view of the play on words with the following *athbāj*.

If the field would bring forth souls they would grow ripe  
 from what flowed into it from entrails and throats:  
 A well of kidneys, its water drawn by the ropes of a lance,  
 a waterhole of necks, flowing through the pipe of a sword,  
 While ribs of horsemen served as horse-shoes for hooves  
 and head of leaders as covers for finger-joints.  
 65 Thus let the jewel of speech be made an adornment, a gift  
 to a sagacious king such as Yūsuf,<sup>27</sup>  
 A man whose mind casts forth thoughts like shooting stars  
 that rend the gloomy darkness of obscure problems.  
 His fine nature respects fine poetry,<sup>28</sup>  
 just as thick-necked lions respect his might.  
 Someone who describes him will adopt the splendour of his character,  
 just as his gifts have adopted the character of heavy rainclouds.  
 I never cease to unveil brides decorated with his jewels,<sup>29</sup>  
 with whom people of understanding are feasting,  
 70 With a well-ordered detailed exposition, cheerful,  
 like the gap teeth of luminous smiling mouths:<sup>30</sup>  
 Motifs dazzling like the magic in the spell of a diviner (*'aqd nāzir*),  
 and expressions like gold beads on the necklace of a stringer (*'iqd  
 nāzim*).  
 It rises above the lowest poetry to the summit of wisdom  
 and with bright thought are exalted above the path of an aimless  
 wanderer.<sup>31</sup>  
 With the memory of it the utterances of those in the past will be forgot-  
 ten  
 and it will bring forth blossom spreading in all regions,  
 Just as this matter spread among mankind, making a mockery  
 of the Tubba' of the Arabs and the Kistrā of the non-Arabs.<sup>32</sup>

27 The poem's title (*al-Tuḥfah al-jawhariyyah*, 'The Jewelled Precious Gift') is derived from this line. Yūsuf is Saladin.

28 Reading *yahābu* and *riqqatu* (rather than *yuhābu* and *riqqata* as in L).

29 The 'brides' are a metaphor for the poet's odes on Saladin, or the lines of the present poem.

30 Gap teeth are often praised in Arabic poetry.

31 The line alludes to a famous saying attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad ('Some poetry is wisdom') and to the condemnation in the Qur'an (Q al-Shu'arā' 26:225) of poets «*who wander aimlessly in every valley*».

32 'This matter' refers to Saladin and his exploits (*amr* meaning not only 'matter, affair' but also 'command, authority'). Tubba' was the title of the pre-Islamic South-Arabian kings of Ḥimyar; Kistrā is the Arabic version of Khusraw (Greek Chosroes), which became the



- 75 So I consider my eulogy on him as a religious duty, while avoiding  
eulogy on others just as one avoids incest with one's kin.  
It is not a plea for favours, rather a salutation from a thankful one,  
an eternal tribute (*ta'bīd*) to his works and a support (*ta'yīd*) of a man  
of resolve.  
O you, who are the best custodian of the best religious community,  
one who defends it from every opposing band:  
Hold fast unto the rope of God and cling to it,<sup>33</sup>  
for there is none but He who gives victory to a protector;  
Hold fast unto Him who has given you what you hoped for  
and who will give you what you hope for as a happy conclusion.  
80 I<sup>34</sup> send this, while my yearning precedes the riders who convey it,  
to a gathering in which the desires of every comer are found.  
(You who are) far-reaching, a paradise of boons, a fire to aggressors,  
beneficial to the Right Guidance,<sup>35</sup> who avenges every slain one:<sup>36</sup>  
A greeting on that place where  
the pillar of noble and grave matters is erected!<sup>37</sup>

[15.11.2.2]

He also said:<sup>38</sup>

A confidential talk with him allowed him some recovery  
and he revealed the agonies that he had concealed.  
When the eye of a sick person sees his physician  
he cannot help indicating to him his ailment.

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generic name for the pre-Islamic Sasanid emperors. The word for 'non-Arabs', *a'ajim*, very often refers specifically to the Persians.

33 cf. Q Āl 'Imrān 3:103, 112.

34 Reading a 1st person singular, rather than a 2nd person as in L: the poet speaks about his poem.

35 Islam.

36 Literally, 'who slakes the thirst of every hovering screech owl': a reference to the ancient belief that the soul of someone slain but whose blood is not avenged appears over his grave in the shape of a screech owl (*ṣadā*, a word that also means 'thirst'). This line contains five internal rhymes (*madā*, *jadā*, *'adā*, *hudā*, *ṣadā*).

37 The last word of the poem echoes its first rhyme word. In the right margin of MS R 171b the copyist adds more poetry, copied from one of al-Jilyānī's collections, *Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalīm* (or *al-kilām*): eight lines in *basīṭ* (-ū/īū), five lines in *ṭawīl* (-'ā). See in Appendix A11.13 and A11.14.

38 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

So many a man in love who clothes himself with the cloak of his passion  
 and wraps himself in the robe of his illness  
 Was made a captive by a loved one in whose abundant beauty he lost  
 himself,  
 and who nearly blinded eyes enamoured of his splendour!  
 He has no other in whom refuge can be taken. He who is encompassed  
 by his love (*ḥawāhu ḥawāhū*) will never leave its enclosure (*ḥiwā'ihū*).

He also said:<sup>39</sup>

It is to the market of my yearning (*sūqi shawqī*) that caravans carry their  
 wares,  
 it is from the flood of my tears that the clouds rain copiously.  
 The lightning only pulsates from my longing,  
 the thunder only laments because of my moaning.  
 You have gone far away but no endurance is present in my heart,  
 nor is remembrance absent from my heart.  
 Every moment I am looking out for you,  
 everywhere there is someone reproaching me on account of you.  
 Would that I knew who you will befriend after I have gone –  
 for now that you have gone my only friend is my passion.

He also said:<sup>40</sup>

I devoted much time to medicine, so that  
 I would not have to meet princes with begging.  
 The right course for me was  
 to preserve my soul<sup>41</sup> by degrading myself.  
 The body must have a livelihood.  
 so take it from the side of moderation;  
 Approach glory in self-abasement,  
 flee from humiliation in noble deeds.

[15.11.2.3]

He also said:<sup>42</sup>

39 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:276.

40 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīf*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:409, al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xix:226.

41 Or 'myself'.

42 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīf*.

You who dislikes the embrocation<sup>43</sup> when he sees  
 it is better<sup>44</sup> than what he purchased:  
 Be patient for forty days and it will be  
 softer to the body than anything else.  
 He who wants something will not be right  
 until his powers are able to do what he desires.

He also said:<sup>45</sup>

A leading person arrived. They said,  
 'Seek refuge in someone like him!'  
 I replied to those present around me,  
 'Is it possible for this man to die?'  
 'Yes', they said. 'He is dew', I said,  
 'which makes thirsty those that think it is a drizzle.'  
 He who seeks refuge with transitory things is humbled.  
 strong is he who seeks refuge with the Pre-existing One.

He also said:<sup>46</sup>

If someone does not ask about you, don't ask  
 about him, even though he has a powerful rank (*nafar*);  
 Be a man who, whenever a need calls him  
 to being humbled, shies away (*nafar*).

He also said:<sup>47</sup>

Do not consent to sign a marriage contract  
 and spare yourself hurrying it through (*tarwīj*) by deferring the mat-  
 ter.  
 And when you mention a day for a betrothal,  
 let it be a betrothal without a marriage (*tazwīj*).

43 Or 'wiping', 'rubbing' (the more common terms for rubbing and massage are *dalk* and *ghamz*).

44 It is not clear why it should be disliked if it is better. Perhaps instead of *aḥsan* ('better', thus in all sources) one should read *akhshan* ('rougher'), which provides a contrast with *an'am* ('pleasanter, softer') in the next line.

45 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basī*.

46 Metre: *sarī*.

47 Metre: *khafif*.

He also said:<sup>48</sup>

They said, 'We see people who have risen high with kings  
 though they have no high ambition or piety.  
 You have a high ambition in excellence,  
 so why are you thirsty while they have sipped from glory?'  
 I replied, 'They sold their souls and bought for a price,  
 while I preserved my soul and did not debase myself as they did.  
 A monkey is sometimes honoured, when one is delighted by its base-  
 ness,  
 and a lion is sometimes despised for its excessive pride.'

[15.11.3]

Ḥakīm al-Zamān 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jilyānī is the author of works in both verse and prose [lit. in a free form] comprising ten collections:<sup>49</sup>

1. An anthology of maxims and an arena of [philosophical] sayings (*Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalim*), which includes the explanation of everything that is difficult to comprehend, all the truths that are acquired by total devotion to the practice and perseverance of a virtuous life and all the things that become evident from entering on the path of virtue. Written in verse.<sup>50</sup>
2. An anthology on what arouses the desire for the heavenly host (*Dīwān al-mushawwiqāt ilā l-malā' al-a'lā*). Written in verse.
3. An anthology on proper conduct (*Dīwān adab al-sulūk*), written in prose, containing a critical reflection on philosophical sayings.
4. On the marvel of divine inspiration (*K. nawādir al-waḥy*), which includes [some] philosophical sayings, in prose, about the meaning of obscure passages from the blessed Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet, may God's most excellent grace be upon him and may he be granted salvation.
5. On accurate speculation (*K. taḥrīr al-naẓar*); it contains individual expressions of wisdom on simple and complex matters, on powers and movements.

48 Metre: *basīṭ*. In al-Sha'ar, *Qalā'id*, iii:116; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:409; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xix:226; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:276 (lines 1, 4).

49 All of these works, with the possible exception of no. 7, seem to have been lost for posterity.

50 An edition of this treatise, ed. by Fakhrī Ṣāliḥ Sa'īd, was published in Beirut by al-Maṭba'ah al-Bulisiyyah in 1975, but unavailable for study.

6. On the secret of rhetoric and the skill of rhetorical excellence in the analysis of speech (*K. sirr al-balāghah wa-ṣanāʿi al-badīʿ fī faṣl al-khitāb*).<sup>51</sup>
7. An anthology of good tidings and [other] matters related to the holy city (*Dīwān al-mubashshirāt wa-l-qudsiyyāt*); [partly] in verse, [partly] ornamented [*tadbīj*]<sup>52</sup> and [partly] in prose, which comprises a description of the wars and current conquests of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abī l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, the conqueror of the city of Jerusalem in the year 583/1187.<sup>53</sup>
8. An anthology of different kinds of poetry: *ghazal*, *tashbīb*, *muwashshah*, *dūbayt*, and related forms (*Dīwān al-ghazal wa-l-tashbīb wa-l-muwashshahāt wa-l-dūbaytī wa-mā yattaṣilu bihi manẓūman*).
9. Dīwān in verse of parables, riddles, allegories, enigmas, ecphrastic epigrams, auguries and all kinds of genres (*Dīwān tashbīhāt wa-alghāz wa-rumūz wa-aḥājī wa-awṣāf wa-zajriyyāt wa-aghraḍ shattā manẓūman*).
10. Dīwān on the art of letter writing, speeches on many different subjects, many kinds of sermons, preambles (of books and epistles) and invocations (*Dīwān tarassul wa-mukhātabāt fī maʿānī kathīrah wa-aṣnāf min al-khuṭab wa-l-ṣudūr wa-l-adʿiyah*).

Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jilyānī also composed the following works:

11. The plains of praise and the garden of memorable and glorious deeds (*K. al-manādīḥ al-mamādīḥ wa-rawḍat al-maʿāthir wa-l-mafākhir*), on the qualities and characteristics of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, written in the year 569/1172.
12. Explanatory remarks on medicine and recipes for compound remedies (*Taʿālīq fī l-ṭibb wa-ṣifāt adwiyah murakkabah*).

51 *Faṣl al-khitāb* is a Qurʾanic expression (Q Ṣād 38:20) sometimes translated as ‘decisive speech’.

52 The term *tadbīj* probably refers to ‘emblematic poetry’, verse written in the shape of trees and intricate patterns, as in the recent colourful edition of al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī’s *Tadbīj*, with odes on Saladin.

53 The book, entitled *al-Mubashshirāt wa-l-Qudsīyyāt*, is likely to have been similar to the book by al-Jilyānī that was edited in 2010 by Kamāl Abū Dīb and Dalāl Bakhsh as *Dīwān al-tadbīj* (see al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī, *Tadbīj*). The 1989 edition of *al-Mubashshirāt wa-l-Qudsīyyāt*, edited by ʿAbd al-Jalīl Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Mahdī, was not available for comparison (see al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī, *al-Mubashshirāt*). *Al-Qudsīyyāt* refers to al-Quds, i.e., Jerusalem.

### 15.12 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Waqqār<sup>1</sup>

The most honourable and learned shaykh Abū l-Faḍl Ismāʿīl ibn Abī l-Waqqār was a native of al-Maʿarrāh, but settled in Damascus. He travelled to Baghdad, where he studied under the most distinguished physicians and also met with a group of scholars from whom he acquired [further] knowledge. Subsequently, he returned to Damascus, where he became outstanding in both medical theory and practice. He was a good and benevolent person with fine manners who enjoyed a good reputation and was highly intelligent.

Abū l-Faḍl was in the service of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī,<sup>2</sup> who depended on him as a physician, and kept him by his side wherever he went. The Sultan bestowed many gifts upon him, with the result that he became very wealthy. He died while staying in Aleppo with the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn in the first decade of the month Rabīʿ I of the year 554 [last week of March 1159].

### 15.13 Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh<sup>1</sup>

The learned shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh ʿĪsā ibn Hibat Allāh al-Naqqāsh, Baghdad born and bred, was a leading authority on Arabic language and literature and [also] spoke Persian. He devoted himself to the art of medicine, and for some time was constantly in the company of Amīn al-Dawlah Hibat Allāh ibn Ṣāʿid ibn al-Tilmīdh.<sup>2</sup> He was also interested in the

1 This biography is missing in Versions 1 and 2, but it can be found in Version 3. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

2 Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn, was born 511/1118 and died 569/1174 in Damascus, Syria. He was a Muslim ruler who reorganized the armies of Syria and laid the foundations for the success of Saladin. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 190–191.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him. He was, however, the teacher of the physicians Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥājib, and Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī. Their respective biographies are found in Chs. 23, 24, and 14.

2 Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh ibn Ṣāʿid ibn al-Tilmīdh (466–561/1073–1165) was a Syriac Christian physician, pharmacist, poet, musician and calligrapher. Ibn al-Tilmīdh worked at the ʿAḡḡudī hospital in Baghdad, where he eventually became its chief physician as well as court physician to the caliph al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr Allāh (d. 576/1180). He was also in charge of licensing physicians in Baghdad. He mastered the Arabic, Persian, Greek and Syriac languages. He compiled several medical works, the most influential being *Al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr*, a pharmacopeia which became the standard pharmacological work

science of Hadith, which he studied in Baghdad as a pupil of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, whom he quoted as an authority. The judge ‘Umar ibn al-Qurashī, in turn, studied Hadith under Ibn al-Naqqāsh, and quoted one of his hadiths in his collection.

Ibn al-Naqqāsh’s father, Abū ‘Abd Allāh ‘Īsā ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Naqqāsh, was a cloth merchant and a man of letters as well. ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid al-Iṣbahānī<sup>3</sup> says in his *Book of the Unbored Pearl*: ‘Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Naqqāsh [once] recited to me a poem by his father’:<sup>4</sup>

When an old man finds there is  
some energy in him, it means that death is hiding:  
Don’t you see that the light of a lamp  
flickers before it dies down?<sup>5</sup>

He continues [quoting al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī]: ‘After returning from my journey to Isfahan I met Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Naqqāsh in Baghdad, where he died – may God have mercy upon him – on the twentieth day of the month Jumādā II of the year 544 [25 October 1149]’. He further adds: ‘I read the following poem in the handwriting of al-Sam‘ānī.<sup>6</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Naqqāsh recited to me these lines composed by himself’:<sup>7</sup>

- 
- in the hospitals of the medieval Islamic civilization, superseding an earlier work by Sābūr ibn Sahl. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-Tilmīdh’ (M. Meyerhof); Kahl, *The dispensatory*; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 143; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā*, 340–342. This physician has an entry in Ch. 10.64.
- 3 ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī (d. 597/1201) was *kātib* (scribe) to the sultans Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He is the author of a celebrated literary anthology: *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat ahl al-‘aṣr*. See amongst others *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘‘Imād al-Dīn’ (H. Massé); Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 103; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 7:84–100 (no. 842).
- 4 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, iii:50; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:277; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:165; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:527–528. The poem is also quoted above, Ch. 10.64.19.1.
- 5 For the common medical topos of old age and oil lamps, see Niebyl, ‘Old Age’.
- 6 Al-Sam‘ānī. He is Abū Sa‘d (incorrectly Sa‘īd) ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Muẓaffar (al-)Manṣūr al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī al-Shafī‘ī, Tāj al-Islām (al-Dīn) Qiwām al-Dīn, also known as Ibn al-Sam‘ānī (Sam‘ān/Sim‘ān, in the long, incomplete genealogy, being a branch of the tribe of Tamīm). He was born in Merv on Monday, 21 Sha‘bān 506 [10 February 1113] and died there on Monday, 1 Rabī‘ 1 562 [26 December 1166]. Important Arabic biographer. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Sam‘ānī’ (R. Sellheim).
- 7 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, III, i:50; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:165–166; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:527–528.

God granted me prosperity, so I was true to<sup>8</sup> those  
 as far as I was able, when they had not been granted it.  
 Afterwards I became poor and I apologised to them  
 as an impoverished friend apologises.  
 If they thanked me for it in the past,  
 they will excuse me in what remains.

The author adds, 'He also recited to me this epigram by himself':<sup>9</sup>

And thus is the Chief, for he is  
 to me as is my spirit.  
 I reproached, with harsh words,<sup>10</sup>  
 his impudence, after decency.<sup>11</sup>  
 I was just towards him, but he said to me,  
 'That's enough! You are provoking.'  
 How can I be consoled now that he has taken  
 possession of my soul, while I have not commanded him?  
 He is a moon that we see, even when it is new,<sup>12</sup>  
 as when it is fourteen days old.  
 He gazes with two wide-open eyes, making one sick  
 with their sickness,<sup>13</sup> and curing too.  
 When he smiles in the darkness  
 at night you would attest that the dawn is breaking;  
 And with the roses of his cheeks and the beauty  
 of his cheek-down (*'idhār*) my excuse (*'udhr*) holds.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: When Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh arrived in Damascus, he settled there and practised medicine. He was singularly esteemed in his time in the art of medicine, and held a salon where physicians

8 *Kharīdah*, *Wāfi*, and *Fawāt* all have *fā-wāsaytu*, 'I comforted', which may have been the original.

9 Metre: *kāmil murāffal*. Al-Iṣbahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Trāq*), III, i:51; Ibn Shākīr, *Fawāt*, III:165; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, XXIII:528.

10 Connecting *dalf* with *adlafa*, 'speaking harshly', although this sense of *dalf* (normally 'walking slowly') is not attested.

11 There is a play on the literal meanings of *tahattuk* and *sitr*, 'rending, ripping, discovering' and 'veiling', respectively (also figuratively, of reputations etc.).

12 Literally, 'when it is in hiding', referring to the last night of the lunar month.

13 A reference to the languid, 'sick' looks of the eyes of the beloved, much praised in love poetry.



gathered. Once he travelled to Egypt and stayed for some time in Cairo, but afterwards he returned to Damascus and remained there until his death. He served as physician to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, who respected him greatly. In addition, possessing as he did a good epistolary style, he handled much of Nūr al-Dīn's correspondence with regional officials.

For many years, Ibn al-Naqqāsh worked in the great hospital in Damascus, which had been founded by Nūr al-Dīn. The emir Muʿayyid al-Dawlah Abū l-Muẓaffar Usāmah ibn Munqidh<sup>14</sup> wrote Ibn al-Naqqāsh to ask him for some balm-tree oil:<sup>15</sup>

My knees are at the service of al-Muhadhhab in  
 matters of science, philosophy, and eloquence.  
 But they complain of the effect of a long life  
 and a length of time, in their weakness.  
 So they are in need of something to give them the strength  
 to walk, such as balm.  
 All this will be a comfort. Someone who is past  
 eighty has no power to stand up.  
 A wish to live after a long life –  
 but death is a man's final destination.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh sent the oil as requested. He remained in the service of Nūr al-Dīn, until [the latter] died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus [in the month of] Shawwāl of the year 569 [May 1174]. Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh subsequently entered the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [i.e. Saladin], when the latter took control of Damascus. As Saladin's physician, he enjoyed [the ruler's] favour. Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh was a very kind man who performed many good deeds. He was a private person, and did not marry or leave offspring. He passed away – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus on Saturday the twelfth of [the month] Muḥarram of the year 574 [30 June 1178], and was buried there on Mount Qāsiyūn.

14 This emir (d. 584/1188) was a well-known prince-poet-*adīb*-warrior-hunter and memoirs-writer. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Munqidh, Banū' (R. Stephen Humphreys).

15 Or elderberry oil. Metre: *khafif*. Al-İṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Shām)*, i:507. Not found in Usāmah's *Dīwān*.

### 15.14 Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī<sup>1</sup>

Amīn al-Dawlah Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ismāʿīl al-Andalusī al-Bayyāsī was a celebrated and distinguished person and an important scholar, who was proficient in the art of medicine and outstanding in the mathematical sciences. Upon arriving in Egypt from the West, he stayed in Cairo for some time and then went to Damascus where he settled. He studied under Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh, who was known as Ibn al-Naqqāsh al-Baghdādī,<sup>2</sup> and [for a while] he remained constantly in his company. He copied, read and studied the ‘Sixteen Books’ by Galen, as well as many other works on medicine and other topics.

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī was a master carpenter and made many measuring instruments for Ibn al-Naqqāsh. He was an accomplished lute-player and also attempted to play the organ.<sup>3</sup> He had a number of pupils who studied the science of music with him.

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (i.e. Saladin) as his physician and accompanied him for a time on campaign.<sup>4</sup> Later, however, he asked to be allowed to leave from Saladin’s service and to remain in Damascus. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn granted him an allowance, and he settled in Damascus, drawing the allowance until his death, may God have mercy upon him.

### 15.15 Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī<sup>1</sup>

Sukkarah was a Jewish elder from the city of Aleppo, a small man, but a skilled medical practitioner, with a long experience in the care of patients. I have heard the following account from the shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Abī l-Faḍl ibn Manṣūr al-Tanūkhī, the scribe of Latakiyah, ‘[When] Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr

1 This entry is missing in Version 2, but can be found in Versions 1 and 3. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii: 65–66 (but he merely quotes IAU). On Bayyāsah (modern Baeza), see e.g. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, entry ‘Bayyāsah’, and *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Bayyāsa’ (A. Huici Miranda).

2 Cf. the previous entry on Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh.

3 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Urghan’ (H.G. Farmer); the word is more commonly vowelled as *urghun*.

4 Lothar Kopf translates this phrase as: ‘... and stayed with him for a while in al-Baikār’, assuming that the latter is a geographical term. For the use of the term *al-būkār*/pl. *al-bayākīr* in the sense of [military] campaigns, see Northrup, ‘Al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī’, 23. Dozy, *Supplément*, vowels it as *baykār*.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1 and 2, but can be found in Version 3. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī was in Aleppo, he kept with him in the citadel a concubine of whom he was particularly fond. This girl once became seriously ill. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had to go to Damascus, but his heart remained with her, and he sent constantly to enquire about her. Her illness persisted, although she received medical treatment from some of the most distinguished physicians. Finally, however, the wise doctor Sukkarah was brought to her. He found that she had very little appetite, had a humoral imbalance, and was not able to move and rise from her bed. He returned to her several times with the other physicians and eventually asked permission to visit her alone.

Once closeted with his patient, Sukkarah said to her, "My lady, I can give you a treatment which, God willing, will cause you to recover as quickly as possible, so that you will have no need of anything else". She replied: "Please do so!" At this, he said: "I want you to answer whatever questions I pose to you, and to tell me [everything] without hiding [any] facts from me". She promised to do so, and in return, at his request, assured him that no harm would befall him. Then he asked: "Where are you from?" "I am one of the Alans," she replied.<sup>2</sup> "The Alans in their homeland are Christians," said the physician. "Tell me, what did you usually eat at home?" "Cow's meat," she replied. "And what kind of wine did you drink there, my lady?" he asked. "Such and such," she replied. "Excellent! For then you will be all right!" said the physician, and took his leave.

Sukkarah went back to his house, bought a calf, slaughtered it and cooked a part of it. He [then] returned to the citadel, carrying with him a bowl containing a piece of boiled meat marinated in milk and garlic and topped with a thin slice of bread. This he placed in front of the girl, saying, "Eat". She leaned over to it and began to dip [the bread] in the milk and garlic and ate until she was full. The physician then took a small vessel from his sleeve and said, "My lady, this is a drink that will do you good. Take it!" No sooner had she drunk it than she became sleepy. He covered her with a mantle made of squirrel fur, which caused her to perspire heavily, but when she awoke the next morning, she felt well. Subsequently, al-Ḥalabī gave her [the same] food and drink on the following two days, until her health was fully restored.

The girl treated the physician most generously, giving him a tray filled with pieces of jewellery. He thanked her, but added, "Nevertheless I would like you to write a letter for me to the sultan, informing him about the nature of your illness and explaining that you were cured by me". She promised to do so, and

2 The Alans (unusually spelled al-ʿAlān instead of the normal al-Lān) were an Iranian people of the western Eurasian steppes and North. Some of them were idolaters, whereas others followed the Islamic faith. However, the majority of them were Christians. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Alān' (W. Barthold and V. Minorsky) and *EI Three* art. 'Alāns' (P.B. Golden); Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii:265–267.

was as good as her word: she wrote to the Sultan, telling him how grateful she was to the physician, stating that she had been on the verge of death and had been treated by so-and-so, who was the only person who proved able to cure her, while all the other physicians who came to see her had been baffled by her illness, and asking [the sultan] to reward him.

When [the sultan] read the letter, he sent for Sukkarah, showed him great honour and said to him, "We are grateful to you for your treatment". "My Lord," replied the physician, "she was near perishing, but God mighty and glorious granted her health through me for as much time as may remain to her". The sultan nodded in approval and said: "Ask whatever you want, and I shall give it to you". "My Lord," replied the physician, "grant me ten *faddāns* of land, five in the village of Ṣam' and five in the village of 'Indān'.<sup>3</sup> "It is yours," replied the sultan "and we shall draw up a contract of purchase and sale, so that it will remain yours in perpetuity." The sultan wrote out the contract then and bestowed a robe of honour upon him'.

Sukkarah went back to Aleppo, where he accumulated great wealth. He and his children after him lived there comfortably all their lives.

#### 15.16 'Afif ibn Sukkarah<sup>1</sup>

'Afif ibn 'Abd al-Qāhir Sukkarah was a Jewish resident of Aleppo who was thoroughly familiar with the art of medicine. He was a celebrated practitioner who was also keenly interested in the theory of medicine. He had a number of sons and other relatives, most of whom were devoted to the art of medicine and lived in the city of Aleppo.

'Afif ibn Sukkarah is the author of a treatise on colic (*M. fī l-qawlanj*), which he composed for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb in the year 584/1188.

#### 15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ<sup>1</sup>

The learned shaykh Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī was also known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. He was an outstanding [scholar] in the

<sup>3</sup> Neither of these (Syrian) villages are listed in Yāqūt al-Rūmī's geographical dictionary.

<sup>1</sup> This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

<sup>1</sup> This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3. See the entry on

learned disciplines,<sup>2</sup> being thoroughly acquainted with their finer points and obscure aspects. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was eloquent, expressing himself clearly and writing in an elegant style. He was also a distinguished physician.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was Persian by origin, being originally from Hamadhān, but he had settled in Baghdad. From there, he was invited to the court of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh ibn Il-Ghāzī ibn Artuq,<sup>3</sup> who showed him great honour. After having enjoyed [the ruler's] friendship for a time, he travelled to Damascus where he remained until his death. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus on a Sunday night in the year 540/1145 or a little later,<sup>4</sup> and was interred in the cemetery of the Sufis near the river Bānyās on the outskirts of Damascus.<sup>5</sup>

I have copied the following account from [a manuscript in] the handwriting of the learned shaykh Amīn al-Dīn Abī Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl al-Bayyāsī,<sup>6</sup> may God have mercy upon him:

‘The learned shaykh and philosopher Abū l-Futūḥ ibn al-Ṣalāḥ travelled from Baghdad to Damascus, where he stayed with the learned shaykh Abū l-Faḍl Ismā'īl ibn Abī l-Waqqār,<sup>7</sup> the physician. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ wanted to have a pair of shoes made, of a Baghdādī type called *shamshak*.<sup>8</sup> When he asked for a good shoemaker who could produce them, he was directed to a man by the name of Sa'dān the Shoemaker, with whom he placed an order for a pair of *shamshak* shoes. When, after some time, the shoes were finished, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ found that the toes were too narrow and that the shoes were too long and shoddily made. As a result, he complained incessantly, saying how bad the shoes were and blaming the maker. When shaykh Abū l-Ḥakam al-Magh-

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Abū l-Futūḥ Najm al-Dīn in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 428; *EI Three* art. 'Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ' (N.P. Joosse).

- 2 The term *al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah* comprises the natural and exact sciences as well the philosophical disciplines.
- 3 Timurtash ibn Najm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī I was an Artuqid ruler who became Lord of Diyār Bakr, Diyār Muḍar, Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriqīn and certain parts of Armenia. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 194; Temūr Tash b. Il Ghāzī I, al-Malik al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn (r. 516–548/1122–1154). He passed away in Mārdīn on the 2nd of Dhū l-Qa'dah 548 [20 January 1154]. See also Vāth, *Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer*, 109–110, and in many other places.
- 4 According to Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 428, he passed away at the end of the year 548/1153.
- 5 Ibn al-Qifṭī (*Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 428) does not report anything on the exact burial site of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. IAU does but may have been mistaken, for during IAU's lifetime another Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was buried in the cemetery of the Sufis near the river Bānyās, namely Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245), the famous ḥadīth scholar. Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:243–245 under No. 411, and English translation, ii:88–191.
- 6 See the separate entry on al-Bayyāsī in Ch. 15.14.
- 7 See the separate entry on Ibn Abī l-Waqqār in Ch. 15.12.
- 8 The version found in MSS A, L, M and R is *l.m.sh.k*, also found in al-Tanūkhī, *Niswār al-muḥāḍarah*, iii:281 and al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib*, i:107 (*al-tumshuk* [thus vowelled]: *al-ṣan-*

ribī,<sup>9</sup> the physician, heard about the matter, he composed the following poem as a jest, putting it into the mouth of the philosopher. In it he mentions numerous technical terms from the fields of logic, natural sciences, and geometry'.<sup>10</sup>

My plight is bewildering and indescribable,  
 my case is strange to explain, O Abū l-Faḍl!  
 I'll let you in to my misery and passionate feelings  
 and the humiliation I suffered<sup>11</sup> in Damascus.  
 I arrived there unaware of its affairs,  
 no matter how much I have been wary of ignorance.  
 I was wearing an old pair of *shamshak* shoes on my feet  
 to which treacherous Time had done its unpraiseworthy deed.  
 5 I said, 'Perhaps fate will leave me a worthy replacement!  
 – But how wrong I was, thinking to find it anywhere!<sup>12</sup>  
 I met a scoundrel who happened to be near, to my misery.  
 Ah, how I suffered from that scoundrel!  
 I said, 'Sa'd,<sup>13</sup> be so good and do something for me  
 by which you will earn the gratitude of a scholar such as myself!  
 I beseech you, would you perhaps select a piece  
 of leather, tanned with gall and vinegar, today?'  
 'At your service', he replied; 'To do what is due to you  
 is a duty for any reasonable man.'  
 10 I paid him twenty dirhams on the nail,  
 but he let me wait for two months with his delay.

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*dalah, wa-ḡad yuḡālu bi-l-jīm*). The prose introduction in MSS A, L and al-Ṣafadī have *shamashk* (the editor vowels it as *shumushk*). This reading is required by the metre (the same in the poem above, Ch. 15.8.3); it may be an error by the poet, for one would expect *shamshak* (as in a line by Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii 82) or *jamshak*, because the word is obviously derived from Persian *chamshak* or *chamshāk* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i: 213. 787; idem, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 231; Steingass, *Persian-English dictionary*, 371, 399). In the translation, *shamshak* has been used, but the form *t.m.sh.k.* has been kept in the Arabic text of the poem. The Arabic consistently uses a singular for the pair of shoes (and also 'foot', 'heel', etc. rather than 'feet', 'heels'); in the translation the plural has normally been used.

9 See the separate entry on Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī in Ch. 15.8.

10 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Also in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:396–399 (where line 18 is missing). For a freer, rhymed translation of this poem, see IAU, *Anecdotes & Antidotes*.

11 The metre is unusual; SLSL in the second foot (instead of SLLL) is very rare except in early poetry.

12 Literally, 'on rugged or smooth soil'.

13 Shortening the man's name, said to be Sa'dān.

When the God the Merciful decreed that he should be ready,  
 and I said to myself, 'Perhaps Sa'd has finished the job!  
 He brought me a pair of *shamshak* shoes with toes too tight, malformed,  
 with heels that would kill both heel and foot,  
 Their back(?) being a back(?)<sup>14</sup> of almost equal evil,  
 joined to a worthless sole that resembles it,  
 With a shape that ordinary minds cannot solve  
 and that would defeat even astute men, people of power;<sup>15</sup>  
 15 With heels that incline towards the nadir,  
 and fronts parts that rise towards the zenith.<sup>16</sup>  
 Their proportions did not do me any good:  
 rather, the badness spread to branch and root.  
 The parallelism of the lines of their two sides was deviant:  
 part turned upward and part downward.  
 So many defects there were, and disgusting loose stitches,  
 and cuts in the strings<sup>17</sup> and the soles!<sup>18</sup>  
 With a necessary joining, while it had been contingent  
 – upon your life! – that the *shamshak* came unjoined.  
 20 They contain a fault in a compound syllogism:<sup>19</sup>  
 neither the conditional nor the categorical produce a conclusion.<sup>20</sup>  
 Their transversal<sup>21</sup> is not fitting that I should  
 protect my feet with it. Their shape ought not to exist!

14 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* explains *bashtik* as 'saddle-bag that a goatherd ties on his goat', a sense that does not fit here. If read *bushitik* it could be related to Persian *pusht* or *pushtī* ('back, support'). I have read *muqāribin*, with A, but one could perhaps also read *muqāribun*, as in al-Ṣafādī.

15 A play on words: literally 'people of tying and untying/solving'.

16 *Al-quṭb al-shamālī*, literally 'North Pole', and *al-quṭb al-janūbī*, 'South Pole', but referring to celestial rather than terrestrial points, with 'North' and 'South' standing for 'up (zenith)' and 'down (nadir)'; respectively.

17 Not wholly clear; *zīj* is the string used by a mason for correct alignment; Steingass (*Persian-Arabic Dictionary*) gives as one of the meanings of *zīch*: 'a boot (or rather some part of a boot or shoe ...), lace used in embroidery'. *Zīj* also came to mean 'astronomical handbook with tables'.

18 This line, which seems to interrupt the syntaxis, is lacking in al-Ṣafādī.

19 On *qiyās murakkab*, see e.g. al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1194–1195. Compound syllogisms are hypothetical, disjunctive, or conjunctive syllogisms.

20 On *qiyās ḥamlī* see e.g. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 89 and the appendix of al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, the treatise on logic (*al-Risālah al-Shamsīyyah*) by Kātib-i Qazwīnī, 9–10 (Arabic), 15–16 (English).

21 For *al-shakl al-qattāʿī*, 'the cutting figure', see e.g. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 207. The mathematician Thābit ibn Qurrah wrote a work called *al-Qawl fī l-shakl al-qattāʿī wa-l-*

Their genus, according to the Isagoge (*jinsu isāghūjihī*), is not clear,  
nor can a species be defined for them, if one comes up with a distinction.

Some corruption befell their figure when they came into being;  
now say: What can give solace for their ugly qualities?

They had the potential to be what we desired,  
but we missed their coming forth in actuality.

25 Had they been somewhat deviant from perfection I would have tolerated it,

but they are bereft of beauty<sup>22</sup> in particular and in general.

O, for making positive what truthfully is negative,  
and for the equity of propositions<sup>23</sup> that came iniquitously!

But I was not in need of a defect in their category:<sup>24</sup>

their substance, their quality, their quantity are all confused.

Are there any propositions in which the untruth is not evident?

Is there any syllogism that is not deficient?

The logical proof lacks several conditions:<sup>25</sup>

the positive, the necessary, and the general proof.

30 If this shoe were put in the sun, the conic form of its instep,<sup>26</sup>

like someone who turns around, would be seen to swerve to the shade.

They make flopping noises on my foot, when summer has not yet ended;  
how would it be if I got into mud and mire?

They baffled me, to the point that I became totally oblivious  
and Sa'dān left me bereft of reason, my friend!

Yet, in all this it was clear that the man's brains were cracked;  
how despicable, a person lacking wits, of disordered mind!

And how quick to be ruined, a house from which comes what you can  
see among people,  
and how worthy of humiliation and distress!

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*nisbah al-mu'allafah* (*Survey of the Transversal and Harmonic Division*), see *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. "Ilm al-handasa" (M. Souissi).

22 Reading, with ms L and al-Ṣafadī (and possibly ms A which is not clear), *husn* instead of *hiss* (Riḍā, Müller).

23 The word *qaḍīyyah* has several technical meanings, including '(legal) case', 'premise (in a syllogism)', 'proposition', 'assertion'.

24 Taking *maqūl*, literally 'what is (or can be) said', as the singular of *al-maqūlāt* 'the (ten Aristotelian) categories'.

25 Possibly there is a play on words: *sharā'īf* can mean 'strings, ribbons' as well as 'conditions'.

26 The word *bāsh* (see also line 59) has not been found anywhere, but it seems to be related to Persian *pāshā*, *pāshnā*, or *pāshina*, 'heel; sole of a shoe, particularly that part answering to the heel' (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*).



- 35 If Euclid were alive he would be unable to solve  
the problem, because the figure is unsolvable.  
Then I swore an oath by God, my Creator,  
and by Hūd, the brother of ‘Ād, by Seth, by Dhū l-Kifl,<sup>27</sup>  
And by the Suras Yā-Sin, Ṭā-Hā, Maryam,  
Şād, Ḥā-Mīm, Luqmān, and The Ants:<sup>28</sup>  
If I do not find a slipperiness on a sloping slide  
that befits my leg, I shall not declare him<sup>29</sup> outlawed,  
And I shall not make poetry on Damascus<sup>30</sup> and not be seen  
to reproach any shoemaker, in earnest or in jest.  
40 I was afflicted by him, this friend who spoiled my good life:  
may the Merciful not bless this friend of mine!  
How much did the shoemaker grieve my heart with his delay!  
I suffered as much as Moses suffered on account of the calf.<sup>31</sup>  
Aristotle was afflicted by some people  
who wanted him to agree with jesting;<sup>32</sup>  
Hippocrates encountered many things  
but he did not encounter among his people anyone like me.  
Galen, whenever his foot was bitten by a *shamshak*,  
would treat the wound with *nakhli* salve.<sup>33</sup>  
45 Qustā ibn Lūqā would rather go barefoot therefore,  
and would not listen to reproaches on account of his bare feet.  
Whenever Abū Naşr (al-Fārābī) visited people  
and he lost his shoes, he would return without shoes.  
The leading scholars in this field have never ceased  
to suffer what they should not, from ignorant people.

27 Hūd is a legendary Arab prophet, precursor of Muḥammad; he is mentioned several times in the Qur’an. He preached among the people of ‘Ād, who were destroyed because of their unbelief. Dhū l-Kifl, (possibly meaning ‘the man with double recompense’) is an obscure personage mentioned twice in the Qur’an.

28 The three first-mentioned are Suras nos. 36, 20, 19, respectively; Luqmān is no. 38, and The Ants is no. 27. Ḥā-Mīm refers to a group of Suras (nos. 40–46), all of which begin with the letters Ḥ and M. The meaning of these letters (as also of Şād = Ş and Yā-Sin = ʾs) is unknown.

29 Taking the pronoun to refer to Sa’dān.

30 *Fī Dimashqa* could also mean ‘in Damascus’ but the context seems to suggest ‘(lampoons) on Damascus’.

31 The story of Moses and the golden calf is told in the Qur’an in several places.

32 The reference is not clear. The repetition of the rhyme word *hazl* at a short distance (cf. line 39) is a poetic flaw.

33 On *al-marham al-nakhli* see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:650.

Therefore I, since I came to stay in Damascus,<sup>34</sup>  
 regret it and am resolved to return to my family.  
 If I were in Baghdad, some generous and noble people  
 would be there to help me,  
 50 And I would never be without a supporting friend,  
 someone eager for knowledge, who would write down what I dictate.  
 O, would that I could hastily fly to it!  
 Who could help me with this, though impossible, who could?  
 For in Syria I have suffered a thousand calamities;  
 I wish I had never dismounted there!  
 In Damascus I am among people  
 to live with who are not of my kind.  
 I swear: neither the rain-stars of the Pleiades,<sup>35</sup> when they send rain  
 and generously pour on the earth suffering from lasting<sup>36</sup> drought,  
 55 Nor al-Khansā', who wept for her brother Şakhr<sup>37</sup>  
 while her tears were steadily pouring down her cheeks,  
 Shed more than the tears I shed when I saw these shoes  
 when they came to be on my feet, with the wrong shape.  
 What I encountered from them made me ill.  
 I wish I had no feet!  
 All this, and I have not even listed some of their other qualities,  
 so how could I guard myself against their harm, tell me!  
 Because I suffered so badly from the narrow instep<sup>38</sup>  
 I fear my whole body will be sick and waste away.  
 60 O, what a *shamshak*! As soon as I looked at its shape  
 I knew for certain that that it had to cause my death  
 And would give me an illness from which, I imagine,  
 neither herbs nor any decoction will save me.<sup>39</sup>

34 On Jilliġ, the name used here, see above, see above, Ch. 10.69.

35 In ancient and popular Arab meteorology some stars and constellations were associated with rain.

36 Reading *dā'imati*, with MS A and al-Şafadī, rather than *rā'imati* (Riḏā, Müller), which does not give a good sense.

37 Al-Khansā' composed numerous laments for her two brothers, Şakhr and Mu'āwiyah, who died of battle wounds shortly before the coming of Islam. Şakhr is mentioned in this line in all versions except A, which has the bland *yawman*, 'ever'.

38 Reading, with MS A, al-Şafadī, and Müller *bāshihī* (cf. line 30), instead of *bāsihī* (Riḏā).

39 This line, lacking in Riḏā and Müller, is found in MS A and al-Şafadī. Both have *mughlī*, but *maghlī* seems a better reading.

Those to whom my death in Damascus will be announced will recite:  
 ‘We suffer for you in the sands what you suffer in the sands.’<sup>40</sup>  
 So don’t be amazed about my affliction,<sup>41</sup> for I  
 have experienced from it what no one before experienced.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is the author of the following books:

1. Treatise on the fourth figure of the [categorical]<sup>42</sup> syllogisms. This figure is attributed to Galen (*M. fī shakl al-rābi‘ min ashkāl al-qiyās al-ḥamlī*).<sup>43</sup>
2. On the minor book of triumph, on wisdom (*K. fī l-fawz al-aṣghar fī l-ḥikmah*).<sup>44</sup>

### 15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī<sup>1</sup>

[15.18.1]

The distinguished and learned authority Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn [...]’<sup>2</sup> was unparalleled in his mastery of the sciences, with his extensive knowledge of the branches of philosophy and grasp of the principles of astronomy. He was extremely intelligent and quick-witted, and possessed an excellent way of expressing himself: he would get the better of any opponent, regardless of the subject under discussion. His knowledge, however, was greater than his com-

40 The opening hemistich of an elegy for a son of Sayf al-Dawlah by al-Mutanabbī (*Dīwān*, 408). The commentators explain ‘in the sands’ as ‘here on earth’.

41 Reading *mimmā dahānī*, with MS A and al-Ṣafadī, instead of *mahmā dahānī* (Riḍā, Müller).

42 Cf. Müller, ‘Text’, [943] 229; See also Afnan, *Philosophical Lexicon*, 81, where the term has been rendered as ‘predicative’ as in ‘predicative proposition’.

43 See Rescher, *Galen and the Syllogism*. While the treatise is not listed here, the writing for which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is best known to scholars is his commentary on the *Almagest*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Zur Kritik*. Another text relevant for astronomy, which is also not listed here, is his *Treatise on Projection*, for which see Lorch, ‘Projection’.

44 Or A book on ‘the Minor Triumph’, on philosophy (to contrast with ‘The Major Triumph’, *al-fawz al-akbar*; Miskawayh wrote a *K. al-fawz al-akbar* and a *K. al-fawz al-aṣghar*); and cf. Q al-Burūj 85:11: *al-fawz al-kabīr*.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See EI<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak, Abu ‘l-Futūḥ’ (H. Ziai).

2 The text presents us with a lacuna here. IAU apparently has confused the name of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (539–632/1145–1234), one of the most important Sufis in Sunnī Islam and the author of the extremely influential work *‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif* (‘Masters of mystical insights’), with that of his contemporary, the mystic and philosopher Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, who was put to death in Aleppo in 587/1191 because of his alleged heretical ideas in religious and political matters. The entry under consideration obviously deals with the latter individual.

mon sense. The shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar<sup>3</sup> told me that Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī used to visit our shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī<sup>4</sup> from time to time, and that they cherished feelings of friendship for each other. The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn used to tell us: ‘How intelligent and how eloquent this youth is! I have never found anyone like him in my generation, but I fear that his great carelessness, his recklessness and his lack of restraint will be the cause of his downfall’.

Sadīd al-Dīn continued: ‘When Shihāb al-Dīn left us, going from the east to Syria, he arrived in Aleppo where he entered into debate with the [local] experts of jurisprudence. None of them was able to stand against him, and consequently they bitterly loathed him. The Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb<sup>5</sup> summoned him, along with a number of distinguished scholars, jurists and theologians, so that he could listen to them debating and discussing [all different kinds of subjects]. They held a long debate, in which he [Shihāb al-Dīn] displayed effortless superiority over the others, and dazzled everyone with his great knowledge. He made a good impression on al-Malik al-Zāhir, thereby acquiring rank and prestige.

However, the respect and favour shown al-Suhrawardī by al-Malik al-Zāhir merely inflamed the hatred of his rivals, who [then] prepared attested statements alleging that he was an infidel and sent them to the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Damascus. “If this [man] stays”, they wrote, “he will corrupt the faith of al-Malik al-Zāhir; if he is set free and sent away, he will corrupt any region of the country in which he settles,” together with many remarks of the same kind. Upon receiving this letter, Saladin had his scribe, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil,<sup>6</sup> draft a letter concerning the matter and send it to his son, al-Malik

3 He is Ibn Raqīqah, Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Shaybānī, Sadīd al-Dīn (565–636/1169–1238). IAU mentions 564/1168 as his date of birth. Ibn Raqīqah was a physician who is primarily known for his *K. Muwaḍḍaḥat al-ishtibāh fī adwiyat al-bāh*, ‘The Revelation of Doubts about Aphrodisiacs’, which he dedicated to Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿI Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀdil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the Ayyubid ruler of Diyarbakir [Mayyāfāriqīn and Jabal Sinjār] from 607–617/1210–1220 and of Damascus from 626–635/1229–1237. See Newman, *The Sultan’s Sex Potions*, 77 (n. 126) and 166. Ibn Raqīqah has an entry in Ch. 15.46.

4 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was a well-known physician and educator from the town of Mardin. He was among others the shaykh [teacher] of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sāʿātī and Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah. He has an entry in Ch. 10.75.

5 Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo. One of the sons of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He passed away in the year 613/1216 in Aleppo. A detailed description of his illness and untimely death is given by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in the medical section of his *K. al-Naṣīḥatayn* or *Book of the Two Pieces of Advice*. Cf. Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 74–77 [E]; 103–104 [A]; see also Joosse, ‘Pride and Prejudice’, 129–141.

6 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of his chancery. See above, Ch. 14.33.3.

al-Ẓāhir, in Aleppo. In the letter, Saladin wrote that this Shihāb al-Suhrawardī surely had to be killed, for he could neither be sent elsewhere nor, under any circumstances, allowed to stay where he was. When Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī heard of this, he realized that he must die and that there was no way for him to escape [his fate]. Accordingly, he chose to be left in an isolated place and be denied food and drink until he should meet God, exalted be He. This happened at the end of the year 586/1190 in the citadel of Aleppo, when he was about thirty-six years old. The shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar commented on this by saying: ‘When the news about his death reached our shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, he said to us: “Did I not tell you so before, did I not fear for him?”’

[15.18.1.1]

I – Ibn Abī ‘Uṣaybi‘ah – say:

It is said that Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī knew much about the art of natural magic (*sīmiyā*)<sup>7</sup> and that many people witnessed him performing marvels of this specific kind. The physician Ibrāhīm ibn Abī l-Faḍl ibn Ṣadaqaḥ<sup>8</sup> told me about this and asserted that he met him once in person outside the Gate of Deliverance (*Bāb al-Faraj*).<sup>9</sup> They were walking in the direction of a great open field together with a group of students

7 See *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Sīmiyā’ (D.B. MacDonald & T. Fahd). Dictionaries of Modern Standard Arabic [MSA] usually render this term as ‘natural magic’. Lory, *La science des lettres* considers *sīmiyā*’ an art much similar to alchemy, in which the transmutation of the letter or the word was practised instead of the transmutation of matter [that is, so-called letter or word magic]. Of course, one could nowadays also render this term as ‘illusionism’. In IAU’s entry on ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see Ch. 15.40.3) a certain character by the name of Yāsīn al-Sīmiyā’ī occurs: a trickster who maintained that he could make the waters of the Nile into a curtain, so that he and his friends could live underneath it.

8 This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him. He is most probably not the Damascene physician ‘Imrān al-Isrā’īlī a.k.a. Awḥad al-Dīn ‘Imrān ibn Ṣadaqaḥ (561–637/1175–1240), who has an entry in Ch. 15.42.

9 Did this meeting take place in Damascus or Aleppo? The *Bāb al-Faraj* in Damascus is the only gate in the old city, which does not belong to the seven original Roman gates. It was built through the northern face of the old city wall in the 6th/12th century during the Ayyubid period. The *Bāb al-Faraj* or *Bāb al-Farādīs* in Aleppo was located a little bit south of the northwestern corner of the city wall. It was built by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, but closed immediately after his death in 613/1216. It was reopened by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf 11 and finally torn down in 1904. It was later made into a public square. In recent years its remains have been uncovered. These were visible in a ditch several meters below the present street level. The civil war in Syria and specifically the heavy shelling and bombardments in Aleppo may already have caused all of this to disappear forever. See Tabbaa, *Constructions*, 20; and Fansa, *Aleppo*.

and others,<sup>10</sup> and were engaged in conversation about that art, its marvels, and the shaykh's knowledge of it. He listened as he walked along and then exclaimed: 'How beautiful Damascus is and how beautiful this place!'.<sup>11</sup> We looked and saw in the direction of the east lofty whitewashed palaces built closely together, constructed and ornamented in a most beautiful manner. The enclosure contained large windows, in which the most beautiful women imaginable [could be seen]. Singing voices and musical instruments were heard. There were intertwining trees and broad rivers were flowing [there]. We had not known this place before and were greatly astonished at it. The crowd was delighted at the view, but [at the same time] perplexed by what they saw. The physician Ibrāhīm goes on: 'We continued to see it for an hour, but then it vanished and we again viewed what we had long been accustomed to see [there]'. He said to me: 'But when I first gazed at this wondrous manifestation, it felt as if I had quietly dozed off [without anyone noticing it]. My perception [of things] did not seem to be in touch with reality'.

[15.18.1.2]

A Persian legal scholar told me [the following story]:

We had left Damascus and were in al-Qābūn,<sup>12</sup> in the company of the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, when we encountered a flock of sheep with a Turkmen shepherd. We said to the shaykh: 'O master, we would like to eat one of those sheep.' 'I have ten dirhams,' replied Shihāb al-Dīn, 'take them and buy yourself a sheep.' So with the money we bought a sheep from

10 One may speculate about the nature of these 'others'. Were they Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī's companions or followers? In his *Risālah fi Mujādalat al-ḥakīmāyn al-kīmīyā'ī wal-nazarī*, his contemporary 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, who was also one of the confidants of the ruler of Aleppo, the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf, speaks in a rather derogatory manner about Suhrawardī's followers, who in his view 'mainly consisted of commoners and riff-raff. They were either singers and flute-players or owners of public houses and inns in which vulgar amusement ran rampant'. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, moreover, accuses one of Suhrawardī's direct companions, an emir of the Seljuqs of Rūm, of mutilating the bodies of dead Frankish soldiers for the sole purpose of using their body parts in alchemistic procedures, see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 54–55. In IAU's entry on 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see Ch. 15.40) it is also related that 'Abd al-Laṭīf read most of Suhrawardī's works on philosophy, but he considered them far below the mark and decided never to read anything by that 'imbecile' again.

11 This exclamation actually does not prove that they were walking in Damascus. It could well be that Suhrawardī praised the beauty of Damascus and compared it to 'the phantom city' while actually walking in Aleppo.

12 Al-Qābūn is nowadays a part of greater Damascus, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, iv: 290. According to the latter it was a stop (mile one) on the direct road to Iraq.

the Turkmen. We walked on, but were overtaken by the shepherd's companion, who said: 'Give back that sheep and take a smaller one, because that man did not know what he was selling you. That animal of the size of a Bactrian camel that you (now) have is worth far more than the price he got from you.'<sup>13</sup> We [then] bargained with him [about the price]. At this, the shaykh said to us: 'Take the sheep and go! I shall stay here and seek to come to terms with him'. We moved on, while the shaykh stayed, talking with the man and trying to hold him up by negotiating the matter.<sup>14</sup> After we had walked a little further, he left the shepherd's companion and followed us. The Turkmen came after him shouting, but he paid no attention and did not speak to him. When the Turkmen caught up with him, he grabbed his left arm in a fury and cried: 'Where are you going and why did you walk away from me?' Suddenly the shaykh's arm [lit. hand] came off his shoulder. The Turkmen found himself holding it in his hand, with blood pouring out from it. The Turkmen turned pale, stood in bewilderment, and threw away the arm, filled with fear. The shaykh returned, picked up the arm with his right hand and rejoined us. The Turkmen kept on looking around at us until he was out of sight. When the shaykh reached us, we saw nothing but a handkerchief in his right hand.<sup>15</sup>

13 The species of camel called *al-bukhtī* is the 'Bactrian' camel, the two-humped Central Asian camel, larger than the Arabian or North African one-humped camel; see Irwin, *Camel*. Lane (*Lexicon*, 158) suggests that the most common meaning was 'long-haired camel'; see also Dozy, *Supplément*, i:54. MS R has *ḍān*, a misreading of *ḍāll*, as in MS H.

14 See for this verb (*manā*): Müller, 'Text', [971] 257.

15 The experiences described above contain certain elements of Sufi ritual. On reading this tale, it reminded my (NPJ's) spouse of her youth in Cape Town when she and her grandmother attended a ritual called *Rātīb al-Ḥaddād* at the mosque in Faure near the shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf (Abadīn Tadia Tjoessoep 1626–23 May 1699) in Makassar. This was a *dhikr* [invocation of God], in which a group of people went into a deep trance and during this trance they sliced various parts of their body with swords, knives and other sharp instruments. The spectators at this happening also went into a trance and appeared to experience a feeling as if they were looking down upon themselves, a specific kind of out of body experience. The factual letting of blood was, however, rare and seldom attended. It may very well be that both the experiences described in the text of IAU occurred whilst the participants were in a state of trance because of some form of *dhikr*; cf. Bang, *Islamic Sufi Networks*, 143–162.

[15.18.1.3]

Şafī al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Abī l-Faḍl, the scribe,<sup>16</sup> told me a story that he had heard from the shaykh Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn Şaqr<sup>17</sup> – may God have mercy upon him: In the year 579/1183 the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī came to Aleppo and stayed at the Ḥallāwiyyah law college (*madrasah*).<sup>18</sup> The director (*mudarris*) of the college in those days was the distinguished head of the Hanafite school of law Iftikhār al-Dīn<sup>19</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. When Shihāb al-Dīn attended a lesson and entered into discussion with the jurists, he wore an old, worn-out robe (*dilq*)<sup>20</sup> and [carried] nothing more than a ewer and a [shepherd's] staff. Nobody knew him, but when his skill in argumentation became apparent, Iftikhār al-Dīn realized that he was an excellent [debater]. He then took out a gown of red cotton [or: silk] (*thawb 'attābī*),<sup>21</sup> a cloak (*ghilālah*),<sup>22</sup> a robe (*libās*)<sup>23</sup> and a garment made of camel's hair (*baqyār*)<sup>24</sup> and said to his son: 'Go up to that beggar and tell him: "My father sends you his regards, says that you are a wise man and invites you to attend the lessons together with the jurists. He has sent you something that you can wear when you come."'

When the son [of Iftikhār al-Dīn] had approached the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn and told him what his father had instructed him to say, Shihāb al-Dīn fell silent for a while, and then said: 'O my son, put down these clothes (*qumāsh*), and

16 That is, shaykh Şafī al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Abī l-Faḍl ibn Maṣṣūr al-Tanūkhī, the scribe of Latakiyah. See also entry in Ch. 15.15 on Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī.

17 This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

18 Tabbaa lists the Ḥallāwiyyah *madrasah* amongst the oldest *madāris* in medieval Aleppo. See his *Constructions* at 195. In 634/1237, the famous historian and statesman Ibn al-'Adīm became the *tadris* of the leading Ḥanafī school in Aleppo, the Madrasah al-Ḥallāwiyyah or *al-madrasah al-kabīrah*. Cf. also Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, especially at 41–42; Gaube & Wirth, *Aleppo*, no. 73.

19 That is, Iftikhār al-Dīn Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī, the leader of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* in Aleppo. shaykh of the aforementioned Ibn al-'Adīm. He is, amongst others, mentioned in Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat* (in various places) and in Ibn Shaddād's *A'lāq*, 112; Cf. also Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, in various places, especially at 42 and 46–47.

20 See for the term *dilq*: Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 183–185; Lane, *Lexicon*, i:905–906. It could, perhaps, be a garment made of weasel-skin.

21 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 105–107 for *thawb*. For '*attābī*', see there at 110 and 436–437. Dozy's '*utābī*' is, however, wrong; it is called after the 'Attābī quarter in Baghdad. the name survives in 'tabby', for cats of the striped kind. The word '*attābī*' refers to moiré, stripy cloth. The 'Attābiyyah quarter was famous for its silk-cotton '*attābī*' cloth.

22 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 319–323.

23 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 395–399.

24 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 84–87. But see Dozy, *Supplément*, i:105: 'a turban'.



please do something for me.' He brought out a balas ruby (*faṣṣ balakhsh*)<sup>25</sup> as big as a chicken's egg, of the colour of a pomegranate, the like of which, for size and colour, nobody had ever possessed before and said: 'Go to the market and hawk this stone as though you wished to sell it, but whatever they offer you for it, do not sell it without first letting me know.' Iftikhār al-Dīn's son went to the market, sat down at the intendant's stall, and began to call that the stone was for sale. The offers he received eventually reached the amount of twenty-five thousand dirhams.

The market intendant took the stone and carried it up [that is, to the citadel of Aleppo] to al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was the ruler of Aleppo at that time, and said: 'Such-and-such a price was offered for this stone.' Al-Malik al-Zāhir was astonished at the size, the colour and the beauty of the stone and offered thirty thousand dirhams for it. The intendant said: 'Let me first inform Iftikhār al-Dīn's son of that offer.' He took the stone, went back to the market, returned it to Iftikhār al-Dīn's son and said: 'Go and consult your father about the price that has been offered,' since the intendant was under the impression that the stone belonged to Iftikhār al-Dīn. When Iftikhār al-Dīn's son came to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī and informed him of the price that had been offered for the stone, he was shocked. He took the jewel, placed it on a large stone, and then smashed it with another large stone until it was broken into tiny fragments, saying to Iftikhār al-Dīn's son: 'O my son, take these clothes, go back to your father, kiss his hand for me, and say to him: "If I had wanted the clothes, the price would have been fair."<sup>26</sup> Iftikhār al-Dīn's son went back to his father and described to him what had happened, leaving Iftikhār al-Dīn perplexed.

Al-Malik al-Zāhir now summoned the market intendant, and said: 'I want that stone.' 'O master,' replied the intendant 'the person entrusted with it, the son of the eminent Iftikhār al-Dīn, the director of the Ḥallāwiyyah law college, has taken it back.' The Sultan rode down [from the citadel] to the college, sat in the great hall, called for Iftikhār al-Dīn, and said to him, 'I want that stone.' The director [of the college] informed him that it belonged to a poor man, who was staying with him. The Sultan thought this over and said: 'O Iftikhār al-Dīn, if my conjecture is right, that man is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.' The Sultan then rose to his feet, met Shihāb al-Dīn, took him to the citadel, where he enjoyed great favour. He would engage in discussions with jurists from all schools (*madhāhib*) and best them [all].

25 A variety of red spinel.

26 That is, 'we would not have been cheated'.

After a time, however, he began to display arrogant behaviour toward the people of Aleppo and talk to them in an offensive manner, so that they closed ranks against him, and issued a legal opinion declaring that he might lawfully be put to death. It is said that al-Malik al-Zāhir sent out someone to strangle him. Later, however, the Sultan took vengeance on those who had issued the fatal legal opinion that had brought about al-Suhrawardī's death. He seized a number of them, put them under arrest, humiliated them and confiscated a large part of their possessions.

[15.18.1.4]

I have heard the following account from Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar, who was also known as Ibn Raqīqah: The shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī paid little attention to his appearance and was unconcerned about worldly affairs. We were [once] strolling together in the mosque of Mayyāfāriqīn.<sup>27</sup> Shihab al-Dīn was dressed in a short, open, outer garment with wide sleeves (*jubbah qaṣīrah*)<sup>28</sup> and a dark-coloured lining. He wore a tightly twisted kerchief around his head (*fūṭah maftūlah*)<sup>29</sup> and high-heeled leather boots (*zarbūl*) on his feet. When a friend of mine saw me there, he came over to me and said, 'How can you walk around here with this muleteer like that?' I said to him: 'Hush, this is one of the great men of our generation, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.' My words made a great impression on my friend, who walked away in great astonishment.

A citizen of Aleppo once told me that when Shihāb al-Dīn had died – may God have mercy upon him – and was buried on the outskirts of the city of Aleppo, an ancient poem was found written on his tomb:<sup>30</sup>

27 Mayyāfāriqīn was called Martyropolis in the ancient world. It is nowadays called Silvan. It is located east of the city of Diyarbakir in Eastern Anatolia (Turkey), cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, v:235–238. Tabbāa mentions the, partly Ayyubid and partly Artuqid, mosque of Mayyāfāriqīn in his *Constructions*, at 100. For the history of the town, see Vāth, *Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer*, in many places.

28 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 107–117.

29 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 339–343.

30 Metre: *basīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:102. Attributed in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xvi:307, Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt*, ii:130, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:26 to Shibl al-Dawlah Abū l-Hayjā' Muqātil ibn 'Aṭīyyah al-Bakrī (d. 505/1111–1112), on the famous vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) and beginning *Kāna l-wazīru Nizāmu l-Mulki lu'lu'atan yatīmatan* (or *naḥīsatan*). The version not mentioning Nizām al-Mulk is also found, anonymously, in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:265. The lines are unlikely to be 'ancient'.

This grave's occupant was a hidden pearl,<sup>31</sup>  
 created by God from nobility.<sup>32</sup>  
 Time did not realise its<sup>33</sup> worth  
 and thus, out of jealousy, He returned it to the shell.

[15.18.2]

Among his sayings is the following prayer (*du'ā*): O God, provider of existence, unending source of generosity and good, abode of blessings, utmost goal of desires, light of light, ruler of all things and giver of life in both this world and the world to come. Provide us with Thy light, let us succeed in pleasing Thee and be inspired by Thy right guidance. Purify us from the filth of darkness and iniquity, save us from the obscurity and gloom of nature and let us see Thy lights and view Thy brightness. Let us be near to those who are close to Thee and meet the inhabitants of Thy kingdom. Let us be gathered with those who enjoy Thy favour, the angels, the just, the prophets and the messengers.

Among the poetry composed by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī is the following:<sup>34</sup>

Always the spirits yearn for you<sup>35</sup>  
 and being united with you is their sweet basil and wine.<sup>36</sup>  
 The hearts of the people who love you yearn for you  
 and are glad with the delight of meeting you.  
 O, pity the lovers! They carry the burden  
 of hiding their love; for passion is a great exposor

31 *Jawharah* means 'jewel', but the next line requires it to be interpreted as 'pearl' (pearls are regularly counted among precious stones in Arabic).

32 The version in *Wāfi* iv:265 has 'a resplendent jewel, moulded by God from sperm-drops' (*jawharatan gharrā'a qad ṣāghahā l-bārī mina l-nuṭafī*); cf. al-Qazwīnī, *ʿAjā'ib*, 223: a pearl results from a rain-drop (*qatrah*) falling in the shell 'just as a drop of sperm (*nutfah*) is received by the womb'.

33 All MSS and editions of IAU have 'his worth' (*qīmatahū*), but most other sources have 'its worth' (*qīmatahā*), which is clearly better in view of the next line.

34 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:102; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabā'*, xix:316–317; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:271; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ii:321 (from a longer poem of 23 lines). The last two lines as found in MS B, Müller and Riḍā are not found in A or L, nor are they in the other sources. They seem unconnected to the preceding.

35 Throughout the poem the second person plural is used (hence, in line 10, 'yourselves').

36 The line employs three words derived from the same root: *arwāḥ* ('spirits'), *rayḥān* ('sweet basil'), *rāḥ* ('wine'); the rhyme word of the next line, *tartāhu* ('are glad'), is another.

Of secrets: if they divulge (*bāḥū*) it their blood may be shed with impunity  
 (*tubāḥū*); the blood of divulgers (*al-bā'ihīn*) is a free-for-all (*tubāḥū*).  
 5 And if they conceal it, their eyes that pour out  
 tell tales about them to the slanderers.  
 Evidence of sickness becomes visible on them,  
 that explain their difficult state.  
 A lowering of the wing over you!<sup>37</sup> There is no sin (*junāḥ*) for them  
 in lowering the wing (*janāḥ*) over a lover.  
 His soul is yearning to meet you  
 and his eye is eager to see your pleasure.  
 Bring back the light of reunion from the twilight of estrangement,  
 for forsaking is night, reunion is morn.  
 10 And enjoy yourselves, for the time is pleasant for you,  
 the wine is limpid, the cups have gone round.  
 [Swaying; he is a run-away gazelle  
 and in his cheeks are reddish wine and apples;  
 And in his mouth is tasty honey, while camomile appeared  
 in the most beautiful ruby.]<sup>38</sup>

He also said:<sup>39</sup>

Enjoy your blessings,<sup>40</sup> for your life will come to an end,  
 and take advantage of this world, for you will not live forever.  
 If you succeed in securing something delightful, apply yourself to it  
 and let no reproacher keep you from what you desire.  
 And connect morning drink with evening drink, for  
 this world of yours is merely one day that repeats itself.  
 They promised you that you would drink wine in Paradise,  
 but you'll be truly sorry when you're denied it at the appointed  
 place.<sup>41</sup>

37 i.e., people will have mercy on you; an allusion to a Qur'anic expression, e.g. Q al-Isrā' 17:24: «*And lower over them the wing of humility, out of mercy*» (tr. Alan Jones; cf. also al-Ḥijr 15:88, al-Shu'arā' 26:215).

38 A reference to white teeth in a red mouth.

39 Metre: *kāmil*.

40 Literally, 'triumph with blessings!', a clear allusion to the common Qur'anic expressions 'great triumph' which always refers to gaining the 'blessings' (also *na'im*) of the world to come.

41 The word *maw'id* ('appointed place; promise') is used in the Qur'an for the hereafter (hell in Q Hūd 11:17 and al-Ḥijr 15:43).

How many nations have perished, how many houses have been destroyed,  
 mosques been ruined, and places of old restored!<sup>42</sup>  
 You have a prophet who brought a Sharia,  
 a long time ago. How often have they blessed and revered it!

He also said:<sup>43</sup>

I say to my female neighbour, while my tears are streaming down  
 and I am resolved to depart from my dwelling:  
 'Let me go and do not lament,<sup>44</sup>  
 for the noblest bright stars are the wandering planets.<sup>45</sup>  
 I have seen a light in the darkness,  
 as if the night was adorned with the light of day.  
 How much longer must I make snakes my companions?  
 How much longer must I make the dragon my neighbour?  
 How much longer must I be content to stay in a desert,  
 when I have seen my dwelling above the Pole Star,<sup>46</sup>  
 And a flash of lightning comes to me from Sanaa,<sup>47</sup>  
 that reminds me of the closeness of a visit?

At his death, giving up the ghost, when he was killed, he said:<sup>48</sup>

42 The sense of *'ummira ma'hadū*, which does not seem to fit the context, is unclear.

43 Metre: *wāfir*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:319–320, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:103, al-Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, 86.

44 Adopting the reading *lā tanūhī* (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, *Masālik*, *Kashkūl*), because *lā tabūhī* ('do not reveal [it]', as in MSS ALB) makes little sense.

45 The context requires this sense of *al-sawārī*, although the common term is (*al-kawākib*) *al-sayyārah*.

46 Literally, 'above al-Farqadān', the two major stars of the Little Bear ( $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Ursae Minoris), including the Pole Star.

47 It is not clear why Sanaa is mentioned; *Mu'jam al-udabā'* has 'from al-Zawrā' (the name of several locations). Perhaps the precise location is unimportant: the line that follows in *Mu'jam al-udabā'* and *Kashkūl* is 'When I see that light I am annihilated | so that I do not know my right hand from my left.'

48 Metre: *ramal*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:103. A marginal note in MS L reads (tentative translation): 'He who has abstained from carnal appetites has managed to control them; And he who has managed to control himself has been able to dissociate himself from the people; And he who has dissociated himself from the people has diminished his sorrows; And he who has diminished his sorrows has diminished his thoughts; And he who has diminished his thoughts has improved his devotion; And he who has improved his devotion has attached his rational soul to the spiritual matters; And he who has

Say to companions who thought they saw me dead  
 and wept for me out of grief when they saw me:  
 Do not think that I am dead;  
 that dead one, by God, is not I.  
 I am a bird and that is my cage:  
 I flew from it and it was left vacant, as a security.  
 And today I converse with a Host<sup>49</sup>  
 and I see God with my own eyes, in bliss.  
 5 Therefore strip your souls from their bodies;  
 you will surely see<sup>50</sup> the Truth as manifest truth.  
 Let death's agony not frighten you, for it is nothing  
 but a transition from here.  
 The origin of spirits in us is one;  
 likewise our bodies are one body common to us all.  
 I see myself as nothing but you;  
 it is my firm belief that you yourselves are I.  
 Thus what is good is for us  
 and what is evil is in us.  
 10 So have mercy upon me and you yourselves will be shown mercy,  
 and know that you will follow after me.  
 Whoever sees me, let his soul strengthen itself:  
 this world is on the cusp of annihilation.  
 To you here is a sentence of my speech;  
 a salutation of God,<sup>51</sup> a laudation, a eulogy.

[15.18.3]

Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī is the author of the following books:

1. Intimations of the table and the throne (*K. al-talwīḥāt al-lawḥiyyah wa-l-ʿarshīyyah*).

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attached his soul to the spiritual matters has become dyed with the light of truth; And when a person has become dyed with the light of truth, then this is because the essential nature of the human souls has been advanced above the goal that he desired and intended.

49 Here *al-mala'* stands for *al-mala' al-a'lā*, 'the High Council' or 'the Heavenly Host', i.e., the angels (cf. Q Ṣād 38:69).

50 Reading (with B) *la-tarawna*, rather than the unmetrical *li-taraw* 'that you may see' (ALH).

51 Or 'God's peace'. The syntax and sense of this line is not wholly clear. The laudation and eulogy probably do not refer to God, since for praising God the normal word is *ḥamd*, not *madḥ*.

2. *The Imāadian Tablets*, composed for ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Qarā Arslān ibn Dāwūd ibn Artuq,<sup>52</sup> the ruler of Kharpūt<sup>53</sup> (*K. al-abwāḥ al-Imādīyyah*).
3. The glimmer (*K. al-lamḥah*).
4. Oppositions (*K. al-muqāwamāt*), which is a supplement to the *Intimations*.
5. The temples of light (*K. hayākil al-nūr*).
6. The ascending steps (*K. al-ma‘ārij*).
7. Havens (*K. al-muṭārahāt*).<sup>54</sup>
8. The philosophy of illumination (*K. ḥikmat al-ishrāq*).

### 15.19 Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī<sup>1</sup>

The honourable dignitary, perfect scholar and chief judge Shams al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl ibn Sa‘ādah ibn Ja‘far ibn ‘Īsā, from the town of Khuwayy, was [one of the] leading authorities within the community of Islam, a master of scholars and rulers.<sup>2</sup>

He was the outstanding man of his time in the philosophical sciences and one of the most deeply learned men of his day and age in juridical matters, besides being acquainted with the principles of medicine and other branches of science. He was an intelligent, very shy, good-looking, amiable, kind and

52 For this figure, see Vāth, *Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer*, 102, 122–123, 132 and especially 208, where it is mentioned that when al-Suhrawardī composed this book for ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr, he was a *qāḍī* in Kharpūt.

53 Kharpūt or Harpūt (Armenian names: Kharberd, Kharpert) is nowadays called Elāzīj. It is a town located in Eastern Anatolia (Turkey) north of the city of Diyarbakir. Kopf rendered this geographical name as ‘Hirt-Birt’; cf. the entry Khartabirt in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:355–356.

54 This is the *Kitāb al-Mashāri‘ wa l-Muṭārahāt* or *The book of paths and havens*.

1 This entry is missing in Versions 1 and 2 but can be found in Version 3. Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī (583–637/1187–1240). His full name is Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl ibn Sa‘ādah ibn Ja‘far ibn ‘Īsā. He originated from the village of Khuwayy in Azerbaijan. He was appointed as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*) in Damascus by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil (d. 624/1227). See Ibn Khallikān’s *Biographical Dictionary* (tr. Slane), ii:660–661; idem, *Wafayāt*, iv: 258; slightly longer but still short entries on him in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:375–376 and Abū Shāmah, *Dhayl*, 259–260. Cf. also Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat* (facs.), 2:148.6–146.14 (wrong binding order); ed. 734–736; Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 25–27 under No. 2/66.

2 Khuwayy is a town in Azerbaijan, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:408–409, who calls it a *balad mashhūr*.

benevolent person. He was – may God have mercy upon him – zealous in prayer, fasting and reading the Qur'an.

When Shams al-Dīn arrived in Syria during the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil,<sup>3</sup> the ruler sent for him. Upon hearing him speak, he pronounced him to be the best of his generation in all the sciences. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was himself acquainted with juridical matters and religious law. He gave Shams al-Dīn a good position, bestowed many honours upon him and provided him with a salary and other means of income. They maintained a solid friendship.

The Sultan also installed Shams al-Dīn in Damascus and placed a house at his disposal. There a group of devoted students studied under him and benefited from his teachings. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – would frequent his house and study Ibn Sahlān's *Reflections* [*tabṣīrah*] with him.<sup>4</sup> He was a master of eloquence and was highly skilled in using correct and intelligible language. He was a generous and noble-minded person.

Shams al-Dīn's master was the Imam Fakhr al-Dīn,<sup>5</sup> the son of the preacher of al-Rayy,<sup>6</sup> with whom he studied until al-Malik al-Mu'azzam appointed him first as a judge and then a chief judge in Damascus. He remained very humble, was soft-spoken, went to the mosque on foot and punctually attended all the prayers. His literary works are outstanding and unequalled. He used to dwell at

3 Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil I Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 624/1227). Ayyubid ruler.

4 This scholar is most likely the judge Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī). The work, which IAU and Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī studied together, is without a doubt the *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir al-Naṣīriyyah fī 'ilm al-mantiq*, or *The Naṣīrī observations, concerning the science of logic*.

5 This is the reading of Müller. However, manuscript A has the following reading: 'His master was Quṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī, the disciple of Imam Fakhr al-Dīn'. Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī lived from 583/1187 to 637/1240. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī lived from ca. 544/1150 to 606/1210. The well-known scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (597–672/1201–1274) studied as a young boy under Quṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and Farīd al-Dīn Dāmādh in Nishapur (*Nisābūr*) somewhere between 610/1213 and 618/1221. See for this information Van Lit, *Measurement*, 5–6. Therefore, in theory, al-Khuwayyī could have studied under both masters, for Quṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī (see Ch. 11.20) was indeed a student of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who also resided in Nishapur for a while.

6 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, a.k.a. Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy 'The Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy' (d. 606/1210), is one of the most influential exponents of Islamic philosophy and theology in the era after al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, whose biography is given in Ch. 11.19, rearranged the structure of the philosophical summa in the Islamic East and thus also the curriculum of philosophical studies. His work completes the process of integrating the discourse of Aristotelian philosophy (*falsafa*) into Muslim rationalist theology (*kalām*), a process that started shortly before al-Ghazālī. See Griffel, 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī'; Griffel, 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Life'; cf. also *ER*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (G.C. Anawati).



the al-ʿĀdiliyyah law college where he held classes for the legal scholars until he died – may God have mercy upon him – at a relatively young age from hectic fever (*ḥummā al-diqq*).<sup>7</sup> He died in Damascus on the seventh of the month Shaʿbān in the year 637 [3 March 1240].

Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī is the author of the following works:

1. Supplement to the Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy's [Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's] *Commentary on the Qur'an (Tatimmat tafsīr al-Qur'ān li-Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy)*.
2. On syntax (*K. fī l-naḥw*).
3. On legal theory and methodology (*K. fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*).<sup>8</sup>
4. On philosophical symbolism and the honorific names of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, composed for al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (*K. yashtamilu ʿalā rumūz ḥikmiyyah wa-alqāb al-sultān al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb*).<sup>9</sup>

#### 15.20 Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī<sup>1</sup>

The venerable judge and learned authority Rafīʿ al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Jīlī came originally from Fīlmān,<sup>2</sup> but became well-known in al-Jīlān.<sup>3</sup> He was one of the most out-

7 It is interesting that at the age of 53 one is still said to be *fī sinn al-shabāb*.

8 What is most likely meant here is the *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* and not the *ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn* (dogmatic theology).

9 Lothar Kopf translates 'A book on the philosophical symbolism of the honorific name of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muʿazzam', thereby following Müller: *ʿalā alqāb*. mss A and L have the reading *wa-alqāb*.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3. Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī (d. 641/1243). His full name is Rafīʿ al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Jīlī. He belonged to the people of Fīlmān, but acquired his reputation in al-Jīlān. He was first and foremost a legal scholar. He was appointed as chief judge of Damascus by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 643/1245) after the death of Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī (see the previous entry) in 637/1240.

2 mss M and A both read Fīlmān, whereas ms L presents us with the reading Qīlmān. It is possible that both terms are a corruption of Fīlān. The last is an eastern Caucasian region close to the western coasts of the Caspian Sea. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv:286; Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii:262 and 499 (3); Melgunof, *Das Südliche Ufer*, 302; al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 75 and 299 refers to Bīlmān Shahr, a town in Jīl, which fits our al-Jīlī (so it must be in fact Fīlmān, if F and B alternate in the Arabic). Yāqūt's 'Baylamān' (i:534) is located in either Yemen or al-Sind & al-Hind, so most likely not the same.

3 Jīlān or al-Jīlān is a region in Tabaristan close to the southern coasts of the Caspian Sea. See

standing [scholars] in the domains of the philosophical sciences, dogmatic theology, legal theory and methodology, the natural sciences and medicine. Having settled in Damascus, he taught as an expert of religious law at the al-‘Adhrāwīyyah law college, inside the Gate of Victory (*Bāb al-Naṣr*), where he held sessions for his students in the various branches of sciences and medicine. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – studied philosophy with him for a time. He was eloquent and highly intelligent, and read and studied constantly.

Rafī‘ al-Dīn served as a judge for a short while in the city of Baalbek, where he was a close friend of the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah.<sup>4</sup> After the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl<sup>5</sup> had become the ruler of Damascus, when the chief judge Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī died, may God have mercy upon him, Amīn al-Dawlah suggested that Rafī‘ al-Dīn al-Jīlī should take his place. Accordingly, the Sultan appointed him to the post of chief judge in Damascus thereby enabling him to enjoy great prestige and wealth.

As time went on, however, many people complained about him and had serious misgivings about his conduct. To make a long story short, in the end he was arrested and put to death – may God have mercy upon him – during the reign of al-Malik Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl. Following an argument between the Rafī‘ al-Dīn and the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, the judge was placed under guard and brought, under an escort of the vizier’s men, to a place near Baalbek, where there was an immense reputedly bottomless pit, known as the Cave of Afqah.<sup>6</sup> These men were ordered to tie his hands and then push him into the pit. One of the men who was among those present on that occasion told me that when Rafī‘ al-Dīn was pushed into this pit, he was crushed by the fall, but that his clothing appeared to have caught on the side of the cave near the bottom. ‘We stayed there for approximately three days,’ he told me ‘listening to his moaning and groaning. After some time, it became weaker and weaker and then it stopped, so that we were sure that he was dead. Then we went away’.

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

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Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:200–201; Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii:42 and 53; Melgunof, *Das südlliche Ufer*, in many places.

4 Amīn al-Dawlah is the physician and vizier Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Sa‘īd. He was a Samaritan who converted to Islam under the name Kamāl al-Dīn. He has an entry in Ch. 15.49.

5 Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ I Ismā‘īl ibn al-‘Ādil II Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, ‘Imād al-Dīn (r. 635/1237–1238 and 637–643/1239–1245). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70–71.

6 The Cave of Afqah is centrally aligned between Baalbek and Byblos, 71 km northeast of Beirut in modern-day Lebanon.

him.<sup>7</sup> 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. Then he added, ‘Shihāb al-Dīn’s situation was most unfortunate indeed, but at least he died in the end. And God mighty and glorious decreed that Rafī‘ al-Dīn should be put to death like him. Praise the Lord, who determines [the fate of] His creatures according to His will. The judge Rafī‘ al-Dīn died in the month of Dhū l-Hijjah of the year 641 [May 1244]. When Rafī‘ al-Dīn became judge in Damascus and was appointed as chief judge in 638/1240, I composed the following poem to congratulate him on that occasion:<sup>8</sup>

Lasting glory and good fortune and high standing  
 for all time, and elevation and brilliance,  
 Through the lasting life of our master Rafī‘ al-Dīn, man of  
 all-encompassing generosity and of benevolence!  
 Chief Judge, most exalted master, through whose lofty qualities  
 scholarship and scholars rise high,  
 Unique in noble traits, though all of mankind  
 share some of them.

5 If any man of eloquent speech wished  
 to count his noble traits, the eloquent would fall short.  
 How many enemies attest to his excellence  
 – and excellence is not (normally) attested by enemies!  
 He has composed works that clearly express  
 everything that the ancients did garble.<sup>9</sup>  
 Through him Jīl<sup>10</sup> has things to boast of among countries;  
 likewise this generation (*jīl*) is raised through him.  
 O master who surpasses all people in truth  
 with his fine attributes that are not hidden:

10 I was pained by your departure far away,  
 but seeing you brought the cure.

7 The reference here is to the first version of Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah’s *Uyūn*, dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah.

8 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:526 (lines 1–2 only).

9 The two contrasting verbs, *a‘raba* and *a‘jama*, literally mean ‘to put into Arabic’ and ‘to produce unclear, non-Arabic speech’, respectively.

10 Al-Jīlī in fact hailed from the region called Jīlān, the Arabic form of Persian Gīlān, along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. As Yāqūt (*Muṣjam al-buldān*) explains, al-Jīlī is a gentilicium, whereas al-Jīlānī refers to the region.

Gladness came in my heart, the sun  
of joy shone, and torment ceased.  
Glad tidings, of congratulation with a position, appeared,  
over which there spread a splendour of God's light:  
The confirmation (*iḥkām*) of the verdicts (*aḥkām*) of widespread justice,  
with which, and with your excellence (*faḍl*), the earth is filled.  
Gifts (*fawāḍil*) from you were scattered among the people,  
while affections from them came together in you.  
15 You possess lordship, happiness, lofty qualities,  
excellence (*faḍl*), favours (*afḍāl*), and blessings.  
A Jupiter for (or: 'buyer of') praise you are,<sup>11</sup>  
but if you pronounce the decisive judgement<sup>12</sup> you are Orion.<sup>13</sup>  
I may have singled you out with congratulation, but  
congratulation on your appointment encompasses all people.  
Ah, so many favours have you bestowed on me  
in the course of time; they cannot be counted!  
Be well, live long, in a lasting life of ease,  
as long as a dove sings in its grove!

Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī is the author of the following works:

1. A commentary on *The Book of Remarks and Admonitions* [by Ibn Sīnā], composed for al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar ibn al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh ibn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhanshāh ibn Ayyūb' (*S. al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*).
2. A summary of the Generalities in the *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā (*Ikhtīṣār al-kulliyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
3. A compilation of what has been transmitted authoritatively of the tradition [i.e. Hadith] of the Prophet, may God bless him and keep him (*K. jama'a mā fī asānīd min ḥadīth al-nabīy*).

11 There is an untranslatable play on the two meanings of *al-mushtarī*, 'Jupiter' (the most auspicious of planets) and 'the buyer'. For examples of the motif of 'buying' praise by being generous, see e.g. al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii:114, al-Zajjāji, *Amālī*, 190, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, xi:297.

12 *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, cf. Q Ṣād 38:20, «We [God] gave him [the Prophet Muḥammad] wisdom and decisive speech».

13 Al-Jawzā', Orion, is also called al-Jabbār, 'the Mighty'.

15.21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī<sup>1</sup>

The honourable and learned scholar Shams al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Īsā al-Khusrawshāhī, who was a native of Khusrawshāh, a small village very near Tabrīz,<sup>2</sup> was a leading scholar, an outstanding philosopher, a model to mankind and an honour to Islam. He distinguished himself in the philosophical sciences, was devoted to the principles of medicine and was well-versed in religious law. Tireless in the pursuit of learning, and a man of great merit and virtue, he was one of the most brilliant disciples of the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn, the ‘Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy’ [that is, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī].

Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī left his native place and went to Syria, where he served the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam,<sup>3</sup> staying with him in al-Karak.<sup>4</sup> He was held in high esteem [by the Sultan], who showed him great favour and bestowed many gifts upon him. Shams al-Dīn went to Damascus where he resided until he died – may God have mercy upon him – in the month of Shawwāl of the year 652 [October-November 1254]. He was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn.

When Shams al-Dīn arrived in Damascus, and I met him, I found him to be an elderly gentleman with pleasant manners and an attractive way of speaking. He was intelligent and very learned. One day when I was at his home a Persian jurist brought him a book written in a very tiny handwriting, one-eighth the size of Baghdadi script, and in a rather irregular format.<sup>5</sup> After looking at it and [thoroughly] examining it, he kissed it and laid it down forthwith. Upon my asking him the reason for this, he said, ‘This is the handwriting of our master, the Imam Fakhr al-Dīn, the preacher – may God have mercy upon him’. I felt great esteem for him because of the respect that he had shown toward his master. When Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī died – may God have mercy upon him – the shaykh ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ghanawī al-Ḍarīr al-Irbilī celebrated him in an elegy:<sup>6</sup>

1 This entry is missing in Version 1 but present in Versions 2 and 3.

2 Khusrawshāh is a hamlet west of the city of Tabrīz in Persia. Its present name is Khosrow Shahr, cf. also Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:371. The latter specifies the distance from Tabrīz to Khusrawshāh as being six parasangs, that is roughly 42 km, and indicated that the village had a market and one structure of relative importance.

3 That is, al-Malik al-Nāṣir ʾI Dāwūd ibn al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 624–626/1227–1229), Ayyubid ruler of Damascus. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

4 Al-Karak is either a small town in Syria, west of al-Suwaydah (in the Daraa district), or more likely a town in modern-day Jordan mostly known for its crusader castle, the well-known fortress of Kerak.

5 Müller, ‘Text’, [963] 249, has suggested this specific reading.

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:258 (lines 1–4, 6–8), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:74–75 (lines 1–2, 4, 6–8), Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:105–106 (lines 2, 4, 7–9, 11).

With your death, Shams al-Dīn, virtues died  
 and gatherings are deserted by the mention of sciences.  
 Perdition struck the sun (*shams*) of lofty deeds when it had risen,  
 and the moon of excellence perished when it was full:  
 A man who knew the Truth and who acted in accordance with what is  
 Good  
 – not all people with knowledge act accordingly.  
 A man who surpassed all speakers with his silence;  
 think how he would be if you found him speaking!  
 5 We used to count on him for the solution of difficulties  
 whenever problems defeated skilled people among us.  
 The abode of intelligence, now that he has gone, is empty today;  
 the neck of lofty qualities is bare of the jewels of excellence.  
 Do the Fates know whom they struck with their arrows  
 and which man perished and was seized by disasters?  
 They struck a man unique in this world, the sea of its sciences,  
 of whom the ancients fell short in excellence.  
 If a man could repel perdition with his excellence,  
 slabs of stone would not have hidden ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.  
 10 But no subterfuge can repel death  
 and nobody with hope can expect a man to live forever.  
 Now that you, Shams al-Dīn, are gone, any scholar is destitute  
 while the ignorant put forward their claims in gatherings.

Al-Ṣāḥib Najm al-Dīn al-Lubūdī<sup>7</sup> composed this elegy on him:<sup>8</sup>

O you who announce the death of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, forbear  
 with me! For knowledge is wrapped in a shroud.  
 He passed away, singular in his excellence and knowledge,  
 while I have become solitary in grief, passion, and sorrow.  
 So eyes, pour out tears for the loss of him,  
 for today after his demise my decent fortitude is no longer fitting.  
 May the several kinds of angels receive him, in splendour,  
 in a radiant arrival in that custom,  
 5 Saying to him, ‘Welcome! Welcome  
 to the best man who has come to this home,

<sup>7</sup> See Ch. 15.31 (where he is called Najm al-Dīn Ibn al-Lubūdī).

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāṭ*, ii:258–259 (lines 1–5), al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:75 (lines 1–5).

To a host whose existence has turned into their essences,<sup>9</sup>  
 no longer having a companion or a dwelling to impede them.  
 It is enough for you to have an essence that is identity<sup>10</sup> by right;  
 there is no falsehood in it nor rancour.  
 You will stay there, seeing and observing the Essence of essences,<sup>11</sup>  
 who is exalted above beings, coming into being, and time.  
 God preserve you, Shams al-Dīn! So many signposts of truth  
 have you erected, splendid, with eloquent tongue!  
 10 Being struck with your loss is a consolation for us,<sup>12</sup>  
 and someone like me is being put to the test with someone like you.

Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī is the author of the following works:

1. Summary of *The Guide to Jurisprudence*, according to the school of Imam al-Shāfi‘ī, by [the author] Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-muhadhdhab fī l-fiqh ‘alā madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī li-Abī Ishāq al-Shīrāzī*).
2. Summary of the master Ibn Sīnā’s book *The Healing* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-shifā’ lil-ra‘īs Ibn Sīnā*).
3. Supplement to *The Book of Clear Signs* by The Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy [Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī], which [completes] the second section. This [version of] the *Clear Signs* is not the well-known, abridged, edition in ten chapters (*Tatimmat kitāb al-āyāt al-bayyināt li-Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy*).

## 15.22 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī<sup>1</sup>

The esteemed leading authority and learned scholar Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sālīm al-Taghlibī al-Āmidī was one of

9 Reading *aḍḥā l-wujūdu dhawātihim*; perhaps one should read *aḍḥā l-wujūda dhawātuhum* ('whose essences have turned into [pure] existence'); the precise interpretation is unclear. The 'companion' and 'dwelling' apparently refer to the physical body and world.

10 This interpretation of *al-‘ayn* is uncertain.

11 The expression *dhāt al-dhawāt* is used by Ibn al-‘Arabī in a poem in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* (Chapter 378): *Yaṭīru l-‘arīfūna ... bi-ajniḥati l-malā’ikati l-kirāmī || ilā dhāti l-dhawāti bilā na’tin*.

12 Meaning unclear.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1 but present in Versions 2 and 3. Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī al-Āmidī (551–631/1156–1233) is renowned as the author of a monumental summa on Islamic legal theory entitled *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. See Weiss, 'Legal Education,' 110–127. He was a leading scholar of Islamic theology (*kalām*) and theoretical

the most distinguished, erudite and intelligent men of his time, having been supreme in his knowledge of the philosophical sciences, the several schools of theology and the principles of medicine. He was a spirited person and was impressive in appearance. He was also an eloquent speaker and an excellent writer as well.

Sayf al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad ibn al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Shāhanshāh ibn Ayyūb, Lord of Hama,<sup>2</sup> with whom he remained for two years, receiving a more than generous salary and enjoying many favours. He was one of [the ruler’s] special favourites and served al-Malik al-Manṣūr until the latter died in the year 617/1220.

Sayf al-Dīn then went to Damascus. Upon his arrival there, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>3</sup> showered acts of kindness upon him, honoured him greatly and appointed him professor at a [law] college. When he came to the college and began to give lectures and hold classes there for the jurists, everyone was astonished at his excellent qualities in debate and research. There was no one who was equal to him in any of the sciences, but he rarely taught any of the philosophical sciences.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – used to meet with him and study the ‘Book of the Indication of Treasures’ under him, which he had composed himself. This was because of the firm friendship between him and my father. The first time I met him, I had come to his house with my father. He lived in a paved courtyard near the al-Ādiliyyah law college in Damascus. After we had greeted him, he observed the formalities by welcoming us with amiable words. Then we sat down. He looked at us and spoke these [exact] words: ‘I have never seen a father and a son resemble each other more than you do’.

Al-Ṣāhib Fakhr al-Quḍāt ibn Buṣāqah<sup>4</sup> recited to me [the following] poem about himself, which he wrote after al-‘Imād al-Salmāsī<sup>5</sup> had put in a good word for him with Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī in order that [the latter] might accept him as a student:<sup>6</sup>

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jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). He was born to a Kurdish family in Āmid, a largely Kurdish town in eastern Anatolia that is now part of the Turkish city of Diyarbakır.

2 That is the Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar I ‘Umar Taqī al-Dīn, Abū l-Ma‘ālī Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 587–617/1191–1221). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

3 That is, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil I Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 624/1227). Ayyubid ruler. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

4 Ibn Buṣāqah is Abū l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn Hibat Allāh, *qāḍī, kātib*, poet, d. 650/1252–1253, see e.g. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, iv:187–192; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:41–49.

5 He is ‘Imād al-Dīn ‘Uthmān ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Khalīl al-Salmāsī, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:37 (no dates given).

6 Metre: *basīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:107, Ibn al-Sha‘ār, *Qalā‘id*, vii:63.



O Master, with whom God may embellish Time  
 and its people, of all non-Arabs and Arabs!  
 Your servant reminds his lord of his promises  
 made earlier to ‘Imād al-Dīn, from nearby.<sup>7</sup>  
 The gifts of someone like my lord come  
 without any promise, his bounty comes without a request:  
 So be honest and give(?)<sup>8</sup> from the overflowing watering place of your  
 sea,  
 and enrich him with the treasures of knowledge, not of gold.  
 Provide him with a genealogy that connects him to you,  
 for the affiliation of knowledge surpasses that of kinship,  
 And do not let him rely on books to instruct him,  
 for ‘the sword (*al-sayf*) gives more truthful information than books.’<sup>9</sup>

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: This poem contains a splendid insertion of a hemistich (*taḍmīn*) by Abū Tammām in order to incorporate the word *sayf* (sword). Sayf al-Dīn remained in Damascus until his death – may God have mercy upon him – on the fourth of the month Ṣafar of the year 631 [9 November 1233]. Among the poems of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī is one, which his son Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad recited to me. He heard it from his father [Sayf al-Dīn] who had composed it himself.<sup>10</sup>

There is no virtue that is not one of his virtues,  
 there is no marvel of which he is not the origin.  
 He has attained glory by virtue of his knowledge and through him  
 realms have risen when he took charge of them.  
 He is the means in this world for those who seek it  
 and he is the road to approach the next world.

Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī is the author of the following works:

1. The finer points of truth (*K. daqā’iq al-ḥaqā’iq*).

7 Perhaps meaning ‘a short while ago’ here.

8 The MSS (ALRHGcGb both texts) and editions (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār, *Masālik*) all have *fa-aṣḥi*, which could be correct (the verb *aṣḥā* can mean ‘to choose s.o. in preference to others, to give s.th.’ and ‘to be sincere towards s.o.’). However, adding a dot and reading *fa-adfi* would give a better sense (‘bestow generously!’).

9 As IAU explains, this is a witty quotation of the opening of Abū Tammām’s celebrated ode on the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim’s conquest of Amorium in 223/838, despite the predictions of astrologers and Byzantines (Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, i:40).

10 Metre: *basīṭ*.

2. The indications of treasures (*K. rumūz al-kunūz*).
3. The pith of intellects (*K. lubāb al-albāb*).
4. Virgin thoughts on dogmatic theology (*K. abkār al-afkār fī l-uṣūl*).
5. The utmost of what may be desired in speculative theology (*K. ghāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*).
6. The demonstration of the distortion of facts in the *Commentary on the Admonitions*, which was composed for al-Malik al-Manṣūr ibn Taqī al-Dīn, ruler of Hama (*K. kashf al-tamwihāt fī sharḥ al-tanbihāt*).
7. The object of hope in dialectics (*K. ghāyat al-amal fī ʿilm al-jadal*).
8. A commentary on the book *On dialectics* by Shihāb al-Dīn, who is [also] known as al-Sharīf al-Marāghī (*S. kitāb Shihāb al-Dīn al-maʿrūf bil-Sharīf al-Marāghī fī l-jadal*).
9. Those who follow the [different] paths and have reached the highest levels of these paths (*K. muntahā al-masālik fī rutab al-masālik*).
10. Explanation of the meanings of the utterances of the philosophers and the [speculative] theologians (*K. al-mubayyin fī maʿānī alfāz al-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*).
11. Guide to complete agreement applicable in all matters in which there is disagreement (*Dalīl muttaḥid al-ʾitilāf wa-jār fī jamʿ masʾil al-khilāf*).
12. Preponderant arguments in [the science of] controversy [i.e., controversial questions in jurisprudence] (*K. al-tarjihāt fī l-khilāf*).
13. Blameworthy arguments in [the science] of controversy (*K. al-muʾakhdhāt fī l-khilāf*).
14. Lesser work on annotations (*K. al-taʿlīqah al-ṣaghīrah*).
15. Greater work on annotations (*K. al-taʿlīqah al-kabīrah*).
16. Profession of faith under the name 'pure gold' (*ʿAqīdah tusammā khulāṣat al-ibrīz*).
17. A memorandum to al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Tadhkirat al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*).
18. Answers to questions about dogmatic theology (*K. muntahā al-masʾul fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*).
19. The gifts of intellects (*K. manāʾih al-qarāʾih*).<sup>11</sup>

11 Lothar Kopf has translated: 'The Charnel-Houses of Characters'. The term *maniḥa* (plural: *manāʾih*) has the meaning of 'gift', 'a thing given for free'. See Lane, *Lexicon*, ii, 2737.

### 15.23 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān<sup>1</sup>

[15.23.1]

The learned and virtuous physician and leading authority Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Naṣr As‘ad ibn Abī l-Faḥ Ilyās ibn Jurjis al-Muṭrān was a leading philosopher and a most erudite scholar. He was amply blessed and richly favoured (by God) and was the leading expert of his time in the theory and practise of medicine, having been peerless in the knowledge and application of its principles, and a gentle and outstanding practitioner. He was an expert in the philosophical sciences. In addition, he was devoted to the writerly culture. He studied grammar, lexicography and literature under the teacher and well-known authority Tāj al-Dīn Abī l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī<sup>2</sup> and excelled in those domains.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān was Damascus born and bred. His father was also a prominent physician, who travelled to foreign lands in search of enlightenment. He had travelled to Byzantium in order to acquaint himself thoroughly with the principles of Christianity (being himself a Christian) and the several schools of Christian thought.<sup>3</sup> Later he moved to Iraq and met with Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh,<sup>4</sup> under whom he studied medicine for a time, reading many medical works under his guidance [until] he became distinguished in the art of medicine himself. He then returned to Damascus where he practised medicine until the day he died.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For Ibn al-Muṭrān, see *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Muṭrān’ (N.P. Joosse); Ullmann, *Medizin in Islam*, 165–166, 191; Brentjes, ‘Narratives’; Brentjes, ‘Ayyubid princes’, 335–336, 340; Jadon, ‘Physicians of Syria during reign of Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn’; Jadon, ‘Comparison of wealth ... of the physicians of Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn’.

2 Al-Kindī al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī, Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 613/1217) was a grammarian, belle-lettrist and prominent reciter of the Qur’an (*muqri*). Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn was also one of the teachers of the famous polymath ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. The latter portrayed him as ‘a fine-looking shaykh, with a keen wit, wealthy, and in great favour with the sultan, but very self-satisfied and troublesome to his associates’ (trans. Gibb in Saunders, *Life of Muwaffiq ad-Dīn*, 72). ‘Abd al-Laṭīf and Tāj al-Dīn had some arguments together. In the end, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf neglected to attend his lessons, which annoyed Tāj al-Dīn enormously. See Martini Bonadeo, ‘Philosophical journey’, 125–126; Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 102. Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn viciously compared ‘Abd al-Laṭīf to a pancake because of his slender figure. See also the entry on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15.40. See also Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 108–111.

3 The name Ibn al-Muṭrān has the meaning of ‘son of the metropolitan’ [i.e. an archbishop or diocesan bishop]. Ibn al-Muṭrān was a Melkite Christian by birth.

4 For further information on Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, see the biography on him in Ch. 10.64.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān had a sharp intellect, spoke eloquently and studied constantly. His works furnish evidence of his erudition and excellence in the art of medicine, which he had studied under Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh,<sup>5</sup> and other sciences.

Ibn al-Muṭrān was a handsome man, who was particularly fond of luxurious, costly clothes. He served as a physician to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) who showed him great favour, with the result that he enjoyed high status and great prestige. The ruler made him his chamberlain and appointed him in charge of the household, a post for which he paid him extremely well. Saladin – may God have mercy upon him – was a noble and excellent man, who was very generous to those who served him and to everyone who asked him for assistance, so much so that when he died, his treasury was found to be empty. He had complete confidence in Ibn al-Muṭrān, never leaving him behind whenever he was travelling or [whenever he] decided to stay in some town or village. For that reason, he [constantly] showered the physician with favours and gifts and provided him with opulent means. Ibn al-Muṭrān [then] became proud and arrogant, thinking himself even above kings. Saladin was aware of this trait in him, but did not cease to show him respect and esteem, because he admired him for his [great] knowledge.<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Muṭrān converted to Islam during the reign of Saladin.<sup>7</sup>

[15.23.1.1]

Someone who knew Ibn al-Muṭrān's conceited nature and arrogance well told me that he once accompanied the Sultan on one of his military expeditions. In time of war, during campaigns, it was Saladin's habit to occupy a red pavilion, complete with a red outer tent and vestibule. One day, when Saladin was out riding, he saw a red tent with a red vestibule and privy. He contemplated it for a while and then asked whose it was. Upon being informed that it belonged to the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān, he said, 'By God, I knew it was some stupid freak of Ibn al-Muṭrān's!' He laughed, but then said, 'What would happen if a messenger were to ride by and think that it belonged to a king? If he must have his tent, he shall [at least] change the privy,' and he ordered it to be destroyed. When this was done, Ibn al-Muṭrān took it very hard, keeping to

5 See the biography on him in Ch. 15.13.

6 For the different ties of service and attendance between servants and their masters, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 116–122.

7 Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, i:329, mentions that Ibn al-Muṭrān abandoned the Christian faith and became a Muslim for the sake of the honour of the transient world.

himself for two days and not providing his usual services, but the Sultan mollified him with a gift of a purse.

[15.23.1.2]

The same source also informed me that there was in the service of Saladin a Christian physician by the name of Abū l-Faraj<sup>8</sup> who served the Sultan for a time and frequently visited his palace. One day he told the Sultan that he needed dowries for his daughters and asked him for his assistance in this matter. Saladin replied, 'Write down on paper everything that you require for their dowries and bring it to me'. Abū l-Faraj left and listed on a piece of paper jewellery, fabrics, utensils and other things to the value of thirty thousand dirhams. When Saladin read the list, he ordered his treasurer [*khazandār*] to buy everything that was included in it for Abū l-Faraj, leaving nothing out. No sooner had Ibn al-Muṭṭrān heard about this than his attendances on his master became surly and sporadic. Saladin noticed that his physician's face had changed and he understood the reason for it. Then and there he ordered his treasurer to make a note of everything that he had bought for Abū l-Faraj, the physician, and to calculate the total price of it. When the treasurer had calculated the total amount, Saladin ordered him to pay Ibn al-Muṭṭrān a similar sum, and that was duly done.

[15.23.1.3]

Abū l-Zāhir Ismā'īl, who knew Ibn al-Muṭṭrān and was on intimate terms with him, told me that the vanity and the arrogance that became characteristic of him [later on in life], were entirely absent during his days as a young man in search of knowledge. He said that he used to see Ibn al-Muṭṭrān when the latter was studying grammar at the mosque. He would come there after he had finished his work at the Sultan's palace. He would arrive with an escort of horsemen, accompanied by numerous Turkish slaves and others. When he approached the mosque, he would [dismount and] continue on foot, holding his books in his hand or under his arm. He would let none of the servants accompany him, but would walk, with the books, to the study-circle of the shaykh under whom he was studying. He would then greet him [the shaykh] and sit among the group, alert and receptive, until the lesson was over and he returned to his attendants.

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8 For Abū l-Faraj, see Ch. 15.28.

[15.23.2]

According to the venerable and respected judge, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qiftī,<sup>9</sup> the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn al-Muṭrān, a Christian, became a good Muslim after his conversion to Islam. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn – may God sanctify his soul – presented him with one of his favourite ladies at the palace, named Jawzah, as a wife. Jawzah was a servant of Khwand Khātūn, the daughter of Mu‘īn al-Dīn and the wife of Saladin. It was Jawzah who managed the household and was her mistress’ favourite handmaid. Khwand Khātūn gave her many pieces of jewellery and other precious articles, making her a rich [woman], and made her the recipient of many acts of favour. Jawzah put Ibn al-Muṭrān’s affairs into proper order, taught him how to behave, improved his manner of dressing and embellished both his outer appearance and his character. He earned a reputation that quickly spread throughout the country, and acquired great wealth by treating state dignitaries when they fell ill: they vied with each other in offering him gifts and presents. His position with the Sultan was so important that he almost had the status of a vizier. He used to take men who specialized in medicine and philosophy under his protection, in order to advance their interests, and acted as an intermediary in helping them to earn a living.

[15.23.2.1]

The same source informed me that the jurist Ismā‘īl ibn al-Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Bannā’<sup>10</sup> al-Qiftī, the preacher of ‘Aydḥāb,<sup>11</sup> related the following [story] to him. ‘When the Sultan had conquered the coastal region,’ he said, ‘I set out from ‘Aydḥāb to visit Jerusalem. Upon reaching Syria, I saw tree-clad mountains in contrast to dry and desolate ‘Aydḥāb. I desired to settle there, but did not know how to find a livelihood. So, I went to al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm<sup>12</sup> and asked him for a letter to the Sultan, recommending me for [the post of] preacher in the fortress of al-Karak. Al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm wrote a letter for me full of kindness, which is listed among his correspondence.<sup>13</sup> I brought it with me to Damascus, where

9 In the version of Ibn al-Qiftī’s *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’* preserved today, Ibn al-Muṭrān is not mentioned.

10 Ismā‘īl ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Dhu‘ayb Abū Ṭāhir al-Qiftī, known as Ibn al-Bannā’ (d. 687/1288–1289), see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:121–122.

11 ‘Aydḥāb was once an important port on the Red Sea in what is now modern-day Sudan, See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, iv:171.

12 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of his chancery. He is often designated by IAU as ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm or ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī.

13 ‘As head of Saladin’s chancery al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil designed and carried out diplomatic

the Sultan was staying, but I was advised to show it to Ibn al-Muṭṭrān. I went to his house, entered with his permission, and found him a pleasant and good-natured man and a good listener and talker. His house struck me as extremely beautiful with respect to its construction and furnishings. I saw water spouting from pipes in his pond that were made of pure gold and were of the most excellent craftsmanship. I [also] saw a young and exceptionally handsome lad, who waited on him hand and foot, called ‘Umar.<sup>14</sup> There were also luxurious carpets, and I smelled fragrances of which the sweet scent filled me with a sense of awe. When I told him the reason for my visit, he graciously informed me that he would see to the matter’.

The venerable Jamāl al-Dīn concluded by saying, ‘I saw his wife and the son of ‘Umar, his chamberlain. They had come to Aleppo after the year 600/1203, in straitened circumstances, but were shown hospitality under the protection of al-Malik al-Zāhir – may God prosper his reign – and lived on charitable allowances that had been allocated to them. After a time, she died, and I have not heard anything further about the son of ‘Umar since’.<sup>15</sup>

[15.23.2.2]

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Būrī, the Christian scribe, told me that when al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb conquered al-Karak, the Christian physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb,<sup>16</sup> then a young man, came to Damascus. He wore a headdress<sup>17</sup> and a small [i.e., light] turban,<sup>18</sup> and was dressed in a tight-fitting blue coat,<sup>19</sup> the usual dress of Frankish physicians. He went to the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭṭrān to seek to curry favour with him, and [also] began to visit him frequently, hoping to benefit

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correspondence, engaged in the organization of state finances and politics, and entertained an extensive literary communication with the most conspicuous intellectuals of his time. His letters were recognized already by contemporaries as an essential source for the political and intellectual history combining perspicacious insight, exemplary stylistic elegance and extraordinary intellectual capacities’. [From: the description of a current project at the Oriental Institute in Beirut, Lebanon: ‘Chancery and Diplomats Exemplified by the Correspondence of al-Qadi al-Fadil’ by Stefan Leder, Sabine Dorpmueller and Muhammad Helmy].

14 For a marginal note in R, see A11.15 and *Lesarten*, 52–53.

15 Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, i:329, mentions that after the death of Saladin, Ibn al-Muṭṭrān’s wife appeared with a child who was beloved by him, and they used to go round to the houses of the recluses and beg for alms.

16 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.43.

17 *Kūfiyyah*; cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 390–394.

18 *Takhfifāh ṣaghīrah*; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i:386.

19 *Jūkhah malūṭah zarqā’*; cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 127–131.

thereby. Ibn al-Muṭrān told him, 'These clothes you are wearing will not help you to practise medicine among the Muslims in this country. It would serve your interest to change your attire. You would do better to dress like the local physicians'. He brought an outer garment with wide sleeves of red cotton<sup>20</sup> and an ornamented gown made of camel's hair<sup>21</sup> and ordered him to put them on. Then he said, 'There is a great prince here, called Maymūn al-Qaṣrī,<sup>22</sup> who is ill. I have been visiting him regularly to treat him. You should come with me and treat him yourself'. When they arrived at the prince's abode, Ibn al-Muṭrān said to the prince, 'This is a distinguished physician and I have complete confidence in his knowledge of the art of medicine. I trust him, so let him keep you company and attend to your condition at all times. Let him stay with you until you recover, God willing'. The prince agreed to this suggestion, and the physician Ya'qūb stayed with him day and night until he regained health, for which he was rewarded with five hundred dinars. Upon receiving this sum of money, Ya'qūb went to Ibn al-Muṭrān and said to him, 'O master, the prince has given this to me, and I am bringing you the money he gave me'. Ibn al-Muṭrān replied, 'Keep it, for I only intended to benefit you'. Ya'qūb kept it, invoking God's blessing upon Ibn al-Muṭrān.

[15.23.3]

The physician 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Suwaydī<sup>23</sup> told me the following story:

Ibn al-Muṭrān was once sitting at the door of his house, when a young man from a well-to-do family, dressed as a soldier, came up to him and handed him a piece of paper<sup>24</sup> on which were twelve lines of poetry praising him. When he had read them, Ibn al-Muṭrān said: 'Are you a poet?' The young man replied: 'No, but I come from a respectable family, and misfortune has afflicted me. You have been recommended to me as a protector and I wish to entrust you with my education, so that you may direct me in the way your lofty intellect sees fit'. Ibn al-Muṭrān then entered his house

20 Or: silk (*jubbah wāsi'ah 'attābī*); cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 107–117. Dozy's *'utābī* (at 110 and 436–437) is incorrect.

21 *Baqyār mukammil*; Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 84–87. But see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 105: 'a turban'.

22 That is, Fāris al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣrī (d. 611/1214). Ayyubid ruler. Lord of Nablus and Sidon.

23 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.57.

24 MS L has *raqq* or *riqq*: 'parchment'. Gb has *rizqahu*, which is an understandable misreading of *waraqah* due to the previous mention of the *jund*.



and summoned the youth to come in as well. He placed some food before him, which he ate, and then said to him, “Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh, Lord of Şarkhad,<sup>25</sup> has fallen ill with a malady that tends to recur. How would it be if I were to send you to attend him? He will reimburse you generously’. ‘But master’, said the young man, ‘how shall I obtain the necessary medical knowledge and skill?’ ‘Do not worry about that,’ replied Ibn al-Muṭrān, ‘for I shall write out for you a letter of instruction, which you must closely follow and from which you must not deviate’. ‘I hear and obey!’ the youth said. On his way out, he was approached by one of Ibn al-Muṭrān’s servants, who gave him a bundle containing a few items of clothing, together with a horse, a saddle and a bridle. ‘Take these clothes and put them on,’ said the servant, ‘mount the horse and prepare to go to Şarkhad’. ‘But I have nowhere to leave the horse for the night,’ protested the young man. ‘Leave the horse with us,’ the servant replied, ‘saddle it early tomorrow morning and go with God, the exalted’. When the youth came to the house of Ibn al-Muṭrān at an early hour the next day, he was given a letter [of recommendation] from the physician to ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh, ruler of Şarkhad, a notebook<sup>26</sup> that he was instructed to use as the basis for his treatment, and two hundred dirhams for travelling expenses.

The youth then rode to Şarkhad and treated ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh in accordance with the instructions he had received from Ibn al-Muṭrān. ‘Izz al-Dīn soon recovered and went happily to the bathhouse. Subsequently, he bestowed upon the youth the most beautiful robe of honour he could find, gave him a mule with a saddle and bridle of gold and a thousand Egyptian dinars, and invited him to remain in his service. ‘I cannot do that, O master,’ replied the youth, ‘until I have first consulted my shaykh, the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān’. ‘Who is this physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn anyway?’ retorted ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘He is nothing but my brother’s servant! There is no need for you to leave Şarkhad’. They had an exchange of words, and upon being further pressed, the youth finally said, ‘I simply must go to my house first, and then I will return’. He went home, fetched the robe of honour, the gold and the rest, and brought it all back to ‘Izz al-Dīn. ‘This is what you have given me,’ he said. ‘Take it back, for by God, I know nothing at all about the art of medicine. I only spoke for a while with the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān. That’s all!’ And he told ‘Izz al-Dīn exactly

25 Şarkhad or Şalkhad: Town in southern Syria near the border of present-day Jordan. The town contains an important fortress, built between 611/1214 and 645/1247 by the Ayyubid dynasty, cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii: 401.

26 *Tadhkirah*, a memorandum book or aide-mémoire containing summaries of procedures.

what had happened. 'Do not worry about it,' said 'Izz al-Dīn, 'and stop talking about it, you do not have to be a physician. Do you know how to play backgammon and chess?' The youth exclaimed, 'But of course!', for he was cultured and refined. 'Well,' said 'Izz al-Dīn, 'I will make you my chamberlain and grant you lands that will provide you with twenty-two thousand dirhams yearly'. 'I am at your service, O master,' the youth replied, 'but should like to ask permission to go to Damascus and see the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān, so that I may kiss his hand and thank him for all the good that he has done to me,' and 'Izz al-Dīn gave him permission to go.

Upon reaching Damascus, the young man went to see the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān, kissed his hand and expressed many thanks to him. Taking the gifts he had received [from 'Izz al-Dīn], he placed them before Ibn al-Muṭrān and said, 'All this was given to me. Take it!' Ibn al-Muṭrān, however, refused [to take] it. 'I only wanted to benefit you,' he replied, 'You may keep it all and may God's blessings go with it'. Then the youth told Muwaffaq al-Dīn about his dealings with 'Izz al-Dīn and the position that he had been offered. The youth returned to Şarkhad and entered the service of 'Izz al-Dīn. All the good things that had happened to him were due to the generosity of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān.

[15.23.4]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān was a zealous collector of books. When he died, approximately ten thousand medical and other works were found in his library, apart from those he had copied. He took a keen interest in copying and revising books, and there were three copyists in his service who were constantly transcribing books for him, and who received payment and allowances from him. One of them was Jamāl al-Dīn (also known as Ibn al-Jammālah),<sup>27</sup> whose handwriting was well-proportioned and symmetrical. Ibn al-Muṭrān copied many books in his own handwriting; I have seen several examples of these, and they were unsurpassable as to script and grammatical correctness. He read many books and, in fact, spent most of his time reading. A majority of the books found in his library contain corrections and very precise revisions in his handwriting. Ibn al-Muṭrān had the utmost regard for books with a watchful eye for any errors therein. Most of the small books and miscellaneous items in the domain of medicine, which were found [in his lib-

27 See al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:42–43.

rary], had been combined into single volumes. He had them all copied on small-format paper, one-sixteenth the size of Baghdādī paper,<sup>28</sup> and bound. A number of them were written in his own hand. His library contained a great many of these in small-format volumes. He would never leave his house without a book in his sleeve, which he would read at the gate of the Sultan's palace or wherever else he might go. After his death, all his books were sold, because he did not leave behind offspring.

[15.23.4.1]

The physician 'Imrān al-Isrā'īlī<sup>29</sup> told me that he had attended the sale of Ibn al-Muṭrān's books and had observed that there were many thousands of these small-format items, most of them in the handwriting of Ibn al-Jammālah. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil<sup>30</sup> asked to have them sent to his house so that he could inspect them, and thus a small box [of these items] was delivered to him. He looked them over, then sent them back, and they fetched three thousand dirhams at auction. The physician 'Imrān bought most of them. He informed me that he had reached an agreement with the heirs concerning the sale, to the effect that they would sell each item for one dirham, and [some of] the [other] physicians [also] purchased these small-format books at that price.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – comment: Ibn al-Muṭrān possessed the complete ideal of manhood and was a noble soul. He was kind toward his disciples and gave them books as presents. When one of them began to [practise medicine and] heal the sick, Ibn al-Muṭrān would give him a robe of honour and devote his complete and constant attention to him. His best student was the learned Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī<sup>31</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. He frequented Ibn al-Muṭrān and accompanied him several times during the [military] campaigns, in which Saladin conquered the coastal region.

28 The standard 'full' Baghdadi sheet of paper was one cubit in width and one-and-one-half cubits in length (ca. 1099 mm × 733 mm). See Bosch, Carswell & Petherbridge, *Islamic Book-making*, 30–31; Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 53–55.

29 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.42.

30 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200): *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of his chancery. See for example *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Mammātī' (A.S. Atiya); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3:158 (No. 374).

31 Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230), better known under the name al-Dakhwār. He acquired fame both as a teacher and as the founder of the 'first medical school' in the medieval Arab world. Among his students were IAU, Ibn al-Nafīs, Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Labūdī and Ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk. See amongst others Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.50.

One of the things that the learned shaykh Muhaddhab al-Dīn told me about Ibn al-Muṭrān's great devotion to the treatment of his patients is the following account. 'Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh,<sup>32</sup> ruler of Homs (*Ḥimṣ*),' he said, 'once sent for Ibn al-Muṭrān. He went to [see] him, and I accompanied him. While we were on our way, a man afflicted with elephantiasis<sup>33</sup> approached him. The man's illness was so far advanced that his face was badly disfigured and his body deformed. He asked Ibn al-Muṭrān what [drugs] he should take to cure his disease. But the physician, distressed at the sight of the man said, "Eat viper's flesh". The man repeated his question, but Ibn al Muṭran said again, "Eat viper's flesh, and you shall recover". We went on to Homs, where Ibn al-Muṭrān treated the patient for whose sake he had come, until he recovered and felt well again. We then returned to Damascus. When we were on our way, a handsome young man who looked perfectly healthy, approached and greeted us. He kissed Ibn al-Muṭrān's hand, but the physician did not recognize him, and asked, "Who are you?" The youth introduced himself as the one who had asked him about a treatment for leprosy. He had followed Ibn al-Muṭrān's advice and had recovered without any need of any other remedy. He then bade us farewell and went his way, leaving us marvelling at the completeness of his recovery.'

[15.23.4.2]

The same person<sup>34</sup> also told me that he once accompanied Ibn al-Muṭrān to the 'Great Hospital,'<sup>35</sup> founded by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī,<sup>36</sup> where he treated the patients who were there. Among them was a man who was suffering from such a severe case of dropsy of the belly<sup>37</sup> that was nearly bursting. At that time, the

32 That is, al-Malik al-Qāhir Muḥammad ibn Shīrkūh I Asad al-Dīn ibn Shādhī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Lord of Homs (r. 574–581/1178–1186). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

33 *Majdhūm*, a type of leprosy.

34 Muhaddhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230).

35 *Al-bīmāristān al-kabīr* was the famous Nūrī *bīmāristān* founded in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī (or Zankī), a Turkish prince and ruler of Syria from 541/1146 to 569/1174, after whom the hospital was named. See Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 49–59.

36 See above, n. 2 to 15.12.

37 *Istisqā' zīqqī*. *Istisqā'* was a general term for dropsy or an accumulation of fluid in a bodily part, usually in the abdominal cavity, known commonly today as ascites. According to Ibn Hindū (d. 420/1029), 'The term derives from the Arabic word *al-saqy* (watering). The condition takes three forms: *zīqqī* (like a water-bag), *laḥmī* (like meat) and *ṭablī* (like a drum). The first results from fluid collecting in the belly so that you can hear it rumbling if you move it'; see Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 74.

surgeon (*al-jarā'ihi*) Ibn Ḥamdān,<sup>38</sup> who was quite skilful in the treatment of patients, was also at the hospital. He and Ibn al-Muṭrān decided to puncture<sup>39</sup> [and insert a tube in order to drain] the hydropic swelling.

He said:

We were present at the operation. Ibn Ḥamdān lanced the swelling in the correct place, and yellow fluid came out, while Ibn al-Muṭrān watched the patient's pulse. When he realized that the patient was not strong enough to withstand the removal of more fluid, he had the site dressed and the patient laid [on his bed], ordering that the dressing should not be disturbed. The patient then felt greatly relieved and was able to relax. The patient's wife was with him [at the hospital], and Ibn al-Muṭrān urged her not to allow her husband to remove the dressing or to change it in any way until he could examine the patient the next day. We then left the hospital. When night came the man said to his wife: 'I am well now, there is nothing wrong with me; those physicians only intent to prolong my illness. So, undo the dressing so that the rest of the fluid comes out and I can return to work'. She reproached him and said it would be a mistake, but he repeated his request over and over again, not realizing that [the doctors] wanted to extract the fluid at a later stage, as a protective measure, in order to preserve his strength, because they were concerned about his condition. Finally, she undid the dressing, all the fluid ran out, his strength gave out and he perished.

Another story from the same source is the following:

In the hospital, he Muhadhdhab al-Dīn and Ibn al-Muṭrān saw a man whose arm was paralysed on one side of the body, as was his leg on the opposite side. Ibn al-Muṭrān quickly cured him by applying topical medications<sup>40</sup> until the patient had recovered completely.

38 This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

39 *Bazl*, puncturing in order to drain; paracentesis, in modern medical terms. The procedure of 'tapping' an abdomen swollen by dropsy in order to drain the fluid is an ancient procedure, with considerable risk to the patient. Many physicians warned against undertaking it except under special circumstances; see Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery in Islamic Lands', 311.

40 *al-adwiyah mawḍi'iyah*.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān had two brothers, who were also physicians. One of them was Hibat Allāh ibn Ilyās, the other’s name was [...] Ibn Ilyās.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn died in Damascus in the month of Rabī‘ 1 of the year 587 [April 191]. I have copied a eulogy in honour of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, composed after his conversion to Islam on the third of the month Ramadan of the year 585 [24–25 October 1189], in the handwriting of the poet al-Badī‘ ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad al-‘Āmirī.<sup>41</sup>

To you arrives – it will not abandon you–

a heart that compels me to taste the bitter fruit of love,<sup>42</sup>

With a yearning that overpowers (*adalla*) the heart but does not impart to someone mad with love (*mudallah*) anything but passion of him who overpowers him (*mudillihī*).<sup>43</sup>

You come near and he becomes in you an ally in merriness;<sup>44</sup>

how often did you go far away, so that he spent the night as a friend of merriness!<sup>45</sup>

He loves what you love and his heart is enamoured

of what you desire, but it is turned away from what it desires.

5 You offend (*tajnī*) and he knows what offence you committed, so he reaps(?) (*fa-yajtanī*) an excuse that he sends with a stupid face(?).

I marvel at someone who disregards (*mughḍī*) the fire of euphorbia wood (*ghaḍā*)

and who still relies on patience that is weakening.

41 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, ix:42–43 (lines 1–10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20–21, 23). The poet is Abū l-Qāsim Badī‘ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khiḍr al-‘Āmirī (dates unknown), see al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:404–405.

42 *ṣāb al-ṣabābah*; for *ṣāb* see above Ch. 10.8 (Müller, ii:145). The reading *mukrihī* (with final *yā*), found in the majority of sources, is slightly suspect since the first person singular is otherwise absent from the opening five lines.

43 One could also read *mudallihī*, ‘of one who drives (him) mad’; but the more sophisticated form of paronomasia involving different roots (*DLL* and *DLH*) is perhaps to be preferred, even though this uses the ‘facile’ rhyme with the pronominal suffix, which the poet studiously avoids in the rest of the poem. That the interpretation of the line was problematic is attested by the different versions found in the editions by Müller, Najjār, and Riḍā.

44 The repetition of *tafakkuh* in this line is suspect and perhaps one should read *tafakkur*, ‘thoughtfulness’ (*Wāfi*).

45 The sense of this line remains unclear even if the version of *Wāfi* is adopted.

An astute man, whose last remnant of life was struck by passion,  
to his peril; only the astute sagacious (*dahī*) man will be struck  
(*yud'hā*)!

His intelligence (*nuhāhu*) kept him (*nahāhu*) from you; he never  
ceases

to go more astray in loving you when he is kept away.

If only God-given success (*tawfiq*) helped him, he would seek refuge  
in no one but al-Muwaffaq,<sup>46</sup> the one with the most distinguished  
position,

10 Who does not believe in beneficence in words if one does not  
follow them up with the deeds of someone who does not dilute  
them.

Overflowing with intelligence; his hands are ponds of generosity  
for those who come to see him; no man is held back from them.

The sight of him puts an end to illnesses; so often someone  
at the point of death (*mushfi*) he cured (*shafāhu*) with that radiant  
face!

A fortunate man (*jadd*) who contains seriousness (*jidd*) and generosity  
(*jūd*),

obtaining praise that embroiders the mantle of coveted glory.

He resembles Mary's son in wisdom and felicity;

the mightiest submit to him like people madly in love.

15 The security to those seeking refuge; if he is not this  
to someone seeking protection, no one is!<sup>47</sup>

Those asking for favours have been aided (*našara*) against Time by the  
munificence

of Abū Naṣr,<sup>48</sup> man of prominent rank, so seek refuge with him!<sup>49</sup>

Possessor of an ancient office, uncontested,

and of speech in an assembly, one who has never been upbraided;

Brilliant, liberal, hoped-for,

quick-witted, philosopher, foremost man;

46 The name means 'granted success (by God)'.  
47 For the expression *illā dahin fa-lā dahī*, see Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj, *Dīwān*, 166, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, vi:391–396.

48 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān.  
49 Reading *fa-lājihī*, from the verb *lājā*, poetic licence for *lāja'a*. The rhyme is faulty (the *ā* makes for a defect called *sinād al-ta'sīs*; in the preceding line this is no fault because the *ā* does not belong to the final word).

- Scholar, learned man,<sup>50</sup> who acquired wealth and embraced  
 lofty qualities as a young child, becoming intelligent but not con-  
 ceited.
- 20 Created beings may resemble one another  
 in the two noblest things,<sup>51</sup> but no one resembles him.  
 When minds are perplexed  
 he surpasses all men with a mind that is not perplexed.  
 People have become too drowsy for praise, but he attained it  
 with the hands of man generous with gifts, alert.  
 A celestial sphere of beneficence: when you come to him  
 he, at his highest apogee (*awjihī*), enriches in several ways (*awjuhi*).  
 The soil of his abode (*maghnāhu*), which is riches (*ghinā*) to me, has  
 become  
 from where I return and to where I turn.
- 25 It is the 'expectoration of the one with a chest disease',<sup>52</sup> the drinking of  
 which  
 sends back the envious, retreating or laughing loudly.<sup>53</sup>  
 How near are hopes to one with exhausted ambition,  
 and how far are they from one living in comfort!  
 But for the expectation of a recovery I would not have postponed it,  
 after it had outstripped the noble, swift horses.  
 But it was pleased (*surrat*) by the beginning of his recovery  
 and travelled (*sarat*) to him while his body had not fully convalesced,  
 And it arrived congratulating him with the month of his fasting,<sup>54</sup>  
 with eloquent speech, not inarticulate.
- 30 O As'ad, listen to the eulogies of an eloquent speaker  
 who, through your lofty qualities, surpasses every eloquent orator;  
 One who hopes, spurred on by his loyalty and who has travelled  
 on the reddish-white camels of hope in every bare wasteland,

50 The word *ḥabr* (or *ḥibr*) is used in particular, but not exclusively, for non-Muslim religious authorities.

51 Religion and honour; see e.g. al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 191, Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, i:244 ('Whoever preserves his wealth preserves the two noblest things: religion and honour').

52 This somewhat unsavoury image is a proverbial expression denoting relief; it is also used for something one cannot avoid saying or doing (cf. the often-quoted saying *lā budda li-l-maṣḍūr an yanfuth*, 'someone with a chest disease must spit'). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Ch. 11.19) wrote a work called *Naḥṭhat al-maṣḍūr*. Here the poet seems to refer to his poem.

53 Again, a line difficult to interpret; it is not clear why the envious should laugh loudly.

54 As stated earlier, the conversion of Ibn al-Muṭrān took place in Ramadan.



- I see you<sup>55</sup> as someone who satisfies a tormenting complaint  
 with the shining of a light of a mind that does not stray.<sup>56</sup>  
 I have long complained to people, but among those to whom  
 I complained I have seen only insolent fools.  
 So often have I been suffered misfortune, being confident – but I am not  
 the first  
 confident, watchful man to suffer misfortune.
- 35 Ah, my life! If the times I have encountered had not been  
 so bad, I would not have exclaimed Ah! so often.  
 Among those with jobs<sup>57</sup> I am the one with least  
 luck and with the most respectable panegyric poetry.  
 So why<sup>58</sup> did the ruler see fit to degrade me, after I had  
 increased my praise of him and my godliness?  
 A man's greed is a disease; his best food  
 is what suffices him when he is not greedy.  
 The food of avidity goes off, while sufficiency  
 in one's soul never goes off or turns stale.
- 40 Fate only confronts those who desire;  
 whoever is content is not confronted.  
 How often have I extolled in my time among its people  
 those who, in the end, did not extol me!  
 For the people of my time are no longer moved to generosity  
 by the poetry of al-Walīd<sup>59</sup> or the singing of al-Bandahī.<sup>60</sup>

55 The sudden shift to the 1st person (continued in the next line) is odd, but this seems to suit the context better than interpreting *arāka* as '(who) shows to you'.

56 A has vowelled the verb as *lam ta'mahi*. One could perhaps read it also as *lam tu'mihi*, 'has not blinded him', but this is less likely in view of the rhyme (see note on line 2, above).

57 The precise sense of *ahl al-rusūm* is not clear; *rusūm* (sing. *rasm*) has many meanings, including 'employment, appointment'.

58 The vowelling of A (*fa-lammā*) is impossible metrically and syntactically.

59 Nizār Riḍā identifies him as the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (r. 125–126/743–744), who was an excellent lyrical poet. However, he did not compose panegyric verse that could inspire generosity; a more likely candidate is the famous Abbasid court poet al-Buḥturī (d. 184/897), whose *ism* also was al-Walīd.

60 He is obviously not, as Riḍā says, 'an Arab singer whose name derives from Banda, in the Indonesian Archipelago'; Najjār ignores him in notes or the index volumes. His identity is unknown. Al-Bandahī is an Arabicised form deriving from Persian Panj-dih ('Five villages') in Khorasan. The only person with this name found in the sources is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mas'ūdi al-Bandahī (d. 584/1188), a scholar and philologist, tutor of one of Saladin's sons and author of a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*

It is distressful: a censurer who will not desist  
from his error, and a tormentor who will not be stopped.

[15.23.5]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān is the author of the following books:

1. The gardens of physicians and meadows of the intelligent (*K. bustān al-aṭibbā' wa-rawḍat al-alibbā'*). [Its author] attempted [in this book] to collect all the witty sayings, anecdotes and appropriate information that he had read or heard from his teachers, or that he copied from [other] medical books. He did not finish this book. All I found of it were two parts, written in the hand of our teacher, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn. The first of these had been [proof]read by Ibn al-Muṭrān and contained his handwriting. In the second part, however, Muhadhhab al-Dīn makes mention of the fact that Ibn al-Muṭrān died before he was able to [proof]read it.<sup>61</sup>
2. The Nāṣiriyyah treatise on the preservation of health matters (*Al-M. al-Nāsiyyah fī ḥifẓ al-umūr al-ṣiḥḥiyyah*). [The author] intended in this book to be concise and serious. It is well-arranged and was composed at the instance of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb. I have found the original of this book, which is transmitted in the handwriting of Jamāl al-Dīn, also known as Ibn Jammālah, the scribe of Ibn al-Muṭrān.<sup>62</sup>
3. The Najmiyyah treatise on the management of health (*Al-M. al-Najmiyyah fī l-tadābir al-ṣiḥḥiyyah*). It seems to have been composed for Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the father of Saladin. When he died, and thus was unable to receive it, it was named after his son.
4. Summary of *The Book of Cycles* (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-adwār lil-Kasdāniyyīn*), attributed to the Nabataeans (*kasdāniyyūn*), discovered by Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Waḥshiyyah. Ibn al-Muṭrān summarized this work and finished it in [the month of] Rajab of the year 581 [October 1185].

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*al-udabā'*, xviii:215–216, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:390–392); he himself wrote his *nisbah* as al-Banj-dihī. He is not mentioned as a singer or composer.

61 The *K. bustān al-aṭibbā' wa-rawḍat al-alibbā'* or *The gardens of physicians and meadows of the intelligent* is a medical anthology containing quotations and extracts from a large number of early medical writings, some of which have been lost for posterity. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 165–166; Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, xxxii–iii; *GAL*, S. i:892 under 21a; cf. also Ibn al-Muṭrān, *Bustān* (facs.) and *idem*, *Bustān*.

62 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 191; Ihsanoğlu, *Catalogue*, 90.

5. A philosophical riddle (*Lughz fī l-ḥikmah*).
6. A book after the manner of *The Physicians' Banquet* (*K. 'alā madhhab da'wat al-aṭibbā'*).<sup>63</sup>
7. On simple drugs (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*). This book was left unfinished. It was the intention of its author that it would discuss all drugs, in so far as that would have been possible.
8. On rules with regard to medicine for kings (*K. ādāb ṭibb al-mulūk*).

I was told by a relative of Ibn al-Muṭrān that, when he died, he left behind several drafts of medical works and other books, as well as scattered explanatory notes. His sisters took those drafts and they have never been seen since. This relative also told me that in the home of one of those sisters he had seen a chest that the lady had lined by gluing some of Ibn al-Muṭrān's manuscripts to the inside of it.

#### 15.24 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥāḥib<sup>1</sup>

This celebrated physician was learned in the art of medicine, proficient in the mathematical sciences and devoted to writerly culture, and he also took a special interest in grammar. Damascus born and bred, he studied for some time under Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh.<sup>2</sup> When Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī,<sup>3</sup> who was the leading scholar of his age in philosophy, the mathematical sciences and other branches of science, was residing in the city of Mosul, Ibn al-Ḥāḥib and the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>4</sup> travelled to [that city] in order to meet him and to study under his guidance. Upon arrival, however, they found that he had gone to the city of Ṭūs,<sup>5</sup> so both men went there and stayed with him for a while.

63 That is, in the manner of the humorous *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* by Ibn Buṭlān; for the latter physician, see Ch. 10.38.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.13.

3 Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī (b. ca. 529/1135; d. 610/1213) was a Persian mathematician and astronomer, who amongst others taught in Mosul, Damascus and Aleppo.

4 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.34.

5 Ṭūs is an ancient city in the Raḍawī Khurāsān [Radavi Khorasan] Province in Iran near Mashhad. To the ancient Greeks, it was known as Susa.

Ibn al-Ḥājjib subsequently travelled to Erbil,<sup>6</sup> where the astronomer Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Dahhān<sup>7</sup> was then staying. He met Ibn al-Dahhān there and stayed with him for some time. After having read, studied and analysed the astronomical tables (*zīj*) that he had prepared, Ibn al-Ḥājjib copied them in his own handwriting and then returned to Damascus.

Ibn al-Dahhān was an astronomer from Baghdad, who was also known by the name Abū Shujā‘ and nicknamed ‘the little fox’ (*al-Thu‘aylib*). He lived in Mosul for twenty years and then went to Damascus, where he was honourably received by Saladin, [al-Qāḍī] al-Fāḍil<sup>8</sup> and a group of notables, and granted thirty dinars every month. Ibn al-Dahhān was a devoutly religious man, god-fearing and pious, who would fast [as] often [as he could]. He used to live in seclusion for four months and more at a time at the mosque in Damascus. The chamber in that [specific] mosque [near the *miḥrāb*] in *al-Kallāsah* was made for him.<sup>9</sup> He is the author of numerous works, including his famous ‘Astronomical Tables’, which is an excellent and sound [piece of work]; ‘The Pulpit of Fixed Shares of an Estate’,<sup>10</sup> which is another well-known work; ‘The Book on Lexical Difficulties in the Hadith’, in ten volumes; and a book on the differences in rubrics, tables and columns, [written] in the form of an almanac of health. He studied incessantly and composed much poetry. Ibn al-Dahhān went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but when he returned to Baghdad, after an absence of more than forty years, he died. He was interred in the tomb of his father and mother.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥājjib studied assiduously, was very fond of the sciences and was an authority on geometry. Before he became well-known as a physician, he worked on the clocks at the mosque in Damascus. He went on to distinguished himself in the art of medicine and became one of the most prominent men in that profession, serving as a physician at the ‘Great Hospital’, founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī. Subsequently, Ibn al-Ḥājjib entered the service of Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar, ruler of Hama,<sup>11</sup> but the death

6 Erbil, Arbil, or Irbil is a city in the north of Iraq. It lies 88 kilometres (55 miles) east of Mosul and is nowadays the capital of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

7 He is Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Shu‘ayb Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Shujā‘ Ibn al-Dahhān (d. 590/1194), see *GAL* i:392 (491–492); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v:12–13.

8 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of the Ayyubid administration in Syria. See above, Ch. 14.33.3.

9 Al-Kallāsah is the name of a place in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus; see e.g. Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, 267; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:469b and many other sources.

10 *‘Ilm al-farā‘id* was an important science requiring mathematical knowledge. Ibn al-Dahhān is often called al-Farādī al-Ḥāsib; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Farā‘id’ (Th.W. Juynboll).

11 That is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ‘Umar ibn Shāhanshāh Nūr al-Dīn, Abū Sa‘īd Taqī al-Dīn (r. 574–587/1178–1191). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

of his employer sent him back to Damascus. From there he travelled to Egypt (*al-diyār al-miṣriyyah*), where he entered the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb as a physician, holding that post until the Sultan's death. Finally, Ibn al-Ḥājib went to the court of Hama, where he entered the service of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the son of Taqī al-Dīn,<sup>12</sup> but died there of dropsy some two years later.

### 15.25 al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl<sup>1</sup>

The *sayyid* Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān was a native of Egypt, but spent much of his life in Syria. He was of noble descent, had high moral standards, a pleasant character, and possessed many other excellent qualities. In addition, he was an expert oculist, very knowledgeable and erudite, well-versed in the literary arts, a distinguished [scholar] in the domain of Arabic studies and an outstanding writer and leading poet. Al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb as an oculist, receiving in return splendid rewards, great prestige and many favours and graces. He held this important position [in the Sultan's service] until he died – may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil poked [a little] fun at him. The venerable shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn ‘Uqayl al-Shaybānī recited the following verse to me and told me that he had heard al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī reciting them about al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl:<sup>2</sup>

A man who treated me and anointed my eyes:  
I was afflicted in my eye (*‘aynī*) and my cash (*‘aynī*).

He also said:<sup>3</sup>

He was so hostile to the Abbasids that  
he robbed people of the black of the eye with his anointing.<sup>4</sup>

12 That is the Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar I ‘Umar Taqī al-Dīn, Abū l-Ma‘ālī Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 587–617/1191–1221). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Sa‘īd, *Murqīṣāt*, 68.

3 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Sa‘īd, *Murqīṣāt*, 68.

4 Black was the colour of the Abbasid dynasty (132–656/749–1258). Instead of *bi-kaḥliḥī*

Al-Sharīf Abū l-Faḍl al-Kaḥḥāl sent Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn<sup>5</sup> a lamb (*kharūf*) as a present, when the latter was visiting Egypt. When it arrived, Sharaf al-Dīn found it to be weak and lean, whereupon he composed [the following verse] to al-Sharīf by way of jest:<sup>6</sup>

Abū l-Faḍl and Ibn al-Faḍl you are, and worthy of it;<sup>7</sup>  
 so it is not strange that you have graciousness (*faḍl*).  
 Your favours came to me, which I cannot count because they are so  
 many,  
 not because I am ungrateful of a boon, or ignorant!  
 But I shall tell you a nice story about it,  
 one that will please you, something the like of which has never been.  
 A lamb came to me: I did not doubt that it was  
 allied with passion, emaciated by being jilted and blamed.  
 When it stood in the midday sun I imagined it was  
 a phantom<sup>8</sup> without a shadow that had crept into a dark patch.  
 I implored it to tell me what it desired. ‘Fodder!’ it said.  
 I beseeched it to say what had emaciated it. ‘Eating!’ it said.  
 I brought it some green weeds<sup>9</sup> of the soil,  
 flawless, its leaves not especially marked by being twisted.<sup>10</sup>  
 It kept observing them with a languid eye and recited to it,  
 while the tears were streaming from its eyes:

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(‘with his anointing’) one could also read (with A) *bi-kuḥliḥī*, ‘with his kohl (or antimony)’ (which is black).

5 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn (d. 631/1233) is a Damascene poet who, according to the chronicler Ibn Khallikān, was ‘well-known for his sharp criticism of the notables of the Damascene society’. See *Er<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘Ibn ‘Unayn’ (Ed.).

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā’*, xi:259–260, xix:90–91, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:445 (lines 1–2, 4–9).

7 The word *faḍl*, used three times in this line, can be rendered as ‘excellence’ but also as ‘graciousness, kindness’. Abū l-Faḍl (‘Father of al-Faḍl’) is the *kunya*h (teknonym) of al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl; it could mean he had a son called al-Faḍl but could also be interpreted as ‘a man of excellence or graciousness’. Ibn al-Faḍl literally means ‘son of al-Faḍl’; it is possible that his father was called al-Faḍl even though, unusually, this is not stated explicitly in the entry on him. In Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā’*, xi:259 his father’s name appears as Mūsā.

8 The word *khayāl*, often used in love poetry for the apparition of an absent loved one in a dream or fancy, can also mean ‘shadow’.

9 *Majjājāh* (thus, with *shaddah*, in A and L and vowelless *majjājāh* in Yāqūt) is not attested elsewhere. It seems likely that the poet intended *mujājāh*, literally ‘spittle’, changing it to *majjājāh* to fit the metre.

10 According to the editorial notes in *Muḥjam al-udabā’* this means the leaves are not wilted.

‘They came while the cisterns of death lay between us  
and granted union when union was no longer of any avail.’<sup>11</sup>

### 15.26 Abū Maṣṣūr al-Naṣrānī (the Christian)<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Abū Maṣṣūr was famous as a learned physician and a good practitioner and therapist. He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb for two years as a physician.

### 15.27 Abū l-Najm al-Naṣrānī (the Christian)<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Abū l-Najm ibn Abī Ghālib ibn Fahd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Wahb ibn Qays ibn Mālik was a famous physician in his day who possessed not only an excellent knowledge of the art of medicine, but also a pleasant manner with patients, and an admirable way of treating them.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Muḥannā<sup>3</sup> told me that Abū l-Najm’s father was a farmer in the village of Shaqqā<sup>4</sup> in the Ḥawrān,<sup>5</sup> who was known by the name

11 A line attributed, in Ibn Dāwūd, *Zahrah*, 98, to a Bedouin called Imru’ al-Qays (not the famous one of that name) and to Bishr ibn Ḥaḍram al-Kalā’ī (otherwise unknown; cf. Bishr ibn Ḥizrim al-Kalbī mentioned in al-Āmidī, *Mu’talif*, 60) in Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn*, i:281. Also quoted by way of a proverb in Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 418. In the original, *atat* means ‘she came’; here the subject are the greens.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 MS B adds: ‘He was a friendly and sociable man, and a good and benevolent person who taught students the science of medicine. He was accounted one of the best and most outstanding [physicians] of his generation’.

3 Additional information on this individual is not currently available.

4 Shaqqā or Shaqqa is a small village in the Ḥawrān, Syria.

5 Ḥawrān (also spelled Hauran or Houran) is a volcanic plateau, a geographic area and a people located in southwestern Syria and extending into the northwestern corner of modern-day Jordan. The origin of its name derives from the Aramaic Ḥawrān, meaning ‘cave land.’ In geographic and geomorphic terms, its boundaries generally extend from near Damascus and Mount Hermon in the north to the Ajloun mountains of Jordan in the south. The area includes the Golan Heights on the west and is bounded there by the Jordan Rift Valley; it also includes Jabal al-Druze in the east and is bounded there by more arid steppe and desert terrains. The Yarmouk River drains much of the Ḥawrān to the west and is the largest tributary of the Jordan River.

of 'the vagabond (*al-ʿayyār*):<sup>6</sup> When his son Abū l-Najm was [still] a boy, a physician from Damascus took him away and, when he grew up, taught him the art of medicine and how to practise it. Abū l-Najm served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb as a physician.<sup>7</sup> He remained in Saladin's service for some time, making recurrent visits to his palace, where he and the other physicians treated patients.

Abū l-Najm al-Naṣrānī died in Damascus in the year 599/1202–1203.<sup>8</sup>

Abū l-Najm al-Naṣrānī is the author of *An Epitome of Medicine*, which comprises both theory and practice.<sup>9</sup>

### 15.28 Abū l-Faraj al-Naṣrānī (the Christian)<sup>1</sup>

This distinguished physician was an expert in the art of medicine, of which he possessed an excellent knowledge. A good practitioner, he was one of the prominent [physicians] of his time. He served as a physician to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, who honoured him greatly and had a high opinion of him. Abū l-Faraj was also in the service of al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> and stayed with him in Sumaysāt.<sup>3</sup>

The sons of Abū l-Faraj were also devoted to the art of medicine. They, too, lived in Sumaysāt and were in the service of al-Malik al-Afḍal's sons.

6 This word has a variety of meanings: 'vagrant', 'rogue', 'tramp', 'vagabond', 'the conceited one', 'the mischievous one'. For the rendering as 'a man that goes to and fro without work', see Lane, *Lexicon*, ii:2209; cf. also Tor, *Violent Order*.

7 MS B adds: 'He stood high in the ruler's estimation and enjoyed great prestige during his rule.'

8 MS B adds: 'leaving one son, a physician, Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī l-Najm'.

9 MS H presents us with the following extra titles: 'He also wrote a synopsis of collections and registers and a book on composite medicaments including those that were prepared in hospitals.'

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician is also mentioned in the biography of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Asʿad ibn Abī l-Faṭḥ Ilyās ibn Jurjis al-Muṭrān, see Ch. 15.23.

2 That is, al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlī ibn al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn I, Abū l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn, who ruled over Damascus from 582/1186 until 592/1196. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

3 Samosata (Arabic: Sumaysāt) was an ancient city on the right (west) bank of the river Euphrates whose ruins existed at the modern-day city of Samsat, Adıyaman Province, Turkey until the site was flooded by the newly constructed Atatürk Dam, cf. on this city amongst others Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii:258.



15.29 Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sā'ātī<sup>1</sup>

[Fakhr al-Dīn] Riḍwān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Rustam al-Khurāsānī al-Sā'ātī (the Clockmaker), was born and raised in Damascus. His father Muḥammad was originally from Khorasan, but moved to Syria and settled in Damascus, where he resided until he died. He<sup>2</sup> was unequalled in his time for his knowledge of clocks and the science of astronomy. It was he who operated the clock at the gate of the [Umayyad] Mosque in Damascus.<sup>3</sup> He had constructed that clock in the time of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī,<sup>4</sup> who treated him very generously and paid him an allowance and a salary for operating the clocks. He held that office until he died – may God have mercy upon him.

He left two sons. One of these was Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Sā'ātī, who was one of the most outstanding poets of his generation.<sup>5</sup> He was incomparable. His *dīwān* is widely known and generally recognized as [excellent]. Bahā' al-Dīn died in Cairo.

The other [son] was Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān ibn al-Sā'ātī, who was an eminent physician and a distinguished man of letters. Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān studied the art of medicine under shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī,<sup>6</sup> with whom he associated for some time. He was bright and intelligent, was extremely well-versed in all matters in which he took an interest, and eagerly devoted himself to every scrap of knowledge he embraced. He also studied medicine under the guidance of shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī when he arrived in Damascus.<sup>7</sup>

Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sā'ātī proved to be an expert in the art of penmanship and a first-rate calligrapher. He also composed poetry, and had a good knowledge of logic and the philosophical sciences. He also studied the literary

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see *ET Three* art. 'Ibn al-Sā'ātī, Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān' (N.P. Jooose).

2 'He' must, without a doubt, be the father.

3 According to his treatise describing in detail his father's clock, the clock was constructed at the Jayrūn gate, located immediately to the east of the Umayyad mosque. It was an elaborate water-clock. See Hill, *Arabic Water-Clocks*, 69–71; Hassan & Hill, *Islamic Technology*, 57–58; and at length: Wiedemann & Hauser, 'Uhren', 167–272.

4 He died in 569/1174.

5 See *GAL*, i:256 (298), Suppl. i:456; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:7–29.

6 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.36. He died on the morning of Sunday, the tenth of Muḥarram of the year 631 [16 October 1233].

7 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was a well-known physician and educator from the town of Mardin. He was amongst others the shaykh [teacher] of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī and Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah. He has an entry in Ch. 10.75.

sciences under shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī<sup>8</sup> in Damascus. Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sā‘ātī served al-Malik al-Fā‘iz [Ibrāhīm] ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>9</sup> as vizier, and al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil<sup>10</sup> as physician and vizier. He was a boon companion of his employer and used to play the lute [for him]. Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān had the utmost regard for the medical teachings of the venerable shaykh Ibn Sīnā. He died in Damascus – may God have mercy upon him – of jaundice (*yaraqān*).<sup>11</sup>

He composed the following lines:<sup>12</sup>

My colleagues envy me on account of my craft,  
because among them I am a champion.  
I stayed awake at night while they thought fit to slumber:  
he who studies and he who sleeps will never be alike.

Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān ibn al-Sā‘ātī is the author of the following works:<sup>13</sup>

1. Supplement to *On Colic* by the venerable shaykh Ibn Sīnā (*Takmil kitāb al-qawlanj lil-ra‘īs Ibn Sīnā*).
  2. Marginal notes to Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon of Medicine* (*Al-hawāshī ‘alā kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
  3. Anthology of poems (*K. al-mukhtārāt fī l-ash‘ār wa-ghayrihā*).
- and other works.

8 Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī (d. 613/1217). Grammarian and prominent reciter of the Qur’an. See also the entry on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān in Ch. 15.23.1 and the biography of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15.40.

9 He is one of the younger sons of al-Malik al-‘Ādil I Muḥammad, the ruler of Damascus from 592/1196 onwards. Al-Malik al-Fā‘iz Ibrāhīm plotted against his older brother al-Malik al-Kāmil I Muḥammad ibn al-‘Ādil I Muḥammad, the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt from 615/1218 until 635/1238.

10 That is, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-‘Ādil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Sharaf al-Dīn. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

11 He passed away in about 627/1230.

12 Metre: *sarī*. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xviii:109; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xi:142; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv:129.

13 Remarkably, nothing is mentioned here of his *Risālah fī ‘amal al-sā‘āt wa-isti‘mālīhā* (*An epistle on the fabrication and use of clocks*), which he is said to have composed in 600/1203. It deals primarily with his father’s water-clock at the Jayrūn Gate of the Great Mosque in Damascus, which he repaired, improved and reconstructed. See the ed. of Duhman, Riḍwān al-Sā‘ātī, *Kitāb ‘ilm al-sā‘āt*; for an English translation and analysis, see Hill, *Arabic Water-Clocks*, 69–88.

15.30 Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī<sup>1</sup>

The physician Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdān ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Lubūdī<sup>2</sup> was a distinguished and learned authority who was one of the great scholars of his age and one of the most outstanding [men] of his generation in the philosophical sciences and the art of medicine. From Syria he travelled to Persia, where he studied philosophy under Najīb al-Dīn As‘ad al-Hamadānī,<sup>3</sup> while he studied medicine under the guidance of one of the most prominent and respected Persian scholars, a man who had learned the profession from a disciple of Ibn Sahlān<sup>4</sup> who, in turn, had studied under the learned shaykh al-Īlāqī Muḥammad.<sup>5</sup>

Shams al-Dīn was a highly ambitious man. He was good-natured, exceedingly intelligent and extremely eager [to learn]. He distinguished himself in the sciences and was well-versed in philosophy and the art of medicine. Moreover, he was a strong debater and a formidable opponent in dispute. In addition, he was accounted a leading authority and an important *shaykh* whose example was followed and on whom [people] relied. He held sessions at which he taught medicine and other [subjects].

Shams al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb,<sup>6</sup> the ruler of Aleppo, who relied on his skill as a physician. He held that post until al-Malik al-Zāhir died – may God have mercy upon him – in the month Jumādā 11 of the year 613 [September–October 1216].<sup>7</sup> After the ruler’s death, he removed to Damascus, where he taught medi-

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 Thus e.g. *GAL*, see index iii:639.

3 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī mentions a certain al-Najīb al-Hamadhānī in his major treatise on alchemy. This person, however, studied theology and law in Mosul and claimed that he was a philosopher. See Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 53–54.

4 This scholar is most likely the judge Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī). See also the entry on Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī in Ch. 15.19.

5 Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Īlāqī is Sharaf al-Zamān Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Īlāqī of Bākhraz in Khorasan, Persia. He should be counted among Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 429/1037) direct students. Al-Īlāqī produced an epitome of the first book of the *Canon of Medicine* by Ibn Sīnā which was known under various titles: *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-Īlāqīyyah* (“The Aphorisms of al-Īlāqī”) and *Kitāb al-Asbāb wa-l-‘alāmāt* (“The Book of Causes and Symptoms”). Al-Īlāqī’s greatly abbreviated version of the first book of Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon* was very popular, and many copies have survived. On him, see Ch. 11.14.

6 That is, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn al-Nāṣir I Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ or Abū Manṣūr Ghiyāth al-Dīn I, governor of Aleppo. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

7 On the illness, treatment and untimely death of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf, see Joosse, ‘Pride and Prejudice’, 129–141 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 74–77.

cine and practised at the Great Hospital of Nūr al-Dīn until the day he died – may God have mercy upon him – on the fourth of Dhū l-Qa‘dah of the year 621 [17 November 1224] at the age of fifty-one.

One of Shams al-Dīn ibn Lubūdī’s sayings was: ‘Nothing is so hopeless that it cannot be improved with effort’.

Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī is the author of the following works:

1. A considered opinion on the knowledge of judgement and fate (*K. al-ra‘y al-mu‘tabar fī ma‘rifat al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar*).
2. Commentary on Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Summary* (*S. kitāb al-mulakhkhaṣ li-Ibn al-Khaṭīb*).<sup>8</sup>
3. On pain of the joints [arthritis] (*R. fī waja‘ al-mafāṣil*).
4. Commentary on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abu-qrāt*).
5. Commentary on Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq’s *Book of Questions* (*S. kitāb al-masā’il li-Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq*).

### 15.31 al-Ṣāḥib Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī<sup>1</sup>

[15.31.1]

The learned physician al-Ṣāḥib Najm al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā, the son of the physician and leading authority Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdān ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid.<sup>2</sup> Najm al-Dīn was without peer his time in the medical art and a model [for others] in the philosophical sciences, for he was exceedingly intelligent, well-spoken, very eager to study the sciences and an expert in the literary disciplines, surpassing the ancients in philosophy, and Saḥbān Wā’il<sup>3</sup> in rhetoric. He composed such beautiful poems that even Labīd<sup>4</sup> could not measure

8 Ibn al-Khaṭīb is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Ch. 11.19).

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 See the previous entry. Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī is most likely the law-giver mentioned in *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ḥā’ik’ (M.A.J. Beg) and art. ‘Djazzār’ (M.A.J. Beg).

3 Saḥbān Wā’il is the name given to an orator and poet of the tribe of Wā’il, ‘whose seductive eloquence has passed into a proverb and who, it is said, whilst addressing an assembly for half-a-day, never used the same word twice.’ See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Saḥbān Wā’il’ (T. Fahd).

4 Labīd ibn Rabī‘ah Abū ‘Aqīl was an Arab poet of the pagan period, who lived into the days of Islām. He belonged to the family of Banū Ja‘far, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū ‘Āmir and therefore to the Qaysī Hawāzin. According to Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vi:21) he died

up to him, and wrote such eloquent epistles (*tarassul*) that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd<sup>5</sup> himself was not his equal.

And when I saw that all people ranked below him  
I was certain that Time assays people.<sup>6</sup>

Najm al-Dīn was born in Aleppo in the year 607/1210, but when his father moved to Damascus, he took his son, then only a child, along with him. Najm al-Dīn’s excellence and lofty ambitions had already become apparent when he was no more than a small boy. He studied the art of medicine under our shaykh, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī,<sup>7</sup> pursuing his studies with distinction until he became one of the most outstanding scholars of his time. Having entered the service of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm ibn al-Malik al-Mujāhid ibn Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh ibn Shādhī, Lord of Ḥims,<sup>8</sup> he made that city his home as long as his employer remained alive. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr relied on him as his physician, and regarded him so highly that in the end he appointed him vizier and entrusted him with state affairs. By then, the [ruler] was so entirely dependent on Najm al-Dīn that he never left al-Malik al-Manṣūr’s side, accompanying him wherever he went. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr died – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 643/1245, after having defeated the Khwārazmians.<sup>9</sup>

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in the year 40 [660–661]. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Labīd ibn Rabī‘a’ (C. Brockelmann). One supposes Labīd was chosen because of the paronomasia with al-Lubūdī, and ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd because of the rhyme.

- 5 He is ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, or ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa’d (d. 132/750). Secretary to the last Umayyad caliph Abū ‘Abd al-Malik Marwān 11 ibn Muḥammad, al-Ja’dī al-Ḥimār (r. 127–132/744–750). He was one of the earliest epistolographers in Arabic, to whom tradition attributed the foundation of Arabic literary prose. A third-generation Muslim of non-Arab, probably Persian, extraction, he was probably born in al-Anbār. He seems to have been educated in al-Kufa, to have worked as a teacher and an itinerant tutor, and then to have been employed as a secretary (*kātib*) in the central administration of the Umayyad government in Damascus. See *EI Three* art. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib’ (W. al-Qāḍī).
- 6 A line by al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 463. Metre: *ṭawīl*. The commentators explain: Time, or Fate, allots to people according to what they deserve.
- 7 Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī (d. 628/1230) was better known under the name al-Dakhwār. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.50.
- 8 He is al-Malik al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh 11 ibn al-Qāhir Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 581/1186 until 637/1240). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.
- 9 The Khwārazmian dynasty was a Persianate Sunni Muslim dynasty of Turkic Mamlūk origin.

The physician Najm al-Dīn then entered the service of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>10</sup> in Egypt. That ruler bestowed many honours upon him, lavished gifts on him and appointed him as head of the treasury in Alexandria. He now held a very high rank with a stipend of three thousand dirhams monthly. After having held that position for some time, he returned to Syria, where he became the head of the [Ayyubid] administration for the entire province.

On one of the epistles that he wrote is the following short note:

The 'servant' [meaning himself] has received the ruler's 'noble letter',<sup>11</sup> may God prolong and increase his blessings and may He necessitate and exceed His munificence toward all his noble-minded predecessors. In his letter, he [the ruler] has made clear the servant's duty of unquestioning obedience (*istirqāq*) and the necessity of the State – may God make the State eternal – because of its many merits and virtues. Whatever the master commands, [the servant] must provide, for he knows that opportunity passes like the clouds and that the tasks that are to be done within a limited time, need to be performed correctly. Thus, when there are time constraints, delay is no longer permissible. The master knows the benefit of the order of importance in which things have to be done for all parts of the organisation, and the servant merely acts as an arrow that the master aims, or a sword that he unsheathes. We should – for God's sake – hurry and hasten, for then the signs of good fortune and victory will become manifest [to us]. But we should beware and be on our guard against delay and neglect, for – may God forbid! – the time in which we can ask God to fulfil our hope and expectations may already have elapsed by then. It is to be hoped that God, through his munificence, supports the slave (*al-mamlūk*) [meaning himself] in serving our master the Sultan in a way that will fulfil him with joy and hope, be it by the hand of the master, by word, or by deed, if God, the exalted, wills.

[15.31.2]

One of his [Najm al-Dīn's] poems is about al-Khalīl (Abraham/Ibrāhīm)<sup>12</sup> – may peace and blessings be upon him – which he recited to me himself when about

10 He is al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 11 Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn, of Damascus (r. 637–647/1240–1249). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

11 For this meaning of *musharrafah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*; in other sources (e.g. al-Qalqashandī) one finds the phrase *wurūd al-musharrafah*, 'the arrival of the noble letter', or *waradat al-musharrafah al-karīmah*. Evidently, the message (*ruq'ah*) is a response to a letter from the ruler.

12 Abraham's epithet al-Khalīl, 'The Friend (*scil.*, of God); is based on Q al-Nisā' 4:125.

to begin his service on his return from Egypt. He recited it while standing at the door of the summer sitting-room beneath his house (*bāb al-sirdāb*)<sup>13</sup> in the month of Dhū l-Qa'dah in the year 661 [September 1261].<sup>14</sup>

This is what inspires awe and frightening sublimity,  
 dazzlingly! So what can one say?  
 If Quss were present, appearing here  
 today to you, you would think he was Bāqil.<sup>15</sup>  
 Can eloquent people ever strike fire<sup>16</sup>  
 when their clear expression defends the Sublime One?  
 All those<sup>17</sup> prophets followed your lead  
 and with you there came evidence and proofs.  
 5 You, Ibrāhīm, showed the ways that lead to right guidance  
 and good works and beneficence: you have done them.  
 You erected the cornerstones of the Sharia, openly revealing  
 and establishing that God is the Maker.  
 Your house<sup>18</sup> has always been where the Revelation descended, which  
 makes, with its sublimity, your desolate abode populous.<sup>19</sup>  
 You have dazzled in everything with a miracle  
 that no one gifted with reason will ever oppose.  
 One a day of vaunting it is enough for you that Muḥammad,  
 when people trace their lineage, is descended from you.<sup>20</sup>  
 10 You have always carried the hidden meaning of prophethood  
 until it came to Muḥammad who acquired it.

13 Lothar Kopf has rendered *bāb al-sirdāb* as 'the al-Sirdab Gate', assuming it to be one of the city gates of Damascus, but a *bāb* in Damascus with this specific name is unknown.

14 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:280–281 (lines 1, 4–7, 10, 12).

15 For Quss, the proverbial orator, see above, Chs. 10.64.17; 10.68.1.4; and 14.55.2. His opposite is Bāqil, a legendary inarticulate Arab. In an often-told anecdote he is leading a gazelle that he bought; when asked how much he paid for it, he stretches his ten fingers and sticks out his tongue (meaning eleven dirhams). The gazelle escapes.

16 Reading *yarū* (following the vowelling in L), but *yaraw*, '(can they) see', also seems possible in view of the 'dazzling' in lines 1 and 8.

17 Read *al-nabīyyīna l-ulā* (not *l-ūlā*, which is syntactically and metrically impossible); perhaps it stands here for *al-uwālu* ('the first, ancient').

18 Also implying 'your family, lineage'.

19 The syntax is contorted and the word *muqfarr* (apparently standing for *muqfir*) is not attested in the dictionaries.

20 According to the traditional lineage of Muḥammad he is descended from Ismā'īl/Ishmael, son of Ibrāhīm/Abraham.

Thus may the blessings of the Lord be upon you both,  
 from whom there has always come to you praise and favours.  
 I seek refuge with you, humbly,  
 pleading, being a poor petitioner.  
 I hope you will ask on my behalf the Lord of Exaltedness  
 to forgive the practices I persisted in.  
 I think that, once my sin is forgiven by Him  
 and I have attained my aim – I dare not hope!–  
 15 And I have returned, wholly devoted to His gates,  
 not encountering anyone to ask save Him,  
 And I have asked One who is perfect in His generosity,  
 who gives not condescendingly,<sup>21</sup> nor is He miserly:  
 Then in truth I have attained my desire,  
 especially since you are the carrier of my request.

[15.31.3]

He also composed another poem about al-Khalīl – may peace and blessings be upon him – on his return from Egypt in the month Jumādā II of the year 664 [February-March 1264], which he [also] recited at the door of the summer sitting-room<sup>22</sup> beneath his house:<sup>23</sup>

O friend of God!<sup>24</sup> I have come to seek  
 your gate, sought from all places,  
 To perform incumbent duties<sup>25</sup> on account of your graciousness  
 that you granted of old to all those who understand.  
 Thus you led people with your guidance, who followed you  
 and therefore, with that guidance, arrived on the best path.  
 You showed the roadmarks of the Sharia, openly revealing it,  
 so that it became visible and audible to mankind.  
 5 You entrusted to it the secrets of every hidden thing  
 and became, with what you entrusted, the best entruster.  
 You showed a proof that, through you, became decisive,  
 with which you cut short those who had not yet been cut short.<sup>26</sup>

21 For the expression *bi-lā mann*, see above, Ch. 10.64.17.1.

22 Or again 'at the Sirdāb Gate', according to Lothar Kopf.

23 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

24 Ibrāhīm/Abraham (an epithet based on Q al-Nisā' 4:125).

25 One would expect *biḥī* instead of *biḥā* if the pronoun is to refer to *faḍlikum*.

26 There is a play on *qāṭi'*, 'decisive', literally 'cutting', and 'cutting (short), silencing'.



Here I am, having come to your gate, asking,  
 standing as a poor man, with the humbleness of submission,  
 So that you may ask God, the Generous – for He is truly the most gra-  
 cious one  
 who may be asked and the most generous to whom one may  
 pray–  
 To protect me<sup>27</sup> against the evil of every affliction;  
 to avert the turns of mishaps from meeting with me;  
 10 Not to afflict me afterwards with a misfortune;  
 that I will not meet a friend with the moaning of one in pain;  
 And to relieve me of the worry I have been afflicted with,  
 for I spent the night worried, with a broken heart.  
 Whenever a calamity befalls me  
 I make your abode my goal and my refuge,  
 So that you may intercede for me with God and I may turn back  
 to attain my hopes and obtain my ambition:  
 That I will have done with my works in this world and turn  
 to my world to come, with a wide-open heart;  
 15 That you will ask Him to forgive<sup>28</sup> me in His kindness  
 and that I may gain the enjoyment of His lights.  
 If intercession is made for someone and you are his intercessor,  
 he will without fail gain a pasture in Paradise.

He saw al-Khalīl – may peace and blessings be upon him – as he lay between  
 sleep and waking, just after something untoward had happened to him, and  
 composed the following verses:<sup>29</sup>

Do not grieve for horses or wealth  
 and do not spend the night worrying about your situation!  
 As long as your soul and high spirit are sound,  
 disregard all other things!  
 Wealth is nothing but accidental things newly made,  
 exposed to loss and substitution.

27 The jussive forms in this and the following line (*yaḥminī*, *yublīnī*) are a gross breach of grammar, not among the usual poetic licences.

28 Again, two jussive forms (*yaʿfu*, *aḥḏa*) are used in this line instead of subjunctives.

29 Metre: *basīṭ*.

The pleasure of wealth consists in that the soul spends it  
 on newly-made worry and preoccupation.  
 The best thing on which your hands have spent what they have  
 amassed  
 is the protection of your honour from any gossip.  
 So much wealth have you been able to amass,  
 but soon the hand of Fate<sup>30</sup> scattered it!  
 You have never been seen<sup>31</sup> to be in need of anyone  
 while you have never ceased to have needs and hopes.  
 The Lord of the Throne<sup>32</sup> will reward you as is His wont  
 with advantages of encompassing beneficence,  
 And you will encounter all the good things that you were hoping for,  
 as what happened earlier in your past times.

[15.31.4]

He composed the following poem in Jerusalem, on his return from Egypt, in the middle of Jumādā 1 of the year 666 [January–February 1266].<sup>33</sup>

O Friend of God,<sup>34</sup> in me there is an ardent love  
 and yearning to meet you, by which my distress is increased.  
 You are the one who instituted (*sananta*<sup>35</sup>) a teaching for people  
 and thereby you were a guide to the broad Path (*sanān*).  
 You made clear on the roads of prophethood a course  
 that in its radiance came to surpass meteors,  
 With the proofs you demonstrated, that were strong  
 and cannot be refuted by slanderous lies or defamation.

30 Or: 'the divine decrees'. There is a play on the root *QDR*: *muqtadīr* 'able' and *aqdār* 'decrees'.

31 Abraham is apparently no better poet than al-Lubūdī. The versions of A (*lam tura*) and Najjār and Riḏā (*lam tara* or *tura*) are grammatically correct but metrically impossible; *lam tarā* or *turā* (LRHGb, also Müller) scans correctly but is again a bad solecism. The sense of the line is not quite clear.

32 An expression occurring five times in the Qur'an.

33 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:313 (lines 1–6, describing them as 'poetry inferior to the degree of good quality').

34 Ibrāhīm/Abraham.

35 This metrical irregularity (SLSL in the second foot) is not uncommon in pre-Islamic and early Islamic verse but rare in later periods. The verb *sanna* and the following noun *sanān* allude to the related word *Sunnah*. Instead of *sananta*, *Wāfi* has *sannayta* ('you opened, have facilitated'), probably an attempt to regularise the metre.

- 5 I had wished to meet you as a pilgrim,  
to rub my cheek in the dust at your abode,  
And to perform incumbent duties<sup>36</sup> on account of your graciousness,  
that  
came to be recorded, with their merit, in the most excellent of  
books,<sup>37</sup>  
And to convey the passion and grief I suffer  
and the worries that at night and in the morning are in my heart.  
Time has struck me with its vagaries  
so as to lower my state and to blunt my edge.  
You are the one I implore in any hardship,  
that you may lift from me any destested and difficult matter,  
10 And intercede for me with God, so that I may turn back,  
the Merciful having relieved me of the misfortunes I endure;  
Especially since your servant belongs to the party<sup>38</sup> of him  
by whom all non-Arabs and Arabs are honoured:  
– This is the best of mankind; I mean Muḥammad,  
who on his nocturnal journey<sup>39</sup> was in the extreme proximity–  
[Your servant] to whom you both have been a storehouse and a means,  
a mighty treasure for peace and for war.  
Thus it is no wonder that he is kept safe  
from harm and adversity, from reproach and deprivation;  
15 And it is not strange that he should be seen unafraid,  
feeling happy at night and secure in his heart and mind.  
O you two men of the ways of prophethood and right guidance:  
cancel my false steps, interceding with my Lord!  
You two suffice for me as intercessors.<sup>40</sup> For I know  
that God will then be sufficient for me.  
O Almighty One (*qādir*), decree (*qaddir*) for me relief of my distress  
and hasten, O God, with medicine for my illness!

36 See the note on the nearly identical hemistich above, Ch. 15.31.2, first poem, line 2.

37 Paronomasia: *faḍl*, twice ('graciousness', 'merit') and *afḍal* ('most excellent').

38 The word *shī'ah* is used here in its general sense rather than 'Shiah.'

39 The Prophet's nocturnal journey (*isrā'*) or ascent (*mī'rāj*) to the seven heavens (alluded to in Q al-Isrā' 17:1 and greatly elaborated in popular literature) is celebrated annually throughout the Muslim world.

40 This seems to be what the poet wants to say; but strictly he is saying, incoherently, 'It suffices for you two as intercessors for me.'

He also said:<sup>41</sup>

Whenever I fear, hope recedes in the distance;  
 but it is enough for me to trust in God.  
 So leave off both fear and hope  
 and be steadfast, being content, for that is contentedness.  
 There is no avoiding whatever God has decreed,  
 so leave off worrying, which is distress to me,  
 And be certain that God is kind:  
 if grief comes, joy will follow.

He also said:<sup>42</sup>

Whenever you are in dire straits, be steadfast: it will pass.  
 So often the heat of a fire is followed by wellbeing.  
 Do not ask Time to ward off a misfortune;  
 you will see that nothing is bound to last forever.

[15.31.5]

He wrote a poem to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad:<sup>43</sup>

Congratulations on Nawrūz,<sup>44</sup> which comes to you bringing glad tidings  
 of attaining, one day, what you desire and seek.  
 That the sovereignty should remain with those not deserving it  
 would be a strange thing; and my situation with you even stranger.  
 I would willingly lead the sovereignty back to you so that you could  
 receive it;<sup>45</sup>  
 but you want to demand it from someone other than me.  
 And you persist in obtaining the sovereignty that I  
 am capable of, which has become difficult.

41 Metre: *khaṣṣif*.

42 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

43 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

44 Nawrūz or Nayrūz, the Persian New Year celebrated originally (as today) at the spring equinox but in the Islamic period also at other times. Poets often dedicated congratulatory poems to rulers on this occasion. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad (d. 658/1260) was the last Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus; he surrendered to the Mongols and was executed soon afterwards.

45 Yet again a strange use of the jussive mood.

I swear that if you assist me for a while,  
that which you think is remote will come near.<sup>46</sup>

He also said:<sup>47</sup>

I shall leave you, not because I dislike your graciousness  
to me: who could make me spend my life with it?<sup>48</sup>  
But my livelihood is scant, those who envy me  
are many, and Time's vicissitudes have afflicted me.  
I have exchanged an exalted status for a lowly one,  
a comfortable livelihood for anxiety and poverty.  
The utmost of what I can desire in your protection has become  
to be the equal to those unequipped to know.  
5 If high standing were to come with intelligence  
I would be placed higher than meteors, together with the full moon.  
However, I have long handled all kinds of people,  
with liberality, and with prohibiting and commanding.<sup>49</sup>  
So be steadfast towards the iniquity of Time and its decree,  
for it will never stay in the same state.  
It is strange that I should put my hopes on someone other than you  
and leave you, seeking kindness for kindness,  
And that I should enquire far and wide about any benefactor  
and traverse deserts hard to pass through, roving,  
10 While you, Saladin, are the most generous of mankind,  
one whose munificence mocks the gushing sea;  
You are the ruler of the whole earth; any other king  
in the word is not deemed to be of stature.  
I myself am a serf, no one but me who claims  
my rights, that decisively give support.(?)<sup>50</sup>

He also said:<sup>51</sup>

46 The interpretation of the piece is not wholly clear; apparently Najm al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, being not merely a physician but active on behalf of the ruler, attempted to seek help to restore his patron's rule.

47 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

48 Interpretation of this rhetorical question uncertain (*an* apparently standing for *bi-an*).

49 'Prohibiting and commanding' is a common phrase for absolute authority and power.

50 Or 'give victory'; meaning unclear.

51 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

Though my body is going, separating from you,  
 my heart dwells in the shelter of your abode.  
 My heart fears your moving,  
 but it is safe from being moved.<sup>52</sup>

He also said:<sup>53</sup>

O moon of mine, you have made me feel lonely and you left me  
 allied to sleeplessness, constantly worrying and thinking.  
 I wish you were present with me  
 though I were bereft of reason, hearing, and sight.

He also said (a *dūbayt*):<sup>54</sup>

O possessor of my soul and its destroyer!  
 How often does my soul humour you, and how often do you humour  
 it?<sup>55</sup>  
 If I am, in love, the Jacob/Ya'qūb of passion,  
 You are, among handsome men, its Joseph/Yūsuf.<sup>56</sup>

[15.31.6]

Al-Ṣāhib Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī is the author of the following works:

1. Summary of the general principles in Ibn Sīnā's *Canon of Medicine* (*Mukhtaṣar al-kullīyyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
2. Summary of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Book of Questions* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq*).

52 This line only scans correctly if one reads *tanaqqulka* and *tanaqqulhu*, suppressing the case endings (duly supplied in A).

53 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

54 On this form, see above, Ch. 10.83.6 and n. 7 to 11.19.6.2.

55 A marginal note in MS R provides the following explanation (tentative translation): 'He took his lines "how often does your soul humour you, and how often do you humour it?" from the words of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh about his son. He raised a complaint with God about an ill-tempered friend whose soul humoured him and who humoured his soul. This is mentioned in the beginning of the book with the biography of Ibn al-Tilmīdh. And he is referring to it [?].'

56 In the Islamic tradition Yūsuf/Joseph (much favoured by his father Ya'qūb/Jacob) is a paragon of masculine beauty. The feminine possessive pronouns can only refer, oddly, to the masculine word *hawā*. The sense of '*alā ḥisānihā*' is not wholly clear.

3. Summary of Ibn Sīnā's *Pointers and Admonitions* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt li-Ibn Sīnā*).
4. Summary of Ibn Sīnā's *Sources of Philosophy* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb 'uyūn al-ḥikmah li-Ibn Sīnā*).
5. Summary of the *Abridgement* by the 'Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy' [i.e. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī] (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-mulakhkhaṣ li-Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy*).
6. Summary of *Those who deal with the two principles* (*Mukhtaṣar al-mu'āmilīn fī l-uṣūlayn*).<sup>57</sup>
7. Summary of Euclid's book (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb Iqlīdis*).
8. Summary of Euclid's *Premises* (*Mukhtaṣar muṣādarāt Iqlīdis*).
9. The glimmerings: on philosophy (*K. al-lama'āt fī l-ḥikmah*).
10. The bright horizons in philosophy (*K. āfāq al-ishrāq fī l-ḥikmah*).
11. The Sacred Paths: on the philosophical sciences (*K. al-manāhij al-qudsiyyah fī 'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah*).<sup>58</sup>
12. *The Sufficient [Treatise] for Accountants*; on arithmetic (*Kāfiyat al-ḥussāb fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*).<sup>59</sup>
13. The absolute essentials in the required parts of Euclid and the intermediate treatises (*Ghāyat al-ghāyāt fī l-muḥtāj ilayhi min Iqlīdis wa-l-mutawassiṭāt*).<sup>60</sup>
14. A detailed study of medical themes and identification of the questions concerning which there is a difference of opinion, in the way jurists deal with these differences of opinion (*Tadqīq al-mabāḥith al-ṭibbiyyah fī taḥqīq al-masā'il al-khilāfiyyah 'alā ṭarīq masā'il khilāf al-fuqahā'*).
15. On *barsha'thā* (*M. fī barsha'thā*).<sup>61</sup>
16. Illustration of the foolish misconceptions in the utterances of Muwaffaq 'Abd al-Laṭīf [al-Baghdādī]. Najm al-Dīn wrote this book when he was just thirteen years old (*K. idāḥ al-ra'y al-sakhīf min kalām al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-Laṭīf*).<sup>62</sup>

57 The 'Two Principles' are presumably *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the principles or roots of religion and jurisprudence, respectively.

58 It may also mean that he wrote it in Jerusalem (cf. al-Ghazālī's *al-Risālah al-Qudsiyyah*).

59 Lothar Kopf's translation of this title reads: 'All that is required in the case of arthritis'.

60 For the *Mutawassiṭāt*, or 'Intermediate Books', see above Ch. 14.22.3.2 n. 16.

61 That is, a compound drug: a medicine that works fast or immediately. The word is derived from Syriac *bar-sha'athā*, literally 'the son of an hour'. See Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirah*, 72.

62 See Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 173. This book title is a childish and all too obvious

17. The utmost precision in the art of (legal) judgments (*Ghāyat al-iḥkām fī sināʿat al-aḥkām*).
18. The splendid epistle: a commentary on *al-Muqaddimah al-Muṭarriziyah* (*al-risālah al-saniyyah fī sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Muṭarriziyah*).<sup>63</sup>
19. The brilliant lights in the *Commentary on [The Book of] Clear Signs* [by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī] (*al-anwār al-sāṭiʿāt fī sharḥ al-āyāt al-bayyināt*).
20. The mind's pleasure: *On the Current Proverb* (*K. nuzhat al-nāzir fī l-mathal al-sāʿir* [*fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shāʿir*]).<sup>64</sup>
21. The perfect treatise on algebra (*al-risālah al-kāmilah fī ʿilm al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).<sup>65</sup>
22. The treatise for al-Malik al-Manṣūr on numbers with a common divisor (*al-risālah al-Manṣūriyyah fī l-aʿdād al-wafqiyyah*).<sup>66</sup>
23. The brilliant book: *On the summary of the Zīj al-shāh* (*al-zāhī fī ikhtišār al-zij al-shāhī*).
24. Approximative astronomical tables, based on observations established by experience (*al-zij al-muqarrab al-mabnī ʿalā l-raṣad al-mujarrab*).

### 15.32 Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓ<sup>1</sup>

The eminent learned authority, the emir Zayn al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn al-Muʿayyad ʿAlī, son of the preacher of ʿAqrabāʾ,<sup>2</sup> studied the art of medicine under our

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attempt by a member of al-Dakhwār's circle – as Ragab puts it – to defame ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī. It is, without any doubt, a reaction to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's own mud-slinging, which was directed at the likes of Ibn Sīnā, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī and others.

- 63 This is a work on syntax by the grammarian, lexicographer and *adīb* Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muhammad al-Muṭarriz. Cf. Sezgin *GAS* IX, 202.
- 64 The Current Proverb (*al-Mathal al-sāʿir fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shāʿir*) is a famous work on rhetoric and stylistics by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (558–637/1163–1239), who served under Sultan Saladin and his son and successor al-Malik al-Afḍal. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn was an accomplished writer of belles lettres and one of the most famous aesthetic and stylistic critics of Arabic literature.
- 65 Three manuscripts (L, Gb, Gc) add an additional title: A synopsis on algebra (*Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).
- 66 Or 'numbers used in magical squares', see *Et<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Wafḥ' (J. Sesiano).

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 ʿAqrabāʾ is a location near Damascus; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv:135 (*kūrah min kuwar Dimashq kana yanziluhā mulūk Ghassān*).



shaykh, the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>3</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – and acquired knowledge of its theory and practice. Moreover, he was thoroughly acquainted with the universals and particulars of medicine. Zayn al-Dīn served as personal physician to al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who was then the governor of the fortress of Ja‘bar,<sup>4</sup> and was greatly honoured by that ruler, who presented him with many gifts, gave him a high position in his household and included him in all his affairs.

Zayn al-Dīn devoted much effort to the literary disciplines, including poetry and the art of beautiful handwriting [i.e. calligraphy], but also took an interest in military affairs. He used to associate with the sons of al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ, who respected him and allowed him [considerable] influence in their commands. When al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ died, the fortress of Ja‘bar was handed over to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī,<sup>5</sup> the governor of Aleppo. The transfer was arranged through an exchange of correspondence to which Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī contributed. Zayn al-Dīn then moved to Aleppo and became an aide to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, in whose estimation he stood high. He married the daughter of the governor of Aleppo, and thus acquired great wealth. When al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad became the ruler of Damascus, Zayn al-Dīn accompanied him to that city and settled there. He subsequently became one of the most eminent figures of the age, devoting himself to the medical art as well as to military affairs and governmental matters. Accordingly, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – composed the following lines about him:<sup>6</sup>

In every post Zayn al-Dīn always has  
the highest of ranks in the heaven of glory:  
A commander who holds every merit in knowledge  
and surpasses mankind in his judgment and experiences.  
If he is dealing with medicine he takes pride of place,  
and if he is involved in war he is the heart of the battalions.

3 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15, 50.

4 Qal‘at Ja‘bar is a castle on the left bank of Lake Assad in al-Raqqah Governorate, Syria. Its site, formerly a prominent hill-top overlooking the Euphrates Valley, is now an island in Lake Assad that can only be reached by an artificial causeway. See also Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:141–142.

5 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir 11 Yūsuf ibn al-‘Azīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn 11, Ṣalāh al-Dīn. He reigned over Aleppo from 634–658/1236–1260. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadi, *Wāfi*, xv:414.

Thus in peace he revives many a friend with his medicine  
and in war he destroys many an enemy with cutting swords.

Eventually, however, Tatar [i.e. Mongol] emissaries from the East came to al-Malik al-Nāṣir demanding the occupation of his lands [i.e. his kingdom] and proposing severe conditions entailing the payment of tribute. Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī was sent as a messenger to the ruler Hūlākū,<sup>7</sup> [the Ilkhān] of the Mongols, and to other Mongol rulers. They treated him generously and made him a wealthy man, so that he joined them and in effect became one of them. He went back and forth as a messenger many times, encouraging the Mongols to attack the State and terrifying al-Malik al-Nāṣir with accounts of their power and their [vast] empire. He described their great armies and ridiculed the situation of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and his armies. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir became faint-hearted and unwilling to go to battle against them. In due course, Hūlākū's Mongols appeared before Aleppo and laid siege to it. After approximately a month, they stormed the city, killed all the people [i.e. the men] in it, took the women and children into captivity, plundered the city's wealth and destroyed the citadel and other [buildings].

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf fled from Damascus and took possession of Zayzā'<sup>8</sup> and its surroundings. Al-Ḥāfiẓī stayed with him until al-Malik al-Nāṣir dispatched him to Hūlākū.<sup>9</sup> He stayed with Hūlākū until the latter dismissed him, according to the general belief. When he came back to Damascus in the year 648/1250 he found that al-Malik al-Nāṣir was intending to conquer Egypt, but the Egyptian armies, which were then led by al-Malik al-Mu'izz, who was also known as Aybak al-Turkumānī,<sup>10</sup> fought and defeated al-Malik al-Nāṣir, whose armies were scattered and whose attempt to conquer Egypt ended in ruin. He then returned to Syria, where he ruled until the year 658/1258–1259, when the enemy invaded the country, as it is generally understood.

The Mongols then took possession of Damascus by treaty and installed a representative of their own. Zayn al-Dīn remained there as well. They made him an emir, and assigned a military guard to accompany him at all times, so that he

7 Hūlākū (also spelled Hūlāgū) was a Mongol conqueror, grandson of Genghis Khan, and founder of a Mongol kingdom in Persia, died 663/1265.

8 Locality north of Amman (Jordan).

9 Hūlākū was in Aleppo at that specific moment in time.

10 The MSS AGbGcL all have the name Qūṭuz here. Al-Malik al-Muzaffar Qūṭuz al-Mu'izzī, Sayf al-Dīn was a Bahārī Mamlūk, who reigned from 657/1259 until 658/1260. See Bos-

became known as ‘King Zayn al-Dīn’. But when al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, the ruler of Egypt, arrived with the armies of Islam and gave the Mongols a merciless trashing at the famous [battle of] Wādī Kan‘ān,<sup>11</sup> killing countless numbers of them, their governor and his retinue fled, and Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfizī went with them, for fear of losing his life at the hands of the Muslims. Syria returned to its former lustre – God be praised – and after al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz – may God have mercy upon him – it was ruled by the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars,<sup>12</sup> who became the ruler of both Egypt and Syria – may God make his rule eternal.

### 15.33 Abū l-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis<sup>1</sup>

Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥārithī was born and brought up in Damascus. He was known as ‘the geometrician’ (*al-muhandis*) because of his excellent knowledge of geometry, for which he was famous, before he had acquired any knowledge of the art of medicine. His first career was as a carpenter. He also dressed stone, but he earned [his living] by carpentry, a craft at which he was very skilled. His work was greatly sought after, and most of the doors of the ‘Great Hospital’ that was established by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – are products of his skills and handiwork. Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah<sup>2</sup> informed me that he had heard this from [Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis] himself.

Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Miṭwā‘,<sup>3</sup> the oculist, who was a friend of Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis, told me that Abū l-Faḍl’s first acquaintance with science came about because he had in mind to study [the works of] Euclid in order to [further] improve his excellence in the craft of carpentry, gain insight into its particu-

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worth, *Dynasties*, 76. The MSS H and R have the correct name. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf was defeated by Aybak’s forces in the battle of al-Ṣālihiyyah in the year 648/1250.

11 Wādī Kan‘ān (Goliath’s Spring) in Palestine was the site of the victory of the Mamluks over the Mongols in 658/1260, usually called the Battle of ‘Ayn Jalūt.

12 He is al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars I al-Bunduqārī, Rukn al-Dīn. Baḥrī Mamlūk, who reigned 658/1260. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 76 and *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Baybars I’ (G. Wiet).

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.46.

3 He is mentioned in Ch. 15.9 as Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Faraj, the oculist, who was known as al-Miṭwā‘.

lars, and have freedom of action in the execution of his work. Ibn al-Miṭwā' also said that in those days Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis used to work at the Khātūn Mosque, which was located below al-Munaybi' just west of Damascus. Every morning before arriving at the mosque he had already memorized a part of Euclid's work. He also managed to solve [some problems] from it on the way to work and after he finished work, until he had unravelled it in its entirety, understood it thoroughly and fully mastered its contents. He then proceeded to read and study the *Almagest* and solve [all the problems] contained therein. In the end, he devoted himself completely to the art of geometry and became an authority in it.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis also concerned himself with the art of astronomy and drew up astronomical tables (*al-zījāt*). It was about that time that al-Sharaf al-Ṭūsī<sup>4</sup> arrived in Damascus. Al-Sharaf al-Ṭūsī was an outstanding [scholar] in [the field of] geometry and the mathematical sciences, having no peer among his contemporaries. Abū l-Faḍl became acquainted with him, studied under him and learnt a great deal from him. He also studied the art of medicine under Abū l-Majd Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥakam,<sup>5</sup> with whom he was associated for a very long time, copying many works on the philosophical sciences and the art of medicine. I have seen a copy, in his handwriting, of Galen's 'Sixteen Books,' which he had studied under Abū l-Majd Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥakam.

Ibn Abī l-Ḥakam's signature was appended to it [as proof that he had read it]. It was Abū l-Faḍl who repaired, maintained and inspected the clocks of the [Umayyad] Mosque in Damascus, a task for which he received a regular stipend. He was also paid a salary for his work as a physician at the great hospital, a post that he held until he died many years later. He was an outstanding physician and a good practitioner, with a pleasant way of dealing [with his patients].

Abū l-Faḍl had travelled to Egypt in 572–573/1176–1177. In Alexandria, he had acquired some knowledge of the Prophetic tradition [Hadith] from Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Thana' Ḥammād ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Ḥammād ibn al-Fuḍayl al-Ḥarrānī and Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Silafī al-Iṣfahānī.<sup>6</sup>

4 Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī (b. ca. 529/1135; d. 610/1213) was a famous Persian mathematician and astronomer, who taught in Mosul, Damascus and Aleppo.

5 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.9.

6 See *EI*, art. 'al-Silafī' (Cl. Gilliot).

Abū l-Faḍl also studied the literary sciences and grammar and composed poetry, making some good epigrams. He died of diarrhoea in Damascus – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 599/1201, at the age of approximately seventy.

The following is an example of the poetry of Abū l-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis. I have copied it from his manuscript of the *Treatise on the sighting of the new moon*, which he wrote in praise of the judge Muḥyī l-Dīn, the son of the judge Zakī al-Dīn:<sup>7</sup>

You are distinguished by your father;<sup>8</sup> when you see them  
 they<sup>9</sup> call some individual people with your epithet.  
 You will see they have the opposite of the epithets if you put them to the  
 test:  
 sometimes a man without vision is called ‘seeing’.<sup>10</sup>  
 An epithet that is not corroborated with deeds  
 is a mere name for an imagine that is pictured.  
 But what is worthy of it is a word to which the sense corresponds,  
 like the scion of judges, proud men from Muḍar.<sup>11</sup>  
 Religion, realm, Islam: altogether  
 safe, through his judgment, from the hand of time’s vagaries.  
 So many good usages has he introduced during his time of office,  
 standing up for God in these, not apologising,  
 Hoping thereby for a blessing without end:  
 the vicinity of an Almighty, Omnipotent, Exalted King,  
 Thus God may preserve him from every mishap,  
 as long as grey doves chant, cooing in trees.

Abū l-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis wrote the following works:

1. On knowledge of the regulation of the almanac (*R. fī ma‘rifat ramz al-taqwīm*).<sup>12</sup>
2. On the sighting of the new moon (*M. fī ru‘yat al-hilāl*).

7 Metre: *basīt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:281 (lines 1–6).

8 The judge was known as Ibn Zakī al-Dīn, as Ibn Khallikān says.

9 It is not clear to whom ‘they’ and ‘them’ refer.

10 The word *baṣīr*, ‘endowed with sight’ is sometimes used as a euphemism for ‘blind’.

11 The family was descended from ‘Uthmān, the third caliph, and thus from Muḍar, a legendary ancestor of the ‘North Arabs’.

12 *Taqwīm* was the common term for an almanac or calendar presenting rules for the regimen of good health or for the use of simple or compound remedies.

3. Summary of *The Great Book of Songs* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī.<sup>13</sup> He compiled this work in his own handwriting in ten volumes, which he donated to the mosque in Damascus as an addition to the previously donated works to the *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn ‘Urwah<sup>14</sup> (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-aghānī al-kabīr li-Abī l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī*).
4. On wars and political administration (*K. fī l-ḥurūb wa-l-siyāsah*).
5. On simple drugs, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet [*ḥurūf abjad*] (*K. fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).

### 15.34 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [al-Sulamī]<sup>1</sup>

The shaykh and learned authority Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Sulamī was a very experienced man with a [genuine] thirst for knowledge, who held beauty in high esteem and possessed a keen sense of honour. In addition, he had a perfect command of the Arabic language. He was known for his compassion for the sick, especially those who were debilitated, whom he not only visited and treated, but saw to it that they were given money for their expenses, medicines and [daily] nourishment. He was a very devout man with a cheerful countenance and was loved by all.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn began his career as an expert in *fiqh* [i.e. jurisprudence] who taught at the al-Amīniyyah law college in Damascus,<sup>2</sup> near the [Umayyad] Mosque. Subsequently, however, he studied the art of medicine under Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān,<sup>3</sup> and in due course became very well-versed in both its theory and

13 The author of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Aghānī* is referred to both as Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī and as Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. For an account of his life and works, see *ET Three* art. ‘Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’ (Sebastian Günther).

14 The *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn ‘Urwah was a *dār al-ḥadīth* attached to the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. According to the colophon of MS L, IAU gave a copy of his *‘Uyūn al-anbā’* to this institution (as a *waqf*). On the *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn ‘Urwah (Dār al-ḥadīth al-‘urwiyyah), see al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, i:61–67.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*.

2 The al-Amīniyyah law college [*madrasah*] was located not far from the Umayyad Mosque. It was completed in the year 514/1120 during the reign of the Būrid ruler Ṭughtigīn, Abū Maṣūr Ḍahīr al-Dīn. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 189.

3 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.23.

practice. Ultimately, he was acknowledged as one of the most distinguished masters of the art [of medicine] and a shaykh who set an example for all, and he held public sessions for his pupils.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn served for a time as a physician at the 'Great Hospital' founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, but later he entered the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, with whom he remained for many years. That ruler treated him generously, presenting him with many gifts, holding him in high regard and paying him a lavish salary.<sup>4</sup> Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz continued to hold that post until he died of colic – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus on Friday the twentieth of the month of Dhū l-Qaʿdah in the year 604 [6 June 1208] and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn.<sup>5</sup> He was nearly sixty years old at the time of his death, his date of birth having been in the vicinity of the year [5]55/[11]60.

### 15.35 Saʿd al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz<sup>1</sup>

The brilliant physician and learned authority Saʿd al-Dīn Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Sulamī resembled his father in appearance, character, knowledge and intelligence. He was a deeply religious person, a very distinguished [scholar], who was outstanding in the juridical sciences and pious and godfearing in religious affairs. When living in Damascus, he would spend the month of Ramadan in seclusion at the mosque, not speaking to anyone.

In the days of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil,<sup>2</sup> Saʿd al-Dīn was [placed] in charge of the construction of the al-Ḥanbaliyyah Law College in the wheat market in Damascus. It was the Caliph of Baghdad, al-Mustansir bi-Allāh, who had ordered it [the college] built.

4 We know that al-Sulamī earned the royal salary of 100 dinars every month plus other allowances, cf. IAU, Ch. 15.50.1 (al-Dakhwār), and Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*, 5.

5 Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*, 2, also give 604/1208 as the date of death of this physician, but mention that he passed away in Cairo. However, a little bit later on page 8 they advise us that 'he died in Damascus and was buried on nearby Mt. Qāsiyūn'.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 Al-Malik al-Ashraf I Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀdil I Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, of Diyārbakr (r. 626–635/1229–1237). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

The physician Sa'd al-Dīn was peerless in his day and age as [one of] the most erudite men of his time in the domain of medicine, having been an expert in its general principles and thoroughly familiar with its several specialized branches. Even so, he continued to study it under any and all circumstances.

Sa'd al-Dīn was born in Damascus at the beginning of the month Muḥarram in the year 583 [mid-March 1187]. He served for a time as a physician at the 'Great Hospital', founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, but subsequently entered the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>3</sup> living at his court in the East. That ruler treated him generously, presented him with many gifts, paid him a lavish salary and maintained a close and uninterrupted relationship with him. Sa'd al-Dīn enjoyed [the ruler's] favour and held an important position in his administration. In the month of Sha'bān of the year 626 [June 1229], however, al-Malik al-Ashraf went to Damascus as [the city] had been handed over to him by the son of his brother, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu'azzam.<sup>4</sup> Sa'd al-Dīn accompanied his employer to his new capital, where he was appointed chief physician. He retained that post until al-Malik al-Ashraf died – may God have mercy upon him – in the castle of Damascus in the early morning of Thursday the fourth of Muḥarram of the year 635 [27 August 1237]. Later that year, during the first ten days of Jumādā 1 [late December 1237], when Damascus was conquered by al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>5</sup> the new ruler ordered Sa'd al-Dīn to remain in his service, stipulating that he should continue to enjoy all the benefits that had been granted him by his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf. His service was short-lived, however, for al-Malik al-Kāmil died – may God have mercy upon him – in the early evening of Thursday the 22nd of Rajab of the year 635 [10 March 1238].

The physician Sa'd al-Dīn remained in Damascus, holding public sessions for those who were studying the art of medicine under him, for the rest of his life. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the month of Jumādā 11 of the year 644 [October–November 1246].

3 See the previous footnote.

4 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir 11 Dāwūd ibn al-Mu'azzam ʿĪsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 624–626/1227–1229). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

5 Al-Malik al-Kāmil I Muḥammad ibn al-ʿĀdil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Ma'ālī Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 635/1237–1238). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.



The following line is taken from a poem in honour of the physician Sa'd al-Dīn by al-Sharīf al-Bakrī:<sup>6</sup>

A nice doctor, with such nice characteristics that  
a healthy man would wish to be sick so as to visit him.<sup>7</sup>

### 15.36 Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>1</sup>

[15.36.1]

The eminent physician and learned authority Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Raḥbī was one of the most prominent practitioners of the art of medicine. He was an outstanding [physician] in the eyes of his peers, enjoyed great respect and was well spoken of by elite and common people alike. Rulers and subjects honoured him greatly. He was much esteemed, high-minded, with lofty ambitions, and was very precise and determined [in his actions]. Furthermore, his conduct was unimpeachable, and he loved the good in people. He exerted himself tirelessly in the treatment of the sick and was kind and merciful to all. He never used indelicate words, nor was he ever known to wrong others or to speak ill of anyone during his entire life.

Raḍī al-Dīn's father was a native of the town of al-Raḥbah.<sup>2</sup> He too, had a good understanding of the art of medicine, but was known primarily as an oculist. The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn was born and bred in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar,<sup>3</sup> but also lived in Naṣībīn [e.g. Nisibis]<sup>4</sup> and al-Raḥbah for some years. He travelled to Baghdad and other places, where he studied the art of medicine and became

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:48. Al-Sharīf al-Bakrī has not been identified.

7 The copyist of MS R copied some additional verses in a marginal note; see AII.16.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 143–144; 164–177, *passim*.

2 Al-Raḥbah is sometimes also called Raḥbat Mālik ibn Ṭawq or Raḥbat al-Sha'm. It is a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern al-Miyādīn or al-Mayādīn in eastern Syria. See also Yāqūt, *Muḥam al-buldān*, iii:34–36.

3 Jazīrat ibn 'Umar (modern-day Cizre in southeastern Turkey and historical Gazarta) was an important town during the Abbasid period and the Crusades as a gateway connecting Upper Mesopotamia to Armenia.

4 The city is nowadays called Nusaybin and is located in Mardin Province in southeastern Turkey.

an expert in it. He also met the shaykh al-Muwaffaq who was known as Ibn Jumay‘ the Egyptian,<sup>5</sup> and studied with him.

Raḍī al-Dīn and his father settled in Damascus in the year 555/1160, during the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī. After they had lived there for some years, Raḍī al-Dīn’s father died and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. Raḍī al-Dīn decided to remain in Damascus, where he kept a practice for the treatment of the sick; he wrote many books there. After some time, Raḍī al-Dīn decided to study further under Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh,<sup>6</sup> the physician, associating with him constantly. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn spoke highly of him and preferred him to all [his] other [students], with the result that he was able to enter the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb. This ruler enhanced his position, allotted him a monthly salary of thirty dinars and attached him to the citadel and the hospital. He held that post throughout the reign of Saladin, but refused to accede to Saladin’s request to accompany him when he travelled.<sup>7</sup>

Saladin died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus early in the night of Wednesday, the 27th of Ṣafar of the year 589 [4 March 1193], and the succession passed from his sons to his brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb who [then] took possession of the country. The new ruler ordered [Raḍī al-Dīn] to serve him as his personal physician, but [Raḍī al-Dīn] declined and asked to be allowed to remain in Damascus. At this, al-Malik al-‘Ādil validated all the emoluments that Raḍī al-Dīn had enjoyed during the reign of Saladin and confirmed that they would remain exactly as they had been. This situation continued until the death of al-Malik al-‘Ādil.

Al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s successor was his son, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who granted Raḍī al-Dīn a regular stipend of fifteen dinars. He [then] became a visiting physician at the hospital and kept that position until his death – may God have mercy upon him.

Many persons studied the art of medicine under Raḍī al-Dīn. A number of them became outstanding [physicians], and these in turn taught others, who also became prominent men in the field of medicine. Scrutiny of the physicians of Syria reveals that they either studied under al-Raḥbī himself or under one of those who had studied under him. Among those who studied

5 See Ch. 14.32.

6 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.13.

7 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah does not mention, as does Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1257), *Mir‘āt al-zamān* (viii:1–2, i: 321 and 430), that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī was accused of causing the death of Saladin, by bleeding him against the advice of all other physicians. See also below, 15.40.4.

under him at the beginning [of his career] was the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī,<sup>8</sup> who afterward became a close associate of Ibn al-Muṭrān.<sup>9</sup>

[15.36.1.1]

The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn said to me: ‘All those who studied under me and associated with me [later] helped and benefited the people,’ and he named many prominent men who had won renown in the medical profession, including some who were already dead and some who were still alive. He had deemed it appropriate, he said, never to teach medical principles to non-Muslims (*al-dhimmah*) or to persons who were not worthy of them, for he considered that he was thereby enhancing the profession and upholding its prestige. He told me that in all his life he had taught only two non-Muslims: the physician ‘Imrān al-Isrā’īlī<sup>10</sup> and Ibrāhīm ibn Khalaf, the Samaritan (al-Sāmīrī),<sup>11</sup> and he had taught them only because they had pestered him and pleaded with him incessantly, until finally he felt he could not turn them away. Both men were exceptionally gifted and became outstanding physicians.

There is no doubt that some teachers bring good fortune to those who study under them, just as one finds that certain scientific works are more instructive than others. I myself studied medical works by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī and others with Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī in the year 622–623/1225–1226, especially their practical parts, and I benefitted greatly from them.

The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn was fond of trading and devoted much of his time to commercial activity. In addition, he kept a keen eye on his physical constitution and was concerned about the preservation of his health. Al-Ṣāhib 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.

Moreover, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have heard that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī employed the very best cooks and instructed them to apply the rules that he himself followed. This was most beneficial to him during daytime, keeping his humours in balance during the [whole] day. When the food was ready, the cooks would inform al-Raḥbī, and he would invite one or more of his friends

8 See the entry on him in Ch. 15.50.

9 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.23.

10 See Ch. 15.42.

11 See Ch. 15.48.

to join him at dinner. When they arrived, the cooks would ask permission to serve, but he would tell them that they must wait, as [the guests] as yet had no appetite. The cooks would wait until they were called. When al-Raḥbī called to them to bring the food in at once, the cooks would serve the meal. Only then would he eat.

One day, one of his friends asked him the reason for this [habit]. ‘Eating with appetite is essential for the preservation of health,’ he replied, ‘for when the members of the body require compensation for what they have used up, they demand it of the stomach, and the stomach in turn summons it from the outside [i.e. the urge to eat again]’. ‘What do you gain by it?’ asked the friend. ‘It is thus that man will attain his natural life span,’ answered al-Raḥbī. ‘But,’ objected the friend ‘you have reached an age which is little short of man’s natural life span, so what is the need for this rigmarole?’ ‘So that during this short period I may stay above the ground,’ said al-Raḥbī, ‘inhaling air and swallowing water, and not under the ground because of a faulty diet.’ He continued to follow this practice until his time came.

[15.36.1.2]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: I have had a similar experience myself, showing that it is not desirable to eat a meal except with a genuine appetite. 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.

Raḍī al-Dīn always followed his own precept in the matter, regardless of whatever else he might be doing. On Saturdays, he would always go to the garden to rest and refrain from work. Thursday was the only day on which he went to the bath. He made it a rule to do these things in a regular order. On Fridays, he used to go to see all the prominent people and the notables. He steadfastly refused to climb a ladder – when he needed to visit a patient, the patient had to be in a place where it was not necessary to climb a ladder – or even to go near one, describing the ladder as “the saw [which cuts off] life”. He once made a particularly astonishing remark to my father. ‘Since the time I bought this place, in which I have lived for more than twenty-five years,’ he said, ‘I do not remember ever having gone up to the room at the top [of the house], except for the one time when I inspected the house [before] buying it. I have never been up there again from that day to this’.

Al-Şāhib Şafī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Marzūq, the vizier of al-Malik al-Ashraf ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil,<sup>12</sup> has told me an anecdote about his excellent demeanour with regard to the art of medicine. He also described to me all the virtues of shaykh Rađī al-Dīn.

[15.36.1.3]

Among the things that he told me is the following anecdote: Al-Şāhib Şafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr,<sup>13</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>14</sup> always ate poultry, but hardly ever ate mutton. He complained to Rađī al-Dīn al-Raĥbī about his pale complexion, for which physicians had [previously] prescribed many different syrups and other [medicaments]. Rađī al-Dīn went out, returning shortly with a piece of chicken breast and a piece of red mutton, ‘You are accustomed to eat the meat of fowl,’ he said to the vizier, ‘but the blood produced by fowls does not have such a reddish hue as the blood of sheep, and you can see that the colour of sheep meat is very different from the colour of this piece of chicken meat. You should give up eating fowl and stick to eating mutton instead. That will make you better and there will be no need for [further] treatment.’ The vizier accepted Rađī al-Dīn’s advice, and ate what the physician had recommended. It was not long before his colour returned and the balance of his humours [i.e. his equilibrium] was restored.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi‘ah continues: This is a very convincing account, and I would recommend it to everyone who wishes to be cured and seriously wants to ensure the preservation of his health. The vizier was a robust, well-proportioned man who possessed a strong physique and had a good digestion, but the members of his body were afflicted by the weak blood that he [obtained from eating] fowl’s meat. He needed coarser and stronger blood. When he went over to eating mutton, he began to produce stronger blood that supplied the needs of his bodily members, so that his humours became balanced and his colour returned to normal.

[15.36.1.4]

Shaykh Rađī al-Dīn al-Raĥbī was born in the month of Jumādā I in the year 534 [December 1139–January 1140] in Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar.

12 Al-Malik al-Ashraf I Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀdil I Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, of Diyār Bakr (r. 626–635/1229–1237). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

13 On this notorious vizier, cf. al-Şafādī, *Wāfi*, xvii:327–330; and in connection to ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 52, esp. n. 168.

14 Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil I Muĥammad or Aĥmad ibn Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, of Damascus (r. 596–616/1200–1218). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

His last illness manifested itself on the day of the Feast of Immolation (*ʿid al-aḍḥā*) in the year 630 [17 September 1233]. He died – may God have mercy upon him – on the morning of Sunday, the tenth of Muḥarram of the year 631 [16 October 1233], and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. He lived nearly a hundred years<sup>15</sup> without any weakening of his hearing or sight; only during his last years he [suffered from] forgetfulness with respect to matters that had happened recently, but he remembered past events, which he had known for a long time, perfectly clearly. He left two sons, the eldest named Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī and the younger, Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān. One of his relatives, who had been at his bedside during his final illness, told me that at the time of his death Raḍī al-Dīn felt the pulse of his right hand with his left hand, with a pensive and reflective air as he did so. He then clapped his hands, for he knew that his strength had failed. He straightened the cowl [*zawraqiyyah*] on his head with his hands, disposed himself for death, and died.

[15.36.2]

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī is the author of the following works:

1. Revision of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms* (*Tahdhīb sharḥ Ibn al-Ṭayyib li-kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).
2. Summary of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq's] *Book of Questions* that he had started [to write], but never finished (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-masāʾil li-Ḥunayn*).

### 15.37 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī<sup>1</sup>

[15.37.1]

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī, the physician and learned authority, was one of the most erudite and peerless scholars of his day and age.

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Raḥbī was born in Damascus in the year 583/1187. He followed in his father's footsteps, just as he resembled him in appearance, character, manners and intelligence. From an early age he gave his full attention to collecting and studying books, while his soul was constantly devoted to a search for virtue. Sharaf al-Dīn pursued the medical art very assiduously, carefully studying its details and

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<sup>15</sup> In fact, only 94 solar years.

<sup>1</sup> This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 153–157.

general principles. He also composed works of his own on medicine and wrote annotations on others.

Sharaf al-Dīn studied the art of medicine under his father, and also with shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī,<sup>2</sup> under whose guidance he devoted himself to a number of sciences, including in particular those that were treated in shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Baghdādī’s own works.<sup>3</sup> He also studied literature under shaykh ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī<sup>4</sup> and other scholars, until he had achieved an unparalleled mastery of that domain. In addition, he possessed a natural disposition for poetry.

Sharaf al-Dīn was a solitary individual who was constantly reading and studying in order to gain insight into the literary work of ancient authors and to benefit from the books of the sages. He was a righteous and high-aspiring man who did not like to frequent rulers and state officials. He worked for some time at the ‘Great Hospital’ founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī. When our shaykh Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>5</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – made a charitable donation of his house in Damascus, dedicating it as a place where the medical arts were studied, so that the Muslims could learn there, he appointed Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī as a teacher,<sup>6</sup> because Sharaf al-Dīn had proven to be an erudite and intelligent person. He held that post for a

2 This physician has an extensive entry in Ch. 15.40.

3 Lothar Kopf translates: ‘under whose direction he copied many scientific books, especially the works of Muwaffaq al-Dīn himself’.

4 ‘Alam al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī (d. 643/1245), *muqri*’ and grammarian, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xv:65–66; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, ii:311–312; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxii:64–66.

5 This physician has an extensive entry in Ch. 15.50.

6 Ragab (*Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 141–175) has argued that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī was part of the intellectual platform that was formed around the physician Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī al-Dakhwār (see chapter 15.50). The latter’s circle wanted to rehabilitate the dominance of two authors, Ibn Sīnā and al-Rāzī, and placed more emphasis on practical writings derived from their own experience. The works of the polymath ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see chapter 15.40), however, clearly stood in opposition to those of al-Dakhwār’s circle. Al-Baghdādī had severe doubts about al-Rāzī’s writings, loathed Ibn Sīnā’s medical and philosophical works, and paid much more attention to the theoretical side of medicine. The authors of al-Dakhwār’s circle therefore seemed to have neglected al-Baghdādī’s oeuvre and never referred to it. Be that as it may, it still remains a remarkable fact that al-Dakhwār himself appointed Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, who was a student of al-Baghdādī, as the first professor of the *Madrasah al-Dakhwāriyyah* in Damascus. Unlike the other circle members, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī never composed treatises on his own practice and experiences, and he may, therefore, have occupied a more neutral position within the circle. One may even deduce from all of this that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī remained out of the circle, perhaps because of his special position, and out of loyalty to his shaykh.

time and then died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus. He was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. He died – may God have mercy upon him – of pleurisy on the night preceding Friday the eleventh of Muḥarram in the year 667 [20 September 1268].

The physician Badr al-Dīn, the son of the judge of Baalbek, and Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī, known as al-Khawātīmī, have informed me that months before he fell ill and died, Sharaf al-Dīn had told visitors and students that he would die soon at the conjunction of the two planets.<sup>7</sup> He had also told them, ‘Tell this to the people, so that they may realize the measure of my knowledge of life and death.’ What he had predicted on the basis of [the conjunction of] the planets, did indeed happen.

[15.37.2]

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī personally recited the following [specimens of his] poetry to me. Among them is the following poem, which is part of an elegy:<sup>8</sup>

The arrows of the Fates among mankind cannot be prevented:  
one day, everyone even if (now) alive will be felled.

Everyone, though it may be a long time, will end up  
entrusted to the bottom of a grave in the earth.

So say to him who outlives his companion:

Before long you will be driven to the same.

Every son of a woman will arrive at perdition,  
raised, after couches, on a bier.

5 One day, even if he lives for a while, a decree will reach him  
to which the decrepit and the sucking child are alike.

7 The word *kawkab* was used indiscriminately for both a fixed star and a planet. Given that stars do not move with respect to one another, and therefore cannot meet in conjunction, a conjunction of two planets must be intended by the phrase *qirān al-kawkabayn*, or, less likely, a planet with a star. The two planets are unspecified, but it is likely that it was either a conjunction of Mars with Saturn, with which ominous events were always associated, or the sun with the moon, for the conjunction of the latter two results in an eclipse – a result more easily observed as well as predicted than that of a Mars-Saturn conjunction. According to the astrology website *astropro.com*, a Mars-Saturn conjunction took place on 25 September 1268, five days after the date given above, while according to the NASA eclipse records (available on-line) a total eclipse of the sun – a rare event happening only three times per millennium – occurred on 6 November 1268, with the path of visibility directly over Syria and Iraq. The precision with which the death date was recorded is unknown.

8 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:283 (lines 1, 3, 44), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:352–353 (lines 1, 3–15), where the poem is said to have been an elegy on his father of 118 lines.



So let no sensible man ever be deluded by<sup>9</sup> his longevity,  
 for the life of a man is nothing to aspire to,  
 For life only resembles a flash of lightning  
 and death is merely as when the eye slumbers.  
 People are merely like plants: some dried out, chaff,  
 others tender, sprouting after what has perished.  
 Perish this world! It never ceases to regale us  
 with the bitter skimmings<sup>10</sup> of a cup that does not slake thirst.  
 10 The clouds of worldly desires are empty of rain; their lightning,  
 when taken as a sign of rain, disappoints, not giving a downpour.  
 The world deludes her children with desires, then leads them  
 to the bottom of an abyss in which a man is laid.  
 She has destroyed so many people enthralled with love of her,  
 who never attained their desires to be enjoyed!  
 She rouses his hopes to attain his desires  
 and he, in his erring, never gives up his love of her.  
 He wastes a lifetime that will not come back,  
 before he ever attains the thing he expects of her.  
 15 So he became her slave, that he could gather her debris,  
 without ever enjoying what he had gathered.  
 If he were sensible the barest subsistence in this world  
 would suffice him and he would not be greedy,  
 Until Fate will come to him, while he is safe  
 by being content and will not be frightened.  
 Its misfortunes are general: neither a brave man  
 nor a base one will escape. They cannot be averted.  
 Nor can anything that swims on the bottom of the sea, or a bird  
 that circles in the wide space and is then taken away;<sup>11</sup>  
 20 Nor anyone unassailable in lofty towers  
 that rise high into the vertices of the sky.  
 They<sup>12</sup> bring him, after his life, to a pit  
 where, in the end, he will have a resting-place in the earth.

9 Or, reading *yafraḥan* (see note to the Arabic), 'rejoice in'.

10 *Afāwiq*: literally, 'the milk that collects in the udder between two milkings'.

11 Reading *yunza'u*; or perhaps *yanzi'u*, 'is in the throes of death'; or (with a slight emendation, avoiding the repetition of the rhyme word of line 13) *yatra'u*, 'rushes headlong'; or *yutra'u*, 'is turned back'.

12 The misfortunes (line 18), or 'this world' (*al-dunyā*).

There, those who dwelled on its surface and have died  
 recently and Tubba<sup>13</sup> are equals.  
 They are the same there: a poor man, the rich,  
 the faltering in speech and the eloquent;  
 He who when calamities strike, is not afraid of dying  
 and a coward who hurries, fearing death;  
 25 A greedy one who pounces with tooth and claw  
 and any humble little bird that cannot defend itself;  
 He who has conquered distant lands with might and force  
 and he who is content with the bare necessities.  
 If someone, taking warning, opened their graves,  
 to see the workings of decay's effects,  
 He would observe eyeballs liquefying, faces dust-covered  
 in the earth, disfigured, terrifying.  
 They are under layers of earth, gloomy,  
 glowering, whereas once they gleamed with glee.  
 30 He cannot know the master from the slave among them,  
 nor the obscure from the eminent and haughty.  
 How could he know, having seen of them  
 what makes the eyes shed tears?  
 He sees of them what pains the sight,  
 yet how often has he seen what gladdens and delights the eyes!  
 He sees bones that can no longer hold together  
 and have come apart, cut off from their joints,  
 Stripped of their flesh: they are a warning  
 for the thoughtful, about what they can expect.  
 35 The passing of time has wasted them; they became  
 'pipes in the hollow of which the wind' makes music<sup>14</sup>  
 To blackened faces and skulls  
 bowed down from humiliation, not to be raised again:  
 They have been severed from their necks, turned upside down  
 on the earth, whereas once they were laid on pillows.

13 See above, notes at Ch. 14.32.4 (vs. 12) and Ch. 15.11.2.1 (vs. 74).

14 A near-quotation of a line (rhyming in *taṣfiru*, 'whistles') attributed to a certain al-Ḥārithī in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 1425) and other sources, often with *qawārīr* ('bottles') instead of *anābīb* ('pipes'); attributed to Khalaf ibn Khalifah in Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, vi:58; to Majnūn Laylā in al-Qālī, *Amālī*, i:162; to Sawwār ibn 'Abd Allāh in al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xix:253.

Darkness has come over them, bound for decay; yet how often  
did their light shine in the obscure night!  
It is as if on their hair-partings there never rested  
precious crowns set with pearls!

40 All those who loved them have gone away from them, desolate,  
their own people and all people now loathe them.  
Those who, in their lifetime, had a bond of passion with them  
have severed the ties with them, no longer having a desire.  
Their enemies lament them for their sorry state;  
who once was their adversary pities them and is sad.  
Say then to him who is deluded by his longevity  
and by the vain, treacherous baubles he has collected:  
Wake up! Look at this world with the eye of insight,  
and you will find that all it contains are deposits to be returned.

45 Where are the proud kings of yore, and he who possessed  
the place on earth where the sun rises?  
A tomb contains him, in the wide space of the earth's surface,  
too short for his corpse, when it is measured.  
How many a king was humbled in it,  
having been followed, when alive, because of the awe he inspired!  
He used to lead knights on thoroughbred horses,  
congesting and completely filling wide steppes.  
But after a life of comfort he ended up in the earth,  
his bones covered by desolate wasteland,

50 His returning far away, despite being near for a visit:  
he will not come back until the Resurrection;  
A stranger, away from his loved ones and family, resting  
in the farthest desert that cannot be crossed.  
Dust-raising winds persist over a barren dwelling  
where once the earth was fertile.  
A hostage, never able to return  
and not capable of speech so as to be heard.  
In it he takes the earth as a pillow, after he had been  
raised for a while on silken cushions.

55 Such is the rule of time's vagaries: you will never see  
a living being whose bonds will not be broken.

[15.37.3]

Similarly this poem, which is also by him:<sup>15</sup>

People are driven to their death forcibly  
 and those who remain are not aware of the state of those who went.  
 They are like cattle, in that some are ignorant  
 of the bloodshed perpetrated on others.

And similarly the following poem, which again is by him:<sup>16</sup>

There is no point in remembering<sup>17</sup> a man after his death,  
 so reject what foolish people say.  
 Only a living being perceives pain and pleasure,  
 not a dumb rock.

He recited this poem to me when al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb died in Damascus in the year 635/1237:<sup>18</sup>

So many have said, ignorantly, 'If I die,  
 order will cease to exist, the world<sup>19</sup> will be ruined!'  
 The one who brings death came to him, and no living being  
 was perturbed, not two people cared about it.  
 He became a piece of garbage thrown down beneath the earth  
 and 'no two goats butted each other' about his death.<sup>20</sup>  
 If someone thinks he is indispensable and that  
 he cannot be missed in the whole universe,  
 His delusional thoughts have surely  
 led him to a claim without clear proof.  
 Why? Whatever is on the earth's surface will decay,  
 except when a substitute, as a second, will succeed it.<sup>21</sup>

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15 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:283, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:353.

16 Metre: *khafīf*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:353.

17 The word *dhikr* means 'remembering, mentioning'; the context seems to require 'mentioning with praise'.

18 Metre: *kāmil*.

19 The word *al-thaqalān* ('the two weighty things'; see Q al-Raḥmān 55:31) is usually interpreted as 'humans and jinn'.

20 A common proverb, meaning that nobody cares about the matter.

21 A reference to the Resurrection.

The next poem he recited to me after the death of his brother, the physician Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān, in the year 658/1258:<sup>22</sup>

I changed, after I found tranquillity and strength  
 that banished the evil of the obstinate and envious,  
 After my age had come close to eighty years  
 and every supporter among my family had died,  
 In particular my full brother, though he had been  
 my cornerstone and my forearm when misfortune descended:  
 Then Time betrayed me in what I had hoped for  
 and has not yet ceased to bring the opposite of my goals.  
 So be patient with the malice of Time; perhaps  
 it will return to being fair after keeping away.

Sharaf al-Dīn used to dye his beard with henna. I once remarked to him, 'It would be more becoming if you left your beard white.' He then recited the following verse extempore:<sup>23</sup>

I hid my grey hair by dyeing it, because  
 I know for certain that grey hair is a harbinger of death,  
 So I concealed it, so that my eye would not see  
 the morning after that would disturb my life.  
 The invisibility to the eye of something loathsome makes  
 that one can be oblivious of what is feared and guarded against,  
 Even though I know that it does not clothe me  
 with youth and that one cannot avert Fate.

[15.37.4]

He sent me the following lines from Damascus when I was in Şarkhad, staying with the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿazzamī:<sup>24</sup>

Muwaffaq al-Dīn!<sup>25</sup> What's this mindlessness of yours,  
 despite the rank you have earned in knowledge and erudition?

22 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

23 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

24 Metre: *basīṭ*. This poem is not found in AB; L has been used as basis. ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿazzamī ruled Şarkhad (or Şalkhad, in southern Syria) as major-domo of the Ayyubid prince al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā from 611/1214 until 644/1247; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Şalkhad' (M. Meinecke).

25 Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah.

- 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.  
 Do you think the passing of life can be reversed?  
 There's no chance past periods can return.  
 Or do you think that once the delights of the good life have gone they  
 can be  
 acquired, after one's lifetime has gone (*dhahāb*), with gold (*dhahab*)?  
 When the youth of one's life has gone and turned to trouble,  
 there is nothing left to aim for in the remains of one's life.  
 If where you are now were a place to acquire riches,  
 it would not compensate for spending your life in hardship.
- 10 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:<sup>26</sup> 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.  
 Spend your time pleasantly amidst its beauties  
 and come back to entertainment, delights, and elation.  
 Hurry, before it eludes you, to make the most of a lifetime  
 as long as you are alive; for death is in pursuit.
- 15 Take what you can see with your own eyes when opportunities let you  
 and do not sell present good for what is expected,  
 For life will pass, time takes its chance,  
 Fate has its vagaries, so enjoy and you'll do the right thing!  
 Do as I say and do not turn to any of those  
 who contradict ...,<sup>27</sup>  
 Who think that happiness lies in acquiring debris, even if  
 he collects it with toil from a bad occasion for gain.

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

27 Meaning of *min 'umrin wa-dhī raghab* unclear.

So make up for what was ordained to elude you in your lifetime,  
 for it is not near at hand when you are remote from your abode.  
 20 Do not live a life that falls short; always be someone  
 with an ambition that rises above the shooting stars,  
 And make the most of<sup>28</sup> the life of a father who is still grieving  
 since you left him, sad because he is far from you.  
 For when you see him you will not be lacking an income  
 that will enough to save you from nakedness and starvation!  
 What I have said is right, so act upon it, quickly,  
 and do not listen to dull-witted, unloving people.  
 A man's heedlessness, when he has knowledge and perception,  
 of what is obvious and clear is one of the greatest marvels.

I wrote a reply to him, in which I said:<sup>29</sup>

My lord, O Sharaf al-Dīn, the least of whose endeavours  
 reaches the highest rank of erudition,  
 And whose ambition rises in the heaven of glory  
 reaching the most elevated rank of loftiness!  
 He has surpassed Hippocrates in knowledge and wisdom  
 and he has surpassed Saḥbān<sup>30</sup> in poetry and speeches.  
 He has written works on all sciences; nothing  
 among other writings resembles them.  
 5 Their value has gone up among people; they have risen  
 above all similar items like the seven luminaries.<sup>31</sup>  
 They contain thoughts like pearls, strung  
 on the thread of the script, and the best expressions, selected.<sup>32</sup>  
 It is not strange for pearls to come out of a sea  
 of knowledge, of a master tirelessly devoted to lofty matters.  
 He has attained the relief of having acquired knowledge,  
 but no relief is acquired except through labour.

28 Interpretation of *wa-ghnam* uncertain.

29 Metre: *basīt*.

30 Saḥbān, of the tribe of Wā'il, legendary orator and poet, said to have lived in the first Islamic century.

31 Sun, moon, and the five nearest planets. The word *shuhub* is one of the numerous rhyme-words taken from the preceding poem (see line 20, where it is used in the sense of 'shooting star, meteor').

32 *Muntakhabi* ('select') can only be connected syntactically with *khatt* ('script'), which is odd.

Some people aspired to equal his endeavour, without arriving  
 at part of it, though everyone strenuously pursued it.  
 10 All knowledge and generosity comes from him to those  
 who beg his favours, like rain always descending.<sup>33</sup>  
 Ah, so many benefits have come from him  
 to me in days and times past!  
 I do my best to be thankful for them, as long as I live;  
 gratefulness for his blessing, for evermore, befits me.  
 I have yearning feelings to you, being separated,  
 as people yearn for clouds in times of drought.  
 My tears stream down, whenever I think of you,  
 on a heart aflame with the fire of yearning.  
 15 It is as if Mutammim has lodged in my eyes after being away from you,  
 and Abū Lahab have come into my heart.<sup>34</sup>  
 Every lifetime that passes for me when you are far from me  
 is a lifetime not worth considering.  
 Even if the whole world were brought into being for me while  
 being far away, I would not choose to be separated from my father.  
 He is the one who has always been affectionate  
 to me and devoted, from afar and near.  
 After separation and distance came between us  
 my life has not been carefree and pleasant.  
 20 How can life be enjoyed by someone whom Time has allotted  
 to people who are firewood!<sup>35</sup>  
 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?<sup>36</sup>  
 If my staying among such people was a mistake on my part  
 and part of my life went by in hardship,

33 The word *ṣabab* is not normally used for rain, which may explain why some sources have *ṣayab* (a verbal noun incorrectly derived from *ṣayyib*, 'cloud that pours out rain').

34 Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah (1st/7th century), poet of famous elegies on his brother Mālik. Abū Lahab ('Father Flame') was the nickname of one of the prophet Muḥammad's uncles, cursed in the 11th surah.

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

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



Well, my namesake, in the past, stayed among people  
 in the land of Naḥlah, complaining of time's vicissitudes.<sup>37</sup>  
 25 These things come pre-ordained;  
 nothing in this world happens without a cause.  
 One of the wonderful things you say in your verse is a line  
 containing the wisdom of an affectionate man's judgment:  
 'When the youth of one's life has gone and turned to trouble,  
 there is nothing left to aim for in the remains of one's life.'  
 How lovely were those pleasant days we had in the past,  
 those pleasant moments – if only they could return!<sup>38</sup>  
 And how lovely, the Paradise on Earth, when she 'comes forward  
 for her beauty to be revealed, in her new clothes!'  
 30 I see that what you commanded and recommended  
 is right, without any doubt.  
 Only a dull-witted person will deny the sincere advice  
 and the opinions you expressed.  
 I have an ambition that rises above al-Simāk;<sup>39</sup> virtues  
 and loftiness are all I pursue.  
 I shall make for the land where I grew up  
 and seek the proximity of every excellent and erudite man;  
 I shall make my resolve to acquire knowledge,  
 for knowledge, in every situation, is the best gain.

[15:37-5]

He also recited this poem of his to me:<sup>40</sup>

My spirit delights with you in pleasures,  
 Since I was appraising them as essential.<sup>41</sup>

37 The famous poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), whose given name was Aḥmad like that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, 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). Both the *Dīwān* and Arberry have Naḥlah while Müller, Riḍā, and Najjār have Najlah; here Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (where al-Mutanabbī's line is cited) and L are followed, Naḥlah (Nahle) being a village just north of Baalbek.

38 The use of the jussive mood (*ya'ub*) after *law annahā* is highly irregular.

39 Either Arcturus (a very bright star in the northern celestial hemisphere) or Spica Virginis (another bright star), symbol of loftiness and high ambitions.

40 *Dūbayt* (see above, Ch. 11.19.6.2).

41 Translation uncertain.

Whenever the thought of my separation from you came to my mind  
I was surprised that my Self remained.

And also the following:<sup>42</sup>

I have become weary of restraining someone whose affection is distant;  
The reproach of a reproacher, despite his gentleness, will not turn his  
mind.

If he was not like the full moon in beauty  
He would not have alighted in the bottom of my heart.

And another one:<sup>43</sup>

My infatuation with you has left nought but writhing agony;  
Because of all this crying my eyes pour out blood.  
If my God is the arbiter in my being killed  
For loving you, I shall not suffer any pain in dying.

[15.37.6]

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī is the author of the following works:

1. On the nature of man and the shape of the parts of the body and their uses, an unprecedented work (*K. fī khalq al-insān wa-hay'at a'ḍā'ihi wa-manfā'atihā*).
2. Marginal notes to Ibn Sīnā's *Canon of Medicine* (*Ḥawāshī 'alā kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
3. Marginal notes to Ibn Abī Ṣādiq's Commentary on Ḥunayn's [*Book of*] *Questions* (*Ḥawāshī 'alā sharḥ Ibn Abī Ṣādiq li-masā'il Ḥunayn*).

### 15.38 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī<sup>1</sup>

Jamāl al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah al-Raḥbī, the outstanding physician and learned scholar, was born and raised in Damascus. He was an eminent and prominent sage, the most noteworthy man of his time, without peer in his day and age. He studied the art of medicine under the guidance of his father

<sup>42</sup> *Dūbayt.*

<sup>43</sup> *Dūbayt.*

<sup>1</sup> This bibliography is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

and others, and mastered it completely, becoming an excellent therapist and competent in prescribing medicaments. For some years, he served at the Great Hospital founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – for the treatment of the sick.

Jamāl al-Dīn was fond of doing business and devoted himself to it, travelling to Egypt from time to time in order to bring back goods from that country. When the Mongols arrived in Syria in the year 657/1258, he moved to Egypt and settled there. He fell ill and died in Cairo on the twentieth of the month Rabīʿ II of the year 658 [4 April 1260].

Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Raḥbī was older than his brother Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān, to whom he was much attached and for whom he had great affection. But Jamāl al-Dīn, unkindly and with a lack of loyalty, refused to give him a safe place. Then Sharaf al-Dīn composed the following lines:<sup>2</sup>

How is it always with my brother and me? I  
 tried to attain from him a safe place but I did not get it.  
 I have affection for him but he does not give me anything  
 but unkindness; I am at my wits' end.  
 Nevertheless I do not spare any effort  
 to make continual benefit to accrue to him.  
 Ah! As a clever poet once said  
 – and his words are like a proverb to those with intelligence –:<sup>3</sup>  
 'And you, son of shit, care for him,  
 but he does not care.'

### 15.39 Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī<sup>1</sup>

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī – that is, Abū Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar ibn ʿAlī ibn Nāṣir al-Qurashī – was one of the most remarkable, outstanding scholars [of his time], and was also a good man with a great sense of honour and a noble soul who liked to win [people] over with his friendliness. No sooner had he arrived in Damascus than he began to read the *Canon of Medicine* under the tutelage of the physician and judge Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Thanaʾ Maḥmūd ibn Abī l-Faḍl

2 This last anecdote and verse occur in MS R only.

3 Abū l-Qāsim al-Wāsanī (d. 394/1004), a poet of Damascus; the line is taken from a long poem, see al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, i:352. With this line Sharaf al-Dīn addresses himself.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions.

Manşūr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ṭabarī al-Makhzūmī.<sup>2</sup> Kamāl al-Dīn studied the *Canon* with him as far as the section on the draining of the brain, but then the shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn left and went on a journey to Byzantium in the year 608/1211.

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī also devoted himself to the literary sciences, which he studied under shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī.<sup>3</sup> He was very fond of trading and spent most of his life doing business. He owned and ran a basket and mat shop in Damascus, for he disliked earning a living through the art of medicine. Once the great extent of his knowledge had become widely known and his erudition had come to light, rulers and notables begged for his services and sought his medical advice. The prince al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb and others asked him to serve them and associate with them, but he refused. For many years he visited the ‘Great Hospital’ founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, treating the patients in there in anticipation of a reward in the hereafter [i.e. as a pious deed]. Eventually, however, it was decided that he should receive some form of payment for his services, and he did so until he died – may God have mercy upon him – on Tuesday the ninth of the month Shaʿbān in the year 612 [3 December 1215].

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī is the author of the following works:

1. On coitus, which is one of the most thorough studies of its kind (*M. fī l-bāh*).
2. A commentary on a part of the *Book of Causes and Symptoms* by Galen (*S. kitāb al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>4</sup>
3. The perfect epistle on purgative drugs (*al-Risālah al-kāmilah fī l-adwiyah al-musʿhilah*).
4. A summary of al-Rāzī’s *Comprehensive Book [on Medicine]*, which he did not complete (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥāwī lil-Rāzī*).
5. On dropsy (*M. fī l-istisqāʾ*).
6. Notes on the ‘Generalities’ of the *Canon [of Medicine]* (*Taʿāliq ʿalā l-kulliyāt min kitāb al-qānūn*).
7. Notes on medicine [in general] (*Taʿāliq fī l-ṭibb*).

2 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him.

3 Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī (d. 613/1217). Grammarian and prominent reciter of the Qurʾan. See also the entries on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān and Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sāʿātī in Ch. 15.23 and 15.29 above and the entry on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15.40.

4 This is a composite made in late antiquity of four separate works by Galen.

8. Notes on urine, which he composed on the first of Rajab of the year 603 [February 1207] (*Ta'ālīq fī l-bawl*).
9. A summary of the *Book of Questions* by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, which is excellently done (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*).

### 15.40 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī<sup>1</sup>

[15.40.1]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī is the shaykh and distinguished authority Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Sa'd, who is also known as Ibn al-Labbād [i.e. the son of the feltmaker]. His family hailed originally from Mosul, but he was born in Baghdad. He was renowned for his knowledge of the [various] sciences and his personal virtues. A prolific writer, he was a master of literary style as well as Arabic grammar and lexicography.<sup>2</sup> In addition, he had mastered theology (*'ilm al-kalām*) and medicine. He had lived in Damascus for a time, and while there had devoted much attention to the art of medicine and acquired a great reputation for his knowledge of it. Students and physicians used to frequent his lectures and study under him. During al-Baghdādī's youth his father had him study Hadith under a number of teachers, including Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, known as Ibn al-Baṭṭī,<sup>3</sup> Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Qudṣī,<sup>4</sup> Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā ibn Thābit al-Wakīl,<sup>5</sup> and others.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* contributions by Houtsma and Stern with regard to 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī and his milieu are nowadays rather outdated. More up-to-date introductions to 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's life and oeuvre are given by Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*; Toorawa, 'A Portrait'; Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*; and, in particular, Jooose's entry on 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in *EI Three*, and Martini Bonadeo's online article, "Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi". A partial translation of the autobiographical portions of this entry are given in Toorawa, 'Autobiography'; see also Toorawa, 'Language and Male Homosocial Desire'.

2 See the long footnote on 'Abd al-Laṭīf's expert knowledge of grammar and lexicography in Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 112 n. 14.

3 Ibn al-Baṭṭī, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Baghdādī (477–564/1084–1169). Scholar in the field of Hadith. Identified by the biographers as the chief traditionist of Iraq (*musnid al-ʿIrāq*); see, Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, iv:218.

4 Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī al-Hamadhānī (d. 566/1170 in Hamadhān). See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv:217.

5 Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā ibn Thābit al-Wakīl. See, Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 94; Martini Bonadeo,

Yūsuf, the father of shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn,<sup>6</sup> was a devoted student of the science of tradition and an outstanding scholar in the Qur'anic sciences and its modes of recitation. He was well-versed in the doctrines of his school (*madhhab*), as well as in the differences among the [four] schools and in the fundamental principles [of theology and jurisprudence], but possessed only a slight understanding of the rational disciplines. shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn's paternal uncle, Sulaymān,<sup>7</sup> was an outstanding jurist.

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf himself was a highly industrious person. He never let a moment pass without devoting himself to the study and composition of books and the art of writing. The works that I have seen in his own handwriting are very many, since he used to make numerous copies of his own works and copied several books of earlier authors as well. He was a friend of my grandfather's; a strong friendship had grown up between them while they were both residing in Egypt. My father and my grandfather used to study the literary arts under him. My uncle also studied the works of Aristotle with him, for the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn was very interested in them and wished to understand their meaning. From Egypt he went to Damascus and stayed there for some time, and many people benefited from his teaching [there]. I saw him when he was living in Damascus on his final visit to that city. He was an old man of fragile physique, of medium height, a good speaker, expressing himself very well; still, his written word was more impressive than his speech. At times – may God have mercy upon him – he would go too far in his talk: he had a high opinion of himself and would find many shortcomings in the intellectuals of his time and in many of former times also. He frequently disparaged the learned men of Persia and their works, especially the distinguished Master Ibn Sīnā and people like him.

[15.40.2]

I have taken the following account from an autobiography<sup>8</sup> written in 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's own hand:

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*Philosophical Journey*, 112 n. 17. This scholar was identified by al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*, viii:169 as Ibn Bundār.

6 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 93 has attempted to identify the father of 'Abd al-Laṭīf as shaykh Abū l-'Izz al-Mawṣilī. See also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 113 n. 20.

7 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 93 has mentioned that 'Abd al-Laṭīf's paternal uncle Sulaymān was most likely Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Mawṣilī al-Ṣūfī. He was born in 528/1133 and studied Hadith under Ismā'īl ibn al-Samarqandī and other teachers.

8 This is most likely the *Kitāb Tārīkh*, attributed to 'Abd al-Laṭīf's son Sharaf al-Dīn Yūsuf, which is lost. See also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 116 under entry 'm'.

I was born in the year 557/1162 in a house belonging to my grandfather,<sup>9</sup> in a street called ‘Sweetmeats Alley’ (*darb al-fālūdhaj*), and I was brought up under the care of the shaykh Abū l-Najīb,<sup>10</sup> without knowing anything of pleasure or leisure. Most of my time was devoted to listening to [lessons in] the Hadith. I also procured certificates of audition (*ijāzāt*) for myself from the shaykhs of Baghdad, Khorasan, Syria and Egypt.<sup>11</sup> One day my father said to me, ‘I have made you listen to all the luminaries of Baghdad, and I even had you included in the chains of transmission of the old (*masānn*) masters’.<sup>12</sup> During this period I had [also] learned calligraphy, and I had memorized the Qur’an, the *Faṣīḥ*,<sup>13</sup> the *Maqāmāt*,<sup>14</sup> the collected poems of al-Mutanabbī,<sup>15</sup> an epitome on jurisprudence, and another on grammar. Later when I grew up, my father brought me to Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anbārī,<sup>16</sup> who was, in those days, the leading teacher in Baghdad. Between him and my father there was a long-lasting friendship, going back to the time of their study at the Niẓāmiyyah law college.<sup>17</sup> I studied the preface to the *Faṣīḥ* under his direction, but found that he talked a lot of nonsense, and uttered many foolish words. I could not understand one bit of his continuous and considerable jabbering, even though his students apparently admired him for it. In the end, he said:

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- 9 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s student Ibn Khallikān specifies the month as Rabī’ 1 of the year 557 corresponding to March 1162. Cf. Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 93; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 114 n. 24.
- 10 Abū l-Najīb: he is probably Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Najīb al-Suhrawardī ‘Abd al-Qāhir ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Bakrī (490–563/1097–1168). Famous Sunni mystic, knowledgeable in Shāfi’ī law (*fiqh*), exegesis (*tafsīr*), and theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*). See Ibn al-Imād, *Shadhārāt*, iv:218; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Al-Suhrawardī, Abū’l Nadjīb ‘Abd al-Qāhir ...’ (F. Sobieroj).
- 11 For the further explanation of the technical term *ijāza*, see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ‘Idjāza’ (G. Vajda, I. Goldziher and S.A. Bonebakker).
- 12 For a further explanation of the idea of hearing Islamic teaching directly from a reliable shaykh and, through him, becoming a part of an unbroken *isnād*, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 115 n. 27.
- 13 This is the *al-Faṣīḥ fi l-lughah* by Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zayd, also known as Tha’lab (d. 291/904). See Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt*, i:102.
- 14 Al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* are meant here, cf. al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 223.4–225.9.
- 15 For al-Mutanabbī, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 176.6–180.8; Sezgin, *GAS* II, 484–497.
- 16 Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū l-Barakāt al-Anbārī al-Naḥwī (513–577/1119–1181). Teacher of Arabic grammar at the Niẓāmiyyah law college in Baghdad. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah* (under No. 1507); al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, xii–xxx; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Anbārī, Abu’l Barakāt’ (C. Brockelmann); *EAL*, ‘Ibn al-Anbārī’ (M.C. Carter).
- 17 Daphna Ephrat’s study *A Learned Society* offers us a good insight view of the teachers in the madrasas of Baghdad during the period 459–549/1066–1154, among which one can also find ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s teacher Abū l-Barakāt al-Anbārī.

'I loathe teaching young boys and instead pass them on to my disciple al-Wajīh al-Wāsiṭī to study under his guidance.<sup>18</sup> When the boy is more advanced, I will allow him to study with me'.

Al-Wajīh, a blind man from a wealthy and virtuous family, was the teacher of some of the children of the grand vizier.<sup>19</sup> He welcomed me with open arms and began to teach me from early morning to the end of the day, showing me kindness in many ways. I attended his study circle at the Ṣafariyyah mosque,<sup>20</sup> where he would place a series of commentaries in front of me and discuss them with me. Finally, I would read my lesson and al-Wajīh would favour me with his own comments. Then we would leave the mosque, and on the way home he would help me to memorize what I had learnt. When we reached his house, he would take out the books that he was studying himself. I would memorize them with his help and help him memorize them as well. Thereafter he would go to see shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn, to whom he would recite his lesson and who would then comment on the lesson, while I listened. I became so highly trained that I began to outstrip him in powers of memory and understanding. I used to spend most of the night in memorizing and repeating [the lessons]. We continued thus for a while, with me as a disciple of both my master and my master's master. My memory increased and improved continually, my insight became deeper and more acute and my mind became sharper and more reliable.

The first work that I had memorized was the *Luma'*, [which I completed] in eight months' time.<sup>21</sup> Every day, I listened to a commentary on the greater part of it as it was recited by others. On returning home, I studied the commentaries [on it] by al-Thamānīnī,<sup>22</sup> Sharīf 'Umar ibn

18 Wajīh al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Bakr al-Mubārak ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Mubārak ibn Abī l-Azhar Sa'īd Ibn al-Dahhān al-Ḍarīr (532–612/1137–1215). Teacher of Arabic grammar at the Niẓāmiyyah law college in Baghdad. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:152–153 (no. 555).

19 Perhaps the descendants of Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (d. 450/1058), known as *al-wazīr* Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'. A vizier under al-Mustaḍīr, in 'Abd al-Latīf's time, was 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā' (Ibn al-Ṭīqṭāqā, *Fakhrī*, 319–321; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii: 335); he was murdered in 572/1176 and succeeded by Ibn al-'Aṭṭār.

20 Al-Ṣafariyyah was a neighbourhood in East Baghdad, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.

21 That of Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣili. See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 197.3–198.17; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:443–444; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xvi:57–58; Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 173–182, 248.

22 Abū l-Qāsim 'Umar ibn Thābit (d. 442/1050) was a student of the aforementioned Ibn Jinnī. See Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 174, 186–187.



Ḥamzah,<sup>23</sup> and Ibn Barhān,<sup>24</sup> and any other commentaries [on it] that I was able to find. I commented on it myself for a group of competent and dedicated students, until I reached the point where I began to use up a whole quire for every chapter, but even that was not enough for what I had to say.

I then thoroughly memorised the *Adab al-kātib* by Ibn Qutaybah, the first half in a few months and the [other half], the *Taqwīm al-lisān*, in fourteen days, for it comprised fourteen quires. Afterwards I learnt by heart the *Mushkil al-Qurʾān* and the *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* by the same author, both in a very short time.<sup>25</sup> I then devoted myself to the treatise *al-Īdāh* by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and learnt it by heart over many months.<sup>26</sup> I applied myself constantly to the study of commentaries on it and worked through it with the utmost care until I had studied it in depth and was able to summarize what the commentators said [about it]. As to the *Takmilah*,<sup>27</sup> I memorized it in a few days, a quire every day. I used to read both extensive works and compendia, and I applied myself with perseverance to the *al-Muqtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad and the *Kitāb* of Ibn Durustawayh.<sup>28</sup> In the meantime, I did not neglect lectures on the Hadith nor the study of jurisprudence with our shaykh Ibn Faḍlān in the *Dār al-Dhahab*,<sup>29</sup> which is a “second-storey” [*muʿallaqah*] law college [*madrasah*] founded by Fakhr al-Dawlah ibn al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>30</sup>

23 See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 117 n. 38.

24 See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:99.

25 Cf. for these works by Ibn Qutaybah: al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 128.1–17; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 154–158; Joseph Lowry in: Cooperson & Toorawa, *Arabic Literary Culture 500–925*, 173–183.

26 Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Abān al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) was a very famous grammarian. Cf. Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 101–110; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 187.15–189.6.

27 For the *Takmilah* or *Supplement* to the *Īdāh*, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 187.15–189.6; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 102–103.

28 See for the *al-Muqtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad, al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 132.1–138.17 and Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 82–85; For Ibn Durustawayh, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 171.1–172.9; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 96–98.

29 For Ibn Faḍlān, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh al-ʿAllāmah al-Baghdādī (513–595/1121–1199), see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi:524–525; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:233–235. In both sources he is called Yaḥyā ibn ʿAlī *ibn al-Faḍl* ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Faḍlan.

30 Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 119 (n. 46) states that the term *muʿallaqah*, in the way that ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī uses it here, designates a room on the second floor of a building, that is an ‘elevated’ room. In Saunders, *Life of Muwaffiq ad-Dīn*, 69, Gibb renders the term as follows: ‘a suspended Madrasa (i.e. raised on arcades)’. It is most likely the upper-floor college of law in a two-storey building with the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* below it.

‘Abd al-Laṭīf continues:

The shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn had composed one hundred and thirty works, most of them on grammar (*naḥw*) but some on law (*fiqh*), the principles of theology and Islamic law (*uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*), on mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) and on ascetism (*zuhd*). I managed to learn most of his works by listening, reading and memorizing them. He had begun to write two large works, one on lexicology and the other on law, but he was not fortunate enough to be able to complete them. Under his guidance, I memorized a part of the *Kitāb Sibawayh* (*The Book of Sibawayh*)<sup>31</sup> and devoted myself to the *al-Muqtaḍab* [of al-Mubarrad], which I came to master thoroughly. After the death of the shaykh, I devoted myself exclusively to the *Kitāb Sibawayh* (*The Book of Sibawayh*) and the commentary on it by al-Sīrāfi.<sup>32</sup>

I, then, studied a great number of works under the guidance of Ibn ‘Ubaydah al-Karkhī,<sup>33</sup> one of them being the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* by Ibn al-Sarrāj,<sup>34</sup> using the copy in the endowment (*waqf*) of Ibn al-Khashshāb in the *Ribāṭ al-Mā’mūniyyah*.<sup>35</sup> I also studied with him the law of inheritance (*farā’id*) and prosody (*‘arūd*) by al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī,<sup>36</sup> who was one of the most distinguished disciples of Ibn al-Shajarī.<sup>37</sup> As for Ibn al-Khashshāb, I listened to his reading of the *Ma‘ānī* [*al-Qur‘ān*] by al-Zajjāj,<sup>38</sup> which he again had studied from the writings of Shuhdah bint al-Ibarī.<sup>39</sup> I heard

31 For the *Kitāb Sibawayh*, which is considered the principal textbook for Arabic grammar, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 35.10–39.12; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 51–63.

32 Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Marzūbān al-Sīrāfi (290–368/903–979). See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 183.14–184.19; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:199 [no. 584]; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 59 and 98–101.

33 See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, v 14.

34 See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, iii:145.5–50; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 150.1–14; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 82–85.

35 For Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Naḥwī (492–567/1098–1172) and the *Ribāṭ al-Mā’mūniyyah*, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 119–120 n. 52.

36 Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn ‘Alī al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1108). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv: 239; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v.; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, 338 (2129). The work in question is *al-Kāfi fi l-‘arūd wa-l-qawāfi*. It is also known, and has been published as, *al-Wāfi fi l-‘arūd wa-l-qawāfi*.

37 See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 238.17–240.20; Brockelmann, *GAL*, i:332, Suppl. i:492–493.

38 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sarī ibn Sahl al-Zajjāj. See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 147.7–148.18; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv:220; Sezgin, *GAS I*, 49.

39 She is Shuhda bint Abī Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj ibn ‘Amr al-Ibarī, *Fakhr al-nisā’*, (d. 574/1178), the renowned female grammarian and a great authority on the Hadith. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, 311.

him recite the following tradition [related by an uninterrupted chain of transmitters]: ‘Those who show mercy are shown mercy by the Merciful. Be merciful to those who are on earth, and He who is in heaven will be merciful unto you’.<sup>40</sup>

[15.40.3]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Baghdādī further reports that among the teachers from whom he derived great benefit, as he claims, was the son of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh.<sup>41</sup> He speaks of him at great length and praises him highly, but this is due only to his extreme partiality for Iraqis, for in fact the son of Amīn al-Dawlah was not of such high merit, nor even close to it.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn continues:

There arrived in Baghdad a man from the West [*maghrib*], tall, dressed in the garb of a *Ṣūfī*; he displayed proud and haughty manners, spoke eloquently and had a pleasing appearance. He had the air of a religious man and looked like a traveller; those who saw him before getting to know him were struck by his appearance. He was known as Ibn Tātālī and claimed to be among the descendants of ‘the children of the veiled’ (*awlād al-mutalaththimah*, i.e. the Almoravids).<sup>42</sup> He had left the West when ‘Abd al-Mu’min<sup>43</sup> took possession of the region. When he settled in Baghdad, a number of great scholars and notables gathered around him. Among those who visited him were al-Raḍī al-Qazwīnī<sup>44</sup> and the grand shaykh

40 The hadith in question is from the collection of al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb: birr, Bāb: 16*.

41 See for the ‘bad son’ of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, Raḍī al-Dawlah Abū Naṣr ibn Hibat Allāh (b.) Ṣā’id, *Toorawa, ‘A Portrait*’, 99 [under entry ‘j’]; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 120 n. 57; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 91 (and especially n. 274); Joosse, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī as a Philosopher and a Physician’, 29 n. 15; Kahl, *The dispensatory*, 9; also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:77 [under no. 304]. IAU deals with the ‘good son’ of Amīn al-Dawlah in Ch. 10.64.

42 It is a serious mistake to believe that the Müller edition has the reading Ibn Nā’īlī, for it clearly reads Ibn Tātālī. The name Ibn Nā’īlī is of course based on the figure of Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy tutor Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Nātīlī. See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 120 n. 59; Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 99 [under entry k]; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 31–32. Many of the Arabic editors of the text of IAU, present us with the reading Ibn Nā’īlī, but this is not based on the manuscripts, but unfortunately the product of wishful thinking. The name Tātālī – if that is the correct reading – is totally obscure and obviously not Arabic but presumably Berber. The only Tātālī we could find, is a place somewhere in Italy, mentioned in al-Idrīsī (*Nuzhah*, ed. Rome, 780).

43 This is the Almohad ruler ‘Abd al-Mu’min (d. 558/1163).

44 See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv:300–301.

Ibn Sukaynah.<sup>45</sup> I, too, was one of those who paid him a visit. He had me read the *Muqaddimat hisāb*<sup>46</sup> and the *Muqaddimat Ibn Bābshādh fi l-naḥw*.<sup>47</sup>

Ibn Tātālī had a peculiar way of teaching. Those who came to see him considered him immensely learned, but in fact he merely possessed strange and radical views. He had carefully studied works on alchemy and talismans and similar subjects, and had also studied all the works of Jābir and Ibn Waḥshīyah.<sup>48</sup> He won the hearts of many with his appearance, his eloquence and his ability to influence others, and he filled my heart with a desire to know all the sciences (*shawqan ilā l-ʿulūm kullihā*). When he met the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful was delighted. Then Ibn Tātālī set off again on his travels.

I, for my part, engaged in study, buckling down quite seriously to the task and with great endeavour, giving up sleep and pleasures. I dedicated myself completely to the works of al-Ghazālī, that is, to the treatises *al-Maqāṣid*, *al-Miʿyār*, *al-Mizān* and *Miḥakk al-naẓar*.<sup>49</sup> Afterwards, I turned to the books of Ibn Sīnā, both the small and large works, memorized the *Kitāb al-Najāt* and transcribed the *Shifāʾ* and examined it. I then studied the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* by Bahmanyār, a disciple of Ibn Sīnā.<sup>50</sup> I transcribed and studied many books by Jābir ibn Ḥayyān al-Šūfī and Ibn Waḥshīyah, and I began to practise the false art and to make the frivolous and idle experiments of error. The most potent of the influences that led me astray was that of Ibn Sīnā, by his book on the art (i.e., alchemy), which he supposed completed his philosophy. However, it adds nothing to philosophy, but rather derogates from it.

45 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 99 [under entry 'k'] and Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 121, have misread the name as Ibn Sakīnah. It is Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn Sukaynah (d. 607/1210), see al-Dubaythī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, iv:171–174; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:309–311.

46 It is either an introduction to arithmetic, or a copyist's error for the *Muqaddimat Ibn al-Khashshāb*. See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 121 n. 63.

47 See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, v:105; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 212.12–213.2; Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 84 and 89–90.

48 For the legendary alchemist Jābir ibn Ḥayyān and the alchemist and astronomer Ibn Waḥshīyah, see respectively Sezgin, *GAS* IV, 132–269 and *GAS* IV, 282–283; cf. also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 44–45 and 85.

49 For these four books of al-Ghazālī, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 121–122 n. 67.

50 See also Janssens, 'Bahmanyār' and Janssens, 'Revision'. And for an edition of the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, see Bahmanyār *K. al-Taḥṣīl*. See also *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Bahmanyār' (F. Rahman) and *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Bahmanyār' (H. Daiber).

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī continues:

In 585/1189, since there was none left in Baghdad who was able to win my heart, satisfy me completely and help me to resolve the difficulties which I felt, I went to Mosul, but I did not find what I desired there. However, I encountered al-Kamāl Ibn Yūnus,<sup>51</sup> who was an expert in mathematics and law, but only partially learned in the remaining branches of knowledge. His love of alchemy and its practice had so drowned his intellect and his time that he attached no importance to anything else but that art. Large numbers of students gathered around me, and various positions were offered to me; I chose the second-storey law college of Ibn Muhājir and the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* [i.e. the school of tradition] on the ground floor below. I stayed in Mosul for one year, always working incessantly, day and night. The people of Mosul declared that they had never before seen anyone with such an expansive and rapid memory, quickness of wit and seriousness.

I heard people say exciting things about the philosopher al-Shihāb al-Suhrawardī.<sup>52</sup> They were convinced that he surpassed all ancient and contemporary authors and that his works were superior to those of the ancients. I had in mind to go and look for him, but good fortune intervened. I asked Ibn Yūnus for some of his [i.e., Suhrawardī’s] works, for he also had a strong belief in the man’s qualities. I read the *Talwihāt* (The Intimations), *al-Lamḥah* (The Glimmer) and *al-Ma‘ārij* (The Ascending Steps), and in them I found a clear proof of the ignorance of my contemporaries, and I realized that many of my explanatory remarks, with which I was not yet satisfied, were better than the arguments of this idiot. In the midst of his discourse, he would insert detached letters, by which he made people like himself believe that they were to be considered divine mysteries.

Al-Baghdādī continues:

When I entered Damascus, I found there a great number of notables from Baghdad and elsewhere, who had been brought together through Ṣalāḥ al-

51 For Abū l-Faṭḥ Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Yūnus al-Mawṣilī (551–639/1156–1242), see the biography in Ch. 10.83.

52 On al-Shihāb al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, see al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ii:119–143; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 123 n. 76. For his works *Talwihāt* (The Intimations), *al-Lamḥah* (The Glimmer) and *al-Ma‘ārij* (The Ascending Steps), see the elaborate discussion in Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 124 n. 77–79.

Dīn's generous patronage. Among these were Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf, the son of shaykh Abū l-Najīb, a group from the Grand Vizier's family, Ibn Ṭalḥah, the secretary, members of the households of Ibn Jahīr, Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, the vizier who was later executed,<sup>53</sup> and the vizier Ibn Hubayrah.<sup>54</sup> I met with the grammarian al-Kindī al-Baghdādī,<sup>55</sup> with whom I had many debates. He was a brilliant, intelligent and wealthy shaykh, who enjoyed the favour of the Sultan, but who was quite taken with himself and offensive to his company. We had many debates and God – exalted be He – permitted me to surpass him in many of the issues that we discussed. Later I neglected to attend him, and my neglect offended him, even more than people were offended by him.

I produced a number of works there in Damascus, including the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth al-kabīr*. In it I united the [works of the same name by] Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, Ibn Qutaybah and al-Khaṭṭābī. I had already begun to compose it in Mosul, and now I made a summary of it, which I called *al-Mujarrad* (i.e., The Abstract).<sup>56</sup> I also wrote the *Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥah fī ʿrāb al-Fātiḥah*, filling about twenty quires, the *Kitāb al-Alif wa-l-Lām*, the *Kitāb Rubba* and a book on the Divine Essence and the Essential Attributes as discussed by the scholastic theologians.<sup>57</sup> My purpose in taking up this last issue was to refute al-Kindī.<sup>58</sup>

In Damascus I found again the shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Tātālī who had taken up residence at the western minaret (*al-ma'dhanah al-gharbiyyah*).

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- 53 If the identification of Ibn al-'Aṭṭār in the following footnote is correct, then he had already been executed a few years before.
- 54 Toorawa could not identify Ibn al-'Aṭṭār; he must be Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Abū Bakr Maṣṣūr ibn Naṣr ibn al-'Aṭṭār (d. 575/1179), who was vizier under al-Mustanjid, was deposed by al-Nāṣir and died soon in prison. See Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭāqā, *Fakhrī* (ed. Dār Ṣādir), 321, 323; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:404–407. See also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 125 n. 81–87 and Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 102 (especially n. 68).
- 55 Shaykh Ṭāḡ al-Dīn Abū l-Yumṣn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217). He was a grammarian and prominent reciter of the Qur'an. See also the entries on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sā'ātī and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī in respectively Chs. 15.23, 15.29 and 15.39.
- 56 A marginal note in MS A reads: 'This [book referred to as] *al-Mukhtaṣar al-Mujarrad* (an abridgement and abstract) is now in possession of this servant, in the handwriting of its author, may God have mercy on him. And I don't think that ever a book that is [so] comprehensive, despite the conciseness of its expression, has been given a title like it, may God reward the excellence of its author. I am the poor servant of God, may He be exalted.'
- 57 For some of these books, see Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.6–7; Sezgin, *GAS I*, 210–211, VIII, 81–87 and 208; cf. also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 126 n. 89–97.
- 58 That is, the aforementioned shaykh Ṭāḡ al-Dīn Abū l-Yumṣn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217).

He had attracted a large group of followers. People were divided into two camps, with one party for him and the other against him. The *khaṭīb* (preacher) al-Dawlaī,<sup>59</sup> a notable personality who enjoyed great prestige and respect, was opposed to him. Later, Ibn Tātālī made a serious mistake and aided his foes against himself, for he began to speak about alchemy and philosophy, and disparaging remarks about him soon became more frequent. I met with him, and he began to question me concerning various pursuits, which I regarded as contemptible and trivial, though he, on the contrary, attributed great importance to them, and wrote down all that I said about them. I saw through him and found that he was not the man I had imagined him to be, with the result that I came to have a poor opinion of him and his methods. When I spoke about the sciences with him, I found that he had only a superficial knowledge of them. One day I said to him:

If you had devoted the time you have wasted in the pursuit of the art [i.e., alchemy] to some of the Islamic or rational sciences, today you would be without equal, waited on hand and foot. This alchemy nonsense simply does not have the answers you seek.

I learned a lesson from his example and kept my distance from the evil that befell him: ‘the fortunate one is he who is warned by the fate of another’, and I renounced [the art], albeit not entirely. Afterwards, Ibn Tātālī went to see Saladin on the outskirts of Acre<sup>60</sup> to complain to him about al-Dawlaī. He returned sick, and was conveyed to the hospital, where he died. His books were taken by al-Mu’tamid, the military commander of Damascus, who was himself infatuated with the art of alchemy.<sup>61</sup>

I then set out for Jerusalem, and then to Saladin in his camp outside Acre, where I met Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, the military judge [*qāḍī al-‘askar*] at that time.<sup>62</sup> My reputation had reached him in Mosul, so he

59 This is Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Zayd al-Dawlaī (d. 598/1202). See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv:336.

60 He undoubtedly went to see Sultan Saladin in his army camp that was set up during the siege of Acre (585–587/1189–1191). ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī has left us a rather brief but very lively description of such a camp, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* i, i:94; see also Eddé, *Saladin*, 289.

61 On al-Mu’tamid and his supposed involvement with alchemy, see Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 102 [under entry ‘m’]; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 51–52.

62 This is Abū l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Rafī‘ al-Asadī al-Mawṣilī Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (540–632/1145–1234). See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi:158. Ibn Shaddād wrote a biography of Saladin, entitled *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-maḥāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*; for an English translation, see Richards, *History*.

was delighted to meet me and gave me his attention. 'Let us join 'Imād al-Dīn, the secretary,' he said,<sup>63</sup> so we rose and went to his tent, which was next to that of Bahā' al-Dīn. I found him writing a letter in *thuluth*-script<sup>64</sup> to the chancery (*dīwān*) of al-'Azīz without first having made a rough draft. 'This,' he said, 'is a letter to your hometown'. He then proceeded to put me to the test on some matters of speculative theology (*'ilm al-kalām*), and then said, 'Come, let us go to call on al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil'.<sup>65</sup> When we entered his lodging, I saw a thin man, puny (with a relatively big head and a lively mind), who was simultaneously writing and dictating; his face and his lips moved about in all sorts of expressions due to the intensity of his effort to pronounce the words correctly, as if he were writing with all of his limbs. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil questioned me about some of the Almighty's words:

Where is the apodosis of the particle 'when' in the Qur'anic verse «Until, when they arrive there, and its gates will be opened and its keepers will say»?<sup>66</sup> And where is the apodosis of 'if' in the verse «If there were a Qur'an with which mountains were moved»?<sup>67</sup>

He also questioned me on many other matters, and all the time he never stopped writing and dictating. Then he said to me, 'Return to Damascus, for there you will be given a salary'. I said that I preferred Egypt, to which he replied: 'The Sultan is worried about the capture of Acre by the Franks and the killing of the Muslims in that town'. 'It can only be Egypt', I answered, whereupon he wrote me a brief letter addressed to his representative in Egypt.

When I entered Cairo, I was met by his agent,<sup>68</sup> Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk,<sup>69</sup> who was an old man of great virtue and authority. He lodged me in a house

63 This is the *kātib*, historian and chronicler 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vii 84–100 [no. 842]; *GAL*, i:314–315, *Suppl.* i:548–549.

64 That is, a particularly ornate and monumental script.

65 This is Saladin's secretary and advisor in questions of fiscal and military reform Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-'Asqalānī al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:158 [no. 374]; *GAL*, i:315, *Suppl.* i:549.

66 Q al-Zumar 39:73. For the answers to these questions, see the commentaries, e.g. al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*.

67 Q al-Ra'd 13:31.

68 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 104, assumes that this agent (*wakīl*) was probably the agent of the treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*).

69 This is Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Abī l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn al-Mu'tamid Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, famous poet and author of a treatise on the *muwashshahah*, who was also known as al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd (550–608/1155–1211). See *GAL* i:2, 304, *Suppl.* i:462.



that had been thoroughly renovated and supplied me with money and a grain allowance. He then went to the high-ranking state functionaries and said, 'This is the guest of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil', whereupon presents and blessings were showered upon me from all directions. Every ten days or so a memorandum would come to the administrative office of the Egyptian government from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, outlining important matters of state. In it there would be a paragraph that clearly set forth his instructions concerning my privileges. I stayed in the mosque of the chamberlain (*al-ḥājib*) Lu'lu' – may God have mercy upon him, teaching people to recite.<sup>70</sup>

My purpose in going to Egypt was to meet three persons: Yāsīn al-Sīmīyā'ī ('the letter-magician'),<sup>71</sup> the Jewish scholar Mūsā ibn Maymūn [i.e., Maimonides],<sup>72</sup> and Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāri'ī.<sup>73</sup> All of them came to call on me. Yāsīn I found to be a swindler (*mukhāliban*),<sup>74</sup> a liar, and a common juggler. He used to testify to al-Shāqānī's expertise in alchemy, while al-Shāqānī used to testify to Yāsīn's knowledge of magic. It was said of him that he was able to do things that even Mūsā ibn 'Imrān [i.e., the prophet Moses] was unable to do, that he could produce minted gold whenever he wished, of any quantity he wished, and in any coinage that he wished, and that he could turn the waters of the Nile into a tent, under which he and his companions would be able to sit; yet he was in a sorry state.

Mūsā [ibn Maymūn] came to see me as well. I found him to be extremely learned, but he was overcome with the adulation of authority and service to those who occupied important positions. He has written a treatise on medicine based on the sixteen books of Galen<sup>75</sup> and on five books by others. He imposed upon himself the rule of not altering a single

70 In al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv:405–407, he is called Lu'lu' *al-ḥājib* al-ʿĀdilī, *muqaddam al-ustūl*. Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 104, identifies him as Amīn Murr Riḍwān al-Saljūqī al-ʿĀdilī, an error for *amīn sirr* ('secretary of') Riḍwān. Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 128 n. 112 states that he was an Armenian general in the service of Saladin and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

71 On *sīmīyā'* or letter-magic, see Lory, *La science des lettres en islam*. It could also refer to a different kind of magic, also called *sīmīyā'*, a form of hypnosis, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. '*Sīmīyā'*' (D.B. MacDonald & T. Fahd). See also the story in Ch. 10.83, at the beginning of the section on Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus.

72 See Ch. 14.39.

73 For the discussion on the identity of Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāri'ī, see Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 105 [under entry 'p']; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 129 n. 115.

74 Editorial change in the Arabic text for ABGbcHLR: *muḥāliyyan*, 'absurd', 'preposterous'.

75 On the sixteen books by Galen, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 130 n. 117. Cf. Ch. 6.3–6.4.

letter in it unless it was either a conjunction (*wāw ʿatf*) or a connecting *fāʾ* (*fāʾ waṣl*) and he only copied sections of his choice. He has also composed a book for the Jews entitled *Kitāb al-Dalālah* (*The Guide*),<sup>76</sup> and pronounced a curse on anyone who would transcribe it in any but Hebrew characters. I looked through it and found it to be an evil book that corrupted the foundations of law and faith with elements that he had imagined would benefit them.

One day I was in the mosque with a number of people gathered around me, when an old man dressed in shabby clothes entered. He was sharp-featured, with a pleasing appearance. The crowd stood in awe of him and showed him reverence. I finished what I had to say, and when the meeting was over, the imam of the mosque came to me and said, 'Do you know this old man? He is Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāriʿī. I embraced him and cried, 'It is you I seek!' I brought him to my house, and after our meal we entered into conversation. I found him to be all that souls can desire and eyes delight in. His conduct was that of a man of wisdom and intelligence, his bearing likewise. He contented himself with the barest necessities of life, not involving himself with anything that would distract him from moral excellence. Following our initial encounter, he frequently sought my company, and I found that he was well versed in the works of the ancient philosophers and of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī. I did not have much confidence in any of those [authors], thinking as I did that the whole of philosophy had been encompassed by Ibn Sinā and was embodied in his books. When we engaged in discussion, I would surpass him in strength of disputation and refinement of language, but he would surpass me in the force of his argumentation and the clarity of his methods. I did not yield to his arguments, nor did I give up my passionate and stubborn [resistance] to his allusions. But then he presented me with work after work by Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī], Alexander [of Aphrodisias] and Themistius in an effort to tame my aversion and to soften my headstrong disposition, until I inclined towards his side, putting one foot forward and the other back.

News arrived that Saladin had concluded a truce with the Franks and had returned to Jerusalem, so it was necessary for me to go and see him there. I took with me as many of the books of the ancient philosophers as I could carry and set out for Jerusalem. There I saw a formidable king, who filled all eyes with respect and all hearts with love, who was approachable, tolerant and generous. The members of his entourage tried to imitate him,

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76 This is the *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* (*Guide for the Perplexed*).

competing for recognition. As the word of God, exalted be He, says: «*And we shall take out all rancour from their breasts*». <sup>77</sup>

The first night I entered his presence, I found myself at a meeting attended by men of learning, discussing various sciences. Saladin listened attentively and took an active part in the conversation, taking up the subject of the manner of building walls and digging trenches. He had a good understanding of this matter and came up with all kinds of original ideas. He was concerned about the construction of the walls of Jerusalem and about the digging of its trenches. He himself took part in the work of carrying stones on his shoulders. His example was followed by the whole population, poor and rich, strong and weak alike, even the secretary al-ʿImād and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil followed his example. For this purpose, he would ride out on horseback before sunrise. At the time of midday prayer he would return home, have a meal and rest. He would mount his horse again at the time of the afternoon prayer, and would return home in the evening, then spend most of the night planning what he would do the next day. Saladin assigned to me in writing thirty dinars a month [to be paid by] the administrative office of the mosque. <sup>78</sup> His sons granted me stipends as well, so that I had a regular monthly income of a hundred dinars.

[15.40.4]

[Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī continues:]

I then returned to Damascus and devoted myself to studying and teaching at the mosque. The more deeply I studied the books of the ancient philosophers, the more my desire for them increased, whereas [my desire] for the books of Ibn Sīnā waned. I began to realise the vanity of alchemy and to know the truth of the matter about its foundation, its founders, and their lies and motivations. I was thus delivered from two great, ruinous errors. My thanks to God were redoubled on that account, for many people have been led to perdition through the books of Ibn Sīnā and alchemy.

Saladin subsequently returned to Damascus, but left the city again to bid farewell to the pilgrims [leaving for Mecca]. Upon his return, he became feverish and was bled by someone without any skill. <sup>79</sup> Thereupon,

77 Q al-Aʿrāf 7:43. So MSS BGc. MSS A, L, and many others present us with *fī qulūbihim*, 'from their hearts' here.

78 The Umayyad mosque in Damascus.

79 According to the historian Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, in his *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (viii:1–2, i: 321 and 430)

his strength ebbed and he died before his illness had lasted a fortnight. The people were as afflicted with grief [at his death] as if he had been a prophet. I have never seen a ruler whose death so saddened the people; for he was loved by the pious and the profligate alike, by Muslims and infidels.

Saladin's sons and companions 'dispersed like the ancient Sabaeans'<sup>80</sup> and were scattered to the four winds throughout the various countries. The greater number of them went to Egypt, on account of its fertility and prosperity. I stayed in Damascus, which was then under the rule of al-Malik al-Afḍal, Saladin's eldest son, until al-Malik al-'Azīz came with the Egyptian army to besiege his brother in Damascus. However, he failed in his design and withdrew to Marj al-Şuffar,<sup>81</sup> stricken with colic. I went over to see him after his recovery, and he allowed me to return with him [to Cairo] and assigned me a salary from the treasury, which was more than sufficient for my needs.

In Cairo, I stayed with the shaykh Abū l-Qāsim. We were inseparable from morning to night, until he died from a pleurisy (*dhāt al-janb*) arising from a head cold (*nazlah min rā'sihi*). As his illness grew worse, I advised him to take medication, whereupon he recited the following verse:<sup>82</sup>

I do not chase birds away from a tree  
of which I have tasted the bitter fruit.

Then I asked him about his pain, and he replied:<sup>83</sup>

A wound cannot hurt a dead man.

My occupations during this period were as follows: I gave lectures at the al-Azhar mosque from early morning until approximately the fourth hour.<sup>84</sup> At midday, those who wished to study medicine and other subjects would come to me. Then at the end of the day, I would return to the al-Azhar mosque to teach other students. At night I used to study for myself. In this manner I continued until the death of al-Malik al-'Azīz. He

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it was the famous physician Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (see the biography on him in Ch. 15.36) who bled Sultan Şalāḥ al-Dīn and caused his untimely death.

80 A proverbial saying.

81 Marj al-Şuffar is a large plain south of Damascus. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Marj al-Şuffar' (N. Elisséeff).

82 Metre: *madīd*. A line by Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, 1:140.

83 Metre: *khafīf*. A hemistich by al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 245, Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī*, 32-33.

84 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sā'a' (U. Rubin & D.R. Hill).

was a generous, courageous young man, modest and unable to say no. In spite of his youthfulness and tender age, he was wholly abstinent from worldly possessions and sexual pleasures.

[15.40.5]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah resumes speaking:

After this the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn lived in Cairo for some time, enjoying great prestige and receiving stipends from the sons of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Egypt was then visited by a huge rise in [food] prices and many deaths<sup>85</sup> such as never had been seen before. The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn wrote a book on this subject, in which he described things that he had seen himself or heard from eyewitnesses,<sup>86</sup> which make the mind reel; this book he entitled: *Information and Reflections on Events Witnessed and Incidents Observed in the Land of Egypt (Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-l-‘tibār fī l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa-l-ḥawādith al-mu‘āyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr)*.<sup>87</sup>

When the Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb took control of the land of Egypt, the greater part of Syria and the eastern regions, and the children of his brother al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were scattered and their power was taken away from them, the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn moved to Jerusalem and stayed there for a while. He used to frequent the al-Aqṣā mosque, where he had pupils who studied many different sciences under his guidance, and he composed many books. In the year 604/1207 he set out for Damascus, where he took his abode in the al-‘Azīziyyah law college, devoting himself to teaching and study. Many pupils came to study with him and learn various sciences under his guidance. He distinguished himself in the art of medicine, composing many books in that domain, and acquiring a great reputation in it, whereas formerly his fame had rested on his mastery of the science of grammar. He stayed in Damascus for some time, and many people derived great benefit from him.

Thereafter the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn travelled to Aleppo, and beyond, into Anatolia [i.e. the land of the Rūm Seljuqs<sup>88</sup>], staying there for several years in

85 The phrase *al-ghalā’ al-‘azīm wa-l-mawtān* suggests a food shortage and possible famine, with resulting deaths. See Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*, 147–155 for the famine and calamity that hit Egypt in 457–464/1065–1072, when the Nile failed to rise properly.

86 See Joosse, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī as a Philosopher and a Physician’, especially 38–41.

87 See the discussion in Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 135–136 n. 139. Facsimile edition of the autograph and (very unreliable) English translation by Zand, Videan & Videan. See al-Baghdādī, *The Eastern Key*.

88 See for the Seljuqs of Rūm: Cahen, *The formation of Turkey*; Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*; Pea-

the service of al-Malik ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn Bahrām,<sup>89</sup> the governor of [the city of] Erzinjan; he acquired an established position and an important status, receiving a large salary and many allowances. He composed many works that he dedicated to that ruler, who was a man of high aspirations, modest and generous, and had already devoted himself to some of the sciences. Muwaffaq al-Dīn remained in his service until the ruler of Erzerum, the Sultan Kayqubād ibn Kaykhusraw ibn Qilij Arslān,<sup>90</sup> seized power. The ruler of Erzinjan was arrested and nothing more was heard of him.

[15.40.6]

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf continues:

When it was the seventeenth of Dhū l-qa’dah of the year 625 [18 October 1228], I set out for Erzerum. On the eleventh of Šafar of the year 626 [9 January 1229] I returned to Erzinjan from Erzerum. In the middle of Rabī’ I [February 1229] I went to Kamākh; in Jumādā I [April 1229] I went from there to Dabarkī [i.e. Divrigi]; in the month of Rajab [June 1229] I headed from there to Malatya; and at the end of Ramadan [August 1229] I set out for Aleppo. We held the prayer for the feast at the end of the fasting period (*ʿīd al-ḥiṭr*) at Bahnasā’ and we entered Aleppo on Friday the 9th of Shawwāl [31 August 1229].<sup>91</sup> We found that the city had grown immensely and that its prosperity and security had increased as a result of the good deeds of the atābak [atabeg]<sup>92</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn.<sup>93</sup> The whole population was unified in their love for him, because he treated his subjects equitably.

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cock & Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*; For the Seljuqs in general, see Canby *et alii*, *Court and Cosmos*; Lange & Mecit, *The Seljuqs*; Herzig & Stewart, *The Age of the Seljuqs*.

89 Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrāmshāh ibn Dāwūd (r. 560/1165–622/1225), see for him Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 217; Peacock & Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 27–28, *passim*. We do not know much about ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s position at the court of this ruler. It has become clear though that he spent much time there re-reading and reshaping his work, and supervising his students, as has become evident from MS Manisa, *Kitapsaray* 178/6, fols. 130b–153b and several other texts; cf. also Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 217–236.

90 Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay Qubād I ibn Kay Khusraw I (r. 616/1219–634/1237), see for him Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 213–214; Peacock & Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 4, *passim*.

91 For the itinerary and chronology of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, see Toorawa, *Travel in the medieval Islamic world*, especially at 63–65 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 24–25.

92 See *ET* Three art. ‘Atābak (Atabeg)’ (Amalia Levanoni).

93 The eunuch Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughrīl was then in power of the territory of Aleppo, because al-Malik al-‘Azīz Muḥammad, the grandson of Saladin, had come to the throne at the age of only two in the year 613/1216 after his father’s early and rather unexpected death.

[15.40.7]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say:

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn remained in Aleppo, where pupils studied under his guidance and he wrote prolifically. He had a good patron in the eunuch (*khādim*) Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭuḡhrīl, the atabeg of Aleppo. Muwaffaq al-Dīn devoted much of his time to teaching the art of medicine and other sciences, but also frequented the mosque, where he would listen to lectures and teach the Arabic language. He was always engaged in writing and composing [works]. When he was living in Aleppo it was my intention to meet with him, but it did not happen. I received a steady stream of books and letters from him, including some of his works in his own handwriting.

Here follows the text of a letter that I wrote to him when he was [staying] in Aleppo:

The servant conveys his prayers, his praise, his gratitude and his commitment to the adored, eminent, illustrious, magnificent, most virtuous excellency Muwaffaq al-Dīn, chief of scholars in times past and present who has united in himself the sciences scattered among the inhabitants of the world, protector of the commander of the faithful. May God elucidate the paths of right guidance to him and illuminate the ways of knowledge for him in the life hereafter, and confirm his authority through the [revelation of] the true meaning of his words. May his happiness continue to exist unendingly, his mastery ascend to lofty heights and may his writings remain in all lands the model for the learned and the main source for all men of letters and philosophy. The servant renews his homage, offers his most courteous salutations and his most affectionate thanks and compliments. He makes known to you the pain from which he suffers in his endeavour to witness the lights of the illuminating sun, the joy that is provoked by the exciting vision of your noble and illustrious presence and the intensification of his anxiety and the graveness of his insomnia on hearing of the nearness of his visit.<sup>94</sup>

Longing is at its most painful one day  
when abodes are near abodes.<sup>95</sup>

94 Metre: *wāfir*. Quoted and probably composed by Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850), see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v:358, and by Jaḥẓah ‘on the authority of Hammād, on the authority of his father (i.e. Ishāq al-Mawṣilī)’, see al-Qālī, *Amālī*, i:55; attributed to Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (with a different first hemistich) in Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, i:141.

95 i.e., when the loved object is near but still out of reach.

Were it not for the [hope of the] return of the noble traveller and the arrival of the honourable and exalted excellency, the servant would have hurried to come to him and hastened to appear before him, and would come to pay his respects and be successful in seeing his beautiful appearance. How blessed is he who has the fortune to gaze upon it, and how glad is he who stands before him! How fortunate is the person in which he shows an interest, who draws from the seas of his excellence and is irrigated by its wholesome water, who is illumined by the sun of his knowledge and travels in brilliant light! We ask God, exalted is He, that he will soon unite us and by His grace and bounty bring about the merger between the delight of the eyes and the pleasures of the hearing, if God, exalted be He, wills.

Among the letters of the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf is one that he sent to my father. At the beginning of the letter he said of me, ‘The son of the son [i.e. the grandson] is dearer than the son. This Muwaffaq al-Dīn [i.e., Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah] is the son of my son and no one is dearer to me than he. His excellence has been clear to me ever since his early youth’. He then continues to speak appreciatively of me and praises me. He also says in this letter, ‘If I could go to him in order to enable him to study under my guidance, I should do it’, indicating that he had decided to remove to Damascus and settle there.

Then it came to his mind to go on pilgrimage first, making his way via Baghdad, and offering some of his works to the caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh.<sup>96</sup> After reaching Baghdad he fell ill and died – may God have mercy upon him – on Sunday, the twelfth of Muḥarram 629 [9 November 1231]. He was buried next to his father in the al-Wardiyyah cemetery. This happened after an absence of forty-five years from the city of Baghdad. God, exalted be He, sent him back and decreed his fate there.

[15.40.8]

The following are some examples of the aphorisms of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, which I have taken from works in his own handwriting:

1. It is necessary to account to yourself for what you have done every night when you go to sleep, and reflect on the meritorious deeds that you have done during the day and to thank God for them, and the evil deeds you have committed and to ask God’s pardon for them and to abstain from

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<sup>96</sup> He was the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad from 623/1226 to 640/1242. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 7 under entry 1.



them. Prepare yourself for the good things that you will do in the morning, and ask God for help in this.

He also says:

2. I urge you not to study the sciences from books [only], however confident you are in the strength of your [own] understanding, but go and find yourself teachers for every science you seek to acquire. If a teacher should prove deficient, take from him what he has until you find one more perfectly acquainted with the subject than he is. You must honour and respect him. If it is possible for you to help him with your worldly goods, do so; otherwise serve him with your words and praise. When you read a book, strive to learn it by heart and understand its meaning. Imagine that the book is missing and that you are able to do without it, for its loss would not grieve you. When you are devoting yourself to the study of a book and you try to understand it, beware of working on another book at the same time; rather, spend the time that you wished to spend on the second book on the first. Beware of studying two sciences simultaneously, but devote yourself to a single science for one or two years or for how long God wishes. When you have attained your aim in this, move on to another science. Do not think that when you have acquired knowledge of one subject, you have done all that is necessary: you need to keep it up, so that it progresses and does not stagnate. The way to keep it up is by memorizing it and reflecting upon it. The beginner occupies himself by being mindful of it and by studying and discussing it with his fellow-students. The work of the sage lies in teaching and writing books. When you undertake to teach a science or engage in discussion on it, do not combine it with any of the other sciences, for every science stands alone and is independent of other sciences. When you bring in a [second] science to assist you with the first, you are unable to treat its divisions exhaustively; like someone who uses one language for another when he either cannot express himself in it or is partially ignorant of it.

He also says:

3. It behoves a man to read histories, to acquaint himself with the biographies and experiences of nations,<sup>97</sup> so that he becomes thereby, as one who, in this short life, has yet caught up with vanished peoples, has been their contemporary and companion and knows all the good and evil of them.

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97 *Siyar* does not necessarily imply 'heroic deeds' here; it has its more general sense of 'biographies' (it would include the lives and conduct of scholars, for instance; cf. al-Dhahabī's *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*) and *tajārib* means 'experiences'. He may therefore allude to Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-unam*.

Furthermore he says:

4. It is incumbent upon you to imitate the conduct of the first generation of Muslims. Read the biography of the Prophet, God bless him and keep him, and follow [the example of] his deeds and circumstances, follow in his footsteps and imitate him as far as you can, within the limit of your abilities. When you have learned about his habits regarding eating, drinking, dressing, sleeping, waking, illness, medical treatment, amusement, use of perfumes, his dealings with his Lord, his wives, his companions and his enemies and you can do but a little of [all] this, then you belong to the happiest of men.

He then says:

5. It is necessary for you always to doubt yourself, rather than to hold a high opinion of yourself. Submit your ideas to men of learning and their writings. Proceed with caution, do not be hasty and avoid being vainglorious, for vainglory ends in a fall, and rashness causes one to make mistakes. He who has not turned his forehead to the gates of the learned will not become deeply rooted in excellence. Those who have not been put to shame will not be treated with respect by the people. Those who have not been reproached will not be shown the right way. He who has not suffered the pain of studying will not taste the joy of knowledge. He who has not worked hard will not become successful.

When you are not engaged in study and reflection, move your tongue in remembrance of God and in glorifying Him, especially before you go to sleep, for then your heart will be permeated with Him and He will be kneaded into your imagination, so that you may speak of Him even while you are sleeping. When you experience joy and pleasure in some worldly matters, then remember death, the swiftness of passing and the different kinds of hindrances you have encountered. When something saddens you, say the following words: «*We belong to God and to Him we return*».<sup>98</sup> When you have been indifferent to Him, ask for forgiveness.

6. Be sure to have death in view, for knowledge and piety are your provision for the world to come. When you want to disobey God, seek a place where he cannot see you. Know that men are the eyes of God with which he looks at His servants. He shows them a man's good deeds, even if he hides them, and reveals his evil deeds, even if he conceals them; for his inmost soul is exposed to God and God exposes it to His servants. See to it that you make your inner [life] better than your exterior and that your secret [acts] become clearer than the acts that you perform in public.

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98 Q al-Baqarah 2:156.

7. Do not complain if the world turns its back on you, for were it to welcome you it would distract you from acquiring excellent qualities. Rarely does a wealthy person become absorbed in science, unless he has a very lofty ambition, or has become rich after having acquired knowledge. I do not say that the world turns its back on the seeker of knowledge; rather, it is the seeker of knowledge who turns his back on the world, because all his ambition is dedicated to science and he has no attention to spare for the world.
8. Worldly riches are gained only by avidity and reflection on the way to obtain them, so if one ignores the means of acquiring them, they do not come to him. Moreover, the seeker of knowledge is too noble for base occupations and worldly profits, for the different types of commercial trade,<sup>99</sup> and for self-abasement before the great ones of the earth and hanging about their gates.<sup>100</sup> The following verse is by a friend of mine:<sup>101</sup>
- He who exerts himself in seeking knowledge is spared,  
by the nobility of knowledge, the lowliness of acquiring it.
9. All activities aimed at gaining worldly goods require that one should occupy oneself exclusively with them, that one should possess the necessary skills to acquire them, and that one is able to devote [all of] one's time to them. He who dedicates himself to science is not able of doing

99 This is obviously a sneer in the direction of 'Abd al-Laṭīf's presumed arch-enemy, the Jewish physician Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī (d. 623/1226), who was into commercial trade all his life. See Ch. 15.41 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17–28.

100 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī received ample royal patronage from the Ayyubid rulers so that he was able to carry out textual research and spend his life studying and teaching without being bothered by the 'annoyances' of the practical side of medicine. He apparently believed that the most excellent scholars earned the right to be granted this type of remuneration, in order not to have to follow the 'basic' occupations. In this sense, it is likely that he followed Aristotle's opinion, expressed at the beginning of the *Metaphysics* (981a1–981b1), that the highest degree of intellectual activity is that which is free from material concerns and devoid of practical considerations and applications. See Joosse, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī as a Philosopher and a Physician', 43 (also n. 80–81). The particular usage of the phrase 'self-abasement before the great ones of the earth and hanging about their gates' by 'Abd al-Laṭīf may be a sneer in the direction of the Jewish philosopher and physician Maimonides, who, according to 'Abd al-Laṭīf, was 'dominated by the love of temporal dignities and a courtier of those in high station'. The learned (*ulamā'*) often felt that some occupations degraded them through something like pollution: 'The learned man should keep away from the basest custom, such as the art of cupping, dyeing, money changing, and gold-smithing' (see Ibn Jamā'ah, *Tadhkirah* in Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 127). Cf. 5.1.18.1.

101 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:93.

this. Therefore, he bides his time waiting for the world to come to him for no reason at all, expecting the world to seek him out without his seeking out the world in a similar manner, but this is wrong of him and exceeds the proper bounds. Nevertheless, when a man masters science and made a reputation for himself in it, he is in demand from all sides and positions are offered to him. Then the world comes to him in a submissive way and he conquers it with his honour perfectly intact and his dignity and his faith well kept. Know that science leaves a trace and a scent, which proclaim its owner, a light and a gleam that shine upon him and mark him, as in the case of a dealer in musk: his place cannot be concealed, nor can his merchandise be ignored; just as in the case of one who walks with a torch in a pitch-black night. Furthermore, the learned man is loved wherever he is and whatever his situation is. He only meets those who are well disposed toward him, who desire to be near him, who seek out his company and find ease in his proximity.

10. Know too that the sciences sink in the ground and then gush out at a certain time, as in the case of plants or springs of water: they pass from one people to another and from one region to another.

I have copied a few more examples of his aphorisms from works in his own handwriting, including the following:

11. Let your speech be in general according to these qualities: it should be brief, intelligible, referring to an important matter or at least an appropriate one, and contain well-executed enigmas that are more or less ambiguous. Do not let it be careless like the speech of the masses, but raise its level somewhat, without estranging your hearers too much.
12. Beware of idle talk and senseless speeches, but also beware of silence when it is necessary to speak and your turn to speak has come, to bring out the truth, or to become beloved or to exhort to excellence. Beware of laughing while you speak, and being too talkative, and from cutting your speech short, but let your speech be coherent and take time for a breathing space. Deliver it with dignity, so that it may give the impression that there is more behind it than in it and that it is the product of previous maturing and past reflection.

Another example is the following:

13. Beware of vulgarity in your discourse and harshness in debate, for that destroys the beauty of the speech, deprives it of its usefulness, robs it of its charm, causes grudges and blots out friendships. The speaker then becomes a boring person, whose silence is more desirable to the listeners than his speech, and the people will choose to point out his faults, will denigrate him and take away his dignity.

He also says:

14. Do not become proud to the point of becoming unbearable, and do not lower yourself to the point of being seen as unworthy and looked down upon.

He also says:

15. Put your entire speech in argumentative form, and answer as your intelligence demands, not as you are accustomed to speak or in a routine manner.

He also says:

16. Leave the ways of youth, free yourself from natural habits. Give your speech in general a theological turn, do not cease to add some piece of information, a verse from the Qur'an, a wise saying, a rare verse of poetry, or a generally known proverb.

He then says:

17. Avoid slandering people, criticising kings, treating associates harshly; avoid being angry too often and do not overstep its boundaries.

He concludes by saying:

18. Memorize a wealth of proverbial poems, aphoristic anecdotes and unusual expressions.

In one of his prayers<sup>102</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – he says:

O God, preserve us from the contrariety of the natural disposition and the defiance of the evil soul, smooth for us the way that will guide us to success and lead us on the straight path. O leader of the blind and guide of those who had gone astray, You who revive through faith the dead hearts<sup>103</sup> and lighten the darkness of error with perfect light, take us by the hand lest we fall into the abyss of destruction, deliver us from the mire of nature, cleanse us from the clay of the vile world through our sincere devotion to You and the instilment of fear in us. You are the ruler of the hereafter and of this world.

One of his glorifications of God runs as follows:

Glory to Him who pervades existence with His wisdom, who deserves to be worshipped in every respect. The whole universe gleams with the light

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<sup>102</sup> This prayer is not in Version 1 of the *Uyūn*. The same happened with al-Fārābī's prayer, which was also not in Version 1. One may wonder whether this had anything to do with Amīn al-Dawlah's personality.

<sup>103</sup> That is, the hearts that have died through lack of faith and need to be opened again.

of Your splendour and the sun of Your knowledge radiates on souls with the greatest brightness.

[15.40.9]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī is the author of the following books:<sup>104</sup>

1. On obscure words [employed] in the Hadith, in which are compiled the ‘*al-Gharīb*’ of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām and the ‘*al-Gharīb*’ of Ibn Qutaybah and al-Khaṭṭābī (*K. gharīb al-ḥadīth jama‘a fīhi gharīb Abī ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām wa-gharīb Ibn Qutaybah wa-gharīb al-Khaṭṭābī*).<sup>105</sup>
2. Summary on the obscure words [employed] in the Hadith (*K. al-mujarrad min gharīb al-ḥadīth*).<sup>106</sup>
3. Explanation of the syntax [employed] in the first *sūrah* of the Qur’an (*K. al-wāḍiḥah fī i‘rāb al-Fātiḥah*).<sup>107</sup>
4. On *alif* and *lām* (*K. al-alif wa-l-lām*).<sup>108</sup>
5. Question on His utterance, He be glorified, «*When he stretches out his hand, he can barely see it*» (*Mas‘alah fī qawlihi subḥānahu idhā akhraja yadahu lam yakad yarāhā*).<sup>109</sup>
6. A syntactical question (*Mas‘alah naḥwīyyah*).
7. Collection of syntactical questions and explanatory remarks (*Majmū‘ masā’il naḥwīyyah wa-ta‘ālīq*).
8. On [the particle] *rubba* [‘Many a ...’] (*K. rubba*).
9. Commentary on the [*qaṣīdah*] *Bānat Su‘ād* (‘Su‘ād has departed’) [by Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr] (*S. Bānat Su‘ād*).<sup>110</sup>

104 A second listing of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī’s oeuvre can be found in Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:385.1–388.2. This second and later list is partially different from the earlier one given below. It numbers fifteen discourses by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, which are not mentioned by IAU. A third and shorter list by al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xix: from 109 onwards, mentions a mere 86 works.

105 See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 126, n. 89–92.

106 Probably the *al-Mujarrad li-lughat al-ḥadīth*. Cf. *GAL* Suppl. i:881; edited in Ḥamza al-Rāḍī, *Kitāb al-Mujarrad*; excerpts in Ḥamza al-Rāḍī, *Min kitāb al-Mujarrad*. See also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 198 under i:1.

107 Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.6–7.

108 This is the Arabic definite article *al-*. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.7.

109 Q al-Nūr 24:40.

110 The celebrated poem called *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (‘The Mantle Ode’), a poem in praise of the Prophet by his contemporary Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr.

10. Supplement to the *Faṣīḥ* [by Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā Thaʿlab] (*K. dhayl al-faṣīḥ*).<sup>111</sup>
11. On the Divine Essence and the Essential Attributes as discussed by the scholastic theologians (*al-Kalām fī dhāt wa-l-ṣifāt al-dhātiyyah ʿalā alsinat al-mutakallimīn*).
12. Commentary on the first chapters of the *Mufaṣṣal* [by Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī] (*S. awāʿil al-mufaṣṣal*).<sup>112</sup>
13. Five syntactical questions (*Khams masāʿil naḥwiyyah*).
14. Commentary on the *Introduction* [to *Grammar*] by Ibn Bābushādh, which he dedicated to (al-Malik) al-Kāmil (*S. muqaddimat Ibn Bābushādh wa-sammāhu bi l-lumaʿ al-kāmiliyyah*).<sup>113</sup>
15. Commentary on Ibn Nubātah's *Sermons* (*S. al-khuṭab al-nubātiyyah*).<sup>114</sup>
16. Commentary on uninterrupted chains of tradition (*S. al-ḥadīth al-musal-sal*).
17. Commentary on seventy traditions (*S. sabʿīn ḥadīthan*).
18. Commentary on forty medical traditions (*S. arbaʿīn ḥadīthan ṭibbiyyah*).<sup>115</sup>
19. Refutation of the Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy regarding the exegesis of *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (*K. al-radd ʿalā Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy fī tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*).<sup>116</sup>
20. Examination of the injustice done to Qudāmah [ibn Jaʿfar] (*K. kashf al-zulāmah ʿan Qudāmah*).<sup>117</sup>
21. Commentary on the *Naqd al-shiʿr* [criticism of poetry] by Qudāmah [ibn Jaʿfar] (*S. naqd al-shiʿr li-Qudāmah*).

111 Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:102.

112 For al-Zamakhsharī, see *Encycl. Qurʾān* art. 'al-Zamakhsharī' (Kifayat Ullah): Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī was born on 27 Rajab 467 [18 March 1075] in Zamakhshar, a small town in Khwārazm (modern Khiva, Uzbekistan), from which his *nisbah* al-Zamakhsharī is derived. He died on 8 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 538 [12 June 1144] in Jurjāniyyah, the capital of Khorasan.

113 For Ibn Bābushādh, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, v:105; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 212.12–213.2; Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 84 and 89–90.

114 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Nubātah' (M. Canard). Cf. also *GAL* Suppl. i:881; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 198 under ii:6.

115 The book *K. al-Arbaʿīn al-ṭibbiyyah* (*Forty medical traditions*) often attributed to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was actually written by his student al-Birzālī (d. 637/1239).

116 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy is of course the famous Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (on whom, see Ch. 11.19). See Stern, 'A Collection', 58–59; also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:2; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 201–202.

117 On Qudāmah, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Qudāmah b. Djaʿfar' (S.A. Bonebakker).

22. Prophetic traditions excerpted from compilations combining the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (*Aḥādīth mukharraġah min al-jam‘ bayna al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*).<sup>118</sup>
23. ‘The Mighty Banner’: on Hadith, dedicated to al-Malik al-‘Azīz (*K. al-liwā’ al-‘azīz bi-ism al-Malik al-‘Azīz fī al-ḥadīth*).
24. ‘Principles of the Art of Good Style’ (*K. qawānīn al-balāghah*), which he composed in Aleppo in the year 615/1218.
25. Marginal notes to Ibn Jinnī’s ‘Distinctive Features [of Grammar]’ (*Ḥawāshī ‘alā kitāb al-khaṣā’iṣ li-ibn Jinnī*).<sup>119</sup>
26. On equity between Ibn Barrī and Ibn al-Khashshāb with regard to Ibn al-Khashshāb’s refutation of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Barrī’s defence of al-Ḥarīrī (*K. al-inṣāf bayna Ibn Barrī wa-Ibn al-Khashshāb fīmā radda bihi Ibn al-Khashshāb ‘alā al-maqāmāt lil-Ḥarīrī wa-intiṣār Ibn Barrī lil-Ḥarīrī*).<sup>120</sup>
27. Question concerning their utterance ‘*anti ṭāliq*’ (‘you are divorced’) ‘*fī shahr qabla mā ba‘da qablihi ramaḍān*’ (‘in a month before the one after before it is Ramadan’).<sup>121</sup>
28. Explanation of His word, peace be upon Him, ‘*Those who show mercy are shown mercy by the Merciful*’ (*Tafsīr qawlihi ‘alayhi al-salām “al-rāḥimūn yarḥamuhum al-Raḥmān”*).<sup>122</sup>
29. Enlightenment for someone in a hurry: On syntax (*K. qabsat al-‘ajlān fī naḥw*).
30. Abridgement of al-‘Askarī’s ‘On the Two Arts’: [prose-writing and poetry] (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ṣinā‘atayn [al-kitābah wa-l-shi‘r] lil-‘Askarī*).<sup>123</sup>
31. Abridgement of Ibn Rashīq’s ‘On the Mainstay’ (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-‘umdah li-Ibn Rashīq*).<sup>124</sup>
32. Treatise on concord (*M. fī l-wafq*).<sup>125</sup>

118 The two ‘*Ṣaḥīḥs*’ are of course those of Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj and al-Bukhārī, the authors of the two most generally accepted collections of traditions.

119 For Abū l-Faṭḥ ‘Uthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 197.3–198.17; Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt*, iii:443–444; Yāqūt, *Muġam al-udabā’*, xvi:57–58; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 173–182, 248.

120 According to *GAL Suppl.* i:493, The title of this work is not *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, but *K. al-Munāfaṣāt*. Of course the latter is an error for *K. al-Munāṣafāt*, ‘The Book of Equal Shares between Ibn al-Khashshāb and Ibn Barrī’.

121 The whole point of this kind of gobbledegook is the legal validity of such complex or non-sensical utterances, which are discussed in law books.

122 This tradition is present in the collections of Abū Dāwūd, *adab* 58 and al-Tirmidhī, *birr*, 16.

123 See *EAL*, art. ‘Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī’ (W. Heinrichs).

124 That is the *Kitāb al-‘umdah fī maḥāsīn al-shi‘r wa-adabihi wa-naqḍihi*.

125 See *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘Wafq’ (J. Sesiano). The title could also be read as *Treatise on the Magic Square*.



33. The Sufficient and Evident: on Indian arithmetic (*K. al-mughnī al-jalī fī l-ḥisāb al-hindī*).<sup>126</sup>
34. Abridgement of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī's 'Book of Plants' and another book of the same kind (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-nabāt li-Abī Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī wa-kitāb ākhar fī fannihi mithluhu*).<sup>127</sup>
35. Abridgement of al-Tamīmī's 'Continuation of Existence' (*Ikhtīṣār māddat al-baqā'*).<sup>128</sup>
36. On aphorisms in the language of the philosopher, in seven chapters. He finished it in the month of Ramadan of the year 608 [February 1212] (*K. al-fuṣūl wa-huwa bi-lughat al-ḥakīm*).
37. Commentary on the Hippocratic 'Aphorisms' (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>129</sup>
38. Commentary on the Hippocratic 'Prognostic' (*S. kitāb taqdimat al-ma'rifah li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>130</sup>
39. Abridgement of Galen's commentary on the book of acute diseases by Hippocrates (*Ikhtīṣār sharḥ Jālīnūs li-kutub al-amrād al-ḥāddah li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>131</sup>
40. Abridgement of the 'Book of Animals' [*Historia Animalium*] by Aristotle (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥayawān li-Aristūṭālīs*).
41. Revision of the Problems of the natural sciences, entitled *Why is it that ...?* (*al-Masā'il al-ṭabī'yyah al-musammāt bi-mā bālu*) by Aristotle (*Tahdhīb masā'il mā bālu li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>132</sup>
42. Book on the same theme.
43. Abridgement of Galen's Book 'The Use of the Parts' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb manāfi' al-a'ḍā' li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>133</sup>
44. Abridgement of 'The Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb ārā' Buqrāt wa-Aflāṭun*).<sup>134</sup>

126 Cf. *GAL* Suppl. i:881; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 177 and 199 under entry v:13.

127 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfa' (B. Lewin).

128 This is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Maqdisī's *Kitāb Māddat al-baqā' fī iṣlāḥ fasād al-hawā' wa-l-taḥarruz min ḍarar al-awbā'*.

129 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 30–31; Pormann and Joosse, 'Aphorisms', 231–233; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry iii:8.

130 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 33; Pormann and Joosse, 'Prognostic', 251–283; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry iii:7.

131 Presumably Galen's commentary *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria*.

132 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 49–50 under entry 1.

133 No. 49 in the list in Ch. 5.

134 No. 46 in the list of Galen's works in Ch. 5.

45. Abridgement of 'The Embryo' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-janīn*).<sup>135</sup>
46. Abridgement of 'The Voice' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ṣawt*).<sup>136</sup>
47. Abridgement of 'The Sperm' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-maniyy*).<sup>137</sup>
48. Abridgement of 'The Organs of Respiration' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb ālāt al-tanaḥḥus*).<sup>138</sup>
49. Abridgement of 'The Muscles' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ʿaḍal*).<sup>139</sup>
50. Abridgement of 'The Book of Animals' by al-Jāḥiẓ (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ḥayawān lil-Jāḥiẓ*).<sup>140</sup>
51. On the organs of respiration and their functioning, in six chapters. (*K. fī ālāt al-tanaḥḥus wa-afʿālihā*. Sitt maqālāt).
52. Treatise on the division of fevers: how each one of them is assessed and how they are generated (*M. fī qismat al-ḥummayāt wa-mā yataqawwamu bihi kull wāḥid minhā wa-kayfiyyat tawalludihā*).<sup>141</sup>
53. The Selection, an epitome of the [book on] acute diseases (*K. al-nukhbah wa-huwa khulāṣat al-amrāḍ al-ḥāddah*).<sup>142</sup>
54. Abridgement of 'On Fevers' by al-Isrāʿīlī (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ḥummayāt lil-Isrāʿīlī*).<sup>143</sup>
55. Abridgement of the 'On Urine' by al-Isrāʿīlī (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-bawl lil-Isrāʿīlī*).<sup>144</sup>
56. Abridgement of 'On the Pulse' by al-Isrāʿīlī (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-nabḍ lil-Isrāʿīlī*).
57. The greater 'Book on Egypt' (*K. akhbār Miṣr al-kabīr*).
58. The lesser 'Book on Egypt'. Two treatises. (*K. akhbār Miṣr al-ṣaghīr*. Maqālātān).

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135 See 4.1.9.1 no. 1.

136 No. 38 in the list in Ch. 5. This work, called Περὶ φωνῆς in Greek, is largely lost and only survives in a few fragments.

137 No. 62 in the list of Ch. 5.

138 Perhaps a summary of Galen's *Anatomical Procedures*, books 7–8. This work is No. 21 in the list in Ch. 5.

139 Likely to be a reference to Galen's *Muscles*. This is No. 8 in the list of Ch. 5.

140 See *ER*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Djāḥiẓ' (Ch. Pellat).

141 The division and sub-division of fevers also occurs in the medical section of 'Abd al-Latīf's *K. al-Naṣīḥatayn*; see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 71.

142 Probably the Hippocratic *De diaeta in morbis acutis*.

143 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 137–138. For a partial translation (part three on hectic fevers) of the treatise on fevers by Iṣḥāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrāʿīlī (d. 320/932 or 344/955), see Latham & Isaacs, *Isaac Judaeus*.

144 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 138.

59. Introduction [to the Books on Egypt]: Information and details about events witnessed and incidents observed in the land of Egypt. He finished this work on the tenth of Shaʿbān of the year 603 [12 March 1207] in Jerusalem (*K. al-ijfādah wa l-iʿtibār fī l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa l-ḥawādith al-muʿāyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr*).<sup>145</sup>
60. 'On History' (*K. tārikh*), which comprises his biography. It was written for his son Sharaf al-Dīn Yūsuf.<sup>146</sup>
61. On thirst (*M. fī l-ʿaṭash*).
62. On water (*M. fī l-māʾ*).
63. On the enumeration of the aims of those who write books, and what kind of advantages and disadvantages follow therefrom (*M. fī ihṣāʾ maqāshid wāḍiʿ l-kutub fī kutubihim wa-mā yatbaʿu dhalika min al-manāfiʿ wa-l-maḍārr*).
64. On the topic of substance and accident (*M. fī maʿnā al-jawhar wa-l-ʿaraḍ*).
65. Concise treatise on the soul (*M. mūjazah fī l-nafs*).
66. On problematical movements (*M. fī l-ḥarakāt al-muʿtāṣah*).<sup>147</sup>
67. On habits (*M. fī l-ʿādāt*).
68. Short treatise on divinity (*Kalimah fī l-rubūbiyyah*).
69. A treatise comprising eleven sections: facts about medicines and foods with a guide to their groups and constituents (*M. tashtamilu ʿalā ḥaḍ ʿashara bāban fī ḥaḳīqat al-dawāʾ wa-l-ghidhāʾ wa-maʿrifat ṭabaqātihā wa-kayfiyyat tarkībihā*).<sup>148</sup>
70. On the originator of the art of medicine (*M. fī l-bādiʾ bi-ṣināʿat al-ṭibb*).<sup>149</sup>
71. On curing by opposites (*M. fī shifāʾ al-didd bi l-didd*).<sup>150</sup>
72. On diabetes and suitable medicaments for it (*M. fī dīyābīṭas wa-l-adwiyah al-nāfiʿah minhu*).<sup>151</sup>

145 See Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.14–15; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 109 (especially n. 6) and 199 under entry iv:13 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 114 under entries c1 and c2. See also Ch. 15.40.5 above in the present biography.

146 See Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 116 under entry 'm'; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 108.

147 This is a reworking of the Galenic work known as *De motibus liquidis* or *De motibus dubiis* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, 279); see Ch. 5, no. 47 in the list ('Problematical Movements').

148 This might be the *Fī Uṣūl mufradāt al-ṭibb wa-kayfiyyāt ṭabāʾiḥā* preserved in MS Paris, Bibl. nat. de France, ar. 2870, fols. 128<sup>r</sup>–172<sup>v</sup>.

149 Or perhaps: A treatise for/on beginners (novices) in the art of medicine. However, the work, which is lost for posterity, most likely deals with the question whether the art of medicine originated among men, or was delivered to them by God or other divine creatures.

150 That is by allopathy.

151 See the ed. and German trans. by Thies, *Diabetes*; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical*

73. On rhubarb. He composed it in Aleppo in Jumādā II of the year 617 [August 1220], but he already put it down in writing in Cairo in the year 595/1198 (*M. fī l-rāwand*).
74. On the Egyptian lizard (*M. fī l-saqanqūr*).
75. On wheat (*M. fī l-ḥiṭṭah*).
76. On wine and grapes (*M. fī l-sharāb wa-l-karm*).
77. On the crisis, a small treatise<sup>152</sup> (*M. fī l-buḥrān*).
78. Letter to a practical and distinguished geometrician, written from the city of Aleppo (*R. ilā muhandis fāḍil ‘amalī kataba bihā ilayhi min madīnat Ḥalab*).
79. Abridgement of Ibn Wāfid’s ‘On Simple Drugs’ (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Ibn Wāfid*).<sup>153</sup>
80. Abridgement of Ibn Samajūn’s ‘On Simple Drugs’ (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Ibn Samajūn*).<sup>154</sup>
81. Large work on simple drugs (*K. kabīr fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
82. Epitome on fevers (*Mukhtaṣar fī l-ḥummayāt*).
83. On mixing (*M. fī l-mizāj*).<sup>155</sup>
84. The sufficient book on anatomy (*K. al-kifāyah fī l-tashrīḥ*).
85. Refutation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s ‘Commentary on the Generalities of the Canon [of Medicine]’. He composed this book for my paternal uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah<sup>156</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – and sent it to him. He wrote it in Aleppo before his return to the country of the Rūm Seljuqs (*K. al-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī sharḥihi ba’d kulliyāt al-qānūn*).<sup>157</sup>
86. On investigation (*K. al-ta’aqub*).
87. Marginal notes by Ibn Jumay’ on the *Canon* [of Medicine by Ibn Sīnā] (*Ḥawāshī Ibn Jumay’ ‘alā l-qānūn*).<sup>158</sup>

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*Journey*, 206 under entry 10. See also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17 and 114 under entry a:11.

152 Two MSS (A and Gc) omit the designation ‘small’.

153 ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Wāfid (d. 460/1068). See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 228.

154 Abū Bakr Ḥāmid ibn Samajūn. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 316–317.

155 See Stern, ‘A Collection’, 59; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 202 under entry 4. See also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:4.

156 See Ch. 15.51.

157 See Barhebraeus, *Nations*, 240.13–17; Stern, ‘A Collection’, 57–58; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 200–201 under entry 1 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:1.

158 For Ibn Jumay’, see his biography in Ch. 14.32; also Nicolae, *Ibn Jumay’*; Meyerhof, ‘Sultan Saladin’s Physician’. Ibn Jumay’<sup>o</sup>s commentary on the *Qānūn* was the first such to be composed; see the book-list in Ch. 14.32.5 no. 2.

88. Treatise in which he refutes the work of ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān, the Egyptian,<sup>159</sup> on the differences between Galen and Aristotle (*M. yaruddu fihā ‘alā kitāb ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān al-Miṣrī fī ikhtilāf Jālīnūs wa-Aristūṭālīs*).
89. On the senses (*M. fī l-ḥawāss*).<sup>160</sup>
90. On [the words] ‘word’ and ‘speech’ (*M. fī l-kalimah wa-l-kalām*).
91. On the lioness [?], or On the seven [?] (*K. al-sab‘ah*).
92. On the gift of hope (*K. tuḥfat al-amal*).
93. On the refutation of the Jews and Christians (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*).
94. Two treatises also dealing with the refutation of the Jews and the Christians (*Maqālatān ayyḍan fī l-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*).
95. On the classification of authors (*M. fī tartīb al-muṣannifīn*).
96. *On the wisdom of ‘Alā’ [al-Dīn]*, in which he mentions beautiful things regarding metaphysics (*K. al-ḥikmah al-‘Alā’iyyah dhukira fīhi ashyā’ ḥasanah fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*). Al-Baghdādī composed it for ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn Bahrām, the ruler of Erzinjān.
97. Treatise concerning preparation for logic (*M. ‘alā jihat al-tawṭī‘ah fī l-mantiq*).
98. Marginal notes with regard to the ‘Book of Demonstration’ [*Analytica Posteriora*] of al-Fārābī (*Ḥawāshī ‘alā kitāb al-burhān lil-Fārābī*).
99. On the antidote [*theriac*] (*K. al-tiryāq*).<sup>161</sup>
100. Excerpts from the works of the philosophers (*Fuṣūl muntaza‘ah min kalām al-ḥukamā’*).<sup>162</sup>
101. Resolution of some of al-Rāzī’s doubts on the works of Galen (*Ḥall shay’ min shukūk al-Rāzī ‘alā kutub Jālīnūs*).
102. The stairs towards the goal of being human. Eight sections. (*K. al-marāqī ilā l-ghāyah al-insāniyyah thamānī maqālāt*).
103. On the weighing in a balance scale of compound drugs, with regard to quantity (*M. fī mīzān al-adwiyah al-murakkabah min jihat al-kammiyyāt*).
104. On the equilibrium between drugs and diseases, with regard to quality (*M. fī muwāzanat al-adwiyah wa-l-adwā’ min jihat al-kayfiyyāt*).

159 See Ch. 14.25.

160 See *GAL* i:633; edition by Ghalioungui & Abdou, *Maqālah fī l-ḥawāss*; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry vi:14.

161 Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:387.5; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 198 under n. 335.

162 See Stern, ‘A Collection’, 67–68; edition and French trans. by Rashed, ‘Priorité’, (2004), 9–63; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 205 under entry 7 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:8.

105. On the determination of the dosages of drugs (*M. fī ta'āqqub awzān al-adwiyah*).
106. Another treatise on the same subject (*M. ukhrā fī l-ma'nā*).
107. [Another] on the same subject, which includes the answer to three questions (*M. fī l-ma'nā fihā jawāb thalāth masā'il*).
108. A sixth treatise. Abridged (*M. sādisah mukhtaṣarah*).
109. On the weighing of medical drugs in compound formulations (*M. tata'al-laqu bi-mawāzīn al-adwiyah al-ṭibbiyyah fī l-murakkabāt*).
110. Another treatise on the same subject (*Qawl ayḍan fī l-ma'nā*).
111. On respiration, the voice, and speech (*M. fī l-tanaffus wa-l-ṣawt wa-l-kalām*).
112. On the abridgement of Galen's arguments for preserving health (*M. fī ikht-iṣār kalām Jālīnūs fī siyāsāt al-ṣiḥḥah*).<sup>163</sup>
113. Extracts from Dioscorides' 'On the Properties of Herbs' (*Intizā'āt min kitāb Dīyāsqūridas fī ṣifāt al-ḥashā'ish*).<sup>164</sup>
114. Other extracts on the benefits of herbs (*Intizā'āt ukhrā fī manāfi'ihā*).
115. A treatise on warfare, which al-Baghdādī wrote for a certain prince of his time in the year 623/1226. (*M. fī tadbīr al-ḥarb katabahā li-ba'ḍ mulūk zamānihi fī sanat thalāth wa-'ishrīn wa-sittimī'ah*).
116. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – found a transcription of the [latter] work which was entitled 'Treatise on Effective Governance' (*wa-wajadtuhu ayḍan wa-qad tarjamahā M. fī l-siyāsah al-'amaliyyah*).
117. The Support: on the principles of governance (*K. al-'umdaḥ fī uṣūl al-siyāsah*).
118. Treatise that deals with replies to certain questions about the slaughtering and killing of animals, and whether this is admissible from a natural and rational point of view, as it is according to religious law (*M. fī jawāb mas'alah su'ila 'anhā fī dhabḥ al-ḥayawān wa-qatlihi wa-hal dhālika sā'igh fī l-ṭab' wa-fī l-'aql kamā huwa sā'igh fī l-shar'*).
119. Two treatises on the virtuous city (*Maqālatān fī l-madīnah al-fāḍilah*).<sup>165</sup>
120. On harmful fields of learning (*M. fī al-'ulūm al-ḍārrah*).
121. An epistle on the possible. Two volumes (*R. fī l-mumkin. maqālatān*).
122. Treatise on the genus and the species: a reply to questions he was asked in Damascus in the year 604/1207 (*M. fī l-jins wa-l-naw' ajāba bihā fī Dimashq su'āl sā'il fī sanat arba'ah wa-sittimī'ah*).
123. Four maxims on logic (*al-Fuṣūl al-arba'ah al-manṭiqiyyah*).

163 Referring to *De sanitate tuenda*, which is no. 84 in the list in Ch. 5.

164 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 257–263.

165 That is, with regard to Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's *Perfect City*.

124. Training in Platonic discourse (*Tahdhīb kalām Aflāṭun*).
125. Wise sayings in prose (*Hikam manthūrah*).
126. *Isagoge*. Expanded. (*Īsāghūjī mabsūt*).
127. Occurrences (*al-Wāqī'āt*).
128. On the finite and the infinite (*M. fī l-nihāyah wa-l-lā-nihāyah*).
129. On the kindling [of the fire of] intelligence in logic, the natural and the metaphysical (*K. ta'rīth al-fīṭan fī l-mantiq wa-l-ṭabī'ī wa-l-ilāhī*).
130. On how to use logic (*M. fī kayfiyyat isti'māl al-mantiq*). Al-Baghdādī wrote this treatise [and sent it] to me whilst in the land of the Rūm Seljuqs.
131. On the definition of medicine (*M. fī ḥadd al-ṭibb*).
132. On the originator of the art of medicine (*M. fī l-bādi' bi-ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*).<sup>166</sup>
133. On on the nine parts of logic. A large volume (*M. fī ajzā' al-mantiq al-tis'ah mujallad kabīr*).
134. On analogy (*M. fī l-qiyās*).
135. On analogy, in fifty quires. He furthermore added thereto the *Introduction*, the *Categories*, the *Interpretation* [*Peri Hermeneias*] and the *Demonstration*. It comprises four volumes (*K. fī l-qiyās*).
136. On an answer to a question asked about instruction on the paths to happiness (*M. fī jawāb mas'alah fī tanbīh 'alā subul al-sa'ādah*).
137. 'The Natural Sciences',<sup>167</sup> from the Physics until the end of [the part on] Sense Perception.<sup>168</sup> Three volumes (*al-Ṭabī'yyāt min al-samā' ilā ākhir kitāb al-ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs thalāth mujalladāt*).
138. 'On Physics'. Two volumes (*K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī mujalladān*).
139. Another book on 'The Natural Sciences' from the 'Physics' to 'On the Soul' (*K. ākhar fī l-ṭabī'yyāt min al-samā' ilā kitāb al-naḥs*).
140. On wondrous things (*K. al-'ajīb*).
141. Marginal notes to the eight books on logic by al-Fārābī (*Ḥawāshī 'alā kitāb al-thamāniyah al-mantiqiyyah lil-Fārābī*).
142. Commentary on the demonstrative figures from the eight books of Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī] (*S. al-ashkāl al-burhāniyya min thamāniyat Abī Naṣr*).

166 Same as no. 70 above.

167 It is difficult to say which books are comprised here by the term *Ṭabī'yyāt*, and also their order. The books commented upon by Averroes, for instance, were: *Physics*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *On Heavens*, *Meteorology*, and also *On the Soul* and *Metaphysics*. This corpus might broadly correspond with what we see in the titles 137–139. *Al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs* was also part of the physics, and this Arabic title might refer to either *De senso et sensato* (first book of the *Parva Naturalia*), or to the whole collection of the *Parva Naturalia*, which in Arabic took the name of the first book (*al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs*). In this context, it seems likely that it refers to the whole work.

168 Perhaps the *De senso et sensato*?

143. A treatise in which the fourth figure is shown to be spurious (*M. fī tazayīf al-shakl al-rābi'*).<sup>169</sup>
144. A treatise in which Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā's belief that the existence of conditional syllogisms generates conditional deductions is shown to be false (*M. fī tazayīf mā ya'taqiduhu Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā min wujūd aqyisah shartīyyah tuntiju natā'ij shartīyyah*).
145. On mixed and unmixed analogical inferences (*M. fī l-qiyāsāt al-mukhtalīāt wa-l-ṣīrf*).
146. *Peri Hermeneias* (Interpretation). Extended (*Bārīmānyās mabsūt*).
147. A treatise in which the analogical estimations that are considered right by Ibn Sīnā are shown to be false (*M. fī tazayīf al-maqāyīs al-shartīyyah allatī yazunnuhā Ibn Sīnā*).
148. Another treatise on the same topic (*M. ukhrā fī l-ma'nā ayḍan*).
149. Two pieces of advice to physicians and sages (*K. al-naṣīhatayn lil-aṭibbā' wa l-ḥukamā'*).<sup>170</sup>
150. On the judicial proceeding between the philosopher and the alchemist (*K. al-muḥākamah bayna al-ḥakīm wa-l-kīmīyā'ī*).<sup>171</sup>
151. On minerals and the invalidation of alchemy (*R. fī l-ma'ādin wa-ibṭāl al-kīmīyā'*).<sup>172</sup>
152. On the senses (*M. fī l-ḥawāss*).<sup>173</sup>
153. Admonition to sages (*'Ahd ilā l-ḥukamā'*).
154. An abridgement of Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath's 'On Animals' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥayawān li-Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath*).<sup>174</sup>
155. An abridgement of Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath's 'On Colic' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-qūlanj li-Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath*).

169 Compare Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's biography and his treatise on the Galenic syllogism in entry Ch. 15.17. Rescher does not mention this work of 'Abd al-Laṭīf in his survey on the fourth figure (Rescher, *Galen and the Syllogism*).

170 Partial English translation and study of the philosophical section by Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 144–196; full English translation and edition of the medical section by Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 63–112.

171 This is the *Risālah fī Mujādalat al-ḥakīmāyīn al-kīmīyā'ī wa-l-naẓarī* ('*The Dispute between The Two Sages: The Alchemist and The Theoretical Philosopher*'). See Allemann, *Mudjādalat al-ḥakīmāyīn*; see also Stern, 'A Collection', 66–67; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 203–204 under entry 5; cf. also Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry 6, and Jooose, 'Alchemy and Alchemists'.

172 See Stern, 'A Collection', 67; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 204–205 under entry 6; cf. also Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry 7.

173 See also in the same list No. 89. This has been edited by Ghalioungui & Abdou, *Maqāla fī l-ḥawāss*; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry vi:14.

174 See Kruk, 'Ibn abī l-Ash'ath's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*', 119–168; cf. Sezgin, *GAS III*, 301–302.



156. On a specific kind of cerebral disease (*M. fī sirsām*).<sup>175</sup>
157. On the ailment hypochondria (*M. fī ‘illah al-marāqqiyyah*).<sup>176</sup>
158. Treatise refuting Ibn al-Haytham’s ‘On Space’ (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Haytham fī l-makān*).<sup>177</sup>
159. Summary of ‘The Metaphysics’ (*Mukhtaṣar fīmā ba’d al-ṭabī‘ah*).<sup>178</sup>
160. On the date palm (*M. fī l-nakhl*). He wrote it in Egypt in the year 599/1202 and made a fair copy of it in the city of Erzinjān in the month of Rajab of the year 625/1228.
161. On languages and how they originated (*M. fī l-lughāt wa-kayfiyyat tawalludihā*).
162. On poetry (*M. fī l-shi‘r*).<sup>179</sup>
163. Treatise on positive logical conclusions (*M. fī l-aqyisah al-waḍ‘iyyah*).
164. On divine predestination (*M. fī l-qadar*).
165. On religious communities (*M. fī l-milal*).
166. The large comprehensive book on logic, natural sciences and metaphysics (*al-Kitāb al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr fī l-manṭiq wa-l-‘ilm al-ṭabī‘ī wa-l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*). It contains a total number of ten books and was composed in circa twenty years.
167. The book of marvellous information on animals (*K. al-mud‘hish fī akhbār al-ḥayawān*).
168. The Crowned (*al-Mutawwaj*), on the qualities of our Prophet, may peace and the most excellent prayers be upon him. Al-Baghdādī said, ‘I started writing one quire in Damascus in the year 607/1210. It was completed within four months in Aleppo in the year 628/1231. It comprises a hundred quires’.
169. The eight books on logic: the middle version (*K. al-thamāniyah fī l-manṭiq wa-huwa l-taṣnīf al-waṣat*)

175 Or delirium.

176 The name (from the root *r-q-q*) of this hypochondriac variety of melancholy is derived from the phrase *marāqq al-baṭn* ‘the soft parts of the belly’. It is here written *as-marāqqiyyah* but elsewhere (Ch. 10.13.6 and 10.13.7), and more commonly, as *al-marāqqiyyā*.

177 See Stern, ‘A Collection’, 59; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 202 under entry 3; cf. also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry 3. This is the treatise *‘An māhīyyat al-makān bi-ḥasab ra’y Ibn al-Haytham*. Ed. and French trans. by Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* IV, 908–953. For Ibn al-Haytham’s treatise *K. al-Makān*, see Ch. 14.22.5.2 no. 68.

178 See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry vi:16. and no. 46.

179 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī wrote other works on poetry, so this is probably the correct interpretation, but it cannot be ruled out that it concerned the topic of hair, *sha‘ar*.

### 15.41 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʿīlī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʿīlī hailed from North Africa, having been a native of the city of Fez,<sup>2</sup> but moved to Egypt, where he became distinguished in the arts of medicine, geometry and astronomy. He studied medicine under the master Mūsā ibn Maymūn of Cordoba.<sup>3</sup> Yūsuf subsequently travelled to Syria and settled in the city of Aleppo, where he entered the service of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup> Al-Malik al-Zāhir depended on him in medical matters. Yūsuf was also in the service of the emir Fāris al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣrī.<sup>5</sup> He lived in Aleppo, teaching the art of medicine, until his death.<sup>6</sup>

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʿīlī is the author of the following books:

1. On the sequence in which delicate and heavy foods should be taken (*R. fī tartīb al-aghdhīyah al-laṭīfah wa-l-kathīfah fī tanāwulihā*).
2. Commentary on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (*S. al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).

### 15.42 ʿImrān al-Isrāʿīlī<sup>1</sup>

ʿImrān al-Isrāʿīlī is the physician Awḥad al-Dīn ʿImrān ibn Ṣadaqah, who was born in Damascus in the year 561/1165. His father was a renowned physician

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. On the life and oeuvre of Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī al-Isrāʿīlī (d. 623/1226), also known as Rabbi Joseph ben Judah ibn Shimʿon [or Ibn Shamʿun], see Munk, 'Notice sur Joseph Ben-Jehoudah', 5–70.

2 He most likely originated from Ceuta.

3 That is the famous Jewish philosopher and physician Maimonides; his biography is to be found in Ch. 14.39. Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf was actually Mūsā ibn Maymūn's favourite student, and a dedicated, often fanatical, defender of his master's values and views.

4 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf and the polymath ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī both served under prince al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf of Aleppo; for the latter, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī' (S. Heidemann). ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī infamously accused Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf of intentionally killing his royal patient. See for this Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17–28 and 74–77 and idem, 'Pride and Prejudice', 129–141.

5 See Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 22 and especially n. 55 there. IAU does not refer here to the close friendship between Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf and the vizier and chronicler Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) that is well-known from the Arabic bio-bibliographical literature. See for the discussion on this topic Bos, in Maimonides, *On Asthma*, xxviii–xxx; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17–28 and idem, 'Pride and Prejudice', 129–141.

6 He died in 623/1226.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book.

as well. ‘Imrān studied the art of medicine under the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>2</sup> and attained distinction in both the theoretical and practical side of the art, becoming one of the most important persons of his time. He enjoyed the favour of rulers, who depended on him for medical therapy and treatment: they showered large sums of money upon him and treated him with generosity beyond description. He acquired more books on medicine and other subjects than almost anyone else.

‘Imrān al-Isrā’īlī never attached himself to the personal service of any ruler or accompanied him on his travels. Yet, whenever a ruler fell ill, or someone for whom it was difficult to call on him, he would not hesitate to provide the finest medical treatment and would take good care of the patient until the cure was completed. Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb desired to engage him for his own personal service, but ‘Imrān refused him, as he did other rulers.

The emir Ṣārim al-Dīn al-Tibnīnī<sup>3</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – has told me that while he was staying in al-Karak with the ruler of that place, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam,<sup>4</sup> his host suffered from a serious indisposition of his temperament. The physician ‘Imrān was summoned to come over from Damascus, and stayed with al-Malik al-Nāṣir for some time, providing him with medical treatment, until the prince recovered. The physician was then given a robe of honour and presented with a large sum of money. al-Malik al-Nāṣir also offered him a monthly salary of 1500 dirhams if he would enter his service, and even agreed to advance him the sum of 27,000 dirhams, the amount of his salary for eighteen months. However, ‘Imrān declined the offer.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: The Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil bestowed many favours, a high salary and a special grant upon ‘Imrān, who resided in Damascus and frequently visited the Sultan’s household in the citadel. His prosperity continued under al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, who also assigned him an ample salary and a special grant. ‘Imrān regularly visited the ‘Great Hospital’ [*al-bīmāristān al-kabīr*] and treated the sick. At that time, my teacher Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>5</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – was also working at the hospital. The cooperation of these two doctors was very fruitful and was highly advantageous for the treatment of the patients. At that time I was train-

2 See for this physician Ch. 15.36.

3 He is Khuṭlubā Ṣārim al-Dīn al-Tibnīnī (d. 635/1238), see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 237; in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii:347 his *nisbah* is misspelled as al-Tinnīsī.

4 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir 11 Dāwūd ibn al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Ṣalāh al-Dīn (r. 624–626/1227–1229). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

5 See for this physician Ch. 15.50.

ing under their guidance in the practical application of medicine, and thus I was able to witness the physician ‘Imrān’s amazing treatment [of patients] and his accurate diagnosis of diseases. One day, for example, a hemiplegic was brought to the hospital, and the physicians insisted that he should be administered certain boiled decoctions and other [medicaments] that they used to prescribe. When ‘Imrān looked at him, he put him on a diet for that day, and afterwards ordered him bled. After having been bled, he was treating him until he was completely restored to health. I have also observed many times that ‘Imrān prescribed vegetarian dishes [*mazāwīr*]<sup>6</sup> for the sick in accordance with their desires, but still in keeping with the necessities of the treatment, and they proved to be beneficial. This is a very important aspect of therapy! I also saw him treat many patients with chronic illnesses, who had become weary of life and for whom the physicians had no hope of a cure. They recovered at his hands through some exotic drugs that he prescribed and uncommon treatments he knew of. I have given a brief account of this in *The Book of Experiences and Useful Lessons* (*K. al-tajārib wa-l-fawā’id*).

The physician ‘Imrān died in the city of Homs in the month of Jumādā I of the year 637 [December 1240], just after having been summoned by the ruler of that city to come and attend him.

### 15.43 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb<sup>1</sup>

[15.43.1]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb,<sup>2</sup> a Christian,<sup>3</sup> was one of the foremost persons of his time in the domain of knowledge, understanding and critical examination of Galen’s works. Thanks to his constant efforts in the art of medicine,

6 *Mazāwīr* is the same as *muzawwarāt*, ‘counterfeit dishes, vegetarian dishes for ailing people’, see Waines & Marín, ‘Muzawwar’; see also Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, 443–450.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. For this specific physician, cf. Kohlberg & Kedar, ‘A Melkite Physician’, 113–126; Pahlitzsch, ‘Ärzte ohne Grenzen’, 101–119; Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 443–444; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā*, 378–379; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:506–507 under no. 392; Aḥmad ‘Īsā, *Muʿjam al-aṭibbā*, Cairo 1361/1942, 520–521; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik*, 9:280–281; *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Siqlāb’ (N.P. Joosse).

2 Ibn Siqlāb is sometimes referred to as Ibn Ṣaqlān, so in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā*, 378. Siqlāb appears to be a more common name, although no conclusion can be drawn as to the correct form of the father’s name.

3 Ibn Siqlāb was a Christian of the Melkite orientation; for the term Melkite, see Treiger, ‘Unpublished Texts (1)’. On the Melkites in general, see Pahlitzsch, ‘Melkites in Fatimid Egypt’.

his ardent desire and perseverance in reading and studying the works of Galen, his excellent innate character and high intelligence, the entire range of Galen's works and the teachings in them were always present in his mind. Whenever speaking about the art of medicine, its various divisions, the diversity of its topics, and the many minor issues concerning it, he always quoted Galen. 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.

I have witnessed the following with regard to the above. Early in my studies of the art of medicine, I read some of the texts of Hippocrates with him, which I had to learn by heart and comment upon. At the time, we were staying in al-Mu'aẓẓam's military encampment, where my father too was employed in the service of al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam<sup>4</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. I observed that Muwaffaq al-Dīn could explain everything so excellently and was able to penetrate deeply into the subject matter in such clear, concise and complete language as no one else would have been able or would have dared to do. He would then present a summary of what he had said, giving the gist of it, so that there remained no passage in the Hippocratic writings that he had not explained in the best way. Next, he mentioned what Galen had said in his commentary with regard to the chapter in question, in an uninterrupted sequence from beginning to end. When I consulted Galen's commentary on this section, I found that he had given a full account of the complete Galenic text on this subject. He had even quoted many of the very words used by Galen, without adding or leaving out a single one. He was the only man of his time who was capable of doing this.

While Muwaffaq al-Dīn was living in Damascus, he met the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī<sup>5</sup> quite frequently in the salon assigned to the physicians at the Sultan's palace, and the two would discuss various medical matters. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn spoke more eloquently and was more skilled and a better scholar, whereas the physician Ya'qūb had more presence. He spoke more precisely and, moreover, quoted the [ancient] authors and their

4 Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā ibn al-'Ādil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Sharaf al-Dīn (r. 615–624/1218–1227). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

5 See for this physician, Ch. 15.50.

works more extensively; for he was in the position of an interpreter who could call to mind that what Galen had said in all his books on the art of medicine.

Ya'qūb's treatments were impressively excellent and successful. That was because he would first acquire knowledge about the disease in a most thorough manner and then would start the treatment according to the rules laid down by Galen, yet he would act independently and also used contemporary insights. He took great pains with his examination of the symptoms: whenever he examined a patient, he would ask endless questions about all of the patient's symptoms and complaints, so that he would never overlook any symptom that allowed him to obtain more information pointing to the diagnosis of the disease. Consequently, his treatment was always excellent. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam praised him for this quality. Describing his character, he said: 'If doctor Ya'qūb's only merit were taking the utmost care to diagnose illnesses in order to treat them correctly, there'd be no doubts about him on that score'. Ya'qūb also possessed a thorough mastery of the Greek language, which he rendered expertly into Arabic. He had in his possession some of Galen's works that were written in Greek, such as *The Method of Healing* (K. *ḥīlat al-bur'*), *On Causes and Symptoms* (K. *al-'ilal wa l-a'rāḍ*)<sup>6</sup> and others,<sup>7</sup> which he constantly read and studied.

[15.43.2]

Ya'qūb was born in Jerusalem and lived there for many years.<sup>8</sup> In that city he spent much time in the company of a virtuous man, a philosopher, a monk at the monastery of al-Ṣīq,<sup>9</sup> who was an expert in the natural sciences, a master in geometry and arithmetic. He was also well-versed in astrology and the observation of the stars: he knew of fates that had been foretold and had come to pass, and amazing warnings. The physician Ya'qūb related to me many things about his knowledge of philosophy, his good character and his intelligence. In

6 *De morborum causis et symptomatibus (De accidenti et morbo)*, cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, 165.

7 This late antique amalgamation of four works is no. 14 in the list in Ch. 5.

8 He was born there probably between 555/1160 and 566/1170.

9 South of Jerusalem, overlooking the valley of Jericho; see Kohlberg and Kedar, 'A Melkite Physician', 125–126. To be more precise, the monastery in question is called *Dayr Mār Sābā* (Mar Saba), an Eastern Orthodox monastery overlooking the Kidron Valley at a point halfway between the Old City of Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The name *al-Ṣīq* ('the gorge, the shaft') specifically refers to the 'Great Lavra' of Mar Saba. A lavra or laura (Greek: Λαύρα; Cyrillic: Лавра) is a type of monastery consisting of a cluster of cells or caves for hermits, with a church and sometimes a refectory at the center. It is erected within the Orthodox and other Eastern Christian traditions, see Treiger, 'Unpublished Texts (2)'; and also Ball, 'Saint Sabas'.

Jerusalem, the physician Ya'qūb also met shaykh Abū Maṣṣūr al-Naṣrānī, the physician, under whom he studied.<sup>10</sup> He assisted al-Naṣrānī in his medical practice and profited greatly thereby.

[15.43.3]

The physician Ya'qūb was a very clever, astute and level-headed person. While he was in the service of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who had great faith in him as a friend, the ruler relied not only on his medical judgement, but also on his judgement in other matters, which invariably turned out to al-Mu'azzam's advantage, with a favourable outcome. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam wanted to appoint Ya'qūb to a post in the administration of his realm, but the physician refused, preferring to devote himself exclusively to the art of medicine.

Ya'qūb suffered from gout (*niqris*) in both legs and was sometimes in so much pain that he was hardly able to move, so that when Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam took him along on his travels, he was carried in a litter. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam visited him regularly, honoured him greatly, paid him a generous salary and did him many favours. One day he asked him, 'O physician, why don't you cure that ailment in your legs?' Ya'qūb replied, 'O master, once wood has become worm-eaten, there is no remedy for it'. Ya'qūb remained in his service until al-Malik al-Mu'azzam died,<sup>11</sup> which he did – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus at three o'clock on Friday, at the end of the month Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 624 [November 1227].

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was succeeded by his son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. The physician Ya'qūb came to introduce himself to the new ruler, blessed him and recalled old ties of friendship, his previous service [of many years] and that he had grown old, feeble and decrepit. He then recited the following verses:<sup>12</sup>

I came to you when the robes of childhood were new;  
how could I depart from you when they are rags?

<sup>10</sup> For the physician Abū Maṣṣūr al-Naṣrānī, see Ch. 15.26.

<sup>11</sup> According to Kohlberg and Kedar, 'A Melkite Physician', 118, Ibn Siqlāb was also the private physician of the emir Ṣalāḥiyya Fāris al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣrī when the latter resided in Damascus. In Aleppo, this emir was attended by the aforementioned Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī al-Isrā'īlī (see Ch. 15.41).

<sup>12</sup> Metre: *basīf*. Said to be by Ibn Munqidh, probably meaning Usāmah ibn Munqidh, but the lines are not in his *Dīwān* ed. Badawī and 'Abd al-Majīd. They are quoted anonymously in Usāmah's *al-Badī'*, 208; attributed to Ḥassān ibn al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Walīd al-Qushayrī (early 5th/11th century) in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyah*, (v:)2231–2232.

I deserve the respect of a guest, an old neighbour, and those  
who came to you when the middle-aged men of the tribe were chil-  
dren.

These lines are by Ibn Munqidh – may God have mercy upon him. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir bestowed many favours upon Ya‘qūb, gave him money and attire, ordered that he should continue to receive all he had been granted by al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, and excused him for attendance at the palace. This situation continued until Ya‘qūb died in Damascus on the Christian Easter, which fell in the month of Rabī‘ II of the year 625 [March 1228].<sup>13</sup>

#### 15.44 Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr<sup>1</sup>

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr is the revered and learned physician Abū Maṣṣūr, son of the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb. He was an 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.<sup>2</sup>

#### 15.45 Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī<sup>1</sup>

[15.45.1]

Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī’s full name was Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Abī l-Faḍl ‘Alī al-Ṣūrī. He had a comprehensive knowledge of all aspects of medicine and keen insight

13 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 379, is less precise, saying that it occurred circa 626/1228–1229, not long after the death of al-Mu‘azzam.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. The entry in the first version is only a line added to the biography of his father; thus in B: ‘The physician Ya‘qūb has a son who earned an outstanding reputation in the art of medicine. His name is Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Ya‘qūb. He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir, may God make his days eternal. He now enjoys this ruler’s company in al-Karak.’

2 See for this physician Ch. 15.21.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. See for this author Amar & Serri, ‘Ibn al-Sūrī’, 124–130; *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Ṣūrī’ (N.P. Joosse).



into the obvious and hidden merits of that art. His knowledge of simple drugs, their nature, different names and characteristics, and the precise determination of their properties and effects, was incomparable. He was born in the year 573/1177 in the city of Tyre [i.e. *Ṣūr*]. He grew up there, but later on moved away to study the art of medicine under shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz<sup>2</sup> and shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī,<sup>3</sup> and under their tutelage became a distinguished exponent of the art of medicine. Rashīd al-Dīn resided in Jerusalem for several years, practising medicine in the local hospital. He came to be on friendly terms with the shaykh Abū l-‘Abbās al-Jayyānī,<sup>4</sup> who was an outstanding authority on simple drugs, well-versed in other sciences and a pious and charitable person. Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī benefitted greatly from his friendship with this shaykh, from whom he learned much. He also became familiar with many of the specific properties of simple drugs, to such an extent that he outshone many scholars in that domain, and others who had aspired to mastery of it. Rashīd al-Dīn combined all this with the highest of virtues, unprecedented zeal, an unparalleled intelligence and extraordinary courage.

[15.45.2]

In the year 612/1215, Rashīd al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb as a physician. When al-Malik al-‘Ādil left Jerusalem for Egypt, Rashīd al-Dīn accompanied him and remained in his service until al-Malik al-‘Ādil – may God have mercy upon him – died. Thereafter, he entered the service of al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s son, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isā ibn Abī Bakr, who gave him a powerful position [in his realm], making him a prominent personality in his day and age. Together with his patron, he witnessed a number of battles with the Franks, when they fell upon the port of Damietta [i.e. *Dimiyāṭ*]. Rashīd al-Dīn remained in al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam’s service until that ruler – may God have mercy upon him – died. He was succeeded by his son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, who continued to pay Rashīd al-Dīn his salary and,

2 See Ch. 15.34.

3 See Ch. 15.40.

4 Is this perhaps the physician Ḥakīm al-Zamān Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥassān al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī al-Jilyānī as mentioned in Ch. 15.11 above? Or rather the Andalusian herbalist Abū l-‘Abbās al-Nabāṭī, who arrived in Syria (al-Sha‘m) around circa 613/1216 and referred many times to the area around Jerusalem. According to our source, 1AU, Ibn al-Ṣūrī spent two years in Jerusalem, approximately from 611/1214 to 613/1216. It is quite remarkable that the cognomen al-Jayyānī obviously refers to the city of Jaen, which is removed only 200 kilometers from Seville. See Amar & Serri, ‘Ibn al-Surī’, 125–126.

in consideration of his previous service, entrusted him with the office of chief physician. Rashīd al-Dīn remained in his service until al-Malik al-Nāṣir moved to al-Karak. The physician stayed behind in Damascus, where he established a scholarly salon that was frequented by many persons wishing to study the medical art. He also accurately formulated the ingredients of the great theriac, in which he combined such drugs as he deemed proper, with the result that its benefits became manifest and its effects powerful. He had previously prepared a great quantity of it in the days of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam. Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī – may God have mercy upon him – died in Damascus on Sunday the first of the month of Rajab of the year 639 [5 January 1242].

[15.45.3]

Rashīd al-Dīn once presented me with one of his books containing useful lessons and instructions concerning the art of medicine. By way of thanks, I wrote him a letter in which I said the following:<sup>5</sup>

The knowledge of Rashīd al-Dīn, in every assembly, has a lighthouse  
of lofty qualities, taken as a lead by every seeker of guidance.  
A sage who possesses all noble traits,  
inherited from master to master:  
He collected excellence from his fathers and grandfathers;  
it is something of old in him, not newly made.  
He is unique in this era, without anyone resembling him,  
with the best characteristics that cannot be fully listed.  
His fine *Instructions* came to me, which contained,  
in prose speech, every well-composed paragraph.<sup>6</sup>  
Thus he imparted joy to my heart; he never ceases  
to confer favours with his beneficence to people like me.  
I found in them what I hoped for, and I shall  
forever follow them in whatever I attempt.  
No wonder that Rashīd, with his knowledge and excellence,  
is, after God, in knowledge my guide (*murshidī*).<sup>7</sup>

May God make eternal the days of the unique, exalted and most distinguished physician, the learned, virtuous and perfect practitioner, the chief [physician],

5 Metre: *tawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:295.

6 Although *faql* ('excellence'), found in most sources, is not wholly impossible, *faṣl* (as in Gc and the editions of Müller and Nizār Riḍā) fits the context much better.

7 Rashīd means 'rightly guided'.

who is rightly guided in worldly and religious matters, the confidant of kings and [other] rulers, the loyal adherent of the Commander of the Faithful, and let him arrive at both the abodes<sup>8</sup> for full protection and the ultimate fulfilment of his wishes. May God crush those who are envious of him and confound his enemies, and make his excellent qualities linger on when he is gone. May his virtue emanate towards his peers and may all tongues agree in thanking and praising him. May health be preserved through his wise supervision, and may diseases vanish through his excellent care and treatment. The servant performs his service with joy, regretting that he has been unable to be constantly present. May the noble and precious things for which [the servant] ardently longs meet the greatest expectations, and may instruction on medical matters combine theory and practice. The servant has made that a basis on which to rely and a code to which to refer. He will always remember them and will not harm those for which he is responsible.

Nothing can be compared to the beneficence of the master but the devout prayer of the servant and the praise elicited by his good qualities, which diffuse a fragrant perfume. Why should I not praise and propagate the good qualities of a man who I find to possess only moral excellence! I have found ease only because of him. God hears the devout prayers of his servant and the master gives all good things out of his perfect generosity, if God, exalted be He, so wills.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍīr of Aleppo recited the [following] poem to me, in which he lauds the physician Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī and thanks him for a favour:<sup>9</sup>

Her phantom came at night, when the grudgers were asleep;<sup>10</sup>  
 it spent the night nearby, though a visit to her is remote.  
 How strange, that her phantom visited me  
 while there are fearful deserts between and yet more deserts!  
 And that this phantom should visit the eyes of someone sleepless,  
 pleasant slumber being kept away from his eyes!  
 While in his heart there is a fire of passion and grief  
 that burns inside his ribs,  
 5 After painful sickness and emaciation had worn out  
 my cloak of fortitude when love was still new.

8 These are, the perishable and the lasting abodes (*Dār al-fanā'* and *Dār al-baqā'*).

9 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:286–287 (lines 1, 6–7, 9–10, 13, 15–17, 21–22, 45–48). On Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍīr al-Ḥalabī, known as al-Suṭayl (d. 655/1257), see al-Ṣafādī, *Wafī*, i:78.

10 A conventional opening of odes describes the apparition, dreamed or imagined, of the beloved at night.

By God, the apparition did not come back!<sup>11</sup> – But  
     my thoughts make it appear to me, so it returns.  
 You, chiding me, stop your chiding and do not add to it,  
     for nothing can be added to my passion and love.  
 I have a liver<sup>12</sup> that is hot, eyes that are sleepless,  
     and a heart that loves pretty women, smitten.  
 Ah, he who dies from being amorous, for the sake of love,  
     and is killed by tender girls, is a martyr.<sup>13</sup>  
 10 My eyes have never seen the like of Asmā', as a girlfriend,  
     who is stingy with being with me, while her apparition is generous.  
 My sorrows and my ardour are renewed  
     by familiar places now deserted in al-Liwā,<sup>14</sup> and assignments.  
 May God protect the 'white nights'<sup>15</sup> in which I was together  
     with fair white women, with black hair,  
 And spent the night, while the dark night let down its curtains,  
     embracing the willow branches that were bodies,  
 Sipping wine clarified by mouths,  
     and plucking roses that had grown on cheeks,  
 15 Until dawn appeared, not to be blamed,  
     and the gloom of the night, to be praised, disappeared.  
 Why should I blame the morning or not love it,  
     even though a loved one and a loving one are scared by it?  
 For every morning one's eyes are favoured  
     to see the face of Rashīd al-Dīn when he is happy.  
 He is the foremost scholar and sage, whose speech  
     resembles well-arranged pearls.  
 The chief of physicians, Ibn Sīnā, and before him  
     Ḥunayn, are his pupils and servants.

11 Or, with Müller and Riḍā: 'May the apparition not come back!' (*lā 'āda*). But the reading *mā 'āda* (ALBRHGbGc, *Masālik*) is arguably more subtle: the imagined apparition (*khayāl*) did not 'really' return (by appearing spontaneously) but the lover's thoughts actively imagine (*tukhayyilu*) the imagined apparition, which thus returns.

12 The liver is considered the seat of passions.

13 An allusion to an often-quoted saying attributed, in different versions, to the Prophet: 'He who loves passionately, hides it, is chaste, and dies, dies a martyr'.

14 Al-Liwā (translatable as 'twisted sands') is often mentioned in similar contexts as if it were a location in Arabia, and to evoke the first line of Imru' al-Qays's celebrated *Mu'allaqah* ode, which mentions *siqṭ al-liwā*, either as a place-name or a descriptive phrase.

15 A 'white night' is either a moonlit night in the middle part of a lunar month, or a night in which one does not sleep.

- 20 If Galen were alive in his era  
 he would learn and revise under him.  
 Say to the Banū l-Ṣūrī: you have been the masters of humankind  
 (people are either master or mastered).  
 You have acquired the heritage of noble deeds not from remote kin:  
 like this you have fathers and grandfathers.  
 O scholar (*‘ālim*) of the world, O banner (*‘alam*) of guidance,  
 in whom noble traits have their existence,  
 You who have a well-populated abode of excellence,  
 a palace of lofty qualities, built high with eulogy,  
 25 A spreading tree of beneficence bearing fruit by fulfilling wishes,  
 and a protective shade stretching for those seeking refuge!  
 One through whom stubborn rebels obey me  
 and obdurate tyrants are humble towards me:  
 The stronghold of my strength in his sanctuary, unassailable,  
 fortified, while my life in his shelter is comfortable;  
 He whose favour and patronage feathered my bed<sup>16</sup>  
 and who stood up for me while all others sat down;  
 Who did well to me in deed, so I did well in words; he was good to me  
 so I am doing my best in my eulogy of his noble deeds.  
 30 Compared with his bounty Ḥātim the Generous<sup>17</sup> was a miser,  
 and compared with me Labid<sup>18</sup> was a dullard (*balīd*) in his eulogy.  
 He set out to acquire praise from every direction,  
 while other people are averse to gain eulogy.  
 He provides the shade of a gracious man to every seeker of refuge,  
 giving protective shade (*mufīʿ*) and useful (*mufīd*) knowledge,  
 And favour (*ʿurf*) which, whenever he shows it, wafts with its flavour  
 (*ʿarf*),  
 and open-handedness (*wa-jūd*) when finding (*wujūd*) it is difficult.  
 All people worship (*taʿabbada*) generosity, and thus noble, free men  
 turned  
 to his beneficence, becoming slaves (*ʿabīd*).  
 35 So many eulogists (*mādiḥ*) resorted to him as a donor (*māniḥ*)  
 and their purpose (*qaṣd*) and praise poems (*qaṣīd*) were successful.

16 Literally, ‘feathered (my arrow), fletched’.

17 Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī, a pre-Islamic poet proverbial for his generosity.

18 Labid ibn Rabīʿah, celebrated poet who died at an advanced age in ca. 41/661.

In the evening one sees proofs of his goodness,  
 in the morning there are witnesses to his blessings.<sup>19</sup>  
 So why should I fear misfortunes and adversities  
 when Rashīd al-Dīn's judgement of me is right,  
 And I have, in his graciousness, a forearm (*sā'id*) and a helper (*musā'id*),  
 and, in his glory, an abundant outfit (*'uddah wa-'adīd*)?  
 I expect that there will be many who envy me  
 for gaining what I expect and wish.  
 40 Benefaction is what is followed by riches  
 and numerous enraged, envious people.  
 When I have the equipment (*'atād*) of his graciousness and patronage  
 my strength will be well-equipped (*'atīd*) as long as I live.  
 It is not surprising that, in turning to him, someone like me  
 ascends (*ṣu'ūd*) to winning good fortune (*su'ūd*).  
 I say to those who expect something from other people:  
 'Take it easy! Your chance of success is remote.  
 Would you turn to a trickling stream and leave a deep sea  
 swelling with its high tides of noble deeds?'  
 45 Whoever seeks refuge in Abū l-Manṣūr<sup>20</sup>  
 will have a conjunction of success and lucky stars.  
 O Kaaba of hopes, rain-cloud of generosity,  
 by whom the meadow of hopes is rained upon copiously,  
 To whom Ḥātim, on a day of magnanimity, is a servant (*'abd*)  
 just as 'Abīd is the servant to my eulogy of his lofty qualities!<sup>21</sup>  
 I cannot thank you enough for your favours to me,  
 for nothing can surpass what your hands have bestowed.  
 But for your favours my drink would not have been pure  
 and but for refuge in you my branch would not have been green.  
 50 Thus my good fortune in turning to the door of your house is rising  
 and my star, by often seeing you, is auspicious.  
 Be congratulated, forever, with this happy feast,<sup>22</sup>  
 while delegations after delegations congratulate you!  
 Those who have needs need seek no other,  
 those who have hopes cannot avoid you.

19 In the Arabic concept of a 24-hour day evening precedes morning.

20 Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī.

21 For Ḥātim, see above, line 30. 'Abīd ibn al-Abrāṣ is a pre-Islamic poet.

22 Apparently the poem was composed on the occasion of a feast day (*'īd*, possibly the 'Eid' at the end of Ramadan, although religion is conspicuously absent).

[15.45.4]

Rashīd al-Dīn al-Ṣūrī is the author of the following books:

1. On simple drugs (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*). He began to compose it during the reign of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, to whom he dedicated it. The book gives a full account of simple drugs, and also provides insight into simples of which the author had acquired knowledge, and which had not been mentioned by his predecessors. Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī would go to places in which plants grew, such as Mount Lebanon and other spots in which particular plants were found, taking along with him a painter who had at his disposal all kinds of dyes and brushes. Rashīd al-Dīn would observe and examine the plants, and then he would show them to the painter, who would look at their colour, measure their leaves, branches and roots, and then paint them, doing his utmost to make them as realistic as possible. Rashīd al-Dīn had an instructive method for these illustrations: first he would show them to the painter at the time of sprouting and tenderness, and would have him paint them at that stage. Then, he would show them to him when they were fully grown and in full bloom, and the painter would depict them at that specific stage. Finally, he would show him the plants when they were withered and dried up, and the painter would sketch them at that stage. In this way, the reader of the book could see the plants as he would encounter them in the field, and this would enable him to obtain more perfect information and clearer notions.
2. Refutation of al-Tāj al-Bulghārī's 'Book of Simple Drugs' (*Al-radd 'alā kitāb al-Tāj al-Bulghārī fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).<sup>23</sup>
3. Explanatory remarks, useful lessons and instructions regarding medicine, dedicated to myself (*Ta'ālīq lahu wa-fawā'id wa-waṣāyā tibbiyyah kataba bihā ilayya*).

#### 15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah<sup>1</sup>

[15.46.1]

Abū l-Thana' Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shujā' al-Shaybānī al-Ḥanawī, known as Ibn Raqīqah, was a man endowed with a noble soul and perfect virtues. He gathered together the medical teachings of the

23 Tāj al-Dīn ibn Yūnus al-Bulghārī (fl. 7th/13th century), who is also known as the author of the *Tiryāq al-kabīr* or *Great Theriac*.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book.

ancient authors that had become scattered, stood out above all his peers, and surpassed his fellow physicians and healers. Moreover, he possessed an outstanding character, flawless diction and a wonderful [gift] for composing poems of high stylistic quality, of which many have become proverbs and maxims. 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, remaining faithful to the content and doing justice to the beauty of the words. He associated with the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī,<sup>2</sup> becoming his close friend and studying the art of medicine and other sciences under his guidance.

Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah was also familiar with the art of ophthalmology<sup>3</sup> and surgery, and in treating diseases of the eye, performing many surgical operations. He also removed cataracts (*al-mā’ al-nāzil*) 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.<sup>4</sup> Sadīd al-Dīn also devoted himself to the art of astronomy, and he studied the *Book of Ingenious Devices* (*K. al-Ḥiyāl*) by the Banū Mūsā,<sup>5</sup> from which he learnt to make unusual things. Furthermore, he was distinguished in grammar and lexicography. He had a learned brother, named Mu‘īn al-Dīn, who was the most outstanding scholar of his time in the Arabic language, which was his particular domain, but he also composed many poems. Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah also studied under masters in the domain of Hadith.

2 See Ch. 10.75.

3 The phrase *ṣinā’at al-kuḥl* is a common way of referring to the entire field of ophthalmology, though *kuḥl* is a particular type of compound ocular remedy.

4 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 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 rather than removing it. This present passage is important evidence that at least some physicians attempted to remove the cataract by suction through a hollow needle. If such a procedure was in fact actually successfully carried out, it could only have worked on a soft juvenile cataract. See Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 126 fig. 4.2 for an illustration of couching and ‘hollow’ needles and 131–135 for texts suggesting that the use of a ‘hollow’ instrument was experimental at best.

5 The Banū Mūsā ibn Shākir were three brothers who invented a number of automata and mechanical devices. They described a hundred such devices in their *K. al-Ḥiyāl* or *Book of Ingenious Devices* (lit. *Tricks*), which was composed in or around 850 AD. See *Encycl. Iranica*, art. ‘Banū Mūsā’ (D. Pingree). Edition of the work by Hill, *Ingenious Devices*.



[15.46.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – heard the following [tradition] from Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb al-Ḥānawī: He said, ‘The distinguished authority Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī reported to me the following: we cite the shaykh Abū Mansūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khiḍr al-Jawālīqī, who was informed by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, who cites Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Raqqī, who cites master Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Battī, who cites Abū Bakr Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Shāfi‘ī, who was informed by the judge Abū Ishāq Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq, who heard it from Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Uways, who cites Hishām ibn ‘Urwah, who heard it from his father, who received the information from ‘Ā’ishah, God be pleased with her, who said:<sup>6</sup> A Bedouin came to the Prophet (God bless him and keep him!) and said, ‘We have come to you, Messenger of God, now that we have no camel left that groans nor a young boy who drinks his morning milk!’ Then he recited:<sup>7</sup>

We come to you while virgins have bloody gums<sup>8</sup>  
 and mothers do no longer heed their children;  
 A man droops his hands in resignation,  
 from hunger, in shame, not uttering a bitter or a sweet word.<sup>9</sup>  
 We have nothing for the people to eat  
 except *‘ilhiz* in a year of drought and shrivelled colocynth.<sup>10</sup>  
 We can only flee to you:  
 where can people flee if not to Messengers?

Al-Raqqī said: *‘ilhiz* is camel hair treated with the blood of *ḥalam*, which are ticks when they have grown big; it is eaten in time of famine. Another version

6 This tradition, often quoted in several forms, is known as *Ḥadīth al-istisqā’*, the hadith on the prayer for rain; see *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘Istisqā’ (T. Fahd).

7 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Anonymously quoted in several sources, e.g. al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 137 (Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances*, tr. Wahba, 119), Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, iv:172; also attributed to Labīd ibn Rabī‘ah, *Dīwān*, 150, al-Jurāwī, *al-Ḥamāsah al-maghribiyyah*, 110–112.

8 Instead of *lithāt* (‘gums’) the *Dīwān* and other sources have *labān*, ‘chest’ (bloody after having been scratched as a form of lament).

9 Or: ‘without doing anything useful or harmful’.

10 Explanation follows. *‘ilhiz* is either a ‘food’ made of camel hair and ticks’ blood eaten in times of famine or a kind of plant. Other versions have *al-ḥanzalī l-‘āmiyyi wa-l-‘ilhiz*, and the expression *al-ḥanzal al-‘āmī* is certainly more common. *Ḥanzal*, ‘colocynth’, is a particularly acrid fruit.

has *ʿunqur*, also *ʿanqar*, which is the stem of the papyrus plant; both these readings are correct. Yet another version has *ʿaqhar*; but this is a misreading and to be rejected.<sup>11</sup> Then the Prophet (God bless and keep him!) stood up, dragging his cloak, ascended the *minbar*, and praised God and glorified Him. Then he raised his hands towards heaven and said, ‘O God! Send us a rain that drenches, lush, life-giving, bursting forth in buckets, abundant, long-lasting, copiously, timely and not tarrying, salubrious and not harmful, which makes plants grow, fills the udders, and revives the earth after it has died!’ And, by God! No sooner had the Messenger of God (God bless and keep him!) lower his hand to his chest than the heavens opened. The Prophet’s closest followers began to shout, ‘Messenger of God! A flood! We’ll drown!’ The Prophet turned his eyes to the sky and laughed, so that his molar teeth could be seen.<sup>12</sup> Then he said, ‘O God! Around us, not on top of us!’ And the clouds moved away from Medina until they surrounded it like a diadem. Then he said, ‘Good Abū Ṭalib!<sup>13</sup> How pleased he would have been if he were alive! Can anyone recite his poem to us?’ Then ‘Alī (peace be upon him) said, ‘Messenger of God, perhaps you mean the following:<sup>14</sup>

And a noble<sup>15</sup> man, with whose face the clouds can be asked for rain,  
 the support of orphans, the protection of widows:  
 The starving men of the clan of Hāshim swarm around him,  
 for with him they find bliss and benefits.  
 You lied, we swear by God’ House,<sup>16</sup> Muḥammad shall not be over-  
 come<sup>17</sup>  
 before we shall have fought for him and defended him,  
 And we shall not surrender him until we are slain around him  
 and be unmindful of our children and wedded wives!’

11 The variants mentioned by IAU are not found in the sources, and the word *ʿaqhar* is not even found in the lexicons.

12 On this idiom and on seemly and unseemly forms of laughter, see Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft*; cf. also Sellheim, ‘Das Lächeln,’ and Heffening, ‘Ephraem-Paraenesis’.

13 Muḥammad’s uncle and ‘Alī’s father, who protected the Prophet when he was young and in need of protection. He died ca. 619, a few years before the Prophet’s Hijrah to Medina.

14 Metre: *ṭawīl*. From a longer poem in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i:272–280 (tr. Guillaume, 122–127), also e.g. al-Māwardī, *Ahkām*, 138 (Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances*, tr. Wahba, 119), Ibn Abī I-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, iv:171–172.

15 Literally, ‘white’.

16 The Kaaba.

17 Here and in the following line the negative *lā* is implied after the oath, as the commentators explain, e.g. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (BZW/Y), al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii:63.

'Precisely!' replied the Prophet (God bless and keep him!). Thereupon a man of the tribe of Kinānah stood up and recited to him:<sup>18</sup>

To Thee be praise, and praise from those that are grateful:  
 we have been given rain through the face of the Prophet.  
 He prayed to God, his Creator  
 and fixed his eyes towards Him,  
 And it was but an hour or so  
 or quicker before we saw the rain in buckets,  
 Pouring as from mouths of water-skins, bursting in abundance,  
 with which God gave rain to the elite of Muḍar.  
 He was, as his uncle Abū Ṭālib said  
 a man with a radiant, bright face.  
 Through him God made the clouds pour out:  
 that reported event was seen with these eyes.  
 He who will thank God will meet with more  
 and who is ungrateful to God will meet with misfortunes.

The Messenger of God (God bless and keep him!) said to him, 'You may sit down, if ever a poet did!'<sup>19</sup>

[15.46.3]

I heard from Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah that he was born in 564/1168 in the town of Ḥīnī,<sup>20</sup> where he also grew up. When Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was staying there, the ruler of the town, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Artuq, contracted an eye disease. The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn treated him for a number of days, but then had to leave and accordingly advised Nūr al-Dīn ibn Artuq to consult Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah. He did do, and the physician cured him within a short time. Grateful for his complete recovery, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Artuq awarded Sadīd al-Dīn a stipend and an allowance in recognition of his medical services. Sadīd al-Dīn told me himself that he was then not yet twenty years old.

After having remained for some time in Nūr al-Dīn's service, Sadīd al-Dīn took service with al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, the

18 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 138 (Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances*, tr. Wahba, 119), Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, iv:172.

19 These passages occur in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Tamhīd li-mā fi l-Muwaṭṭa' min al-ma'ānī wal-asānīd*; see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Tamhīd*, xxii:64–65.

20 Ḥīnī is a town in the vicinity of the larger city of Diyarbakir (nowadays the town is called Hani). It is situated in the south-eastern Anatolian region of Turkey.

ruler of Hama. Some time thereafter, however, he went to Khilāt,<sup>21</sup> which at that time was ruled by al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, and entered the service of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yāghī Siyān, whose sister was the wife of al-Malik al-Awḥad. Sadīd al-Dīn served as her personal physician as well, and she showed him great honour. He remained in Khilāt until al-Malik al-Awḥad died in Malāzkird [i.e. Mantzikert]<sup>22</sup> of pleurisy on Saturday, the eighteenth of Rabīʿ 1 of the year 609 [18 August 1212], despite the care he had been receiving both from Sadīd al-Dīn and from Ṣadaqaḥ al-Sāmīrī [i.e. the Samaritan]. Sadīd al-Dīn next entered the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in Mayyāfāriqīn,<sup>23</sup> where he lived for many years.

On the third of Jumādā 11 of the year 632 [23 February 1235], Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah arrived at the court of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf in Damascus, where he was kindly received and greatly honoured. Al-Malik al-Ashraf ordered him to attend the Sultan's household in the citadel and also to treat the sick at the 'Great Hospital', which had been founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zankī. For his services, al-Malik al-Ashraf allotted him a stipend and an allowance.

At that time, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – was also receiving payments for treating the patients at that hospital. Sadīd al-Dīn and I became great friends. What I was able to observe of his perfect virtues, noble origins, rich knowledge, and excellent skills in the domain of diseases and their treatment is beyond all description. He lived in Damascus, devoting himself to the art of medicine, until he died – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 635/1238. I, for my part, had already moved to Ṣarkhad<sup>24</sup> in the month of Rabīʿ 1 of the year 634 [December 1236] to enter the service of its ruler, the Emir ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Muʿazzamī. The following lines are some of Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah's own poetry that he recited to me:<sup>25</sup>

21 Khilāt or Akhlāt is a town on the west bank of Lake Van in Asia Minor (it is nowadays called Ahlat).

22 Malāzkird, Manāzjird or Mantzikert is a town a little north of Khilāt in Asia Minor (it is nowadays called Malazgirt).

23 Mayyāfāriqīn was called Martyropolis in the ancient world. It is nowadays called Silvan. It is located east of the city of Diyarbakir in eastern Anatolia (Turkey), cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, v:235–238; see also *Et<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Mayyāfāriqīn' (V. Minorsky & C. Hillenbrand).

24 Ṣarkhad or Ṣalkhad: Town in southern Syria near the border of present-day Jordan. The town contains an important fortress, built between 611/1214 and 645/1247 by the Ayyubid dynasty, cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii:40.

25 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:288–289 (lines 1–2, 6–7, 15, 17, 20–23, 25, 31–31), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:282–283 (lines 1–5, 7, 9–10).

O Thou who hast clothed me, by (giving me) speech, with the robe of nobility  
 and hast made me complete, generously, with it and straightened me:  
 Take me, when my time has come to an end and my life  
 is over, on a straight line to Thee!  
 And dispel in Thy kindness, O my God, my grief  
 and polish the rust from the soul of Thy servant and be merciful!  
 Then, perhaps, after disgrace (*mahānah*) I may acquire  
 the clothes of respect (*mahābah*) in the Most Noble Place,  
 5 And gain Paradise after my stay  
 in an abode manifestly ugly and gloomy;  
 For I have come to loathe my dwelling there.  
 He who lives in the abode of delusion will detest it,  
 An abode whose misery and wretchedness are perfidious to those  
 who live there, as if he has never been happy;  
 He exchanges his serene living and life  
 for trouble, so do not turn to it and you will be safe.  
 For in Thee is refuge, O our God, from its evil  
 and in Thee is shelter from error, so hold back!  
 10 On Thee is my reliance, Thy pardon is always  
 my goal. O for my loss if Thou art not merciful!  
 O my soul, strive hard, be tireless, hold fast on to  
 the ties of right guidance; sever the ties of obstacles!  
 Be not neglectful, O soul, of your Self:<sup>26</sup> in forgetting it  
 you forget your Lord. Know this!  
 And you must reflect on His blessings, that you may  
 be made to revert to His Gardens and made to live in bliss;  
 And betake yourself to the path of the right course: it will  
 save; and refrain from the middle of the road to error.  
 15 Be not content to feel at home in this unworthy world,<sup>27</sup>  
 and you will be raised to the ranks of the night-travelling stars,  
 And you will behold what no eye has seen and no ear  
 has perceived,<sup>28</sup> so strive towards it and you will obtain!

26 The word *nafs* (here 'soul') often means 'self'; *dhāt* (here 'Self') also means 'essence'.

27 The words *al-dunyā l-daniyyah* for 'world' and 'unworthy, lowly' are derived from the same Arabic root, *DNW*, denoting nearness and lowness; *daniyyah* can also be taken as a variant of *dani'ah*, derived from the root *DN'*, denoting vileness.

28 Alluding to an often-quoted hadith attributed to the Prophet: 'I have prepared for my

- And you will observe that of which the true nature has never  
 been grasped by thought or the fancy of a fancier:  
 A holiness so exalted that none can dwell in its vicinity  
 O soul, except any astute and reckless(?) one.<sup>29</sup>  
 He is transcendent above being composite  
 with a fourth, or a third, or a twin!<sup>30</sup>
- 20 And you will be a neighbour of the pious, in a home  
 that will never be obliterated or destroyed.  
 O deluded one! Your hair is grey but you have not given up  
 what you were so fond of, nor did you have remorse.  
 Do not think that your grey hair is caused by a passing illness  
 or by a mouldiness in the phlegm!  
 But your youth was a devil, and a rebellious demon  
 will truly be stoned with shooting stars.<sup>31</sup>
- Do not join grey hair, with its bright radiance, with the darkness (*zalām*)  
 of youth's passing symptoms, or you will be wronged (*tuzlam*).
- 25 Grey hair is an illumination to the intellect and its light, so despise  
 your passion when your hair turns grey, and you will be honoured.  
 Devote yourself to praising (*tamjīd*) Him who brought you into being  
 (*mūjīd*),  
 whose generosity (*jūd*) floods all that exists (*wujūd*), and magnify  
 Him!
- For by mentioning Him souls are healed of their sick passion,  
 so if you wish to be cured, resolve to do this!  
 How noble is the soul of a man who sees that the roads of passion  
 are loved passionately, but turns to the straight Path!  
 He is the one who chooses, on the Day of Return,  
 a kingdom that is perennial and will not end.
- 30 O Setter of broken bone, Forgiver of grave sin  
 committed by every sinning servant:  
 I have no means, no expedient to come to Thee  
 by which I can be saved but the belief of a Muslim.

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believing servants what no eye has seen nor any ear has heard!'; compare 1 Corinthians. 2:9.

29 This cannot have been the poet's intention. It appears he did not know the meaning of the rare word *ayham*, explained in dictionaries as 'foolhardy, stubborn, deaf to counsel, without reason, mad'.

30 Mocking Christian doctrine.

31 This line is very similar to one in a poem by Ibn Sīnā (above, Ch. 11.13.7.2 line 3); see the note given there.

Therefore accept, in Thy graciousness, my repentance (*tawbatī*)  
 of my offence (*ḥawbatī*), that I may not be deprived of my Return  
 (*awbatī*)!

Praise be to Thee, O God, which may increase as long as  
 the brightness of a dawn will dispel the blackness of a pitch-dark  
 night;

And bless and preserve Thy Prophet, the resplendent one,  
 and his kin, the trusted masters,

- 35 Those who take away the hunger of the orphan, and on  
 the distressed captive and the destitute bestowed their provision,  
 And his Companions, who helped him to be victorious  
 when the fire of unbelief was ablaze!

[15.46.3.1]

He also said:<sup>32</sup>

I see you are heedless of the Broad Place<sup>33</sup>

and instead disport yourself with what has a dwindling root.

How much longer will you be proud – woe unto you – on being in a  
 prison

and how much longer will you boast of what is narrow and feeble,

Granting affection to those who tempt you with it

and being suspicious of what restrains and forbids you?

Don't you know that every day

all kinds of calamities can take you by surprise?

- 5 They will dissolve your faculties bit by bit

and you will cease to exist while the world remains as it is.

You think she is a friend; but she is the most pernicious  
 enemy, of manifest rancour, cunning.

Your concerns are for it,<sup>34</sup> incessantly, successively,  
 though your life in it is not flourishing.

Does your grey hair not suffice as a rebuke?

To a man with intelligence (*nuhā*) grey hair is enough to restrain him  
 (*nāhī*).

32 Metre: *wāfir*.

33 Presumably the Hereafter or Heaven.

34 Apparently 'it' refers to the temporal world, though one would have expected the feminine pronoun (*fiḥā*, twice, which would not have fitted the metre).

So turn back from it, to a broad and spacious place  
 where your staying will be without end.  
 10 Until when then will you feign being unmindful and blind?  
 How much longer, this inclination to disportments?  
 Be not deluded if in it you first become  
 wealthy and then of great standing:  
 So many a man was strong at first and then,  
 shortly after his riches and strength, became weak!  
 He would say in his folly that one would not find  
 anyone resembling him or to be compared with him.  
 So repent, for all you have committed will be found  
 trifling in God's forgiveness.

He also said:<sup>35</sup>

I say to my soul when it shows a yearning  
 for the Higher World: Take it easy, soul!  
 It is absurd! You want salvation while you are in  
 lethal perils, of natural and sensory nature!  
 But before you is a sea: if you cross it,  
 you are safe and you will gain release from being confined.  
 If you want to be united with your origin,  
 then lift your cover and strip the clothing that you wear.  
 5 Do not turn to what is concrete, lest you be deprived  
 of the vicinity of the pure in the presence of Holiness.  
 Do not abandon what God commands by going astray,  
 or you will perpetually remain in doubt and confusion.  
 Do not be heedless, O soul, of your Self<sup>36</sup> but  
 reflect much<sup>37</sup> on it and renounce all that makes you forget.  
 And do not be oblivious of mentioning the First,<sup>38</sup> through whom  
 the celestial spheres, the Throne, and the Footstool<sup>39</sup> came into  
 being.

35 Metre: *tawīl*.

36 See the identical phrase in the poem above (Ch. 15.46.3, poem 'O Thou who hast', vs. 12.) and the note to it.

37 Reading *wa-kthirī* as a licence for *wa-akthirī*.

38 cf. Q al-Ḥadīd 57:3, «*He is the First and the Last*».

39 God's Throne (*arsh*) is often mentioned in the Qur'an; His Footstool (*kursī*, often also rendered as 'throne') only in Q al-Baqarah 2:255.



You were joined, unwillingly, to the frame<sup>40</sup> that you received, though  
 long  
 frightened, as compensation for (your former) intimacy.  
 10 This joining was only so that you may return  
 exalted with knowledge above the blemish of deficiency.  
 Your return is near to being decreed, therefore do  
 for your Hereafter what will save you from the darkness of the grave.  
 If you leave the path of guidance you will tomorrow be  
 like someone who sells his capital for a paltry price.<sup>41</sup>  
 So turn back to your Crator, O soul, and you will rise  
 to Him; or else you will remain in the forgettable world,  
 Allied with lasting worry and sorrow,  
 neighbour to people of vileness and filth,  
 15 Abandoned(?),<sup>42</sup> inhibited, humiliated,  
 made miserable in exchange for bliss,  
 made to settle in the abode of abasement, degraded,  
 and gathered among the troop of the mute and deaf.<sup>43</sup>  
 The path of Guidance, O soul, shines to the intelligent  
 brighter than the radiance of the full moon and the sun.

[15.46.3.2]

He also said:<sup>44</sup>

Let the cheerful face of your time not delude you,  
 for its cheerfulness is bound to change.  
 Its frowning is its true nature (*ṭabʿ*), not a second nature (*taṭabbuʿ*);  
 a true nature remains and a second nature ceases.

He also said:<sup>45</sup>

I am not one of those who seek profit by means of vulgarity,<sup>46</sup>  
 even if I would die naked and starving.

40 The body, given to the soul in order to overcome its aversion to the material world.

41 Q Yūsuf 12:20, 'And they sold him (Yūsuf/Joseph) for a paltry price.'

42 Assuming that *mukhallaʿatan* is an unusual licence for *mukhallātan*.

43 cf. Q al-Isrāʾ 17:97: «We shall gather them on the Day of Resurrection, upon their faces, blind, dumb, deaf».

44 Metre: *kāmil*.

45 Metre: *khafif*.

46 *Sukhf*, originally 'frivolity, foolishness', came to mean 'obscurity' and 'scatology', especially in verse.

Even if I could possess Solomon's realm  
I would not choose to give up my dignity.

In emulation of the words of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him!): 'Look at what is said, not at who said it', he said:<sup>47</sup>

Do not look at who says the words  
but look at what he says;  
Take the words when you find them sensible,  
even if spoken by an ignorant fool.  
The barking of dogs, base though they are,  
is an indication of the dwelling of a generous man.<sup>48</sup>  
Likewise, gold is mined in the earth  
but it is a precious, noble thing.

And he also said:<sup>49</sup>

Be on your guard against the people of today; do not  
put your faith in anyone and do not trust them.  
None of those you befriend is naturally free  
from craftiness, tinkering, and flattery.

And he also said:<sup>50</sup>

I see that every unjust man is decent when he is  
powerless, and shows his iniquity when he is able.  
If someone gets in this world more than he is worth,  
then his character changes for the worse.  
Every man you find to have a liking for evil  
will inevitably encounter what he liked (for others).<sup>51</sup>

And he also said:<sup>52</sup>

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47 Metre: *khafif*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:289.

48 Compare the verb *istanbaḥa*, 'making dogs bark (by making barking noises when lost, hoping to find a dwelling)'.  
49 Metre: *basīṭ*.

50 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

51 The parenthesis seems to be implied.

52 Metre: *kāmil*.

When I saw that people with excellence and intelligence  
 were not in demand, whereas any fool is,  
 I resigned myself to despair, knowing that I have  
 a Lord who is generous and who will grant what I desire.  
 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.

And he also said:<sup>53</sup>

My slender means do not harm my character or my nature,  
 nor does my destitution keep my from the path of intelligence.  
 How could that be, since knowledge is my allotment, which is  
 the most precious possession and blessing the Guardian has given!  
 Knowledge thrives on deeds, always and forever,  
 while wealth, if one is given to spending, does not last.  
 He who possesses wealth guards it all his days,  
 while knowledge guards those who have it from trials.

[15.46.3:3]

And he also said:<sup>54</sup>

I have been created sharing the same species with some people,  
 but at the same time I differ from them as a person.  
 I want them to be perfect and I strive to be useful,  
 while they wish me harm and loss.  
 When I enumerate their faults  
 I attempt something uncountable.

He also said:<sup>55</sup>

Do not befriend a man who, feigning, shows you  
 love and hides its opposite by his nature,  
 And shun your friend if his affection changes for the worse:  
 a limb's disease is terminated by amputating it.

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53 Metre: *basīt*.

54 Metre: *wāfir*.

55 Metre: *kāmil*.

And he said:<sup>56</sup>

If some foolish man attacks you one day in public,  
 make a point of not raising your eyes towards him;  
 For if you appease him you are superior to him  
 and if you respond to him you are his equal.  
 There has been many a fool who, in his folly, wanted to defame me,  
 whose praise and lampoons on me were all the same to me.

He also said:<sup>57</sup>

An enemy, even when he is seen to laugh,  
 is like colocynth, its leaves looking tender,  
 Whereas it is deadly to those who aim to take it,  
 its taste repulsive, disgusting, loathsome.  
 Know that an adversary is a poison when near  
 and his remoteness truly the antidote.

He also said:<sup>58</sup>

If you are planting a beautiful tree<sup>59</sup>  
 then do not let it grow thirsty or the fruit will fail you;  
 Irrigate it continually, as much as you can,  
 with the water of generosity, not with rainwater;  
 And do not follow it up with reproach,<sup>60</sup> for  
 we have seen that it is bad for trees.

He also said:<sup>61</sup>

Let it be your nature to avoid the people of this world: their proximity  
 yields odious things, whether they are stingy or generous (*in jādū*).

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56 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

57 Metre: *kāmil*.

58 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

59 The syntax of the Arabic is faulty (it ought to be either *ghārisan gharsan* or *ghārisa gharsin*). The tree is a metaphorical one of good deeds, as the following makes clear.

60 cf. Q al-Baqarah 2:262: «*Those who spend their wealth in the cause of God and then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury ...*» (the word *mann* has also been interpreted as 'reminder of one's benevolence').

61 Metre: *basīṭ*.

Among people there is rarely someone who, if an accident  
 strikes you, who<sup>62</sup> gives assistance or support (*injādū*).  
 Do not despise your good fortune if Fate protects you, for  
 when good fortune turns away noble men are courageous (*anjādū*),  
 And cross wastelands, always seeking to acquire lofty qualities,  
 and let lowlands not deter you nor highlands (*anjādū*).

[15.46.3.4]

He also said:<sup>63</sup>

And the man most afflicted with grief and distress on earth,  
 who will not recover from these,  
 Is a noble man whose exalted place is taken by  
 someone else, though he is qualified for it.

He also said:<sup>64</sup>

Bestowing benefits on a scoundrel is followed  
 by persistence of request to him who practises it;<sup>65</sup>  
 But it will move a noble man of virtuous character to  
 reward handsomely the giver of the benefit, soon.  
 For people are like the soil: it is irrigated equally  
 with sweet water and brings forth plants like colocynth and fresh  
 dates.

He also said:<sup>66</sup>

I am a man who by nature (*ṭab'*) represses his cravings;  
 I restrain myself naturally (*tābi'an*), not as a second nature (*taṭab-  
 bu'an*).  
 I possess a richness of soul and the virtue of contentedness;  
 I am not like those who grovel when in dire straits.  
 If some people stretch forth their hands towards the food  
 I move back an arm's length when people move an inch closer.

62 This superfluous 'who' imitates the Arabic.

63 Metre: *wāfir*.

64 Metre: *basīt*.

65 Reading *mu'āwadati l-ilhāh*, as suggested by most sources, does not make sense.

66 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

Since this world is vile in my view  
 I turn my mind to turning away from it, feeling myself above it.  
 5 This is because I know that God will provide for me,  
 so whom else should I ask from and fear, or be worried?<sup>67</sup>  
 Weakness will not remove livelihood if it is near,  
 nor will force bring it near if it is cut off.  
 So be not merry if your Fate lets you acquire riches  
 and be proud if you are indigent.  
 A man's worth is the knowledge he has acquired or imparted,  
 not the wealth he has collected and amassed.  
 So be learned or a learner among people,  
 or if you cannot be either, listen so that you may hear;  
 10 Do not be, if you can, a fourth to these categories, lest you will be  
 repelled and driven back from the watering-place of salvation.

He also said:<sup>68</sup>

If a man's livelihood comes from preordination  
 his greed does not avail him in seeking it.  
 Likewise his death: though it be grave blow,  
 persisting in living for low, worldly things is the summit of stupidity.  
 So if you wish to live as a noble man, be resigned,  
 for resignation is a noble trait.  
 The resignation of a man of noble character is sweet to the taste  
 to him, whenever he wants to beg from people.

He also said:<sup>69</sup>

I see that this existence of yours has not been for nothing,<sup>70</sup>  
 but only so that your soul may become perfected, so wake up (*int-*  
*abih*)!  
 Turn away for the body and do not turn towards it; incline  
 to the keeping of that by which you (*anta bih*) a human being.  
 He who makes his soul resigned to give up passions is vigilant,  
 whereas he who makes the soul covet them is not awake.

67 The syntax of the English is as shaky as that of the Arabic.

68 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

69 Metre: *basīṭ*.

70 cf. Q al-Mu'minūn 23:115, «*Did you think We created you for nothing?*»

So walk on the path of Guidance and the outcome will be praiseworthy,  
for the way of Truth is manifest, unambiguous.

[15.46.3.5]

He also said:<sup>71</sup>

Be by nature beneficent to  
him who changes his good deeds for bad ones (*masā'ah*);  
And doubly bestow favours on him  
always, morning and evening (*masā'ah*),  
For perhaps he will turn back  
and swerve (*yaḥūla*) from the state (*ḥāl*) doing evil.  
A noble man mentions the good things of his friend,  
not the harm done by him to him.  
Many an evildoer has been brought back by  
beneficence from the watering-place of wickedness (*radā'ah*),  
So he became sincere (*ṣafā*), returned (*wa-fā'*) to loyalty (*wafā'*),  
and made good deeds his clothing (*ridā'ah*).  
Therefore, if you are afflicted with someone false  
in his affection who has not conducted (*adā'ah*) himself well,  
Tell him the truth; perhaps your sincere affection  
will remove his sickness (*dā'ah*).

He also said:<sup>72</sup>

Be decent in what you say and don't say anything  
demeaned by ribaldry or depravity (*fasādū*).  
It was the habit of all sages before your time  
to be decent in speech; and they ruled as masters (*fa-sādū*).

He also said:<sup>73</sup>

The man of authority is like a traveller  
on a broad sea, aware that he may drown.  
Even if he returns safe and sound from it,  
the terror never leaves him.

<sup>71</sup> Metre: *kāmil muraffā*.

<sup>72</sup> Metre: *kāmil*.

<sup>73</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*.

He also said:<sup>74</sup>

You who look at what I intended to compile,  
 be forgiving! A virtuous man forgives,  
 Knowing that even when a man has reaches the full extent  
 of his lifetime he meets death still falling short.

[15.46.3.6]

The following lines he wrote on a wine cup, in the middle of which there was a bird sitting on a perforated dome. If water<sup>75</sup> was poured into the cup the bird would turn round quickly and whistle loudly. The person facing the bird when it stopped had to drink. If he drank and left some drink in the cup, the bird would whistle; likewise, if he drank it in one hundred draughts. But if he drank all the contents (in one draught)<sup>76</sup> without leaving as much as one dram,<sup>77</sup> the whistling would stop.<sup>78</sup>

I am a bird in the shape of a sparrow,  
 beautifully shaped and formed.  
 Now drink to my tune a choice wine,  
 undiluted, which illumines the gloomy night,  
 Yellow, shining in the cups as if it were  
 the fire of Moses<sup>79</sup> that appeared on the top of Mount Sinai;<sup>80</sup>  
 And when one dram of your drink is left  
 in the cup, my whistling will alert you to it.

74 Metre: *kāmil*. The lines are apparently written in a book composed by himself.

75 The use of the word *ka's* ('wine cup or glass') and of *sharāb* ('drink', but very often 'wine') makes it likely that 'water' is not quite accurate.

76 The context seems to require this parenthesis.

77 The Arabic has 'one dirham' (i.e., some 3 or 4 g), like English 'dram' ultimately going back to Greek *drachmē*.

78 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxv:283, al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālī'*, i:131. The great poet al-Mutanabbī was disgusted when he was commanded to compose an epigram on a similar contraction; see van Gelder, 'Encumbering Trifles', 13.

79 On *al-Kalīm*, 'the one spoken to (by God)', meaning Mūsā/Moses, see Q al-Nisā' 4: 164.

80 Cf. Q Ṭā-Hā 20:9–12 and al-Naml 27:7, on a fire seen by Moses; the poet confuses the event at Mount Sinai (al-Ṭūr) with the one in the valley called Ṭuwā (compare Ex. 3:2–6 on the 'burning bush').



And he said – it is good advice:<sup>81</sup>

- Beware of eating your fill, shun it!  
 Digest one kind of food before eating another.<sup>82</sup>  
 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.  
 Avoid venesection, except for someone with  
 an illness of a mature and hot nature.  
 Do not exercise yourself straight after eating  
 but make it happen after digestion,  
 Lest the chyle (*al-kaylūs*) descend uncooked  
 and block the passages and pores.  
 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,<sup>83</sup>  
 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.<sup>84</sup>

[15.46.3.7]

He also said:

81 Metre: *wāfir*.

82 Literally, 'inserting food upon food' (*idkhāl al-ṭa'ām 'alā l-ṭa'ām*). It is condemned already by al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah as a major cause of illness (see Ch. 7.1.3).

83 *Malīyyan* 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).

The purpose of medicine, understanding friend, is to get to know  
 the principles of our bodies and the foundations,<sup>85</sup>  
 Before their conditions and what causes these conditions  
 in them, and their symptoms,  
 So that our bodies remain in a state  
 of health, and this comes by means of balancing;<sup>86</sup>  
 And that diseases disappear, if the case allows,  
 and this comes by means of evacuation and substitution.

He also said:<sup>87</sup>

Nutrition, though it is a friend of what  
 is the ruling regulator, I mean the innate strength of the ailing person  
 (*quwwat al-waṣīb*),<sup>88</sup>  
 It is also the enemy of the latter, because it by means of it  
 there is an increase of the opposite, I mean the origin of illness  
 (*‘unṣur al-waṣāb*).

And he said:<sup>89</sup>

The causes of health, in truth, are six;<sup>90</sup>  
 and these are also the causes of illness.  
 If you balance them in four<sup>91</sup>  
 that balancing is the ultimate goal.

85 The ‘foundations’ (*al-uṣūl*) in this context are no doubt the four humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile); see for example, Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 60–61.

86 Balancing the humours by means of adjusting the four ‘qualities’ (hot, cold, dry, moist) and regulating the six ‘non-naturals’. For the latter see Niebyl, ‘Non-Naturals’.

87 Metre: *basīt*.

88 Reading the first rhyme word as *al-waṣīb* and the second as *al-waṣāb* avoids the technical defect called *ūā*, pointless repetition of the rhyme word. Both *waṣīb* (an ailing person) and *waṣāb* (an ailment) are very uncommon in medical literature. One notes that the gloss provided by Riḍā for the first word (‘the distance between index finger and little finger’) does not give a suitable sense; and it is *waṣb* rather than *waṣāb*.

89 Metre: *ramal*.

90 The six ‘non-naturals’: ambient air; food and drink; sleeping and waking; exercise and rest; retention and evacuation; mental states. While proper management of these six factors could lead to better health, their neglect could result in various ailments.

91 The four humours, which could be brought into balance within a given person’s body by changes in the six ‘non-naturals’ and by adjusting the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, and moist) of various medicinals; see Savage-Smith, ‘Were the Four Humours Fundamental?’.

He also said:<sup>92</sup>

If someone who has an illness desires something  
 that contains the cure of the disease that has lodged (*ḥallā*) in his  
 body,  
 Then do not keep from him what he desires, for it may well be  
 that you will soon see that he has untied (*ḥallā*) the knot of his dis-  
 ease.  
 It is as a current saying goes:  
 it is part of good luck to find a passion that coincides with reason.

[15.46.3.8]

He also said:<sup>93</sup>

One with a slender body and red cheeks has enthralled me  
 and in seas of 'red' (*al-qānī*) sorrow thrown me (*alqānī*).<sup>94</sup>  
 If a second one, other than he, were to lodge in my heart and turn my  
 passion away  
 from him, I would turn away that 'turning' second (*thanaytu l-thāniya*  
*l-thānī*).  
 If I reaped the fruits of which the planter  
 was love for him, I would be a criminal reaper (*al-jāniya l-jānī*).  
 And if, I swear by the love of him, his phantom paid a visit in my  
 dream  
 in the middle of the night, it would find me (*alfānī*) perishing (*al-*  
*fānī*).  
 He has nullified my affection, its abode being the heart. Who is there to  
 protect me,  
 now that he without need (*al-ghānī*)<sup>95</sup> has nullified me (*alghānī*)?

92 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

93 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:283–284.

94 One may compare the common expression *al-mawt al-aḥmar*, 'red (violent) death', which occurs in a poem by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās, and which employs several instances of the same kind of paronomasia: *wa-lī-l-mawti l-waḥḥiyi l-aḥ- | mari l-qāniyī alqānī* (al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iv:125).

95 The sense of *al-ghānī* is not wholly clear; perhaps it is the male equivalent of *ghāniyah*, 'beautiful woman (not needing artificial embellishment)'.

He also said:<sup>96</sup>

A slender youth with languid eyes: he led  
 his lovers with his flirtation to the watering-place of death (*radā*).  
 He wore his cheek-down as an ample coat of mail, which protects him  
 from a lover's eye, while the glance of his eye is a sword (*ridā*).  
 If he had let me drink the coolness of his saliva,  
 this painful disease had not become a cloak (*ridā*) to me.<sup>97</sup>  
 If he walks swaying from side to side he puts an end, with his bending,  
 to any twig,<sup>98</sup>  
 when he comes in sight he mocks the new Moon when it appears.  
 Whenever I look at (*shimtu*) the mole (*shāmah*) on his cheek he attacks  
 with a sword from both his eyes and becomes quarrelsome;  
 Or whenever I want one day's respite from my love of him,  
 he says, 'You intend to beg the question!'<sup>99</sup>

He also said:<sup>100</sup>

O young gazelle, for whose sake my exposure and disgrace  
 are pleasant, after guarding my reputation:  
 The sickness (*'illah*) of your eyelids<sup>101</sup> is the cause (*'illah*) of my disease,  
 and my cure is sipping the wine of your mouth.

And he said, praising Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yāghī-Siyān:<sup>102</sup>

A pampered boy, with languid eyelids, slender:  
 the Exalted has gathered all prettiness for him  
 And made it dwell in him. He became its master  
 and made all human hearts incline to him.

96 Metre: *kāmil*.

97 There is a play on the two meanings of *burūd*: 'coolness' and 'mantles'.

98 Apparently meaning that he outdoes swaying branches.

99 *mas'alat al-badā*(?), literally 'asking the beginning', *petitio principii*, in Aristotle τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτεῖν, a term from dialectic.

100 Metre: *khafif*.

101 i.e., your languid eyes, deemed attractive.

102 Thus, rather than Bāghsībān (L), Bāghbīshān (B), Bāghībasān (R, Müller, Riḍa), Bāghībān (Najjār), etc.; he was the 'titulary *amūr* of Ḥamāt' under Nūr al-Dīn, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Mawdūd b. 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī' (N. Elisséeff) and art. 'Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī' (N. Elisséeff).  
 Metre: *kāmil*.

From his eyelid<sup>103</sup> the sword of al-Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad appears,  
and from my eyelids the clouds of his hands.<sup>104</sup>

[15.46.3.9]

And he said, congratulating al-Ṣāḥib Jalāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Nubātah,<sup>105</sup> on the building of his house:<sup>106</sup>

O great, eminent Ṣāḥib, Jalāl al-Dīn,  
O scion of noble lords, high-born<sup>107</sup> (*shurafā*)!  
You have built a house that rises above Orion,  
as you, of old, have built glory and nobility (*sharafā*).  
May it last as a place of joy that will not change, and may  
the heads of your enemies always be its battlements (*shurafā*)!  
You are noble by lineage, character, and behaviour;  
you are not one of those who are noble (*sharufā*) by only a single lin-  
eage.

And he said, writing to his teacher Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī:<sup>108</sup>

Driver on your way to Mayyāfāriqīn, halt  
there your camels and convey some of my yearnings  
And the passion I suffer, the sorrow,  
the anguish, the ardors, the sleeplessness,  
To him who rises above his contemporaries in intelligence  
and lineage,<sup>109</sup> while their praise is (merely) a noble descent;<sup>110</sup>  
And say: ‘There is someone who loves you, who has wasted away  
by illness, and none but you can charm his disease away!  
5 The viper of nature does not stop biting him;  
remove his pains from him with an antidote!

103 A play on two senses of *jaḥn*: ‘eyelid’ and ‘sword-sheath’.

104 i.e., the poet sheds tears as copious as the generosity of the patron.

105 Not identified.

106 Metre: *basīṭ*.

107 Or possibly ‘descendants of the Prophet’.

108 Metre: *basīṭ*.

109 A apparently intends *muḥtadhan* ‘as a model to be followed’, which is possible, although *maḥtidan* is probably to be preferred.

110 Translation uncertain; reading *wa-thanāhum* as a licence for *wa-thanā’uhum*.

Half my life has passed and my soul is still deficient;  
     be the one who makes it perfect in the remaining half!  
 For you are the one most suited to refine and enlighten me,  
     by polishing my traits and my character,  
 And by freeing my soul from the obstacles preventing it  
     from arriving at “the intertwining of legs”.<sup>111</sup>  
 The glass of my mind’s lamp-holder has become smudged,<sup>112</sup>  
     so wipe it clean, in the name of the One, the Protector!  
 10 And fill its lamp with the oil of your knowledge, that it  
     may again, having been extinguished, be shining!  
 Too long have I stayed in Nature’s prison;  
     but now I intend to receive my release through you.  
 So untie from my neck the cords that tie me to distractions  
     and grant me my manumission after my slavery!  
 Perhaps my soul will rise refined  
     at the Parting, when it is said, “Who is a sorcerer?”<sup>113</sup>  
 And then will arrive at bliss never-ending,  
     never-perishing, in the protection of the One, the Lasting.’

[15.46.3.10]

And he said, as an elegy on a son of his:<sup>114</sup>

Dear son, you have left in my breast,  
     because of losing you, a fire with blazing heat,  
 And you have incited my eyelids, after their sleep,  
     to be sleepless and now they never cease being wakeful.  
 I do not care, since you departed, about those who stayed behind,  
     not seeing anyone I should fear for or care for.  
 People say that grief diminishes the more time  
     passes, but my grief forever grows and increases.  
 I used to be steadfast when any calamity struck;  
     now, since you perished, showing fortitude is hard.

111 Q al-Qiyāmah 75:29; on dying, «when leg is intertwined with leg», sometimes explained as the restlessness of the dying, or referring to the corpse being wrapped in a shroud.

112 Literally ‘rusty’; the word *šada* is normally applied to metal only.

113 Q al-Qiyāmah 75:27, said by the deceased’s kin, hoping a sorcerer could revive him; alternatively, said by the two angels (of Mercy and Torment), in the sense of ‘Who shall take him away?’

114 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

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

And he said, for some purpose or other:<sup>115</sup>

I sought your favour by eulogising in verse for a while,  
 and by means of astrology, grammar, medicine;  
 I made novel astronomical and other instruments,  
 I explained the difficulties of the Arabic lexicon;  
 I transmitted the reports about the Prophet and what  
 the ancient sages before my time said in books.  
 I dealt with you sincerely in what I said,  
 I spared no effort in giving you advice and love,  
 But I never gained anything but misery, distress,  
 and wasting my life. A bad gain!  
 We treated our disease with every means, but nothing cured it,  
 except that living far away is better than close by.  
 Yes, living far away does not harm  
 when those whom you visit have no understanding.

And he said:<sup>116</sup>

They said to me, 'Why have you make a satire on the son of So-and-So,  
 that dog? Why indeed did you go to great lengths to list his faults?  
 Decent people seek fit to satirise only someone  
 who has intelligence and good qualities!'  
 I replied, 'I was angry, one day, with my poetry,  
 so I confronted him with it,<sup>117</sup> as if to punish it.'

He also said:<sup>118</sup>

They said, 'It behoves a physician to be seen  
 as naturally lacking in glamour and beauty.'  
 Truly spoken; but not to such a degree  
 that he harms the patient and frightens the children.

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115 Metre: *tawīl*.

116 Metre: *khafif*.

117 Or 'it with him'.

118 Metre: *kāmil*.

He also said:<sup>119</sup>

You \*\*\*\*,<sup>120</sup> leave your quackery and take it easy!  
 You are killing so many poor patients with your ignorance!  
 Human bodies are assembled until an appointed time:  
 why are you (may God not preserve you!) hastening their dissolution?  
 It is as if you, man, were charged with  
 reducing human souls to their origin.  
 You have outstripped the plague, for you kill people continually,  
 while the plague strikes only at times, for a season.  
 Your person suffices to kill a poor, sickly man  
 when you visit him, even before treating him in effect.

[15.46.4]

Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah is the author of the following works:

1. Subtle questions and rare gifts for the questioner (*K. lutf al-masā'il wa-tuḥaf al-musā'il*). This is a versification in *rajaz* metre of *The Questions* by Ḥunayn, *The Generalities* in *The Canon of Medicine* by Ibn Sīnā, and other indispensable concepts required by the art of medicine. Sadīd al-Dīn wrote a commentary on this book and also included some useful marginal notes.
2. Clarification of misgivings regarding drugs promoting sexual potency (*K. mūdīḥat al-ishtibāh fī adwiyat al-bāh*).
3. The precious pearl for al-Malik al-Ashraf Shāh Arman Mūsā, being a poem on sexual potency (*K. al-farīdah al-Shāhiyyah wa-l-qaṣīdah al-bāhiyyah*). Sadīd al-Dīn composed this poem in Mayyāfāriqīn, in the year 615/1218 for al-Malik al-Ashraf Shāh Arman Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb. He mentioned to me that he had composed it in two days. It comprises [...] lines. He also wrote a thorough and profoundly meaningful commentary on it.
4. Canon of the sages and paradise of the drinking companions (*K. qānūn al-ḥukamā' wa-firdaws al-nudamā'*).
5. On the desirable limits regarding the regulation of food and drink (*Kitāb al-gharaḍ al-maṭlūb fī tadbīr al-ma'kūl wa-l-mashrūb*). A [single] treatise.

<sup>119</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*.

<sup>120</sup> The asterisks convey the euphemistic use of the Arabic grammatical term for the active participle, *fā'il*, literally 'doer', sometimes employed instead of a graphic obscenity.



6. Questions and answers on fevers (*Masāʾil wa-ajwibatuhā fī l-ḥummayāt*).
7. A poem, in *rajaz* metre, on bloodletting (*Urjūzah fī l-faṣd*).

#### 15.47 Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī<sup>121</sup>

[15.47.1]

Ṣadaqah ibn Manjā<sup>122</sup> ibn Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī was one of the greatest medical authorities and belonged to the most distinguished and exemplary practitioners of the art of medicine, having been constantly engaged in study and research. He was very knowledgeable, extremely intelligent, and well-versed in philosophy and its riddles: he taught the art of medicine, but also composed mediocre poetry, *dūbayt* poems for the most part, in which he often included philosophical witticisms. Al-Sāmīrī is also the author of a number of philosophical and medical works.

Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī spent many years in the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, with whom he stayed in the East until his death. Al-Malik al-Ashraf, who relied on him in medical matters, held him in the highest esteem and honoured him greatly, allotting him large sums of money and constantly bestowing favours upon him. Ṣadaqah died in the city of Ḥarrān sometime after 620/1223. He left behind an enormous fortune, but no children.

The following are some of the sayings of Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī, which I copied from his own handwriting.

‘Fasting consists in denying food to one’s body and keeping the senses from error and the limbs from sin; it is refraining from everything that distracts from the remembrance of God’.

Another of them: ‘Know that all pious deeds are visible except fasting, which can be seen by God alone; for it is an inner act of sheer perseverance. Fasting has three degrees: the general fast, which consists in restraining the stomach and liberating oneself from the gratification of desire; the special fast, which consists in keeping the ear, eye, tongue and all the limbs from sin; and the extraordinary fast, which consists in the heart’s abstinence from base concerns and mundane thoughts and its concentration on God alone, exalted be He’.

<sup>121</sup> This biography is found in all three versions of the book.

<sup>122</sup> Manjā (or Munajjā) is also found in Muslim contexts. See e.g. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 392: ‘Umar ibn Munajjā (vowelled thus; spelled with final *alif*).

A third: 'The body's secretions that do not undergo change and are not transient,<sup>123</sup> such as tears, sweat, spittle and mucus, are pure, whereas the more long-lasting and changeable secretions, such as urine and excrement, are impure'.

A fourth: 'Know that the [word] vizier (*wazīr*) derives its name from [the expression] 'to carry a burden' (*ḥamala l-wīzr*) for the one whom he is serving; but bearing this burden is only possible if the vizier's physiognomy and his natural disposition are sound. As regards his physiognomy, he should cut a fine figure and be of a pleasing appearance, with well-proportioned limbs and excellent senses. As regards his natural disposition, he should have superior insight and far-reaching aims, be highly intelligent and possess an outstanding intuitive knowledge of human nature. He should also be broad-minded, possess all the manly virtues, and have knowledge of matters of all kinds. Given those qualities, he is of the greatest value for the state, for he will keep the ruler from ruin, ensure that he does not stoop to baseness, and dive for opportunities for him [i.e., pave the way for him]; his function is that of an instrument that can serve to fulfil every desire, a wall that keeps the plague out of the city, or a bird of prey that catches food for its master. But not everyone who is qualified for such a task can serve every ruler, if he is not known for his devotion to the one he serves, his love for the one who claims his exclusive service, and his preference for the one who has raised his position'.

A fifth: 'The patience of the chaste is graceful'.

[15.47.2.1]

Ṣadaqaḥ al-Sāmīrī composed the following poetry:<sup>124</sup>

Ask him why he turned me away arrogantly, why he abandoned me,  
 and left my eyelids insomnia after sleep!  
 He treated me harshly, without crime or cause,  
 though I have been loyal to my covenant; so why did he betray me?  
 O men, stop and ask me to explain my story,  
 for others have not told you the true story.  
 If I am soft and humble he is hard and proud; if I seek  
 to approach him he moves away, if I am friendly he is aloof.

123 Enduring? *Laysa lahu maqarr* means 'has no fixed abode; does not stay in one place'; but none of these excretions stays for long in one place. Or perhaps guts and bladder count as 'fixed abodes'.

124 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:300–301.

This is death, I think – what do you think? Don't believe  
that he who is parched and he who comes from the well are alike!

He also said:<sup>125</sup>

You who inherited from father and forefather  
the virtue of medicine and sound opinion,  
Who is guaranteed to bring back every soul  
that is about to leave the body!  
I swear that if he were to give medical treatment to Time  
it would turn to coming-into-being without corruption.<sup>126</sup>

He also said:<sup>127</sup>

If you read his words you would suppose he is  
Saḥbān,<sup>128</sup> or that he surpasses him.  
If Ma'add, or some speaker of pure Arabic of Qaḥṭān,<sup>129</sup>  
witnessed him delivering a speech,  
They would willingly acknowledge that he is the ablest  
of them in pure speech and eloquence.  
He is the master of sciences,<sup>130</sup> when he shuffles his arrow-shafts  
no two of them differ in winning.<sup>131</sup>  
Intelligent when there are problems; a mind sharper  
and more penetrating than the edge of a spearhead.  
When a scholar who rejects piety and the stipulations  
of belief contemplates his books,  
The aspects of Truth on their pages  
will indicate to him clear proof,

125 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:301, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:290 (lines 2–3). Attributed to al-Qāḍī al-Jalīs 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Jabbāb in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*Miṣr*), i:193 and Ibn Shākīr, *Fawāt*, ii:333 (*Kharīdah* has al-Ḥ.bāb).

126 The sublunary world is subject to coming-into-being (or generation) and corruption (*al-kawn wa-l-fasād*); the addressee is said to be able to improve on this.

127 Metre: *kāmil*.

128 See above, Ch. 15.31.1 and 15.37.4.

129 Ma'add and Qaḥṭān are the names the legendary ancestors of the North and South Arabs, respectively; here standing for North and South Arabs.

130 Or 'fields of knowledge', for *'ulūm* is not restricted to the sciences.

131 A reference to the pre-Islamic 'game' of *maysir* (see above, Ch. 11.13.7.8); a somewhat odd image, not only because *maysir* is forbidden in Islam but also because it is a game of luck rather than skill or knowledge.

And evidence that, with the ascendant of their good tidings, will reveal  
the glory(?) of inborn dispositions of those with intellect.<sup>132</sup>

I found the following line in his handwriting in the margin; it repeats a rhyme-  
word:

Of an argument, its victory fully guaranteed  
by the text of *The Syllogism*<sup>133</sup> and clear proof.

It would seem that he wrote it as a substitute for the line beginning with ‘The  
aspects’.<sup>134</sup>

He said, lampooning:<sup>135</sup>

Durrī,<sup>136</sup> his mistress and his master,  
assembled, define the figure of a syllogism.  
The master lies above the two, being carried,  
and madam is laid beneath the two.<sup>137</sup>  
The slave is carried by one and carries the other,  
on account of the deference held up between them.<sup>138</sup>  
That is a syllogism, the conclusion of which came  
as a natural conjugate(?)<sup>139</sup> in Damascus.

132 Interpretation unclear; perhaps the text is corrupt.

133 Apparently the poem was written for someone who wrote a treatise on *qiyās* (analogical reasoning or syllogism).

134 It is true that the two lines cannot both have been intended to form part of the poem, in view of the repeated words; nevertheless the substitution would leave the syntax unresolved.

135 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:301; attributed to Umayyah ibn Abī l-Ṣalt in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, vii:70; Yāqūt comments: ‘but it is not his (usual) art’.

136 Apparently the name of a slave; vowelling uncertain (the metre requires the elision of the correct ending: *Durrī* instead of *Durrīyyun*). In *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* he is called Ṣāfi. The epigram makes use of several technical terms concerning the syllogism, such as *ḥudūd*, ‘definitions’ or ‘terms’; *shakl*, ‘figure’; *munḥamil* and *maḥmūl*, ‘carried’; *mawḏūʿah*, ‘posited’; *natījah*, ‘conclusion’.

137 The semi-colloquial forms *al-sīdu* (instead of *al-sayyidu*) and *al-sittu* (instead of *al-sayyidatu*) are used.

138 The feminine plural in *baynahumna* is odd but perhaps an intentional mockery, with inverted *taghlīb* (making the feminine dominant over the masculine instead of the reverse, as normally). *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* has *bi-ḥishmatin fi l-jamīʿi maṣnūʿah*, ‘with a modesty affected among them all’.

139 *Qarīnah* or *iqtirān* is a kind of syllogism, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1228 and 1129. The text of *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* has *gharībah*, ‘a strange thing’. A and L can both be read as *qarīnatan*

[15.47.2.2]

He also said:<sup>140</sup>

Ibn Qusaym,<sup>141</sup> now you pretend to know grammar,  
 but your claim is spurious!  
 How is it that your mother – tell me, answer! –  
 has her legs raised ('in the nominative') though she is the object?  
 The subject is a prick, but it is erect ('in the accusative'):  
 Here are some unknown problems for you.  
 The letter *ʿayn* is (normally) undotted,<sup>142</sup> yet the 'eye' (*ʿayn*) of her coc-  
 cyx  
 is dotted with two testicles.<sup>143</sup>

He also said:<sup>144</sup>

We have an old man who is, in his grandeur, a clever fellow;  
 there has not been anyone like him among the nations of the  
 past.  
 A geometrician,<sup>145</sup> the length of his days;  
 despite his shortness he swallows a cylinder;<sup>146</sup>  
 Triangular, supported by a perpendicular,  
 because his angle is obtuse.<sup>147</sup>

He also said, a *dūbayt*:

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or (as in *Wāfi*) *qarnīyyatan*, which, if correct, could be interpreted as 'a horny thing', i.e., a case of cuckoldry (or rather 'wittoldry', in view of the husband's willing participation). But this word is not attested elsewhere, so the reading *qarīnah* (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār) is more likely to be intended.

140 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:301.

141 Thus vowelised by L; unidentified.

142 Another interpretation: 'The eye is idle', i.e., you are watching without doing anything about it.

143 One dot added to the letter *ʿayn* turns it into the letter *ghayn*; it cannot have two dots.

144 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:302, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:290 (lines 2–3).

145 Following A, which has *muhandisun*; alternatively one could read *muhandasun*, 'geometrically shaped' which suits the context.

146 *Sārīyah* can also mean 'mast'. There could be an obscene allusion in this and the following line.

147 The precise interpretation is unclear.

O sun of loftiness, who moves (*tasīr*) in the constellations of an auspicious star:

In the grandeur of your noble qualities the world is a trifling thing  
(*yasīr*).

You have never ceased<sup>148</sup> to proceed (*tasīr*) with justice in your realm  
Among us, and with your bounty ransom every captive (*asīr*)!

He also said, a *dūbayt*:

You who ask about symptoms (or: *Ṣifāt*)<sup>149</sup> from which comes my sickness,

Hear some interesting things and leave me with my own opinion!

In her saliva is choice reddish wine,

On her forehead are Orion's stars.

He also said:<sup>150</sup>

Whenever there appear to my sight eyes of the dark-eyed ones<sup>151</sup>

A flood of my tears as from fountainheads springs forth:

Gazelles on a sandy hill between *arāk*<sup>152</sup> and twigs,

Who turned away as fruits to be plucked (?)<sup>153</sup> and increased my madness.

He also said:<sup>154</sup>

I implore you two<sup>155</sup> by God, call on him and ask him (*salāh*)!

How often has he killed me, and though that my heart had got over it  
(*salāh*)!

148 Reading *lā zilta*, with optative sense ('May you never cease') would sound more normal but all sources have *mā zilta*.

149 Reading *ṣifātīn* ('characteristics, symptoms') would be unmetrical; the following line suggests that a personal name is intended, which might, somewhat dubiously, be read *Ṣifāti* or *Ṣifāta* (see Wright, *Grammar*, i:243).

150 *Dūbayt*.

151 The word *ʿin* is used in the Qur'an (e.g. al-Dukhān 44:54) for paradisiacal damsels and in poetry often for gazelles and women.

152 A tree (*Salvadora persica*), the twigs of which are still often used to clean the teeth.

153 Reading *a'raḍna 'annī* (Riḍā), 'they turned from me', would make good sense but is unmetrical.

154 *Dūbayt*.

155 For the old convention of using a dual, see above Ch, 10.69.3.7.

He has promised to be true; but if he betrays his loyalty (*wafāh*)  
I shall kiss his forehead, his eyes, and his mouth (*wa-fāh*).

He also said:<sup>156</sup>

The wine (*rāḥ*) appeared with its fragrant (*rayḥānī*) smell (*rīḥ*);  
Then it boasted of its spiritual subtlety.  
When it shone with its luminous light  
It was limpid and man's dispositions became pure.

He also said:<sup>157</sup>

I banish Time's misery with cups,  
For wine is the mainstay of the souls' essence.  
He who stays sober for one day will never prosper,  
Nor he who listens to the fine words of well-meaning admonishers.

He also said:<sup>158</sup>

Extinguish life's misery with water and wine,  
For Time is, as you see, a phantom and a mirage;  
And exploit the time of pleasures between friends,  
For the body's destination is, as it was before, dust.

He also said:<sup>159</sup>

Wine (*rāḥ*) is refreshment (*rawḥ*),<sup>160</sup> so drink on, sober friend!<sup>161</sup>  
A yellow wine that with its subtlety is incompatible with sorrows;  
But for the net<sup>162</sup> that catches it in the cups  
It would fly from joy to the place of spirits.

156 *Dūbayt*.

157 *Dūbayt*.

158 *Dūbayt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi:302.

159 *Dūbayt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi:302.

160 Vowelled thus in L; the other sources also allow reading *rūḥ* ('spirit').

161 The word *ṣāḥ*, standing for *ṣāḥī* ('sober'), could also be taken as 'my friend' (a common shortening of *ṣāḥībī*).

162 The 'net' refers to the bubbles that result from the mixing of wine and water, as al-Ṣafadī remarks; he adds that the motif was taken from a line by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Fukayk (the 'net' motif is already used by Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, iii:63).

[15.47.3]

Şadaqah al-Sāmīrī is the author of the following works:

1. A commentary on the Torah (*S. al-Tawrāh*).
2. On the soul (*K. al-nafs*).
3. Explanatory remarks with regard to medicine (*Ta'ālīq fī l-ṭibb*), in which the author discusses diseases and their symptoms.
4. A commentary on Hippocrates' *Book of Aphorisms* (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāṭ*), which the author left unfinished.
5. On the names of simple drugs (*M. fī asāmī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
6. Treatise in which the author answers medical questions put to him by the Jew al-As'ad al-Maḥallī (*M. ajāba fihā 'an masā'ul ṭibbiyyah sa'alahu 'anhā al-As'ad al-Maḥallī al-Yahūdī*).
7. On the unity of God, titled *The Treasure of Success* (*M. fī l-tawḥīd wa-sammāhā kitāb al-kanz fī l-fawz*).
8. On the principle of faith (*K. al-i'tiqād*).

#### 15.48 Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Sa'īd<sup>1</sup>

The shaykh, learned authority, master and vizier Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn Khalaf al-Sāmīrī was well-versed in the science of medicine, distinguished in the philosophical sciences, and devoted to literature and culture. He was a man of the greatest merits and a very pleasant person, having been benevolent, noble-hearted and sensitive. Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf studied the art of medicine under the physician Ibrāhīm al-Sāmīrī, who was known as 'the sun of the physicians' and served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (Saladin). Muhadhhab al-Dīn also studied under the tutelage of the shaykh Ismā'īl ibn Abū l-Waqqār,<sup>2</sup> the physician, and Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh.<sup>3</sup> He studied the literary arts under Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf was distinguished in the art of medicine and renowned for his sound medical treatment and therapy, as may be seen from the following [anecdote]. Sitt al-Shām, the sister of al-Malik al-'Adil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, was afflicted with a dysentery of the liver (*dusintāriyā kabidiyyah*) that caused her to throw up quantities of blood every day. Her physicians were treating her with the accepted remedies against this disease, such as potions and the like. When Muhadhhab al-Dīn arrived and felt her pulse, he said to

<sup>1</sup> This biography is found in all three versions of the book.

<sup>2</sup> This physician has a biography in Ch. 15.12.

<sup>3</sup> This physician has a biography in Ch. 15.13.



the assembly, 'O Gentlemen, as long as she has some strength left, give her camphor (*kāfūr*), to rectify the acute humoral imbalance that is the cause of her present condition'. He ordered *qayṣūrī*-camphor<sup>4</sup> to be brought in and administered it to her, together with an emulsion of roasted herbaceous seeds and a potion made of pomegranate and sandalwood. It was not long before she stopped [throwing up] blood, and her liver became less inflamed. Muhadhhab al-Dīn administered this potion to her again on the second day and she improved further. Thereafter, he applied a supportive regimen until she had made a complete recovery.

Someone from the entourage of Ṣāḥib ibn Shukr,<sup>5</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, told me the following story. 'Once,' he said, 'our master suffered from pain in his back, due to a chill. The physicians who came to attend him, treated him by correcting his diet and boiling a little castoreum (*jund bīdastar*) mixed with olive-oil and anointing him with it; others suggested anointment with camomile (*bābūnaj*) and mastic (*maṣṭakā*). "In place of all these things," said Muhadhhab al-Dīn, "it would be beneficial to try something that has a pleasant smell," a suggestion that delighted al-Ṣāḥib Ibn Shukr. Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf then ordered a perfume made of musk and ambergris (*ghāliyah*) and oil of the ben tree [*duhn bān*] to be brought to him. He melted it over the fire and anointed the [painful] spot. The patient was greatly relieved at once.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf served ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh ibn Shāhanshāh ibn Ayyūb as his physician. When ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh died – may God have mercy upon him – in Jumādā I of the year 578 [September 1182], he became the medical attendant of his son, al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ibn ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh, staying with him in Baalbek. During that ruler's lifetime, Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf enjoyed his good graces and received much money and many favours from him. The ruler consulted him on his affairs and relied on him with respect to his enterprises. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn was a man of good character, who possessed sound intelligence and vast knowledge. The ruler thought his views sound and his intentions honest, and finally made him a vizier. In that post, Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf's power increased and his importance grew, until he came to be in charge of the whole government and of all the affairs of state, and his commands and prohibitions could

4 *Qayṣūrī* or *fayṣūrī kāfūr*: a superior kind of camphor. See *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'camphor' (Hūshang Aʿlam).

5 For al-Ṣāḥib Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Shukr (d. 622/1225), see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii: 327–330.

not be disobeyed. This caused the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān<sup>6</sup> to compose the following verses about him:<sup>7</sup>

Al-Malik al-Amjad, to whose excellence  
 all kings testify.  
 Now believes as strongly in al-Sāmīrī  
 as the Samaritan (*al-Sāmīrī*) believed in the Calf.<sup>8</sup>

These two lines of poetry were recited to me by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān, who said, 'My father recited these verses, composed by himself, to me.'

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: 'The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn continued to enjoy his lofty status. However, there was a growing chorus of complaint about his family and his Samaritan relatives. A group of them had come up to him in Baalbek from Damascus, and as a man of high-standing whom none dared to resist, the vizier had given them all posts. But they only caused injustice, waste and corruption, and when al-Malik al-Amjad realized that money had been wasted and corruption had increased, and other rulers criticized him for handing over his government to the Samaritans, he finally had Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Sāmīrī arrested, along with all the Samaritans who were in his service, and extracted large sums of money from them. The vizier remained in prison until there was nothing left of his fortune. He was then released and moved to Damascus. I saw him there in his house. When he arrived from Baalbek, and my father and I went over to call on him, I found him to be a fine old man, eloquent in speech and refined in opinion. He died a little later, on a Thursday, at the beginning of Ṣafar of the year 624 [21 January 1227], in Damascus.'

A sample of his poetry follows:<sup>9</sup>

If Time (*al-dahr*) has been bad to me for a day,  
 it has given me joy for a long time (*dahrān*);  
 And if it has afflicted me in my wealth,  
 I will have compensation as a reward.

6 Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān ibn ‘Alī al-Shāghūrī; see al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Shām*), i: 247–259; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv: 24–26; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii: 730–733.

7 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:291; Ibn al-Sha‘ār, *Qalā‘id*, iv:316; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxix:205 (line 2).

8 In the Qur‘ān (Q Ṭā-Hā 20:85, 87, 95) 'the Samaritan' is the man who tempted the Israelites to worship the Golden Calf. In the story in Exodus no 'Samaritan' is mentioned; cf. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Sāmīrī' (B. Heller-[A. Rippin]); cf. also Mason & Lupieri, *Golden Calf Traditions*.

9 Metre: *mujtathth*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:291.

God enriches and ruins:  
Praise and thanks be to God.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Saʿīd is the author of a commentary on the Torah (*S. al-Tawrāh*).

#### 15.49 al-Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah<sup>1</sup>

[15.49.1]

The Ṣāhib and vizier, the scholar and practitioner, the respected chief, the most excellent vizier, the chief physician, the learned authority, Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saʿīd, was a Samaritan who converted to Islam under the name Kamāl al-Dīn. Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Sāmīrī was his paternal uncle.<sup>2</sup> This Amīn al-Dawlah was a man of unsurpassable intelligence, whose knowledge was unparalleled among his peers. He was charitable and high-minded, performed many acts of kindness, and continually bestowed favours upon everyone. He acquired exhaustive knowledge of the art of medicine, to the uttermost limits of that domain. He was well aware of the outcomes of medicine, and had a perfect knowledge of its principles and branches, to the point that he had few peers, for even the learned and the accomplished were not able to attain to his superior status. He first served al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the son of ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Ayyūb,<sup>3</sup> who relied upon him in all medical matters and entrusted him with governmental affairs and concerns. He held that post until al-Malik al-Amjad's death – may God have mercy upon him, which occurred at his palace in Damascus, on Tuesday evening, the eleventh of the month Shawwāl of the year 628 [12 August 1231].

[15.49.2]

Subsequently, Amīn al-Dawlah served as a vizier under the rule of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the treatise. The biography in Version 1, however, differs considerably and is given in an Addendum to this biography. That which follows immediately below represents the biography as it appears in Versions 2 and 3.

2 See Ch. 15.48.

3 Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿIzz al-Dīn Taqī al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Farrukh Shāh Dāwūd was the Ayyubid emir of Baalbek between 1179 and 1182 and Nāʾib (Viceroy) of Damascus. He was the son of Saladin's younger brother Nūr al-Dīn Shāhanshāh and the older brother of Taqī al-Dīn ʿUmar who became emir of Hama.

ibn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup> Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl left him a free hand, with the result that the state was governed in the best possible way and well organized under his judicious leadership. He strengthened and solidified the foundations of the realm, and commissioned and erected lofty edifices, overhauled the standards for science and scientists, and surpassed the ancients themselves in merit. Amīn al-Dawlah remained in the service of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, enjoying eminent status, powerful authority, unquestioning obedience and supreme importance, until al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb,<sup>5</sup> the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, conquered Damascus and appointed the emir Mu'īn al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh<sup>6</sup> as his representative there. Upon taking over the city, he gave Baalbek to al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, who removed there with his family and his household, in the year 643/1245.

During his vizierate, Amīn al-Dawlah loved to accumulate money. He obtained large sums for al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl at the expense of the citizens of Damascus and took possession of many of their properties, with the aid of the city's chief judge Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jilī and his subordinates.<sup>7</sup> When the Sultan's representative in Damascus [i.e. Mu'īn al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh], the Damascene vizier Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ<sup>8</sup> and the notables of the realm became aware of the sums of money that Amīn al-Dawlah had amassed, they decided to arrest him and confiscate his property. They prepared a trap for him by sending for him and showing respect for his importance by standing up when he came in. When he was seated in their midst, they said to him, 'If you wish to stay in Damascus, stay as you are, and if you wish to go to your master in Baalbek, do so.' 'By God,' he replied, 'of course I will go to my master

4 He is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Šāliḥ I Ismā'īl ibn al-Ādil I Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, 'Imād al-Dīn (first reign: 635/1237–1238; second reign: 637–643/1239–1245). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70–71.

5 He is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Šāliḥ I Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn, of Damascus (first reign in Damascus: 636–637/1239; second reign in Damascus: 643–647/1245–1249; reign over Egypt: 637–647/1240–1249). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

6 For the term *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh*, see Hofer, 'Chief Sufi', 1–37.

7 This judge and physician has a biography in Ch. 15.20.

8 Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Maṭrūḥ (592–649/1196–1251). Abū l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā ibn 'Īsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ was born in Asyūt, Egypt, and was an important poet whose *Dīwān* has been published. He eventually took on a series of high official appointments under the Ayyubid rulers of Egypt. He travelled between Syria and Egypt and eventually got caught up in the political intrigue of the Ayyubid power struggle. He was appointed vizier of Damascus under al-Malik al-Šāliḥ I Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn in 643/1245 and it was during this period that IAU probably became acquainted with him; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Maṭrūḥ' (J. Rikabi); Hilloowala, *Analysis of Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah*, 63, 116–117. See also Ch. 14.32.

and stay with him'. He then left, collected his possessions, valuables, cash and everything that he owned, including the furniture and carpets from his houses, loaded the lot on a number of mules and set out for Baalbek. When he was just outside Damascus, he was arrested; everything that he carried with him was seized and placed under guard, and he was detained. This took place on Friday, the second of the month of Rajab, of the year 643 [23 November 1245]. He was then escorted to Egypt and thrown into prison in the fortress of Cairo, together with other associates of al-Malik al-Şālih Ismā'īl.

[15.49.3]

Some time later, al-Malik al-Şālih Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb died in Egypt in the year 647/1249. Al-Malik al-Nāşir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad thereupon marched from Aleppo and took Damascus on Sunday, the eighth of the month Rabī' 11 of the year 648 [10 July 1250].<sup>9</sup> Accompanied by al-Malik al-Şālih Ismā'īl and the other Syrian princes, he marched on Egypt, bent on conquest. At that time Egypt was ruled by al-Malik al-'Azīz al-Mu'izz 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī,<sup>10</sup> who had come to power after the death of his master, al-Malik al-Şālih Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. He now led his army out to meet that of al-Malik al-Nāşir. The Egyptian forces were repulsed at first, but rallied and finally routed the Syrians. Al-Malik al-Şālih Ismā'īl and many of the other princes and emirs were captured and imprisoned in Egypt. Some of them were later released, but al-Malik al-Şālih Ismā'īl was never heard of again. It was said that he had been strangled with a bowstring.

[15.49.4]

I had the following account from the emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Mushidd 'Alī ibn 'Umar<sup>11</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. News was brought from Bilbays<sup>12</sup> that the princes of Syria had defeated the Egyptian troops. When the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, in the fortress of Cairo, heard this, he said to the commander of the fortress, 'Let us go free in the fortress, until the [Syrian] princes arrive, and then you will see how well we shall treat you'. The commander of the fortress wished to do that himself and set them free. In that section of the prison there were

9 He is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Nāşir 11 Yūsuf ibn al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Şalāh al-Dīn, of Aleppo (648–658/1250–1260). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

10 He is the Mamlūk ruler al-Malik al-Mu'izz Aybak al-Turkumānī, 'Izz al-Dīn (first reign: 648/1250; second reign: 652–655/1254–1257). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 76.

11 'Alī ibn 'Umar Qizil al-Turkumānī al-Yārūqī Sayf al-Dīn al-Mushidd (d. 656/1258), see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi: 353–365 (where much of his poetry is quoted).

12 A town in Lower Egypt, northeast of Cairo on the edge of the desert. See e.g. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Bilbays' (G. Wiet).

three of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl's entourage: his vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, his majordomo, Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yaghmur, and a Kurdish emir called Sayf al-Dīn. 'Friends,' said the Kurd, 'do not hurry, but stay where you are; if the situation is as we hope, our master will certainly set us free, restore us to our former positions, treat us generously, and rescue us. But if the situation is not as we hope, we shall do better to stay in our places and not go rushing out; that will be safer for us.' But the vizier and Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yaghmur did not agree and went out to various places all over the fortress, commanding and forbidding. When the outcome of the battle had been contrary to what they had hoped, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Turkumānī ascended the fortress and ordered Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yaghmur killed and the vizier hanged.<sup>13</sup> Both orders were executed. Someone who had witnessed the hanging told me that the vizier was clad in a vest of green 'Attābī cloth (*qandūrat 'attābī khaḍrā*),<sup>14</sup> with his legs in gaiters (*sarmūzah*),<sup>15</sup> which he had never seen on a hanged man. Their companion, the Kurd, for his part, was released, laden with honours and given bread.

[15.49.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah – say: 'A most amazing account of a judgement of the stars relating to these events, was told to me by the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Zakarī,<sup>16</sup> who was known as Ibn 'Ulaymah. He was in the service of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. "When the Šāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah was imprisoned by my master," he said, "he sent for an Egyptian astrologer, who possessed extensive and acute knowledge of astrology and whose horoscopes were almost invariably accurate. Amīn al-Dawlah asked the astrologer about his situation and whether he would be released from prison. When the astrologer received the message, he examined the altitude of the sun at that particular moment, studied the degree of the ascendant, the twelve houses and the positions of the planets [relative to the twelve houses], wrote it all down, cast a horoscope and made his prediction in conformity with it". "Amīn al-Dawlah will be released from prison," he said, "and will leave it cheerful and happy. He will be favoured by fortune and remain in a high position in Egypt, and his orders and commands will be obeyed by all the people". When this response reached Amīn al-Dawlah, he received it

13 The execution is mentioned in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, Ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 641–665*, pp. 62 (under the events of 648) and 384–385 (under the persons who died in 648). Al-Dhahabī does not give a precise date within the year 648 (which ran from April 1250 to Late March 1251), but the event comes nearer the end of the year than the beginning.

14 See Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:93 for 'attābī. For *qandūrah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:418.

15 For *sarmūzah*, see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 202–203.

16 See Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 708 (ZKR).

joyfully. Upon being informed of the arrival of the [Syrian] princes and their victory, he went out quite sure that he would remain a vizier in Egypt. Thus, the astrologer's prediction of his release from prison, his happiness, the obedience to all his orders and commands, and his ending up in a high position came true that day. But Amīn al-Dawlah did not suspect what would happen to him later on, for God, mighty and glorious, was already preparing that which had been predestined for him and was written in the Book'.

[15.49.6]

The Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah had a virtuous soul. He took a keen interest in collecting and studying books, and purchased many outstanding works in all the sciences. Copyists were always busy with books for him. Once he desired a copy of *The History of Damascus* (*Tā'rikh Dimashq*) by al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn 'Asākir,<sup>17</sup> which was in eighty volumes in minute script. 'One copyist will never be able to cope with this [large] book,' he said, and he divided it among ten copyists, each of whom worked on eight volumes. They finished the work in approximately two years, and the whole book came into his possession. This shows his boundless ambition.

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 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'azzamī, 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.<sup>18</sup>

17 See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh*.

18 Paper made in Baghdad was said to be of the best quality. It was a heavy yet pliable paper, smooth-surfaced and symmetrical; the standard 'full' Baghdadi sheet of paper was one cubit in width and one-and-one-half cubits in length (ca. 1099 mm × 733 mm). A sheet would then be folded a number of times to produce the desired size of codex. See Bosch, Carswell & Petherbridge, *Islamic Bookmaking*, 30–31; Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 53–55.

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, Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jilī,<sup>19</sup> 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 Pointers and Admonitions* (*K. al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*). 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.

[15.49.6.1]

Here is the poem that I composed for him, at the beginning of the year 643/1245:<sup>20</sup>

My heart is a captive in my love of them:  
 wherever their riders go, there it goes too,  
 Yearning for al-ʿUdhayb<sup>21</sup> and those who live there,  
 a yearning contained by a blazing fire;  
 And it would love a whiff, blowing early at dawn,  
 that carried the fragrance of their sweet smell.  
 But I am content, once having been close,  
 with a visit of a vision of their phantom.  
 5 One with honied red lips, bitter to pluck,  
 is unjust (*yajūru*) to the lover and does not give refuge (*yujīru*);  
 He is bent on rejecting me, while my heart is always  
 hot as the midday heat (*hajīr*) because of his steady forsaking (*hajr*).  
 My eyes have been sleepless on account of him continuously;  
 so why this breaking-off and aloofness?  
 His figure is like a tender twig,  
 his face looks like a luminous full moon.  
 One would think him drunk from the wine of childish love,  
 swaying; his glances are languid.  
 10 On his cheeks there is a garden of beauty;  
 on my cheeks there is a pool of tears.

19 See the entry on him in Ch. 15.20.

20 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:105–106 (lines 1, 13, 15–16).

21 The name of several locations, often mentioned in poetry (it could be translated as 'Little Sweetwater').



So often have I seen him aggressively  
 to me, while I bore it patiently.  
 My situation (*ḥālī*) with the people of this time<sup>22</sup> is not sweet (*ḥālī*);  
 my innermost thought (*sirr*) is not mixed with joy (*surūr*).  
 But if I complain about the time, my treasure is  
 the Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah, the Vizier:  
 A generous man, liberal, giver of favours  
 that are general as a dark cloud pouring its rain.  
 15 He has risen in the sky of glory until  
 the ether (*athīr*)<sup>23</sup> was marked (*ta'aththara*) with his footsoles' traces.  
 Can any poetry (*shī'r*) express his lofty qualities  
 when Sirius (*al-Shī'rā*) is located beneath him?  
 He has authority and justice, continuously;  
 through him people's affairs are justly balanced.  
 In times of famine (*azamāt*) he is charitable (*mubīrr*) to the petitioner;  
 in times of firm resolve (*'azamāt*) he is a destroyer (*mubīr*) to the  
 aggressor.  
 He has surpassed the ancients in noble deeds;  
 and how many an ancient one was surpassed by a later one?<sup>24</sup>  
 20 He towers over all living beings in all fields of knowledge;  
 Qaṣīr would fall short of him in sound opinion.<sup>25</sup>  
 Through him the world is made sound, and cities and frontiers  
 have submitted to their benefit.  
 You, whose favours are all-encompassing, you man of  
 benefaction (*ifḍāl*) and abundant excellence (*faḍl*),  
 You have revived knowledge that was dead, so that  
 its resurrection in existence was plain to see;

22 *Ma' banīhī*, literally, 'with his/its sons'; taking the pronoun to refer to 'time' in the preceding line (cf. the common expression *abnā' al-zamān*).

23 A Greek loanword; identified either (as in al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, 'ThR, with a spurious etymology) as 'the ninth, or great, celestial sphere, which rules all other spheres, because it influences (*yu'aththīru*) others'; or as a region just below the planets and the moon (e.g. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il*, iv:225). The following verse seems to indicate that the poet adhered to the former view.

24 The sense would seem to require the exclamatory sentence 'And how many an ancient one has surpassed a later one (*al-akhīrā*)!', but the rhyme requires the nominative *al-akhīrū*.

25 According to an ancient story set in pre-Islamic times, Qaṣīr was the devoted counsellor of Jadhīmah, king of al-Ḥīrah, and was instrumental in avenging his master's death at the hands of al-Zabbā', queen of Tadmur/Palmyra (a legendary version of the historical Zenobia).

You let mankind drink from seas of generosity  
 when the watering-places had nearly dried up.  
 25 So many obscure concepts in medicine  
 became evident again through an explanation from you.  
 Whoever will compare the Leader (*raʿīs*)<sup>26</sup> with you  
 will find that he is now turned into Led (*marʿūs*).  
 Does he resemble you in expression and excellence,  
 while you never have an equal in either?  
 Hereby I send you a composition, so that it may preserve  
 your name and that epochs may not change it:  
 It is unique, no one in the past preceded me,  
 as our Master is well aware;  
 30 But to your knowledge it finds its way  
 just as dates find their way to Hajar.<sup>27</sup>  
 Far be it that these virgin motifs, led as brides  
 to the Master, should fall on fallow ground!  
 And if I have made any evident error in it,  
 you will forgive such things.

[15.49.6.2]

I have copied the following verses from the handwriting of shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Abū l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, the secretary, who was also known as Ibn al-Naḥḥās. He wrote them for the Ṣāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah, asking him for a manuscript promised him by al-Malik al-Amjad, in the year 627/1227:<sup>28</sup>

You promised the manuscript, so send what you promised,  
 O you who bestows benefits continuously without condescension!<sup>29</sup>  
 He who does a good deed reaps every honour  
 and buys, without paying a price, eulogies that will be recited.  
 A manuscript that will increase your good fortune,<sup>30</sup> as long as  
 a grey dove coos on a branch in the trees.

26 Ibn Sīnā/Avicenna, often known as *al-Raʿīs*.

27 That is, as owls to Athens or coal to Newcastle. Hajar is a place in Eastern Arabia.

28 Metre: *basīṭ*. This Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh has not been identified.

29 Taking *bilā manan* to be a variant of *bilā mann*, on which see above, Ch. 10.64.17.1 (vs. 11).

30 The words *khaṭṭ* ('manuscript') and *ḥazz* ('good fortune') differ only in the place of a single dot.

Sharaf al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar,<sup>31</sup> the secretary, who was also known as 'the son of the Yemenite judge', recited to me the following *qaṣīdah* composed by himself in honour of the Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah:<sup>32</sup>

Time has afflicted me with a change for the worse  
 and trouble has effaced my serene pleasure.  
 My life was always sweet but now,  
 when Time turned tyrannical, it has become bitter.  
 The one I love has gone away and no longer cares for me:  
 because of his forsaking (*hajr*) me, in my heart is a midday heat  
 (*hajīr*).  
 I hoped to be cured of the sickness of a malady  
 that has wasted me and which inside me is a blazing fire.  
 5 Someone said to me, when the sickness had defied treatment,  
 medicine was hard to find (*'azza*), and consultants were lacking  
 (*'āza*):  
 'How can you complain of pains, or how can the illness in your body  
 defy treatment when the Vizier is a physician?  
 Go to the Ṣāhib, the Vizier, and do not fear,  
 for his beneficence is all-encompassing and abundant!  
 When an illness is feared to be fatal  
 only a discriminating sage can cure:  
 A lord, a companion (*ṣāhib*), skilful, wise,  
 learned, glorious, a Vizier, a great man,  
 10 Who rescues, is fair, gentle, compassionate,  
 beneficent, favouring others, noble, favoured!

An example of the Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah's own poetry was included in his letter to Burhān al-Dīn, the vizier of the emir 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mu'aẓẓamī, in which he consoled Burhān al-Dīn on the death of his father, the preacher Sharaf al-Dīn 'Umar:<sup>33</sup>

31 Born in Damascus 589/1193, no death date found; see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:150.

32 Metre: *khaff*.

33 Metre: *sarī*. The lines are in fact by Abū Firās (d. 357/968), addressing Sayf al-Dawlah on the loss of his younger sister, see Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, 67, al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, i:38 (lines 2–3). Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:106 also attributes them wrongly to Amīn al-Dawlah.

Speak<sup>34</sup> to this glorious lord  
 the words of someone grieving like him, bereaved:  
 There must be loss and someone losing;  
 No, no human being will live forever!  
 Be a condoler rather than someone condoled,  
 if you have to be one of them.

[15.49.7]

The Şāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah composed *The Clear Path in Medicine* (*K. al-Nahj al-wāḍiḥ fī l-tibb*), which is one of the best books ever written on the art of medicine. In it the author brings together the established principles of medicine, both universals and particulars. It is divided into five books:

The first book refers to matters of nature, the three states of the body, the types of diseases, the symptoms of the balanced, natural and healthy humours of the main organs and the surrounding areas, and other matters that are very useful and worthy of being mentioned in this context. This is followed by [a treatment of] the pulse, urine, excrement and the critical days. The second book deals with simple drugs and their effect. The third book deals with compound drugs and their benefits. The fourth book describes the regimen of healthy persons and the treatment of manifest diseases, their causes and symptoms, and also whether surgery (*ʿamal al-yad*) is necessary in these and other cases. It also mentions the measures that should be undertaken regarding proper clothing and in case of hot winds. The fifth book is concerned with internal diseases, their causes, symptoms and treatment, and whether surgery can be employed in these cases.

**Addendum to 15.49: The Biography of Amīn al-Dawlah in Version 1,  
 Based on MS B, fols. 271a–272a. Cf. Vol. 1, esp. pp. 54–56.**

The Şāḥib and vizier, the righteous scholar and accomplished practitioner, the most excellent vizier, the chief physician, the learned authority, the sun of the law, the perfection of the religion, the honour of the faith, Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saʿīd – may God make his days blissful and make them last, give him success in his opinions in his leadership and strengthen them, and elevate through him the edifices of learning and raise them high. His

34 A dual is used; on this convention see above, Ch. 10.69.3.7.

intelligence and knowledge was unparalleled among his peers. He was charitable and high-minded, performed many acts of kindness, and continually bestowed favours upon everyone.

He acquired exhaustive knowledge of the art of medicine, to the uttermost limits of that domain. He was well aware of the outcomes of medicine and had a perfect knowledge of its principles and branches, to the point that he had few peers, for even the learned and the accomplished were not able to attain to his superior status.

And when I saw that all people ranked below him  
I was certain that Time assays people.<sup>1</sup>

He first served the Sultan al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the son of ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Ayyūb, who relied upon him in all medical matters and entrusted him with governmental affairs and concerns. He held that post until al-Malik al-Amjad’s death – may God have mercy upon him – which occurred at his palace in Damascus, on Tuesday evening, the eleventh of the month Shawwāl of the year 628 [12 August 1231].

Subsequently, Amīn al-Dawlah served as a vizier under the rule of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidā’ Ismā‘īl, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb – may God make him victorious and let his power multiply. He governed the state and its citizens in the best possible way, and his leadership reached the pinnacle of his success. He overhauled the standards for learning and scholars, and surpassed the ancients themselves in merit. It is as if he were in fact the one who said,<sup>2</sup>

Though I am the last in time,  
I shall truly do what the ancients could not.

The author of this book [Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah] said, describing his (viz., Amīn al-Dawlah’s) memorable achievements:<sup>3</sup>

He has surpassed the ancients in noble deeds;  
and how many an ancient one was surpassed by a later one?<sup>4</sup>

1 A line by al-Mutanabbī, quoted above (Ch. 15.31.1).

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*. A line by Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Saqt al-zand*, 193.

3 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:105–106 (lines 1, 13, 15–16).

4 The sense would seem to require the exclamatory sentence ‘And how many an ancient one has surpassed a later one (*al-akhīrā*)!’; but the rhyme requires the nominative *al-akhīrū*.

He has authority and justice, continuously;  
 through him people's affairs are justly balanced.  
 In times of famine (*azamāt*) he is charitable (*mubirr*) to the petitioner;  
 in times of firm resolve (*'azamāt*) he is a destroyer (*mubīr*) to the  
 aggressor.  
 He towers over all living beings in all fields of knowledge;  
 Qaṣīr would fall short of him in sound opinion.<sup>5</sup>  
 Through him the world is made sound, and cities and frontiers  
 have submitted to their benefit.  
 You, whose favours are all-encompassing, you man of  
 benefaction (*ifdāl*) and abundant excellence (*faḍl*),  
 You have revived knowledge that was dead, so that  
 its resurrection in existence was plain to see;  
 You let mankind drink from seas of generosity  
 when the watering-places had nearly dried up.  
 So many obscure concepts in medicine  
 became evident again through an explanation from you.  
 Whoever will compare the Leader (*ra'īs*)<sup>6</sup> with you  
 will find that he is now turned into Led (*mar'ūs*).  
 Does he resemble you in expression and excellence,  
 while you never have an equal in either?

God, the Most High, lets his bliss remain forever and makes permanent his days  
 through the passing of months and years.

Al-Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah composed *The Clear Path in Medicine* (*K. al-Nahj al-wāḍiḥ fi l-ṭibb*), which is one of the best books ever written on the art of medicine. In it the author brings together the established principles of medicine, both universals and particulars. It is divided into five books:

The first book refers to matters of nature, the three states of the body, the types of diseases, the symptoms of the balanced, natural and healthy humours of the main organs and the surrounding areas, and other matters that are very useful and worthy of being mentioned in this context. This is followed by [a treatment of] the pulse, urine, excrement and the critical

5 According to an ancient story set in pre-Islamic times, Qaṣīr was the devoted counsellor of Jadhīmah, king of al-Ḥīrah, and was instrumental in avenging his master's death at the hands of al-Zabbā', queen of Tadmur/Palmyra (a legendary version of the historical Zenobia).

6 Ibn Sīnā/Avicenna, often known as *al-Ra'īs*.

days. The second book deals with simple drugs and their effect. The third book deals with compound drugs and their benefits. The fourth book describes the regimen of healthy persons and the treatment of manifest diseases, their causes and symptoms, and also whether surgery [*ʿamal al-yad*] is necessary in these and other cases. It also mentions the measures that should be undertaken regarding proper clothing and in case of hot winds. The fifth book is concerned with the regulation of internal diseases, their causes, symptoms and treatment, and whether surgery can be employed in these cases.

### 15.50 Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī [al-Dakhwār]<sup>1</sup>

[15.50.1]

Our teacher, the great and eminent authority, the learned and excellent Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥāmid, who was also known as al-Dakhwār, was – may God have mercy upon him – the outstanding man of his period, unrivalled during his lifetime, the most learned scholar of his generation. He held a leading position in the art of medicine and knowledge of its universals and particulars. There was no one who could match him in diligence or keep up with him in respect of knowledge. He drove himself unsparingly, exhausting his mind in order to attain knowledge, until he surpassed all his contemporaries in the art of medicine. To the day of his death, he enjoyed the good graces of rulers and was presented by them with more wealth and honour than any physician had ever enjoyed before.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn was born and raised in Damascus. His father, ‘Alī ibn Ḥāmid, was a renowned oculist. His brother, Ḥāmid ibn ‘Alī, was also an oculist. Muhadhhab al-Dīn was initially an oculist as well, but at the same time he worked as a copyist. His calligraphy was of a high order of skill, and he transcribed many books, of which I have seen at least a hundred or more volumes, dealing with medicine and other [sciences]. He studied the Arabic language with shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn<sup>2</sup> and constantly persevered to

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the treatise. Ample biographical information regarding this author can be found in al-Dakhwār, *Sharḥ taqdimat al-maʿrifah*; Joosse & Pormann, ‘Prognostic’, 257–258; *EI Three* art. ‘al-Dakhwār’ (N.P. Joosse); Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 142–152; 163–175; 207–209, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172; and Muḥammad *et alii*, *Taqdimat al-maʿrifā*.

2 Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217). He was an expert in the Arabic language, a prominent grammarian and a well-known

attain more knowledge by reading and memorizing, even during his periods of service, until his middle age. At the beginning of his medical studies, he studied a part of the [*Kitāb*] *al-Malakī*<sup>3</sup> under the guidance of the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>4</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. Subsequently, he attached himself to Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān,<sup>5</sup> becoming his disciple and learning the art of medicine from him. Muhadhhab al-Dīn associated with him constantly, accompanying him everywhere, until he became a skilled and proficient physician in his own right. Afterwards, he also studied a section of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn* under Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī,<sup>6</sup> when al-Māridīnī came to Damascus in the year 579/1189, for he possessed a thorough knowledge of that work and had examined its thematic purport closely.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb as a physician. This came about because at the beginning of his career he had devoted his efforts to the art of treating eye ailments (*ṣināʿat al-kuḥl*) and had tried to make a living at it. Subsequently, he had worked at the 'Great Hospital', which had been founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī. Later, after he had studied with Ibn al-Muṭrān and had become proficient in the art of medicine, Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr,<sup>7</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, provided him with a stipend, enabling him to work as the vizier's physician and at the same time to study and improve his grasp of medical theory and practice. Muhadhhab al-Dīn remained in the service of the Ṣāḥib Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr and visited him frequently. His employer was well aware of his mastery of the art of medicine and his knowledge, virtue and merits. In the month of Shawwāl of the year 604 [April–May 1207], al-Malik al-ʿĀdil said to the Ṣāḥib Ibn Shukr: 'We want another physician besides Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to take care of the troops and to visit them when they are ill. The physician ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is not able to deal with this.' 'O master,' Ibn Shukr replied obediently, 'I know of an excellent physician, named al-Muhadhhab

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reciter of the Qur'an. See also the entries on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sāʿātī, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15 above. See for instance Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 125 n. 88; Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 102, under entry 'm'.

3 The *Kitāb al-Malakī* (*The Royal Book*) or *Kitāb Kāmil al-ṣināʿah al-ṭibbiyyah* (*Complete Book of the Medical Art*) by ʿAlī ibn al-Abbās al-Majūsī (fl. ca. 983); see Ch. 10.25.

4 On him, see Ch. 15.36.

5 On him, see Ch. 15.23.

6 On him, see Ch. 10.75.

7 On the life of the vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn Shukr, see Leiser, *Restoration of Sunnism*, 318–322, 599; Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*, 6–7; Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, *passim*.



al-Dakhwār, who would be suitable to enter your service'. 'Engage him,' said al-Malik al-Ādil. When Muhadhhab al-Dīn reported for duty, the Ṣāhib said to him, 'I have praised you before the Sultan, and you will be paid thirty Nāṣirī dinars monthly for your services'. 'O vizier,' Muhadhhab al-Dīn replied, 'the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz earns a hundred dinars monthly, and as much again in allowances. I know my worth, and I will not serve without a proper stipend,' and he left the vizier, refusing the post. His friends, however, criticized his refusal of an opportunity of entering the ruler's service, because his salary at the hospital was rather low.

Approximately a month after this discussion, as chance would have it, al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-'Azīz was stricken with severe colic (*qawlanj*). It was treated, but grew worse, and in the end he died. When the news of his death reached al-Malik al-Ādil, he said to his vizier, 'Once, in front of us, you praised a doctor called al-Muhadhhab. Appoint him in place of al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-'Azīz'. So, Muhadhhab got his salary after all, and he remained in the service of al-Malik al-Ādil from then on. He rose in his esteem and his status was enhanced, until he became the ruler's companion, intimate friend and chief counselor.

At the beginning of his service, al-Malik al-Ādil also put the physician to the test in some unusual cases. Muhadhhab al-Dīn's answers confirmed the ruler's good opinion of him and reliance upon him.

It was then also that al-Malik al-Ādil became ill. He was attended by the best doctors, including Muhadhhab al-Dīn, who advised bloodletting, but the attending physicians did not approve.<sup>8</sup> 'By God,' said Muhadhhab al-Dīn, 'If we do not let blood from him, he will bleed of his own accord'. The [other] doctors still did not agree with him, but very soon thereafter the Sultan experienced heavy nosebleeds. When he recovered, he knew that Muhadhhab al-Dīn outshone all the other doctors.

A similar story has it that one day, when Muhadhhab al-Dīn was standing at the palace gate with some of the court physicians, a servant came out with a phial of urine from one of the slave girls, saying that he was consulting the physicians because the girl was complaining of pain. When the other physicians had examined the [contents of the] phial, they prescribed something that they had prepared. But when Muhadhhab al-Dīn examined the phial, he said, 'It is not the pain of which she complains that has caused the colour of the contents of this phial', suspecting that the source of the the colour was the henna [*hinnā'*] with which the girl had been dyed. The servant informed him that he was cor-

<sup>8</sup> This is a common topic in medieval Arabic medical literature to indicate one doctor's superiority over all the other doctors.

rect in his judgement, marvelled at him and reported back to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; this increased the ruler’s confidence in him.

[15.50.2]

The following account of one of the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn’s most generous actions, one that illustrates his great sense of honour and solidarity, was told to me by my father, who said:

Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was once very angry and full of rancour at the chief judge of Damascus, Muḥyī l-Dīn ibn Zakī al-Dīn, because of some issue, I forget what it was. He had him imprisoned in the citadel, and he ruled that the judge was to pay him the sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinars. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil pressed him hard: the judge was to remain in prison until he settled the full amount. He managed to pay some of it, but was unable to raise the balance. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took the matter very seriously. ‘He must pay the rest of the money, for otherwise I shall have him tortured’. The judge was at his wit’s end: he sold off all his assets, his household furniture, and even the books that he possessed. Then he appealed to the Sultan, using the good offices of many of the emirs, leading personalities and notables, such as al-Shumays, the chief steward,<sup>9</sup> and Shams al-Khawāṣṣ Ṣawāb, the vizier and others, asking for remission of part of the amount or the privilege of being allowed to pay in instalments. But the Sultan refused. The judge now became so worried about it that he hardly ate or slept and was on the verge of killing himself. Then, his old friend, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn, paid him a visit. The judge complained to him about his troubles and asked him for help, if there was anything he could do. Muhadhhab al-Dīn thought it over for a while and then said, ‘I shall think of something for you and hope that it will be of use, if God, the exalted, wills,’ and took his leave.

It so happened that the concubine (*surriyyah*) of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the mother of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, was feeling out of sorts at that time. She was of Turkish origin, an intelligent, pious and devout woman, and was very kind and generous. The physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn came to see her, accompanied by the chief eunuch (*zimām al-dūr*),<sup>10</sup> and he brought up the situation of the judge, his adversity and unjust treatment and the fact that the Sultan had imposed the payment of a sum on him which he was unable to settle. He requested her to medi-

9 See Sato, *State*, 74, n. 3.

10 Or, perhaps, the intendant of the palace.

ate, in the hope that she could persuade the Sultan to show mercy toward the judge and be lenient toward him by remitting a part of the debt or by letting him pay in instalments. The chief eunuch supported him, but the concubine said:

By God, how can I do anything for the judge, or even mention him to the Sultan? I cannot do this, because he will say to me, 'What makes you speak about the judge, and how is it that you know of him?' If he were, for instance, a doctor who visits us from time to time, or a merchant who sells us cloth, it would be possible for me to speak to the Sultan and intervene; but as for this one, it would be impossible for me to speak about this person.

When the physician heard this, he said, 'My lady! You have only one son, for whom you wish happiness and a long life. You can now obtain all these excellent things for him from God, because you are in a good position to do so, and you do not have to intervene with the Sultan at all.' 'How so?' she asked. 'When the Sultan and you are sleeping together,' said the physician, 'say that you saw in a dream that the judge was being treated unjustly'. He told her what to say, and she replied, 'It can be done.' When she was well again and al-Malik al-'Adil was sleeping next to her, as the night was ending, she lay awake pretending to be frightened, clutching her heart, trembling and crying. The Sultan, who loved her dearly, woke up and said, 'What is the matter?' but she did not tell him what the matter was. He then ordered some apple juice to be brought, had her drink some, sprinkled her face with rose water and said, 'Why don't you want to tell me what has happened to you and what is on your mind?' 'O husband,' she replied, 'I have had a terrible dream, which almost frightened me to death. I dreamt that the day of final judgement had come and saw a large crowd of people. In one place, where there was a great fire burning, people were saying, "this is for al-Malik al-'Adil, because he treated the judge unjustly". Did you ever wrong a judge?' she asked.

He did not doubt her words, felt uneasy about it, then rose up, called his servants and said, 'Go to the judge and delight his heart, give him my regards and apologies for what has happened to him, and inform him that all he has paid will be returned to him. I, for my part, will ask nothing of him'. So they went to him. The judge was delighted with their news, blessed the Sultan and announced that he accepted his apology. When morning came, the Sultan ordered [that he be given] a full robe of honour and a mule. He restored him to his office and ordered that all the money he had paid should be reimbursed from the treasury, and that all

the books and other possessions he had sold were to be redeemed from the purchasers for the same amount as they had paid. Thus, relief was brought to the judge after hardship, by minimum effort and the subtlest of measures.

In the year 610/1213, when he was in the east, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil became very ill, and the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn treated his illness until he was cured. During that illness, the Sultan paid him approximately seven thousand Egyptian dinars. The children of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, some rulers of the east and others also sent him gold, robes of honour, and mules, together with golden necklaces and the like.

[15.50.3]

A similar event [occurred] in the year 612/1215 when al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had gone to Egypt and was staying in Cairo. At that time, a dreadful plague (*wabāʾ ʿaẓīm*) had stricken the land, killing most of the people.<sup>11</sup> Al-Malik al-Kāmil, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, who was the governor of Egypt, and many of his entourage, had [also] become ill. Muhadhhab al-Dīn treated the governor most attentively until he became well again. Again, the physician received gold, robes of honour and many splendid gifts: twelve thousand gold dinars, fourteen mules carrying golden necklaces, many robes of honour [made] of satin [*aṭlas*] and other kinds of cloth.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – continue: At that time, the great Sultan appointed Muhadhhab al-Dīn as the supervisor of physicians in all of Egypt and Syria. I was then with my father, who was [also] in the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. My father was entrusted with matters involving oculists in view of the fact that it was he who decided who was qualified to treat eye diseases. It pleased him to write down his knowledge about them, and that is what he did!

In the year 614/1217, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil heard about Frankish manoeuvres near the coast, whereupon he went to Syria and camped at Marj al-Ṣuffar.<sup>12</sup> As it happened, he fell ill while at a halfway camp where the animals were fed. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the second hour of Friday, the seventh day of Jumādā II of the year 615 [31 August 1218].

11 This is obviously not the same pestilence or plague that has been described in detail by Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in his *Kitāb al-Ifādah wa l-iʿtibār fi l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa-l-ḥawādith al-muʿāyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr*, for the latter took place in 597/1200–1201.

12 Marj al-Ṣuffar (also Marj al-Ṣaffar, Marj al-Ṣafar) is a large plain south of Damascus.

When al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam established his rule over Syria, he wished to employ a number of those who had served his father, al-Malik al-‘Ādil, among them the physician Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Şūrī,<sup>13</sup> and my father. The physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn, for his part, was provided with an ample salary and instructed to reside in Damascus and return to the ‘Great Hospital’ that had been founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, where he was to treat patients.

During his time in Damascus, the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn began to teach the art of medicine, and many of the best physicians joined him, while others studied under him. I, too, stayed in Damascus to learn from his teaching, but I had first worked under him at the military camp where he and my father were serving the great Sultan. I would frequent his classes as one of a group [of students], and I began to study the works of Galen.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn was well-versed in everything that that author and other authors had written, and admired the books of Galen very much. Whenever some of the words of Galen were mentioned concerning diseases and their treatment, or the fundamentals of medicine, he would say, ‘That is medicine!’ He was eloquent, could convey a meaning admirably, and was a good researcher. I accompanied him also during my period of training at the hospital while he was treating the patients, and thus I gained practice in the art of medicine. At that same time, the physician ‘Imrān [al-Isrā’īlī] also worked with him at the hospital.<sup>14</sup> ‘Imrān was one of the most eminent and senior-ranking physicians in matters of therapy and the management of medical treatment. Their co-operation and the talks they conducted about diseases, therapy and the descriptions of diseases were doubly beneficial for us.

[15.50.4]

The physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn became one of the most able representatives of the art of medicine. He was a prodigy in the domain of therapy and the treatment of patients, and would prescribe medicaments that could cure in almost no time. In [all of] this he surpassed his contemporaries. Hence the impression was given that it was magic. Once, I saw him perform a feat of that kind. A man had come to him with a burning fever and extremely dilated pupils. After estimating the patient’s strength, Muhadhhab al-Dīn ordered that a quantity of camphor seeds should be pounded in a drinking cup. Writing this down in a recipe (*dustūr*), he told the man to drink it and not to take

13 On him, see Ch. 15.45.

14 On him, see Ch. 15.42.

anything else. When the morning came, we found that the patient's fever had broken and that his pupils were no longer dilated.

It also happened, whilst in the ward for bilious patients, he treated someone suffering from the disease called mania (*māniyā*), which is rabies (*al-junūn al-sabuī*), by prescribing that an ample amount of opium (*afyūn*) should be added to his barley water at the time when he was given it to drink. The man became better and his condition improved at once.

One day, I saw Muhadhhab al-Dīn in the fever ward, where we had halted to see a patient. The doctors felt the patient's pulse and said, 'It is weak. Let's give him some chicken broth so that he can regain his strength'. Muhadhhab al-Dīn examined him and said, 'His speech and vision do not explain the weakness'. He then felt the pulse of the man's left hand and palpated the other hand. 'Feel the pulse of his right hand,' he said, 'and we observed that it was strong'. 'Now examine the pulse of his left hand,' said Muhadhhab al-Dīn, 'and then observe how in the part close to his radius [i.e. radial bone] the artery has been divided in two sections. The one that you felt remains as it is, whereas the other section emerges from the highest part of the ulna [i.e. elbow bone] and extends in the direction of the fingers.' We found this [conclusion] to be correct. 'A pulse like this,' he said, 'is rarely seen, and is not understood by many doctors. They will assume that the pulse is weak, but it is the shape of this section, in which the vein is divided in two halves, that causes them to make that specific error'.

During this period the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī also stayed at the hospital. He was a senior-ranking physician who was widely known and respected. He used to sit on a bench and wrote notes [i.e. recipes] for all the patients who arrived at the hospital and consulted him. They depended on these notes, because it enabled them to take home syrups and medicines from the hospital that he had prescribed. After the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn and the physician 'Imrān had finished their treatment of the patients, they would remain at the hospital, and I would stay with them. I used to sit with the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, and saw with my own eyes how he collected information regarding diseases. I became a witness of everything that he put down in writing and prescribed for the patients. I studied many of the diseases and their treatments together with him. From the time of the hospital's construction and [even] during later periods, these three shaykhs have remained the most eminent physicians who ever met there. They worked there for some time.<sup>15</sup>

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15 A marginal note in MS R reads: 'Praise be to God. I would say that the situation in the

Then those years passed and those who lived in them,  
and it was as if years and people were dreams.<sup>16</sup>

[15.50.5]

After having finished his duties at the hospital and visiting any notables and prominent persons of the state and others who happened to be ill, the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn – may God have mercy upon him – would go home, where he would read and study and, invariably, do some copying. When he had finished, it was the turn of the physicians and students who came to his house in droves. Every one of them would read his lesson, which he then would discuss with them according to each person's capability of understanding. In the case of topics that required a fuller analysis, or contained some obscurities that needed to be elucidated, he would discuss them with the more gifted pupils. 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 Muhadhhab 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,<sup>17</sup> the *Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris,<sup>18</sup> and the *K. al-Nabāt* by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī,<sup>19</sup> were constantly within reach. When he encountered a philological term in his studies that needed to be clarified and commented upon, he would look it up in these books. When the pupils had finished their lessons, he would spend some time alone and take some supper. The remainder of the day was dedicated to memorizing, learning and studying; he stayed up most of the night studying. During that same period, the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn also associated with shaykh Sayf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Abī 'Alī al-Āmidī.<sup>20</sup> They were old friends and studied the philosophical sciences together. Muhadhhab al-Dīn memorized some parts of Sayf al-Dīn's works and obtained most of them so that he could study

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present day and age is similar. But how would it be if the historian – may God have mercy upon him – would look at the period in which we are living [it is the year 1045/1635–36]? The only difference is that the director of the al-Nūrī hospital is nowadays Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd al-Dīn, who is called al-Jamal.'

16 Metre: *kāmil*. A line by Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846), *Dīwān*, iii:152.

17 That is, the *Tāj al-lughah wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabīyah* by Ismā'īl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. ca. 393–394/1003?).

18 That is, the *Mujmal al-lughah* by Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī (d. 395/1004).

19 That is, the *Book of Plants* by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (d. 282–283/896).

20 On him, see Ch. 15.22.

them, such as the *K. Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, the *K. Rumūz al-kunūz*, the *K. Kashf al-tamwīhāt fī sharḥ al-tanbīhāt*, the *K. Abkār al-afkār* and others.

Later in his life, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn also turned his attention to astrology and astronomy, which he studied with Abū l-Faḍl al-Isrā'īlī, the astrologer. He acquired instruments made of brass, which he needed for that discipline. Apart from those, he did not possess much, apart from a great many books. I heard him say that he was in possession of sixteen extraordinary treatises on the astrolabe by a group of authors.

During that time he was summoned by al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Fatḥ Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, who resided in the east. The physician set out in that direction in the month of Dhū l-Qaʿdah of the year 622 [November 1225]. He told me later that he had undertaken the journey only after having decided to purchase mules, tents and utensils that were absolutely necessary for the journey, to the amount of twenty thousand dirhams. Upon his arrival, al-Malik al-Ashraf honoured him greatly and bestowed many favours upon him. He allotted him an estate in the east which yielded him approximately fifteen hundred dinars every year.

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn remained in the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf for some time, but then he suffered from a heaviness and slackness of the tongue and was unable to speak fluently. He moved to Damascus when al-Malik al-Ashraf gained control over that city in the year 626/1229 and appointed Muhadhdhab al-Dīn as his chief physician. He held that post for quite a long time, and the ruler created a *majlis*<sup>21</sup> for him for instruction in the art of medicine.<sup>22</sup> As time went on, his speech problem grew worse; when he tried to speak it was very hard to understand him. His pupils would discuss issues in front of him. Whenever the meaning [of something] was difficult, he would respond with the shortest word that pointed to the essence of the meaning. At times it was difficult for him to speak at all, and then he would write on a slate, and the pupils would read what he had written. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn tried hard to cure himself and cleansed his body with several types of purgatives. He also took many medicaments and hot electuaries, swallowing them constantly. Then he contracted a fever that became so intense that his strength failed, with the result that many diseases followed in succession. When one's term has been reached, effort is in vain.

<sup>21</sup> Literally 'session'.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Dakhwār is generally known as the founder of the first medical school in the Arabic world, *al-Madrasah al-Dakhwāriyyah*.



When Death plunges its talons in,  
you will find that every amulet is of no avail.<sup>23</sup>

[15.50.6]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn [al-Dakhwār] died – may God have mercy upon him – in the early morning of Monday the 15th of Ṣafar of the year 628 [27 December 1231] and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. He left no offspring. In the year 622/1225 (before he had left Damascus to enter the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf) he dedicated his house in Damascus, near the old goldsmith's quarter east of the great market,<sup>24</sup> as a charitable trust and converted it into a college for the study of the art of medicine. For its support, he did the same with several estates and other properties, the revenue from which was to be used for its upkeep, the pay of the teacher and stipends for students. Muhadhhab al-Dīn stipulated in his will that the teacher was to be the physician Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Raḥbī,<sup>25</sup> and he took up his duties at the college at the time of the afternoon prayer on Friday the eighth of Rabī' I of the year 628 [14 January 1231]. By Monday the twelfth of Rabī' II of the same year [17 February 1231], the physician Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the son of the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the judge Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī, the judge Jamāl al-Dīn al-Khurustānī, the judge 'Azīz al-Dīn al-Sanjārī and many jurists and scholars were already attending the college. The physician Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī remained there as the first teacher of the art of medicine for several years.

His successor was the physician Badr al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk. This was when al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūnus ibn Shams al-Dīn Mamdūd, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, ruled over Damascus. He issued a decree, appointing the physician Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk chief of all the physicians and teacher at the college of the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī. Badr al-Dīn took office in that capacity on Wednesday, the fourth of Ṣafar of the year 630 [20 November 1232].

23 Metre: *kāmil*. From a celebrated elegy by Abū Dhu'ayb, in *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 422, al-Sukkārī, *Sharḥ ash'ar al-Hudhalīyyīn*, i:8.

24 MS A presents us with the variant reading 'near the sievers', whereas MS Gc has the reading 'at the market of the sievers'. The *sūq* of the sievers still exists in Damascus, but nowadays only nails and hardware are sold there.

25 Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Raḥbī (whose biography is given in Ch. 15.37) was one of the sons of the well-known physician Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (for whom see Ch. 15.36) and a disciple of the physicians Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see Ch. 15.40) and Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī (see Ch. 15.34).

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍir al-Ḥalabī recited the following verses to me. ‘The shaykh and man of letters Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān ibn ‘Alī al-Shāghūrī recited these verses to me in person,’ he said. ‘In them he praises the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī.’<sup>26</sup>

Delight and take pleasure in what your destiny affords you,  
 so that by them you obtain your utmost desires!  
 O Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, you have,  
 ‘Alī’s son, outstripped those who competed with you.  
 Your arrow-shafts have won<sup>27</sup> in remembering your studies  
 in bygone days, nor did your nights disappoint.  
 You never ceased to strive to gain praise, taking pains,  
 until you attained what you desired with your efforts.  
 5 You are a man whose words are a depository of wise sayings  
 that dictate subtle ideas of yours.  
 You were raised in the bosom of learning, donning  
 the cloak of humility despite your eminence.  
 These ideas smile in your fine characteristics  
 just as glory smiles in your mouth.  
 You, who have a *pen* (*qalam*) that often got its ink from a broad road  
 (*laqam*)<sup>28</sup>  
 in excellence: extolled be He who trims it (*bārīhi*) and your Creator  
 (*bārīka*)!<sup>29</sup>  
 Praise be to you, fittingly, wherever you are; for no creature  
 can turn you away from glory and sublimity.  
 10 When someone skilled in eulogy goes to extremes in panegyrics,  
 the highest extent is outstripped by the lowest extent in you.  
 You, who have combined great reputation with vast erudition;  
 no man can be found who resembles you in generosity.

26 Metre: *basīt*.

27 A reference to the game of *maysir*, see above, Ch. 11.13.7.8.

28 Translation uncertain; *l.q.m.*, vowelled in L as *laqam* can also be read as *luqam*, ‘mouthfuls’.

29 ‘Who trims it’ cannot refer to Muhadhhab al-Dīn since the expression *subḥāna* ‘extolled be’ can only be used for God. Perhaps the poet thinks of the Primaeval Pen mentioned in the Qur’an (al-Qalam 68:1), which hardly needs trimming, of course. The roots *BR* ‘(create, shape)’ and *BRY* ‘(trim, shape)’ are closely related.

I have feelings of love towards you, strengthened  
 by fitting fulfilment of a favour complying with your wish;<sup>30</sup>  
 And I have a longing for you that does not leave me:  
 I wish I had a cause that could be made a road to be united with you.  
 If I had an opportunity to get to you I would not leave  
 your door, as a doorman, having confidential talk with you.  
 15 But I am in the hands of old age and debility  
 that have left my body despoiled and worn out.  
 So many an ambition of yours has approached the highest  
 celestial sphere, Saturn being squashed beneath its foot-sole!  
 I wish 'Alī and al-Rashīd were both alive<sup>31</sup>  
 and had seen what God has bestowed on you;  
 Both would have loved you, secretly and openly,  
 and would not have ceased to lavish praise on you.  
 Live, stay alive, walk proudly forever in robes (*khila'*) of honour  
 given by kings, and tear out (*wa-khla'*) the hearts of your enemies!  
 20 May there always be at the gate of your house  
 a throng of messengers summoning you to the Sultan!  
 And may you attain, through al-'Ādil,<sup>32</sup> of auspicious omen, the utmost  
 of your desires, your medical treatment of him being beneficial;  
 For he is the one who overthrew the throne of unbelief, when their  
 blood  
 was shed, morning and evening, by the sword of religion;  
 Accustomed to be given God's help and imminent victory:<sup>33</sup>  
 ask kings about this and all will tell you about it.  
 His onslaught will rout King al-Ankūr<sup>34</sup>  
 and the spearhead will be transfixed in his kidneys!<sup>35</sup>

30 Translation uncertain.

31 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), fourth caliph; Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809), Abbasid caliph.

32 Al-Malik al-'Ādil (d. 615/1218), Ayyubid ruler.

33 See. Q al-Ṣaff 61:13: «*help (naṣr) from God and an imminent victory (faṭḥ qarīb)*».

34 This must be King Richard I of England, 'the Lionheart'. *Al-Malik al-Ankūr*, otherwise unattested, is perhaps a strange corruption of (Malik) al-Inkitār, '(King of) l'Angleterre', the usual Arabic name for Richard, although in that case the article of *al-malik* is odd; alternatively, it is based on 'Coeur de Lion' ('Lion Coeur?'). It may have been influenced by *al-unkūr*, a non-existing word that could be formed from the root *NKR* and interpreted as 'abomination'.

35 That the passive participle *mashkūk* refers to the spearhead rather than the kidneys looks like a grammatical error.

- 25 Do no longer be burdened with worries about Damascus: God is  
will guard it against what you fear and God is your guardian.  
Would the Leader, Ibn Sīnā, playing his *Canon*,<sup>36</sup> bring you  
joyful tidings, singing to you?  
Would the treatises of Galen have resulted from what you say,  
so that your opinions (*fatāwīkā*) would shelter them (*fa-ta'wihā*)?<sup>37</sup>  
An excellent confidant of kings you are! Those among them will prosper  
who call on you in their assembly<sup>38</sup> on any momentous affair.  
How often did I tell Ibn Kharūf: 'Stop your lampooning of someone  
whose good fortune is rising, you stupidest of the stupid!'<sup>39</sup>  
30 Until he plunged into a deep place, where he has settled down  
until the Resurrection, crushed!<sup>40</sup>  
But may you live, enriched by presents,  
and may those hostile to you die in dire poverty as paupers!  
Damascus is a Garden of Eden to those who dwell in it;  
may its riches (*maghānī*) never be far from your abodes (*maghānī*)!<sup>41</sup>  
May the fire of your good fortune roast Ibn Kharūf's kidneys,<sup>42</sup>  
since his bad fortune moved him one day to lampoon you!

36 *Al-Qānūn*, 'The Canon', is of course Ibn Sīnā's principal medical work. As it happens, the English word 'canon', like Arabic *qānūn*, has a musical sense, here exploited in a pun; a *qānūn* is a trapezoidal zither, the strings of which are plucked. The word *yutribu* means both 'excites, transports' and 'makes music'.

37 Translation uncertain; another interpretation, perhaps more in line with the preceding line, would be to read '*ammā taqūlu fatāwihā fa-ta'wihā*, 'from what their opinions say, so that they would shelter you?'

38 If the reading of ALB and Müller's *Verbesserungen* is preferred, it is not clear how the repetition of the verb (*yunādihī / yunādikā*) should be interpreted.

39 Ibn Kharūf (d. ca. 604/1207–1208), as explained below, was a poet and grammarian who had come from Spain. His name and lineage come in several variants: Nizām al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Kharūf al-Qurṭubī (al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:171–172), or 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Kharūf (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xv:75–76, al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:385), or Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Kharūf (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:335). Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-tīb*, ii:640–642 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, ii:203 list him as Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Nizām al-Dīn ibn Kharūf and give various dates for his death (between 602 and 610). Some lampoons by him on Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn are quoted in al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:385–386 and Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:317–318.

40 See Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah's comment, below.

41 Normally, *maghānī* means 'abodes', but it could also be interpreted as 'places or occasions for gaining riches', suggested also by the preceding line. One could reverse the reading to 'may its spots never be far from where you may obtain riches'.

42 The imagery is suggested by that fact that *kharūf* means 'lamb'.

Many a captive of sickness from his *Compendium*<sup>43</sup> you  
 have redeemed after the distress of his captivity.  
 35 You are above making mistakes to which others are driven,  
 those who desire slaves for foul purposes.(?)<sup>44</sup>  
 And you have not wasted prayers that you did not cease to ... (?)<sup>45</sup>  
 with the best salutations that greet you.  
 And you do not desire to drink a pure wine  
 that is sound(?) but from which one's reason becomes indis-  
 posed.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – continue: This Ibn Kharūf, who is mentioned by Shi-  
 hāb al-Dīn Fityān, was a poet from North Africa who frequently ridiculed the  
 physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn. Ibn Kharūf met his end in Aleppo, where he  
 had gone to praise its ruler, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, the son of Saladin. After  
 reciting his eulogy, he took a step back. There was a well there, into which he  
 fell and died.

Among the poetry of Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī are the fol-  
 lowing lines, which he wrote to my paternal uncle, the physician Rashīd al-Dīn  
 ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah,<sup>46</sup> when he had fallen ill.<sup>47</sup>

You, for whom I hope when any misfortune occurs  
 and for whom I fear if he has any symptoms (*a’rād*):  
 Far be it from you to that you should be visited on account of an illness,  
 and may you live as long as we are in good repute (*a’rād*)!  
 We count you as the *substance* of our epoch,  
 while others, if counted at all, are *accidents* (*a’rād*).

[15.50.7]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī [al-Dakhwār] is the author of the  
 following works:

1. Summary of al-Rāzī’s *Comprehensive Book on Medicine* (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb lil-Rāzī*).

43 Apparently used here as a generic term for medical handbooks, many of which are called *Jāmi’* or *Jawāmi’*.

44 Translation of *li-l-khanā yabghī l-mamālīkā* uncertain.

45 Meaning of *mā bariḥta lahā ḥilman* (or *ḥulman*, as in A, or *khillman*, as suggested by R) unclear.

46 On him, see Ch. 15.51.

47 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:317 (lines 2–3), the same in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:385.

2. Summary of *The Great Book of Songs* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-aghānī al-kabīr li-Abī l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī*).<sup>48</sup>
3. On vomiting, which he composed in Damascus in the month Rabīʿ 1 of the year 622/1225 (*M. fī l-istifrāgh*).
4. The Little Garden of Medicine (*K. al-junaynah fī l-ṭibb*).
5. Explanatory remarks, questions and misgivings regarding medicine with answers thereto (*Taʿālīq wa-masāʾil fī l-ṭibb wa-shukūk ṭibbiyyah wa-radd ajwibatihā lahu*).
6. Refutation of Ibn Ṣādiq's commentary on Ḥunayn [ibn Iṣḥāq]'s *Questions* (*K. al-radd ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ṣādiq li-masāʾil Ḥunayn*).<sup>49</sup>
7. A treatise in which the author refutes Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī's epistle on the sequence in which delicate and heavy foods should be taken (*M. yaruddu fihā ʿalā risālat Abī l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī fī tartīb al-aghdiyah al-laṭīfah wa-l-kathīfah fī tanāwulihā*).<sup>50</sup>

### 15.51 My Paternal Uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Khalīfah<sup>1</sup>

[15.51.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah, of [the tribe of] Khazraj, of the line of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah,<sup>2</sup> was born in Aleppo in the year 579/1183. My father had been born before him in the year 575/1179, in Cairo, the city of al-Muʿizz. They both grew up and studied in that city. My grandfather – may God have mercy upon him – was a high-minded person, who had a great liking for men of virtue and studied the sciences himself. He was known as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah. He had moved to Egypt when al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb conquered it, and was in his service and that of his sons. Among my grandfather's acquaintances and friends in Damascus had been Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir,<sup>3</sup> the physician, and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf,<sup>4</sup> the oculist, for my grandfather was born and bred in Damascus and resided there for many years. By the time he met them again in Egypt, my

48 For Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abu l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī' (M. Nallino).

49 For Ibn Ṣādiq, see Ch. 11.17. Al-Dakhwār's treatise is not extant.

50 For Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī, see Ch. 15.41.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the treatise. In Version 1, it is the last and final entry.

2 Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah ibn Dulaym of the Banū l-Khazraj (d. ca. 14/636), a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Saʿd b. ʿUbada' (W. Montgomery Watt).

3 On him, see Ch. 14.44; and also Kruk, 'Elusive Giraffes', 49–64; Kruk, 'Chimaera', 345–362.

4 This oculist is unidentified and nothing further is known of him.

father and my paternal uncle were in the prime of life. 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. Accordingly, he set my father and my uncle to study under the guidance of these two shaykhs, giving them the opportunity to benefit [from their knowledge].

My grandfather set my father to study the science of ophthalmology and learn its practice under Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf. Abū l-Ḥajjāj was then serving as an oculist in the hospital in Cairo – that is, not the later hospital belonging to the fort, but the older one that was situated, at that time, near the flea markets of lower Cairo. My grandfather lived nearby, so that my father was able to attend the teaching of Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf frequently, until he became an expert in the domain of oculism. He also studied under the guidance of other notable physicians who were living in Egypt during that time, such as the chief physician Mūsā al-Qurṭubī,<sup>5</sup> the author of many famous works, and [other] doctors of comparable eminence. My uncle, for his part, was set to study the art of medicine under the guidance of Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir.

My uncle took his first steps in science with Taqī, the teacher. His full name was Abū l-Tuqā Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Qurashī,<sup>6</sup> from Jerusalem. This Taqī was well-versed in many different sciences, had a fine way of teaching from books, and his authority as a teacher, unattained by anybody else, was famous. After my uncle – may God have mercy upon him – had learned to memorize the Qur'an and had become acquainted with mathematics, all under Taqī's guidance, he began to study the art of medicine thoroughly under Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir, who was then the chief physician in Egypt, under the rule of al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāh al-Dīn. My uncle studied sections of Galen's 'Sixteen Books' with Jamāl al-Dīn, and had memorized the first books in a very short time. Accordingly, he engaged in discussions with the physicians, saw the patients in the hospital, and learned about the various maladies and the appropriate prescriptions (there was a group of very notable physicians at the hospital). At the same time my uncle studied the science of ophthalmology and learned its practice with the judge Nafīs al-Dīn al-Zubayr,<sup>7</sup> who was at that time in charge

5 Mūsā ibn Maymūn al-Qurṭubī (Maimonides of Cordoba), the celebrated Jewish philosopher and physician; See. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Maymūn' (G. Vajda) and Ch. 14.39 above.

6 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him. Brentjes, 'Ayyubid princes', 355 (n. 99) refers to Taqī as Abū l-Taqī Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī.

7 On him, see Ch. 14.47.

of the ophthalmological section of the hospital. He also took up the practice of surgery under the guidance of that physician.

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī,<sup>8</sup> who was a close friend of my grandfather’s, was then living in Cairo. My uncle studied a little Arabic and philosophy under his guidance. They used to discuss Aristotle’s books, debating the difficult passages. My uncle also met and studied with Sadīd al-Dīn,<sup>9</sup> who was very learned in the intellectual sciences. Before that, however, he had also studied astronomy under the guidance of Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ja’dī.<sup>10</sup> This shaykh was an outstanding astronomer whose judgments were marked by excellence. He lived at the time of the Egyptian caliphs and was considered one of their favourites, while his father was one of the prominent emirs of their state. In addition, my uncle studied the art of music with Ibn al-Dayjūr, the Egyptian and Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī ibn al-Tabbān, and in due course, met many of the elite in that field, such as al-Bahā’, the great composer,<sup>11</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn al-Naqjawānī,<sup>12</sup> Shujā’ al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥiṣn al-Baghdādī and others like them,<sup>13</sup> from whom he learnt much about Arabic and Persian treatises and books. From an early age, my uncle devoted all his spare time to studying the sciences and filling his soul with virtues.

[15.51.2]

My grandfather returned to Syria in the year 597/1200. My uncle was then no more than approximately twenty years old, but he immediately began to treat patients and improve his knowledge of the art of medicine. The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah al-Raḥbī,<sup>14</sup> who for many years had been a good friend of my grandfather’s, was living in Damascus at that time, and when he heard of my uncle, met him in person and discovered what he had learnt, he was delighted. My uncle frequented al-Raḥbī’s teaching sessions, studied under his guidance and discussed medical topics with him. He visited patients in the hospital that had been founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, where the physicians Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣaraf<sup>15</sup> and the shaykh Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn

8 On him, see Ch. 15.40.

9 This could perhaps be Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, see his biography in Ch. 15.46.

10 Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ja’dī was a Fatimid astrologer.

11 Literally: ‘the arranger’. *Aṣlahā* or *ṣallaha* actually means ‘To tune an instrument’.

12 MS A reads al-Naqjawayh here.

13 These musicians are not mentioned in Farmer’s *A History of Arabian Music*; even though he has used 1AU in his chapter ‘The Music of Islam’ in *The New Oxford History of Music, 1: Ancient and Oriental Music*. Nor are they mentioned in the volume on musicians and musicologists by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umari, *Masālik, x: Ahl al-ghinā’ wa-l-mūsīqī*.

14 See his entry in Ch. 15.36.

15 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him.



‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>16</sup> were also working. At the same time, he also studied philosophy under Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, for he too had returned to Syria. In addition, there was in Damascus a group of literary scholars who were celebrated for their knowledge of the Arabic language, among them Zayn al-Dīn ibn Mu‘ṭī,<sup>17</sup> whom my uncle came to know and under whom he studied, and Tāj al-Dīn ibn Ḥasan al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn,<sup>18</sup> who had been a good friend of my grandfather’s since the days of ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh.<sup>19</sup> My uncle attended his teaching sessions as well, and studied the Arabic language under his guidance. Before my uncle had reached the age of twenty-five, he had already mastered all these sciences and become a shaykh whose example was followed in the art of medicine and who had his own students. He also composed poetry, kept up a correspondence, spoke Persian, knew Persian grammar and even composed poetry in it. He spoke Turkish as well.

On Friday the 15th of the month Ramadan of the year 605 [March 23, 1209], the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā,<sup>20</sup> the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, sent for my uncle. Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam listened to what he had to say, showed him great honour, treated him generously and asked him to enter his service, but my uncle was unable to accept because of the Sultan’s military operations. Sometime later, 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, heard of my uncle and sent for both him and my grandfather, whom he had known since his father’s time. When they arrived, he welcomed them, treated them most generously and allotted them an ample salary, allowances and high rank. He gave my uncle such a good position that he hardly left the ruler’s side. When al-Malik al-Amjad discovered my uncle’s excellent knowledge of arithmetic, he asked him to instruct him in this field. My uncle obeyed and taught him everything there was to learn of that science, and even com-

16 On him, see Ch. 15.50.

17 Yahyā ibn Mu‘ṭī ibn ‘Abd al-Nūr al-Zawāwī al-Naḥwī, born in the Islamic West, died in Cairo in 628/1231; see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv:44–45; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xx:35–36.

18 For Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217), see Ch. 15.50.1 n. 2.

19 Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Izz al-Dīn Taqī al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd Farrukh Shāh Dāwūd was the Ayyubid emir of Baalbek between 1179 and 1182 and Nā‘ib (Viceroy) of Damascus. He was the son of Saladin’s younger brother Nūr al-Dīn Shāhānshāh and the older brother of Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar who became emir of Hama.

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

piled, for his use, a textbook on arithmetic comprising four treatises. Al-Malik al-Amjad – may God have mercy upon him – was a man of virtue who showed great respect for other men of virtue; he composed good poetry, and his *Dīwān* (collected verse) is well-known.

[15.51.3]

In the year 609/1212, an esteemed eunuch of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, called Sulayṭah, became afflicted with an eye disease. Both his eyes were affected, and his condition deteriorated to such an extent that he despaired of recovery. The best physicians and oculists came treated him, but were unable to cure him; they decided unanimously that he must inevitably become blind, as no treatment had had any effect whatever. When my father saw this man and examined his eyes, he said, ‘I will treat this man’s eyes and he will see with both of them, if God, exalted be He, so wills’. In response to his treatment, both Sulayṭah’s eyes steadily improved, until his recovery was complete and he had regained his health. He became his former self once more, and was able to ride a horse again, so that the people were astonished and regarded the treatment as an unrivalled miracle. As a result, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil gained a good impression of my father and paid him the utmost honour by presenting him with special robes and other items.

Even before this achievement, my father had been accustomed to frequent the palace of the Sultan in the citadel of Damascus, treating those who were afflicted with serious eye diseases and curing them in short order. This also came to the attention of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. ‘Such a man should go with me wherever my travels lead me!’ he exclaimed, and asked him to enter his service. My father asked to be excused and permitted to remain in Damascus, but his request was not granted. The Sultan offered him a salary and allowances, and my father finally enrolled in his service on the 15th Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the year 609 [9 May 1213]. The Sultan and all his sons relied on him for medical treatment, and they treated him with great generosity, bestowing many favours upon him. He remained in their service until al-Malik al-ʿĀdil – may God have mercy upon him – died.

My father was then invited to continue in his post by the late ruler’s son and successor in Damascus, al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, who also had confidence in him and trusted his judgment, perhaps even more [than his father had done]. My father served al-Malik al-Muʿazzam from the beginning of Ṣafar of the year 616 [18 April 1219] until the Sultan – may God have mercy upon him – died. Then al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the son of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, in his turn invited him to remain in his service, promising him all the benefits that he had enjoyed in the days of his father. My father stayed with him until it happened that al-Malik

al-Nāṣir had to leave for al-Karak, while my father stayed behind in Damascus. He continued to frequent the Sultan's palace in the citadel, serving the royal household, that is to say, all the descendants of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil who governed Damascus, and others as well. All of them revered him highly and relied on his medical treatment, and he was paid a salary and allowances and enjoyed many favours.

In addition, my father used to frequent the Great Hospital of Nūr al-Dīn, where he also received a salary and allowances. People flocked to him from all sides, when they found out about his rapid cures. Diseases that required the use of surgery he treated by that means, and those that could be treated with drugs he treated by that means, thereby sparing those patients the ordeal of surgery. This method was praised by Galen in his book *On Examinations by Which the Best Physicians are Recognized*:<sup>21</sup>

'If you see a physician administering drugs in case of maladies that are usually treated by means of surgery,' he says, 'you may conclude that such a doctor is learned, experienced and skilled.' He also said, 'Similarly, you should praise any doctor whom you see using medicaments only to treat diseases of the eye for which others would use surgery, as, for instance pterygium,<sup>22</sup> trachoma,<sup>23</sup> chalazion,<sup>24</sup> cataract,<sup>25</sup> roughness of the eye-

21 For the following quotations of Galen's treatise, see Iskandar, *Examinations*, 116–117.

22 *Zafarah*, pterygium, is a wing-like membrane in the corner of the eye, often removed surgically with a small knife.

23 The treatment for *jarab*, trachoma, was considered surgical in that the eyelid was scraped using a special metal instrument; see Savage-Smith, 'Tbn al-Nafis's *Perfected Book on Ophthalmology*'. In the text of Galen edited and translated by Iskandar (*Examinations*, 116–117) the next condition named amongst those treated by surgery is *al-sabal*, pannus (a vascularization which invades the cornea) that medieval Islamic physicians sometimes tried to remove using small hooks and a knife; the condition, however, was apparently unknown to (or unrecognized by) the Greco-Roman physicians, and this passage in Galen in a treatise preserved only in Arabic is the only known evidence for Greek physicians recognizing the complaint. Hence, its omission in the text given here suggests that the word *al-sabal* (or rather its Greek equivalent, whatever that might have been) was not part of the original Greek text.

24 *Barad* ('hail'), or more commonly *baradah* ('hailstone'), is the Arabic rendering of the Greek *khalazion* meaning a small lump resembling a hailstone; the term chalazion is still used today for a tarsal cyst or nodule inside the upper or lower eyelid. It was treated first by drug therapy, rubbing it with gum ammoniac dissolved in strong vinegar or a salve of rose oil, wax and turpentine, or similar medicament. If that failed, the eyelid was to be everted and the lid incised with a lancet having at the opposite end a small scoop with which the chalazion could then be scraped out. If the resulting opening was large, the edges of the incision were drawn together with a suture.

25 *Mā'*, short for *mā' nāzil fī l-'ayn* (water descending in the eye), the common way of referring

lid,<sup>26</sup> fistulas,<sup>27</sup> troublesome eyelashes,<sup>28</sup> or an excess or insufficiency of flesh in the inner corner of the eye.<sup>29</sup> You should also praise any doctor whom you see promptly remove congested pus<sup>30</sup> from the eye, or who restores to its place the tunic that is called the 'grape-like'<sup>31</sup> after it has become very swollen,<sup>32</sup> until it has settled completely, or who applies any other similar kind of treatment of the eye that does not entail surgery'.

These are the words of Galen.

I have seen many cases like this in which my father used such methods, and also many eye diseases in which the patient had despaired of recovery, but which he managed to treat successfully. One of his patients who was cured by him, Shams al-'Arab al-Baghdādī, composed the following poem about him:<sup>33</sup>

Sadīd al-Dīn's ability in medicine  
 always saves an eye from its sore:  
 From so many an eye has it cleared its darkness  
 and from so many eyelids it has removed harm!

---

to what today is called a cataract. Today the condition is known to be due to an opaque lens, but in medieval literature it was said that a membrane was interposed between the lens and pupil. The technique commonly used to treat it is in English called couching; it was an ancient technique, known to classical antiquity and possibly originating in India, in which the opaque lens (or 'crystalline humour') was not removed but rather pushed to one side.

- 26 *Ghilaz*, meaning thickening and roughness, was used for a general scaliness of the eyelid. The Galenic text (Iskandar, *Examinations*, 116) reads *gharab*, referring to a lachrymal abscess or ulcer of the tear duct, which was also treated surgically by oculists.
- 27 *Nawāsīr*, fistulas; lachrymal fistulas or abscesses were frequently cauterized with special surgical probes.
- 28 *Sha'r* is here probably short for either *sha'r zā'id*, excessive or superfluous eyelashes, or *sha'r munqalib*, ingrown eyelashes or trichiasis, both of which were treated 'surgically' by removing with tweezers sometimes preceded by small incisions in along the margins of the eyelids. See Savage-Smith, 'Ibn al-Nafis's *Perfected Book on Ophthalmology*'.
- 29 *Ziyādat laḥm al-mu'q wa-nuqsānuhi*. While the overgrowth of the flesh of the canthus of the eye (*ziyādat laḥm al-mu'q*) is a common topic in ophthalmological manuals, where excision is recommended, its deficiency (*nuqsān*) is not commonly discussed nor treated surgically.
- 30 *Middah muḥtaqanah*, probably in reference to a hypopyon.
- 31 *Al-ṭabaqah al-'inabiyyah* (the 'grape-like' tunic or layer) was used by both Greek and Arabic physicians to designate both the uvea and the iris, with no distinction between the two structures; see Meyerhof, *Ten Treatises*, 9.
- 32 Or suffered a prolapse (*nutū'*). Cf. 5.1.29.1 for a prolapse of the iris.
- 33 Metre: *ramal*.

Eye doctoring should never be practised among mankind  
 except by such a skilled practitioner.  
 O Christ of our time! So many, blind from birth,  
 became seeing again through you, this one, that one ...!  
 Through your sound opinions there is a cure for the disease,  
 in your words there is food for the soul.  
 I have obligations to you, the least of which, if I were  
 to thank you, would be 'Bravo!'

Shams al-ʿArab's full name was: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Nafīs ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Wahbān al-Sulamī.<sup>34</sup>

[15.51.4]

My father remained in service in the citadel of Damascus and frequented the 'Great Hospital' founded by Nūr al-Dīn, until he died – may God have mercy upon him – during the night of Thursday the 22nd of Rabīʿ II of the year 649 [14 July 1251], during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad,<sup>35</sup> the ruler of Damascus. He was buried outside the Paradise Gate<sup>36</sup> on the way to Mount Qāsiyūn. My uncle, for his part, was serving at the court of al-Malik al-Amjad when al-Malik al-Muʿazzam came to Baalbek to reinforce al-Malik al-Amjad and help him [fight] his adversaries, the Hospitallers. When the two princes met with their respective suites, my uncle would join them. At that time, there was no one who had a better knowledge of music and the art of playing the lute than he, nor was there anyone with a better voice, so that the listeners found their souls touched with deep emotion (the same has been said of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī). Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam was greatly impressed by my uncle and engaged him in his service, beginning on 1 Jumādā I of the year 610 [18 September 1213]. The Sultan granted him a salary and allowances, visited him frequently, and treated him most generously. He spent most of his time in the company of his physician and relied upon him in all matters relating to the art of medicine. The same can be said of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad and al-Malik al-Ashraf, both of whom depended upon him. Whenever one of them

34 On Shams al-ʿArab (d. 622/1225) see Ibn al-Shaʿr, *Qalāʿid*, ii:391–394, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:564.

35 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Yūsuf ibn al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Ṣalāh al-Dīn, of Aleppo (r. 648–658/1250–1260). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

36 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.

came to visit his brother, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, my uncle would constantly be at their side, and he obtained many presents from both of them.

I know of one occasion, when al-Malik al-Kāmil came to visit his brother, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam; they had a meeting in a friendly atmosphere, and my uncle sat with them. That same night, al-Malik al-Kāmil gave [my uncle] a complete robe of honour and five hundred Egyptian dinars. When al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam was in Damascus, he appointed my uncle as military secretary, and insisted on his acceptance of the post. The only thing my uncle could do was to obey this order. He sat in the administrative office and received the common soldiers and the officers. He spent all his days in his secretarial post, but then realized that most of his time was spent in correspondence and calculations, with no spare time at all and no leisure left for himself to devote to the rational sciences and other matters. He appealed to the Sultan to be released from his job, asking a group of his intimate friends to put in a good word for him, until the Sultan acceded to his request.

[15.51.5]

In the year 611/1214, my uncle accompanied al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam on the pilgrimage [to Mecca]. He remained in the prince’s service until the day of the defeat at ‘Amtā,<sup>37</sup> in the middle of Sha‘bān of the year 614 [mid-November 1217]. The Franks advanced, and the old Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil and his son al-Mu‘azzam fell into disagreement as to the route of their retreat. My uncle set out towards Damascus in the company of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, while al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam went in the direction of Nablus. My uncle subsequently left Damascus in the company of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the son of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, but when they arrived at ‘Ajlūn,<sup>38</sup> al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ordered his son to go back and they all returned to Damascus. My uncle then fell ill; his illness continued for the rest of that year, and he found that travelling was harmful to him. He was, by nature, inclined to solitude and the study of books.

[15.51.6]

On the fifth of Muḥarram of the year 615 [3 April 1218], my uncle was summoned to the court of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who had heard of his achievements and reputation. Al-Malik al-‘Ādil appointed him as a medical practitioner at the two hospitals in Damascus founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr

37 ‘Amtā is a small village in Jordan. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, iv:153.

38 ‘Ajlūn is the capital town of the Ajlūn Governorate, a hilly town in the north of modern Jordan, located 76 kilometers north west of the capital city ‘Ammān. It is noted for its impressive ruins of the 6th/12th-century ‘Ajlūn Castle. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ajlūn’ (D. Sourdel).

al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī. My uncle frequented these two hospitals and the citadel and was paid a salary and allowances. He was also paid a salary as the physician of Sitt al-Shām,<sup>39</sup> the sister of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, whom he would attend at her palace. Having settled in Damascus, he instituted public sessions at which he would teach the art of medicine. A number of the pupils who studied under his guidance went on to become outstanding physicians. At that time, my uncle met with ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī,<sup>40</sup> who was one of the great scholars of his age in the mathematical sciences. My uncle studied astronomy under him and became an expert in it within a very short time. One day, when ʿAlam al-Dīn was with my uncle, teaching him some astronomical figures, he said to him, ‘By God, Rashīd al-Dīn, what you have learnt in approximately one month would have taken others five years of effort to master’.

[15.51.7]

While in Damascus, my uncle also met the learned authority, the shaykh of shaykhs, Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawayh,<sup>41</sup> who presented him with the attire of Sufis<sup>42</sup> on the twentieth of the month of Ramadan of the year 615 [10 December 1218]. The following is the text of the inscription that was attached to his Sufi garment:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the esteemed master and learned authority, shaykh of shaykhs, Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawayh, the proof of Islam and token of the unity of God, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, the son of the great and learned authority, shaykh of shaykhs, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Abī l-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamawayh,<sup>43</sup> may God maintain his support forever, herewith en-

39 Sitt al-Shām Zumurrud Khātūn bint Najm al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb was the second sister of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

40 ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Musāfir was an Egyptian mathematician who resided in Syria and died in Damascus in the year 649/1251. See Sabra, ‘Simplicius Proof’, 8; also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv:304.

41 Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawayh (or perhaps Ḥammūyah) was a Shāfiʿī *faqīh*. Elaborate biographical information on this person can be found in Ibn al-ʿAdīm’s *Bughyah*; see translation in Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 118–119 (10/1508).

42 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘*khirkah*’ (J.-L. Michon), where it is rendered as ‘rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown’.

43 This name is spelled with a *shaddah* and *ḍammah* on the *mūn* in al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (several times) and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii: 28, suggesting Ḥammūyah; cf. also *ET*<sup>2</sup> *Suppl.*, 3a (‘Muḥammad b. Ḥammūya’). But in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, xvi:342 and al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, v:204 it is Ḥammawayh, in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xv:65 it is Ḥammuwahy.

dows his novice, ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus al-Khazrajī al-Dimashqī, may God grant him success in his obedience, with a Sufi garment.

While dressing him in it, the shaykh told my uncle that he had received that robe from his abovementioned father – may God have mercy upon him – and that his father received it from his father, the Shaykh of Islam, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥamawayh – may God have mercy upon him. He had been presented with it by the prophet Elias – peace be upon him, who in turn had received it from the Messenger of God himself – God bless him and keep him.

The shaykh’s grandfather had also received it from shaykh Abū ‘Alī al-Fārāndī al-Ṭūsī, who in turn had been given it by the shaykh of his generation, Abū l-Qāsim al-Karakānī, who again had received it from the learned authority Abū ‘Uthmān al-Maghribī, who had been given it by the venerated shaykh Abū ‘Amr al-Zajjājī, who had been presented with it by the leader of the religious community al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad, who had received it from his maternal uncle Sarī al-Saqāṭī. He in turn had been given it by Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī, who had inherited it from ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā – upon him be peace. Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī accompanied ‘Alī, educated and served him. ‘Alī in his turn had received it from his father, Mūsā ibn Ja‘far al-Kāẓim, who had been given it by his father Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, who had been presented with it by his father Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Bāqir. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Bāqir had got it from his father, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, who had received it from his father, al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, who had been given it by his father ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib – peace be upon him. ‘Alī had received it in turn from the master of the apostles and the leader of the pious, our Prophet Muḥammad – may the best prayers and wishes rest upon him. This tradition also runs from Ma‘rūf through Dāwūd al-Ṭā‘ī, Ḥabīb al-‘Ajāmī, the leader of the Successors, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to ‘Alī – peace be upon him, and from him to the Prophet of God – God bless him and keep him.

My uncle was clad in this special robe – may God cause its blessings to be bestowed upon him and upon all those who have been honoured by it – on the twentieth of the month of Ramadan of the year 615 [10 December 1218] in Damascus, the protected city, and between the lines written by master Ṣadr al-Dīn, the shaykh of shaykhs, were the words: ‘This robe was placed on the above-mentioned person – may God grant him success – during the month of Ramadan of the year 615 [December 1218]. Written by Ibn Ḥamawayh Abī l-Ḥasan ibn ‘Umar ibn Abī l-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, praising God and praying for His messenger, asking pardon for his sins’.



[15.51.8]

In the year 616/1219, my uncle received a message from al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in his own handwriting, asking him to come to the town of Bosra<sup>44</sup> and treat his mother and other sufferers at the court; afterwards he would be allowed to return [to Damascus]. It happened that a great epidemic was raging in Bosra. My uncle went there and successfully treated the Sultan's mother, who felt well again within the shortest possible time, whereupon, he was presented with gold and honorary robes. Shortly thereafter, however, he was stricken with an acute fever, which grew steadily worse, even after his return to Damascus. The best and most venerated physicians tried to cure him, but his time had come. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the second hour of Monday, the seventeenth of Shaʿbān, of the year 616 [28 October 1219], at the age of 38. He was buried near his father and brother outside the Gate of Paradise.

[15.51.9]

The following are some of my uncle's wise sayings, as I heard them from him – may God have mercy upon him:

1. Exhortation for the beginning of the day: 'This day has come, in which you are prepared to do all kinds of things. Choose to perform the finest deeds, so that you will be able to reach the highest of ranks. You should do good, for that will bring you nearer to God and endear you to men. Beware of evil, for it will keep you away from God and make people hate you.'
2. Do that which will give you credit at the end of the day, and beware that the evil part of your nature does not overpower the good part. A virtuous person is not the one who remains in his natural state in the absence of harmful influences, but rather the one who remains in that state despite the presence of harmful influences; to stay away from people is the best preventive against harm.
3. Follow the commandments of the prophets and follow the example of the wise.
4. Be truthful, for a lie makes a man feel inferior in his own eyes, let alone in the eyes of others.

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44 Bosra (ancient Bostra) is a town in southern Syria near the border of Jordan, nowadays administratively belonging to the Daraa District of the Daraa Governorate. It used to be an important stopover on the ancient caravan route to Mecca. It, moreover, boasts a magnificent second-century Roman theatre. Some early Christian ruins and several mosques are also found within its great walls. Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Boṣrā' (A. Abel).

5. Be gentle and you will be thanked and honoured, for hatred quickly brings about anguish and causes enmity and evil, just as envy does.
6. Keep away from evil persons and you will be protected from harm.
7. Stay far away from the rulers of this world and you will spare yourself the company of evil persons.
8. Be content with those worldly goods that suffice for your bodily needs.
9. Know that this day of yours is a piece of your life that will be gone [forever], so spend it on what might benefit you later; if you have satisfied your bodily needs, finish the rest of your day by doing things that are beneficial to you. Do unto people as you would like them to do unto you. Beware of anger and the sudden impulse to take revenge on an angry man or to dissociate from him, for you may come to regret it; you should be patient, for patience is the principal part of all wisdom.
10. Exhortation for the beginning of the night: 'Your day has passed with all that happened in it. Now this night has come, in which you do not have a necessary physical task to fulfil, so turn towards the things that are beneficial for you, by studying the sciences, and by reflecting on the knowledge of the true sense of things; as long as you can stay awake, do this; when you are feeling sleepy, concentrate on the subject of your concern, so that your dreams may also be of the same nature. Do what will be creditable to you tomorrow'.
11. Strive to be a better person tomorrow than you have been today.
12. Beware of being allured by your innate nature to ponder on what you have seen during the day of the conditions of the rulers of this world, for this will waste your time, open for yourself the gates of deception, trickery and slyness in order to acquire worldly goods, corrupt your soul and impair your status, keep you far removed from the true essence of things and let you acquire those shameful traits of character that are so difficult to cast off. But know that these [matters] are transient and useless accidents, and that the needs of man are very few.
13. Reflect on the things that might be useful to you and stand ready to meet God, for the knowledge of the time of your death is concealed from you, and your expectation of living another day is stronger than your imagination of dying tonight; so in saying farewell you should cling to those things that will benefit you after [your] departure. Peace be upon you.
14. Respect your teachers, even if they kept silent and did not answer your questions. Perhaps that was because they learned things long ago (and have forgotten them), or because of weariness, or because you asked something that is not of your concern, or because they believed that you

- would not understand the answer; know that the benefit you will derive from them is greater than all of this.
15. First, study the universal sayings of the famous; if you have mastered the art, then study the particular sayings of each person as contained in his book.
  16. Look at the sayings of each person objectively, free from love or hatred; then weigh them according to analogy and examine them, if possible, by experience; only then you can determine whether or not they are sound. If this is difficult, then enlist someone's aid, for each mind has its own particular capacity for interpreting certain meanings.
  17. If the virtuous people urge you to advance, advance, for if you do not, you will lag behind.
  18. Always seek the truth, so that you may obtain knowledge for yourself and love from other people.
  19. Let your particular actions, that you keep in your mind, correspond to the universal principles, so that your knowledge will be sound, your experience first-rate, your prognostication certain and the advantages that you reap from contact with people, enhanced.
  20. Study the sayings of those whose aim it was to instruct. If you have mastered this art, then confirm it by studying the sayings of those who love truth and thwart untruth. When your knowledge is proven and brought to perfection, so that it cannot be destroyed by doubt, it will do you no harm to browse, from time to time, through the books of sceptics and dialecticians; for their purpose is to demonstrate their power in their claims, regardless of whether they possess genuine knowledge or not, and whether their claims are true or false.
  21. When practising as a physician, fear God and try to act according to what you know for certain; when you cannot do this, try to come as close as possible.
  22. If you have reached the rank of teacher, do not turn away the worthy, that is the intelligent, clever, good and wise individuals, but turn away all others.
  23. When you know of many remedies to a single disease, choose the more appropriate one for every stage of it.
  24. Diseases have their own duration, and remedies need the help of fate. The art of medicine is largely mere conjecture and assessment, in which certainty is a rare occurrence.<sup>45</sup> Its two parts are analogy and experience, not sophistry and love of dominance; the purpose of medicine is the preserva-

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45 For the opinion that medicine is mere conjecture and assessment, see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 66, esp. n. 213; Joosse and Pormann, 'Archery', 425–427.

tion of health when it is present and its recovery when it has been lost; in these two things a sound natural disposition and subtle thought become evident, and by them you can distinguish between the one whose work is effective and the ignorant, the excellent scholar and the idle one, the one who acts according to analogy and experience and the one who only seeks for wealth and prestige.

25. Knowledge is so slow and difficult to acquire – even though people strive to proceed with brevity and clear exposition as much as they can, live long lives, have accurate thoughts, and cooperate with one another, with sound natural disposition – that it baffles the eye and makes the mind waver.
26. Observe the activity of nature when unhindered by obstacles, and follow nature's example in your own actions.
27. How wonderful patience is, were it not that one pays for it with part of one's lifetime!
28. The more a thing is expected, the longer one thinks it takes in coming and the less one thinks of its value.
29. One should hope for good things, but assume that they will be few.
30. Injustice is in our nature and it is abandoned only for fear of the Hereafter or for fear of the sword.
31. One benefit can only be accomplished through multiple corruptions.
32. Those who pursue their own interests are many times as numerous as those who are concerned for God's creatures.
33. If you wish to live among people, you will run the risk of injustice, If you wish to avoid that risk, it is you who must treat others unjustly. Do not hope to find a middle way.
34. Solitude is the best time of life.
35. Solitude is the best way of life.
36. Solitude is the result of wisdom.
37. Bad people are always searching for someone with whom they can pass their days in small talk, pleasure and idleness; when they are alone, they suffer because of the wickedness that is found in their souls. The opposite is true of good people, for they are their own good company.
38. The root of every misfortune is the desire for the world.
39. How often will people turn their back on their [real] interests, and cling to the world, and then it slips away from them!
40. I wonder how a man, who does not know the time of his death and at all times believes in happiness and misery, can rely on the world and disregard his most important concern.
41. How many people delight in their hopes without even beginning to fulfil them.

42. Hopes are the dreams of the wakeful.
43. There are many things to do at any time, therefore choose the most important of them.
44. What is the situation of the person, who neglects his concerns at the appropriate times, hoping for other occasions to arrive, pushing them away every time, until he dies hoping?
45. As long as you are in a state in which you are able to be in charge of your body and exercise your soul, keeping them both in good order without being stingy or wasteful, you should not change your state; for you have something that moves you, and if you wanted to stay in the same place, you would not be able to do so. Many a person who has changed his state for one that he considered better has found it worse.
46. Do not show enmity toward a happy person, for the opposite of a happy man is a wretched man.
47. If each of two enemies were to confront the other with his issue, it would be a matter of chance which of them would subdue his adversary. Accordingly, we are commanded, when pursuing important matters, to merge all issues and make a single issue of them, with heavenly assistance.
48. Be eager to take people as your friends; beware of the arrows of ambitions, for they hit the target.
49. Beware of wronging the scholars, for they are God's people.
50. When someone who possesses true knowledge is wronged, God will expose the injustice done to him and help him, and will soon forsake his oppressor.
51. God has His beloved ones, whom He guards with His eye that never sleeps; these are the scholars.
52. The learned are those who are truly happy.
53. As long as no good works come forth from those who are by the masses conventionally called the fortunate ones of this world, they are in fact the evil ones.
54. A person may say a word of wisdom on one occasion and look for the same on a different occasion, but will be unable to find it.
55. Whoever associates with fools in spite of their ignorance and is enticed into attending their circles by his love of this world, should only blame himself when their evil gets hold of him.
56. Adjust the scales, then weigh.
57. When you come to possess a material intellect, then you are a true man, in absolute terms.<sup>46</sup>

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46 This subject matter is discussed by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. The latter calls it the first stage of the development of the intellect, see Ibn Sīnā's *De anima*, 48–49.

58. Rely on your knowledge when no objection can impair it.
59. What a wonderful thing is unanimous opinion!
60. What a wonderful thing is a fitting opinion!
61. A reasonable action is performed according to the intention by which it is produced, and not because of the absolute good.
62. What a wonderful thing is the opinion that is brought about between a sincere person asking for advice and an honest and intelligent man giving advice.
63. Trust only him who believes firmly in what he hopes or fears and is certain that the only truth is his belief; as to the one who doubts his belief or does not have belief in anything at all, do not rely on him, nor take him as your companion. When the one who is convinced of his belief is not a member of your religious community, beware of him too, for he may consider you an unbeliever according to his faith, regard you as an enemy and treat you with hostility.
64. Trust [your] religion more than your fellow believers.
65. Know for certain that sound belief is the reason for practising the precepts of religion. The practise of the precepts of religion may be evidence of the certainty of true belief; he who practices these precepts may do so by imitation of others, without knowing anything else, but he may also do it out of piety; the signs, if they are the consequence of the certainty of true belief, show the traces of divine inspiration [in his belief] and his fair conduct towards the other creatures of God, which comes of his own accord.
66. How wonderful, a life of freedom!
67. Contentment is the gate to freedom!
68. Whoever has sufficient means for the necessities of life, but instead sells his soul to another, hoping for the luxuries of life, is the stupidest of fools.
69. How few are the needs of man, were he impartial to himself!
70. Steer clear from the company of those who adore worldly things, for if you find them, they will tie you down, and they will cause you grief, if you cannot find them.
71. When angry, choose the company of someone whose presence will alleviate your bad mood.<sup>47</sup>
72. The loss of a friend heralds a departure.

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47 All MSS (as well as the editions of Müller and al-Najjār) have *man lā tub'idu ṣuḥbatuhū*, which is the opposite: 'whose presence will *not* remove you from your state/mood'. The negative *lā* is missing in the Nizār Riḍā edition.

73. When a wise man is hurt by you or imagines himself to be hurt by you even if you have not hurt him, then it may be useful to disavow this if you are innocent, and to apologize if you have indeed hurt him. On the other hand, when it appears to you that a resentful man imagines himself to have been hurt by you, deprived of his benefit or contradicted, then beware of him, for he will constantly think of plans to hurt you.
74. Friends are like one soul in different bodies.
75. The physician is the person in charge of the human body, not in absolute terms, but in relative terms, as he compares it to his own body. The human physique is among the noblest of compound things, so that the one concerned with this matter must [also] be one of the noblest men.
76. Wealth is a magnet for the souls of the ignorant and knowledge is a magnet for the souls of the wise.
77. I have seen fools admiring the rich, even though they know for certain that they will not give them any part of their wealth, except the price of commodities or payment for labour, the same as what they get from the poor.
78. The best among the learned is the person whose knowledge is in harmony with his mind.
79. When you can stay away from people with the minimum of sufficiency, that would be the best situation.
80. If you fear for your money and only spend it on the most important things, you should see to it that you do [just] this during your lifetime.
81. Wisdom is following the example of God, Exalted be He.
82. A man is given insight in his own faults only through the faults of others.
83. If you have attached beautiful traits of character to your soul, you are paying it the utmost honour, for if you are, for example, not susceptible to anger, while everyone else is, you will become the finest man in that respect.
84. The more perfect a thing is, the more pleasure it gives; the more defective a thing is, the more pain it causes.
85. Read much of the biographies of wise men and follow their example as much as you can during your lifetime.
86. Give your soul power over your body.
87. Improve the quality of food and reduce its quantity.
88. Abstain from giving your body more food than necessary to sustain its strength. Beware of giving it too much, but increase the nourishment of the soul.
89. The nourishment of the soul by means of the sciences proceeds step by step. Start with small and easy portions and advance gradually, for the soul

- will crave for more when it grows stronger; when it has become a natural habitus [*malakah*], everything will become easier for it.
90. A strong stomach digests any kinds of food that enters it and a virtuous soul accepts any kind of knowledge that is brought to it.
  91. As long as you are not able to bear solitude you are compelled to associate with people.
  92. Associate with people in what gives them pleasure, but do not forsake the nearness of God, Exalted be He.
  93. Someone wrote to his teacher complaining of difficulties in his affairs. His teacher wrote back saying: 'You will not be saved from what you dislike, until you have abstained from many a thing that you love, and you will not reach what you love, until you have endured many a thing that you dislike Peace be upon you'.
  94. Be thankful to him who does good and to him who does no evil; forgive people for their actions and do not blame them, for every creature has its particular nature.
  95. Approve of the same things in others as you do in yourself and disapprove of the same thing in them as you do in yourself.
  96. Do not forsake any of your deeds of devotion to God, Exalted be He.
  97. Truly obey God and people will obey you.
  98. There is nothing more useful than sincere intention.
  99. Take from everything that which may guide you toward the goal at which it is aimed.
  100. Do not depend on anything that you acquire by chance.
  101. Humble yourself to men, and especially to the religious scholars and the shaykhs, and do not think little of anyone; for the scholar often conceals his knowledge in order to select someone to whom he can entrust it, just as the farmer selects his land.
  102. In every science, study the sayings of its first masters.
  103. Always study intensively the books of divine revelation, for they contain all wisdom.
  104. Spend much time in the company of the shaykhs; you will either benefit from their knowledge or from their way of life.
  105. If you look attentively at the virtuous in all their doings, you will find much wisdom in it.
  106. I have seen that the most important thing for the majority of the people is that which brings them money.
  107. How often do people hear prophetic and wise commandments, but apply only those which bring them money.
  108. How strong is man's reliance on bodily pleasures!



109. Do not neglect to think about the future in the present time.
110. The man who does not think about the future is unprepared for it.
111. Contentment forms the basis of everything good and virtuous.
112. Man can attain everything he desires through contentment.
113. The contented man is assisted in the fulfilment of his desires.
114. Aim at the utmost degree of human perfection, for if you are unable to reach that level, yet you will attain the degree that is in your power. If you aim at the second-best degree of perfection, hoping to proceed from it to the following, you will probably end by abandoning effort and being content with less than you deserve.
115. Beware of forsaking any of the physical acts of devotion, for they are an excellent aid to reaching the spiritual acts of devotion.
116. Solitariness is sufficient honour, for God, Exalted be He, is one.
117. The more absolute solitariness is, the nobler it is, for the oneness of God, Exalted be He, can by no means be corrupted by a plurality of aspects.
118. Hold fast unto God, Exalted be He, depend on Him, put your faith in Him alone, and He will protect you, supply you with all [your] provisions and will not disappoint your belief.
119. Let the religious community become your aid, and its members your brothers; do not rely on governments, for it is the religious communities that will endure.
120. Habituate your soul to the good, both in thought and action, and you will obtain the good from God, Exalted be He, and from men, now and in the future.
121. Do not strive for solitude as long as you still have the least spark of ambition.
122. If the weak would not overstep their power, they would be spared many a danger.
123. I wish I knew how to excuse myself if I have known (how to act) but did not act; I hope God, Exalted be He, will forgive me.

[15.51.10]

Here is some of the poetry that I have heard from my uncle – may God have mercy upon him:<sup>48</sup>

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48 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:297 (lines 1–3, 6).

[15.51.10.1]

My two friends, ask Passion and leave me!  
 What do you want from a yearning, suffering man?  
 Don't ask him about parting and how it tastes:  
 parting is another kind of death.  
 The camel drivers have called: 'Departure will be soon, so say farewell!'
   
 Thus I was bereaved of my heart and my friends.  
 Their camels set off when darkness had fallen,  
 but light shone from those who travelled, carried on the camels.  
 I did not know that your being far would kill me,  
 until I did<sup>49</sup> and I was deluded in thinking myself consoled.  
 I cried from passion after that, to no avail.  
 How else, since meeting has turned into wishing?

He said, describing a gathering:<sup>50</sup>

May rain bless a day on which our joy  
 was complete and a cup of cool wine brought us together;  
 When Fate's vagaries had turned away from us  
 and we, in delight, attained our desires  
 In a gathering perfect in its loveliness: if al-Junayd<sup>51</sup>  
 had been there he would have been charmed.  
 We had fun (*fukāhah*) there and fruit (*fākihah*),  
 and a cup of wine (*rāḥ*), and leisure (*rāḥah*), and song,  
 5 Amid drinking companions like suns, men  
 of learning, excellence, high standing, and brilliance,  
 Whose conversation does not bore the listener,  
 so nice that the eye would envy the ear;  
 Sincere friends, their minds pure,  
 chaste, harbouring no immoral thought,  
 Magnanimous men, always doing good things that  
 earn them praise among people.

49 Did what? Interpretation uncertain. Instead of *fa'altu* (thus A), read perhaps *fa'alti* or *fa'alta*, 'you did (viz. leave me)'.

50 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

51 Al-Junayd (d. 298/910), famous mystic and *zāhid* ('ascetic, renunciant').

- We recited our love poems (*aghzāl*), turning them into riddles (*nulghī-zuhā*)  
 on the name of a gazelle (*ghazāl*) who came to flirt with us (*yughāzilunā*),
- 10 On a day of gloom when the clouds poured out  
 as if they were the hand of our host.  
 We had a brazier, scintillating on every side  
 with fire, warming us.  
 Facing it stood a fawn, holding in his hand  
 a bird, like a lover near him, wasting away;  
 It looked, as he was turning it over (*yuqallibuhū*) in the fire,  
 like my heart (*qalbī*) that he has taken as a pawn.  
 The cups of wine kept chasing  
 worry away, where joy was our army.
- 15 We kept our conversation a secret, and did not  
 divulge it, for fear of slanderers who might hear us;  
 And no eye of one with sight saw us  
 save the bubble-eyes that watched us.<sup>52</sup>  
 The nicest life is that which we hide  
 in fear, even if our secret were public.  
 O day of ours! Shall we see you again  
 in Baalbek, will you return to us?

He also said:<sup>53</sup>

- O my friend! My piety is gone  
 since I came to Baalbek.  
 How can my religion be sound  
 after being charmed and shamed  
 By every slender youth with lissom  
 figure, resembling the full moon?  
 He looks with the cutting sword of his glance,  
 drawn only to murder me.
- 5 It is as if there is wine in his mouth  
 mixed with honey and musk.

52 The bubbles resulting from wine being mixed with water.

53 Metre: *mujtathth*.

Cheerfully, he laughs conceitedly  
 when he sees me cry.  
 He has no pity when I  
 humbly complain.  
 The falsehood of a slanderer who  
 told lies to him makes it worse for me.  
 He did not fear God when  
 he defamed me to him, to my ruin.  
 10 In the laws of love he became  
 my owner, though I own him.

[15.51.10.2]

He also said:<sup>54</sup>

The lover's secret is made public by his tears:  
 how can it be ever be hidden when one is in love?  
 My friends, have you ever seen a man to whom  
 lions are humble, but who is humbled by gazelles?  
 I used not to be one of those whose heart is enslaved  
 by passionate love; but passion is a sovereign ruler.  
 My lord, breaking off comes after union  
 and before our hope stands abandonment.  
 Will you pity this grieving, ardent lover by visiting him,  
 O you, all whose deeds are beneficence?  
 You will find a man who will welcome you, decent,  
 with a cheerful face whose heart is distraught

He also said:<sup>55</sup>

I would give my life for him of the graceful figure, who has  
 no equal in beauty and beneficence,  
 Drowsy, though his lover's eyelids  
 cannot escape a visit from insomnia.  
 His saliva seems a vintage wine,  
 cooled with water and ambergris perfume.

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54 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:297 (lines 2–3).

55 Metre: *kāmil*.

But now he resists me,  
 abandoning me, turning away, rejecting me.  
 I shall have to bear with his being bored with me;  
 perhaps my endurance will help me.

He also said:<sup>56</sup>

The grey doves of the sanctuary in La'la<sup>57</sup> pitied me  
 by lamenting in the tree tops; my tears streamed forth.  
 They lamented, doubting(?)<sup>58</sup> the yearning of their hearts,  
 and I lamented as someone bereaved who lost a child.  
 I bade them farewell and then returned, bereft  
 of my heart and them:<sup>59</sup> O disillusion of him who said farewell!  
 'O my spirit', I said, 'Depart, for they have departed!  
 And if they do not return, do not return!'

He also said:<sup>60</sup>

I was regretful, but regret or passion does not avail;  
 I lamented for Najd but Najd was deserted.<sup>61</sup>  
 The camels left with him I love and my tears  
 streamed forth. 'You have died!' they said. This is what loss means.  
 I am deprived of a pleasant life after he departed;  
 but despite myself the bond with him will last long.

He also said:<sup>62</sup>

Are you stingy with greeting and salutation?  
 I'd give my life for you! Why, when you are Abū l-Kirām?<sup>63</sup>

56 Metre: *rajaz*.

57 A place of uncertain location, possibly between Basra and Kufa (it means 'mirage').

58 It is not clear why their yearning should be doubted. Instead of *mirā'an* (as vowelled in A) read perhaps *marā'in*, '(they lamented) sights'. See also above, the note at Ch. 10.81.5.

59 Whether *wa-* in *wa-hum* is intended as the conjunction 'and' or the particle meaning 'with them', in either case one would have expected *wa-iyāhum* instead.

60 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

61 Najd is the central Arabian plateau; archetypical locus for love lyrics.

62 Metre: *wāfir*.

63 Literally, 'Father of the Generous', here a nickname not necessarily meaning that he has any children.

Ramadan is here, so do good deeds in it,  
 so that your fasting may be well-received!  
 Do not draw the sword of your glance in it  
 and do not brandish the lance of your figure.  
 Don't you fear the Merciful, you who would  
 declare killing to be lawful in the holy month?

[15.51.10.3]

He said, as a riddle on the name Abū l-Kirām:<sup>64</sup>

You who ask me about the one who delights my eyes,  
 think, for I have a problem for you!  
 One that has nine, equalling 'he wanted'<sup>65</sup>  
 in their numbers; understand this and do not ignore it!  
 The eighth letter is like the well-known fourth<sup>66</sup>  
 and the fourth is like the first,  
 And the seventh is five times the ninth  
 and ten of the sixth: show it to me!<sup>67</sup>  
 And a tenth of its second, times five,  
 is like the sixth, the best.<sup>68</sup>  
 This is the name of whom I love; if you know it,  
 tell me<sup>69</sup> and don't delay!

64 Metre: *sarī*. The riddle, one of many of its kind, uses the numerical values of the letters of the Arabic alphabet (for which the ancient order is used, as still in e.g. Hebrew, not the one used in dictionaries). A note in A (left margin), not wholly legible and partly cut off, announces 'The explanation of this and the following riddle, on the external interleaf inside (?), even though it is obvious, is in the margin, so look it up [there].': Such an explanation has not been found. Below this note in MS A another note says: 'To the binder: He who writes these lines says: He made an error in placing the external interleaf here and he put it at the end of the book, on the blank folio; so look there.'

65 In Arabic, 'Abū l-Kirām' is written with nine letters (ʾ, b, w, ʾ, l, k, r, ʾ, m), the numerical values of which are 1, 2, 6, 1, 30, 20, 200, 1, 40, respectively, adding up to 301, which is also the sum of the letters of *shāʾa* ('he wanted'), i.e. *sh* (300) and ʾ (1); note that the *hamzah* sign (not considered a proper letter) does not count.

66 It is not wholly clear why the *alif* (the first letter of the alphabet) is called 'well-known', as it is in the following poem too.

67 *Fa-zhīrhu*, a licence for *fa-azhīrhu*. The seventh letter ( $r = 200$ ) equals five times the ninth ( $m = 40$ ) or ten times the sixth ( $k = 20$ ).

68 Or, 2 divided by 10 equals 0.2; multiplied by 30 equals 6. Why this 6 should be called *al-afdal* is not clear.

69 *Fa-khbīr*, a licence for *fa-akhbīr*.

He said, as a riddle on the name Abū l-Karam:<sup>70</sup>

You who ask me about a loved one I will not name,  
 out of fear of someone spying – but I shall put him in a riddle:  
 He has a compound name, of sixty multiplied  
 by half of a sixth of it. Now understand the meanings!<sup>71</sup>  
 A fifth of his seventh is double his sixth  
 and a tenth of his eighth is the square of his second.<sup>72</sup>  
 The third of the name by H is like its fifth,  
 and the well-known first resembles the fourth<sup>73</sup>  
 This is the name of the one I want. Do not clearly pronounce its letters,  
 (I'll give my life for you!); I'll keep it hidden as long as I live.

He also said, as a riddle on the same:<sup>74</sup>

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.<sup>75</sup>  
 The sixth of its letters multiplied by its half  
 and a fourth part are like the eight nice ones.<sup>76</sup>  
 Double the second of the name by five  
 is like half of its termination, by analogy, a sufficiency.<sup>77</sup>

70 Metre: *basīṭ*. Abū l-Kirām and Abū l-Karam may well be variants of the same person's name. Perhaps the poet discarded one letter in order to obtain the round number that allows more ways of multiplication and division. It should be noted that the English translations offer scope for ambiguities not present in Arabic, because in English many ordinals and fractions are homonyms (e.g. 'tenth' standing for 'āshir, 'tenth in a sequence' and 'ushr, 'tenth part').

71 'Abū l-Karam' has eight letters adding up to 300 (1+2+6+1+30+20+200+40), which equals 60 times 5 (5 being half of a sixth of 60).

72 Or, 40 (a fifth of 200) equals two times 20; and 4 (a tenth of 40) equals the square of 2.

73 Or, 6 multiplied by 5 (the value of the letter *h*) equals 30; *alif* is both the first and the fourth letter.

74 Metre: *sarī*.

75 Q (*qāf*) is 100, of which the square root is 10; half of 'Abū l-Karam' here means the first four of its eight letters, which add up to 10. L (*lām*, 30) plus Y (*yā*, 10) plus K (*kāf*, 20) equals 60, which is a fifth of 300, the total for Abū l-Karam.

76 This does not seem to make sense unless instead of *wa-rub'uhū* one reads *wa-thulthuhū*. Then, 20 (the sixth letter) multiplied by 10 (half of 20, or the first half of the name) equals 200; plus 100 (one third, *thulth*, rather than one fourth, *rub*; of the total) equals 300, the sum of the eight letters (called 'nice' presumably because of the rhyme).

77 Double the second (2) is 4; times 5 equals 20, which is half of the last letter (40); assuming

The seventh is two thirds, and the third  
 is a fifth of the fifth; the allusion should suffice.<sup>78</sup>  
 The fourth is the first, O my master,  
 – this is the one who caused my eyelids to bleed.<sup>79</sup>  
 It has two parts; one of them  
 I want to have, the other part is governing.<sup>80</sup>  
 This is the name of whom I love. Would there be a lover  
 who could remain chaste with such temptation?

He said, as a riddle on the name Aqish:<sup>81</sup>

You who ask me about him whom the moons resemble:  
 Not so fast! I will conceal him forever.  
 The name is composed of T and A;  
 a sixth of its third is half of its second,<sup>82</sup>  
 And the first of the name is a tenth of Y;<sup>83</sup> so pay attention  
 to what I say and conceal it. I shall not name him.

[15.51.10.4]

He said:<sup>84</sup>

After the people had gone an ardent lover, lamenting  
 what struck him, declared his desires to be forbidden.

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that  $\text{أقش}$  is to be read *inhāhu* as a licence for *inhā'ihī*. The meaning of the last two words, if there is one, is unclear.

- 78 The seventh letter (200) is two thirds of the total; the third (6) is a fifth of the fifth letter (30).
- 79 The first and fourth letters are the same. 'Bleeding' eyes (i.e., eyes reddened by weeping) are often mentioned in poetry, although the word used here, *ru'āf*, normally refers to nosebleed. Again, the rhyme is responsible.
- 80 The name consists of two words, Abū and (a)l-Karam, the first being the 'governing' and the second the 'governed' word (which thus has the genitive). The poet wants the second, *al-karam* ('generosity'). The use of the feminine *iḥdāhumā* ('one of the two') instead of the masculine (*aḥadahumā*) is a gross error, unless one admits that the word 'word' (*kalimah*, feminine) may be implied.
- 81 Metre: *basīf*. The name Aqish or Āqish (Akiş?) is Turkish.
- 82 T (*tā*, 400) plus A (*alif*, 1) equals 401, the letters A (1), Q (100), Sh (*shīn*, 300) also add up to 401. A sixth of Sh (300) is 50, which is half of Q (100). Reading *thā'* (as in ALR) instead of *tā'* does not add up.
- 83 Y (*yā'*) is 10; one tenth is 1 (the letter *alif*).
- 84 Metre: *sarī'*.



He bade the one he loved farewell; then he turned  
 to occupy himself with death and related matters.  
 'Such', his companion said to him,  
 'is the requital of those who part from their loved ones'.

He also said:<sup>85</sup>

My course in life is like a mirror, in which  
 handsome and ugly people see their likeness in truth.  
 The beauty that meets the handsome one pleases him,  
 and the ugliness of what he encounters pains the ugly one.  
 The handsome one always looks at it,  
 and the wretched ugly one stays far from it.  
 Likewise, among the people of this world  
 only the noble ones, in nature and character, visit me.

He also said:<sup>86</sup>

Thirty years of my life have gone by and I have not despaired  
 nor have I been granted any of the things I sought.  
 Time has been resisting me, intentionally, but I am  
 steadfast towards misfortune, impregnable.  
 I have curried my fortune's favour with every virtue  
 and excellence, but it rewarded me with dire straits.  
 Well, a despondent soul suits a man better  
 and is more pleasant than the whisperings of false desires.

He also said:<sup>87</sup>

This is the world. Be not deluded  
 by anything in it: it is an *accident*<sup>88</sup> that will pass.

[15.51.11]

My paternal uncle Rashīd al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Khalīfah is the author of the following works:

85 Metre: *khafif*.

86 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

87 Metre: *wāfir*.

88 'Accident' is used in the philosophical sense.

1. Useful summary of the science of arithmetic (*K. al-mūjaz al-mufīd fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*); four volumes, dedicated to al-Malik al-Amjad, Lord of Baalbek, in the month of Ṣafar of the year 608/July-August 1211, while they were encamped on al-Ṭūr.<sup>89</sup>
2. Mensuration (*K. al-misāḥah*).
3. On medicine (*K. fī l-ṭibb*), dedicated to al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Najm al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb; in it the author summarizes the generalities of the art of medicine and his knowledge of diseases, their causes and remedies.
4. On market medicine (*K. ṭibb al-sūq*), dedicated to one of his disciples, in which the author mentions the diseases that occur frequently and their treatment by medicaments that are easily accessible and well-known.
5. On the balancing of the pulse in relation to the movements of the musician (*M. fī nisbat al-nabḍ wa-muwāzanatihi ilā l-ḥarakāt al-mūsīqāriyyah*).<sup>90</sup>
6. On the reason why mountains were created (*M. fī al-sabab alladhī lahu khuliqat al-jibāl*), dedicated to al-Malik al-Amjad.
7. On the elements (*K. al-uṣṭuqussāt*).
8. Marginal notes and experiences in medicine (*Ta'ālīq wa-mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb*).

## 15.52 Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk<sup>1</sup>

[15.52.1]

The esteemed, learned and complete physician Badr al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar was the son of the judge and learned authority Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm. Although his father was the judge of Ba'labakk, Badr al-Dīn grew up in Damascus, where he studied the art of medicine. God brought together in him an exceeding amount of knowledge, intelligence and virtue. He studied

89 The Mountain, probably short for Ṭūr 'Abdīn, a plateau in northern Mesopotamia.

90 The Arabic text follows AB (*mūsīqāwīyyah*), which, though rare, may be better than *mūsīqāriyyah* (LR). Ibn Sīnā, *Qānūn* (Būlāq), 1:126, uses the expression *nisab mūsīqāwīyyah*. But 'music' is normally *mūsīqī*, not *mūsīqā*, so the *nisab* should be *mūsīqīyyah*, and *mūsīqāriyyah* may be correct after all; this would mean 'of the musician' (*mūsīqār*).

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. Ms R has a note before the biography in the body of the text, which is referring to the last nine biographies (not present in Version 1): 'These biographies can be found in a different handwriting than that of the author. This is how they are positioned, but God knows best!'

the art of medicine under our shaykh, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī – may God have mercy upon him – and attained to the utmost perfection within the shortest possible time in both its theoretical and practical aspects. Badr al-Dīn was a highly ambitious student, and his soul contained all good qualities. I found that he studied with a single-mindedness unmatched by any other students. Moreover, there were no physicians who were equal to him. He strove continually to increase his knowledge and his pursuit of learning and understanding, memorizing many medical books and philosophical works.

I was myself a witness of an instance of his high ambition and great talent. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī had composed a treatise on vomiting.<sup>2</sup> Each of his disciples studied it with him, but Badr al-Dīn proceeded to memorize it and studied it on his own initiative, from beginning to end. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn was delighted at this, and Badr al-Dīn became his pupil, assiduously reading and studying under his guidance.

In the year 622/1225, when the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn travelled to the lands of the East in order to enter the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, he was accompanied by Badr al-Dīn, who continued to study with him. As a result, the younger man worked in the hospital of al-Raqqah and composed a beautiful treatise on the climate, weather conditions and predominant [characteristics] of al-Raqqah. He lived in al-Raqqah for some years and studied philosophy there under the guidance of Zayn al-Dīn, the blind – may God have mercy upon him – who was an authority in the philosophical sciences.

Later, however, Badr al-Dīn went back to Damascus. When al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūnus, the son of Shams al-Dīn Mawdūd, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, conquered Damascus in the year 635/1237, he invited Badr al-Dīn to enter his service. He enjoyed the good favour of the Sultan, and obtained an important position in his government. Al-Malik al-Jawād depended upon him in medical matters and appointed him chief of all the physicians, oculists and surgeons, confirming the appointment with a decree in the month Ṣafar of the year 637 [September 1239].

Thanks to his continuous desire to do good works and his incessant concern for the benefits of the art, Badr al-Dīn revived some of the benefits of medicine that had been lost, and brought back certain of its virtues that had long been forgotten. One of his most excellent achievements, one that had a long-lasting effect and won him the highest [deserved] reward, was his persistent effort to

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<sup>2</sup> This treatise has been mentioned in the entry on Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī (Ch. 15.50). It was composed in the month of Rabī‘ 1 of the year 622/1225.

buy a number of houses adjacent to the 'Great Hospital' that had been founded and dedicated as a religious endowment by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him. Badr al-Dīn worked very hard to that end and paid for the houses with his own money. In the end, having acquired them, he had them incorporated into the hospital: small rooms were enlarged and converted into wards for the patients. Badr al-Dīn built them in the best possible way, with their walls plastered and running water installed, so that the hospital was improved by his most noble action.

Badr al-Dīn continued to teach medicine, and he also served al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, treating him and his family in the ruler's quarters in the fort of Damascus, as well as others who took refuge there, while visiting the hospital from time to time to treat patients there as well. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ gave the physician a written certificate, appointing him chief physician of Damascus, in the year 645/1247. Badr al-Dīn also attended several of the successors of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who ruled over Damascus, thanks to whom he enjoyed a permanent salary, an important position, great prestige and the highest favours. He continued to frequent the citadel and the hospital, while increasing his knowledge in his leisure time.

Badr al-Dīn's high ambition and noble origins are shown, as I found, by the fact that he devoted himself completely to the science of religious law. He had a room at the Qilījīyah Law College, which had been dedicated as a charitable endowment by the emir Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Qilīj – may God have mercy upon him – and was located next door to the physician's house. He studied books on jurisprudence and the literary arts, learnt the Qur'an perfectly by heart, and came to know its commentaries and its various readings until he became an outstanding expert in that domain, in which his teacher was the shaykh and authority Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāmāh – may God have mercy upon him.

The physician Badr al-Dīn devoted himself whole-heartedly to worship and religion and being of assistance to other Muslims. Accounts of his virtue and kindness continued to reach me. One day, one of his works, *The Soul's Gladdener* (*K. Mufarriḥ al-nafs*) had come into my hands. I wrote him the following letter:

[15.52.1.1]

Your servant has learnt what our master the physician and learned authority Badr al-Dīn, may God strengthen his happiness and prolong his leadership, has put down in writing, in his concise and characteristic style, in his inimitable book *The Soul's Gladdener*, the supplier of joy and togetherness, with which he has surpassed the ancients and rendered powerless

all other physicians and philosophers, and with which he has changed the remedies for the heart and become the leader in charge of this lofty mission. No wonder that there is no one similar to him: our master and shaykh of [our] times, the symbol of our generation. May God render his life full of happiness and fill the earth with his writings, so that many will be able to derive benefit from them.

In the same epistle, I added the following verses that I extemporized:<sup>3</sup>

Because of the light of Badr al-Dīn<sup>4</sup>  
 the sun's face is almost hidden:  
 A sage, eminent, a learned man,  
 noble of disposition and of soul,  
 The most knowledgeable of all people in medicine,  
 the science of the pulse and palpating,  
 Expert in medical cures,  
 from certitude rather than from conjecture.  
 5 So who is Hippocrates then, or the Shaykh,<sup>5</sup>  
 among Greeks or Persians?  
 So many cures has he invented,  
 so many has he rescued from a relapse.  
 He has risen in sound opinion above Qays  
 and in expressions above Quss.<sup>6</sup>  
 He donated to my heart  
 the book *The Soul's Gladdener*,<sup>7</sup>  
 A book in which support descended  
 from the World of Holiness(?).<sup>8</sup>  
 10 The light of its content revealed itself  
 for us in the darkness of the ink.

3 Metre: *hazaj*.

4 Badr al-Dīn means 'the full moon of the religion'. The first foot of this line is metrically irregular (SLSSL instead of SLLL or SLLS).

5 Ibn Sīnā.

6 Qays ibn 'Āṣim (a contemporary of the prophet Muḥammad) was legendary for his wisdom. On Quss ibn Sā'idah see above, Ch. 10.64.17.1; 10. 68.1.4; 14.55.2; and 15.31.2.

7 The syntax requires reading *kitāba mufrīḥi l-nafs*, which is metrically irregular; one could emend it to *kitāban mufrīḥa l-nafs*, 'a book that is *Gladdening the Soul*'.

8 The vowelling in A, 'ālim *al-quds*, suggests 'the scholar of Jerusalem', which is not clear. The phrase 'realm, or world, of Holiness', 'ālam *al-quds*, whatever it could mean here, is used by several writers on esoteric matters.

How beautiful, the flowers of its handwriting  
 in the garden of the paper!  
 Its virgin thoughts appeared  
 and the eye was at a feast.  
 How much it gave me  
 of repose and cheer!  
 I met what it contained  
 with kisses and study,  
 15 And from it I shall reap fruits  
 that are sweet, from a good plant.

I also wrote the following verses in [another] letter:<sup>9</sup>

My lord Badr al-Dīn, whose merits and  
 beneficence are being recited,  
 And who has risen in glory so that  
 Saturn falls short of his loftiness;  
 If he speaks, because of his expressions  
 ‘Saḥbān drags (*yashabu*) the train’ of inarticulateness.<sup>10</sup>  
 My longing for a meeting with you has increased  
 beyond limit; my sincere affection is proof.  
 You will not be absent from my thoughts, nor shall I be oblivious  
 of the blessings you bestowed on me all along.  
 May God prolong the days of the sublime authority, the illustrious mas-  
 ter, the learned physician, the great and virtuous leader, the sign of his  
 time, the unique one of his age, the full moon of this world and of reli-  
 gion, the supporter of kings and sultans, the intimate friend of the emir  
 of the Faithful. May God watch over his Excellency, offer him his full  
 protection in both worlds, suppress his desires and subdue his enemies.  
 May happiness always reign in his home and may tongues never cease  
 to unite in thanking and praising him. The servant ends by [expressing]  
 his great yearning to serve [Badr al-Dīn]. If he had had the eloquence of  
 the supreme shaykh and the lengthy manner of expressing himself of the  
 virtuous Galen, still he would have been unable to describe the sorrow  
 of his yearnings and the pain that he suffers because of this farewell. He

9 Metre: *sarī*.

10 On Saḥbān, legendary orator, see above, Ch. 15,31.1 and 15,37.4. The line seems to allude to a saying found in al-Tha‘ālibī, *Nathr al-naẓm*, 18: *fa-ka’anna fihimā Saḥbān yashabu dhayl faṣāḥatihi* (‘as if in it Saḥbān drags the train of his eloquence’).

prays humbly to God, exalted be He, to facilitate their joyous meeting and make the encounter easy for them both with regard to their mutual preferences. When your servant heard, O master, that you had been appointed chief of all physicians – God, exalted be He, granted them special favours through that appointment and bestowed upon them ample benefits – he attained the summit of happiness, set his mind to extreme joy, and realized that God, exalted be He, had indeed kept a benevolent eye on His flock and united them under his good care. Herewith, this art was raised in importance and its light spread. It received the greatest honours, virtues, fortune and brilliant splendour. For that reason, the period in which we live, is ennobled by the art [of medicine] more than other periods [in history], and the status of science is now contrary to what was once described by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in [his commentary on] the *Kullīyyāt* (*The Generalities*).<sup>11</sup> God be praised for rendering His all-embracing favours and perfect graces. The master [Badr al-Dīn] is the first to be entrusted with the concerns of this art and given full power over the [other] masters and scholars in the field.

She was fit only for him  
and he only for her.<sup>12</sup>

The presence of glory has continued to be brought forth by his good qualities and the marks of sovereignty indicate his virtues and nobility. May God, exalted be He, aid him in his new post and help him in everything he does in the future and in the present, if God, He be exalted, wills.

[15.52.1.2]

I also wrote the following verses to him in the year 645/1247:<sup>13</sup>

I am writing while in me there is a longing too strong to be encompassed  
and an exceeding gratification that continues forever,  
Within my breast a fire of grief because of the distance,  
that blazes with bigger flames than burning embers;  
And I have a yearning that will not cease for him  
to whom I owe favours that keep recurring in my thoughts:

11 Ibn al-Khaṭīb is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Kullīyyāt* is not the famous work of that title by Ibn Rushd but the first section of Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*, *On generalities*, see Ch. 11.19, title no. 62.

12 Metre: *mutaqārib*. From a poem by Abū l-'Atāhiyah, in which he personifies the caliphate of al-Mahdī as a woman (*Dīwān*, 612, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, iv:33).

13 Metre: *tawīl*.

He is the eminent Badr al-Dīn, the most excellent celebrated man,  
 who, at the apogee of exalted deeds, is unique in his time.  
 5 A sage, who has comprehended what Hippocrates said formerly  
 and who knows what Galen said after him;  
 Who knows the studies of the Leader, the Shaykh;<sup>14</sup>  
 whenever he reads them aloud the words come like pearls.  
 And if pearls of words come from his sea of knowledge,  
 it is no wonder, for pearls come from the sea.  
 When he speaks he surpasses all speakers and his expressions  
 are magic, but the licit kind of magic.  
 When he treats a sick man or aids a destitute one his excellence  
 (*faḍl*)  
 and beneficence (*ifḍāl*) bring cure (*burʿ*) and kindness (*birr*),  
 10 With great modesty (*hayā*) and a cheerful face (*muḥayyā*) when the  
 clouds  
 of his generosity pour out, making rain dispensable;  
 Far-reaching, near with munificence, ample with boons; whenever  
 he appears Right Guidance is in the radiance of the full moon  
 (*badr*).<sup>15</sup>  
 Badr al-Dīn has no equal in learning and intelligence  
 and the shining characteristics that he possesses.  
 O master, whose noble deeds are deemed by those with hopes  
 to be the most excellent treasure,  
 My longing for you has increased, I am full of emotion and  
 have lost patience because our mutual closedness is so remote.  
 15 But though dwellings be far or near I have great loyalty  
 that will not cease all my life.  
 From my father favours have reached me from you  
 that you have generously given, to many to count or encompass.  
 You have respected an old bond with us that you know about;  
 decent loyalty is one of the traits of a noble man.  
 Someone like you bestows boons on a friend  
 when he has a time when he has influence.  
 All I can do is to express my gratitude  
 and to pray for you inwardly and openly,

14 Ibn Sīnā.

15 This line, with its abundant internal rhymes (*madā, nadā, jadā, badā, hudā*) seems to have been inspired by a similar one by al-Jilyānī in his long ode on Saladin, see above, Ch. 15.11.2.1 (vs. 81).



20 To extol your sublimity in every gathering  
 and to recite the verses<sup>16</sup> of praise in poetry and prose.  
 My poem comes to you to praise and thank you,  
 because you are deserving of eulogies and gratitude.  
 May you always be in lasting good fortune and blessing,  
 a long life, in good health, and high standing!

The servant kisses the hand of the master, the great and learned physician, the noble chief, the unique leader, Badr al-Dīn. May God prolong its strength and graces. May He multiply its<sup>17</sup> benefits and give blessings therefrom to those close to God and suppress its enemies and those who bear a grudge by the duration of its happiness. May its favours remain everlasting and its benefits perpetual and long-lived, as long as the days pass into years and as long as the movements of the heart and the arteries go together. May [God] continue to accord our master the best wishes, as long as he is still aware of the breath of life in him. May He well reward him, as long as his firm roots do not become untied, but continue to expand and be manifold. May He still continue to promulgate his praises in the seats of splendour. May the praises, whose beautiful exterior never ceases to be, be adorned and shine. May He curb my yearnings and longings, which cannot be contained in words, nor encompassed by pages. Yet, [the servant] relies on our master's grasp of knowledge, his sincere love and friendship and his deep trust in his supporters and companions. I received my father's letter with the glad tidings, which filled his heart with joy and his soul with delight, of our master's appointment as chief of all the other physicians and of his good care and benevolent treatment of them. My father had described our master's favours and generosity toward him, and that he was well-known for his kindness and celebrated for his virtues and his benevolence. Our master, who knows best the paths of honour and the fact that evil men consider knowledge blameworthy, may he receive help from God to remain forever doing good, excelling in noble things, reaching the highest ranks, obtaining perpetual happiness and being protected from evil.

This is a prayer it would be enough for me to be silent with,  
 for I asked God on your behalf but He has already done.<sup>18</sup>

16 The verb *talā* ('to recite') and the word *āy* ('verses') used here normally refer specifically to the Qur'an.

17 'It' refers to the addressee's hand, and 'hand' in Arabic can also mean 'favour, benefit'.

18 Metre: *ṭawīl*. A line by al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 496.

Our master, may the high ranks be beautified by him and the elevated positions become nobler by his fine insight, has already surpassed by his virtues and nobility all those who are famous for their merits, has distinguished himself among his contemporaries for his dignified conduct and good influence. He is the example to all the other physicians and to all his supporters and loved ones.

People divided joy between themselves  
in portions; the luckiest one was I.<sup>19</sup>

The servant again kisses the hand of his master for favours and seeks for his needs and services he may render him.

[15.52.2]

Badr al-Dīn, the son of the judge of Ba'labakk, is the author of the following books:

1. On the temperament of al-Raqqah (*M. fī mizāj al-Raqqah*).
2. The Soul's Gladdener (*K. mufarriḥ al-nafs*). In this work, the author examines the several kinds of ailments of the heart and their remedies; this is a very useful book, dedicated to the emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Mushidd Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar ibn Qizil<sup>20</sup> – may God have mercy upon him.<sup>21</sup>
3. Entertaining anecdotes on medicine (*K. al-mulaḥ fī ṭibb*). In this work, the author mentions many excellent matters and useful facts from the works of Galen and other authors.

⟨He died on Tuesday the 21st of the month of Ṣafar of the year 670 [28 September 1271] and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-ṣaghīrah – may God the Most High have mercy upon him.⟩<sup>22</sup>

19 Metre: *kāmil*. By Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim ibn Abī l-'Alā' al-Iṣbahānī, in al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii:320; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 175; idem, *Ijāz*, 238; attributed (probably incorrectly) to Ibn Sukkarah al-Hāshimī in al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-luṭf*, 151.

20 Emir and poet, d. 656/1258. On him, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi: 353–365; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāṭ*, iii: 51–56.

21 For an edition, see Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk, *Mufarriḥ al-nafs* (Ḥanūn). A critical edition and translation is currently being prepared by Robert Sieben. The treatise has also been attributed, but apparently wrongly, to Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Abī l-Futūḥ al-Baghādādi known as Ibn al-Mar'ah, and to Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣaḥnūn al-Dimashqī; see *GAL S* i:901.

22 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

15.53 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī<sup>1</sup>

The great physician and unique scholar Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī l-Maḥāsīn was the son of an Andalusian who lived in North Africa and [later] moved to Damascus, where he stayed until his death – may God have mercy upon him. The physician Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad grew up in Damascus and studied the art of medicine under our shaykh Muḥaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>2</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. He devoted himself to his master assiduously, and had not the slightest difficulty in memorizing everything from the books of the ancients that students of medicine should learn by heart. The physician Shams al-Dīn was so gifted that he was also able to memorize the whole of the first book of the *al-Qānūn*, which comprises the entire *Generalities*, and no one was capable of matching him. He went to the root of things and acquired a good understanding of their meaning, and it was for that reason that he came to be known as al-Kullī (‘the Generalist’). In addition, Shams al-Dīn studied many scientific works and became a medical practitioner. He had a keen intelligence and possessed much knowledge, never wasting a moment, but studying and practising science under all circumstances. Shams al-Dīn’s appearance was pleasing and his conversation rather witty. He served as personal physician to al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, in Damascus, until that ruler died – may God have mercy upon him. Afterwards, he practised for some time at the ‘Great Hospital’ that had been founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – visiting it frequently and treating the patients there.

⟨He died in the month of Muḥarram of the year 675 [June 1276] in Cairo. This has been reported by the judge Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarastānī.⟩<sup>3</sup>

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. See on him also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ii:3.

2 See on him Ch. 15.50.

3 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām<sup>1</sup>

This physician united [in himself] the art of medicine, the philosophical sciences, a praiseworthy character, a sound opinion, perfect virtue and common kindness. He was a native of the town of Hama, but spent much of his life in Damascus, where he studied under our shaykh, the physician Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī, and others. Having become a distinguished master in the art of medicine, he travelled to Aleppo where he increased his knowledge.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī, the ruler of Aleppo and held this post until al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad conquered Damascus, whereupon the physician accompanied al-Malik al-Nāṣir to that city. His patron relied upon him and bestowed many favours upon him.

I have written the following poem to express my nostalgia for Damascus, in which I describe the city and praise him [i.e., Muwaffaq al-Dīn]:<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps a time that has gone by in Damascus<sup>3</sup>  
will return, the abode will be near after separation,  
Time, after its tyranny, will grant justice,  
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.  
Memories of it make me reel  
as pure vintage wine makes one reel.  
5 It is amazing: there is a fire of yearning between my ribs  
that blazes with a flame of my glistening tears.  
Long have I known the abodes and their inhabitants;  
so many adversities of separation has my heart encountered!  
If a man had choice<sup>4</sup> and power  
he would guard himself against all vicissitudes;  
But Destinies rule mankind  
and decree a matter<sup>5</sup> the essence of which cannot be ascertained.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1.

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

3 On Jilliḡ as a ‘poetic’ name of Damascus, see above, Ch. 10.69.3.9 (in line 9 the normal name, Dimashq, is used).

4 The word *ikhtiyār*, in theology and philosophy, also means ‘free will’.

5 The word *amr*, ‘thing, matter’, also refers to God’s ‘command’.

Damascus is the utmost for those whose who aim to see  
 and select everything beautiful in the lands;  
 10 So describe it, if you are judging with your reason,  
 for describing other places is a kind of folly.  
 It has no like elsewhere on earth as a Paradise,  
 so leave the Valley of Bawwān,<sup>6</sup> don't mention al-Khawarnaq!<sup>7</sup>  
 In it are black-eyed damsels and youths,<sup>8</sup> who appear rising  
 like suns and moons, in the finest splendour;  
 Its rivers are water rippled<sup>9</sup> by the wind  
 or water gushing forth, unrestrained;  
 Its trees are divided between every genus,  
 their fruits, finely formed, are of every species.  
 15 The birds on the branches answer one another;  
 how sweetly coos the grey dove on a leafy branch!  
 And if the birds were not singing on their trees  
 the waters would not make the impression of applauding.  
 And wine that relieves the soul of the pain of love's anguish  
 and removes the worry of the sleepless mad lover:  
 When it is mixed in the cup its rays appear  
 like the rays of a glittering flash of lightning.  
 How lovely, the gardens in the two wadis,  
 with the splendour of their gushing water!  
 20 So many waters, beautifully near a meadow,  
 so many meadows, beautifully near a mansion!  
 And growing on the carpets of meadows are violets,  
 while in the midst of clear water are waterlilies.  
 The soft breeze passes over it on all sides,  
 gently, as if a kind doctor were taking the pulse.<sup>10</sup>

6 The Valley of Bawwān, in southern Persia, memorably described in a poem by al-Mutanabbī, is often listed as one of three or four beauty-spots on earth (normally including the Ghūṭah, the fertile land south of Damascus).

7 Al-Khawarnaq, often mentioned as one of the wonders of the world, was the name of a legendary palace near Najaf in Iraq, said to have been built for the Sasanian emperor in the early 5th century AD; it was still used by the early Abbasids.

8 A reference to the paradisiacal damsels (or 'houris', from Arabic *ḥūr*) and youths mentioned in the Qur'an.

9 Literally, 'made like a chain' (cf. *sayf musalsal*, 'a glittering sword').

10 A good instance of *takhalluṣ*, the apt transition in a poem from the lyrical introduction to another theme such as eulogy.

Whoever would love to live a life of comfort  
 would spend in it what remains of his lifetime;  
 And whoever hopes to have a refuge for his well-being (*salāmah*)  
 will find it with 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwaffaq,  
 25 A learned sage, eminent, gracious,  
 who has risen to the summit of nobility and glory.  
 No one, for any dangerous illness,  
 is more experienced or more skilful<sup>11</sup> than he.  
 His merits (*faḍā'il*) concern every field of knowledge and philosophy,  
 his benefaction (*ifḍāl*) is found in west and east.  
 He scatters gathered wealth among those who deserve it,  
 and he gathers the scattered, dispersed lofty qualities.  
 He does not cease to guide those who seek his excellence  
 with the light of sciences, which shines with eloquence.  
 30 In his love of doing good he is the most generous benefactor,  
 in his kindness towards people he is the most gracious sympathizer.  
 There are many motives in this world for passionate love;  
 he who strives towards exaltedness with resolve is loved.  
 The hearts of all living beings there will have  
 a sweet affection for him that reveals the rank of those who flatter  
 him.  
 His appearance offers the most handsome sight to the eye,  
 his words offer the sweetest speech to the ear.  
 The reach of his arm is never found too short for generosity,  
 his mind is never found too narrow for forbearance.  
 35 He has much modesty; the characteristics of his soul indicate  
 a fine origin, rooted in noble qualities.  
 May his happy fortune endure as long as the east wind blows  
 and as long as ringdoves coo.

When the Mongols were advancing toward Damascus, much to the alarm of the people of the city, the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn removed to Egypt, where he resided for some time. Later, he served al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Hama, and stayed with him there. He was highly privileged, received ample benefits and enjoyed an elevated position.

11 The form *aḥdhaqi* (instead of *aḥdhaqa*) is a solecism: in poetry any diptote noun can be treated as a triptote, with the exception of elatives (see e.g. al-Sirāfi, *Mā yaḥtamīlu l-shi'r min al-ḍarūrah*, 43).

### 15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh<sup>1</sup>

The renowned learned physician Abū l-Faḍl Asʿad ibn Ḥulwān was a native of al-Maʿarrāh who studied the art of medicine and became a distinguished practitioner. He served al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb in the East for many years, but ultimately resigned his post. He died in Hama in the year 642/1244–1245.

### 15.56 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh<sup>1</sup>

[15.56.1]

The great physician and noble scholar [Najm al-Dīn] Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Faḍl Asʿad ibn Ḥulwān [Ibn al-Minfākh ‘son of the bellows’] was known as the son of the songstress (*ibn al-ʿālimah*) because his mother was a Damascene singer ‘the daughter of *Dahīn al-Lawz*’ (i.e., the one anointed with almond-oil). Najm al-Dīn was born in Damascus in the year 593/1196. Brown-skinned and of slender built, he had a sharp mind and was highly intelligent and eloquent: no one could equal him in research or match him in debate. He studied the art of medicine under the guidance of our master, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī,<sup>2</sup> and in due course became distinguished in that domain himself. Najm al-Dīn was also distinguished in the philosophical sciences and well-versed in the science of logic. His writings are witty and well composed, as he was also outstanding in the literary sciences. He composed epistles and poetry, knew how to play the lute, and had a fine handwriting.

Najm al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Masʿūd, Lord of Āmid, as a physician. For a time he enjoyed his patron’s favour and was appointed vizier, but eventually the ruler became hostile toward him and confiscated all his belongings. As a result, he removed to Damascus and settled there. Many came to study the art of medicine under his guidance, and he became a distinguished citizen. Al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ wrote him the following poem in answer to a letter that Najm al-Dīn had sent him:<sup>3</sup>

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book but is lacking in Version 1.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. On him, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 308 n. 1; Joosse and Pormann, ‘Aphorisms’, 247 under entry 6.

2 On him, see Ch. 15.50.

3 Metrum: *kāmil*. Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, 133.

How excellent, fingers that are noble  
 and have ascended, to give shining stars!  
 And (how excellent) a letter, such that if it had come down to  
 those two angels they would not have claimed to produce magic!<sup>4</sup>  
 Whenever I read one line of its eloquence  
 I saw the Great Sign.<sup>5</sup>  
 Be amazed, therefore, by a star (*najm*) who with its merits  
 made people oblivious of the sun (*shams*) and the full moon (*badr*)!<sup>6</sup>

Najm al-Dīn – may God have mercy upon him – was, because of his sharp temperament, an impatient individual and it seldom happened that he displayed amiable behaviour. A group of people envied him his accomplishments and sought to harm him. One day he quoted the following poem to me:<sup>7</sup>

I have heard that the demons, when they eavesdropped,  
 were stoned with stars.<sup>8</sup>  
 But when I rose and became a Star (*najm*)  
 I was shot at with every cursed, stoned devil.

In his old age, Najm al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf, the son of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Homs in Tall Bāshir. After having held that post for a short period, he died – may God have mercy upon him – on the thirteenth of Dhū l-Qa‘da of the year 652 [25 December 1254]. His half-brother by his mother, the judge Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-‘Ālimah, told me that he had died of poisoning.

4 Hārūt and Mārūt, two angels who descended to earth in Babylon, trying to prove, in vain, that they would not be tempted to sin; they taught mankind sorcery (see Q al-Baqarah 2:102).

5 Cf. Q al-Nāzi‘āt 79:20, «He [Mūsā/Moses] showed him [Pharaoh] the Great Sign», explained as the miracle of the stick turning into a snake, followed by the hand that turns white (see e.g. Q al-A‘rāf 7:106–109).

6 A play on the names Najm al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn (perhaps Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī), and Badr al-Dīn (perhaps Badr al-Dīn Qāḍi Ba‘labakk).

7 Metrum: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, vi:247. Poet unknown; the poem suggests that it was composed by Najm al-Dīn himself.

8 As is told in the Qur’an and the relevant exegesis (Q al-Ḥijr 15:18, al-Jinn 72:8–9), some demons (jinn) were eavesdropping on God’s High Council, whereupon they were pelted by angels with meteors or shooting stars. In the following line the word *rajīm* has been translated with its two current meanings, ‘cursed’ and ‘(to be) stoned’.



[15.56.2]

Najm al-Dīn ibn Minfākh is the author of the following works:

1. The precise book on combining and dividing, in which he mentions the diseases, their similarities and the differences between each of them in most cases (*K. al-tadqīq fī l-jamʿ wa-l-tafriq*).
2. Disclosure of the distortions of al-Dakhwār<sup>9</sup> (*K. hatk al-astār ʿan tamwīh al-Dakhwār*).
3. Explanatory remarks with regard to the results of his experiences and the like (*Taʿālīq mā ḥaṣala lahu min al-tajārib wa-ghayrihā*).
4. Commentary on the prophetic traditions dealing with medical matters (*Sharḥ aḥādīth nabawiyyah tataʿallaqu bi-l-ṭibb*).
5. On what is neglected in the *Book on Generalities* (*K. al-muḥmalāt fī kitāb al-kullīyyāt*).
6. Introduction to medicine (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-ṭibb*).
7. On causes and accidents (*K. al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ*).
8. Guide to simple drugs (*K. al-ishārāt al-murshidah fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).

#### 15.57 ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī<sup>1</sup>

[15.57.1]

The great physician and renowned scholar ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, a descendant of Saʿd ibn Muʿādh<sup>2</sup> from the tribe of Aws, was born in the year 600/1203 in Damascus, where he grew up to become the most erudite man of his time and the cynosure of his generation. ʿIzz al-Dīn unites in himself all the virtues: outstanding excellence, noble ancestry, perfect manliness and boundless generosity, and he is a guardian of brotherliness. He studied the art of medicine until he reached the utmost perfection in it, such as was never attained by any other master. He is well-versed in the universals and particulars of medicine, and used to frequent the best physicians and the

9 Al-Dakhwār (meaning unknown) was the nickname of the physician Muḥaddhab al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī; see for him Ch. 15.50.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book but is lacking in Version 1. The name of the copyist of MS L is Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Suwaydī al-Anṣārī, most likely a son of this physician (who also bore the *nisbah* al-Anṣārī). The marginal note in H gives another part of his name: ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Ṭarkhān.

2 Contemporary (‘Companion’) of the Prophet Muḥammad, d. 5/627. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Saʿd b. Muʿādh’ (W. Montgomery Watt).

greatest philosophers, among them our shaykh, the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī, and others, from whom he learnt medical usages and philosophical secrets.

‘Izz al-Dīn has also studied the literary sciences, attaining the highest rank in that domain, and distinguishing himself in knowledge of the Arabic language. There is no poet who can equal him: ancients and contemporaries alike fail to attain his status. His poetry contains eloquent phrases, truthful meanings, well-constructed puns and amazing parallels. He unites in himself all the different sciences and all varieties of prose and poetry. He is the quickest of men in composing poetry spontaneously and the most gifted in declaiming it. Several times I have witnessed him reciting a poem, rich in allusions, that he had composed on the spur of the moment. There is no one who can match him, for that art is his speciality.

‘Izz al-Dīn’s father – may God have mercy upon him – was a merchant from al-Suwaydā’ in the Ḥawrān, a man with a fine character, noble origins, gentle speech and good deeds. Between him and my father there was a firm and praiseworthy friendship. I myself studied with ‘Izz al-Dīn at the school of shaykh Abū Bakr al-Ṣiqillī – may God have mercy upon him. Our long-standing friendship remained the same throughout the years, and has even grown steadily with time. The physician ‘Izz al-Dīn is indeed the most illustrious physician of his generation with respect to his knowledge and memory, treatment and amicability, beneficial cures and precise methods. He is still practising as a doctor at the al-Nūrī hospital, granting patients their ultimate desire by taking away their maladies and according them the finest gift by supplying them with health. He has also served at the hospital in [the Damascene district of] Bāb al-Barīd,<sup>3</sup> has often frequented the citadel of Damascus, and has been a teacher at the Dakhwāriyyah college, receiving salaries from all four of these posts.

‘Izz al-Dīn has copied in his own handwriting a great many books on medicine and works in other sciences. Some of these are written in accordance with the method of Ibn al-Bawwāb, whereas others resemble *Muwallad al-Kūfi*-script. Each of these scripts is more radiant than the most sparkling stars, brighter than the most sumptuous jewels, finer than the prettiest gardens and filled with more light than the rising sun. ‘Izz al-Dīn once told me that he had copied three versions of Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Qānūn*. In the year 632/1234 a merchant

3 This small hospital, sometimes referred to as al-Bimāristān 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; Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 96–100; Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 52.

from Persia arrived in Damascus, bringing with him a copy of Ibn Abī Ṣādiq's *Commentary on Galen's 'On the Usefulness of the Parts'* (K. *Manāfi' al-a'ḍā'*). This was a reliable copy that was transcribed in the author's handwriting, and had not been available in Syria before. My father acquired it, on which occasion 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī wrote him a poem in his praise, from which I recall the following lines:<sup>4</sup>

Be so kind – for you are a man of noble and lofty qualities – as to let me  
 have  
 the *Commentary on The Usefulness of the Parts of the Body!*  
 Lending rare books has always been  
 a custom of scholars and eminent people.

At this, my father sent him the book, which consisted of two volumes. 'Izz al-Dīn made a copy of it in the most beautiful handwriting, with the points of all the letters rendered with the utmost accuracy.

[15.57.2]

The following is a specimen of his poetry, which he recited to me himself. In it, he is preoccupied with and worried about the discomfort of dyeing his hair with *katam*:<sup>5</sup>

If changing the colour of my grey hair  
 could bring back my lost youth  
 It would not fully compensate to me what my spirit  
 suffers from the trouble of dyeing it.

The following verses are some that he recited to me concerning my book on the history of physicians entitled '*The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*' (K. *'uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-atibbā'*).<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

4 Metre: *kāmil*.

5 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīṭ*. *Katam* is a plant used to dye one's hair black, identified by Dozy, *Supplément*, as 'troëne' (= troène), a kind of privet.

6 Metre: *sarī'*.

7 Compare Q al-Nāzī'at 79:11, «when we have become decayed bones».

May God single you out with His beneficence  
in this world and the next.

The following verses are a riddle on the name 'Alī:<sup>8</sup>

What is a name such that when you curtail it  
the curtailed part is the square root of the remainder?<sup>9</sup>  
But no virtuous man (*fāḍil*) will think it right to curtail it  
on account of the pluses (*faḍl*) or minuses in him.

He also wrote:<sup>10</sup>

Wine: I have been deprived of it<sup>11</sup> because of the fasting  
I have to observe continuously in Ramadan.  
They have imposed fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*) for drinking it, without limit  
(*ḥadd*),  
to the lasting regret (*nadāmah*) of the drinking companions (*nad-  
mān*).  
The infidels have claimed excessive prices<sup>12</sup> for it  
and they have denied it to all humans and jinn.  
Then they said, 'Boiled wine is permitted', so they killed it  
by boiling it with burning fires.  
They boiled it with the fire of my yearning for it,  
and it turned into a soul without a body.

And also:<sup>13</sup>

This pious man's inner self is a rascal:  
woe to those who listen to his falsehood!

8 Metre: *sarī*.

9 A, bottom margin: 'The copyist says: This is a riddle on 'Alī [<sup>ʿ</sup>l-y], for if this is "curtailed" the y is omitted and what remains is 'Al [<sup>ʿ</sup>l, 70 + 30], the two (letters) counting as 100; the y [10] that is omitted after it is the square root of 100.'

10 Metre: *khafif*.

11 Reading *ḥurimtuḥā*; A vowels it *ḥarramtuḥā*, 'I declared it forbidden', which is possible but the following suggests a passive form.

12 The plural verbal form, instead of the required singular, is a bad solecism; moreover, it only scans properly if one reads *taghālū l-ʿulūju* instead of the correct *taghālawu l-ʿulūju*.

13 Metre: *khafif*.

His house is more confined than his breast,<sup>14</sup>  
his mind is narrower than his eye.

ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī is the author of the following works:

1. The Brilliant Book: on jewels (*K. al-bāhir fī l-jawāhīr*).
2. The Guiding Aide-Mémoire and Sufficient Store: on medicine (*K. al-tadhkirah al-hādiyah wa-l-dhakhīrah al-kāfiyah fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>15</sup>

⟨He died on Tuesday the 3rd of the month Shaʿbān of the year 690 [1 August 1291] and was buried in his tomb at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn – may God the Most High have mercy upon him.⟩<sup>16</sup>

### 15.58 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī<sup>1</sup>

He is the learned physician and resourceful literary scholar ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of the judge and preacher Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbbās ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Rabʿī. He was a man of virtuous soul, perfect manliness and all-embracing generosity. He was immensely gifted, highly intelligent and possessed outstanding knowledge. He was born in the year 605/1208 in the city of Dunaysir,<sup>2</sup> where he grew up and studied the art of medicine. He distinguished himself in it and mastered all its concepts. He was capable of maintaining existing health and restoring it in case it diminished. My first encounter with him was in Damascus in the month of Dhū l-Qaʿdah of the year 667/1258. I found him a man with a soul as generous as Ḥātīm's,<sup>3</sup> a nature like that of Akhzam,<sup>4</sup> manners sweeter than the breeze and words gentler than the air of paradise. He let me listen to some of his poetry, original qua meaning, unusual in purpose, containing various kinds of paronomasia and types of antithesis,

14 *Aḥraj*, applied to a person, means 'more scrupulous', and applied to a house, 'more confined'.

15 See Ullmann, 'Tadhkira', 33–65.

16 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1.

2 Dunaysir is nowadays a medieval ruined town of Upper Mesopotamia (within the borders of modern Turkey), situated 20 km. south-west of the city of Mārdīn.

3 Ḥātīm al-Ṭāʿī (late sixth-century AD), poet, proverbial for his generosity.

4 An allusion to an old, proverbial verse by an obscure poet: 'a nature I know of Akhzam', Akhzam being the poet's son, see al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-amthāl*, i:457.

eloquent phrases and motifs. As to medicine, he distinguished himself in it more than any of the ancients or his contemporaries, whereas in literature he was unrivalled by any poet or prose-writer. In addition to this, he was the singular man of his time and the leader of his generation in the science of religious law, according to school of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. He had travelled from Dunaysir to Egypt and from there to Syria and settled in Damascus, where he served the palaces of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf in the fort of the city. He also frequented the Great Hospital of al-Nūrī in Damascus.

[15.58.1]

The following are specimens of his poetry that he recited to me, among which:<sup>5</sup>

I implore you by God, reader of my verse, or listener,  
 lower on it the cloak of forbearance and generosity,  
 And, in your graciousness, cover my errors that you will find,  
 for my knowledge is rich in poverty.

He also said:<sup>6</sup>

Yes, let those who wish say about me whatever they like, but I  
 have fallen in love with that mole and that black eye.  
 He tormented me by rejecting me, but the more he wrongs me  
 he is O so much more attractive and sweeter to me!  
 Sleep has been forbidden to me after he rejected me, turning away;  
 as he declared separation permissible, he made union forbidden.  
 A gazelle who raided my heart with the spear-shaft of his figure  
 and who sunk arrows from his eyelids in my breast.  
 So do not blame me for loving him, for  
 I swear by that face: I will not hear any blame.

He also said:<sup>7</sup>

When your dark cheek-down (*‘idhār*), O my desire,  
 appears on your cheek and curls round,  
 It provides me with an excuse (*‘udhr*) towards lovers  
 and the apology (*i‘tidhār*) that was uttered is correct.

5 Metrum: *basīṭ*.

6 Metrum: *tawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:300 (lines 1, 5).

7 Metrum: *sarī‘*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:300 (lines 1, 3).

And this was a Sign for me,  
since he combined night and day together.

He also said:<sup>8</sup>

There is a gazelle who has a resting place in my breast  
and body, and in my heart a seat of power.  
Let those who blame me not expect that I will get over it;  
if I should wish to be consoled I would be a traitor.  
From the excess of my passion and my lovesickness there are  
in my liver and my eyes fires and a flood.

He also said:<sup>9</sup>

I am in love with a pretty full moon  
with a halo of beauty,  
Like a gazelle (*ghazāl*), but  
the sun (*ghazālah*) is jealous of him.  
Because of the fire of my passion  
I sent him a letter  
And I said, You are my beloved  
and my master, most certainly,  
And I have witnesses to testify to you,  
well known for their probity:  
My body, wasting away, and my eyes,  
pouring out tears.

[15.58.2]

He also said:<sup>10</sup>

I made you dwell in my heart that is filled with loyalty  
and I made its deepest part your residence.  
I cut off my desires from all other people  
and I abandoned them when I knew I loved you.<sup>11</sup>

8 Metrum: *tawīl*.

9 Metrum: *mujtathth*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii:200–201, Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:393.

10 Metrum: *kāmil*.

11 An alternative interpretation, ‘when I knew your love (for me)’, is possible but less likely,

He also said:<sup>12</sup>

Yes, my heart is preoccupied by his glances,  
 so stop! Neither rebuke nor blame will be of any use.  
 Whatever you may have heard about past passion,  
 it is a report correctly transmitted, in my view.<sup>13</sup>  
 Neighbours of us! I implore you by God, be kind!  
 For I am a captive of what these big eyes impart.  
 Dear one, on whose cheeks grows down  
 that distracts me from all that used to distract me!  
 Let those who wish blame me for loving him, but I  
 have sworn an oath: I shall never stop loving him.

He also said:<sup>14</sup>

My masters, who departed from me! My forbearance suited them  
 and they did not send me any message about themselves.  
 Ask not what happened to me the day you left;  
 rather ask about my store of tears, how they flowed!  
 Have pity on a grieving one with few to help him,  
 who is dying of love without having attained his desire from you!  
 He has spent long nights, because you abandoned him  
 for so long, finding wakefulness sweet,  
 While grey doves on the willow branches aided him  
 with their lament, and the soft breeze when it blows in the meadow.  
 Will you grant him union, one day?  
 And if you refuse, grant him an apparition in his slumber!  
 For the memory of you dwells in his heart's core,  
 where no other people enter.  
 Everyone who blames him for loving you will say,  
 once they have seen your beauty, 'Come, have another look!'

He also said, as part of a longer poem:<sup>15</sup>

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since Arabic love poems deal far more often with the lover's passion than that of the beloved.

12 Metrum: *tawīl*.

13 He uses the terminology of Islamic prophetic Hadith.

14 Metrum: *basīf*.

15 Metrum: *tawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:300–301.



I swore an oath about him: 'I shall not swerve from my infatuation with him',  
 and my heart swore to what I had sworn.  
 If he offers to me union with him for sale for the price of my life-blood,<sup>16</sup>  
 I will buy it: here is my heart, offered as an advance payment.

He also said:<sup>17</sup>

Cease reproaching me for loving him!  
 My soul has grown weary of your blame.  
 Between me and forgetting him is a day's journey,  
 but it is one of the day journeys of the sun.<sup>18</sup>

[15.58.3]

He also said:<sup>19</sup>

When the conversation is about them, how beautiful it is!  
 When death is caused by the tyranny of passion, how just it is!  
 Say to the reproacher, 'You have spoken at length; I am not listening.'  
 There is a day's journey<sup>20</sup> between forgetting him and my heart.  
 I shall never stop loving those I love,  
 as long as my heart and passion are one and the same.  
 A gazelle who prophesies beauty to mankind;  
 I wish I knew who let his temple-locks dangle!<sup>21</sup>  
 He has alighted in my heart and all my limbs;  
 who has made it licit to shed my blood for loving him?  
 By the life of his eyes and the lance of his figure,  
 my spirit is restless because of his cheeks.  
 Suppose I am the one who is mad with love for him,  
 who is it then who chained his cheeks with down?<sup>22</sup>

16 *Muhjah* has a range of meanings, including 'blood of the heart, blood, heart, spirit, soul, life'.

17 Metrum: *munsariḥ*.

18 I.e., the distance between east and west.

19 Metrum: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:201, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:301 (lines 6–7).

20 See the preceding epigram.

21 There is an untranslatable play on words: *arsala*, 'to let (hair) hang down', also means 'to send as an apostle'.

22 I.e., instead of chaining the mad one.

He also said:<sup>23</sup>

Stop at the willow trees of the Sanctuary and Stony Sands!<sup>24</sup>  
 Perhaps then my burning agonies will cease.  
 After they departed my eyelids swore  
 that they would never meet<sup>25</sup> unless we meet;  
 And my tears, whenever I restrained them,  
 swore they would never dry up.<sup>26</sup>  
 Dear Arabs of the tribe, have pity and have mercy  
 on a lover who is wretched by on account of your harshness!  
 The whole of me has perished in the love of you;  
 now that the whole of me is gone only my last breath remains.  
 By Him who let my love of them and your harshness remain:  
 would that it had not remained, since you abandoned me!

He also said, as part of a longer poem:<sup>27</sup>

I asked you to grant protection (*tujīr*) to one madly in love;  
 but asking was of no avail. So why are you unjust (*tajūr*)?  
 You have deprived a grieving man of being with you,  
 who from his ardent longing seeks protection.  
 The shortest day of being abandoned is long;  
 the longest night of being together is short.

He also said:<sup>28</sup>

When the lute raises its voice with an Allahu Akbar  
 and he who invites us to joy advertizes the wine,  
 I always think fit to prostrate myself to it,  
 but only after the cup has performed its bow.<sup>29</sup>

23 Metre: *ramal*.

24 Numerous places are called al-Ḥimā and al-Abraq; here they are merely meant to evoke an ancient Bedouin atmosphere.

25 I.e., 'close.'

26 *Tartaqī*, as a licence for *tartaqī'u*. Form VIII of *RQ'*, not found in the lexica, is attested elsewhere (e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, v:260: *wa-tawālat admu'ī lā tartaqī*).

27 Metre: *wāfir*.

28 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:301; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:393; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:201.

29 In ritual prayer, initiated with the formula *Allāhu akbar* ('God is the Greatest'), prostration

[15.58.4]

He also said, on a pretty boy called al-Jamāl:<sup>30</sup>

They said, 'You have fallen in love with, among all people,  
 a young fawn and now you are killed by your love of him!'  
 'Don't be amazed,' I replied, 'by what happened:  
 the sword of beauty (*jamāl*) is drawn in his eyelids.'<sup>31</sup>

He also said, on a once pretty boy who hinted at a meeting:<sup>32</sup>

When I asked you to pity my heart<sup>33</sup>  
 arrogance called out to you: 'Do not have sympathy for anyone!'  
 You merrily moved in the robe of beauty, having  
 left me and having taken the spirit from my body.  
 But in the end, when Time brought an event to you  
 that you were unable to remove by hand,  
 You sent for me, seeking a meeting, so that I would come back.  
 But now 'you have been destroyed by what destroyed Lubad!'<sup>34</sup>

He also said:<sup>35</sup>

I am in love with his honeyed (*ma'sūl*) saliva  
 and in raptures about his figure like a quivering lance (*'assāl*);  
 A moon: when you<sup>36</sup> see him come towards you  
 you see a moon at its fullness in a lucky constellation.  
 His glance wounds my heart, just as  
 my gaze wounds him in his cheek.<sup>37</sup>

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(*sujūd*) follows bowing (*rukū'*). Al-Ṣafadī comments that 'bowing' as a metaphor suits the wine-jug rather than the cup, quoting a parallel in verses by Ibn Miknasah al-Iskandarī (but one could argue that a cup, too, bows when one drinks from it).

30 Or Jamāl al-Dīn. Metre: *kāmīl*.

31 The metaphor is supported by the fact that *jafn*, 'eyelid', also means 'sword-sheath'.

32 Metre: *basīṭ*.

33 Literally, 'my liver' (see above, e.g. Ch. 15.45.3, vs. 8 of poem 'Her phantom').

34 The legendary sage Luqmān was promised a lifetime of seven of his long-lived vultures, Lubad being the name of the last of them. The last hemistich is a quotation (changing *-hā*, 'them', into *-ka*, 'you') from a famous poem by the pre-Islamic poet al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī (Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 6).

35 Metre: *sarīf*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:394, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:201–202.

36 A has 1st ps. sing. (*abṣartuhu ... abṣartu*), but a 2nd ps. sing. is far more usual in such a context.

37 An allusion to blushing, 'bloody' cheeks.

I told those who rebuke me for loving him,  
 now that my heart is in mortmain to his rejection of me:<sup>38</sup>  
 'He whose hand is in the water up to his forearm  
 knows the difference between hot and cold water.'<sup>39</sup>

He also said:<sup>40</sup>

If my eyes overflow with tears I say: 'Because of my thoughts  
 about him!' Or, if my tears recede, I say; 'From my fire!'<sup>41</sup>  
 Whenever I wish to forget loving him, I find that  
 the fire of loving him is better than shame.

He also said:<sup>42</sup>

I asked to be with him. Beauty answered  
 for him, by way of allusion:  
 The letter N of his brow, the letter 'ayn of his eyes,  
 together with the letter M of his mouth, made up the answer.<sup>43</sup>

[15.58.5]

He also said:<sup>44</sup>

In the letter Ş of his eye, if you examine it,  
 with the N of his brow and the M of his mouth<sup>45</sup>  
 There is an excuse for those lost in their infatuation with him;  
 so why should those who do not understand it blame them?

38 Interpretation not wholly clear; *Fawāt* has *mawthūqun 'alā wajdihī*, 'firmly fixed on passion for him'.

39 A slightly different version of this line concludes an epigram of Ibrāhīm ibn Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Thamānīn (dates unknown) in al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:154; it is possible they are both quoting an unidentified poet.

40 Metre: *baṣīṭ*.

41 i.e., as if the tears were evaporated by the ardour of love.

42 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:394, al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:202 (who comments: 'good poetry').

43 The Arabic letter N (*nūn*) is a semicircle; the letter 'ayn looks somewhat like an eye (and the word for 'eye' is 'ayn'); and the letter M (*mīm*) is a little circle. Together they spell *na'am*, 'yes'.

44 Metre: *kāmil*.

45 The Arabic letter Ş (*şād*) is roughly oval in shape; for the letters N and M see the preceding epigram. Together, the letters spell *şanam*, 'idol'.

He also said, with a riddle on ‘Uthmān:<sup>46</sup>

I asked all people, thinking that I  
 see among them some who know truth and sincerity,  
 About a name, whose bearer possessed the utmost degree of beauty,  
 by whose abandoning and shunning me my heart is wretched.  
 Its letters are five, there is no doubt about it,  
 and anyone with a sound mind knows it for a truth.  
 If one fifth – a fifth being one – disappears  
 eight remain, the oddest of remainders!<sup>47</sup>

He also said, in a poem in praise of al-Malik al-Sa‘īd Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Mārdīn:<sup>48</sup>

Aided by God in his sound judgement; bold; his squadrons  
 fill the earth’s surface, on plains and mountains.  
 Riding the horse of seriousness on a day of battle, his ‘stronghold’ being,  
 after the standing steeds, the quivering hardened spears.<sup>49</sup>  
 On a day of terror his severing sword punctuates the lions,  
 the punctuation being with blank swords after the dotting with  
 lances.<sup>50</sup>

[15.58.6]

He also composed this strophic poem:<sup>51</sup>

46 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

47 In Arabic, ‘Uthmān has five letters; if the first is omitted, the word *thamān*<sup>in</sup>, ‘eight’, remains.

48 Apparently an Artuqid; identification uncertain; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Artukids’ (Cl. Cahen); Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 194–195. Metre: *basīf*.

49 Horses and weapons being the true warrior’s stronghold is a common motif. The word *ṣawāfin* (‘standing steeds’) alludes to the related form *ṣāfināt* in Q Ṣād 38:31.

50 *Shakl* refers in fact to providing the vowel signs in Arabic, normally coming after writing the diacritical dots. The ‘lions’ are presumably the enemy fighters.

51 Metre: *wāfir*. A strophic poem (*mukhammasah*, ‘quintupled’) with the rhyme scheme *aaaa a bbbb a cccc a*, etc.; normally based on the lines of an existing poem (here italicized in the translation). Here, however, the original lines seem to have been cherry-picked, cento-like, from several poets. The first two italicized lines are the opening lines of a long ode by Sibṭ ibn al-Ta‘āwīdhī (d. 584/1188); see his *Dīwān*, 339, but the remaining lines are not found there. Four lines (1, 3–5) are contained in a short poem quoted anonymously in a much later source, al-‘Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, 638, and the last two lines are from a poem by Abū Shās, quoted in al-Shābushtī, *Dīyārāt*, 183.

I swear by my love for you: my passion will not change,  
 Though my body has suffered from emaciation,  
 And my heart and innermost says,<sup>52</sup>  
*I see that Time changes its hue,  
 but love for you shall not leave my heart.'*

My censurer is engaged in tittle-tattle,  
 But I shall not be distracted from loving you.  
 How could it ever occur to me to abandon you?  
*A love that Time cannot change:*

*impossible that a censurer could change it.*  
 When the time came that I was to be killed by being abandoned,  
 While my eyes and my heart wept for it,  
 And when departure was to occur in earnest, without any doubt,  
*She came, her tears on her cheeks resembling  
 her necklaces, and began to speak.*

I said to her, 'Be gentle with your subjects!  
 For my heart is afflicted by your remoteness!'  
 She replied – desires (*munā*) asked from her are fatal (*manāyā*) –  
*'Tomorrow morning our mounts will be bridled;  
 will you say farewell, good friend?'*

My tormentor speaks without affection.  
 When departure was nigh and my condition had changed for the worse,  
 And our abode had become desolate by our separation,  
*I said to her, 'Upon your life, I do not care  
 whether the tribe is staying or departing is imminent!'*

Tomorrow, being abandoned by you, my heart will dissolve  
 And will not find a cure when you are not near.  
 But I will have hope, by which my plight will cease,  
*When the daughters of the vine will be my drink  
 and your charming, beautiful face my dessert.*

When I shall be compensated for wakefulness at night  
 By your nearness, with a pleasant being-together,  
 And behold beauty added to perfection,  
*Then I shall be safe from Time's vagaries  
 and whatever the censurer says will be nothing to me.*

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52 *Qalbī wa-fūādī*, 'my heart and my heart' (with following verb in the singular).

[15.58.7]

On a pretty boy, a darner by craft, he said:<sup>53</sup>

You have cut my heart to pieces with the bitterness of forsaking me, O  
my hope!

Perhaps with sweet words from you you'll mend it (*tarfī-hī*).

I have disobeyed the censurer who keeps censuring me,  
and in my opposition to his censure is my relaxation (*tarfīh-ī*).

On a pretty boy called ʿĪsā he said:<sup>54</sup>

You, whose name carries Christ, while  
the cup of death is contained in his eyelids and eyes,  
You oppose Jesus in deed, for he  
revived the dead and you kill with longing.

He composed this quatrain:<sup>55</sup>

It is for you to command that I die of love;  
if you want me to perish, I am all yours!  
I swear by God, my heart said that if it could walk  
it would gladly walk straight from me to you.

He also said:<sup>56</sup>

My master, by Him who decreed that I should love you,  
how happy, by God! is a day on which I see you!  
If it be your pleasure that my soul should perish,  
then let my heart perish, for, by God! all is your ransom.

He also said:<sup>57</sup>

You, who broke the contract with the covenant:  
see, your beauty has gone but my passion remains.

53 Metre: *basīt*.

54 Metre: *kāmil*. ʿĪsā is the Muslim name of Jesus in Arabic.

55 Metre and form: *dūbayt* ('two-liner'), the term used in Arabic for an originally Persian form, called *rubāʿiyyah* ('quatrain') in Persian.

56 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

57 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

If I have excused myself, it is that loyalty has taught me  
to walk, in matters of love, with lovers.

He also said:<sup>58</sup>

My master, how much longer will you wrong a lover?  
Traitor! How much more of this spurning and avoiding?  
Others enjoy your favours, while passion is in my heart!  
A lover cannot endure it if he is jealous.

He also said:<sup>59</sup>

In the heart a fire of ardent love is burning;  
By God! If you abandon me, my fortitude will cease to be.  
You who have robbed your lover of his sleep,  
come back to me, for no one remains to me but you!

[15.58.8]

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī composed the following works:

1. A guiding treatise on the grades of simple drugs (*al-M. al-Murshidah fī daraj al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
2. A book on the Great Theriac (*K. Naẓm al-tiryāq al-fārūq*).<sup>60</sup>
3. On the mithridate antidote (*K. fī Mithrūdītūs*).<sup>61</sup>
4. On the *Prognosticon* by Hippocrates in *rajaz* metre (*K. fī Taqdimat al-maʿrifah li-Abuqrāt, urjūzah*).
5. Collected Poetry (*K. Dīwān shiʿr*).

⟨He died on the 23rd (or 26th) of the month of Šafar in the year 685 [20 or 23 April 1286].⟩<sup>62</sup>

58 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

59 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

60 The Great Theriac (a famous antidote for poisons) is sometimes also called *al-Fārūq*, that is ‘the one that makes a difference between life and death’. MSS HR note that this title, and the following one, were *urjūzahs* or in verse.

61 See Totelin, ‘Mithridates’. Mithrūdītūs was the name of a celebrated theriac, or all-purpose electuary, allegedly composed by Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus on the Black Sea (r. 120–63 BC); rue was one of its major components. See Maimonides, *On Poisons*, 301 nos. 11–12; Watson, *Theriac & Mithridatum*.

62 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.



### 15.59 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī<sup>1</sup>

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī is the great physician and unique scholar, the leader of his generation and the one man of his time, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ghanā‘im. He was born and bred in Damascus. He distinguished himself in the art of medicine, but was also well-versed in the philosophical sciences. His medical knowledge was outstanding in both theory and practice, as it encompassed all its universals and particulars. He was praised for his medical treatment and deserved acknowledgment for his amicable behaviour, which was flattering when he was among the notables and distinguished at all other times. He was a strong adherent of the restoration and maintenance of bodily health. A large group of physicians used to study under his guidance and many students benefited from his knowledge. His writings contain intelligible language and sound allusions and are well-composed and deeply meaningful.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī wrote the following books:

1. A commentary on the *Generalities* in Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon*. In it, he has compiled what Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy mentioned on this subject in his *Commentary on the Generalities*, and also what al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī said about it in his *Commentary on the Generalities*, and likewise what others said about it. He gave an accurate account of their respective discussions of this subject. It is a well-written and serious work. (*Sharḥ al-Kullīyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
2. The solution of Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh’s doubts concerning the *Generalities* (*Ḥall Shukūk Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh ‘alā l-kullīyāt*).
3. An introduction to the sciences of logic, physics and metaphysics. (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā ‘ilm al-manṭiq wa-l-ṭabī‘ī wa-l-ilāhī*).<sup>2</sup>

⟨He died in the month of Ramadan of the year 681 [December 1282].⟩<sup>3</sup>

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1.

2 A marginal note in Ms A reads: ‘It has been reported of al-Muwaffaq al-Sāmīrī that he revisited a patient who was suffering from diphtheria, and whose tongue hung out on his chest. Al-Muwaffaq then promptly started to bleed this patient on both his left and his right hand (during all of which the patient was conscious). And in exactly that instance the patient was restored to health and his tongue returned to its usual state.’

3 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

15.60 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff<sup>1</sup>

[15.60.1]

The great and learned physician Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Faraj, the son of the incomparable and learned shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Ishāq ibn al-Quff, was a Christian from al-Karak, having been born in al-Karak on Saturday, the thirteenth of Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 630 [21 August 1233].

His father, Muwaffaq al-Dīn, was a friend of mine, who always placed special emphasis on his friendship with me and upheld it throughout his life. His company was precious to me, and his geniality was a delightful feast. He was the light of his generation and the most quick-minded person of his period. Muwaffaq al-Dīn was unequalled at memorizing poetry, and was an authority in the transmission of historical information and other facts. He distinguished himself in his knowledge of the Arabic language and was outstanding in the literary arts, combining in himself the practical and theoretical applications of penmanship and second to none in dealing with figures of speech and unusual meanings. Furthermore, his well-proportioned handwriting was a pleasure to the eyes, unmatched by copyists from other cities and countries. During the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad he was a scribe in Ṣarkhad, working in the bureau of charitable relief services.

His son Abū l-Faraj showed signs of excellence from his early youth, and this was confirmed at a later age. He possessed good manners and rarely spoke, was broad-minded, and loved to hear tales about the lives of the learned. His father wanted him to learn the art of medicine, and asked me to become his teacher. Abū l-Faraj stayed with me until he had memorized the principal works that are commonly memorized by students, such as *The Questions* by Ḥunayn and the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and *Prognosticon*. He learnt how to comment on their thematic purport and came to understand the principles of their composition, and afterwards studied, under my guidance, the [part on] medical treatment in the work of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī. He came to know about the types of illnesses and the most significant diseases occurring in [human] bodies, became familiar with what precedes the treatment of patients, and spent effort on the treatment itself. I taught him the basics and the various parts of that domain, and made him understand its mysteries and benefits.

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<sup>1</sup> This biography occurs in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. On him and his oeuvre, see Hamarneh, *Ibn al-Quff*; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 176–177; Spies, *Anatomie und Chirurgie ... nach Ibn al-Quff*.

Abū l-Faraj's father later moved to Damascus the well-guarded, where he held a high administrative post. His son accompanied him there, and attended the company of a group of learned scholars in a variety of sciences, studying the natural sciences and the parts of philosophy under the guidance of the shaykh Shams al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Khusrawshāhī and 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Ghanawī al-Ḍarīr. Abū l-Faraj also studied the art of medicine with the physician Najm al-Dīn ibn Minfākh and with Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb, the Samaritan. In addition, he studied Euclid's *Elements* with the shaykh Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḏī,<sup>2</sup> understanding it so well that he was able to open the lock of its doctrine and solve all its problems.

Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff served as a physician in the fort of 'Ajlūn, where he lived for some years. Then he returned to Damascus and served in its well-guarded fort, treating the sick there. He was praised for his deeds and thanked for all other things.

[15.60.2]

Abū l-Faraj [ibn al-Quff] is the author of the following works:

1. The Salutory [Book]: on medicine (*K. al-shāfi fī ṭibb*).
2. Commentary on the *Generalities* in the *Canon* of Ibn Sīnā (*Sharḥ al-kulliyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*), in six volumes.
3. Commentary on the *Aphorisms* (*Sharḥ al-fuṣūl*), in two parts.<sup>3</sup>
4. On the preservation of health (*M. fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).
5. The foundation of the surgeon's craft (*K. al-'umdah fī ṣinā'at al-jarrāh*), twenty treatises.<sup>4</sup>
6. On theory and practice (*M. 'ilm wa-'amal*), in which the author mentions all that is necessary for the surgeon, so that there is no need for him to use another [treatise].
7. The comprehensive book on the purpose (*K. jāmi' al-gharaḍ*), in one volume.

2 Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḏī (7th/13th cent.) was an astronomer at an important observatory in Maragha, in north-western Iran. A celestial globe made by him around the year 1288 is preserved today in Dresden, Staatlicher mathematisch-physikalischer Salon; see Carey, 'The Gold and Silver Lining'; Savage-Smith, *Celestial Globes*, 200 no. 5; Saliba, *Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḏī*; Schmidl, 'al-'Urḏī'.

3 See Pormann & Joosse, 'Aphorisms', 235–240; see also Carpentieri & Mimura, 'Phrenitis', 194–198.

4 For an edition of this text, see Ibn al-Quff, *K. al-'Umdah* (Hamarnah), and Hamarnah, *Ibn al-Quff*. In his *K. al-'umdah fī ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*, Ibn al-Quff has devoted a special chapter on the preparation of ethereal oils, which were commonly known as *duḥūn*. He described about 34 different oils together with their medical action, see El-Gammal, 'Preparation'.

8. Marginal notes on the third book of the *Canon* (*Ḥawāshī 'alā thālīth al-qānūn*), not extant.
9. Commentary on the 'pointers [and reminders]' (*Sharḥ al-ishārāt*), a rough draft, not completed.
10. Maghribi investigations (*al-Mabāḥith al-maghribiyyah*), left unfinished.<sup>5</sup>

⟨Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff died in Jumādā 1 of the year 685 [June-July 1286]⟩<sup>6</sup>

5 A marginal note in MS R reads: 'I said this in a time in which the author, the well-known Abū l-Faraj, had risen to great heights in medicine. He composed useful works and wrote books that were unprecedented. Among them the following should be mentioned: "The comprehensive book on the purpose of preserving health and preventing disease". This is an important book! He also wrote [a book called] "Making it easy to arrive at knowledge of the *Book on Aphorisms*", in which he commented upon the *Aphorisms*'. – This extended title is most likely nothing else than his *Sharḥ al-fuṣūl* [no. 3 in list]. These extended titles were very common among Arabic commentators on the Hippocratic Aphorisms; see for example al-Sinjārī, *Taysīr al-wuṣūl ilā taḥṣīr al-fuṣūl* (Pormann & Jooose, 'Aphorisms', 225–228), al-Kīshī, *Wasā'il al-wuṣūl ilā masā'il al-fuṣūl* (Pormann & Jooose, 'Aphorisms', 245–246), al-Manāwī, *Tahqīq al-wuṣūl ilā sharḥ al-fuṣūl* (Pormann & Jooose, 'Aphorisms', 247).

In MS A (fol. 306a) the colophon appears under the book-list stating that the copy was completed by 'Abd al-Hādī ibn Abī al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faraj on 27 Sha'bān 773 (4 March 1372). Beneath the colophon in A is the following note: '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 Amin 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.'

6 Added in MSS GbHLR, which also omit titles 5–10.

## Ibn al-Nafis

*Translated and annotated by Ignacio Sánchez*

### Biographies of Ibn al-Nafis:<sup>1</sup>

Only two copies of the *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’* contain a biographical entry for the physician Ibn al-Nafis. This biography is not part of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s work, but rather a later addition made by scribes or readers. The Damascus manuscript has a short entry in the same hand as the rest of the volume with relevant information about this physician. The London manuscript contains two short biographies taken from *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah*, written by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), and the *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

[AI.1]

Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭaniyyah, MS 148 Ṭ M (former 4883), fol. 104b.<sup>2</sup>

This undated manuscript contains two works: 1) a fairly abridged copy of the third version of the *‘Uyūn al-anbā’* (fols. 1a–104b), in which the poetry has been cut off and the bibliographical sections summarized; 2) an unidentified work on medical ethics (fols. 106b–122b).

The biographical note, which closes this copy of the *‘Uyūn al-anbā’* on fol. 104b and is listed in an index at the beginning of the volume, is written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. It has no precise parallel in any of the other biographies of Ibn al-Nafis (more than eighteen in number) and contains some material not found in other biographical accounts.

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- 1 On Ibn al-Nafis see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-Nafis’ (M. Meyerhof & J. Schacht); *DSB* art. ‘Ibn al-Nafis’ (A.Z. Iskandar); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Nafis, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ḥaram al-Qurashī’ (N. Fancy); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172–176; Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 1–36; Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 46–48, 60, 71, 74, 85, 101, 180; Fancy, *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt*; Gutas, ‘Ibn al-Nafis’s Scientific Method’, 142–144.
  - 2 See Hamarnēh & al-Ḥimṣī, *Fihris*, i:476–482. The manuscript is undated.

‘Alā’ al-Dīn [‘Alī ibn] Abī l-Ḥazm al-Qarashī, originally from al-Qarash, with two *fathahs*, a village in Syria,<sup>3</sup> was physician and an eminent authority whose wisdom was as vast as the ocean and as high as the mountains. He did not limit himself to a single branch of knowledge. His commentary on the obscure parts of [Ibn Sīnā’s] *Canon (al-Qānūn)* would have served as more than enough argument against those who questioned his eminence and warned against him; but, in addition to that, he composed many other works on varied topics, well-received by critics in most lands, that addressed the truths of philosophical speculation, the nuances of thought, the subtleties of remarks, and the refinements of expression.<sup>4</sup> Most especially this is evident in the work entitled *Epitome of [Ibn Sīnā’s] Canon (Mūjaz al-Qānūn)*,<sup>5</sup> and *The Complete Book (al-Kitāb al-Shāmil)*,<sup>6</sup> in which he discusses the differences of opinion amongst [medical] scholars. Ibn al-Nafīs was a versatile man who assimilated the ideas of wise men in various branches of knowledge, paying attention to the essence and the purity of convincing arguments and demonstrations, and using simple, meaningful words and clear expression.

3 The Syrian village of al-Qarash has not been found in other sources. Ibn al-Nafīs’s *nisbah* al-Qarashī (native of al-Qarash) is a variant for al-Qurashī (related to the Quraysh tribe) found in the majority of manuscript copies of his treatises and adopted by scholars as the most common vocalization. His name is also often written (in fact, more correctly written) as ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Abī l-Ḥaram.

4 The author of this description seems to have borne in mind Ibn al-Nafīs’ works on logic and grammar, among them a commentary of Ibn Sīnā’s *Remarks and Admonitions (al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt)*, a commentary of Aristotle’s *Analytica Priora* entitled (*K. al-Wuraywāt*), a commentary on Ṣā’id ibn al-Ḥasan al-Raba’ī al-Baghdādī’s *Fuṣūṣ*, and an original work on grammar entitled *The Path of Eloquence (Ṭarīq al-faṣāḥah)*; see Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 26–27.

5 Or *Mūjaz fī l-ṭibb*, also frequently written as *Mūjiz al-Qānūn* or *Mūjiz fī l-ṭibb*. This work was a handbook with excerpts from Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon*, but excluding anatomy and physiology; in subsequent centuries it became one of the most widely read Arabic medical treatises and the subject of commentaries and super-commentaries; see Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 25; Savage-Smith, *NCAm-1*, 269–306. Its attribution to Ibn al-Nafīs has been questioned; see ‘Appendix: The Curious Case of the *Mūjaz*’ in Fancy, *Science and Religion*, 117–120; Fancy, ‘Medical commentaries’.

6 This work, whose full title is *al-Kitāb al-Shāmil fī l-ṣinā’ah al-ṭibbiyyah*, was intended as a comprehensive encyclopaedia of medicine projected by the author to encompass three hundred volumes when completed, with each volume consisting of approximately ninety-five leaves. Only eighty volumes were completed, of which only fragments survive, some in the author’s handwriting. Various fragments are preserved in ten manuscripts. For a detailed study of the structure of the encyclopaedia in terms of preserved fragments, see Savage-Smith, *NCAm-1*, 337–347 entry no. 77.

‘Alā’ al-Dīn composed numerous books and excellent writings, among them:

1. A commentary on Hippocrates’ *Aphorisms* (*Sharḥ al-Fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*)<sup>7</sup>
2. *Fruits of Questions* (*Thimār al-masā’il*)<sup>8</sup>
3. On plants (*K. al-Nabāt*), in which he discussed simple medicaments.<sup>9</sup>
4. On the natiivities of triplets (*K. Mawālīd al-thalāthah*)<sup>10</sup>
5. Compendium of medical intricacies (*Jāmi‘ al-daqā’iq fī l-ṭibb*)
6. *The Salutary Book* (*K. al-Shāfi*)
7. On the pains of infants (*R. Fī awjā‘ al-atfāl*).

[AI.2]

London, British Library MS Add. Rich. 7340, fol. 210a.

Written by a much later hand on a folio inserted at the end of a copy of the *‘Uyūn al-anbā’* that was completed in Isfahan in 1017/1608; the brief biographical entry on Ibn al-Nafīs occupies a central paragraph. It is a paraphrased version of Ibn al-Nafīs’ entry in the biographical dictionary by the Shāfiī scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370).<sup>11</sup>

The imam ‘Alī ibn Abī l-Ḥazm al-Qarashī ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Nafīs, physician and sage, studied medicine under Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn al-Dakhwār<sup>12</sup> and composed excellent medical works, such as the *Epitome* (*al-Mūjaz*) and the *Commentary on the Canon* [of Ibn Sīnā] (*Sharḥ al-Qānūn*),<sup>13</sup> and the work entitled *The Com-*

7 See Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 24; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 18–23 entry 6A. This work has been edited in 1991 with the title *Sharḥ fuṣūl Abuqrāt*. See also Abou Aly, ‘A few notes on Ḥunayn’s translation’; F. Rosenthal, ‘Life is Short, the Art is Long’.

8 Unidentified. This treatise is not recorded by this title in any other source. This might correspond to Ibn al-Nafīs’ commentary on Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s *Masā’il fī l-ṭibb* which has survived in the Leiden, University Library MS Or. 49/2 and remains unedited. See also, Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 24.

9 Unidentified. This title might refer to Ibn al-Nafīs’ commentary on the section on simple drugs from Ibn Sīnā’s Canon, which circulated separately with the title *Sharḥ Mufradāt al-Qānūn*; see Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Autodidactus*, 26.

10 These last four works remained unidentified and are not listed in any other biographical accounts of Ibn al-Nafīs.

11 See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘īyyah*, viii:305 (n. 1206).

12 Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230) was physician-in-chief at the al-Nūrī Hospital in Damascus; his biography is found in IAU 15,50; see also *EI Three* art. ‘al-Dakhwār, Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn’ (N.P. Joosse). Ibn al-Nafīs – also Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – studied medicine under him. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172.

13 For the *Epitome* see note above. The *Commentary* is a different work in several volumes following the arrangement of Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon*, with exception of the parts on anatomy,

*plete Book (al-Shāmīl)*, which would have comprised three-hundred volumes had it been finished, but the author only completed eighty of them. As a Shāfiī jurist, Ibn al-Nafīs also wrote on the principles of law and logic and, in general, on various branches of knowledge. None on the face of Earth among those who came after Ibn Sīnā equalled Ibn al-Nafīs for knowledge of medicine, and it is said that he was superior to Ibn Sīnā in therapeutics. Ibn al-Nafīs died on the 11th of Dhū l-Qa‘dah of 687 [7 December 1288], leaving his books as a pious endowment to the Maṣṣūrī Hospital.<sup>14</sup>

[AI.3]

London, British Library MS Add. Rich. 7340, fol. 210a (marginalia in a different hand from the central paragraph).

It is a paraphrased version of Ibn al-Nafīs’ entry in the *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

Al-Suyūṭī states in his history of Egypt:

Ibn al-Nafīs, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥazm al-Qarashī, was an authority on medicine in Egypt and author of the *Epitome (Mūjaz)* and the *Commentary on the Canon* [of Ibn Sīnā] as well as other volumes. He was one of those scholars of sharp intelligence and proficient intellect who combined knowledge of medicine with other disciplines such as positive law and legal principles, hadith, and logic. He died in the month of Dhū l-Qa‘dah, in 687 [December 1288], at the age of nearly eighty, and remains unequalled by any of those who came after him.<sup>15</sup>

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which were commented separately. On this work see Meyerhof & Schacht, *Theologus Auto-didactus*, 25–26; and Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 46–48.

14 Upon his death in 876/1288, Ibn al-Nafīs bequeathed his library to the newly founded Maṣṣūrī hospital (established in 683/1285) in Cairo. See *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Nafīs, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ḥaram al-Qarashī’ (N. Fancy); on this hospital see also Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*.

15 Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah*, i:542.



## Additional Marginalia

*Translated and annotated by Ignacio Sánchez and Geert Jan van Gelder*

This appendix contains marginal additions – especially poetry – that cannot be properly handled in footnotes to the main text and yet deserve to be edited and studied. The order of these marginalia presented below corresponds with the order of the biographies in IAU’s work.

### AII.1

Poem added by a copyist on the title page of MS B (fol. 1a).<sup>1</sup>

By some scholar, on the diseases of which physicians died, though each of them was skilled in the knowledge of them:

Hippocrates passed away, struck with hemiplegia;

Plato died, suffering from pleurisy(?).<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle died of consumption;

likewise that Galen of theirs, suffering from an intestinal illness.

And Abū ‘Alī<sup>3</sup> died of a colic:<sup>4</sup>

neither instruments nor his *Canon*<sup>5</sup> availed him.

O you who hold fast to medicine to be cured by it,

relying on it, enthralled by it:

1 Metre: *kāmil*. Also, with variants, in a MS of *Imtiḥān al-alibbā’ li-kāffat al-aṭibbā’* by Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Sulamī (on whom see IAU Ch. 15.34), see Dietrich, *Medicinalia*, 195–196 (lines 1–3, 5); for a rhymed German translation, see Bürgel, *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit*, 181 and idem, *Ärztliches Leben und Denken*, 19. For two more epigrams, added by a copyist to the opening folio of a Paris MS of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s work, see Sanguinetti, ‘Extraits’, 1, 234–236 (Arabic and French translation).

2 *Mubarsam*, from *birsām*, which is often translated as ‘pleurisy’. Arabic dictionaries connect it with Persian *bar-sām* ‘disease, swelling, or inflammation in the breast’. In the medical literature there is much confusion with *sirsām* or *sarsām* (*sar-sām*: Persian for ‘head inflammation’) meaning ‘severe headache’, sometimes called ‘phrenitis’. See e.g. Dols, *Majnūn*, 57–58, Carpentieri, ‘On the Meaning of *Birsām* and *Sirsām*’.

3 Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). Compare the epigram on his death in IAU Ch. 11.35.5.

4 The form *sajaj* is not in the dictionaries (cf. *sajj*: ‘severe diarrhoea’). The version in Dietrich, *Medicinalia* has *saḥjah* (cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab*: *al-saḥaj*: *dā’ fi l-baṭn qāshir minhu*).

5 *al-Qānūn*, Ibn Sīnā’s chief medical work.

Medicine is no medicine, unless it is the word of Him  
who says to the non-existent: 'Be!', and it is.<sup>6</sup>

## AII.2.1

Marginal verses in MS R (fol. 83a) referring to al-Kindī's remarks about the poem in Ch. 10.1.10. The copyist does not indicate the origin of this fragment, but the anecdote can be found in al-Ibshihī's *Mustaṭraf*. Al-Kindī, upon listening to the fourfold rhetorical division that begins with 'Four things from you' (*fa-fī arba' minnī* ...), recited an epigram containing a fivefold *taqsīm* with a similar opening (*fa-fī khamsah minnī* ...). al-Kindī considered that it was more eloquent because the five parts correspond with the five senses.<sup>7</sup>

I [i.e. the copyist] say: I [i.e., al-Kindī] have seen a division (*taqsīm*) that is better and more excellent than this one; Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh,<sup>8</sup> who was related to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, said:

Five things in you are sweet to five things in me:  
your saliva in my mouth, so good to sip,  
Your face in my eye, your touch in my hand,  
your speech in my ear, your scent in my nose.

You may see that this is better than the first [epigram] because the author's intention is to use a rhetorical division (*taqsīm*) and he does it according to the five senses, but God knows better!

## AII.2.2

In margin of MS R (fol. 83b) there are some anecdotes to illustrate 1AU's comment on al-Kindī's miserliness in Ch. 10.1.12. Some of these stories can be found in al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Misers* (*K. al-Bukhalā'*), which has a section on al-Kindī.<sup>9</sup>

6 A phrase occurring several times in the Qur'an; e.g. al-Baqarah 2:117: «*When He decrees a thing He merely says, 'Be!', and it is*».

7 In this anecdote these verses are attributed to 'al-'Alawī, see al-Ibshihī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii:22. These verses are attributed to Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-'Alawī (d. 322/934), author of *'Iyār al-shī'r*; see *EAL*, 'Ibn Ṭabāṭabā', and note to the poem in Ch. 10.1.10.

8 The copyist must have understood that the al-'Alawī mentioned in the anecdote was not Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, but Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī (d. 252/866–867 or 255/868–869), who belonged to the Alid family; on him see Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, iii:154.

9 See the '*qiṣṣat al-Kindī*' in al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 81–93.

I [i.e. the copyist] say: the miserliness of the shaykh [al-Kindī] and his shameful deeds are illustrated by what Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī reports in his *History*:<sup>10</sup>

One day one of the female servants of his mother came to [al-Kindī's] house with an empty jug and said: 'Your mother wants you to give her fresh water.' He replied: 'Go back, fill the jug in her house and bring it back.' When she returned, he asked her to empty the jug, and when she did so he filled it with water from a cooling amphora.<sup>11</sup> When she left, he said: 'We took from her an essence without quality and gave her an essence with quality'.<sup>12</sup> [al-Kutubī] also reports that al-Kindī used to eat dates and give their pits to a wet-nurse of his to whom he would say: 'Content yourself with the sweetness that they have preserved'.<sup>13</sup> And 'Amr Ibn Maymūn<sup>14</sup> said: 'One day, when I was having lunch at al-Kindī's house, a neighbour came by and I invited him to join us, but the man said: "By God, I have already eaten!" To which al-Kindī replied, "After 'by God!' there is nothing more to say!", thus effectively pinning the man's hands behind his back: if he moved to eat with him, he would be an unbeliever'.<sup>15</sup> End of quote.

#### AII.2.3

In margin of MS R (fol. 83b), an anecdote condemning al-Kindī's ideas, next to Ch. 10.1.12.<sup>16</sup>

10 Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363) was a Damascene historian; see *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Kutubī' (F. Rosenthal). Only two works by al-Kutubī have come down to us, the *Uyūn al-tawārikh*, which has survived partially, and the *Fawāt al-wafayāt*. The anecdotes about al-Kindī are not in the editions of these works.

11 In Arabic, *muzammalah* is an amphora or vessel used to keep a supply of cold water either by burying it in the ground or wrapping it in isolating cloth; see Nasrallah, *Annals*, 450.

12 Cf. this anecdote in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:479; al-Jāhīz has the same story with al-'Anbarī as protagonist instead of al-Kindī, see al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 113.

13 Cf. this anecdote in Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:479.

14 The name seems to be a corruption of 'Amr ibn Nuḥaywī who was acquainted with al-Nazzām and al-Kindī and appears in two anecdotes in al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 17, and 38. Ibn Nuḥaywī was an official (*āmil*) under al-Ma'mūn and son-in-law of Mūsā ibn Abī l-Faraj ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk; see al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah*, i:132; also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, iii:208.

15 See a version of this anecdote in al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 17; and, with the same wording of MS R in Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-'uyūn*, 233.

16 This anecdote occurs in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:480.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān<sup>17</sup> said: ‘I have never seen al-Kindī alive, but I saw him in dreams as he has been described. I asked him: “What has God done with you?”’ Al-Kindī replied:

– As soon as He saw me He said: «*Depart to that which you had rejected as lies!*»<sup>18</sup>

May God save us from His wrath! Al-Kindī died in 281 [894–895].

#### AII.2.4

Marginal verses in MS R (fol. 83b) copied next to the poem in Ch. 10.1.13 and given as an additional example of al-Kindī’s poetry.

[al-Kindī] also said, describing a *qaṣīdah*:<sup>19</sup>

The wind, in its course, would fall short of its extent,  
arrows would be unable to strike as it does.

Camel drivers and singers have plundered its beauty  
so that mounts and wine are moved on by means of it.

#### AII.3.1

Gloss of the poem of Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī in Ch. 10.51.2 in MS R (fol. 98a), quoting a poem by al-Buḥturī.

I say [i.e. the copyist]: Ibn Shibl took this motif from al-Buḥturī’s poem [?],<sup>20</sup> the beginning of which is:<sup>21</sup>

Slowly, revolving sphere!

...<sup>22</sup>

[?] In this poem the author follows the method of the philosopher-sages. This<sup>23</sup> is taken from al-Buḥturī’s verse in the aforementioned poem:

17 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was the brother of ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān, the vizier of al-Mutawakkil. He was associated with Ibn Ḥanbal, from whom he transmitted questions on jurisprudence (*masā’il*); see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’riḫ Baghdad*, x:277.

18 Q al-Mursalāt 77:29.

19 These verses can be found, attributed to al-Kindī, in Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, v:408; and Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-‘uyūn*, 234.

20 The Arabic is corrupt at this point beyond any possible emendation.

21 Cf. al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, 959 (no. 380, verses 1 and 5 respectively).

22 Unfortunately, the second half of this verse is difficult, as is clear from the several variants of the words *taṣarraḥu* (or *tuṭawwifū*, or *taṣarraḥū*, or *taṣarraqu*) and *jubārū* (or *khiyārū*). The word *jubār* has nothing to do with *jabr*, the technical term for ‘predestination’ (it means ‘unretaliated’ among other things). But it seems that al-Buḥturī addresses the universe as if it is Destiny or Fate.

23 I.e., vs. 14 of Ibn Shibl’s poem, ending ‘long wishes and short terms’.

We have high hopes  
that we cherish, but short lives.

## AII.3.2

Marginal gloss in MS R (fol. 98b), referring to the elegy for Ibn Shibl's brother in Ch. 10.51.3.

This motif was taken from the [following] verses of Maḥmūd al-Warrāq:<sup>24</sup>  
A man would like to last forever; but he  
can be certain that what lasts forever is extinction.  
Whenever he spends a day, that day spends part of him,  
and when an evening falls, the evening spends him.<sup>25</sup>  
The more his body increases, the more his life decreases:  
There is no growth when life decreases.  
Day and night: nothing remains with them,  
nor do they, after all things have gone, last forever.

## AII.3.3

Also referring to the elegy for Ibn Shibl's brother in Ch. 10.51.3 there are two verses from al-Ma'arrī copied in the margin of MS R (fol. 98b).<sup>26</sup>

If Gabriel were to fly away from Time for the remainder  
of his life, he would not be able to go outside of Time.<sup>27</sup>  
They have asserted that the celestial spheres are subject to decay:  
If this be true, then impurity is like purity.

## AII.4

Verses from Ibn Hānī' copied in MS R (fol. 98b), in the margin of section Ch. 10.51.2.<sup>28</sup>

24 Maḥmūd ibn Ḥasan al-Warrāq (d. ca. 230/845) was a poet of the early Abbasid period who lived in Baghdad, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Warrāq' (G J. van Gelder). For this poem cf. Maḥmūd al-Warrāq, *Dīwān*, 67 (*hamzah* no. 2).

25 It is difficult to render the verb *ṭawā*, used three times ('to fold, envelop', 'to spend, pass [time]').

26 Cf. al-Ma'arrī, *Luzūmiyyāt*, 1:374 (no. 131, verses 4–5).

27 Translation by R.A. Nicholson, see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, 156. [The following line is not there.]

28 Ibn Hānī' (d. 362/973) was an Andalusī poet who worked at the court of the fourth Fatimid caliph, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī' (F. Dachraoui). For these verses, see. Ibn Hānī, *Dīwān Ibn Hānī* (ed. al-Bustānī), 168.

The shining stars will perish though they rise,  
 as will the two light-givers, sun and moon.  
 Though they may appear, where they rise, to be  
 neatly strung, they will surely be scattered,  
 And though the revolving sphere travels with them at night,  
 it will surely surrender them and be split asunder.

## AII.5

Marginal addition in MS R (fol. 107a) from Barhebraeus' *Mukhtaṣar*,<sup>29</sup> with a story of Awḥad al-Zamān's conversion to Islam that differs from the one given by IAU in Ch. 10.66.5.<sup>30</sup>

It is said that the reason behind Awḥad al-Zamān's conversion to Islam was the illness of certain Seljuq king. [The physician] was summoned from Baghdad and he travelled to [the court], he treated the king until he was cured and was rewarded with copious presents, including money, riding beasts, clothing, and other precious gifts. When he returned to Iraq, loaded with riches beyond measure and garbed in beautiful apparel, he heard that Ibn Aflaḥ<sup>31</sup> had lampooned him with these verses:<sup>32</sup>

We have a Jewish physician whose stupidity  
 is apparent from his mouth when he speaks.

He wanders bewilderedly (*yatih*) – a dog is above him in status –  
 as if he were still wandering in the wilderness (*al-tih*).

Upon hearing that, Awḥad al-Zamān knew that he would not be shown respect for the graces bestowed upon him unless he embraced Islam. He strengthened his resolve about it, but then he realized that his grown-up daughters had not converted and that they would not inherit from him when he died. Awḥad al-Zamān implored the caliph to be magnanimous and allow his daughters [to receive] his wealth, even if they had kept their

29 Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286), Ibn al-'Ibrī in Arabic, was a member of the Syriac Orthodox Church; although he was also a physician he is mainly known by his works on history and philosophy and his translations. On this author see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn al-'Ibrī' (J.B. Segal).

30 Cf. Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 210; also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 323 (conversion story), and 325 (diseases).

31 Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aflaḥ (d. 535/1141), *kātib*, poet, and critic. See al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Khariḍah (al-'Irāq)*, ii: 52–69, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:389–391, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:435–438.

32 These verses are quoted by IAU in an entirely different context (Ch. 10.64.2) and attributed to Amin al-Dawlah, who hated Awḥad al-Zamān.

faith. The caliph agreed to that and once he was reassured, [Awḥad al-Zamān] publicly professed his conversion and continued teaching and tending the sick happily. But fate turned its back on him when he aged. His brilliance faded and was struck by diseases that his medical knowledge was unable to fight, suffering a degree of pain that neither his body nor his heart were able to endure: he lost his sight, he lost his hearing, he contracted leprosy – may God save us from the vicissitudes of fortune, restrictions and monetary distress! When [Awḥad al-Zamān] felt his death close, he prescribed that his [testamentary] executor had his tombstone engraved with these words: ‘This is the tomb of Awḥad al-Zamān Abū l-Barakāt, one who is a lesson to others (*dhī l-‘ibar*),<sup>33</sup> the author of the *Lessons in Wisdom* (*ṣāḥib al-mu‘tabar*):’<sup>34</sup>

End [of the quote, from] Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-‘Ibrī.

#### A11.6

A riddle epigram copied after the colophon of MS Sb (fol. 186b), which corresponds with the end of Ch. 10.68 (section on Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl, also known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān). It is apparently on some insect or other. The word after ‘a riddle’, perhaps giving the solution, is smudged and illegible.<sup>35</sup>

A riddle:

One you see walking on six,  
 but if it stands up, it stands on four.  
 It eats while the king (?) is in ...,  
 it sits with the lion in one place;<sup>36</sup>  
 It drinks the blood of all mankind  
 and does not respond when called.

33 This is an example of *jinās* since ‘*ibar*’ means both ‘lessons’ and ‘tears’. *Dhī l-‘ibar* could be also translated as ‘a tearful one’, implying that his suffering serves as a warning example of the vicissitudes of time.

34 On The Lessons of Wisdom (*K. al-Mu‘tabar*), see Ch. 10.66.9 title no. 1.

35 Metre: *mutaqārib*. The riddle was copied, and possibly composed, by the copyist, Ibrāhīm al-Jawāliqī, in 713/1313.

36 Reading and interpretation unclear. Perhaps *qaṣ‘ihī* is to be emended to *qaṣrihī*, and the sense “It eats even when the king in his castle”. Perhaps *mawḍi‘ī* is an irregular pausal spelling of *mawḍi‘i(n)*, in which case the translation is ‘it sits (reading *yajlisu*) with the lion in one place’.

## AII.7

Two lines of verse at the top of an otherwise empty page of MS Sb (fol. 187a).<sup>37</sup>

I consoled my heart with being together [with a loved one] but it was of  
no avail.

It persisted while I was resolved to cure it with abandoning [him].

Another:

Time is nothing but thus, so bear it patiently:

loss of wealth or separation from a loved one.

## AII.8.1

Marginal verses by Ibn Sīnā in MS R (fol. 127a), copied before the beginning of the long book-list (11.13.7.9):

Ibn Khallikān says:<sup>38</sup> To the Raʿīs [Ibn Sīnā] are attributed the two verses quoted by al-Shahrestānī at the beginning of his book *The furthest steps [in dialectical theology] (Nihāyat al-aqdām [fi ʿilm al-kalām])*:<sup>39</sup>

I have roamed all those familiar spots

and made my eyes travel between those landmarks;

But I saw nothing but people putting their hand, perplexed,  
on their chin or gnashing their teeth in regret.

[Ibn Khallikān] says: 'Sīnā' is written with a non-punctuated *sīn* [i.e. not *shīn*] vocalised with *kasrah*, a silent *yā'* marked with two points below, and a *nūn* vocalized with *fathah* and followed by an *alif* with *hamzah* (*alif mamdūdāh*).<sup>40</sup>

37 The first line has not been found elsewhere. The second (with a slight variant) is found, anonymously, in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (ed. Zakkār and Zirikli), iv:1013 (= ed. al-Dūrī et al., iii:74), and attributed to Abū l-Aswad (presumably al-Duʿālī, d. ca. 69/688) in al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii:71. It is not found in his *Dīwān*. It has also been attributed to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, see ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Dīwān*, 29.

38 Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:161 (for the poem), and ii:162 (for the orthography of the name).

39 Al-Shahrestānī (d. 548/1153) was an Ashʿarī theologian, see EI<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Shahrestānī' (G. Monnot).

40 One does find Ibn Sīnā' with *hamzah* in the sources, but mostly it is without *hamzah*. Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* (SYN) says: 'Sīnā, *maqṣūrah*: ancestor of al-Raʿīs Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ...'.



## AII.8.2

Prayer copied in the margin of the biography of Ibn Sīnā (Ch. 11.13.7),<sup>41</sup> in MS R (fol. 125a); for an illustration of the folio, see Fig. 4.6 in Volume One.<sup>42</sup> This marginal text has been collated with the versions preserved in Istanbul MS Esat Efendi 3688 (fols. 138b–139a) and Istanbul MS Ḥamidiye 1448 (fols. 449a–449b).

This was written (?) by the Ra'īs [Ibn Sīnā] asking for forgiveness for drinking wine:

O God, Who have no associate whom I could ask from, nor a vizier whom I could bribe! I yield to Your will only, since Yours is the grace bestowed upon me. I have disobeyed You in my ignorance and You have the evidence against me. I follow the Lord of the Messengers, Muḥammad the illiterate Prophet – may God cherish him and his family; I acknowledge that this wine is illicit, and I am aware of the exemplary punishments that await their drinkers in the Afterlife according to their degrees. If You have established them as You promised to the pious, Your power will judge me and Your Preordination will requite my [deeds].

The dispositions of human natures are pulling the rein of my soul, which enjoins wrongdoing,<sup>43</sup> towards seeking pleasure in drinking wine. This is for two reasons: First, [wine] is used as medicine in unhealthy lands to protect against the harms of pestilent airs and the seasonal changes that result from the Sun's distance from or closeness to the earth,<sup>44</sup> and the interaction of the material qualities in the world of coming-to-be and passing-away. Second, the abidance by the testimony given in Your Glorious Book, the wellbeing of people, and the opinion of the majority [of Muslims] show that in certain cases

41 Ibn Sīnā is the author of a medical work on the benefits and harms of wine, not listed by IAU; his affection for wine is reported in biographical sources and earned the condemnation of pious Muslims (Gutas, *Avicenna*, 209–213). This homily is not explicitly mentioned by IAU either, although it should be one of those listed under the generic title *khūṭab* both in the short (Ch. 11.13.3.2 no. 39) and the long bibliographies (Ch. 11.13.8 no. 63). Although it has survived in several manuscripts, this homily does not seem to have been edited (Gutas, *Avicenna*, 509, GPW 6.c).

42 Fig. 4.6 in the essay in Vol. 1 titled “The Textual and Manuscript Tradition of Ibn Abī Uṣaybī’ah’s ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*”, by Igancio Sánchez.

43 Reference to Q Yūsuf 12:53.

44 Literally, to the *sphaera recta* (*al-falak al-mustaqīm*), which is the celestial sphere as appearing to the inhabitants of the equatorial region, where the celestial equator passes through the zenith; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Falak’ (W. Hartner).

[wine] has been rendered lawful as long as it is used to [improve] people's health, and to bring strength into the human frame, in accordance with the words [of Muḥammad], God bless and cherish him and his family: 'Whoever has a sound nature has a sound religious conduct'.

If I have yielded to them immoderately and inebriation (*sukr*) has distracted me from gratitude (*shukr*), You are the One that may forgive my faults and pardon my offences. Because You are the All-Powerful, and this would be most becoming of You. and because pardon and mercy, are two attributes with which You describe Yourself.<sup>45</sup> Forgive me, with the power You hold over me, and under the obligation of atoning for my sins. If I have trespassed Your sacred boundaries, or transgressed the prohibitions of Your law, it is because my mind was blinded. O God, fill the sight of my mental vision with that which will turn me away from what it [i.e., my sight] made easy for me and what it made to appear beautiful to my soul, according to Your words: «*Beautiful for people is the love of lusts*».<sup>46</sup> Because You are the First Cause, and intermediaries have no distinction in terms of free acts, for they are, in truth, created. God, grant me a place among those who are close to the Highest Holiness and far from the depths of Hell [?].<sup>47</sup>

## AII.9

These verses by Abū l-'Atāhiyah, copied in the margin of MS R (fol. 101b), refer to the poem of Ibn Ṣafīyah in Ch. 10.63.3.<sup>48</sup>

By Abū l-'Atāhiyah, on the same motif:

When ants grow wings  
in order to fly, their perdition is nigh.

45 These are among the ninety-nine names given to God in Islamic tradition: *al-'Afuww* (the Forgiver) and *al-Raḥmān* (the Merciful).

46 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:14.

47 The last word in the three manuscripts consulted (*m-h-h-ḍ-m* in R; *m-j-h-ḍ-m* in the Istanbul MSS) seems to be a mistake. The root *j-h-ḍ-m* exists, but the meanings associated with it do not make any sense in this context. The substantive *Jahḍam* means 'someone with a big head and a round face', and also 'lion'; the verb *tajahḍama* means 'to put on airs'; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. ج ه م. The Istanbul MSS read 'in the fire *al-m-j-h-ḍ-m*', whilst MS R reads 'in the depths *al-m-h-h-ḍ-m*'.

48 Abū l-'Atāhiyah, *Dīwān*, 49 (no. 44, verse 9).

## AII.10

Marginal addition to the biography of Abū l-‘Alā ibn Zuhr (Ch. 13.61.1) in MS R (fol. 144a), taken from Ibn Khallikān.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Khallikān says:

He [Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr] belonged to a family of religious scholars, generals, learned men and viziers; they all reached elevated positions, and were close to the rulers, who executed their commands.

Ibn Diḥyah says in his book *al-Muṭrib*:<sup>50</sup> Our master, that is Ibn Zuhr, was a language stronghold and a fresh-water source of medicine. He used to memorize the poetry of Dhū l-Rummah,<sup>51</sup> which comprises one third of the Arabic lexicon, while he [i.e., Ibn Zuhr] also had a commanding knowledge of all what physicians and philosophers have said.

Often some people laid their cheeks on their hands,  
 overcome by sleep in the morning, like me;  
 I kept pouring wine for them and drinking what they left,  
 until I got drunk and they were affected by what also affected me.

## AII.11

Anecdote copied in the margin MS R (fol. 152a) next to the biography of al-Tamīmī (14.14), likely taken from Ibn al-Athīr’s *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*.<sup>52</sup> The poem is by al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr al-Dimashqī,<sup>53</sup> lampooning the vizier Ya‘qūb ibn Kiliš.<sup>54</sup>

According to certain historian, al-‘Azīz<sup>55</sup> – God bless him – was a merciful king prone to pardon and this story serves as example of his mercy: There was in Egypt a poet who indulged in satire. He wrote a lampoon of the vizier Ya‘qūb ibn

49 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:434.

50 Ibn Diḥyah (d. 633/1235) was an Andalusian poet and anthologist, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Diḥya’ (F. De la Granja). For this quotation cf. Ibn Diḥyah, *Muṭrib*, 206–207.

51 The remark on Dhū l-Rummah’s poetry, with its very extensive vocabulary, was also made of al-Farazdaq, see *Aghānī*, xxi:395.

52 See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix:82.

53 No further information has been found about this poet.

54 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix:82; Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 178; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, i:298.

55 Nizār Abū Maṣṣūr al-‘Azīz bi-Allāh (344–386/955–996), was the fifth Fatimid caliph; see *EI* *Three*, ‘al-‘Azīz bi-llāh’ (P.E. Walker).

Killis<sup>56</sup> and Abū Naṣr,<sup>57</sup> the secretary of the chancellery, and behaved insolently by saying:

Say to Abū Naṣr, the secretary at the Palace,  
 who applies himself to wrecking the rule:  
 ‘Wreck the firm bonds of the realm for the Vizier, then you’ll gain  
 from him handsome praise and repute.  
 Give, or deny, and do not fear anyone,  
 for the master of the Palace is not in the Palace.  
 He does not know what is meant by it,  
 and when he knows, then what does he know?’

The vizier complained to al-‘Azīz and recited the poem to him. [Al-‘Azīz] replied: ‘We are together in this since we both have been lampooned, join me then in forgiving him.’ Such was his magnanimity and forgiveness; may God bless him.

## AII.12

Added perpendicularly in margin of biography Ch. 15.1.4 in MS L 107a and incorporated to the main text of MS Gb (fol. 12a).<sup>58</sup>

O for the resolution of a truthful man of nobility<sup>59</sup>  
 whose truthfulness renews his resolve among truthful people,  
 Who jealously guards his breaths, lest they be spent  
 while he wastes them on what they do not deserve!

## AII.13

As a marginal addition to biography Ch. 15.11.2.1 in MS R (fol. 171b), a poem by al-Jilyānī, transcribed (rather imperfectly) by the copyist from al-Jilyānī’s *Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalim*.<sup>60</sup>

56 Ibn Killis was the vizier of the caliph al-‘Azīz bi-Allāh, see *EI Three*, ‘Ibn Killis’ (P.E. Walker).

57 Ibn al-Athīr gives the name Abū Naṣr ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Qayrawānī, no further information has been found about this secretary.

58 These verses are not found in ABHR, Müller, Riḍā, and al-Najjār. Metre: *ṭawīl*.

59 *Nabāḥah* can also mean ‘intelligence, alertness.’

60 Metre *basīṭ*. The edition of this work by Fakhri Ṣāliḥ Sa‘īd (1975) was not accessible to us. This and the following poem are found in the manuscript of *Dīwān al-ḥikam* in the Bodleian Library (MS Marsh 470, fols. 142a and 144b; hereafter DḤ). This poem is introduced there with *wa-qāl fi s[anat] 584 wa-hiya i’tibāriyyah*, ‘and in the year 584 [1188–1189] he composed [the following], a poem of contemplation.’

How often can this poisoned<sup>61</sup> body be treated with a curative antidote,  
 when illness is part of its nature?  
 Its natural disposition is discordant in its structure;  
 thus what should be combined in it is fractious in it.<sup>62</sup>  
 If it flees from phlegm, from the coldness of which one should be wary,  
 it will be troubled by the burning of the blaze of yellow bile.  
 If it feeds itself copiously, eating its fill will give it indigestion,  
 but if it takes food on alternate days only, it will suffer from hunger.  
 5 Superfluities are generated in it that beset it;  
 when they are in commotion, it is as if it is struck by the falling sick-  
 ness.<sup>63</sup>  
 It wants to go to the privy, when the mounting superfluity is descending,  
 or to women, while its reason's governor is deposed.  
 The robe of its health – its joins<sup>64</sup> are threadbare;  
 All its lifetime the body is being patched up.  
 But for his delusion, a discriminating man would not turn  
 to a site in which spot the word 'body' is heard.<sup>65</sup>  
 Thus all features of defect or traits of deformity  
 are carried and the natural disposition of the body put down.  
 10 And his limit<sup>66</sup> in him ...<sup>67</sup> mortal;  
 when will he reap life while death is sown?

## AII.14

On right margin of the biography in Ch. 15.11.2.1 in MS R (fol. 171b), a poem by al-Jilyānī, also copied from *Dīwān al-ḥikam*.<sup>68</sup>

A wine glass and a pair of trousers, whenever they are together  
 in a convivial gathering, and clothes that are unwrapped:<sup>69</sup>

61 *Malsū'*, literally 'stung (e.g. by a scorpion)' or 'bitten (by a snake)'.

62 The translation of this hemistich, with its profusion of prepositional phrases (*bihi, fihī, minhu*), is not wholly certain. *Taṣḍīr* (lit., 'splitting') is an antonym of *jam'* ('combining').

63 *Maṣrū'*.

64 *Awṣāl*, 'joins', 'joints', 'ties', or 'limbs'.

65 There is an allusion to the ancient motif in Bedouin poetry of stopping at an abandoned campsite where the poet has once been.

66 Or 'definition'?

67 Reading and translation of the first hemistich unclear.

68 Metre *ṭawīl*. In DḤ the poem is introduced with *wa-qāla fī s[anat] 569 wa-hiya ... ḥyah* ('and in the year 569 [1173–1174] he composed [the following], a poem of ...'). Reading and meaning of the last word are unclear.

69 *Ishtināl*, 'wrapping oneself in a garment'; *taṣadda'a*, 'to be split, scattered'.

They are like two flints striking fire;  
 see, a blaze quickly fills the sky!  
 Smoke rises like a black night,  
 sparks fly up like lightning in a rain shower, intermittently.  
 But for these trousers that rouse one's passion  
 people could benefit from the wine glass, brimful.  
 Every kind of affliction is hiding in these trousers:  
 so fasten them, so that you may be saved from all evil!

## AII.15

Poem by Ibn 'Unayn<sup>70</sup> on a young servant of Ibn al-Muṭṭrān called 'Umar copied in MS R (fol. 177b) in the margin of the biography Ch. 15.23.2.1.<sup>71</sup>

I [i.e., the copyist] say: This 'Umar is mentioned by Ibn 'Unayn in his poem entitled 'The Shears of Good Reputations' (*Miqrāḍ al-a'rāḍ*),<sup>72</sup> in which he lampooned all the inhabitants of Damascus, and which opens with:

Ribs that enclose misery,  
 eyes that burst forth with bucketfuls!  
 In it, he turns to Ibn al-Muṭṭrān, the physician:  
 I wonder if I shall see my lord al-Muwaffaq swagger  
 in its<sup>73</sup> spacious courtyards,  
 Walking leisurely, with 'Umar behind him,  
 swaggering like an oryx cow in a herd!  
 Whenever my lord looks at him,  
 he is mad with love and shows a marvellous conceitedness.  
 He is a motherf ...;<sup>74</sup> there are few that resemble him

70 Ibn 'Unayn (d. 630/1233) was a satirical poet from Damascus; see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, 'Ibn 'Unayn' (Ed.).

71 See Müller, *Lesarten*, 52–53. This marginal comment with the poetry, except the fourth line, is found in Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Badā'ī' al-badā'ih*, 403.

72 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn 'Unayn, *Dīwān*, 179–180. Ibn 'Unayn (d. 630/1233) was banished by Saladin on account of this poem.

73 viz., of Damascus.

74 The verb *tabaḍrama* is connected by the lexicographers (al-Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, and cf. al-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh al-lughah*, 231) with *baḍram*, 'signet ring' and explained, bizarrely, as 'being stupid while wearing a signet ring, gesturing in people's faces'. Instead, it is far more likely derived from the common expression *māṣṣ/āḍḍ baḍr ummik* (an obscenity of the 'motherfucker' variety, on which see Nawas, 'Sucker of One's Mother's Clitoris'). Al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, makes the connection, which is also clear from a line by Abū Tammām (... *ḥir-immīyyatun yastannu fihā l-tabaḍrumū*, *Dīwān*, iv:422). The sense seems to be 'to be worthy of being addressed with (the insult mentioned)'.

among people, except that al-Raḥbī<sup>75</sup> is a motherf ... too.  
 He claims that he with his wisdom  
 taught Hippocrates the art of medicine.

## AII.16

Additional verses by Sa'd al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz written in the margin of MS R (fol. 182b), at the end of his biography (Ch. 15.35).<sup>76</sup>

From al-Maqrīzī's *History of Egypt*<sup>77</sup> I copied the following poem by this Ibrāhīm al-Sulamī:<sup>78</sup>

O you that have moved far away<sup>79</sup> from me, who have not kept  
 the covenant with me nor observed the ancient covenants:  
 Be joined with us again, as you once were,  
 and blacken with letters the face of aloofness!<sup>80</sup>  
 But if you assert that I am unjust,  
 ask (me) to swear: I shall not do it again.

75 Identified by the editor of Ibn 'Unayn's *Dīwān* as Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (on whom see Ch. 15.36).

76 Metre: *sarī*.

77 Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the famous and prolific Egyptian historian; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Maqrīzī' (F. Rosenthal).

78 I.e., Sa'd al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī. From the word *khīṭaṭ* written at the end of the poem it appears that this *History of Egypt* is al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, known as *al-Khīṭaṭ*; but the lines have not been found in the edition of Būlāq, AH 1270 (AD 1853) or in Fu'ād Sayyid's edition.

79 Reading *na'ā* instead of the unmetrical and incomprehensible *nāda*.

80 "To blacken the face" of something is to discredit or dishonour it; the blackness also alludes to the ink of letters.

*A Literary History of Medicine* by the Syrian physician Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah (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.

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